

MEMORY AS RESISTANCE: TURNING POINTS IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Turning points in modern South Africa since 1948, and in South African history 1960, 1976 and 1990.

Memory as resistance: Turning points in the liberation struggle Nokukhanya Luthuli, Philip Kgosana and Nelson Mandela, with reference to the Group Areas Act and District Six. Cover image: © Louise Gubb

LESSON PLAN OVERVIEW: FOR THE EDUCATOR

Memory as resistance: Turning points in the liberation struggle

Learning area: Social Science (History)	Grade: 9
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Curriculum link: Turning points in modern South Africa since 1948, and turning points in

South African history 1960, 1976 and 1990.

Learning outcomes: These outcomes are	Assessment standards according to CAPS:
drawn directly from CAPS.	
LO 1: The learner will be able to use inquiry	AS 1 to 5
skills to investigate the past and present.	
LO 2: The learner will be able to demonstrate	AS 1 to 4
historical knowledge and understanding.	
LO 3: The learner will be able to interpret	AS 1 to 4
aspects of history.	

CONTENT LINKS:

Looking back at:	Current:	Looking ahead to:	
Grade 4: Learning	Grade 9: Memory as	Grade 11: Segregation as the foundation	
from leaders	resistance: Turning points	for apartheid, and the nature of resistance	
	in the liberation struggle	to apartheid	

Context: The activities are designed to give learners without (and even those with) access to additional history materials an understanding of turning points as a tool in historical analysis. This lesson plan is divided into three parts. Part 1 explores non-violent resistance through an exploration of Nokukhanya Luthuli's life story and encourages learners to consider how women can be "written back" into history. Part 2 explores the Group Areas Act and District Six, and encourages learners to think about memory as a form of resistance. This part of the lesson plan may contribute to learners' prescribed oral history project. Part 3 explores two turning points in South African history, namely the Langa march of 1960 and Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990. Reference is also made to Radio Freedom and its role in the liberation struggle.

ASSESSMENT ACTIVITIES

Activity aims: Learners will be able to make reasonable deductions about leaders from reading the source material, and draw reasoned conclusions about turning points in the liberation struggle. Learners will also gain knowledge about sociopolitical challenges facing South Africans in the 20th century, and how activists challenged the apartheid government.

More specifically, learners will: collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information; communicate effectively using visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes; learn to see past events from more than one point of view; understand the importance of heritage and conservation, and be able to explain how and why people and events are publicly remembered in a community, town or city; know and understand more about women's contribution to the struggle against apartheid and the dawn of democracy; and be able to use visual or symbolic skills to show how we could include people in history who have been excluded thus far.

Classroom organisation: Learners will work alone and in groups.

Activities: There are 14 activities in this lesson plan.

Resources: Lesson plans and activities; links to videos and the Nelson Mandela exhibition in the City Hall.

Photographs: City of Cape Town secured permission to use photographs.

Text: Delve Research (Cynthia Kros, Katie Mooney and Deirdre Prins-Solani)

Memory as resistance: Turning points in the liberation struggle

"In the life of any individual, family, community or society, memory is of fundamental importance. It is the fabric of identity ... At the heart of every oppressive tool developed by the apartheid regime was a determination to control, distort, weaken and even erase people's memories. The struggle against apartheid can be typified as the pitting of remembering against forgetting ... [T]he memory of an individual is founded in collective memory."

Prisoner in the Garden, Nelson Mandela, 2005



The content of this lesson is linked to Grade 9: Turning points in modern South Africa since 1948, and turning points in South African history 1960, 1976 and 1990.

The lesson is divided into three parts:

- Part 1 will explore non-violent resistance with reference to Nokukhanya Luthuli's life story. You will also be asked to consider how women can be "written back" into history.
- Part 2 will explore the Group Areas Act and District Six, and will encourage you to think about memory as a form of resistance.
- Part 3 will explore two turning points in South African history, namely the Langa march of 1960 and Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990. Reference is also made to Radio Freedom and its role in the liberation struggle.

By the end of the lesson, you should be able to:

- explain turning points in history case studies;
- make a connection between cause and effect in terms of resistance against apartheid;
- use information to answer questions, analyse and make sense of events;
- understand the importance of memory and the commemoration of places and people;
- understand the importance of heritage and conservation, and how and why people and events are publicly remembered in a community, town or city;
- understand women's contribution to the struggle against apartheid and the birth of democracy in South Africa;
- use visual or symbolic skills to show how we could include people in history who have been excluded thus far;
- explain the impact of the Group Areas Act and forced removals on the lives of many people;
- explain what is meant by non-violent resistance to apartheid; and
- explain why 1960 and 1990 were turning points in the struggle for democracy.

Turning points in South African history 1948 and 1950s: Repression and non-violent resistance to apartheid

In addressing this topic, CAPS Grade 9 gives a brief biography of Albert Luthuli and an explanation of his role in the ANC and resistance to apartheid. But nothing is said about Nokukhanya Luthuli (born Bhengu), Albert Luthuli's wife. Both Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela recognised Nokukhanya's role as extremely important. But she seems to have been "written out" of history. With this section, we will try to write her back in. Black women have started to demand that history include them and their foremothers.

Nokukhanya Luthuli (born Bhengu)

"Mama Nokukhanya shared the trenches of struggle with our beloved leader Chief Albert Luthuli ... she was one of those leaders who contributed to our struggle away from the limelight. But she will go down in history as a member for the battalions of resilient women whose spirit could not be broken by the pain and suffering the apartheid government imposed on them."

Nelson Mandela at the funeral of Nokukhanya Luthuli



For the educator: Brief biography of Nokukhanya Luthuli

- 1. Nokukhanya Bhengu was born at the Umngeni American Board Mission on 3 March 1904. Her paternal grandfather, Ndlokolo Bhengu, was chief of the Ngcolosi people, and her father, Mapitha Bhengu, was one of the first converts of the Umngeni Congregationalist Mission.
- 2. Nokukhanya attended school at the Ohlange Institute in Inanda.
- 3. A teacher recommended her for the teacher's training course at Adams College, and she enrolled and later qualified.
- 4. She taught at Mpushini near Pietermaritzburg, and later at Inanda Day School.
- 5. In 1923, she went to teach at Adams College and enrolled for the higher teacher's diploma. During this time, she met Albert Luthuli.
- **6.** The couple married in 1927.
- 7. Nokukhanya and Albert Luthuli had seven children.



While you work through this lesson, we would like you to think about what it means to struggle outside the limelight. Why do we need people who are prepared to work for freedom and justice behind the scenes, without being in the limelight? And why are those people often forgotten? Think about someone in your home/community/school who quietly continues to bring about positive change and work hard.

Source 1: The statues of the four Nobel Peace laureates

The statues of South Africa's four Nobel laureates at the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town of Albert Luthuli, Desmond Tutu, FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.



Activity 1: Nobel laureate statues

- Ask your teacher to help you arrange a class visit to see the statues at the V&A Waterfront.
- Find out more about Albert Luthuli, whom Nokukhanya married in 1927. (See for example "Commemorating 50 Years since the passing of Albert Luthuli, 1967-2017" on South African History Online at www.sahistory.org.za/people/chief-albert-john-mvumbi-luthuli.)
- Luthuli was the first person in Africa to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. It was awarded to him in 1961 (although it was announced in 1960 already).

Source 2: "We will follow Luthuli!"



Luthuli speaks at the Drill Hall, Cape Town. (Source: BAHA)

Albert Luthuli visited Cape Town while he was the president-general of the ANC. A journalist, Kenneth Mackenzie of *Drum Magazine*, wrote about the song that people sang when Luthuli arrived in Cape Town by train - "Somlandela Luthuli!". It means "We will follow Luthuli!". The journalist wrote that the song was so loud, it shook the roof of the station.

We do not know for certain whether Nokukhanya went with her husband on all his travels. She did go with him to Oslo in Norway when he received the Nobel Peace Prize. It is possible that she was often too busy looking after their seven children and farming in the fields. However, she was also a community and political leader in her own right.

Activity 2: By her husband's side in the struggle

- On your own: Read the extract from Nelson Mandela's speech at Nokukhanya's funeral that appears below her name at the beginning of this section. Mandela used military words to describe Albert and Nokukhanya's struggle against apartheid. Write down the words that suggest that they were busy fighting a war. Make sure you know what the words mean.
- Class discussion: Why do you think Mandela used military words to describe Albert and Nokukhanya's struggle against apartheid? Isn't this strange, keeping in mind that Albert Luthuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize? Try to explain this strangeness.
- Do you think that Mandela would have liked to see a statue of Nokukhanya next to the statue of her husband?

Source 3: Albert Luthuli's acceptance speech



© Drum Social Histories / Baileys African History Archive

If I Were Prime Minister, Albert Luthuli, 1 December 1961. (Source: BAHA)

"Your Majesty, Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, here present! On an occasion like this, words fail one. This is the most important occasion not only in my life, but that of my dear wife Nokukhanya who shares with me this honour. For, friends, her encouragement, not just mere encouragement but active support, made me at times fear that she herself might end in jail one day. She richly shares with me this honour."

From Albert Luthuli's acceptance speech of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, Oslo, 10 December 1961, https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1960/lutuli/acceptance-speech/

Activity 3: Honouring Nokukhanya Luthuli

- Do this activity on your own.
- Read the beginning of the speech that Albert Luthuli made when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway. Do you think he would have liked a statue of Nokukhanya to have been put up next to the statue of him at the V&A Waterfront?
- Imagine that you are a sculptor or performing artist. You see an advert for a competition that invites artists to either make a sculpture or create a living statue of Nokukhanya Luthuli (Bhengu), which will be put up or performed at the Waterfront next to the statue of her husband. You decide to enter the competition.

Here is the form:

Calling artists to honour the memory of Nokukhanya Luthuli

The winning work will be put up or performed at the Waterfront, near the statues of the four Nobel laureates.

To enter, fill in the details below:

Name (you may use a pseudonym):*

Will you make a sculpture out of stone or bronze, or create a living statue?**

Either sketch or describe your plan for creating your sculpture or statue. Your design or description should explain how you plan on showing: (a) two things that Nokukhanya did for her family; (b) one thing she did for the Groutville community where the Luthulis lived; and (c) one thing she did to fight for human rights for everyone in South Africa.

- * A pseudonym is a pretend name, not your real name.
- ** A living statue is an artist who poses as a statue, usually with realistic statue-like makeup and costumes, sometimes for hours at a time.

Use the background information on the next page to help you.

Who was Nokukhanya Luthuli?

Nokukhanya was a very good farmer and was able to grow enough food to feed her entire family. Other farmers in Groutville, the town where the Luthulis lived in what is now the province of KwaZulu-Natal, knew that they could depend on Nokukhanya going out to her fields. She was their "alarm clock". When the other Groutville farmers saw her, they knew it was time for them too to leave home for the fields. The Luthulis' lives were very hard. They did not have a lot of money. Nokukhanya often had to look after the family while Albert Luthuli was busy with his duties as the chief of Groutville. Later on, he became very involved in political activities, and she had to look after everyone at home.

But Nokukhanya also did many things for her community. For example, she set up a post office and led a movement in Groutville to get a clinic for the

African National Congress Digital Archive / ancarchive.org

The 1956 women's march to the Union Buildings to protest against women carrying passes. (Source: Mail & Guardian, https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/1956-womens-march-pretoria-9-august)

community. She was one of the founders of the Groutville branch of Daughters of Africa, which was linked to the ANC Women's League. Groutville elected her as a delegate to attend the ANC national conference in Bloemfontein in 1955. The next year, on 9 August 1956, she was among the 20 000 women who marched to the Union Buildings to protest against government's idea of making African women carry passes as African men were already forced to do.

Commemorative sites

There are no specific sites commemorating Nokukhanya Luthuli's life, but there is a street named after her in Groutville. The Luthuli Museum, which includes Chief Albert Luthuli's original 1927 home, is situated at 3233 Nokukhanya Luthuli Street, Groutville, in KwaDukuza, KwaZulu-Natal. The Luthuli Museum pays tribute to Nokukhanya's life, and that of her husband, Albert.



Luthuli Museum. (Source: https://luthulimuseum.org.za/museum-luthuli-sites-of-significance/)

Additional resources		
	https://luthulimuseum.org.za/luthuli-life-nokukhanya-luthuli/	
	Nelson Mandela's speech at Nokukhanya Luthuli's funeral: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_S8CaAJYPFo	
((·))	Nelson Mandela's speech at Nokukhanya Luthuli's funeral: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_S8CaAJYPFo	
Î	Luthuli Museum 3233 Nokukhanya Luthuli Street Groutville KwaDukuza 4450	

Memory, commemoration and the Group Areas Act (Grade 9 oral history research project)

Note to the educator: We do not want to create the impression that people were completely defeated, even in the very hard times of the struggle against apartheid. This is why we are asking learners to explore memory as a form of resistance. No matter what the apartheid government did, they could not take away people's memories - whether those memories were of famous rebellions against injustice, great leaders, or of the happy lives they had lived in areas they were forced to leave because of the Group Areas Act. We hope that the memory exercises will contribute towards the oral history research project set for Grade 9 in CAPS.

By the end of this part of the lesson, you should understand more about:

- how the Group Areas Act and forced removals affected many people's lives; and
- the importance of memory and commemoration.

Source 4: Group Areas Act and forced removals

The first grand apartheid law was the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950, which categorised South Africans according to race. People were issued identity cards that clearly stated their racial category.

This act led to the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Group Areas Act determined where the members of the different racial groups could own property, live and work. Government wanted to keep people who were classified as "non-white" far away from the centre of the cities.

Grand apartheid vs petty apartheid:

In general, the system of apartheid was divided into petty apartheid and grand apartheid. Under petty apartheid, public facilities and social events for black and white people were kept apart. Under grand apartheid, the separation became stricter and changed people's lives for ever by determining where they were allowed to live and work - all based on the colour of their skin.

"Non-white" people were further subdivided into "coloured", "Asian" (Indian) and "native" (black African). In the Cape province, Malays were declared a separate subgroup in the districts of Cape Town, Simon's Town, Wynberg, Bellville, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley.* The act was administered by the Land Tenure Advisory Board. The name of this board later changed to the Group Areas Board (GAB).

Protea Village (Bishops Court today) was the first group area to be proclaimed a white residential area. Many people in the community worked as gardeners, labourers and flower sellers because the Kirstenbosch Botanical Garden was nearby. It was a close-knit community where everyone knew everyone else. Under the Group Areas Act, however, about 100 families were forced to move away to go and live on the Cape Flats, far from the city centre. By 1968, the Protea Village community had been destroyed. But people still remembered the old days and were able to return to worship at the church, which had not been destroyed - even though this meant they had to travel far to get there.

Forced removals happened all across the country. In Cape Town, the most well-known are those that took place in District Six, Tramway Road (Sea Point), Windermere, Constantia and Claremont. Of all the racial groups in Cape Town, coloured people were most

affected. They were sent to live on the Cape Flats in areas such as Mitchells Plain, Walmer Estate, Bonteheuwel and Heideveld, and after 1975, Atlantis as well.

*Uma Mesthrie, "'No place in the world to go' - control by permit: The first phase of the Group Areas Act in Cape Town in the 1950s", in Saunders et al, Studies in the History of Cape Town, Volume 2, p. 187 (Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1980).



Administer: Manage and put into action.

Proclaim: Officially name.

Source 5: District Six

An estimated 3,5 million people were the victims of forced removals during apartheid. According to the South African Institute of Race Relation's 1972 annual report, approximately 1 820 000 black, 600 000 coloured, Indian and Chinese, and nearly 40 000 white people were forced to move under the Group Areas Act (according to the article "Illustrated history of South Africa" in *Reader's Digest*, p. 426).



Source: District Six Museum



One area heavily affected by forced removals was District Six. The area was created as the sixth municipal district of Cape Town in 1867. Some of the people who lived in District Six were former slaves who had been freed a couple of decades before. There were also merchants, artisans, labourers and immigrants. District Six thrived because it was close to the city centre and the port. But in 1901, black Africans were forcibly removed from the area.

The municipality did not look after District Six very well, and it came to look like a slum. Many of the residents were very poor and suffered from ill health and other symptoms of poverty. They also had to deal with crime and gangsterism. But many people loved living there because of the community spirit and neighbourliness. They also liked having the mountain and the sea close by.

But on 11 February 1966, District Six was declared a white area under the Group Areas Act. More than 60 000 people were forcibly removed to the area known as the Cape Flats. Their homes in District Six were flattened by bulldozers.

Still, many people never forgot their lives in District Six and were determined to return there. The apartheid government did not succeed with its plan to redevelop the land where District Six had stood as a white group area. For many years, it simply sat there a huge piece of empty land right in the middle of the city bowl.

The District Six Museum was established in 1994 and allowed former residents to meet up again and share their memories. The museum also tells the stories of other people who were the victims of forced removals. Under legislation passed by the democratic South African government since 1994, it has become possible for some residents of District Six to get their land back. The rebuilding of new homes started a few years ago (see www.districtsix.co.za).



February 2016 - The 50-year commemoration of District Six being declared a 'whites only' area under the Group Areas Act.

Source 6: Don Mattera



Source: https://www.sahistory.org.za/ people/don-mattera

Gone **Buried** Covered by the dust of defeat -Or so the conquerors believed But there is nothing that can Be hidden from the mind Nothing that memory cannot Reach or touch or call back

> Don Mattera, 1987, http://www.districtsix.co.za

Activity 4: Conquerors and memory

- On your own: Read the poem by Don Mattera above. He grew up in Sophiatown in Johannesburg. People were forcibly removed from Sophiatown as well, and most of their homes were also bulldozed. It too became a white group area and was renamed "Triomf", which means triumph.
 - Who are the "conquerors" in Mattera's poem?
 - Why does Mattera call the people who destroyed places such as Sophiatown and District Six "conquerors"? What picture does it create in your mind? What kinds of stories usually feature (contain) conquerors?
 - According to Mattera, how can memory triumph over the conquerors? (Hint: Could memories be destroyed even by the apartheid government?)
- Collect stories about people's memories of District Six or of another place that experienced forced removals. You will find these at the District Six Museum, or perhaps you know of a community who were forcibly removed and you may be able to ask former members of that community about their memories. Try to collect at least one long memory from a single person, or three to five shorter memories from different people. Write the memories on separate pieces of paper. As a class, make a memory box or boxes. Put the pieces of paper with the memories inside the box. Write or put stickers on the outside of the box to warn the "conquerors" not to try to steal the memories inside.
- How do you think did the Group Areas Act affect communities, livelihoods and people's access to resources? (Think about how the impact of this act continues to be felt today.)

Turning points in the liberation struggle

Note to the educator: This part of the lesson plan explores two of the turning points in CAPS, namely 1960 and 1990. On 21 March 1960, the police shot and killed 69 people and wounded another 180 in Sharpeville when they were protesting against the carrying of passes. The deaths in Sharpeville caused worldwide outrage. Later that same month, 30 000 people joined in a march from Langa to central Cape Town, also to protest against passes. But despite these mass protests, the killings in Sharpeville and the world's disapproval, government did not change its mind. This is when the ANC and the PAC decided it was time to turn to armed struggle, which is why 1960 is considered to be a turning point. The leaders of the ANC and the PAC felt that peaceful demonstrations were never going to convince government to give up apartheid. Armed struggle started at the end of 1961. However, despite this, peaceful demonstrations did continue, and not all groups and individuals that were opposed to apartheid thought that violence was the solution.

It is probably true to say that passes were among the things that most upset people about apartheid. This aspect of apartheid will probably have been covered with learners in term 3. It is useful to recap here, though. If learners understand the nature of passes, and how humiliating it was to have to carry one, it will help them understand why the turning point came in 1960. Hopefully, they will be able to identify with the feelings of those 30 000 people marching from Langa to the police headquarters at Caledon Square in protest against passes.

The next turning point is 1990. This was the year when Nelson Mandela was finally released from prison. By then, it was clear that apartheid was on its last legs.

This part of the lesson looks at key moments, or turning points, in the liberation struggle in the Western Cape. It will focus on the turning points of 1960 and 1990. You will learn:

- what is meant by non-violent resistance to apartheid;
- why the Langa march of 1960 contributed to a turning point in the struggle for democracy; and
- why 1990 is also considered a turning point in the struggle for democracy.

For the educator: What is a turning point?

This topic for Grade 9 falls under the heading "Turning points". Turning points are one of the devices that historians use when they are trying to understand why certain things happened. For example, they might ask when it became clear that efforts at making peace had failed and that it was almost certain that there would be a world war or a revolution? What was the turning point?

What was the point that was reached when it became very hard to turn back, or when people felt that they had turned a corner? Learners may not understand the concept of a turning point, so try this activity with them when starting this section:

Look back on your own life and think about when you reached a turning point. A turning point is something that happened that made you feel as if your life changed from that moment on. Draw a timeline from when you were born. Show various milestones on the timeline, such as when you started school and when you finished primary school. Now mark the turning point on that timeline. You do not have to share this timeline with anyone else, not even your teacher.

Talk to older people and to your friends about new technology such as smartphones and tablets. What was life like before these things were invented? How was life without these devices different from life with them? Now draw a timeline. It should show the dates when cellphones were invented and when social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter became available. Choose a colour for the time before smartphones and use it to draw a cloud that hangs over the first part of the timeline. Inside the cloud, write down three things that could describe life before smartphones, such as "slow communication". Then choose another colour to draw a cloud that hangs over the second part of the timeline, after the invention of technology. In this cloud, write down three things to describe how smartphones or other kinds of new technology have changed people's lives. Finally, take a black pen and mark the turning point between the time before smartphones, social media, etc., and the time after.

In this section, we will be studying two very important turning points in South Africa's history, namely:

- the Langa march in 1960 (along with the Sharpeville massacre, although Sharpeville will not be covered in these activities); and
- Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990.

Activity 5: Turning points

Do this activity **on your own.** Draw a timeline that shows the following dates:

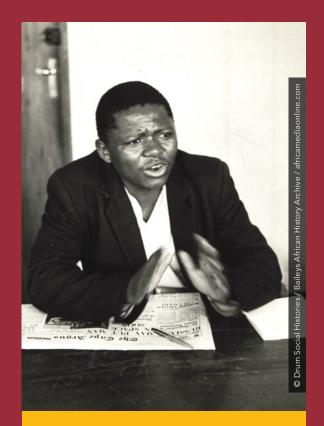
- 1948, when the National Party that introduced apartheid was elected;
- 1960, when the Sharpeville massacre and the Langa march took place; and
- 1990, when Mandela was released from prison.

The spaces on your timeline should show how long the time was between 1948 and 1960, and between 1960 and 1990, and, finally, between 1990 and 1994. So the time space between 1990 and 1994 should be very short compared to the other spaces. Invent a sign for a turning point that you can draw on your timeline above or below 1960 and 1990.

Philip Kgosana and the Langa march

"He was a humble man, a servant of this country who sacrificed a lot in his life for what he believed in: the liberation of the people of South Africa from an oppressive apartheid regime. Philip Kgosana was more than just a freedom fighter. He was a human rights activist."

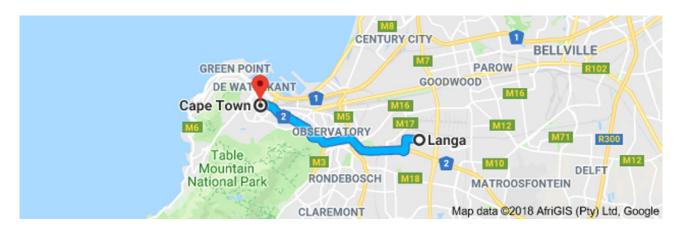
Patricia de Lille at the unveiling of Philip Kgosana Drive, 2017



Drum Magazine, February 1961, APN32568. (Source: BAHA)

Brief explanation for the educator

Langa is located on the Cape Flats. It is about 11 km southeast of Cape Town. It would take about 3½ hours to walk from Langa to the centre of Cape Town.



This map shows where Langa is situated in relation to the centre of Cape Town. The point of looking at the map is to ensure that learners realise – if they do not already know from experience – that Langa is far from the centre of Cape Town. Talk to them about what that means in terms of transport, and what time you have to leave in the morning to get to school or work. Also tell them that the people who took part in the march in 1960 had to walk all the way to Cape Town.



Let the learners complete activity 6 on page 25 (picture analysis). Then tell them the story of the march from Langa, using the information below, as well as any other relevant sources to which you may have access:

- Between 1927 and 1959, Langa was the only formal housing area for black African people in Cape Town. Nyanga and Gugulethu were only built after 1959. The original residents of Langa had been forcibly removed from Ndabeni (close to Maitland and established in about 1901). Ndabeni was poorly serviced and some described it as a "hideous waste of sand and corrugated iron". It was classified as a slum. Residents were forcibly removed to Langa in the late 1920s and the early part of the 1930s. Ndabeni was bulldozed and sold as industrial land. (Sources: Khayelitsha: A desert in town by Ulwazi Christian Association (UCA), p. 13-15 in SC, UCT, BC1204, Margaret Nash v1; www.sahistory.org.za/place/langa-township)
- The photographs in source 7 are of Philip Kgosana, the leader of the Langa march, being carried on the shoulders of the protesters. On 30 March 1960, they marched from Langa to Caledon Square police headquarters to protest against passes. The march took place nine days after the Sharpeville shootings and consisted of about 30 000 people. People came from other townships as well, but the march started in Langa. It was entirely peaceful. One man wanted to go and burn down Parliament, but Kgosana stopped him from doing so. Kgosana decided to let the march end at the Caledon Square police headquarters instead of Parliament, where it would have ended originally. Based on information he heard on the way into town, he was concerned that the police would react violently if they marched on Parliament, and then people would get hurt. Keep in mind that the fatal shootings at Sharpeville had happened only nine days before, and police violence continued in the days after Sharpeville.
- When the marchers reached the police station, Colonel Ignatius Terblanche, Deputy Police Commissioner for the Western Cape, was very polite, even though he was scared. He asked Kgosana to keep the crowd quiet. This was when the students shown in the photograph lifted Kgosana onto their shoulders. Terblanche did not allow the police to shoot at the marchers as had happened at Sharpeville. The police gave Kgosana a megaphone. He was very excited. He thought he was really going to be able to speak to the Justice Minister, because this is what Terblanche had promised to arrange. Kgosana asked the crowd to keep "as quiet as a graveyard". But unfortunately, Terblanche could not get the Justice Minister to agree to talk to Kgosana. So, after the failure of peaceful demonstrations like this one, some of the liberation movements decided to turn to armed struggle. That makes 1960 a turning point. But Kgosana was pleased that the Langa march had not turned violent. He said he would not have liked innocent people to have been killed on that day in the centre of Cape Town.

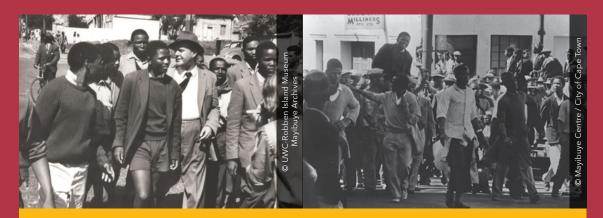
More on Philip Kgosana

- Philip Kgosana was very young at the time of the Langa march in 1960. He was born in 1936, so he was only 24. You can see how young he was by looking at the photographs on the next page. He was a BCom student. He had wanted to study medicine, but the University of Cape Town's medical school did not accept black African students. If you look at his clothes in the photographs, you can also see that he was struggling financially. Those shorts were all he had. Looking at his youth and his clothes makes one realise what a commanding personality he must have had to make all those thousands of people listen to and follow him. Terblanche also spoke to him respectfully. Kgosana had to be the leader of the march because the police had arrested most of the older leaders in the days after the Sharpeville shootings.
- Kgosana was a university student, but was surrounded by migrant workers in Langa.
 They lived in hostels and were not allowed to have their families with them. Kgosana said it was tough for him living there, especially as he could not speak isiXhosa.
 Kgosana said: "Life was extremely stressful for me." But he added that the man he shared a room with was kind to him.
- Kgosana was the regional secretary of the PAC. The president of the PAC, Robert Sobukwe, had called for a day of action when all African men were supposed to leave their pass books at home and present themselves at police stations for arrest.
 On 21 March 1960, Kgosana was leading a group of 7 000 men in Langa who were on their way to give themselves up to the police for not having their passes with them. But when the police threatened to turn violent on the protesters, Kgosana told the crowd to disperse. Only later that day, he heard about what had happened at Sharpeville.
- In 1961, Kgosana left South Africa and went to Ethiopia via Tanzania for parachute training. By that time, he had also decided that it was time to take the struggle to another level. He would rather have continued his studies, but felt military training was more urgent. However, in 1970, he did get a degree in economics from the University of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, and later also finished a master's degree at Makerere University in Uganda.
- Kgosana died in April 2017 at the age of 80.

(Information about Philip Kgosana and the Langa march obtained from (a) journalist Tony Heard, who was present at the march and was convinced that the police were going to start shooting, which would have led to a massacre; and (b) https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/philip-ata-kgosana)

 Places of memory in Langa: Old Location (below Bhunga Road), 405 Harlem Street (the reception office for migrant workers), Sobukwe Square, Mandi Square, the Old Pass Office and the Washington Avenue Post Office (the latter two are both museums).

Source 7: Philip Kgosana



Philip Kgosana, wearing shorts, made a strong impression with his youthful leadership. He was carried on the shoulders of some protesters through the streets to Caledon Square.

Activity 6: Using sources

Do this activity on your own. Look at the photographs above and then answer the following questions in writing:

- How can you tell that these photographs were taken long ago?
- What do you think the people in the photographs are doing?
- Write one sentence that describes the expressions of the people in the photographs. For example, do they look happy, angry or sad?
- Why do you think that two of the people are holding another young man on their shoulders?
- Write one sentence that describes the expression on this young man's face. For example, does he look happy, pleased, angry or worried?
- Write one sentence in which you make two comments about his appearance.
- Why do historians say that photographs can be sources?
- Do you think that the person who took the photographs was on the side of the people in the picture? Give a reason for your answer. (To help you: If the photographer was not on the side of those in the picture, how would he have shown them?)
- Find out as much as you can about Philip Kgosana and the march from Langa to Caledon Square on 30 March 1960. What kind of person do you think Kgosana was?

Source 8: Langa and Langalibalele

"Langa" means sun in isiXhosa. But the name of the Cape Town settlement actually comes from the first part of the name of Langalibalele. He was a king of the amaHlubi people in what is now KwaZulu-Natal, and his name means "the sun is boiling hot". He lived up to his name. Many amaHlubi worked on the diamond fields in Kimberley and used the money they earned to buy guns. The British colonial government tried to make the king register the guns, but he refused. When Langalibalele realised that the government was planning on using violence to force him to register the guns, he decided to escape with some of his people. They tried to cross the Drakensberg to get to Basutoland, but the British sent soldiers after them. Langalibalele was captured and tried. He was sentenced to prison on Robben Island, but some people in the British government said that his trial was unfair.

Langalibalele was put under house arrest in what was then the Cape Colony. The place where he stayed was called Langalibalele's Location. This is where Langa was later built. The name Langa is a way of remembering Langalibalele, a rebel against the Colony and, therefore, a hero to many people. After Nelson Mandela was released from prison, he laid a wreath on Langalibalele's grave.



Langalibalele (Source: Wikipedia)

Activity 7: Langalibalele to Langa

Do this activity **on your own.** Look at the photograph above and then answer the following questions in writing:

- Listen to or read the story of Langalibalele. Why do you think Nelson Mandela thought that Langalibalele was a hero?
- Why do you think the people who came to live (or, sometimes, were forced to live) in Langa thought that Langalibalele was a hero?
- People remembered Langalibalele through the name of Langa. They sometimes called Langa "kwaLanga" (meaning "the place of Langalibalele"). What names do you know in the area where you live or where you go to school that remind us of people who were great leaders or were important in some way?

Source 9: What was a pass?









This is necessary background information for understanding what the Langa march was about.

For more photographs of pass books, visit: https://toursducap.com/en/2015/03/20/theinfamous-dompas-of-apartheid/

Brief explanation for the educator

Try to help your learners understand what the pass (reference book) actually looked like, and what kind of information it contained. The important thing for them to know is that black African people were not allowed to stay in urban areas unless they met very strict conditions, which were beyond their control. People classified as Indian, for instance, were also not allowed to stay over in the Free State. See www.sahistory.org.za/article/pass-laws-south-africa-1800-1994

- There were passes before apartheid as well, but the apartheid government passed a law called the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act of 1952. Even though the act's name contained the word "abolition", which means ending, the pass laws actually became stricter, and black African men - and later women as well - had to carry many documents that were glued into a so-called reference book. African people called the book a "dompas" (stupid pass). The act made it compulsory for all African men over the age of 16 to carry a pass.
- The reference book had to have a photograph of the holder, the person's fingerprints, tax payments and many other details, including place of birth and employment record. This was so that police could check to see whether a person was allowed to be in an urban area. If Africans were found without their passes on their person, they were taken to jail. The punishment for not having a pass with you was imprisonment or a fine. If the pass showed that an African was not allowed to be in an urban area, that person was sent back to the countryside where (s)he supposedly came from.
- According to section 10 of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 another apartheid pass law - African men could only have permanent residence in an urban area if they had been born in that town and lived there continuously for 15 years or more, or had been employed there continuously for 15 years or more, or had worked for the same employer there for 10 years or more. Children and wives of men who had section 10 rights were allowed to have permanent residence in that town as well.
- All men over the age of 16 had to carry a pass/reference book on their persons at all times. Police could stop any African person and ask to see their pass.
- Passes were used to control the movement of black African people. Government, and employers who supported government, wanted only those African people in town who worked for white people. In the 1950s, government decided to extend the rules about passes to African women as well, which led to the famous march on the Union Buildings in August 1956.
- Pass raids became a daily feature of most African people's lives. Between 1948 and 1973, 11 million people served sentences for contravening pass laws (according to Weinberg's Portrait of a People, p. 40). The pass system meant that many people had to be migrant labourers because they had no rights to stay in urban areas for longer than a certain period. They were not allowed to bring their families with them. This meant that many families were broken up. We are still seeing the effects of that today. Passes were a form of influx control - they controlled how many Africans could come into cities and towns.

Activity 8: Pass laws

Do this activity on your own.

- First, do some thinking and revision from last term: What was a pass? (Revision from term 3.)
- Why do you think the National Party government called the law the "Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act" (with "abolition" meaning ending), even though passes were actually NOT abolished? (Hint: The National Party was worried about criticism, especially from overseas.)
- Why did government want black Africans to carry reference books with them everywhere they went?
- Think about what it must have been like to carry a pass. Read what Philip Kgosana had to say: He said the pass laws, and the idea government had of making African women carry passes as well, were the most "burning issues" of the time. He said that he had found out that more than 10 000 African men were jailed for pass law offences every day of the year 1957. That meant that every African man stood a good chance of going to prison at some point in his lifetime (see chapter 13, The South African Democracy Education Trust).
- Today, adults often have to show their ID if, for example, they want to collect registered items from the post office, or to prove that they are older than 18 so that they can buy alcohol. People also need to have an ID to vote in elections. If you travel across the South African border, you need to have a valid passport. In what ways are these documents different from passes?
- Africans called the reference book a "dompas" (in other words, a stupid pass). How do you think this name might have made the people who had to carry a pass feel better?
- How do you think it felt to be in the Langa march? Have another look at the photographs of the marchers on page 25.

Discuss with your classmates.

- Today, the Old Post Office in Langa is a museum. Many black Africans were not allowed to stay in urban areas and had to work as migrant labourers. Why would a post office be important to people who were migrant labourers?
- The Old Pass Office in Langa is also a museum. Discuss with your classmates why it is important to have museums where people can see what it was like to have to carry a pass or to be a migrant labourer.
 - To organise a visit to the Langa Pass Office and many other important sites in Langa, contact iKhaya Le Langa, Ndabeni Street (cnr Rubusana Avenue), Langa, +27 (0)21 694 3717, https://m.facebook.com/IKhayaLeLanga.







Migrant labourer: A worker who did not live at his place of work, but had to return home in the countryside on annual leave. He was not allowed to bring his family with him. There are still many migrant labourers in South Africa today.

Source 10: Famous people who came from Langa **Brenda Fassie** Amampondo Thabo Mngomeni Nika Khumalo Fatima Dike

Activity 9: Famous Langa residents

- Do research or read up on one of the people whose names appear in the list above.
- Write one sentence next to each famous person's name, saying what they were or are famous for.
- Write another sentence at the bottom of the list saying why you think it is important to keep remembering these people.

Radio Freedom

After the events of 1960, many people who were opposed to apartheid felt that non-violent resistance was not working. They argued that it was time to use some kind of violence or force. Even Philip Kgosana, who had worked so hard to keep the march from Langa peaceful, decided that it was time to fight the apartheid government. He went to Ethiopia for military training. Historians refer to 1960 as a turning point because that is when some of the major liberation organisations got tired of trying peaceful methods to change the apartheid government's mind. The leaders of the ANC and the PAC made the decision to turn to armed struggle.

Imagine: In the 1970s and 1980s, listening to the radio could be a crime. Radio Freedom was the propaganda arm of the ANC. It called for people to fight apartheid in many different ways. It broadcast from Lusaka in Zambia at 19:00 every day of the week. Even though you could be arrested and sentenced to eight years in prison if you were found guilty of listening to Radio Freedom, thousands of people tuned in, including people on the Cape Flats.



If you can, listen to a Radio Freedom broadcast: https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=UHsCMmGMZgg. You will hear the sound of machine gun fire, people singing about uMkhonto we Sizwe, and chants of "Amandla ngawethu!" (Power to the people!). Then a voice says: "This is Radio Freedom, the voice of the African National Conference."



If you want to hear Oliver Tambo, the then president of the ANC, listen to him speaking at a press conference at Lusaka on 2 July 1979: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JxklDrkNQQA



Armed struggle: Political conflict involving weapons. Non-violent resistance: Bringing about change in peaceful ways, including boycotts, peaceful protests, stayaways and go-slows. Propaganda: Information that is presented in a way to try to make people believe something.

Source 11: Oliver Tambo



Oliver Reginald Tambo, who served as President of the African National Congress (ANC) from 1967 to 1991. "The bells that rang in the new year were, for us, a call to battle ... we make this bold assertion ... based on our unflinching commitment to fight with all our might, making all the necessary sacrifices, until victory is ours."

Message by Oliver Tambo to the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the 73rd anniversary of the ANC, 8 January 1985, https://www. sahistory.org.za/archive/message-oliver-tambo-nationalexecutive-committee-african-national-congress-71st



Assertion: Claim.

Unflinching: Not giving up.

Activity 10: Radio Freedom

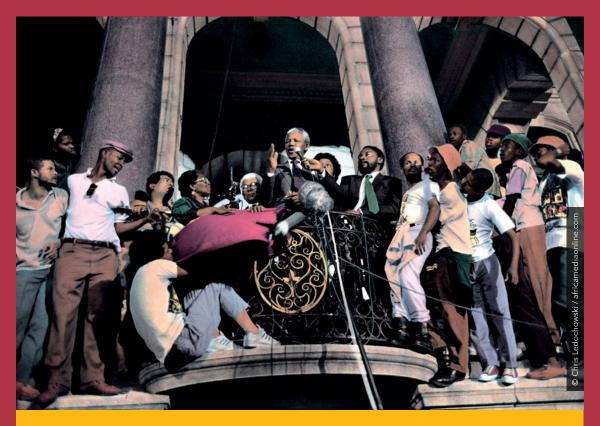
Do this activity on your own.

- Read the extract from one of Tambo's speeches above.
- Imagine you had been listening to this speech on Radio Freedom from your home on the Cape Flats or in the domestic quarters in a suburb where you had to live as a domestic worker. How would it make you feel?
- Explain why historians say that 1960 was one of the turning points in South African history.

Nelson Mandela's release from prison

Now we get to the second turning point in this section - 1990, the year when Nelson Mandela was released from prison. From then on, it was clear that apartheid was over, and the new South Africa would be born. Nelson Mandela gave his first speech as a free man from the balcony of the Cape Town City Hall, overlooking the Grand Parade, on 11 February 1990. You can see the plaque near the balcony that commemorates this event.

Source 12: Photograph of Mandela on the City Hall balcony



Nelson Mandela (with Walter Sisulu standing to the left, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela behind, and Cyril Ramaphosa to the right) makes his first speech to the nation from the balcony of the Cape Town City Hall after his release from prison, 1990. Photograph: Chris Ledochowski

For the educator:

This was the first speech Nelson Mandela made having been released after 27 years in prison. He spoke from the balcony of the Cape Town City Hall. There were about 30 000 people gathered in the square (Grand Parade) below listening to him. Depending on your resources and where your school is located, you may have access to several different kinds of sources. It will be best if you read sources 13 and 14 out loud to the learners, trying to recreate some of the atmosphere of that day in 1990 through your expression. Make sure the learners understand what is going on. Have a discussion with them about how different things were in 1990 (e.g. there were no cellphones and no digital cameras).

Source 13: The photographer

For the educator: Make sure that learners know that Chris Ledochowski was a photographer. He worked for Afrapix, which was a photographic collective dedicated to showing what life was like for people in the townships during apartheid.

"We were going to hear Mandela speak after 27 years of silence. I decided to hang around the Parade and get as close as I could to the balcony. That was not easy because there were thousands of people. It was important for me to be in position. I only had one camera and one roll of film."

"My feet weren't even touching the ground because of the pressure of the people. Then I met up with some youths I knew from Tambo Square in Gugulethu. They helped me to get to the best spot. They held me steady like a human tripod. From my roll of film only one picture came out okay."

Chris Ledochowski (adapted), https://issuu.com/capetownpartnership/docs/city_views_july_2013



Nelson Mandela's vehicle arrives at the City Hall on the day of his release on 11 February 1990.

Activity 11: Getting the perfect picture

Do this activity on your own.

 Chris Ledochowski, the photographer who took the picture on page 33, only had one roll of film, so he could not take many pictures. This was the only photograph that he took that day that came out all right. The light was very poor. It was almost night-time. Mandela was very late. It was hard to get a picture with so many people crowding around Ledochowski. Imagine that you are a press photographer who has been sent by your newspaper to cover Mandela's balcony speech. You realise that you only have five pictures left on your film roll. Write down a list of the five photographs you will try to take.

Source 14: The sound engineer

For the educator: Make sure that learners know that Gordon was a sound engineer. He had worked with the UDF* (see Grade 12 lesson plan) and was asked to set up the public address system for Mandela's speech.

"We didn't know when Mandela would appear. There were no cellphones. We had to get information from our comrades who were watching TV in nearby buildings.

By the late afternoon, people had climbed onto buildings and statues, and up trees; the crowd was spilling over onto flatbed trucks and pushing into the city hall.

Next thing, we heard that Mandela had arrived. The security police told us, but we didn't believe them, and then comrades said that it was true. People were pushing and elbowing. It made it hard to connect our public address (PA) system. The voice finally came over the PA. Everyone went quiet.

Afterwards, I found my combi that was parked next to the trucks; it had been crushed by people. When I looked at pictures later on, I could see a little mound of people, and I knew they were standing on my combi."

Steve Gordon (adapted), https://issuu.com/capetownpartnership/docs/city_views_july_2013

Activity 12: Combi-crushing crowd

- How do we know there was a huge crowd from what Gordon says?
- How do we know that it was a day in 1990, and not now in the present?
- What happened to Gordon's combi?
- There was such a big crowd, but when Mandela's voice came through the public address system, everybody became dead quiet. Why?

Source 15: The speech

For the educator: If possible, watch Mandela's speech on YouTube with your learners. You may want to show them some extracts only, probably bits from the beginning, and then again close to the end. You can also find a transcript of his entire speech at https://www.nytimes.com/1990/02/12/world/south-africa-s-new-era-transcript-mandela-s-speech-cape-town-city-hall-africa-it.html. This will be too difficult for the learners, but you could choose some extracts for them in addition to those we have provided in this lesson plan. Note that Mandela mentioned the contribution of Ashley Kriel in his speech.





Nelson Mandela's speech is available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Qj4e_q7_z4

Activity 13: The balcony speech - part 1

- How do you know that thousands of people came to listen to Nelson Mandela?
- What language besides English did Mandela use in his speech, and why?
- What song did the people sing at the end of the speech, and why was this so important in those days? (Hint: Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was not the national anthem in those days.)

Source 16: Mandela and Cape Town

"I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people."

"I extend special greetings to the people of Cape Town, this city which has been my home for three decades ..."

Extracts from Nelson Mandela's balcony speech



Thousands of people on the Grand Parade were part of the historic moment hearing Mandela's speech.

Activity 14: The balcony speech - part 2

- What did Mandela mean when he said that he was not a prophet, but a "humble servant of the people"?
- Why did Mandela say that Cape Town had been his home for three "decades"? (A decade is 10 years, so this means 30 years.)
- Why did so many people come to see and hear Mandela?

Educator's assessment sheet

This assessment sheet should be adapted to the specific tasks of the activity.

Individual skills		
Individual learning skills	Codes/comments	
Answering questions or expressing ideas clearly and correctly:		
LO AS		
LO AS		
LO AS		
Formulating and asking questions		
Following instructions		
Finding the information needed		
Producing legible and creative work		
Managing time well		

Group or pair skills		
Group or pair learning skills	Codes or comments	
Following group or pair rules		
Working co-operatively as part of a group or pair		
Contributing to discussions without dominating		
Listening while another speaks		
Accommodating different points of view		

CAPS codes and percentage bands for recording and reporting

Rating code	Description of competence	Percentage
7	Outstanding achievement	80-100
6	Meritorious achievement	70-79
5	Substantial achievement	60-69
4	Adequate achievement	50-59
3	Moderate achievement	40-49
2	Elementary achievement	30-39
1	Not achieved	0-29

