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Responsible Tourism
Cape Town



GRADE 11



LEARNING MORE FROM LEADERS: NEW FORMS OF RESISTANCE AFTER 1960

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LESSON PLAN OVERVIEW: FOR THE EDUCATOR

Learning more from leaders: New forms of resistance after 1960

Learning area: Social Science (History)		Grade: 11
Curriculum link: Apartheid South Africa 1940s to 1960s		
Learning outcomes (LO): These outcomes are drawn directly from Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS)		Assessment standards (AS) according to CAPS:
LO 1: Historical inquiry		AS 1 to 4
LO 2: Historical concepts		AS 1 to 3
LO 3: Knowledge construction and communication		AS 1 to 3
CONTENT LINKS:		
Looking back at: Grade 9: Memory as resistance: Turning points in the liberation struggle	Current: Grade 11: Apartheid South Africa 1940s to 1960s	Looking ahead to: Grade 12
Context: The activities are designed to introduce learners without (and even those with) access to additional history materials to local leaders of the liberation struggle. The activities will help learners understand the move to armed struggle and sabotage as new forms of resistance. Learners are exposed to new concepts and ideas.		
ASSESSMENT ACTIVITIES		
Activity aims: Learners will understand: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - some of the unique features of apartheid; - one of the strategies used to resist apartheid, especially after the turning point of 1960; and - how the apartheid state responded to resistance. Learners will be able to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - identify cause and effect; - work with historical evidence; - identify when people see things from different points of view; and - use research and investigation to find answers to questions. 		
Classroom organisation: Learners will work alone and in groups.		
Activities: There are five 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		

Learning more from leaders: New forms of resistance after 1960

"There are many people who feel that it is useless and futile for us to continue talking peace and non-violence against a government whose only reply is savage attacks on an unarmed and defenseless people. And I think the time has come for us to consider, in the light of our experiences at this day at home, whether the methods which we have applied so far are adequate."

Nelson Mandela, 1961



© UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archives

This lesson plan will focus on the establishment of the African Resistance Movement (ARM), and some of its members, especially Eddie Daniels. Working through it, you will learn about how new strategies of resistance to apartheid came about during the state of emergency following the Sharpeville shootings and the Langa march in 1960. You will also learn how government responded to attempts to overthrow apartheid.

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

- understand some of the unique features of apartheid;
- understand one of the strategies used to resist apartheid, especially after the turning point of 1960;
- understand how the apartheid state responded to resistance;
- identify cause and effect;
- work with historical evidence;
- identify when people see things from different points of view;
- use research and investigation to find answers to questions;
- work with historical knowledge that is often open-ended, fiercely debated and disputable.



Turning points: Turning points are one of the devices that historians use 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? At what point did it become very hard to turn back, or did people feel they had turned a corner?

Armed struggle and sabotage

As outlined in Grade 9, the Sharpeville massacre and the Langa march were turning points in the history of the liberation struggle. Shortly after these events, government declared a state of emergency. It also passed the Unlawful Organisations Act which banned the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), in effect forcing them to operate underground and in exile.

Both the ANC and PAC formed armed military wings named **uMkhonto we Sizwe** (MK) and **Poqo** respectively. As explained in the Nelson Mandela quote at the start of this lesson plan, the decision to turn to armed struggle was made in response to government's relentless attacks on unarmed people. Between 1961 and 1963, MK attacked over 200 targets, including government buildings and electricity pylons.



The third organisation that embraced the armed struggle, and the subject of this lesson plan, was the National Committee of Liberation (NCL), which was later renamed the African Resistance Movement (ARM). The NCL/ARM was a small group of about 11 people which formed in 1960. Although it aimed to be non-racial, it was a predominantly white organisation. Between 1961 and 1964, the ARM carried out more than 20 acts of sabotage. Government punished its leaders severely, and, in the end, the ARM did not survive.



"Poqo" is Xhosa for "pure" or "alone". The organisation's strategy intentionally involved killings. Its main targets were Langa and Paarl policemen, alleged informants, as well as Transkei chiefs (who were thought to be collaborators of the apartheid regime) and their followers.

(Source: *South African History Online*)

"uMkhonto we Sizwe" is Xhosa for "spear of the nation". Led by Nelson Mandela, the organisation embarked on non-lethal sabotage operations, as this type of resistance "offered the best hope of reconciliation afterwards".

(Source: T. Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, p. 90.)

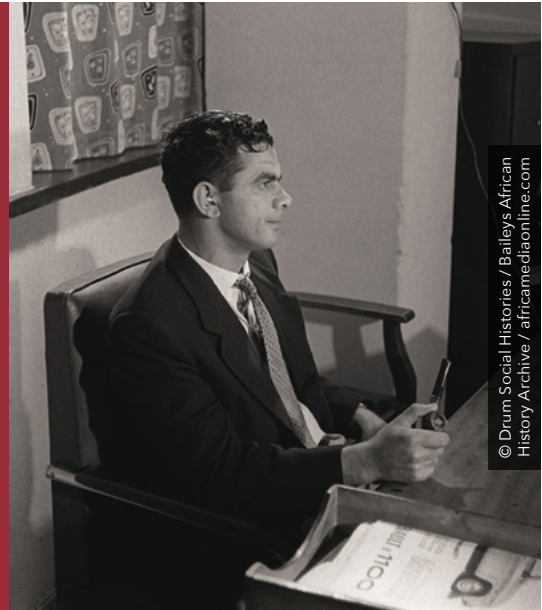
South West Africa (Afrikaans: Suidwes-Afrika; Dutch: Zuidwest-Afrika; German: Südwestafrika) was the name for Namibia when it formed part of South Africa from 1915 to 1990. It was previously known as the colony of German South West Africa (1884 to 1915). However, following Germany's losses in World War I, the British-ruled Union of South Africa was given authority to control South West Africa. Although the United Nations abolished this authority in 1966, South African rule continued until 1990, when the territory became independent as the Republic of Namibia, with the exception of Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands. These, however, were united with the rest of Namibia in 1994.

(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_West_Africa)

The ARM and Edward “Eddie” Daniels

“We recall his loyalty and courage; his sense of humour, and justice, as well as total commitment to the struggle of the prisoners for the eradication of injustice and the betterment of their conditions.”

Nelson Mandela referring to Eddie Daniels in the foreword to *There & Back: Robben Island 1964-1979*



Even though Eddie Daniels was not a member of the ANC, he had a connection with Mandela and with the prison on Robben Island. The quotation above tells us that Mandela knew Daniels well and admired his character traits. Mandela’s mention of “the prisoners” suggests that he and Daniels were on the island at the same time. How did this happen? Why was Daniels imprisoned on Robben Island?

Brief biography of Eddie Daniels

- Eddie Daniels was born in District Six on 25 October 1928.
- He had to leave school at the end of standard 6 (today’s grade 8) because his family did not have enough money for him to continue his schooling.
- He had several jobs. These included working on a whaling ship, being a machine operator at a diamond mine in Oranjemund in the then **South West Africa** (now Namibia), and being a messenger and delivery man.
- He joined the Liberal Party of South Africa.
- In 1961, he joined the NCL, which later became the ARM.
- He participated in ARM’s sabotage activities.
- Eddie was arrested in 1964 and sentenced to 15 years’ imprisonment.
- While in prison, he studied for matric, followed by BA and BCom degrees.
- After imprisonment, he was banned from 1979 to 1983.
- In 1983, Eddie married Eleanor Buchanan. This marriage was in contravention of the Immorality Act, as Eleanor was classified as white and Eddie as coloured.

The establishment of ARM

The NCL was formed in 1960. In May 1964, it was renamed the ARM.

Source 1: The NCL and ARM - Myrtle Berman's story

The non-racial Liberal Party of South Africa believed in non-violent resistance to apartheid. Even so, under the state of emergency that followed the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, 35 of its leaders were arrested and issued with banning orders under the Suppression of Communism Act. Now read what one of its members, Myrtle Berman, had to say about what happened next:

"The idea of the ARM was conceived when both my husband Monty and I were helping with arrangements for activists. We had been doing that for years, and there was a huge (police) file on both of us because, unbelievably now, we had given mixed parties where we had served black people alcohol. We'd also fostered Hugh Masekela, who lived with us."

*"So Monty and I had been arrested under **emergency regulations**, and we'd been sent to prison at **the Fort**, then to Pretoria. Monty was allowed two 20-minute visits with me weekly, but the warders would parade in between a space with bars, listening to our conversations."*

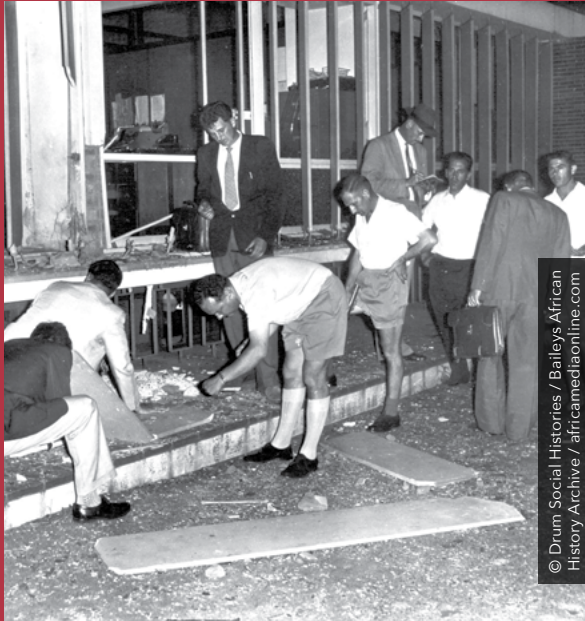
View a photograph of Myrtle Berman here:

www.sahistory.org.za/people/myrtle-berman



The Fort, Johannesburg.

*"We were not allowed to talk politics, but we did manage to converse with some like-minded people, like the activist couple Alan and Beata Lipman. It was only when we came out of prison that we helped form the ARM. We decided as a movement that we would go in for **sabotage**, but absolutely not harm any people because we valued lives, which the apartheid government did not."*



The scene of the bombing at the Johannesburg station on 24 July 1964.

John Harris, a member of ARM, planted a bomb in the Johannesburg station on 24 July 1964. He phoned the police to warn them to clear the station of people. They failed to heed the warning. The bomb exploded, killing one woman and injuring another 23 people.

"We didn't know of John Harris. It was a total shock that one of our people blew something up in the station. We were shattered that one of our basic tenets had been broken. Harris's excuse was that he had warned them. It was totally naive of him to think they wouldn't exploit the situation."

"The events of the bomb were very emotional. They troubled me, very much so. They still do."

(From "It was absolutely against our basic tenets – we valued lives", interview conducted by Janet Smith, *The Star*, 24 July 2014, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/the-star-early-edition/20140724/281870116566486>)



Emergency regulations: After the Sharpeville massacre, government declared a state of emergency (on 26 August 1960) and issued emergency regulations. These regulations allowed the police to detain anyone, supposedly for reasons of public safety, without putting them on trial. (For more information, go to <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/states-emergency-south-africa-1960s-and-1980s>)

The Fort: A prison in Johannesburg.

Sabotage: The deliberate disruption or obstruction of someone or something.

Tenet: Principle or belief.

Naive: Gullible, childlike or ignorant.

Activity 1:

- What crimes did Myrtle and Monty commit, according to the apartheid government? What apartheid laws did they contravene? What does this teach us about the law under an unjust system?
- How do you know that Myrtle and Monty did not support racism?
- How do you think Myrtle, Monty, Alan and Beata were able to discuss their plans for fighting apartheid even though the warders patrolled up and down, listening to their conversations? (This is an open question. We do not know the answer, and the class can share their ideas. For instance, did the two couples use code or a secret language?)
- What reason does Myrtle give for the ARM's decision not to use violence against people?
- Why does Myrtle think that John Harris broke one of ARM's tenets?
- What does she think of John Harris saying that he had warned the police about the station bomb, but that the police ignored the warning?
- Based on what you have read, and by studying her photograph, what kind of person do you think Myrtle Berman was?
- Do you think Myrtle Berman should have been sent to prison?
- John Harris was arrested, tried and sentenced to death. He was executed on 1 April 1965. Do you think he should have received the death sentence?



For more about Myrtle Berman, see Terry Bell, *Death of a largely unsung heroine*, <https://terrybellwrites.com/2016/12/09/death-of-a-largely-unsung-heroine/>

The nature of ARM

Source 2: What kind of organisation was ARM?

Read the following document announcing the ARM's establishment:

"Document 79 – African Resistance Movement Announcement (1964)

1. The African Resistance Movement (ARM) announces its formation in the cause of South African freedom. ARM states its dedication and commitment to achieving the overthrow of the whole system of apartheid and exploitation in South Africa. ARM aims to assist in establishing a democratic society in terms of the basic principles of socialism.
2. We salute other revolutionary freedom movements in South Africa. In our activities this week, we particularly salute the men of Rivonia and state our deepest respect for their courage and efforts. While ARM may differ from them and other groups in the freedom struggle, we believe in the unification of all forces fighting for the new order in our country. We have enough in common.
3. The time for talking is past. [In other words, by then, peaceful protest was no longer considered effectual.] The present regime and its supporters, internal and foreign, have shown that they are not prepared to respond in any way to the peaceful demands of the people of South Africa for full participation in all aspects of the political, economic and social life of the country. Instead, oppression has increased.
4. ARM does not only talk. ARM acts. ARM has acted. ARM has declared and will declare itself through action. This is the only language our rulers understand. And ARM, with other freedom forces will harry [meaning "persistently attack"] and resist the oppressors until they are brought to their knees.
5. White South Africa has often been given the opportunity to align itself with progress. It has constantly refused to do so. It has sought only to build for itself on the backs of the people a comfortable bastion of profit power and privilege.
6. ARM declares its fight not against the whites as such, but against the system they so jealously defend. ARM will avoid taking life for as long as possible. ARM would prefer to avoid bloodshed and terrorism. But let it be known that if we are forced to respond to personal violence – and we cannot forget decades of violence, torture, starvation and brutality against us – we shall do so where it hurts most. We will not cease until the present vicious system and rule by force is crushed. ARM does not wish to see one form of domination replaced by another. It works for a full political and social revolution.
7. To Verwoerd, Vorster and their men, we say; you will NEVER stop the pulse of the new society, which even now beats in our factories and cities, our mines and farms – and YOU KNOW IT.
8. To the people of South Africa, we say; ARM NOW FOR FREEDOM"

(From Alison Drew, *South Africa's Radical Tradition, a documentary history, Volume 2, 1943-1964*, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Resistance_Movement)

Activity 2:

- **Paragraph 1:** Why did the authors of this document say that ARM was aiming to overthrow the whole system of “apartheid and exploitation”? (Hint: Have a look at what they say about socialism at the end of the paragraph, and make sure you know what the basic principles of socialism are.)



Socialism: Theories of socialism were developed in opposition to the capitalist system. Socialists tried to develop an economic and social system that would be fairer than capitalism. Under capitalism, only a few rich individuals or corporations own or control all the resources needed to make more money. Socialists wanted to abolish this kind of private ownership so that everybody could be equal. There have been many attempts to establish different forms of socialism in various countries across the world. ARM believed that it was not only apartheid that was wrong, but also capitalism, which it argued caused the majority of the people in South Africa to be exploited so that they remained poor and powerless.

*** Educator guidance will be needed here. Learners often struggle to understand the notion of socialism.**

- **Paragraph 2:** Who were the “men of Rivonia”? (Hint: Look at the date of the announcement.)
- **Paragraph 3:** What does ARM mean when it says that the “time for talking is past”?
- **Paragraph 4:** What effect are the authors of the document trying to create with these very short sentences? “ARM does not only talk. ARM acts. ARM has acted.”
- **Paragraph 5:** Why do you think the authors refer to “white South Africa”, and not “white South Africans”? (Hint: Look at paragraph 6.)
- **Paragraph 6:** The ARM authors say they are not against certain people, but against
- **Paragraph 6:** Do the ARM authors think that the state has been practising violence? What are the different ways in which the ARM interprets or understands violence?
- **Paragraph 6:** What does this paragraph tell you about ARM’s strategy?
- **Paragraph 7:** Who were Verwoerd and Vorster?
- **Paragraph 7:** What are the authors of this document telling Verwoerd and Vorster?
- **Paragraph 7:** What are the authors of the document saying to “the people of South Africa”?

Eddie Daniels and ARM's acts of sabotage

Source 3: ARM and sabotage

The NCL/ARM did not want to hurt people. They aimed to commit acts of sabotage. The members of ARM were mostly white, but some people who joined ARM came from other organisations that opposed apartheid, such as the ANC Youth League and the South African Communist Party. Their first meeting was held in Cape Town in May 1962. Here they decided on the structures they would have in their organisation. They decided not to have a leader.

ARM received money from the Ghanaian government. They also stole dynamite and explosives from mines. They once stole 160 kg of dynamite from a coal bank near what was then known as Witbank (now Emalahleni). British mathematician Denis Higgs and Robert Watson, a former British army officer, trained members to use explosives. ARM committed several successful acts of sabotage on electricity pylons in Johannesburg and Cape Town in the early 1960s. They also damaged four signal cables at Cape Town railway station in September 1963. In November of that year, some ARM members used a hacksaw to cut the legs of a pylon in Johannesburg and caused a blackout in the city's eastern suburbs.

Eddie Daniels was involved in an attempt to destroy an FM broadcasting tower in Constantia in Cape Town, but he lost his revolver. The next time they tried, the bomb failed to explode.

(Source: www.sahistory.org.za/topic/african-resistance-movement-arm)

Activity 3:

- What kinds of sabotage did ARM undertake? Why did they try to destroy pylons, signal stations and the FM tower?
- Why do you think the Ghanaian government gave ARM money?
- Why do you think ARM members' attempts to blow up pylons often failed, as did their attempt to destroy the FM tower?
- What did Eddie Daniels do?

Adrian Leftwich

Source 4: The man who gave it all away



Second from left: Adrian Leftwich, a leading anti-apartheid activist, who turned state witness.

The police were able to arrest many members of ARM because one of their members, Adrian Leftwich, gave them the names of his colleagues.

Adrian Leftwich was only 24 when he joined ARM. Looking back on his time in ARM, he said that he had joined the organisation because of his frustration with apartheid, but also that *"there was excitement in the secret danger of the work, and I was flattered to have been asked to join the organisation. Maybe membership of it gave me a sense of self-importance, even of worth"*.

When police raided his flat in Cape Town, they found a training manual for explosives. They went away for 15 minutes and then returned to arrest Leftwich. Later, he would often wonder why he had waited for them to return. Why had he not run away? He was arrested and detained under the 90-day law.

The police interrogator beat him up and threatened him with the death sentence, especially after John Harris's bomb went off at the station in Johannesburg. Leftwich said: "I just caved in. I spilled the beans." He told the police the names of all his ARM colleagues in Cape Town and Johannesburg, including one of his best friends, Hugh Lewin. Leftwich later said he had felt very cowardly. Other people suffered much worse at the hands of the police when they were in detention.

"It was much less what was done to me in detention, and much more the encounter with myself that brewed the acid that stripped me," Leftwich said.

He left South Africa after the trial where he was state witness, and never returned.

"I have often wondered why we do not know how we will react. Is it because we do not know ourselves sufficiently well?" he said. He tried to apologise to all those he had betrayed, but one of his friends told him: "No, it was not okay at all. Whatever the pressures were, it was not okay to behave like that."

(From Rebecca Davis, "Adrian Leftwich, The Unforgiven", *Daily Maverick*, 22 April 2013, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-04-22-adrian-leftwich-the-unforgiven>)

Activity 4:

- What reasons did Adrian Leftwich give for joining ARM?
- Do you think he was sorry that he betrayed his friends to the police?
- What did he mean by this? "It was much less what was done to me in detention, and much more the encounter with myself that brewed the acid that stripped me." (Hint: In other words, what very hard truth did he learn about himself?)
- Do you know how you would react if you were in Adrian Leftwich's shoes in detention?
- Do you think his friend who told him that what he had done was "not okay at all" was right to say this after he had apologised?

Mandela and Eddie Daniels on Robben Island

Source 5: Eddie Daniels on Robben Island, and thereafter

Eddie Daniels was charged with sabotage and found guilty with one other co-accused on 17 November 1964. Daniels was sentenced to 15 years in prison. His co-accused was white and was therefore sent to prison in Pretoria for 10 years only, whereas Daniels was transported to Robben Island.

He remembered the *"harrowing journey in a dark hold on a small boat. I landed on the island, a lonely, frightened individual"*.

Daniels doubted that he would survive on the island for 15 years, but then he met Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki and others. Daniels recalled: *"At the end of my first day of hammering large slabs of slate into gravel, I was making my way to the common bathroom when my progress was barred by a big man. I looked up and recognised Nelson Mandela. I said: 'Good afternoon, Mr Mandela.' He offered me his hand and said: 'The name is Nelson. Welcome.'"*

Daniels said that, after that, he and Mandela would once a week spend the day together at the quarry *"just chatting about our respective lives, the struggle and our future hopes for our country"*.

"A member of my organisation [ARM], John Harris, was executed on the gallows on 1 April 1965 for anti-apartheid activities. He went to the gallows singing 'We Shall Overcome'. I organised illegally, in prison, a commemoration ceremony as a salute to the memory of John. Mandela spoke at this ceremony, and among his remarks were the words 'Here is a white man who died fighting apartheid', emphasising the fact that the civil war in South Africa was a non-racial one."

Daniels made a plan for Mandela to escape from the island. Daniels passed it on to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, but there was no response.

He also helped hide Mandela's 500-page autobiography in the courtyard on the island.

Mandela said: *"Eddie was to become one of my greatest friends in prison."*

Mandela described him as *"honest, very humble and very helpful indeed"*.

Eddie was offered an early release from prison. Judge Jan Steyn visited him several times, trying to persuade him to promise not to resort to violence again if he were released. Judge Steyn said that apartheid was no longer as bad as it had been. But Eddie refused to make any promises, so he ended up serving his full sentence.

When Daniels came off the island, he was issued with several banning orders. He explained:

"One was that I had to report to a particular police station regularly every Wednesday, and the other prevented me from going into schools, into universities, into the airport, into locations, and they sent me to a magisterial area, within the magisterial area I could only be with one person at a time and, oh, a lot of things. My mother lived outside my banning area, actually I couldn't see her legally, so I had to go see her illegally." He was under house arrest from 1979 to 1983.

(From Paul Trewela, *A man of integrity*)

Activity 5:

- What made life on Robben Island better for Eddie Daniels after he had arrived there as a "lonely, frightened individual"?
- What do we learn about Nelson Mandela's character from Daniels's description of their first meeting?
- What do we learn about Eddie Daniels's character from what Mandela said about him and the things Daniels did while he was on the island?
- You will remember from reading source 1 above that Myrtle Berman deeply disapproved of what John Harris had done. Was Daniels's attitude towards Harris the same?
- What "civil war" was Mandela talking about in his speech at the commemoration ceremony for John Harris?
- Do you think that Eddie Daniels's punishment after he came off the island was similar to being in prison?
- If you visit Robben Island, you will be able to imagine what it must have been like there for Eddie Daniels.
- Write a letter to the authorities to request permission to visit Eddie Daniels. List reasons for the visit in your letter.
- There are no commemorative sites for Eddie Daniels. Do you think there should be?
- Work with a partner and prepare an interview with Eddie Daniels or another political prisoner. One of you should be the interviewer and the other a political prisoner.

Select resources

Eddie Daniels, *There & Back: Robben Island 1964-1979* (available at the Robben Island Museum and the District Six Museum)

Baruch Hirson on *SA History Online* (www.sahistory.org.za, "Biographies")

Hugh Lewin, *Stones Against the Mirror*, 2011

Educator's assessment sheet

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

Individual skills	
Individual learning skills	Codes or 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



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