





GRADE 12

CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1970s TO 1980s

Learning from leaders across a range of anti-apartheid organisations.

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Black Sash, Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU), End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and United Democratic Front (UDF), with reference to Liz Abrahams, Mary Burton, Ashley Kriel, Ivan Toms and Nelson Mandela.

Cover image: © Rodger Bosch

LESSON PLAN OVERVIEW: FOR THE EDUCATOR

Civil resistance in South Africa, 1970s to 1980s

Learning area: Social Science (History)	Grade: 12		
Curriculum link: Civil resistance in South Africa, 1970s to 1980s			
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:	Current:		
Grade 9: Turning points and civil resistance	Grade 12: Civil resistance in South Africa,		
Grade 11: Segregation as the foundation for apartheid, and the nature of resistance to apartheid	1970s to 1980s		

Context: The activities are designed to introduce learners without (and even those with) access to additional history materials to civil resistance in the apartheid era. This includes the growing power of the trade union movement, various responses to Botha's "reforms", the ECC and Black Sash, and the international anti-apartheid movement's "Free Mandela" campaign.

ASSESSMENT ACTIVITIES

Activity aims:

Learners will learn to:

- collect information to fill in the broader picture;
- select relevant information;
- analyse and weigh up conclusions reached or opinions about events or people from the past;
- engage in debate about what happened, and how and why it happened;
- use evidence to back up an argument in a systematic way; and
- understand that different persons, communities or countries choose to remember the past in a certain way.

Classroom organisation: Learners will work alone and in groups.

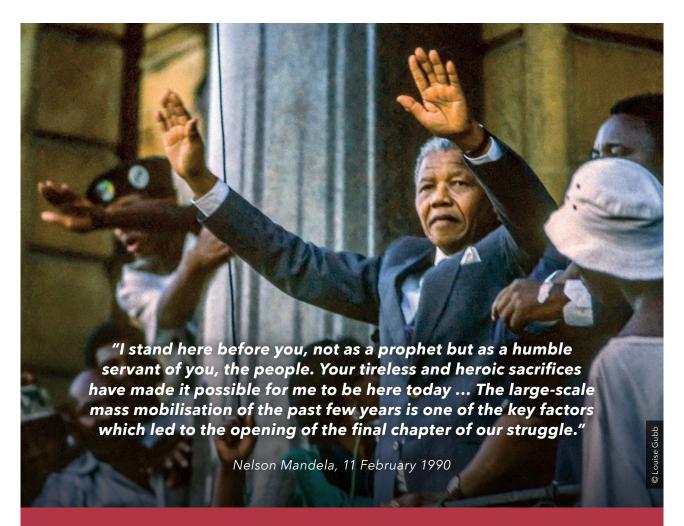
Activities: There are 20 activities in this lesson plan.

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)

Learning from leaders across a range of anti-apartheid organisations



This lesson will focus on:

- the growing power of the trade union movement in the 1970s to 1980s:
- the responses to Botha's "reforms", the pledge to make South Africa "ungovernable", and the UDF/ Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), ECC and Black Sash; and
- the international anti-apartheid movement's "Free Mandela" campaign.

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

- collect information to fill in the broader picture;
- select relevant information;
- analyse and weigh up conclusions reached or opinions about events or people from the past;
- engage in debate about what happened, and how and why it happened;
- use evidence to back up an argument in a systematic way; and
- understand that different persons, communities or countries choose to remember the past in a certain way.

Elizabeth 'Nanna' Abrahams (Liz Adrian Abrahams)

After Liz Abrahams's death in 2008, the African National Congress (ANC) in the Western Cape said she had served as a "moral compass" for activists around her, including Chris Hani, Archie Sibeko, Vivian Mathee, Abe and Myrtle Maart, and Oscar Mpetha. They saw her as the epitomy of "dedication, discipline, humility and honesty".

Liz Abrahams (born Josephs) was a trade unionist and anti-apartheid activist in the Western Cape. After her death in 2008, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) spokesperson Patrick Craven said: "She was a dedicated fighter for the rights of workers and women. We must build on the strong foundations laid down by stalwarts like Comrade Liz, carry on the great work she devoted her life to, and make sure that she will always be remembered."

(Source: https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-veteran-rights-activists-dies-429314)

"There was never a moment in my life that I said, no, it's too much - I'm going to give up. I feel that I have contributed something, because there are some good things that came out of our fight - not only for me, but also for the people with whom I have worked. Of course, the sacrifices were there, but I must admit the burden was not too heavy. If I had to do it all over again to improve people's lives, I would do it from A to Z."

Liz Abrahams

(Source: https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/elizabeth-adriana-nanna-abrahams)

Brief biography of Liz Abrahams:

- 1. Born Liz Josephs in Paarl, Western Cape, on 19 September 1925.
- 2. Attended Bethanie School.
- 3. Moved to Cape Town for her father's health. Father became a gravedigger in the Observatory cemetery.
- **4.** Father died of tuberculosis shortly after the move, and Liz had to drop out of school at the age of 14 to help her mother support their family. Worked at a fruit canning factory with her mother.
- 5. Liz's mother became ill, so Liz had to work full-time. There were eight children to support.
- 6. Joined the FCWU, which was formed in 1941, and Liz soon became an executive member.
- 7. Became acting FCWU general secretary when the leader was banned in 1956.
- 8. Also became Western Cape secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and belonged to the Coloured People's Congress (CPC) and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW).

- 9. Banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1964.
- 10. Started with undercover work after the banning order expired.
- 11. Organised the 1979 Fattis & Monis strike in Bellville, which lasted seven months.
- **12.** Assisted Ray Alexander and hid uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers in her home in the 1980s.
- **13.** Joined UDF when it started in 1983. Was detained in Paarl and then Pollsmoor prison for her activities.
- 14. Elected to Parliament in 1995.
- 15. Awarded the Order of the Counsellor of the Baobab in 2002. She also received many other awards and accolades, including the ANC Western Recognition award (2002), the FAWU Ray Alexander award (2002), the COSATU Elijah Barayi award (2005), the Western Cape Provincial Parliament award for women in the struggle (2006), the Western Cape Provincial Parliament award for her contribution to the liberation of South Africa (2007) and an honorary doctorate in Commerce from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) (2007).
- 16. Died on 17 December 2008.

See a picture and more information about Liz Abrahams here: https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/elizabeth-adriana-nanna-abrahams

Source 1: Liz as a factory worker

"I was 14 years old when I started working as a seasonal worker. At the time that my mother started to work in the factory, the conditions were very, very bad because there was no union yet ... I always listened to her saying that there's no sitting place, no cloakrooms, and that they must eat their lunch out in the fields.

I worked at first in the cutting department, but it was very tiring, because you had to stand the whole day. At that time, we didn't have lunch hours, we didn't have breaks, and there were no benefits. The employer could pay you whatever they wanted to.

The Food and Canning Workers' Union was established in 1941 and was open to all races. We had African members, we had Indian members, and we had European members. We had one committee representing ALL the workers. Things improved a little once the union got recognition. Employers could not refuse to meet us to discuss worker issues once we were registered as a union."

(Source: Liz Abrahams, *Married to the Struggle* (memoir), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256005219_Married_to_the_Struggle_-_'Nanna'_Liz_Abrahams_Tells_Her_Life_Story)

Activity 1:

Answer the following questions:

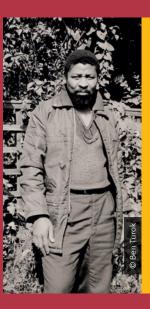
- Why did Liz have to work when she was only 14 years old?
- Why did Liz think that the conditions at the factory where her mother worked were so bad when she started in 1940?
- What can you gather about the conditions in the factory from Liz's description above?
- Why does Liz think conditions improved later on?
- Why did she emphasise that there had been only one committee that represented ALL the workers?
- Why do you think she decided to call her memoir Married to the Struggle?

Source 2: Helping a fugitive

Liz helped Archie (Archibald Mncedisi) Sebeko, a trade unionist and anti-apartheid activist, to hide from the police after he was arrested in 1961.

This is what Archie said:

"Liz Abrahams was responsible for me for at least a month. It was a risky job because had she been discovered, she would have been imprisoned for long years. She moved me frequently, mostly keeping me in farmworker compounds, but once I was in a house in a canning factory compound, right opposite a police station."



Archibald Mncedisi Sebeko's political activities started in the 1950s. He worked alongside political leaders such as Ray Alexander, Liz Abrahams, Elizabeth Mafekeng and Chris Hani. In 1961, Archie was arrested with Chris Hani for their involvement in the armed wing of the ANC, uMkontho we Sizwe (MK).

Activity 2:

Answer this question:

• What do we learn about Liz Abrahams from reading Archie Sebeko's memories of how she helped him to escape from the police?

Source 3: Unions and the apartheid government

"In the 1960s, our union was hardest hit of all the unions because all our organisers, all our secretaries and all our presidents were banned. At the time, almost all our people were banned from top to bottom because they said that our union was a red union, we were influenced by the **communists**, just because we won't hide anything from the workers, just because we discussed any law that affected the workers in our meetings. Of course, the employers didn't like it, and the government said we are a union that is near to the Communist people."

(Source: "Lizzy Adrian (Nanna) Abrahams", *History Online*, https://www.bing.com/search?q=Liz+Adrian+AbraHAMS+UNIONS&src=IE-SearchBox&FORM=IESR4N)



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The Suppression of Communism Act 44 of 1950: This act not only banned the Communist Party of South Africa, but also made it illegal to promote communism. "Communism" had such a broad meaning in the act that it was easy to be considered a communist. According to the act, communism referred to any scheme that aimed to bring about change through "disturbance or disorder", or any act that was thought to be encouraging hostility between "European" and "non-European" races.

(See "Suppression of Communism Act, No 44 of 1950, approved in Parliament", https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/suppression-communism-act-no-44-1950-approved-parliament)

Activity 3:

Discuss these questions with the rest of your class:

- According to Abrahams, why did the apartheid government ban so many of the officials of the FCWU?
- Why did the employers not like what the FCWU was doing?
- Do you think these employers were on the same side as the apartheid government?

Source 4: Remembering the union

"Us women were always upfront. We led and the men were very supportive. But often we had to explain to them why we were doing this or that. Husbands were one problem. Fear of dismissal was another. Husbands were not happy about their wives going to meetings on a Sunday. In those days, there weren't as many strikes like now because the fear of dismissals was greater, and work was even scarcer.

We had to walk home at night but if any worker saw anyone interfere with me, they would say: "Leave her alone, that's our Mama Union."

(Source: "Liz Abrahams: Veteran Trade Unionist", SA History Online, https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/liz-abrahams-veteran-trade-unionist-speak-johannesburg)

Activity 4:

Answer these questions:

- Why were the women "always upfront"? (Hint: Who do you think the workers in the canning factory were?)
- Why did women members of the union sometimes have problems with their husbands?
- Why did Abrahams feel confident about walking home at night after union meetings?
- What does this tell us about women's roles in the struggle and at home?

Source 5: Fattis & Monis boycott 1979

"In March 1979, the workers petitioned the Union to negotiate for better wages and conditions of service, including a R40 per week minimum wage and a 40-hour working week (starting wages were about R17 for women and R19 for men). The Union set out its case to F&M [Fattis & Monis] ...

F&M did not respond favourably to the Union's demands, and the Union applied on 12 April 1979 for the appointment of a Conciliation Board to force management to negotiate ...

According to the Union, on 19 April, Management called workers of the milling section and told them they would have to choose between the Union and the liaison committee which he [Management] had recently started and 'if they chose the Union there would be difficulties ahead for them'.

[Then 88 workers were dismissed.] F&M believes the workers were striking illegally and were therefore dismissed after proper warning.

By the end of May, many organizations supported **boycott** action against F&M. These included black traders, teachers, students and pupils, the South African Council of Sport (SACOS), trade unions, the Labour Party and Inkatha with the South African Black Alliance (Saba), churches, women's organizations, white students, etc.

The boycott of F&M products lasted for seven months, and F&M had to settle. The Company had to recognize the Union's right to negotiate, had to re-employ dismissed workers and was not allowed to reduce wages. The settlement did also say that the workers and the Union were not to pursue new wage demands for one year. But the Company had to agree to no dismissals for one year, except for intoxication or theft, and to work out careful procedures for dismissals in the future in consultation with the Union."

(Source: James Leatt, "Fattis and Monis Dispute", 1980. https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/archive-files2/resep81.8.pdf and https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/fattis-and-monis-strike)



Conciliation board: A specially appointed body that helps the parties to an industrial dispute (in this case, the union members and Fattis & Monis) to resolve their differences before a strike action.

Boycott: The non-violent and intentional refusal to buy from or deal with an organisation, person or country as a way of protest.

Source 6: Leaflet calling for the boycott

WE DO NOT BUY FATTIS AND MONIS PRODUCTS!

Products:

Record Flour (Selfraising, cake, breadflour, sifted, unsifted, wheatie Treat flour). All Fattis and Monis brand name products, including: ice cream cones, wafers, cake cups, macaroni, spaghetti, large and small shells, Pot-o-Gold, Princess, Checkers and Roma pasta products! Goldland mealie meal.

Fattis and Monis Bakeries sell Manna and Eleys bread.

SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH THE FOOD AND CANNING WORKERS UNION!

(Source: Historical papers, University of the Witwatersrand)

Activity 5:

Answer the first two questions on your own, and then discuss the rest with your classmates:

- Why did Fattis & Monis think they would win at first?
- Why do you think so many organisations and groups joined the Fattis & Monis boycott?
- Why do you think the boycott was an effective strategy?
- Look at all the products made by Fattis & Monis listed in the leaflet above. Do you think it was hard for people not to be able to buy these things? Discuss with your classmates what you would find the hardest thing to boycott.
- Have another look at the leaflet. We wouldn't call it a very effective leaflet today. Back then, however, the people who made it did not have digital media. Redesign the leaflet by either using a digital programme or making use of group members' drawing, design and writing skills.
- In what way could boycotts and strikes be considered part of the struggle against apartheid?

Educators could adapt or expand this activity to explore bus boycotts and consumer boycotts (such as against Rowntree's) that were also pivotal in the Cape.

Mary Burton and the Black Sash



"But few people will deny that, in spite of its relatively small numbers, the impact of the Sash is quite formidable, and that it has emerged as one of the forces which help to focus attention on those social issues which are shattering the lives of so many people. It is giving a bold lead on how these problems can be concretely tackled and, in this way, it helps to bring a measure of relief and hope to many victims of a degrading social order."

Nelson Mandela, 1985

Brief biography of Mary Burton:

- 1. Born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on 19 January 1940. The family moved to Brazil in 1952, where she attended a school for English-speaking children.
- 2. Met her South African husband, Geoffrey, on a skiing trip in Austria in 1958.
- 3. Married Geoffrey in Brazil and moved to South Africa.
- 4. Started soup kitchens in poor areas.
- 5. Learned more about apartheid and joined the Black Sash in 1965.
- 6. Took part in her first protest at Kalk Bay in 1965 when government wanted to proclaim the fishing village a 'white' area.
- 7. Also played a central role in protests against the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Bill in the mid-1970s. Participated in an overnight vigil with members of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee at St George's Cathedral to highlight the plight of children in jail in 1987. Worked in Black Sash advice office.
- 8. Was national president of the Black Sash between 1986 and 1990.
- 9. Served as Western Cape provincial electoral officer for the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in 1994.
- **10.** Was elected as one of 17 people who served on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).
- 11. Was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 2011.
- 12. Wrote The Black Sash: Women for Justice and Peace (2015).

Source 7: Protests by white women

If you can, watch the 1961 demonstrations against apartheid when Verwoerd was prime minister on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0PU94H8570E&feature=youtu.be).

In 1965, Mary Burton and several other white women stood silently along the main road in Kalk Bay with black sashes draped across their bodies. Burton said later that, for her, the sounds of the waves and the shouts of the fishermen coming in with their catches underlined "the cruelty and stupidity" of breaking up the lives of people who depended on the sea to make a living.



A Black Sash protest against the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill in the early 1960s, Johannesburg.

(Source: Helen Swingle, *Black Sash: The silent sisterhood that haunted a government*, https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2015-07-27-black-sash-the-silent-sisterhood-that-haunted-a-government)

Activity 6:

Answer these questions:

- What do you notice about the women in the YouTube video? What do their placards say?
- What connection did Mary Burton make between the sounds of the waves, the shouts of the fishermen and the Group Areas Act?

Source 8: Origins of the Black Sash

The Black Sash started out as the Women's Defence of the Constitution League. In 1955, its founders included Jean Sinclair, Ruth Foley, Elizabeth McLaren, Tertia Pybus, Jean Bosazza and Helen Newton-Thompson.



One of the first meetings of the Black Sash in 1955 was addressed by Jean Sinclair, the national chair of the organisation, then called the Women's Defence of the Constitution League.

It began as a tea party attended by six women. They decided to protest against the Separate Representation of Voters Bill, which government was planning on using to get coloured people taken off the common voters' roll. The women believed that what government was doing was against the spirit of the 1910 Constitution.





On 17 May 1959, women of the Black Sash participated in a demonstration announcing "The Death of our Parliament". The demonstration was against the National Party (NP) government's Senate Act, which increased Senate members from 49 to 89. This gave the NP a majority in Parliament, which enabled them to easily eliminate certain legislative clauses. The picture above shows some of the women, who took shifts to stand guard around a model guillotine (far left) and a cut-out board of the prime minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd that they had labelled "Chief Executioner".

Black Sash members thought of themselves as a silent sisterhood. Their black sashes were meant to show that they were mourning the death of the 1910 Constitution. Their strategy was to "haunt" Cabinet ministers. They waited for them outside railway stations, airports or official functions. They were not allowed to wear their sashes in the public gallery in Parliament, so they wore black gloves.



Sewing black sashes for the Women's Defence of the Constitution League.

When government outlawed public meetings, Black Sash women would stand in public holding placards by themselves. Many white members of public were highly irritated by the Black Sash and used to shout insults at them.

The Black Sash worked with other anti-apartheid organisations, such as the UDF, FEDSAW and the ECC. (Source: www.sahistory.org.za/article/black-sash)



Activity 7:

Discuss these questions with the rest of your class:

- The women of the Black Sash said their aim was to "haunt" Cabinet ministers in the apartheid government. In what ways do you think they were like ghosts? (Hint: There are at least three reasons in source 8.)
- Why do you think many white members of public were irritated by the Black Sash protests?
- What has been one of the latest Black Sash campaigns in the past five years? How does this continue the legacy of protecting the rights of those most vulnerable?

Source 9: Why is it important to know this history?



If you can, watch the SABC interview with Mary Burton after she published her book on the Black Sash: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jNHZMzj7SUQ

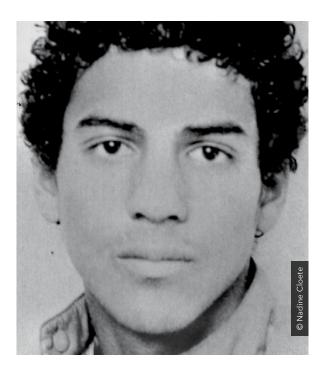
Activity 8:

Discuss these questions with the rest of your class:

- In the interview, Mary Burton says that when she first came to South Africa, she had "a lot of questions" about apartheid. How did she find some of the answers to these questions?
- Burton also says that it is important for young people to know this history. Do you agree with her? Why, or why not?

Additional resources Black Sash Our History: https://blacksash.org.za/index.php/our-legacy/history-of-the-black-sash Who's who Mary Burton: www.whoswhosa.co.za Author of "The Black Sash" Mary Burton LIVEI: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jNHZMzj7SUQ South African Truth & Reconciliation Talk with Mary Burton: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m1qi9c1GY1E Mary Burton, one of the 17 members of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, speaks about her relationship with the ending of apartheid and the Black Sash: http://www.bigwidetalk.org/node/1022 Manuscripts and archives to view the Black Sash collection

Ashley Kriel



"Ashley was an undoubted radical - he believed that the creation of a humane, South African society, and this came from his own very personal experience of poverty care and the pittance of a wage his single mother earned as an exploited 'tea-girl' in a factory.'

Dr Robbie van Niekerk, director and professor of Social Policy at the Institute of Social and Economic Research

(Source: https://www.thejournalist.org.za/ art/action-kommandant-documenting-thelife-and-struggle-of-ashley-kriel/)

Brief biography of Ashley Kriel:

- 1. Born on 17 October 1966.
- 2. Father was killed when Ashley was six years old.
- 3. Grew up in Bonteheuwel on the Cape Flats, which was one of the places those who had been forcibly removed from District Six had to resettle.
- 4. Attended primary school at Central Park Primary in Bonteheuwel.
- 5. Started secondary school at Bonteheuwel High in 1981, transferred to Athlone High the next year, and then back again to Bonteheuwel.
- 6. Started an alternative to gangs along with two friends in the 1980s. It was called the "GAP Brotherhood" ("G" for Gavin, "A" for Ashley and "P" for Paul).

Source 10: From cool cat to guerrilla fighter

When Ashley and his friends started GAP, they wanted it to be an alternative to the gangs in their neighbourhood. They wanted to give other kids a "gap" so that they could become "cool cats" rather than criminals.

Ashley was very good at maths and science at school, and also did very well in English, although he was Afrikaans-speaking. His teachers thought he was an excellent student.

When Mandela visited the missionary village of Genadendal in 1995, he held up Ashley as an example. Ashley attended the Moravian Church youth camp in 1984. Mandela said that youth should follow Ashley's example in fighting racism.

Ashley played an important part in forming the Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress, which co-ordinated the activities of the learner representative councils of a number of schools, and the Bonteheuwel Youth Movement, which was an affiliate of the Cape Youth Congress.

Ashley was a good student and a role model for his peers. How did he end up dying a bloody death at the hands of a policeman?

https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/ashley-james-kriel

Source 11: The Bonteheuwel Military Wing

Bonteheuwel is a coloured township that became known as a **militant** area in the second half of the 1980s, not least because of the activities of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW). The idea of forming "a militant body to co-ordinate and intensify the revolutionary activities, especially at the Bonteheuwel high schools", came from Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress (BISCO) members, including Ashley Kriel. BMW would co-ordinate all militant and violent actions at the schools during the day, and would spearhead similar activities on the streets after school hours.

It is estimated that more than 100 members were involved in the BMW's networks at the height of its activities. Operating in small cells, the BMW comprised several types of units that adopted increasingly sophisticated "urban **guerrilla**" strategies. Groups of youths participated in stone throwing and street barricading. Twenty members, divided into five units of four people each, were the "gunmen" who carried out most of the more serious attacks of arson and raids on people and homes. There were also support units responsible for organising safehouses, money and the supply of arms and ammunition. One home virtually became a factory for zip guns.

Links to the UDF, ANC and MK

There is little evidence to suggest that the formation of the BMW was part of a strategy of the UDF regional structures in the Western Cape. However, there is evidence that the process was welcomed and endorsed at a local level. The TRC noted that young people were very aware and conscious of the BMW.

Members of the BMW established links with the ANC and MK. Several members trained in exile and then returned to the Bonteheuwel area. Others were recruited into various MK cells in the Western Cape. During 1986, an MK operative known as "the General" provided some training and armaments, such as Makarov pistols, limpet mines, grenades and an RPG-7 anti-tank rocket launcher. Short crash courses were organised in various places in the Western Cape. The BMW also sourced arms from local gangsters, or by theft from policemen.

When Ashley Kriel was 20, he went to Angola to receive military training. In 1987, he came back secretly and was killed by police in Athlone.

(Source: TRC final report, page 482, vol 3, chapter 5, subsection 48)



Militant: Combative, warlike and aggressive.

Guerrilla: In warfare, a tactic in which a small, mobile force attacks a large, less mobile force.

Endorsed: Supported.

Activity 9:

Answer these questions:

- Was BMW a big organisation? How many members did it have?
- What did the members of the BMW do? What is meant by "urban guerrilla strategies"?
- Was BMW part of the UDF or other political organisations?
- Why do you think the TRC put this story in their final report? (Hint: What were they trying to explain?)
- Ashley Kriel and his colleagues were very upset by PW Botha's introduction of the Tricameral Parliament. Find out what this was, and say why you think it made Kriel turn to violence.

Source 12: The death of Ashley Kriel



Former policeman Jeffrey Benzien testified before the TRC. Benzien used to torture people who had been arrested for anti-apartheid activities. At the TRC, he admitted to sending electric shocks through people's private parts, and he showed the commissioners how he had used what was called the "wet bag method" of almost suffocating detainees to make them talk. (In the United States, this is called "waterboarding".) Benzien admitted to having killed Ashley Kriel at a house in Athlone, but he claimed that Ashley had pulled out a gun first. Benzien was given amnesty by the TRC in 1999.

Recently, forensic investigator David Klatzow said that the evidence showed that Benzien had not told the truth. It is possible for an expert to see that Ashley was shot at some distance, and that he was shot while his hands were handcuffed behind his back. The Hawks have said that they will reopen the investigation. If they find that Klatzow is right, Benzien may be charged with murder.

(Sources: Marelise van der Merwe, "Ashley Kriel: The Struggle of Memory against Forgetting", Daily Maverick, 14 July 2016, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-07-14-ashley-kriel-the-struggle-of-memory; Gadeeja Abbas, "Hawks Re-Open Ashley Kriel Case", IOL News, 16 March 2016, https://www.colouredsa.co.za/news/ashley-krielstale-finally-hits-home)



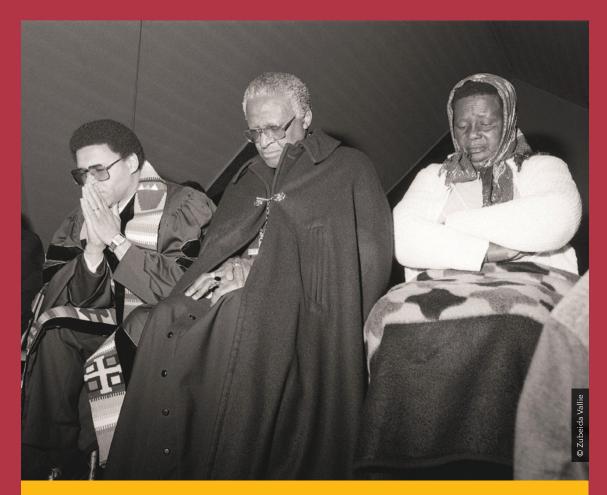
Forensic: Using scientific methods to investigate crime.

Activity 10:

Discuss these questions with your classmates:

- Why do you think Jeffrey Benzien showed the TRC how he had tortured people? (There is no single correct answer here.)
- The TRC gave Benzien amnesty. If the court finds sufficient evidence, do you think Benzien should be charged with murder?

Source 13: Ashley Kriel's funeral



Reverend Allan Boesak, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a mourner at Ashley Kriel's funeral on 18 July 1987 at the Anglican Church in Bonteheuwel.

Ivan Toms



Dr Ivan Toms on his rounds in the suburb of Khayelitsha during the 1990s.

"Toms is a remarkable individual who has always had the courage of his convictions ... He could easily have lived a life of privilege and comfort, but opted instead to reflect on the realities of the country, and to take a bold stand against the injustices he witnessed."

Presidential statement when Ivan Toms received the Order of the Baobab in 2006.

Dr Ivan Toms was a medical doctor, conscientious objector, political prisoner, and founder member and leader of the ECC.

Brief biography of Ivan Toms:

- 1. Born in Cape Town on 11 July 1963.
- 2. Obtained medical degree from UCT in 1976.
- 3. Completed internship at hospital in Kimberley, Northern Cape.
- **4.** Conscripted into the South African Defence Force (SADF) in 1978 for so-called "national service".
- 5. Was a non-combatant doctor in SADF in Namibia.
- **6.** Set up Empilisweni SACLA (South Africa Christian Leadership Assembly) clinic in Crossroads, Cape Town.
- 7. In September 1983, there was a confrontation between the Crossroads community, Administration Board officials and police because residents had put up "illegal structures". Toms witnessed SADF brutality in dealing with residents and decided he would not go back to the army.
- 8. Was founder member of the ECC in 1985.
- 9. Fasted for three weeks at St George's Cathedral in Cape Town in support of ECC's efforts to stop the sending of troops to the townships.
- **10.** In February 1985, forcible removal from Crossroads led to clashes, deaths and injuries. Toms and staff at the clinic attended to the injured.

- 11. In 1986, SADF took control of the clinic.
- 12. In 1987, Toms defied conscription for a so-called SADF camp. He went on public trial and was derided for being homosexual. Anglican bishop David Russell testified on Toms's behalf, supporting his fight against racism and homophobia.
- 13. Sentenced to 21 months' imprisonment in 1988 and spent months as a criminal prisoner in Pollsmoor.
- 14. Became director of the Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organisation (SHAWCO) in 1993.
- 15. Was co-founder of Lesbians and Gays against Oppression, which later became the Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists.
- 16. Became director of City Health in Cape Town in 2002.
- 17. Was awarded Order of Baobab (Bronze) in 2006 for his contribution to the struggle and against apartheid and sexual discrimination.
- 18. Died from meningitis in 2008 at the age of 54.

(Source: www.sahistory.org.za/people/ivan-toms; Ivan Toms obituary, The Guardian, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/apr/10/southafrica)



Dr Ivan Toms protesting and refusing to serve in the SADF because of their brutality towards residents.



Members of the ECC and supporters march on the Grand Parade opposing the call-up.



Conscript: To enlist someone without them having a say in it, typically into the armed services.

Deride: Ridicule, mock.

Source 14: "As a Christian ..."

(a)

After he had seen how brutal the SADF and the police were in Crossroads, Ivan Toms said:

"As a Christian, I am obliged to say no, to say never again will I put on that SADF uniform."

(Source: Ivan Toms obituary, The Guardian, https://www. theguardian.com/world/2008/ apr/10/southafrica and https:// www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2008-03-27-tribute-to-ivan-toms) (b)

Copy of newspaper article by Sydney Duval, "The Doctor in the Cathedral", *The Argus*, 1 October 1985

www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/ inventories/inv_pdfo/AG1977/ AG1977-A15-1-3-002-jpeg.pdf

Activity 11:

Answer these questions:

Source (a):

- Why did Ivan Toms decide not to serve in the SADF ever again?
- The quotation in source (a) comes from an obituary written after Toms's death in 2008. What kind of information about a person do you usually find in an obituary?
- What kind of people's obituaries are published in a newspaper?
- Why would people have wanted to remember Ivan Toms?

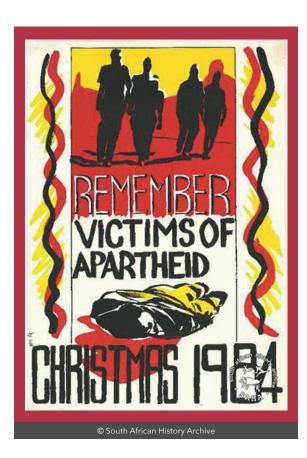
Source (b):

- Look at the photograph in the article from *The Argus*. Where was Toms holding his fast in 1985? Do you think it was scary?
- He had not eaten anything for two weeks when the newspaper article was written. How had this affected Ivan Toms?
- Why did he decide to fast? (Hint: There are two reasons.)
- In the article, Toms is quoted as mentioning a famous person who influenced his ideas on protest. Who was it?

"Forward to freedom": The UDF

As the previous activities showed, new forms of resistance started to emerge in the 1980s. Smaller, popular movements were tied to the broader political movement, which was dominated at the time by the UDF and the labour movement. The UDF was an important umbrella organisation, to which several hundred different kinds of associations and organisations were affiliated. It played a decisive role in putting pressure on the apartheid government, eventually leading to De Klerk's decision to release Mandela and announce the start of negotiations leading to the establishment of a new, democratic South Africa, in which Mandela would play a central part.

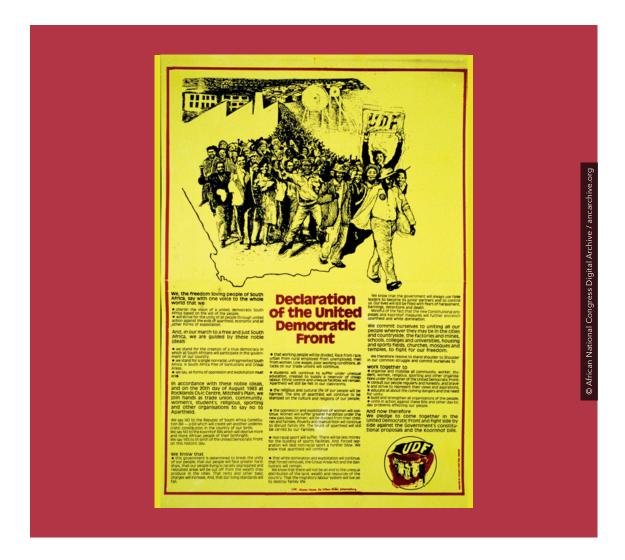
Activity 12: "Remember the Victims of Apartheid" poster



Look at the poster to the left.

- What do you notice about the way the people are shown?
- What makes you think that this poster was made in a hurry?
- How many colours are there in the poster? What do they make you think of?
- What is strange about the combination of the drawing of dead bodies and the wording of the poster?
- What point do you think the poster is trying to make about Christmas in South Africa in 1984?

Activity 13: "Declaration of the UDF" poster



The poster above contains the Declaration of the UDF. It reads:

"We, the freedom-loving people of SA, say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of the people. We will strive for unity of all people through united action against the evils of apartheid ... and in our march to a free and just South Africa, we are guided by these noble ideals, we stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country, we stand for a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa, a South Africa free of Bantustans and Group Areas. We say that all forms of oppression and exploitation must end."

(Source: www.saha.org.za/udf/origins.htm)

- What kind of South Africa did the UDF want?
- The UDF says that it is marching to a "free and just South Africa". Why do you think they chose the image of a march?
- Where are the people shown in the picture on the poster marching from?
- The declaration says that the UDF stands for a "non-racial, unfragmented South Africa". What does "unfragmented" mean? How does the picture in the poster emphasise the idea of something that is not fragmented?
- How was South Africa fragmented in 1983, when the UDF began? Read on to find out.

Botha's "new deal"

In 1982, the president of South Africa, PW Botha, proposed a "new deal". He wanted what he called a "Tricameral Parliament". People classified as coloured, Indian or white would vote separately for racially segregated houses of Parliament. The white Parliament would be the most powerful.

Those classified as Africans would never be considered citizens of South Africa. They would vote only in the so-called independent homelands. In black townships, people would only be allowed to vote for local councillors, and these would fall under the Bantu Administration Board. Only the white electorate was allowed to vote on this deal or "new Constitution", and they ended up voting in favour of it.

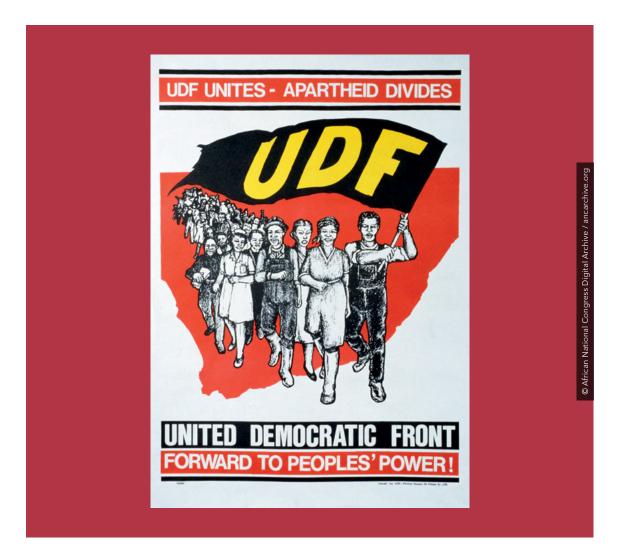
In response, the UDF launched the "Million Signatures" campaign to get people to sign a petition against the deal. Allan Boesak, then president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said: "We cannot accept a 'new deal' that makes apartheid work even better."

What was the UDF?

In August 1983, representatives of 475 organisations from all over South Africa came together in a community hall in Rocklands in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, to form the UDF. Frank Chikane, who played an important role in the founding of the UDF, said that it had marked a turning point. Allan Boesak was the keynote speaker at the event. In the afternoon, Frances Baard opened a public rally. Some 10 000 people attended. Before long, 600 organisations were affiliated to the UDF. There were community-based groups, residents and women's groups, students' groups, church groups and workers. Tricameral elections were held in August 1984 in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. Fewer than 10% of eligible Indians and coloured people voted.

(Source: https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/united-democratic-front-udf)

Activity 14: "Forward to People's Power" UDF poster



- What do you notice about the marching people shown in the poster above? Comment on their dress and gender.
- What do you notice about the banner that says "UDF"? Look at how it is shown in relation to the marchers?
- What is the red background on which they are marching?
- What does the slogan "UDF unites apartheid divides" refer to?
- This poster was made using litho printing. Find out what this is and say why you think the people who made posters for the UDF might have used this method.

Activity 15: "Consumer boycott" poster



This UDF poster above was made to encourage a consumer boycott in the Western Cape in 1985.

- What does the picture suggest?
- What does the slogan "The people shall govern" mean? In what way was this a protest against the government of the time?
- This poster was made using silkscreen printing. Find out what this method is and say why you think the people who made this poster used it.
- These posters were made in a time when ordinary people did not have access to the internet. In what way do you think these posters functioned like today's posts on social media?

Consumer boycott of 1985

The consumer boycott of 1985 was led by the UDF. The UDF wanted the state of emergency to be lifted. The UDF wanted the police and the army to leave the townships, and for all political prisoners and detainees to be freed. The boycott meant not buying from white-owned shops or from people who collaborated with the apartheid regime. COSATU added that they also wanted political rights for all. The boycott began in small Western Cape towns.

State of emergency

This was how the state responded to resistance in the Vaal area, and to the boycott of coloured and Indian elections. Government sent 700 SADF troops into the townships. Leaders were detained. In 1985, the state of emergency applied to many magisterial districts. Police had wide powers to detain people, ban meetings and organisations, and stop the media from reporting on these events. Before long, thousands of people were detained, including 136 UDF officials. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was banned. Allan Boesak, then president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and executive member of the South African Council of Churches, described it as a "reign of terror". Government kept on re-imposing the state of emergency. In 1988, the UDF was banned.

(Source: www.saha.org.za/udf/troops_occupy_the_townships.htm)

Students and faculty of the University of Cape Town (UCT) march to demand the freedom from apartheid jails of black antiapartheid leaders including Nelson Mandela, whose picture they carry (28 August 1985).



Women's organisations

Several women's organisations, such as the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW) and the United Women's Organisation (UWO) in the Cape, were affiliated to the UDF. They resurrected the spirit of the FEDSAW, which was established in 1954. They organised protests against rent increases, and boycotts to support strikers. They also organised around the removal of women and families from urban areas to the Bantustans.

Cheryl Carolus, who played an important part in the UDF, said:

"There certainly are a lot of reasons why women in South Africa should be organising as women. As in most countries, we have an unequal economic system ... The fact that women are reared in a way that makes them think that their place is in the home is important because it means that women are locked into the Bantustans. They are the first people who are forcibly removed from so-called squatter camps ... It means that they are sent to the Bantustans to look after their children, who will in turn go to the mines once their fathers die ... We look at the questions of how women get paid far less than men ... Women's oppression will not come to an end unless there is complete national liberation in the country."

(Source: https://www.saha.org.za/women/women_in_the_united_democratic_front.htm)



Bantustans: Territories that the apartheid government set aside for black people.

Activity 16:

Answer these questions:

- How did Carolus think that women's upbringing supported and sustained the Bantustans?
- How did Carolus think that women's socialisation as mothers helped support the migrant labour system?
- What was the logic of her argument, namely that women's oppression would not come to an end unless there was complete national liberation? Look at the answers you gave to the first two questions.

Campaign for Nelson Mandela's release

The previous activities are examples of the new forms of resistance that started putting internal pressure on the apartheid government to reconsider its position. Along with this internal pressure, anti-apartheid movements outside South Africa also gained momentum and added to the pressure on government to abandon apartheid in 1990.

Source 15: Mandela tells the apartheid government to renounce violence

"I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan, asking for a roundtable conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored. When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again, it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power, we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This too was in vain.

It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organisation, the ANC, let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that people may decide who will govern them."

(Source: "Free Nelson Mandela - an account of the Campaign to Free Nelson Mandela and all other Political Prisoners in South Africa", African National Congress, https://www.aamarchives.org/campaigns/free-mandela.html)

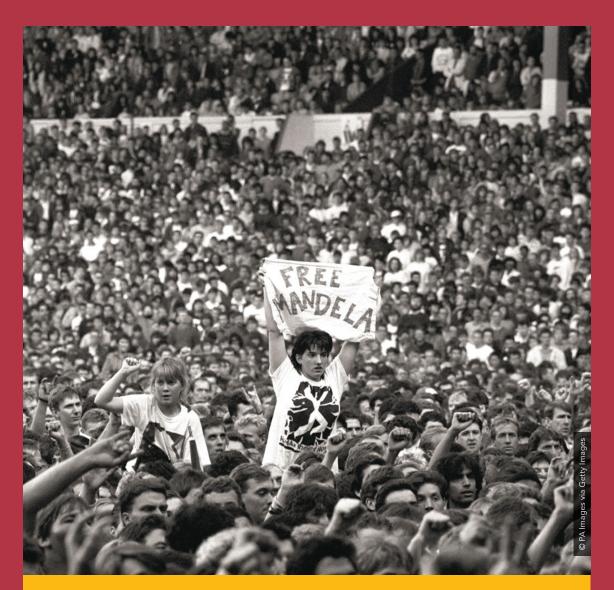
Activity 17:

Answer these questions on your own, and then discuss your answers with your classmates:

- Members of the NP government sometimes tried to persuade Nelson Mandela that if he
 were to accept certain conditions, they would release him from prison. They once asked him
 to agree to go and live in a Bantustan, then he would be released. On other occasions, they
 said he could go free if he renounced violence. But Mandela always refused. Summarise the
 argument he presents in source 15.
- Explain how Mandela turned the tables on government with his arguments.

Source 16: The 70th birthday concert at Wembley, 1988

Over the years that Mandela was in jail, there were many campaigns calling for his release. There were several rallies and concerts. A 70th birthday tribute concert for Nelson Mandela was held at Wembley Stadium in London on 11 June 1988. It was organised by Jerry Dammers, who had heard of Mandela at a concert for his 65th birthday where Hugh Masekela and Britain's Artists Against Apartheid had played.



The crowd at Wembley Stadium, London, on 11 June 1988, at a benefit concert for Nelson Mandela. The 10-hour-long concert "Nelson Mandela, Freedom at 70" was watched by more than 70 000 fans in the stadium and was televised to more than 60 countries worldwide.

By the time of the 1988 concert, Mandela had been in prison for 26 years. There were about 72 000 people in the stadium. The concert was broadcast to 67 countries and probably reached an audience of 600 million. It was quite difficult to persuade all the artists to perform. Some said they would only agree if others did first. But in the end, many of the most famous artists of the time performed and some of the biggest celebrities made speeches. Artists included:

- Amabutho Male Chorus;
- Joan Armatrading with Love and Affection;
- Aswad;
- the Bee Gees;
- Tracy Chapman with Talkin About a Revolution;
- Joe Cocker with Unchain My Heart;
- Natalie Cole with Pink Cadillac;
- Jerry Dammers with Free Nelson Mandela;

- Dire Straits, along with Eric Clapton;
- Eurythmics;
- Peter Gabriel with Biko;
- Jonas Gwangwa;
- Whitney Houston;
- George Michael;
- Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela with Soweto Blues;
- Simple Minds with Mandela Day;

- UB40;
- Sly and Robbie;
- Sting with They Dance Alone;
- Steven van Zandt with Sun City;
- Stevie Wonder with I Just Called to Say I Love You; and
- Jessye Norman with Amazing Grace as the finale.

Henry Belafonte did the opening speech. Whoopi Goldberg and Richard Gere made speeches, as did Sir Richard Attenborough.

Mandela jokingly said in 2013: "I am told that when 'Free Mandela' posters went up in London, most young people thought that my Christian name was Free."

(Source: "The Triumph of the Protest Song", *The Guardian*, 6 December 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/dec/06/nelson-mandela-protest-song-special-aka)

Activity 18:

Answer these questions on your own, and then discuss your answers with your classmates:

• What does Mandela's story about the posters tell us about people's knowledge of him before the concert?

Source 17: Sounds of 1988



Watch as much of the 1988 concert as you can, for example: Mandela Concert at Wembley 1988: https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=Free+mandela+concert+wembly+stadium+1988&qpvt=Free+mandela+concert+wembly+stadium+1988&FORM=VDRE

Activity 19:

Complete the first two points on your own, and then do the rest with your classmates:

- Notice what the Wembley Stadium looked like.
- See how big and excited the concert audience was.
- In the second YouTube video, before he sings his song *Biko*, Peter Gabriel says: "South Africa is the only country in the world that has racism enshrined in its Constitution". He then goes on to explain to the audience who Biko was and what happened to him. Some of the TV stations that were broadcasting the concert told the artists not to say anything 'political'. Do you think it is possible to censor music?
- Why is music a very effective way of telling people about evil systems and getting their support for people who have been unjustly treated?
- Enjoy some of the music that was played at the 1988 concert and discuss it with your classmates.

Activity 20:

- Divide the class into groups.
- Each group must decide on two people they would like to invite on to the show.
- Each 'hero' gets five minutes.
- One or two people in the group are the hosts of the show. Plan to ask your guests two questions each.
- Remember, the conversation should be interesting, otherwise your viewers will switch to another channel.
- Choose theme music from the 1970s or 1980s to play.
- Set up the studio in 1970s/1980s style. Learners could also dress up for the event.

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

