

The Future is Ours:

Commemorating Youth in Struggle

EXHIBITIONS IN THE CLASSROOM



This guide for educators is based on, and accompanies, the first in a series of SAHA exhibition kits available for loan to heritage, educational and community organisations interested in hosting commemorative events and celebrations

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Development of this booklet was funded by the Atlantic Philanthropies and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

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For more information about SAHA's other exhibition kits, educational products and projects,
please visit www.saha.org.za

ACCESSING THE EXHIBITION ONLINE

There is an online version of the ***The Future is Ours*** exhibition kit that includes downloadable copies of many of the primary sources – posters, photographs, pamphlets, reports, speeches - that appear in the exhibition panels.

To view this virtual exhibition, please go to www.saha.org.za/youth.



INTRODUCTION

This guide for educators is based on the SAHA portable exhibition kit entitled ***The Future is Ours***, in which artefacts from the archives provide a lens into decades of young people's resistance to apartheid.

On June 16 each year, the anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, South Africa commemorates the role played by the youth in the country's struggle for democracy. On this day in 1976, the youth of Soweto took charge and took action against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools. However, the cost of such action was high. Hundreds of young people were killed, thousands were injured and countless were detained without trial.

Now a national public holiday in South Africa known as Youth Day, June 16 is therefore both a sombre day and a day of celebration. We recognise their passion, their determination and their fearlessness in taking on the apartheid state and demanding a better future for themselves. Youth Day then is also a day to pause and remember the sacrifices that the youth made so that today we can be free. As the South African Youth Congress stated:

“The youth have occupied the foremost trenches in the battle for freedom in South Africa”.¹

In this booklet, we acknowledge the significant contribution made by the youth in the struggle against the oppressive apartheid state, for their own freedom and the freedom of South Africa. The exhibition kit and this booklet focuses largely on the 1970s and 1980s when youth made their voices heard and played an active and substantial role in destabilising the apartheid state

The guide includes different kinds of activities linked to each of the 16 exhibition panels:



PAUSING FOR THOUGHT:

This icon indicates questions intended to encourage internal reflection by the learners.



READING THE PAST:

This icon indicates activities where learners are required to analyse textual primary sources such as reports, letters or pamphlets included in the exhibition.



VISUALISING THE PAST:

This icon indicates activities where learners are required to analyse visual primary sources such as photographs or posters included in the exhibition.



WORKING TOGETHER:

This icon is used to identify opportunities for learners to work together in the classroom.



MAKING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT:

This icon identifies activities where learners are required to identify patterns and make connections between the past and present, finding similarities between conditions then and now.



WORKING AS A HISTORIAN:

This icon identifies activities intended to develop learners' skills as historians.



LEARNING MORE:

This icon indicates other SAHA educational publications and products to consult for more information and primary sources relating to this topic.

¹SOURCE: "Youth in Action", SAYCO newsletter, date unknown.

The Future is Ours

Commemorating Youth in the Struggle

PANEL I

“The youth have occupied the foremost trenches in the battle for freedom in South Africa.”

— The South African Youth Congress newsletter, *Youth in Action*, 1986.



— Photo: Photographer unknown



— Photo: Photographer unknown

The Future is Ours

Black children under apartheid grew up with little hope of a bright future. They lived in poverty and like their parents were subjected to the hardships and horrors of the brutality of the apartheid regime. When the National Party came into power in 1948, they introduced a wide range of apartheid laws. These laws aimed to keep black and white people apart in all aspects of social life, and to control the movement and economic activity of black people.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 affected the lives of black youth directly. Dr Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs at the time, argued that education for black children should be inferior to that provided to white children and that black South Africans should only be trained to become unskilled labourers. He said:

“The Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them. There is no place for the Bantu child above the level of certain forms of labour.”

Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, 1953. South African Minister of Native Affairs

Thus, it was very clear that education would not open any doors of opportunity for young black children.

However, black youth recognised that if they wanted to advance and improve their lives, they needed a good education. It was therefore in resistance to Bantu education that their angry voices were heard most loudly and with the greatest force.

Through their militant action against Bantu education, the youth became radicalised. They became aware of their own oppression and played an increasingly important role in challenging the apartheid state in the 1980s. They formed youth organisations and joined with wider political organisations to form part of the mass resistance that played a critical role in ending apartheid.

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Analyse photographs

1. What do you think is happening in the first picture on this panel?
2. What message do you think the photographer is trying to get across? Use evidence from the photograph to explain your answer.
3. In what time period do you think the second photograph was taken? Look for clues in the photograph.
4. Provide an interesting caption for this second photograph, that captures the spirit of what is happening.
5. Do you think that these two photographs are effective as the opening photographs of the exhibition? Explain your answer.



Think about education

Why do you think that education was such a burning issue for black youth during apartheid?

Do you think that education today has done away with the inequalities and injustices that faced black youth during apartheid?

Discuss these issues in groups, and then share your group's ideas with another group.



Create a youth manifesto

Think about the title of this exhibition: *The Future is Ours*.

The youth of today are our future, and the future belongs to them. Young people of today have the power to create a better future for themselves and for this country.

Discuss in groups what kind of future you would like to have. Using the ideas generated in this discussion, draw up a youth manifesto, that outlines your group's vision for the future.



Artefacts from the South African History Archive (SAHA) provide a lens into decades of youth resistance to apartheid. Development of this SAHA exhibition kit was funded by the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund and the Atlantic Philanthropies. To view the online version of this exhibition kit, please go to www.saha.org.za/youth.

FUNDED BY



Origins of youth struggle

Black youth fought many hard battles to achieve a better future and they were not easily won. There were times when their voices were loud and others when their voices were silenced. When South Africa's freedom was won in 1994, there was no doubt that the youth had played a crucial role. Let us look at some of the origins of youth struggle.

In the 1940s, more and more black people moved into the urban areas to try to find a way to earn a living. Settled black populations became a feature of urban South Africa and women and their children moved into the towns and the cities. This led to pressure in terms of housing and people lived in overcrowded townships in very harsh conditions. Unemployment was extremely high and poverty was widespread. Young black youth faced particular hardships as there were few prospects available to them.

Without much parental supervision, as both parents usually worked long hours, many took to the streets and became petty criminals. Others joined gangs as this gave them a sense of purpose and belonging. These young men were known as *tsotsis*. Although they contributed to a vibrant urban culture that developed in the locations and townships, their activities also fuelled violence and fear.

A more political response to the growing crisis in urban areas and amongst black youth was the formation of a youth league within the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944. In the 1940s, the ANC was considered to be an elite organisation that was somewhat out of touch with the needs of ordinary African people. The new African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) was to breathe life into the organisation as it called for a more mass-based approach to the struggle.

Membership of the ANCYL was open to all Africans between the ages of twelve and forty. ANCYL leaders included Anton Lembede, its first president, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo. These young men became known as the 'Young Lions' as they called for a more militant programme of action in the form of mass protests, boycotts and passive resistance.

Formation of the ANCYL changed the nature of resistance to the state and reflected an important shift in ANC policy. Its leaders were young, dynamic and committed to change. Over time, they became the leaders of the ANC itself and many played highly prominent roles in the organisation and in the struggle.

When the ANC was banned in 1960, many of its young members went into exile and joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. They received training in guerrilla warfare as a means to conduct a campaign of sabotage against the apartheid state. This meant that the ANCYL would not be a force in South African politics for the next thirty years.



SOURCE: "Suspected informer's car burns and youth celebrate", Duduza, Gauteng, 10 July 1985. Photograph by Gille de Vlieg.

Gille de Vlieg is a South African photographer who documented the impact that apartheid had on young children in the 1980s.

1. What message do you think de Vlieg was trying to get across with this photograph? Use evidence from the photograph to justify your answer.
2. What emotions does this photograph evoke from you? Explain your answer with reference to elements in the photograph.



Write a diary entry

Imagine you are one of the boys in this photograph. You live in a township in the 1980s where the police and the army continually patrol the streets. Write your diary entry at the end of the day in which you describe the events that led up to this photograph being taken.



If you were a young black person living in the 1940s, would you have joined the ANCYL? Explain the reason for your choice.

A **political vacuum** was created in the 1960s when the apartheid government crushed opposition in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre. The sentencing to life of the ANC and the SACP leadership in the Rivonia Trial of 1964 left the struggle against apartheid without direction.

It was in this context that the youth-driven **Black Consciousness (BC)** movement was formed.

Steve Bantu Biko and his comrades in the **South African Students' Organisation (SASO)** called for the decolonisation of black people's minds.

PANEL 3

“At the heart of black consciousness is the realisation by blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.

If one is free at heart, no man-made chains can bind one to servitude but if one's mind is so manipulated and controlled by the oppressor then there will be nothing the oppressed can do to scare his powerful master...

...The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth”

— Steve Bantu Biko,
I Write What I Like, 1978.



— Photo: Photographer unknown

In 1969, Steve Bantu Biko became the first president of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) at the University of the North in Polokwane. Biko was also actively involved in the Black Community Programme, the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the South African Students' Movement (SASM).



— Photo: Gideon Mendel

Black Consciousness made possible the resurgent spirit of youth militancy in the struggle for liberation throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

In the 1970s many young black people sought education in formation schools organised by SASO. Church organisations made their facilities available for Black Consciousness organisations to conduct training workshops. This method for organised political education was as effective as the worker night schools that were developed by the South African Communist Party to recruit, educate and mobilise cadres.

“Whites must be made to realise that they are only human, not superior.

Same with blacks. They must be made to realise that they are also human, not inferior.”

— Steve Bantu Biko, *Boston Globe*, 25 October 1977.

Black Consciousness

In terms of the struggle against apartheid, the 1960s in South Africa is often referred to as the 'Silent Sixties'. With the banning of the ANC and the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the imprisonment of the leadership on Robben Island after the Sharpeville massacre, very little resistance took place. It was left up to a new generation of young students to take the lead in the 1970s in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).

In the 1960s, white young progressive students on liberal university campuses had formed the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), an organisation that opposed apartheid. Black university students also joined NUSAS but were becoming increasingly uneasy and angry that white students held the leadership positions in NUSAS. They believed that a white-dominated organisation was not able to look after the interests of black students. In 1969, black students broke away from NUSAS and formed their own student organisation known as the South African Students Organisation (SASO). Its leader was a young, dynamic medical student by the name of Steve Biko.

Biko and his young comrades promoted the philosophy of Black Consciousness, which urged black people to free themselves from the chains of oppression and for all blacks (including Africans, Coloureds and Indians) to work towards liberation. Biko urged black people to take responsibility for their own struggle and not to rely on white liberals. To do this, it was necessary for black people to free themselves from the feelings of inferiority that had been instilled in them after 300 years of oppression. Rather, black people were to develop a pride in being black, and develop the self-confidence to determine their own future. The BCM challenged the entire white structure that existed in South Africa by developing alternative structures. The students established the Black People's Convention (BPC), which was an umbrella organisation to coordinate all Black Consciousness activities. It encouraged self-reliance through the creation of black community programmes.

Black Consciousness played an important role in inspiring the Soweto youth to action in 1976. Its philosophy filled them with the self-confidence to address their own harsh circumstances. The South African Students' Movement (SASM) was a Black Consciousness organisation of high school students, formed in 1968. SASM was central in politicising school students and encouraging them to take action. In 1973, a number of SASO students staged a walkout from black universities. Many of them became teachers in Soweto schools and also inspired the students to action.



SOURCE: Steve Bantu Biko. "I Write What I Like" 1978.

Read the quotations by Steve Biko that are on this panel and then answer the following questions:

1. What do you think Steve Biko meant when he said: "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed"?
2. In the second quotation in the panel (starting "The first step therefore..."), Biko talks of black people being 'complicit' in their own oppression. What did he mean by this? Provide some examples from the apartheid era where black people might have been 'complicit' in their own oppression.
3. What does Biko see as the similarities and differences between black and white people in the 1970s in South Africa?



Write a newspaper article

Imagine you are a reporter working for the black newspaper *The World* in the 1970s. You have managed to get an exclusive interview with Steve Biko and you want to share his ideas with the people of South Africa. Using his own words from the panel as the source of your interview, write an article about Biko and the ideas of Black Consciousness.



Conduct an interview

Interview a person in your community who was at school during the time of the Soweto Uprising. Try to find out how much your interviewee knew about Black Consciousness and if its ideas were important in the events that took place on June 16.



Was Black Consciousness effective?

Black Consciousness was a movement that aimed to free black people from their mental oppression. Do you think that a movement of ideas can be effective? How effective was Black Consciousness in freeing people of their mental oppression?



Curtis Nkondo described Bantu Education as:
**'E tshwana le phate ea mahlatsa ha e tshela sefahlehong
 sa ngwana wa motho e motsho'**
 (It's like vomit poured from an old skin onto the face of an African child).

In 1955, Bantu Education was introduced. From the outset it was badly financed and teachers were paid very low wages. Libraries and laboratories were under resourced. There were far too many pupils per class and a system of double sessions was introduced that utilised unqualified teachers. Despite the fact that most parents were desperately poor, the state did not provide any stationery or textbooks as it did in white schools.

Even when black South Africans managed to get an education, this was often a liability as it was virtually impossible for them to get employment in industry. It was glaringly obvious that under apartheid black people's talents were not meant to be fully developed, or their skills adequately used.



— Photo: Sam Nzima

Sam Nzima's photograph of the dead body of Hector Pietersen being carried by Mbuyisa Makhuba alongside Hector's sister. Mbuyisa went into hiding before fleeing to Botswana. He sent his last letter home from Nigeria in June 1978... His mother, who lived with her family in Orlando West until she died in 2005, sold books and postcards of the famous photo outside the Hector Pietersen Museum.

**'Almost overnight the Soweto generation enabled us to breach the barriers by which the enemy had sought to separate us...
 The enemy now unwittingly threw into the ranks of the revolution an army of youth whose anger and courage knew no bounds.'**

— ANC statement to mark the 25th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, December 16, 1986



— Photo: Peter Magubane

The youth take charge: the Soweto Uprising of June 1976

The Soweto Uprising of June 1976 was a major turning point in the struggle against apartheid. Many regard it as the beginning of the end of apartheid. It represented the biggest single challenge to the apartheid state and from this point on the government was unable to ignore the growing tide of resistance.

In order to understand the events of 1976, it is important to understand the context in which these events happened. In the early 1970s, the economy was in a state of decline and inflation and unemployment was high. In Soweto especially, but also in other black townships, housing was unable to keep up with the influx of people from the rural areas and there was massive overcrowding and a general lack of facilities. This led to frustration and anger as the living standards of residents declined substantially. However, it was not until the anger of black students was mobilised that action against these circumstances was taken.

For black high school students the future looked bleak. Their schools were overcrowded, under-resourced and many teachers had resorted to strong disciplinary measures in order to maintain control. Very little learning was taking place. This was made worse by the government's decision in 1975 to introduce Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools, whereby all schools had to teach half of their subjects in Afrikaans. This led to a crisis on two counts. Firstly, most teachers were unable to teach in Afrikaans, and for the students, Afrikaans was usually a third or fourth language. This meant that students would inevitably fail their matriculation examinations and be forced to join the ranks of the unemployed. Secondly, Afrikaans was seen as the 'language of the oppressor' and raised the anger of the students.

Despite months of appeals and objections by parents, the state continued with its policy. At the beginning of 1976, students began to mobilise around the issue of Afrikaans but still the government refused to respond to these protests. This eventually led to the march of thousands of students in Soweto to Orlando Stadium on 16 June, 1976 where they planned to hand over their objections to Afrikaans in a petition. The police fired on this peaceful crowd of students. The first child to be killed was Hector Pieterse. The shootings continued. The killings did not deter the protestors. In fact, it gave many students the courage to continue. While students confronted the police in running battles, they also targeted some of the symbols of oppression. They burnt down the offices of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), which was seen as a symbol of the white man's control of their lives. They also burnt down beer halls. These were controlled by the government and were seen as places where adults went to get drunk, rather than confront the apartheid state.

The government sent in troops to Soweto to try and stop the unrest. But protest and action continued over the next three months. The events of Soweto also inspired youth all over, and unrest broke in townships all around the country. In the ensuing violence, about 300 black youths were killed and over 2000 injured. The youth had paid a very high price in their struggle against Bantu education.



SOURCE: "The death of Hector Pieterse, Soweto, 16 June 1976." Photograph by Sam Nzima.

The famous image of Hector Pieterse being carried by Mbuyisa Makhuba alongside his sister has become symbolic of the Soweto uprising. If you look at the posters on this panel, they have all used the image to commemorate June 16.

1. Why do you think that this image holds such power for people? Refer to elements in the image to explain your answer.
2. Some people have suggested that this image has created an impression that Hector Pieterse was the only young child to die, and that by using this image for June 16, the other young people who died are not remembered. Do you agree with this or not? Discuss this in groups.
3. Which poster do you think is the most effective as a poster to commemorate June 16? Refer to elements in the poster to justify your answer.
4. What impression do you gain of the protests on June 16 from the photograph of the youth marching? Refer to elements in the photograph to explain your answer.



SOURCE: "E tshwana (sic) le phate ea mahlatsa ha e tshelwa (sic) sefahlehong sa ngwana wa motho e motsho." (It's like vomit poured onto the face of a black child)²

Consider Curtis Nkondo's description of Bantu education at the top of the exhibition panel. Read the quotation by Curtis Nkondo on Bantu Education. Do you think he is justified to talk about Bantu Education in such vicious terms? Provide evidence on the nature of Bantu Education to justify your answer.

²"As quoted in Noonan, Patrick. *They're burning the churches: the final dramatic events that scuttled apartheid*" Jacana Media,

“The inquest of Steve Biko was not simply an exceptional event; it was the revelation of racism, of the way it has distorted ordinary people, and the way it has destroyed all morality and decency in a rich and beautiful country.”

– Hilda Bernstein, *Biko, The Quest for a True Humanity*, 2007

PANEL 5



– Photos: Photographer/s unknown

On 14 September 1977, Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, addressed a Nationalist Party Congress. He stated that Biko had died as a result of a hunger strike and said:

“I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko.
His death leaves me cold.”

On 9 November 1977, Kruger admitted that Biko had in fact died of brain damage. But he said:

“A man can damage his brain in many ways. I have also felt like banging my head against a brick wall many times, but realising now, with the Biko autopsy, that may be fatal, I haven't done it.”

– Biko, *The Quest for a True Humanity*, 2007

20 000 people gathered to mourn the death of Steve Bantu Biko. Police roadblocks prevented many more people from entering the Victoria Stadium in King Williams Town on the 25th of September 1977.



– Photos: Photographer unknown

Death of Biko

Because Black Consciousness had inspired many Soweto students to take decisive action against their own oppression, the apartheid state focused its attention on Steve Biko and the BCM.

Initially, the government did not see Black Consciousness as a real threat. Rather, the state believed that BC's philosophy of black people working on their own fitted well with its own philosophy of separateness as seen in its policy of apartheid and the creation of the homelands. However, as SASO membership swelled and other BC organisations grew in support, the state began to crack down on Biko and other leading members of the BCM.

In 1973, eight Black Consciousness leaders, including Biko, were banned. This meant that for five years they were restricted to the area in which they lived, and could not speak to or meet with more than one person at a time. This prevented them from attending political meetings and rallies. The government gave no reasons for the bannings but it was clear that the government hoped to crush the BCM. By the end of 1973, more leaders had been banned, and some placed under house arrest.

In 1975, the SASO Nine were brought to trial for allegedly conspiring to bring about revolutionary change. Biko's banning orders were relaxed so that he could testify on their behalf. This drew the interest of the media worldwide. The SASO Nine were found guilty under the Terrorism Act.

After the Soweto Uprising, Black Consciousness was systematically targeted. Biko often ignored his banning orders in order to address crowds and to continue his work in the movement. On 17 August 1977, he left Port Elizabeth and travelled with Peter Jones to the Cape to attend a meeting. They were stopped at a roadblock and then detained. On 12 September 1977, Biko died of injuries sustained during interrogation. His death stunned and shocked the world. But not Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Justice, who stated that Biko's death 'left him cold'.

An official inquest into Biko's death, despite evidence to the contrary, found in favour of the police, stating that his death could not have been brought about "by any act or omission involving an offence by any person." Biko was the twentieth detainee to die in custody. South Africa had lost one of its most influential young men.

It was only at the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) that the truth of Biko's death was revealed. Four security policemen admitted to the killing of Biko during interrogation. The commanding officer, Gideon Nieuwoudt was denied amnesty on the grounds that he did not prove that his crime was politically motivated.

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An obituary is a news article that reports the recent death of person. It includes a brief biography of the person's life and his or her achievements.

Do some research on Biko's life and the circumstances of his death. Then write an obituary for Biko for your local newspaper.



All the photographs on this panel reflect on Biko's death in some way. Which one do you find the most moving? Refer to elements in the photograph to explain your choice.



SOURCE: Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger in The Cape Times, 15 September 1977

"I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr. Biko. His death leaves me cold"

Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger in The Cape Times, 15 September 1977.

Read the quotations made by the Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, on the subject of Steve Biko's death.

1. What is Kruger's tone in both the quotations?
2. What does his tone suggest about the man and the nature of the apartheid government?
3. If you could respond to these comments in person to Jimmy Kruger, what would you say to him?

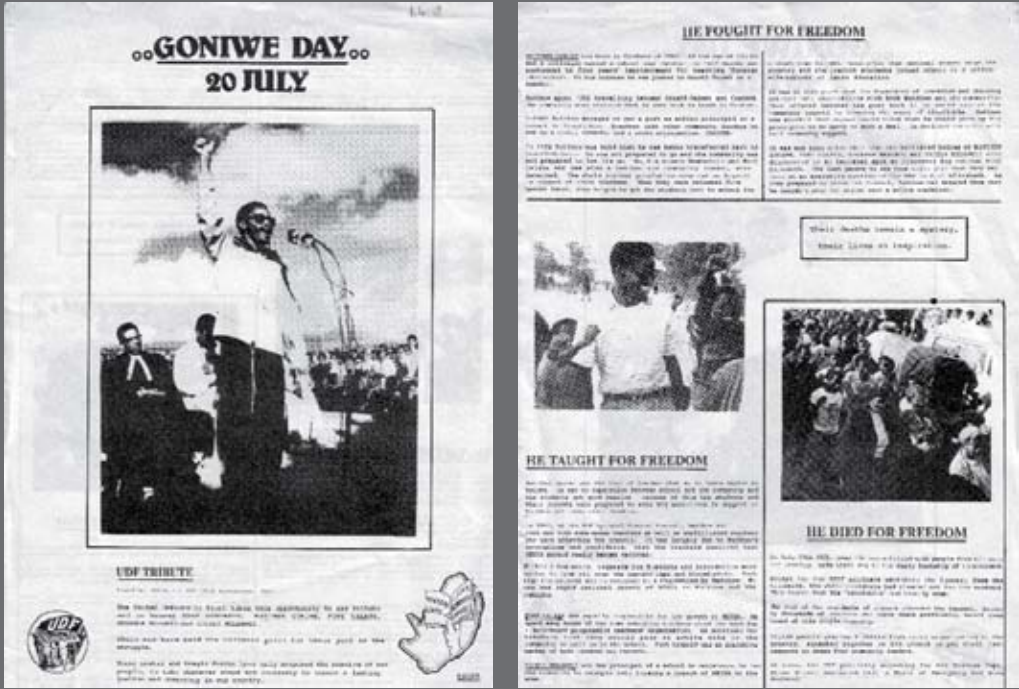
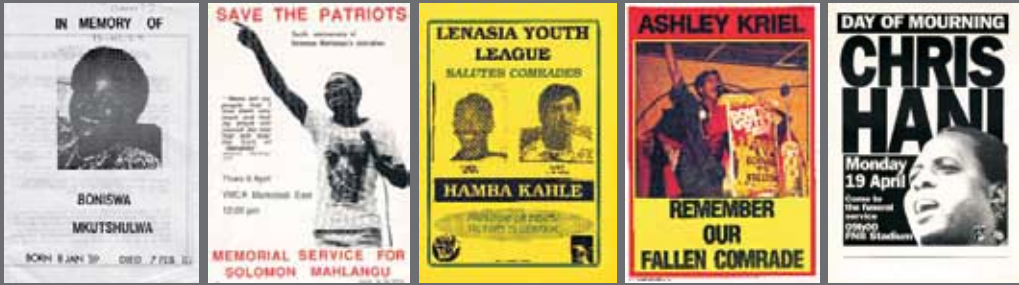


Think about Steve Biko

If Steve Biko was alive today, what do you think he would think about the last twenty years of democracy? Discuss this in your groups.

Our fallen comrades we commemorate you one and all

PANEL 6



In 1977, SASO and other BC organisations were banned and the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) formed under the leadership of Tom Nkoana. Due to political pressure the organisation changed its name to the South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO) in 1986. SASCO was formed in 1991 through the merging of SANSCO and the National Union of South African Students (a predominantly white liberal student organisation). The new congress was founded on the principles of African leadership, working class leadership, democracy, non-racism and non-sexism.



— Photo: Wendy Schwegman

UDF campaign Regina Murali June 16

Crackdown!

The Soweto Uprising had radicalised the youth. The death of Steve Biko had aroused their anger even further. The apartheid state was determined to crush any kind of resistance and responded with a brutal crackdown. Black Consciousness was the state's first target.

In October 1977, a month after the death of Steve Biko, the government declared 18 opposition organisations unlawful, and arrested 70 of their leaders. They hoped to destroy organisations by depriving them of leadership. Many people were banned and all newspapers that were critical of the government were shut down. The apartheid state took extreme measures to stamp out any opposition.

In the 1960s, the government had already put in place a number of legal measures to crush resistance. These included:

- The General Laws Amendment Act (1963), which gave the government the right to detain people for 90 days. This was now extended to 180 days of detention without trial.
- The Terrorism Act (1967) expanded the definition of what constituted a danger to the state and allowed for the death penalty for those found guilty.

The government also established a number of secret organisations intended to coordinate intelligence and security.

- The Bureau of State Security (BOSS) coordinated the activities of the Security Police and military intelligence in the Defence Force.
- The State Security Council (SSC), which was headed by the Prime Minister, later President, established an intelligence network throughout the country, which was able to uncover resistance to the state.

From 1977 onwards, the government unleashed the full force of its security apparatus. People were detained for long periods of time, others died in detention as a result of intensive interrogation. Others disappeared and were murdered by members of the security police like the Cradock Four. Their bodies were left on the side of the road, mutilated and burned.

These repressive measures did have an impact on resistance. There was a winding down of youth resistance for a period. But this was also due to the arrests of youth leadership and the move into exile of many of the participants in the Soweto Uprising. However, the anger of the youth would not be silenced for long.



SOURCE: “Goniwe Day 20th July: UDF tribute” produced by the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), date unknown.

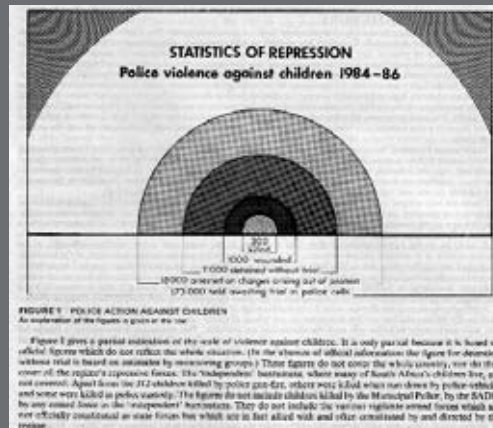
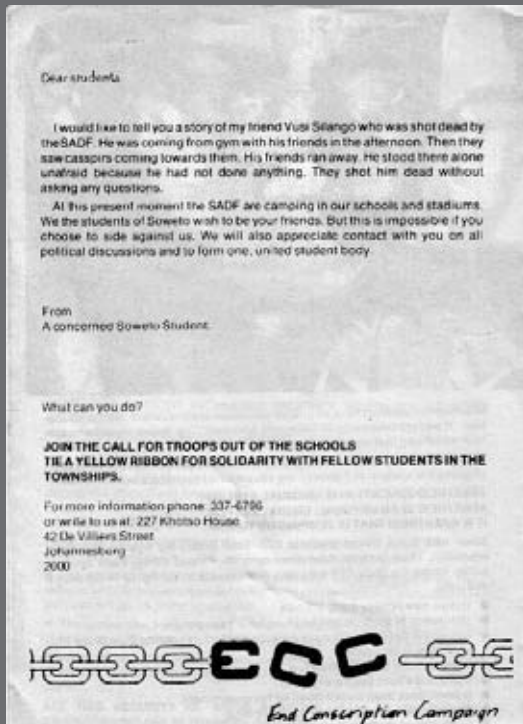
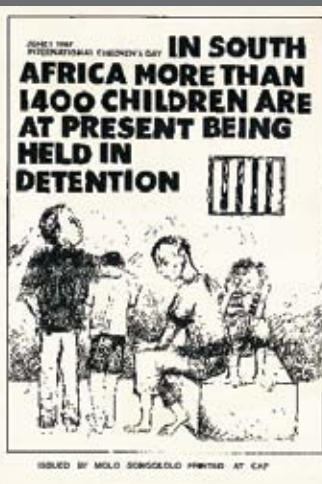
Read the article on Matthew Goniwe and the Cradock Four and answer the following questions:

1. This source was created by the UDF as a tribute to Goniwe and the Cradock Four. Does this affect the reliability of the information contained in this source? Explain your answer.
2. In what context did the murder of the Cradock Four take place?
3. From the source, what can you discover about the role of Matthew Goniwe in opposition politics?
4. Look at how much information is given to Goniwe and how much to the other three men who died? Do you think is fair or does it reflect any bias? Explain your answer.



In your groups, choose a person who was killed by the apartheid regime. Find out more about the person. Then create a poster to commemorate the person's death. Your poster should contain the following elements:

- A bold and effective headline
- A strong visual image
- Brief text that provides some information about the person
- The poster should be eye-catching.



The aftermath of police teargas

— Photos: Gilles de Vlieg

Children in detention

After the October crackdown of 1977, youth and student organisations began to revive slowly. This included the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), which had been responsible for the coordination of many of the events of June 1976. This new generation of young activists were younger and less experienced than the students of 76. They centred much of their protests on the ongoing issue of Bantu education, as they called on the youth to boycott school. Black collaborators, who worked within the apartheid system as police or as officials in local councils, were also targets of youth anger. As the school boycotts continued into the 1980s, the police and the army did much to stir up the anger of the youth. They terrorised students by throwing teargas into schoolrooms, beating them, and firing buckshot and rubber bullets at them. A teacher in Soweto commented: "Some of the kids are scared to death, others are angry."³

Before the mid-1980s, Baragwaneth Hospital reported that the majority of violence-related injuries were on patients between the ages of 35 to 40. During the 1986 state of emergency, the majority of injured patients were children from 14 to 18 years. It was clear that the security forces were targeting children.

Increasingly, in the 1980s, more and more student leaders, activists and children of a very young age were detained, without access to lawyers or their parents. Once in detention, they were extremely vulnerable and had little protection against police brutality. By 1986 it was estimated that about eight thousand detainees were below the age of eighteen. Many of them were in their early teens, but some as young as seven to ten years old. Children were subjected to the same conditions in detention as adults. They were often tortured during interrogation and were held for long periods of time.

A group of concerned parents of detainees formed the Detainees Parent Support Committee (DPSC). This was a multi-racial group of parents who tried to gain support for their children in detention and worked to expose the abuses of the security forces. The DPSC reported a pattern of abuses against young people. Soldiers would pick children off the streets and hold them for several hours or take them into the veld where they were brutalised. They were beaten with fists, rifle butts and often subjected to electric shock treatments. Some had petrol poured over them and then held near open flames. The brutalisation of children in prisons and on the streets of the townships is a mark of shame against the apartheid regime that should be remembered in times to come.

17



SOURCE: Kader Asmal, "Rights of Children Under International Law", September 1987.

Look at the statistics of police violence against children from 1984 to 1986.

1. How many children died through police action during this period?
2. How many children were detained during this period?
3. What do all the statistics reveal about police attitudes towards children?
4. Why are these statistics not considered to be accurate?
5. If they are not accurate, are they still useful? Explain your answer.



Which poster on this panel do you think conveys the plight of children in the 1980s most effectively? Refer to elements of the poster to justify your answer.



If you were a young black child living during the 1980s, what sacrifices would you have been willing to make in the struggle against apartheid?



Are there any issues today that you would consider important enough to protest about? In your groups, discuss what some of these issues might be. Also, discuss how far you would be prepared to go to make your voices heard around these issues.



Learn more about death in detention on SAHA's DVD: *Between Life and Death* – stories from John Vorster Square or online on SAHA's virtual exhibition "Detention without trial in John Vorster Square" on the Google Cultural Institute website at http://www.saha.org.za/publications/between_life_and_death.htm

³Quoted in Cook, Helena. *The War against Children: South Africa's Youngest Victims*. New York: Lawyers for Human Rights, 1986.

**SAVE THE PATRIOTS
ON DEATH ROW**

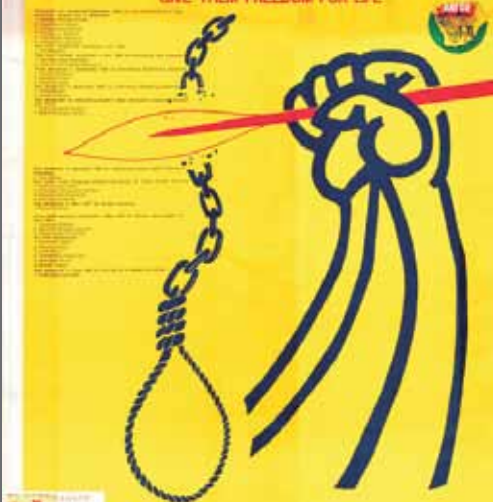
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The People of South Africa demand:

- The staying of all executions
- The granting of prisoner of war status to all patriots
- The government's recognition and signing of the Geneva Protocol
- The release of all political prisoners

Revised: 28 March 2008 10:00 AM, 28 March 2008 10:00 AM

GIVE THEM FREEDOM FOR LIFE



DON'T LET THEM HANG

[illegible][illegible]

Under section 2.1 of the emergency regulation a person can be detained in custody if he or she is thought to be dangerous, even if it is thought that the person is not of his or her own accord, or other persons's interests or otherwise will cause him or her to be detained. Subsection 2.1(2) says that the person must be detained in custody without recourse to legal rights.

I have spent most of my life in school, and I have not been able to think and act as fully African as I wish. I want, then, that children as young as 12 years old be able to go to the headmaster's office and speak out against political interference in their schools.

The complex legal and ethical vulnerability of debtors has driven them to take drastic action. On 11/21/2009, *Debtors* started a hunger strike at Circuit Court in order to force the law

and under Minister Aukland, Viki is under-estimated, according to predictions. By 12th February 2000, the government will have a new Minister of Defence. The new Minister will be a member of the Labour Party, and will be a member of the Labour Party. The new Minister will be a member of the Labour Party, and will be a member of the Labour Party.

This anger will be continually fuelled by the campaign surrounding the release of all prisoners. On 29 March, in Hope, lower-central Sri Lanka, 21 people held a peaceful demonstration protesting the release of prisoners. All of the demonstrators were arrested. On 129 March, National Demos was held at the church grounds near Jaffna, Military Park and Galle, as well as in churches throughout the rest of the country. Events like these have a dual function: to mobilise and educate who are unaware of the situation and to act as a sign of an indictment of the support network of the state without fail.

- Pin a red ribbon to your clothes as a show of solidarity.
- Light a candle in your home between 7 and 8 p.m. each evening.
- Participate in one of the solidarity fairs being held (or organize your own).
- Attend services and report-back.



— Photo: Gille de Vliea

Zacharia Rapoo, (16) Johannes Pilane (17) and Vitalious Xaba (17)
Khatlehong youth beaten by police, Johannesburg, Gauteng, 22 March, 1988

Youth on death row

South African jails were filled with detainees during the 1970s and 1980s. But there were also many political prisoners in prison. A political prisoner was different to a detainee in that he or she was charged with a political crime and thus was allowed to go to trial to try to prove their innocence. Once found guilty, they were sentenced and served time in prison or were hanged.

Because of the repressive laws that the South African government had introduced, almost any kind of resistance to apartheid was classified as a serious offence. Many political prisoners were found guilty under the main 'security' laws such as the Internal Security Act, the Sabotage Act and the Terrorism Act. These political prisoners were usually kept on Robben Island or in Pretoria Central Prison. Others who were found guilty of lesser political offences were imprisoned with the general prison population and were treated as ordinary criminals.

As part of its repressive strategy, the apartheid state was quick to use the death penalty against its political opponents. Prisoners sentenced to hang were sent to Death Row in Pretoria Central Prison to await execution. From the 1960s to the 1980s, the apartheid government executed about 134 political prisoners. One such political prisoner, Solomon Mahlangu, was only 22 years old when he was executed in 1979.

One group of young people known, as the Sharpeville Six, were sentenced to death on the principle of common purpose. They had all formed part of a group that was present at the killing of a local councillor. Their sentence was later changed to a life sentence when the government put a hold on the death penalty during the period of negotiations towards a democratic future. When South Africa moved towards a democracy they were released from prison. Nevertheless, those anxious years on Death Row were devastating.

There were many campaigns against the death penalty and against detention without trial, both inside South Africa and internationally.



Do you think the two posters against the death penalty get their message across effectively or not? Refer to elements in the posters to justify your answer.



SOURCE: Gardens Youth Congress pamphlet: "South Africa – starving for justice"

Read the source on the Starving for Justice Campaign.

1. What was the aim of the Starving for Justice Campaign?
2. What steps could ordinary people do to show their solidarity for detainees?
3. Would you be prepared to fast in order to support an issue that you strongly believed in?



Using crayons or coloured pens create a drawing that shows your feelings about detainees and political prisoners.



When the death penalty was abolished in South Africa, people were proud that we were no longer a nation that would exercise such brutality in dealing with prisoners. Today however many people have called for the return of the death penalty, particularly in the face of brutal rapes of children and murder.

Hold a class debate where half the class supports the return of the death penalty and half the class opposes it. You must use evidence to debate your points of view and avoid getting emotional when arguing.

**THE NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION'S
STAND ON
NATIONAL SERVICE**

Reasonable or Treasonable?

A CONSCIENTIOUS CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN LAUNCHED BY RADICAL LEFTWING GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO DISCREDIT THE INTEGRITY OF OUR S.A. DEFENCE FORCE. SLOTTING LACK — COUNTRY FIGHT FOR JUSTICE — ARE BEING BLANDED ABOUT. EVEN WOMEN LACK PROGRESS — MARCH HERE CONSUMED DREAMS AND PLAYS BEYOND VIRTUALLY INAPPROPRIATE IN CERTAIN CIRCLES — EVEN PROBABLY.

Loyalty
South Africa is a country where we have grown up, where we have received our education, where we live, where we wish to see justice, peace and harmony — the country where our children will be raised. Our loyalty to our country should be above all else, and we should be proud to serve it. We should not be ashamed to say that it is not only responsible but honourable. Political affiliation or other such things, are the business of our minds. We should not be ashamed to change according to his or her views — as long as it is based on respect and only be proud if they are sincere. But a destruction of our and order by violence and subversion must be fought. We must be loyal to our country and its people, to the land and to the people who live in it.

South Africa, as our motherland, has given us life and all that we have. For this we must show our loyalty.

Further, there must be certain conditions which are part of the maintenance of the country, which are essential, necessary for the people in power. They are essential, necessary, and are only for the benefit of all.

Conclusion
It is not logical that a defence force is built on its strength. It would be better to have a country which we live in, which is a country which we have a chance to live in, which is a country which we have a chance to live in. Without the defence force, it is obvious that South Africa's

border must be protected. Should each an individual not be met by all citizens, thereby fulfilling the dream of a secure and peaceful future.

Our country does not have — do not parents, brothers, sisters, boys or girls, friends, not deserve to be protected? Can we demand of others to do so while we do not? Terrorism creates a situation only when it directly affects our lives. Ask the families of those killed or injured in recent ANC, bombing incidents, if they feel they should not be a defence force and whether terrorists should be allowed to "impose" themselves.

Dialogue
There are many people who talk national service, and prefer "political" or religious reasons for their mind, whereas in fact they are living their life of discipline, physical training and discipline. But in fact national service is a way of serving one's country and getting to know one's fellow citizens — it is the foundation of the common bond.

In the operations area, where the young are trained, black and white individuals, not only train together but live together. The bonds of understanding between people in the SANDF should be a strong point for all citizens, rather than be divided. To take up the cause of any group, whether black or white, at the expense of the other would be shameful. To appreciate the developments that have occurred and to encourage them, requires honesty and honesty.

SOUTH AFRICA IS OUR COUNTRY — AND IS WORTH DEFENDING!!

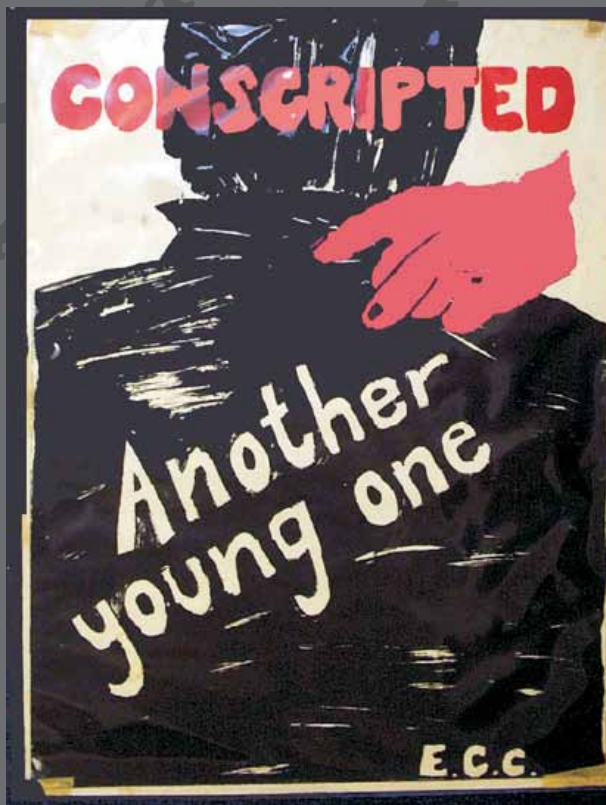


PANEL 9



“Young men who refuse to serve are faced with the choice of a life of exile or a possible six years in prison.”

— End Conscription Campaign booklet, *Stop the Call Up*, 1985.



The militarisation of the South African state

During the late 1960s and the 1970s South Africa had become an increasingly militarised state as the government became more and more reliant on the army to maintain control. Since Angola and Mozambique had gained independence in 1975 and had established Marxist governments, the South African government had viewed neighbouring or frontline states as a threat. Many of these countries had also allowed Umkhonto we Sizwe to establish military bases within their borders.

By the 1980s, the government under the premiership of P.W. Botha talked of facing a 'total onslaught' of resistance forces, both within South Africa and its neighbouring or frontline states. The government tried to prevent neighbouring countries from supporting the liberation movements through a policy of destabilisation. The South African Defence Force (SADF) regularly launched cross-border raids on suspected ANC bases in neighbouring countries. It also supported guerrilla groups in Mozambique (RENAMO), Angola (UNITA) and Namibia, in an attempt to bring down the existing socialist governments in those countries. Troops were sent to the border where they fought against the liberation movements. The SADF was also responsible for occupying Namibia, waging a war against Angola and carrying out many acts of aggression against Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The SADF was also used in South Africa to suppress resistance against the state. During the intensified resistance of the 1980s, troops had occupied the townships. They were a threatening force, using violence and terror to generate fear amongst the township residents.

As a result of this increased militarisation, the SADF needed more and more men to serve in the army. The government introduced compulsory conscription, where all young white men from the age of 18 were forced to serve time in the South African Defence Force. The period of service kept increasing so that by the 1980s compulsory military service had been extended to two years. Young white men who had just finished school were drafted into the army. They had no choice in the matter.

However, not all white people supported apartheid and many of these young men did not want to join the army and fight for a country whose policies they did not believe in. There were few options available to them, all of them difficult. Some left the country and went into exile. This meant that they were forced to leave their families behind and there was no possibility of return. Others went to university to study to try and avoid the draft for as long as possible. Small numbers of men chose to become conscientious objectors and refused to serve in the army. In return they were given a six-year jail sentence.



SOURCE: "The National Student Federation's Stand on National Service", pamphlet produced by the National Student Federation (NSF), date unknown.

In the wake of resistance to conscription, the apartheid regime and its supporters resorted to using propaganda to persuade people that those who did not join the army were cowards or traitors. The first source on this panel is a pamphlet issued by the NSF, a right-wing organisation that supported the government. Read it carefully and then answer the following questions.

1. The NSF produced this pamphlet. What does this tell us about what kind of content we can expect to find in this pamphlet?
2. Find three phrases in this pamphlet that show that the NSF supports the military.
3. What techniques of propaganda does this pamphlet use to make young men who are against military service feel bad?
4. How effective is this pamphlet in getting its message across? Refer to evidence in the source to justify your answer.
5. How does the poster use propaganda to promote military service? Refer to elements in the poster to answer the question.



In groups, role-play the following scenario. It is 1986 and the second state of emergency has just been declared. Two members of the group represent the army headquarters. The rest of the group are white soldiers who have just received their call-up papers to serve two years in the army. You are all not prepared to serve in the army and have declared that you are conscientious objectors. Each of you must explain your position to the men at army headquarters. They in turn must respond to this.



PANEL 10

WORKING FOR A JUST PEACE

The "Working for a Just Peace" campaign is a protest against compulsory conscription into an army that, at the very least, plays a controversial role. The campaign is an active call for viable and beneficial alternatives.

WORKING FOR A JUST PEACE
Construction not Conscription
ECC

What is the End Conscription Campaign?

ECC

- opposes the use of troops and especially conscript troops in the townships.
- believes conscripts should have the right to choose whether or not to serve in the SADF.
- believes conscientious objection should be recognised in Law.
- believes an alternative non-military service should be open to all.

Working for a Just Peace

In April of this year thousands of volunteers throughout South Africa will set to work on constructive community-based projects.

Some will be helping in child care centres, some will be repairing houses for the aged and others will be assisting communities that have recently been resettled. We will be demonstrating that national service can have more than one meaning. We believe in constructive community service that crosses racial barriers, building bridges for a better future.

TOO MANY YOUNG PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE SUFFERING MILITARY FORCE WILL NOT END SUFFERING LET'S HAVE CONSTRUCTION NOT CONSCRIPTION

Did you know!

- In 1984 more money was spent on demolishing houses than on building them.
- In 1984 more money was spent on defence per day than on housing for the whole year.
- R13 million is spent daily on war in South Africa.
- R13 million can build a hospital.
- In 1984 PW Botha said 'Our education system must train people for war'.

What can I do?

You can:

- attend or help run a holiday programme in Western.
- build a park for mentally handicapped children.
- come to a picnic on 27 April at Zoo Lake.
- show this pamphlet to your friends.
- talk to your parents.
- come to a public meeting.

Phone Dana: 648-3729

We are young. We are strong. We can build the South Africa we want to live in. Our dream — a non-racial-democratic South Africa where apartheid is a memory and peace is based upon justice and equality for all. A place for all young people to live, work and build together.

WE CAN BUILD PEACE TOGETHER AND HAVE FUN

ECC



Photo: Gille de Vlieg



Photo: Gille de Vlieg

The End Conscription Campaign

As militarisation intensified many young people, largely from the English-speaking universities and churches became increasingly unhappy with the system of compulsory military service. Between 1978 and 1982 twelve conscientious objectors refused to do their military service because of their political and religious beliefs. They were all imprisoned. Their courage and convictions stimulated the formation of a war resistance movement, which ultimately became the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

The ECC aimed to build pressure on the government to end conscription and to raise awareness and strengthen opposition against militarisation within the white community. By campaigning in the white community the ECC hoped to make an important contribution in the struggle against apartheid. It supported the UDF's spirit of non-racialism but it never directly became a UDF affiliate.

The ECC carried out many campaigns within the white community to raise awareness and protest against the military actions of the SADF. One of its first campaigns was the 'No War in Namibia' Campaign, which was a protest against the SADF's occupation of Namibia. In 1985, the ECC held a 'Stop the Call-up Peace Festival' where hundreds of activists spent three days in workshops, seminars and in a range of cultural events.

The ECC used unusual tactics to draw in support and raise awareness. They held rock concerts, fairs and anti-war poster exhibitions and produced stickers, T-shirts and pamphlets to distribute to a wide range of people. This gave rise to a popular anti-war culture. It also intensified resistance to conscription.

The 'Troops Out of the Townships' Campaign in 1985 was a response to the mobilisation of thousands of troops to occupy and police the townships. The campaign was centred around a number of conscientious objectors who went on a fast. Thousands of people from all walks of life visited the objectors and went on a 24-hour solidarity fast. The campaign united people of all races and showed that the ECC was a growing organisation that held a place in South African oppositional politics.

In 1986, the ECC launched the 'Working for a Just Peace' campaign, which called on the government to allow for community service to be extended to all conscientious objectors not just religious pacifists. It also called for meaningful community service rather than objectors working in government departments. To this end, ECC activists and supporters carried out community service in black communities around the country. The campaign drew overwhelming support with over 600 volunteers doing community service and over 6,000 people attending its public rallies.

However, as the ECC grew in support, the government attempted to suppress its activities. It carried out a vicious smear campaign against the ECC in an attempt to show that it was unpatriotic and dangerous. ECC offices were raided and over 75 activists were detained while others were personally harassed or attacked. In 1988, the ECC became the first white organisation to be banned by the government. This in itself was recognition of how much of a threat the ECC posed to the government's policy of militarisation and conscription.



The ECC made use of many posters in order to spread its message against conscription. Look at the three ECC posters and answer the following questions.

1. In most ECC posters they use the symbol of the ECC as breaking the chains. What chains was the ECC breaking? Was this an effective image?
2. Are the ECC posters also a form of propaganda? Explain your answer with reference to the posters.



The symbol adopted for the 'Working for a Just Peace' campaign looks like the government poster on the previous panel.

1. Why do you think these symbols look similar but are clearly different?
2. Who do you think created its image first – the ECC or the government? Explain your answer.
3. Looking at this panel, what other symbols did the ECC use to get its message across? Are they effective? Explain your answers.



SOURCE: "Working for a Just Peace", pamphlet produced by the ECC, date unknown.

Read the text on the ECC in the booklet and look at the two photographs of an ECC concert on the panel.

1. What kind of tactics did the ECC use to gain support to its cause?
2. Do you think these were good ways of getting their message across or not? Explain your answer.

EDUCATION IN CRISIS

PANEL 11



The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was a national organisation established in Pietermaritzburg in 1979. The aim of COSAS was to co-ordinate student activities in different regions and to unite all students against discrimination in education. COSAS strove for a dynamic free and compulsory education for all, for a spirit of co-operation and trust between students, parents and teachers.



We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

— Extract, *The Freedom Charter*, 1955.



— Photo: Paul Weinberg

Both AZASO and COSAS declared their support for the Freedom Charter, paving the way for non-racial student politics and a working alliance underpinned by the

Education Charter Campaign



— Photo: Gille de Vlieg



— Photo: Photographer unknown

Liberation before education!

The revival of youth politics and resistance in the 1980s had much to do with the formation of two new student organisations in 1979:

- the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) – represented students at schools and colleges
- the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) – represented university students

COSAS, focused on the crisis in education in schools. It aimed to fight against Bantu education and to normalise relations between pupils, teachers and parents, which had significantly broken down since the school boycotts in the late 1970s. COSAS believed in non-racialism and adopted the Freedom Charter. It was willing to work with any progressive organisations with similar beliefs to theirs.

The Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) was an offshoot of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which was relaunched in 1979. AZASO organised students at a university level. It was however weakened by splits and divisions in the membership over ideology. Some members argued the importance of following Black Consciousness, while others believed in non-racialism. AZASO did eventually adopt the Freedom Charter as well.

In 1980 and 1983 there were two major urban school boycotts. Following the Soweto Uprising, the government had agreed not to introduce Afrikaans as the language of instruction. However, little else had been done to improve education. Schools remained under-resourced, classrooms were over-crowded and there was a significant drop in standards as a result of hundreds of teachers resigning after 1977. The boycotts began in coloured schools in the Western Cape but rapidly spread throughout the country. 'Liberation before education' became the rallying cry, and gained support in many townships. There were also school protests in the rural areas between 1985 and 1986. Schools were closed and thousands of students and teachers were arrested.

COSAS played an important role in these boycotts. COSAS believed that school boycotts were having a negative impact on the future of the youth and eventually negotiated a suspension of the boycotts in African schools. In order to show their commitment to education and to popularise their message, COSAS launched the Education Charter Campaign. The charter endorsed the education principles in the Freedom Charter. COSAS also organised tutoring programmes to help school students to catch up with their studies. COSAS also played an important role in the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

However, no reform of education took place and in 1984, school boycotts resumed. This time, COSAS tried to coordinate student demands and link them to the wider struggles that were taking place against apartheid. As COSAS increased its profile, the government saw the organisation as a threat and banned COSAS in August 1985.



SOURCE: "June 16: Education in crisis", Pamphlet produced by Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), date unknown.

Read the source dealing with the crisis in education and then answer the following questions:

1. This document was issued by COSAS and AZASO in the 1980s. What do they identify as the crisis in education at that time?
2. COSAS and AZASO tried to unify students throughout the country with the slogan "An Injury to One is an Injury to All!" What do you think they meant by this slogan and do you think it is effective?
3. What is the tone of this document? Explain your answer by using examples from the text.
4. Is this document biased in any way? Find examples in the text to justify your answer.



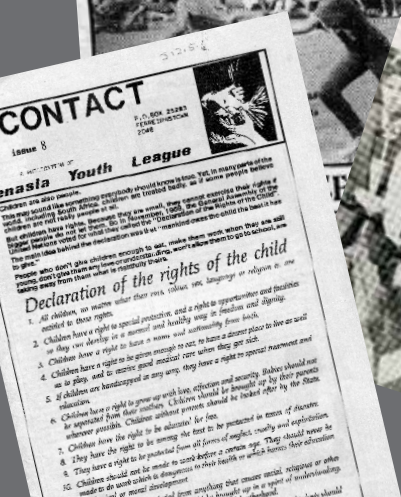
Read the extracts from the Freedom Charter. When South Africa achieved its freedom, the new government pledged to uphold the principles of the Freedom Charter when governing the country. Draw two columns on a page. One heading says Achieved and the other says Not Achieved. Under the relevant columns, identify which principles have been achieved today and which have not. What do your findings show about the state of education today?



In the centre of the panel there are a number of stickers saying 'We want Student Representative Councils (SRCs)'. Find out more about the role that SRCs played in schools in terms of coordinating resistance. Does your school have an SRC or a prefect system? How effective is student organisation in your school in addressing students' concerns? In groups, discuss how you can improve these organisations.



— Photo: Gille de Vilag



A COSAS Commission was established to investigate the formation of a national youth organisation. It was decided that individual townships and regions should establish their own youth congresses that would work in close cooperation with COSAS and AZASO. By 1983, 20 new youth organisations were launched. By the end of 1986 there were some 600 youth congresses across the country. This was remarkable in its own right as the youth congresses were established and operating during the time of the first state of emergency.



— Photo: Jimi Matthews



— Photo: Gille de Vilag

Youth Comrades!

In 1984 rent boycotts in the Vaal Triangle sparked a new wave of spontaneous, popular resistance from a range of different groupings within South African society. The youth played an increasingly important role in the 'unrest' that ensued. A large number of youth organisations were formed in an attempt to mobilise the youth to action. By the beginning of 1985, the ANC had realised the vast potential of the youth in the struggle and tried to mobilise them to its cause. Thabo Mbeki, in a broadcast on Radio Freedom, called on the youth to "make the townships ungovernable." The youth took him at his word.

The 'Comrades' took to the streets of the townships and created havoc. 'Comrades' was a term that gave militant youth a sense of identity and belonging. The youth brought to the struggle a new energy and vibrancy, which was centred on the *toyitoyi*, a militant dance that used to instil fear in the security police. They were also referred to as the 'young lions'. The comrades were politically motivated and saw themselves as different from the ordinary youth in the townships. They took the lead in resistance in the townships in the 1980s.

They targeted local councillors who they saw as collaborators, as well as people suspected of being informers, and residents who did not participate in political campaigns. They often behaved in an extremely ruthless way. For example, there were reports of militant youth forcing residents to swallow washing powder or fish oil as punishment for their lack of involvement. This often alienated residents from the youth.

However, their actions did make the townships ungovernable. The on-going presence of security forces in the townships intensified the anger of the youth and led to violent confrontations with the police and army. Comrades used crude guerrilla tactics, such as the use of petrol bombs, creating burning barricades, throwing rocks. The situation in many townships had descended into an urban civil war, and it was in this context that the state imposed a state of emergency in eighteen regions, largely in the Witwatersrand and the Eastern Cape.

At the same time, the UDF tried to organise the youth in an attempt to harness their anger and to educate and mobilise them on issues like unemployment and education. This led to the growth of further youth organisations. Militant youths accused political organisations like the UDF of being too moderate and favoured more direct action. Both the ANC and the UDF recognised that the call for ungovernability had increased the militancy of the youth, but it had also made it very difficult to control them. In an attempt to reassert some control, the UDF called for the development of alternative structures of government in which 'people's power' would be exercised. It was the youth organisations that took up this call.



SOURCE: "Students marching to cemetery with grave flowers, Wattville, Gauteng", 9 August 1984, Photograph by Gille de Vlieg.

Because of the restrictions imposed by the state of emergency, it was often difficult to meet and organise campaigns against apartheid. Funerals often became the site of mass organisation. The top photograph was taken at a funeral.

1. Describe how the young people look in this photograph.
2. What message is the photographer trying to get across? Refer to elements in the photograph when you answer.
3. What is your response to this photograph?



Learn a dance and conduct an interview

Try to find someone in your community who played an active role in youth protest during apartheid.

1. Ask the person to teach you the *toyitoyi*. In groups, teach each other what you have learnt and then *toyitoyi* for the rest of the class.
2. Conduct a brief interview with this person to find out what kind of role they played. Then share your findings with the members of your group. What is the general sense of the role of youth that emerges from all these interviews?



— Photo: Paul Weinberg

The youth organisations backed the UDF's call to support consumer boycotts. This non-violent form of protest spread quickly across the country. By the end of 1985, the UDF was in a state of disarray – Murphy Morobe recalled that about 8000 UDF leaders had been detained or killed, or had fled into exile – and COSAS had been banned.

The school boycotts of 1985 rendered the schools ungovernable mirroring the collapse of the Black Local Authorities in the townships. With the slogan

'Liberation Now, Education Later!',

the boycotts brought chaos to schools across the country.

This resulted in the formation of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in 1986, which was committed to a culture of teaching and learning.



— Photo: Photographer unknown

The Education Crisis Continues!

As the school boycotts continued and the militant youth took to the streets to fight running battles with the security forces, there was growing concern among parents and educators that a whole generation of young people were growing up uneducated. Militant youth were focused on their anger against the apartheid system and viewed the struggle as more important than their education. The rallying cry was: 'Liberation Now, Education Later!' However, without schooling, the youth had limited prospects for the future. The most they could hope for would be work as unskilled, cheap labour; the worst the spectre of unemployment.

In an attempt to deal with the crisis in schools, groups of concerned parents, teachers and students came together in December 1985 and formed the National Consultative Conference (NCC). This conference was organised by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, which was formed to deal with the education crisis.

The conference put forward political demands to the government such as the unbanning of COSAS, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the release of students and teachers from detention. But it also called for students to return to school and to work for change from within. And the way to do this would be through People's Education.

In 1986 the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was formed. The NECC urged students and teachers to challenge the system of education from within the schools, and to use knowledge and skills to empower students to fight apartheid. It proposed the introduction of a more relevant form of education called 'People's Education' and developed alternative teaching materials to counter the apartheid ideology inherent in the curriculum.

While it supported students' political demands, the NECC also tried to get students to go back to school. They also believed that youth activism could be more easily controlled and coordinated in schools. It put forward alternative slogans such as 'People's Education for People's Power' and 'Education for liberation' and suspended the school boycott.

The vision of 'People's Education' captured the imagination of the students. The NECC was later banned and many of its leaders detained.



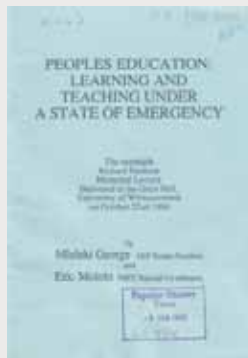
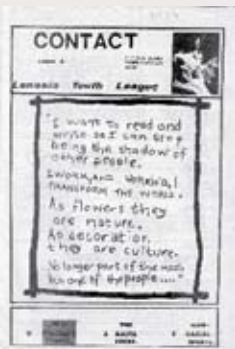
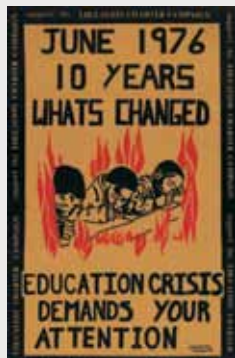
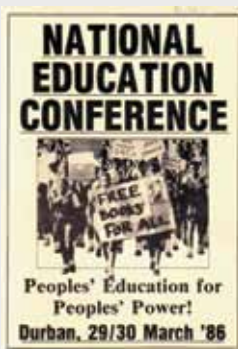
Look at the different slogans that emerged around education during the school boycotts.

1. What were people trying to achieve with these different slogans?
2. Imagine that you were a student during this time. Which slogan would you find the most appealing? Explain your answer.
3. Write your own slogan that addresses the education crisis that exists in schools today.



Create a Twitter campaign.

In groups, identify some of the frustrations that you experience as a student at school. Create a Twitter campaign to make people aware of these frustrations and how you could address them. Remember that tweets can only have 140 characters. If you are on Twitter, why not send this tweet?



PANEL 14

COSAS

HORIZON: What are the main campaigns Cosas is taking up this year?

Cosas: The Right to Learn campaign, the Back to School campaign - which includes the effective learning campaign - and the Education Charter Campaign. We are also organising a Back to School campaign.

The Back to School campaign was the result of the fact the DET had refused to allow thousands of students admission to schools. This includes those who had been in detention for some time and others who were expelled as the DET said they were disrupting the process of learning in the schools.

...that not only this, we need to go back to school in order to address the problems students are facing in the schools and to build democratic SRCs and PTSAAs, which involve parents, teachers and students.

Another reason for the campaign is that one day we will have a democratic South Africa and we will need skills to ensure that the country is run successfully. So, as Cosas, we must ensure that students go to school to learn and to organise themselves. We are putting the campaign for intensive learning to ensure dynamic progress at this level.

In addition, we are saying that students need skills to make organisations effective. For example, to take minutes in meetings, for public speaking and to be able to analyse the situation.

We have initiated a project along with Nkomo and Sarono where we advocate effective learning. This involves members of Nkomo and Sarono visiting in giving tuition, e.g. on Saturdays and during holidays, for students who were unable to pass their matric last year. Other organisations include, for example, ESP, STEP and ISUP, are also

FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHT TO LEARN

HORIZON spoke to Oupa Masenkane, the national publicity secretary of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), about the organisation's activities

helping with training. For example, DOP held workshops on leadership training with our Western, Southern and Northern Cape regions.

HORIZON: Have the Back to School and effective Learning Campaigns been successful?

Cosas: Most students responded to the Back to School campaign. The main obstacle has been the DET's failure to provide the necessary facilities and material for learning.

The DET promised to provide textbooks, but many students still

have nothing from which to study practically.

Even when there are libraries and studyrooms for students, these are very poorly equipped and many of the books are outdated.

Students have many problems in the schools and this continues to be an obstacle to ensuring intensive learning.

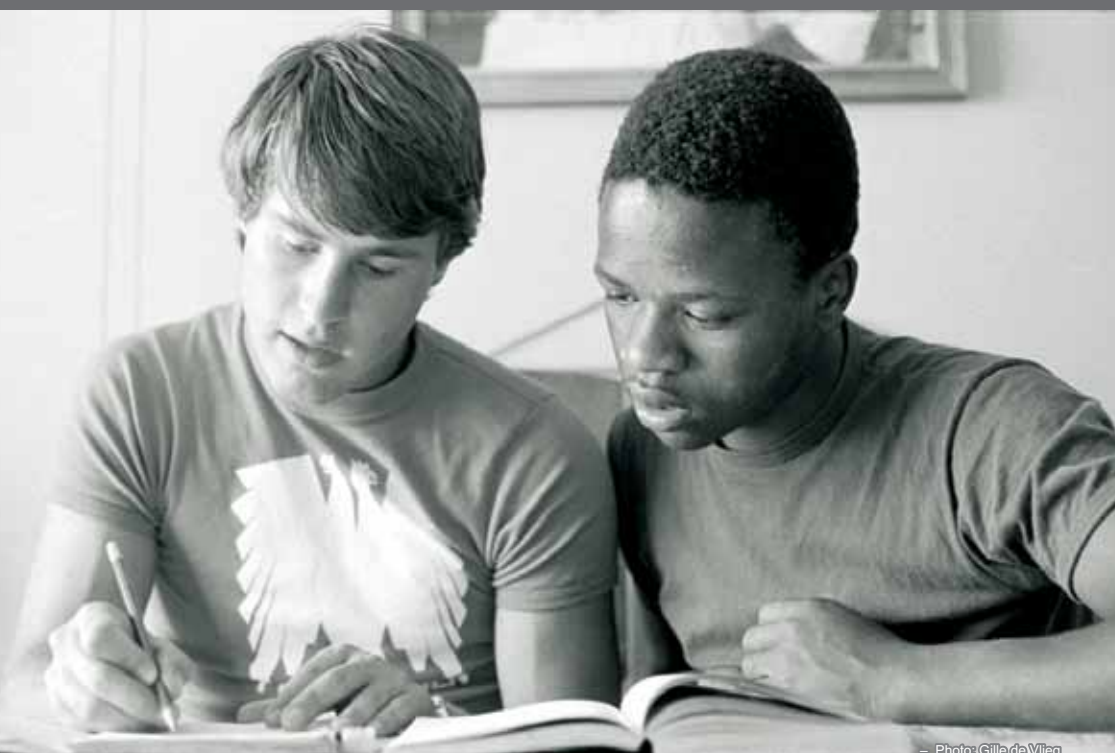
This campaign has been accepted by all major organisations and leaders have called on students to embark on intensive learning. The problem is not due to students being impatient, but due to the failure of the DET to provide material in the schools.

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— Photo: Gille de Vlieg

EACH ONE TEACH ONE



— Photo: Gille de Vlieg

People's Education

People's Education inspired many people with its alternative vision to Bantu education. But it also meant different things to different people. Some viewed it as a movement to improve education, while others saw it as a strategy to mobilise people politically and overthrow the government.

At the conference, Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa explained what People's Education was:

“...[it] prepares people for total human liberation; one which helps people to be creative, to develop a critical mind, to help people to analyse; one that prepares people for full participation in all social, political or cultural spheres of society.”

The idea of People's Education was reinforced when the NECC met in 1986. At the heart of the campaign for People's Education was an attempt to gain political control of education. The NECC wanted to shift the control of education from the Department of Education and Training (DET) to communities. It aimed to set up structures in communities where parents, teachers and students would work to create a better, non-racial and democratic education for all. The NECC recognised the important role of teachers in implementing People's Education and it worked with teachers' organisations to try to improve the strained relations that existed between students and teachers. It also established subject committees in History, English and Maths, which began creating new education materials that were not influenced by apartheid ideology.

But the NECC also believed that the state should continue to fund education by providing the necessary infrastructure to make schools work. However, it proved difficult to negotiate with the DET, which often ignored the NECC. There was a fear of state reprisals, and in fact, many of the members of the NECC were detained or harassed, making it difficult to organise.

By 1987 students began to return to school. Clashes between police and students soon broke out, as none of the issues in education had been resolved. The government began to severely restrict the activities of the NECC. In February 1988, the NECC was banned along with the UDF and a range of other organisations. This made it very difficult for a programme of People's Education to advance.



SOURCE: “Fighting for the Right to Learn”, published in *Horizon*, the journal of the ANCYL, May / June 1991

Read the source and answer the following questions:

1. What was the Back to School Campaign that COSAS initiated?
2. Why did COSAS feel there was a need for such a campaign?
3. How did the Department of Education and Training hamper this campaign?
4. Do you think the campaign was a success or not? Explain your answer



If you were on the panel tasked to develop alternative materials for history education, what would you include in the curriculum? Explain your choices.



One of the aims of People's History was to teach students about the hidden history of South Africa. At that time, people were not allowed to learn about apartheid and black children were not taught about their leaders and the struggles that people faced under apartheid. People would attend secret classes to learn this history. Today, many students respond negatively when it comes to learning about apartheid. Why is this the case and what can you as students do to try to change students' attitudes?

Let the Views of the Youth Be Heard

PANEL 15

The **South African Youth Congress (SAYCO)** was launched 9 months into the 1986 state of emergency on 28 March 1987. Amidst great secrecy, the organisation elected representatives from nine regional structures to the national executive, effectively bringing various youth organisations together across the country.

SAYCO adopted the Freedom Charter, pledged itself to work closely with COSATU and the NECC, and was affiliated to the UDF. SAYCO focused its activities on organising youth to tackle their problems through collective action. After the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1990 SAYCO immediately began the process of re-establishing the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and the ANC Youth Section, after which SAYCO dissolved.



— Photo: Guy Tillim

Youth unites: SAYCO

In 1986 the UDF had prioritised the building of national organisations in the women, youth and civic sectors after the second state of emergency in that year had reinforced the need for such structures but also made it difficult for such organisation to take place. There were a lot of divisions within the different youth organisations. As we have seen, militant youths wanted direct confrontation, others supported going back to school, and others joined youth organisations and participated in consumer boycotts and other national campaigns.

In 1986, Peter Mokaba, a former prisoner on Robben Island, was elected as a National Education Officer within the UDF. He was tasked with the healing of these divisions. He consulted with the ANC in exile, which lent support to this initiative. A planning workshop was held and finally, in 1987, delegates from youth organisations from all over the country came together at the University of the Western Cape and the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) was launched.

SAYCO was the largest youth grouping in the history of South Africa. It brought together ten regional organisations and had a signed-up membership of half a million, and a support base of two million. It adopted the Freedom Charter to guide and inform its work, echoing the words of the charter in the SAYCO slogan:

Freedom or Death: Victory is Certain

As a result of restrictions imposed by the state of emergency, planning and organisation had to take place in secret. Peter Mokaba was a fiery speaker and refused to allow SAYCO to be silenced. Despite emergency restrictions, Mokaba adopted a confrontational approach. At SAYCO meetings the flags and colours of the South African Communist Party and the ANC were on display, almost as a direct challenge to the security forces. It called for a strong alliance between the youth and the working class and was able to build up strong organisational measures.

However, SAYCO leaders were subjected to police harassment and the organisation was forced to work in secret. Nevertheless, the sheer size of the organisation gave it strength and credibility. It proved to be one of the strongest of the UDF's affiliates, as was recognised by the UDF in an internal report in 1987 in which SAYCO was referred to as:

“an inspiration, not only to the hundreds of youth congresses across the country, but the Front as a whole”



Imagine the conversation that might take place between the two young men at the forefront of the photograph. Then write it down in the form of a dialogue.



Do you think that the youth of today would benefit from the creation of a strong, united youth organisation? Explain.

FREEDOM OR DEATH VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

PANEL 16



The ANCYL was re-launched at Orlando Stadium in Soweto after an absence of thirty years from the political arena in South Africa. The ANCYL's main task was to rebuild the ANC by mobilising all sectors of the youth into active participation in the struggle to achieve freedom and democracy in South Africa.



— Photo: Gille de Vlieg

Re-launch of the ANC Youth League

Once the ANC and other political parties were unbanned in 1990, youth within South Africa and in exile began to work to re-launch the ANCYL. SAYCO, which had already shown its allegiance to the ANC by adopting the Freedom Charter, began to dissolve its structures and work towards re-launching the ANCYL. Its leadership joined the ANC Youth Section.

In 1991 the ANCYL was re-launched. Immediately it began to mobilise all youth in support of the negotiations process. Together with the ANC, the Youth League called for an interim government, the release of political prisoners and the formation of a Constituent Assembly.

After 1994, the ANCYL continued to work to mobilise the youth to support the ANC's vision of a non-racial, democratic South Africa. It also aimed to support young people by trying to ensure that their economic and social interests were secured. The Youth League sees itself as a bridge between the generations, acting in the interests of the young, but taking the message of the established ANC to the youth, and vice versa.

However, the ANCYL has had a bumpy road since its return. It has been racked by divisions, which have weakened the organization. In particular, the role of Julius Malema has been controversial. When he was elected as leader of the League in 2008, he did so under the platform of support for the president, Jacob Zuma. Malema went as far as to say that he and the Youth League were "prepared to take up arms and kill for Zuma." However, in 2010 Malema became openly critical of Zuma. He was found guilty of creating divisions within the ANC and of bringing the ANC into disrepute because of his actions. He was suspended for five years, later changed to expulsion.

In March 2013 the ANC disbanded the Youth League's National Executive Committee, thereby limiting its power. Many saw this move as deliberate attempt by the ANC to get rid of opponents of Zuma.



It seems that one of the problems of the ANCYL was that it began to get more involved in party politics and tended to ignore its original mandate, which was to secure better living conditions for the youth. In the light of this, do you think that youth organisations should not be allied to particular political parties and should work independently in the interests of young people? Discuss this issue as part of a class discussion.



In your groups, choose a particular issue in society that affects the youth of today. Develop a strategy to launch a web campaign around this issue. This strategy should include the following:

- the aims of your campaign
- what you stand for and what you hope to achieve
- how people can support you in this campaign.

Then design a web page or page for Facebook and post the campaign on the Internet. Try to get as much support as possible around this issue.

This EXHIBITIONS IN THE CLASSROOM guide for educators is based on the SAHA portable exhibition kit entitled **The Future is Ours: Commemorating Youth in Struggle**, in which artefacts from SAHA's archives provide a lens into decades of youth resistance to apartheid.

This guide is intended to help educators to use the exhibition as a starting point to explore with their learners:

- the struggles faced by young people living during apartheid
- the contribution made by the youth in the struggle against the apartheid state
- how the youth of today can contribute to creating a better future for themselves and for South Africa.

Development of the SAHA exhibition kit was funded by the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund and the Atlantic Philanthropies. To view the online version of this exhibition kit, please go to www.saha.org.za/youth

