

MANDELA

LONG WALK TO FREEDOM

MANDELA: Hero or Villain?

GRADE LEVEL: 9-12

RELATED ACADEMIC SUBJECTS: World History, Social Studies, Language Arts

LESSON OVERVIEW:

In this lesson students explore the conundrum of “one person’s freedom fighter is another person’s criminal.” They will examine historical examples of this dilemma as it relates to South Africa’s history of apartheid. They will then conduct a cost/benefit analysis of violent and non-violent methods to address oppression and make recommendations in a role-play activity.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- When does freedom fighting become acts of violence?
- Is it a question of goals? Tactics? Or simply whose side you agree with?
- Why did the African National Congress abandon its policy of non-violence and move to a strategy that incorporated violence?
- What are the costs and benefits of violent and non-violent methods to resist oppression?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Understand the complexities behind the terms freedom fighter and criminal
- Examine why leaders from the African National Congress considered abandoning its policy of non-violence for more violent methods
- Analyze and evaluate different violent and non-violent methods to oppose oppression
- Analyze the conditions of apartheid oppression in South Africa and formulate recommendations on what method would be best to address the oppression

ESTIMATED TIME

- Opening Activity: One class period (with homework option)
- Film clip viewing Activity: One class period
- Main Activity: 2 Class periods

MATERIALS NEEDED:

- Computers with Internet access for research
- Copies of student handouts
 - Background Essay “The Reluctant Move to Violence”
 - Film Clip Viewing Activity
 - “Subcommittee Cost/Benefit Analysis Presentation” Rubrics



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LESSON PROCEDURE

OPENING ACTIVITY

On the front board write the following:

How can one person's freedom fighter be another person's criminal?

Ask students to read the question and consider an answer. Ask several students to respond with their views. Tell students that the question poses a conundrum or a riddle that doesn't have a clear answer. Then tell students they will explore this question in the activity.

1. Divide the class into small groups of 2-3 students.
2. Distribute the background essay "The Reluctant Move to Violence" to all students. This reading could be assigned as homework the night before.
3. Ask the student groups to discuss the review questions as they read along. (If they've read the essay as homework, have them answer the questions and discuss in their small group.)
4. After the small groups have discussed the review questions, bring the class together and ask various groups to share their answers with the class.

VIDEO CLIP VIEWING ACTIVITY

In this activity, students will view a clip from the film *MANDELA: Long Walk to Freedom* that dramatizes life under apartheid in South Africa during the 20th century. In this clip, Nelson Mandela is speaking to a large group of black South Africans in Sophiatown (with police watching) about racial disparity between blacks and whites and that they aren't going to take it anymore.

1. Form the class into small groups of two to three students.
2. Have students view the film clip "Mandela Speaking to Youth Group (found on the film's website.)
3. Provide time for students to review the clips and discuss the following questions:
 - In the early part of his speech, Nelson Mandela speaks of the South African government's relocation policy which black communities like Sophiatown were condemned, black residents were evicted, and the land was given over to whites. How does his speech evoke rhetoric of "class warfare?" Do you feel this is an effective tactic for this audience? Explain why or why not?
 - As the speech progresses, Mandela challenges the white government to try to take their land "over our dead bodies!" Then he declares, "We will fight for our homes!" and "We will fight for our freedom!" How might the South African government view such political speech?
 - Analyze this call to action in South Africa at this time. Do you feel such a call to action was an effective strategy under the circumstances? Why or why not?
 - Listen carefully again to his words. Do you believe Mandela is calling for an overthrow of the government (an act specifically outlawed in South Africa) or is he putting conditions around any action black South Africans would take? If so, what are those conditions and do you feel they are enough to absolve Mandela from calling for revolution? Why or why not?
4. When students have finished their discussions, ask groups for their response.

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- Ask students to draw comparisons between the Sharpeville Massacre – a “trigger” event in history – and similar events in US history that they have studied (e.g. the Battle of Lexington.) How do you think the American Minutemen saw themselves and how do you think the British Parliament saw them in terms of the conundrum posed at the beginning of this activity?
- How does South Africa’s resistance movement towards apartheid compare with the Civil Rights Movement against racial discrimination occurring in the United States during the same time period?
- Do you think the South African government was justified in its reaction to the MK organization? Explain your answer.
- Do you believe the anti-apartheid resistance movement had any other option other than the one they took? Explain your answer.
- Would you classify members of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa as freedom fighters or criminals? Explain your answer.



Mandela in Morocco with members of the Algerian Liberation Army, 1962. © UWC Robben Island Mayibuye Archives

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MAIN ACTIVITY

In this activity, students will role-play sub-committee members of the African National Congress charged with the task of analyzing the costs and benefits of violent and non-violent actions to address repressive conditions in South Africa in the early 1960s. They will compile their analysis and formulate a presentation to make to the class.

1. Divide the class into small groups of 3-4 students. Ask them to brainstorm ideas for the following question: What are some ways individuals or groups who feel oppressed by their government can respond to reduce or eliminate oppression? Consider both violent and non-violent methods.
2. Remind students of the rules for brainstorming:
 - List as many ideas as possible without regard to effectiveness. Evaluate after all ideas have been recorded
 - List all ideas in full view of others
 - No critical evaluation allowed
 - All people should participate
 - Collapse similar ideas together
3. Have all groups report and review their ideas to the class and list them on the front board gathering 10-20 ideas.
4. Facilitate a discussion to reduce the number of ideas to four—two using violence and two using non-violence.
5. Tell students they are going to engage in a role-playing activity by portraying subcommittees of the African National Congress. Each subcommittee has been assigned to run a cost/benefit analysis on each of the four methods suggested to address repressive conditions in South Africa in the early 1960s.
6. Distribute the handout, “Subcommittee Cost/Benefit Analysis Presentation” to each group. Review the guidelines for presentation and the directions for their cost/benefit analysis chart. Be sure to explain the meanings of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats.
7. Provide time for each group to compile their findings and make recommendations on the method they believe to be the best course of action for “the people, the future and the freedom” of black South Africans. Remind students to include any dissenting opinions from members of the group into their presentation.
8. For an individualized assessment, have students produce a written report using the presentation guidelines as a guide. When presenting dissenting opinions from other members of the group, ask that students evaluate the effectiveness of these dissenting opinions with evidence to support their position.

ASSESSMENT SUGGESTIONS

- Active participation during discussions and activities.
- Completion of notes from the Video Viewing activity.
- Evaluate students’ Cost/Benefit Analysis Presentations using the suggested rubric provided at the end of this lesson or your own assessment tool.

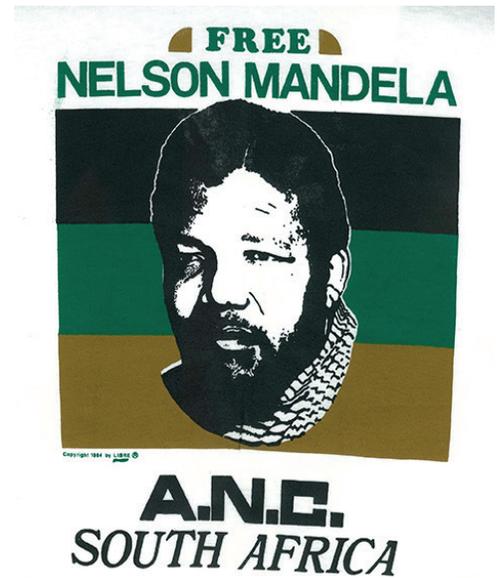
EXTENSIONS/ADAPTATIONS

Have students identify interracial and cultural disputes they see on a national, state, and local level. Divide students into different groups and give them one of these disputes to investigate. Have each group brainstorm possible actions and center on four actions to conduct a cost/benefit analysis. Then have them formulate a presentation to make to the class following the presentation guidelines from the Main Activity in this lesson.

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RESOURCES

- Nelson Mandela Foundation and Centre of Memory
<http://www.nelsonmandela.org/>
- Apartheid Museum
<http://www.apartheidmuseum.org>
- South African History Online
<http://www.sahistory.org.za>
- Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy (Michigan State University)
<http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/>
- Famous Trials “Nelson Mandela Trial” (University of Missouri, Kansas City)
<http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mandela/mandelahome.html>
- South African History Online, “Rivonia Trial 1963-1964”
<http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/rivonia-trial-1963-1964>
- History of Apartheid Cartoons
http://www.rfksafilm.org/html/apartheid_cartoons.php
- African National Congress
<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4518>
- Anti-Apartheid Struggle in SA (1912-1994)
<http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/index.php/movements-and-campaigns/movements-and-campaigns-summaries?sobi2Task=sobi2Details&sobi2Id=29>



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STANDARDS

NATIONAL CENTER FOR HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS
(<http://www.nchs.ucla.edu/Standards/world-history-standards/>)

World History – Era 9: The 20th Century Since 1945: Promises and Paradoxes
(Standard 2C) The student understands how liberal democracy, market economies, and human rights movements have reshaped political and social life.

- Grade 5-12: Explain the dismantling of the apartheid system in South Africa and the winning of political rights by the black majority

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
(<http://downloads.ncss.org/NCSSTeacherStandardsVol1-rev2004.pdf>)

- II. Time, Continuity, and Change
- V. Individuals, Groups, and Institutions
- VI. Power, Authority, and Governance
- X. Civic Ideals and Practices

PARTNERSHIP FOR 21ST CENTURY SKILLS (<http://www.p21.org/overview>)

Creativity and Innovation

- Work Creatively with Others
 - Develop, implement and communicate new ideas to others effectively

Critical Thinking and Problem Solving

- Make Judgments and Decisions
 - Effectively analyze and evaluate evidence, arguments, claims and beliefs

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STANDARDS

PARTNERSHIP FOR 21ST CENTURY SKILLS (continued)

Communication and Collaboration

- Communicate clearly
 - Articulate thoughts and ideas effectively using oral, written and nonverbal communication skills in a variety of forms and contexts
 - Listen effectively to decipher meaning, including knowledge, values, attitudes and intentions

Collaborate with Others

- Demonstrate ability to work effectively and respectfully with diverse teams
- Exercise flexibility and willingness to be helpful in making necessary compromises to accomplish a common goal
- Assume shared responsibility for collaborative work, and value the individual contributions made by each team member

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

(<http://www.corestandards.org/ELA-Literacy>)

English Language Arts Standards – History/Social Studies – Grade 9-12

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1. Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2. Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1. Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2. Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

Writing

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.W.9-10.1. Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.W.9-10.2. Write informative/explanatory texts to examine and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection, organization, and analysis of content.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.W.11-12.1 Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.W.11-12.2. Write informative/explanatory texts to examine and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection, organization, and analysis of content.

Speaking and Listening

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.SL.9-10.1. Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 9–10 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.SL.9-10.4. Present information, findings, and supporting evidence clearly, concisely, and logically such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and task.

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STANDARDS

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

Speaking and Listening (continued)

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.SL.11-12.1. Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 11–12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.SL.11-12.4. Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks.

AUTHOR BIO:

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BACKGROUND ESSAY “THE RELUCTANT MOVE TO VIOLENCE”

“How can one person’s freedom fighter be another person’s criminal?”

The statement poses a conundrum or a challenging riddle with no easy answer. Even the very term “freedom fighter” is a bit of a misnomer. Usually people fight *against* things, i.e. firefighters fight fires and crime-fighters fight crime...But what do freedom fighters fight?

For Nelson Mandela and members of the African National Congress, the biggest question they faced in 1960 was *when does freedom fighting cross over to acts of violence?*

During the 1963-1964 Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela and nine co-defendants faced charges of sabotage and trying to overthrow the government by violent means. Rather than be cross-examined about his contacts and specific underground work, Mandela chose to offer a statement from the dock, the place where the accused stands in a South African courtroom during a criminal trial. In his speech, he gave a history of apartheid beginning with the 19th century laws that denied blacks the right to vote and restricted their movement and land ownership.

By 1948, the white dominated National Party controlled the government and institutionalized apartheid into the legal system. Mandela went on to explain how this sparked resistance and popular uprisings which were most often met with severe penalties. Anti-apartheid groups were banned and their leaders imprisoned. As the unrest spread with boycotts, labor strikes, and civil disobedience, the South African government responded with more repressive laws and increased violence.

Nelson Mandela goes on to remind the court of the Sharpeville Massacre, in March, 1960, when police opened fire on a peaceful crowd protesting the pass laws killing 69 men, women, and children and wounding 186. The government declared a state of emergency and banned all anti-apartheid groups. He explains how the ANC decided not to obey the ban, for to do so would mean they accepted life under a government where they had no say. Nelson Mandela and the ANC went underground.

It was at that point that Mandela and the ANC decided to change their strategy. From their point of view, decades of non-violence had simply brought the African people more and more repressive laws. The decision to resort to violence was not an easy one for an organization that had strictly adhered to non-violence. Leaders like Nelson Mandela and others believed the increased repression on peaceful protests and banning political opposition made it clear that non-violence alone would not force the regime to change. After hours of intense debate by ANC leaders, it was decided that Nelson Mandela would form a new military organization, separate from the ANC. The new organization, named “Umkhonto we Sizwe” (Spear of the People) would “hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.”¹

¹African National Congress. “A Brief History of the African National Congress” <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=206>

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DIRECTIONS

Review the excerpts from Nelson Mandela's speech at the Rivonia Trial to understand the reasoning for the ANC's change in strategy.

What were we, the leaders of our people, to do? Were we to give in to the show of force and the implied threat against future action, or were we to fight it and, if so, how?

We had no doubt that we had to continue the fight. Anything else would have been abject surrender. Our problem was not whether to fight, but was how to continue the fight. We of the ANC had always stood for a non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any action which might drive the races further apart than they already were. But the hard facts were that fifty years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights. It may not be easy for this Court to understand, but it is a fact that for a long time the people had been talking of violence - of the day when they would fight the White man and win back their country - and we, the leaders of the ANC, had nevertheless always prevailed upon them to avoid violence and to pursue peaceful methods. When some of us discussed this in May and June of 1961, it could not be denied that our policy to achieve a nonracial State by non-violence had achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy and were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism...

...At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force.

This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the Government had left us with no other choice. In the Manifesto of Umkhonto published on 16 December 1961, which is Exhibit AD, we said:

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future, and our freedom.

Small Group Discussion Questions

1. Explain how the Sharpeville Massacre changed the strategy of the anti-apartheid movement.
2. Describe the moral struggle ANC members experienced in their deliberations over a strategy of violence. What were the central issues they were debating?
3. Identify in the speech where Nelson Mandela explains why the resistance movement had no choice but resort to violence.
4. Why do you think Nelson Mandela and ANC members believed violence was a more effective method to resist the human rights abuses of the South African government than non-violence?

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SUBCOMMITTEE COST/BENEFIT ANALYSIS PRESENTATION

DIRECTIONS

Your group is working as a sub-committee for the African National Congress to assess the costs and benefits of using violence or non-violent methods to address the oppression of the South African government. You need to consider all the factors involved including your own conscience, past policies and actions of the South African government, where you want to move the country of South Africa, and the costs and benefits of your recommendations.

The process takes place in two steps:

- 1) Complete the Cost/Benefit Analysis Chart on the second page. Follow the directions provided.
- 2) Formulate a presentation to the other members of the Congress (the class) making recommendations as to the best course of action. Use the presentation guidelines below.

PRESENTATION GUIDELINES

After completing the chart below, formulate a presentation to the other members of the Congress on what your group feels is the best course of action. Incorporate any useful information from any of the activities you've completed in this lesson (the background essay, the film clips, and discussions.) If any member(s) of your group have a dissenting opinion or recommendation, be sure to include it in your presentation.

Consider dividing the tasks among group members to better utilize your time for both the research and formulating your presentation. Present your information in creative ways incorporating charts and graphs, pictures, political cartoons, and videos wherever appropriate. You can construct the presentation for traditional poster boards or digital slide presentations on a website or weblog.

Your presentation should contain the following information:

- A summary reviewing the policy of apartheid and the relationship between the South African government and anti-apartheid resisters.
- A review and your analysis of the four methods for addressing the repressive conditions in South Africa in the early 1960s. Explain your reasoning behind each of the four criteria (strength, weakness, opportunity and threat).
- Your recommendation on the actions the anti-apartheid movement should take to address the repressive conditions. Also present the dissenting opinions. Be sure to provide evidence to support your position over the dissenting ones.
- Include any charts and graphs, pictures, etc., in your presentation
- Make sure the presentation contains proper grammar, spelling, and punctuation.
- Be prepared to answer any questions from the group.



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COSTS/BENEFIT ANALYSIS CHART

Use the chart below to conduct your cost/benefit analysis. List the four methods from the brainstorming session in the left hand column. Then evaluate each idea under the four criteria of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in the appropriate space (use an extra sheet of paper if necessary). Be prepared to present your findings to the class following the guide below.

- **STRENGTH:** a positive aspect of an idea.
- **WEAKNESS:** a negative aspect of an idea.
- **OPPORTUNITY:** how that idea creates a new positive alternative for the future.
- **THREAT:** how that idea creates a new negative alternative for the future.

BRAINSTORMING METHOD	STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES	OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS

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RUBRIC: COST/BENEFIT ANALYSIS PRESENTATIONS

STUDENT NAME: _____

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
CONTENT	Shows a full understanding of the topic	Shows a good understanding of the topic	Shows a good understanding of parts of the topic	Does not seem to understand the topic very well
PREPAREDNESS	Student is completely prepared and has obviously rehearsed	Student seems pretty prepared but might have needed a couple more rehearsals	The student is somewhat prepared, but it is clear that rehearsal was lacking	Student does not seem at all prepared to present
ORGANIZATION	Information is very organized with well-constructed paragraphs and subheadings	Information is organized with well-constructed paragraphs	Information is organized, but paragraphs are not well-constructed	The information appears to be disorganized
QUALITY OF INFORMATION	Information clearly relates to the main topic. It includes several supporting details and/or examples	Information clearly relates to the main topic. It provides 1-2 supporting details and/or examples	Information clearly relates to the main topic. No details and/or examples are given	Information has little or nothing to do with the main topic
SPEAKS CLEARLY	Speaks clearly and distinctly all (100-95%) the time, and mispronounces no words	Speaks clearly and distinctly all (100-95%) the time, but mispronounces one word	Speaks clearly and distinctly most (94-85%) of the time. Mispronounces no more than one word	Often mumbles or cannot be understood OR mispronounces more than one word
POSTURE AND EYE CONTACT	Stands up straight, looks relaxed and confident. Establishes eye contact with everyone in the room during the presentation	Stands up straight and establishes eye contact with everyone in the room during the presentation	Sometimes stands up straight and establishes eye contact	Slouches and/or does not look at people during the presentation

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RUBRIC: ESSAY

STUDENT NAME: _____

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
SUMMARY OF POLICY	The report contains a complete summary of the apartheid policy and explanation of the relationship between South African government and anti-apartheid resisters	The report contains a good summary of the apartheid policy and explanation of the relationship between South African government and anti-apartheid resisters	The report contains an incomplete summary of the apartheid policy and incomplete explanation of the relationship between South African government and anti-apartheid resisters	No attempt has been made to summarize the apartheid policy or provide an explanation of the relationship between South African government and anti-apartheid resisters
ANALYSIS REVIEW	The report provides an excellent analysis of the four methods for addressing repression with complete explanations	The report provides a good analysis of the four methods for addressing repression with complete explanations	The report provides an adequate analysis of the four methods for addressing repression with complete explanations	The report doesn't provide any analysis or explanation of the four methods for addressing repression
RECOMMENDATIONS AND DISSENTING OPINIONS	The report provides an excellent explanation of the recommendations and dissenting opinions with evidence to support their position	The report provides a good explanation of the recommendations and dissenting opinions with evidence to support their position	The report provides an adequate explanation of the recommendations and dissenting opinions with some evidence to support their position	The report does not provide an explanation of the recommendations and dissenting opinions nor evidence to support their position
ORGANIZATION	Information is very organized with well-constructed paragraphs	Information is organized with well-constructed paragraphs	Information is organized, but paragraphs are not well-constructed	The information appears to be disorganized
MECHANICS	No grammatical, spelling or punctuation errors	Almost no grammatical, spelling or punctuation errors	A few grammatical spelling, or punctuation errors	Many grammatical, spelling, or punctuation errors