

Activity 1 Constitutional rights – principles and rules

Task

This is a talking task. Speak about what should be filled in on this table. Then write in the missing principle or rule in each line. The first line in each of the four sections is done for you. The third column is optional. It can be completed by referring to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights, and the South African Bill of Rights (see the Appendices).

Now discuss which of the rules are the most difficult to keep and why.

| | Principles | Possible Rules | Examples of Human Rights |
|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Freedom | Freedom of assembly. | Do not interfere with others. | SA Bill of Rights, Section 17. |
| | Freedom of religion. | | |
| | | Respect other people’s privacy. | |
| | Freedom of speech. | | |
| Justice (fairness) | The right to property. | Do not take what is not yours. | African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, Article 14. |
| | No discrimination on colour, race, gender, age, religion. | | |

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| | | Obey the rules. | |
| | Equality of opportunity. | | |
| Respect | Protect the weak. | Be helpful to disabled. | Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 29. |
| | | Be generous. | |
| | Consideration for other people. | | |
| | | Do not insult anyone. | |
| Non-violence | Do not harm others. | Do not fight. | African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, Article 28. |
| | Do not retaliate. | | |
| | Do not abuse. | | |
| | | Do not bully. | |

Source: adapted from Nieuwenhuis, Jan (ed.). 2007. *Growing Human Rights and Values in Education*. Pretoria: Van Schaik; page 17.

Activity 2 Land rights – imagining housing in the future

This is a completely imaginary exercise. It is made up to help you think of what could happen in terms of land rights in South Africa (or other countries), and to judge what your responses would be.

Imagine that this is a news item in a few years' time.

The government announced today that it had achieved its housing goal for the year. In fact, the Minister of Housing stated, more houses had been built than the government had expected, and more money had been spent than had been provided in the budget.

“We are very confident that we will be able to improve on this performance every year, as we have shown that we can provide houses for all our citizens,” she said.

Now read each of the following imaginary accounts (Versions A, B, C, D). They give four different possible **backgrounds** to the news item:

Version A

It was not really surprising that the government had achieved its housing target, as it had put everything into the campaign to build more houses. It was convinced that this was the only way to achieve a better life for everyone and to keep its supporters happy, thus avoiding the housing protests that had been very common a few years earlier. But not everyone was satisfied. People complained that too much money was being spent on housing. Some schools and hospitals had been closed down because the government could no longer afford them. Community leaders insisted that housing was not important on its own, and that health and education were just as important.

Version B

Very few people paid attention to what the Minister of Housing said, because the government had reduced its target for housing considerably. It was now building fewer houses than it had been ten years ago, so it did not mean much that more houses had been built than expected. Instead of housing, the main focus of the government's land policy was to provide services (communication, roads, water and electricity) to informal areas in the cities and to rural areas.

Version C

The government's housing campaign had been so successful that economists predicted that waiting lists for houses would be wiped out in five years. After that it should be possible for anyone to receive a house within a year of applying for one. The Minister of Housing declared that the South Africa was leading the rest of the world in building affordable houses. She expected that many other countries would now follow the methods that were being used in South Africa to provide land and houses.

Version D

The housing campaign of the government was largely irrelevant, because the main focus of housing in the country was on the private sector. Many more houses were being built by private companies and by banks than by the government itself. People had lost faith in the ability of the government to provide the numbers of houses that were needed. In most communities, there were self-build housing schemes and people were building their own houses slowly as they had money to do so.

Tasks

Work in pairs and complete the following three questions. Then hold a class discussion to (a) compare responses to the three questions and, (b) discuss what they would do as citizens if their least favourite version came true.

1. Give each of the versions a mark out of ten. A high score is something you think will probably take place or that you would like to happen.

| Version | Likely to come true | I would prefer to come true |
|----------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| A | | |
| B | | |
| C | | |
| D | | |

2. Think about how important it is to you what happens to housing and land over the next twenty years. Show your feelings by putting an X at the place on the line where your feelings are.

I don't really mind _____ It matters a great deal to me.
 what happens.

3. Imagine that you are told that your least favourite version will come true. What do you think you would do? What should you do? Consider the following statements when you think of your answers.

- There's not much I can do, so I would just put up with it.
- It is important for people to organise themselves and make their voices heard in their local councils.
- If that's what people want, it's usually a good thing.
- I would make sure that I was in a good position to benefit from the situation.

(This activity is based on Davies, Ian, Geoff Hatch, Gary Martin and Tony Thorpe. 2002. What is Good Citizenship Education in History Classrooms? *Teaching History*, 106, pages 37-43.)

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Activity 3 Workers' rights – migrant labour

Read the following extract from the Introduction of Book 3: *The Struggle for Workers' Rights in South Africa*.

In the chapters of this book, we can see how the demand for workers' rights developed as a result of years of struggles around working conditions and the right to a living wage. However, these struggles always took place in the greater context of society as a whole, as this book will show.

In Chapter One, Luli Callinicos sets the scene by exploring the closely interlinked nature of work and family life in the homestead economy before colonial and industrial times. This focus is important because we need to understand how very much the nature of work changed from a land-based society to an industrial society, and how much was lost in the process.

When men and women left their homesteads to find work in the towns they lost many rights.

These included:

- the right to a home;
- the right to live with one's family;
- the right to dignity;
- the right to earn a living wage; and most importantly;
- the right to be in command of one's own labour (meaning that one has freedom to accept and leave work as one wishes).

Task

Work in pairs. Imagine that you have to give a spoken presentation to a committee of Parliament which is making new laws about the rights of workers. From the list in the box above, decide in what order to place the workers' rights, and why.

Think about the following when you are discussing this between the two of you: Which will be easiest and hardest to achieve? Which is the most "human" right? Which will be the most important to workers? Which will be most important to employers? Which will be most important to the government?

Deliver your speech to the class.

Activity 4 Gender rights – 16 days of activism against gender violence

Read the following information from Chapter 4 of *The Struggle for Gender Rights in South Africa*.

The South African Bill of Rights includes the following rights:

- The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone because of gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, disability and so on.
- Everyone has the right to have their dignity respected and protected.
- Everyone has the right to freedom, which includes the right to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources.
- Everyone has the right to bodily integrity and psychological integrity, which includes the right to make decisions concerning whether or not to have children. They also have the right to control over their body.

Have you heard about the 16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence? The 16-Day campaign is a world initiative to raise awareness, to address policy and legal issues, to campaign for the protection of survivors of violence, and to call for the elimination of all forms of gender violence.

November 25 is the start of the campaign each year. This day has been declared International Day Against Violence Against Women. It was officially recognised by the United Nations in 1999.

Task

Divide the class into groups of boys only and girls only (2 to 4 in each group).

The instruction to the boys' groups is to think of the best possible way of raising awareness about gender rights among girls during the 16 days. The instruction for the girls' groups is to do the same for boys.

Each group should put forward one idea. All the boys and all the girls then meet in two big groups to hear the ideas suggested and choose one.

Two class debates can follow:

- Half of the girls support the idea that the boys have proposed for raising awareness among girls, and half oppose it.
- Half the boys support the idea that the girls have proposed for raising awareness among boys, and half oppose it.

Or, choose one idea and have mixed halves of the class debate it.

Activity 5 Youth rights – duties

The *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* contains the following section on duties. Read it carefully.

Chapter II: Duties

Article 27

1. Every individual shall have duties towards his family and society, the State and other legally recognised communities and the international community.
2. The rights and freedoms of each individual shall be exercised with due regard to the rights of others, collective security, morality and common interest.

Article 28

Every individual shall have the duty to respect and consider his fellow beings without discrimination, and to maintain relations aimed at promoting, safeguarding and reinforcing mutual respect and tolerance.

Article 29

The individual shall also have the duty:

1. To preserve the harmonious development of the family and to work for the cohesion and respect of the family; to respect his parents at all times, to maintain them in case of need;
2. To serve his national community by placing his physical and intellectual abilities at its service;
3. Not to compromise the security of the State whose national or resident he is;
4. To preserve and strengthen social and national solidarity, particularly when the latter is threatened;
5. To preserve and strengthen the national independence and the territorial integrity of his country and to contribute to its defence in accordance with the law;
6. To work to the best of his abilities and competence, and to pay taxes imposed by law in the interest of the society;

7. To preserve and strengthen positive African cultural values in his relations with other members of the society, in the spirit of tolerance, dialogue and consultation and, in general, to contribute to the promotion of the moral well being of society;
8. To contribute to the best of his abilities, at all times and at all levels, to the promotion and achievement of African unity.

Tasks

Work in groups. Each group must create a short play involving the duties mentioned above. The play should show which duties the group thinks are important and which are not.

Your group must *decide on the following*:

| | |
|---|--|
| What will be the setting for your play? | Example <i>A family is having a meal together at home.</i> |
| Who will be the characters in the play? | <i>Grandmother, mother, daughter 18, her boyfriend, son 14, male friend of son.</i> |
| What will be the role of each character? | <i>Grandmother: always believes in traditional values; mother doesn't agree with anything that grandmother or daughter say, but agrees with boyfriend and son; daughter likes her grandmother and boyfriend; son always argues with everybody; boyfriend and friend try to keep the family peaceful.</i> |
| What will the play be about? | <i>Example (1) The boyfriend is in the army. He has been told that he has to leave the country for six months as part of a peacekeeping force in Africa. He doesn't want to go. Example (2) The mother has prepared a traditional meal that only the son likes.</i> |

After the plays have been performed, make lists on the board of the duties which were referred to in the plays – those the class agrees with and those it does not agree with.

Activity 6 Constitutional rights – how human rights affect us

This is a card sorting activity. For this activity the teacher or learners need to write or print the following on small cards or pieces of paper.

First set of cards: Situations

Select from these situations. Adapt them if necessary, or make up other suitable ones.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Elderly woman living in a rural area | Politician | Businesswoman |
| Prisoner | Pregnant woman | Street child |
| Mine worker | Student at university | Young man looking for work |

Second set of cards: Rights in the South African Bill of Rights

| | | |
|---|--|------------------------------------|
| the right to have access to sufficient food and water | The right to form and join a trade union | freedom of the press and the media |
|---|--|------------------------------------|

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| The right to freely choose a trade, occupation or profession | the right to privacy | the right to enjoy one's culture, practise one's religion and use one's language |
| the right to freedom and security of the person | the freedom to make political choices | freedom from unfair discrimination by the state |
| the right to have access to health care services | the right not to be detained without trial | the right to freedom of movement |
| the right to a fair trial | the right to life | the right to have access to adequate housing |

Task

Work in groups of three or four. Each group is given ONE of the first set of cards. It must be placed in the middle of the group's working space. Each group is given the complete second set of cards. All the rights on the cards are important, but some become more important depending on the person's situation. The group must decide how to place the Bill of Rights cards. Members of the group move the cards around, making the arguments for why they are doing so, until they agree about where they should be. The rights which are most important are put closest to the middle card, and the rest are placed according to their importance. The further away from the middle, the less important the card. Any cards that are completely irrelevant should be taken off altogether. After this, the group or individual learners have to write one or more paragraphs to answer this question: "What are the most important human rights a ... [fill in the situation from the card received from the first set, e.g. a street child] needs, and why?"

Use the cards as the way to organise your paragraph(s) according the importance of the information.

Activity 7 Land rights – the Homeland system

Read the following extract from Chapter 1 of *The Struggle for Land Rights in South Africa*. (shortened):

The apartheid government called black South Africans “Bantu”, and divided the Bantu into ethnic groups. Bantustans were the parts of the country that the government reserved for the Bantu people. Sometimes the term “homeland” is used instead. Both terms mean the same thing, and can be used interchangeably.

The homeland policy resulted in a patchwork quilt of racially and ethnically defined homelands surrounded by “white” South Africa. The government claimed that the homelands were the tribal homes of black South Africans. They consisted of 260 small and separate areas scattered all over South Africa. Together, they made up ten homelands – KwaZulu for the Zulu people, Venda for the Venda, Lebowa for the Northern Sotho and Pedi, Gazankulu for the Tsonga and Shangaan, kaNgwane for the Swazi, kwaNdebele for the Ndebele and Pedi, QwaQwa for the Southern Sotho, Bophuthatswana for the Tswana, and the Ciskei and Transkei for the Xhosa. Some of the homelands consisted of many small parcels of land.

The black homelands were part of the racial geography of apartheid South Africa. Homelands were a symbol of the apartheid government’s firm control over the lives of black South Africans. The apartheid government saw all South African blacks, no matter where they lived, as belonging to one of the “homelands”. This kind of separation was justified on the basis that these ethnic groups would have “self-determination” in separate self-governing territories – that is, that they would eventually rule themselves. Many blacks, especially those who lived in cities, rejected this idea and insisted that they were citizens of South Africa.

The homeland system was based on indirect rule via chiefs. This reduced the costs of control to the state, and made it possible to collect various taxes and levies. It also opened the way to the abuse of power by chiefs, leading to a crisis of legitimacy for traditional authorities in some areas.

Chiefs’ role in implementing customary law and “tradition” gave them political power. The apartheid state hoped to use the chiefs to control the black rural population. It also hoped to show that the homelands had given black people a system of self-government – which was part of the apartheid ideology.

Chiefs had a complex relationship with the state. Some chiefs and headmen were collaborators and served the interests of the apartheid state. Others used their position to help their communities; they worked with democratic structures and resisted the state’s attempts to extend control in the areas under their jurisdiction.

Because of indirect rule and the co-option of some (but not all) chiefs,

the homeland system led to the distortion of custom. Chiefs increasingly demanded payment from existing community members and from newcomers for the allocation of land. In many regions, people were forced to pay various “tribal levies”, and sometimes had to perform forced labour on the chiefs’ land for a certain period each year.

Popular resistance under the umbrella of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s challenged the power of chiefs. Civic organisations emerged to challenge those considered “puppets” and collaborators with the apartheid state, including chiefs, homeland administrators and councillors.

There were four ways in which the homeland system affected black people’s land rights.

Forced removals of black people from “white South Africa” became more widespread from the 1950s. Residents’ associations were formed in many of the rural communities that were threatened with forced removal. Despite resistance, about 3.5 million people were forcibly removed from cities, towns and farms between 1960 and 1983. Most of them were “dumped” in the homelands.

Allocation of rights to live on and use land became a source of conflict within the homelands. Under the homeland system, chiefs held the power to allocate land on which people could build their homes, grow their food and graze their livestock. These allocations of land were certified by white magistrates. Black people were not allowed to own their land. All land was owned by the state.

Women in the homelands did not have the same rights to land as men did. Because men were often migrant labourers on the mines and elsewhere, women did most of the agricultural work, but chiefs still allocated land only to men. Men controlled decisions about how land would be used, who would use it, and what would be done with income from farming. Women only got access to land through their husbands and fathers. Single women were not allocated land of their own. Sometimes widows had their land taken away by their husbands’ relatives.

Betterment planning involved forced changes to how people used land. It forced black people to resettle into organised villages. It reduced the amount of land and livestock people could have. The apartheid government separated homestead areas from grazing and crop land, arguing that this would save the environment from being destroyed. These changes in land use were very unpopular among the villagers and led to revolts in some areas.

People responded to the imposition of homelands in two ways – resistance and collaboration.

Those who benefited from the homeland system and collaborated with the government were tribal authorities and homeland politicians. There was also the growing class of bureaucrats who gained jobs and status from being

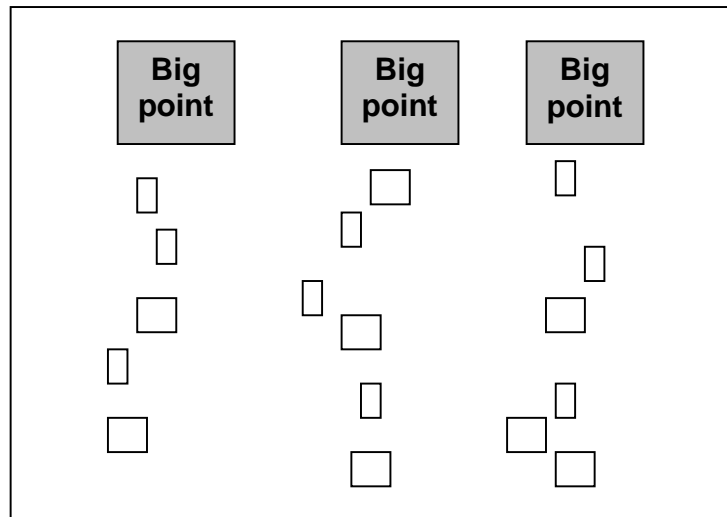
part of these “puppet” governments.

However, many common people opposed the homeland system. Many rebelled against it, including in the Witzieshoek reserve in the Orange Free State in 1952, from the late 1950s in Zeerust in the Northern Transvaal, in Sekhukhuneland, in Zululand, in Pondoland and the Transkei. Resistance was fuelled by growing discontent about a number of aspects of the homeland policy, including the extension of passes to women, the imposition of tribal authorities, betterment planning and cattle culling.

Task

Write a piece of extended writing (an essay) containing three or more paragraphs discussing the question, “How did the homelands system affect the land rights of black South Africans?”

- a) Choose three or more big points from the passage and write them on cards/small pieces of paper (see diagram). The big points are the main ideas that you can find in the passage.
- b) Write down on cards all the other points you can find in the passage.
- c) Arrange all the cards under the big points they belong with.
- d) Write a paragraph about each big point. Include the little points that go with it.



Activity 8 Workers' rights – traditions of resistance

Read the following passage, which is an excerpt from Chapter 5 of *The Struggle for Workers' Rights in South Africa*.

Different Traditions of Resistance

Three political traditions dominated the liberation movement in the 1970s and 1980s:

1. The non-racial tradition of the ANC-SACP-SACTU alliance in exile: After the ANC went exile in 1960, it gradually moved away from the multi-racial “four nations” approach of the 1950s Congress Alliance. That approach meant that there were separate organisations for African, coloured, Indian and white people. The ANC increasingly adopted the non-racial outlook of the South African Communist Party (SACP), and recognised the “leading role” of the working class in the struggle for liberation. The alliance was kept together by the common belief in the struggle for national democracy.

2. Pan-Africanism: This approach was promoted by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). The PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959 because they felt that the involvement of white communists was weakening the emphasis on “African nationalism” in the liberation struggle.

3. Black consciousness: This approach arose in the late 1960s, initially as a bridge between the ANC and PAC. It also emphasised nationalism, but made it clear that “black” applied to all those excluded from the political system – that is, African, coloured and Indian people (and not just Africans).

A fourth tradition was based in the Western Cape:

4. Non-European Unity Movement: While not large in numbers, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) made an impact through its influence on politically aware high school students, and through the sports boycott campaigns. The NEUM was against narrow nationalism, and emphasised non-racialism and the immediate struggle for socialism.

While these traditions played an important role in influencing the direction of the trade union movement that was to emerge later, some of the unions forged their own identity. This later came to be recognised as a fifth tradition.

5. Independent shop-floor unionism: This tradition emerged in the early 1970s from a combination of university students and intellectuals, and a new generation of worker leaders. Although they were influenced by the ideas of the socialist thinker Karl Marx (like the SACP and the NEUM), they placed more emphasis on bottom-up democratic organisation.

Tasks

Compare the five traditions of resistance using this table:

| | To which political group was the tradition linked? | What are key concepts or terms? | Who was included? |
|--------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Non-racialism | | | |
| 2. Pan-Africanism | Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) | PAC Pan-Africanism | African nationalism, for Black Africans |
| 3. Black consciousness | | | |
| 4. Non-European Unity Movement | | | |
| 5. Unionism | | | |

Now write a paragraph headed “A comparison between the tradition of worker and union resistance and the other four traditions of resistance in South Africa”. Start with what you think is most important.

Activity 9 Gender rights – laws that changed the position of women

This activity can involve the whole class with the teacher at the board, or it can be done individually.

Task

The instruction is to write a paragraph on “Do the laws introduced in South Africa between 1994 and 1998 give women what the Bill of Rights in the Constitution intended?” Use the information below, which is an excerpt from Chapter 4 of *The Struggle for Gender Rights in South Africa*, as well as the Bill of Rights.

Child care

- The Social Assistance Amendment Act of 1994 introduced the child support grant.
- The Maintenance Act of 1998 allows the Court to order an employer to deduct maintenance from the salary of the father, and to appoint maintenance officers who can trace the whereabouts of an absent father.

Domestic violence

- The Divorce Courts Amendment Act of 1997 gives women access to less costly divorce proceedings and makes it easier for them to leave abusive marriages.
- The Domestic Violence Act of 1998 affords greater protection against actual or threatened physical violence and sexual, emotional, verbal, psychological and economic abuse as well as intimidation, harassment, stalking, damage to or destruction of property, or entry into homes without consent.

Education

- The National Education Policy Act of 1996 provides for redressing the inequalities of the past in educational provision, including the promotion of gender equality and the advancement of the status of women.

Environment

- The Water Services Act of 1997 provides that every water service institution must take measures to realise the right of access to basic water supply and sanitation.

Labour

- The Labour Relations Act of 1995 gives basic labour rights to domestic workers and public sector workers.

○

Land

- The Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 states that priority should be given to people with the most pressing needs.
- The Land Bank Amendment Act of 1998 gives women access to financial assistance from the Land Bank.

Rape

- The Criminal Procedure Acts of 1995 and 1997 strengthen the Court’s ability to refuse bail in rape cases, especially where the perpetrator used a weapon or in the case of gang rape.
- The Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1997 sets out a mandatory minimum sentence for serious crimes, including rape.

There are two ways to structure the paragraph. Either base it on the rights and comment on them by referring to the laws, *or* base it on the laws and refer to the rights. Choose which way you wish to do it, and then work out the sequence of the paragraph: beginning, middle and end.

Use the following writing frame:

- To me it is clear that the laws introduced in South Africa between 1994 and 1998 [*give OR do not give*] women what the Bill of Rights intended. Two of my main reasons for coming to this conclusion are . . .
- One can also see that things [*improved dramatically OR did not improve*] as a result of . . .
- and . . .
- A final strong reason [*or reasons*] for my opinion about this is .

Activity 10 Youth rights – celebration banner

It is important to celebrate human rights as well as to discuss and debate them. This is a writing activity to give you a chance to celebrate human rights in your own way.

Task

Make your own poster on one side of an A4 sheet of paper. The class must decide whether everyone's sheets will be portrait (vertical) or landscape (sideways).

These are the requirements for the poster:

- a) It must contain some human rights that are personally important to you.
- b) It must have some examples of events related to human rights issues that are worth celebrating or commemorating.
- c) The writing on the poster must be as effective as you can make it. (This is not a primary school poster – you need to work it out carefully and make rough copies.) Think of writing slogans, poetry, songs, rap for the poster.
- d) It can be decorated, but the words are the important part. Make it easy to read. Don't write so much that it's hard to read.

When all the posters are finished, staple them together at the top corners and make a long banner to put around the classroom.

Examples of human rights

Civil and political rights:

- equality
- human dignity
- freedom of security of person
- privacy
- freedom of religion, belief and opinion
- freedom of expression

- assembly, demonstration, picket and petition
- freedom of association
- political rights
- citizenship
- freedom of movement
- freedom of trade, occupation and profession
- labour rights

Social and economic rights:

- right to education
- right to food
- right to health
- right to land
- right to water
- environmental rights
- right to social security
- right to housing

Examples of events to celebrate or commemorate mentioned in *The Struggle for Youth Rights in South Africa*

- You are allowed to live wherever you want to in South Africa.
- Nelson Mandela and his role in the armed struggle, in prison, and as President
- the Freedom Charter
- those who died at Sharpeville
- Oliver Tambo
- the ANC Youth League
- Steve Biko
- student movements: NUSAS, SASO, SASM, COSAS
- Soweto 1976 and the uprising that followed
- the United Democratic Front
- the ending of apartheid in schools
- youth culture

... and many, many more!

Activity 11: Constitutional rights – the Freedom Charter

The Congress of the People was held in Kliptown, Johannesburg, on 26-27 June 1955. It was attended by 2 844 delegates. At this meeting the famous Freedom Charter was adopted.

Read the following three passages taken from the book *30 Years of the Freedom Charter* (Suttner & Cronin, 1985. Johannesburg: Ravan). The information they contain comes from people who were interviewed by the authors.

A. Choosing delegates to attend the Congress of the People

From the African townships in Cape Town, Christmas Tinto remembers delegates being official representatives of ANC branches.

Q: Did the people in particular streets elect delegates?

Tinto: No. The delegates were not elected from those people you took grievances from.

Q: Couldn't they elect their delegates?

Tinto: No They give grievances. The area ANC, they call their meetings to read their demands of this area, they're put on paper.

Q: In some places, non-ANC people could be delegates to the Congress of the People. Was that not possible in Langa?

Tinto: Well, a lot of people joined the ANC in that time. But there were not non-ANC members as delegates.

In other regions, it seems, delegates were not necessarily organisational representatives. David Mahopa, active in Sophiatown at the time, was insistent on the point.

Mahopa: In Sophiatown people were elected as delegates from the streets.

Q: Did they have to be ANC members?

Mahopa: No, just people, never mind they are members or not.

Q: What type of people? Labourers, teachers or what?

Mahopa: Labourers, not teachers. Teachers were afraid to lose job. Even the ministers were afraid. They were supportive in a hidden way.

...in the Durban region there were elections of workers' delegates at a factory level.

Billy Nair: The most democratic methods were used. At the factory-floor level the workers met independently and elected the best people to send – three, four, five delegates, depending entirely on how much funds they were able to raise

(Suttner & Cronin, 1985, page 72).

B. During the second day of the Congress

A.S. Chetty: The proceedings were practically over, then, all of a sudden we found the cops coming in. The guys were coming in truck loads.

Dorothy Nyembe: Chief Luthuli had sent a letter to the South African government to send delegates to come. Late in the afternoon on Sunday, when we look around, we see 300 police with their horses. The people said that the South African government has now sent its delegates!

Chetty: In military style the cops circulated the whole of the Kliptown ground. They stood with their sten guns. With military uniforms, camouflage uniforms, they circulated the whole thing. Then this big chief, this cop, I don't know who he is, big size fellow too, he comes up to the podium and he stops the proceedings. And he says "You all under arrest!" In terms of certain, certain clause, this that and everything. "Don't move!" And I tell you the crowd was just getting angry. They were prepared to retaliate and lose their lives in that place. The cops would have mowed us all down. Because these guys were at absolute readiness. All this big fellow had to do was give them the signal and they would have mowed us down. So this huge sea of people, right. Next thing Ida Mtwana got on to that platform. And Ida said: "Comrades, this is the hour! Please do not do a thing! Let's start singing!" And she started singing. And this big cop couldn't do a thing.

After singing the National Anthem, Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika, the delegates proceeded with the Congress, completing the final clauses of the Freedom Charter. This work was done with the gathering still surrounded by the police
(Suttner & Cronin, 1985, pages 99-103).

C. Taking the message of the Freedom Charter back to the regions

In Port Elizabeth discussion of the contents of the Freedom Charter, clause by clause, was more advanced and reached a wider range of people than anywhere else.

What made this mass education work possible was the organisational structures in the townships of Port Elizabeth. Here, like nowhere else, the famous M (for Mandela) – Plan had been implemented.

Edgar Ngoyi: At this time I was the contact in the Kwazakele branch of the ANC. There were also contacts in New Brighton, and so on. There was an executive of six members. They would prepare reading material and send it out to the zones. The zones were made up of streets, with a small group in each street, and a group leader. The ANC was so strong in the Eastern Cape. This was because it had the political study groups, it kept people up to date all the time. And it had this zoning system, which meant it could penetrate right down to the street. People were politicised who had never entered the door of a school.

(Suttner & Cronin, 1985, page 109).

Tasks

1. In the left-hand column of the table [separate page], make a list of the examples of democratic rights you can find in Sources A, B and C. Use the rights on the right of this page to help you:

- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.
- Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
- Everyone has the right to take part in the government of their country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government.
- Everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions.
- Every citizen is free to make political choices.
- Every citizen has the right to form a political party.
- Every citizen has the right to participate in the activities of, or recruit members for, a political party.
- Every citizen has the right to campaign for a political party or cause.

How were some of these democratic rights **interfered with** at the time of the Congress of the People and Freedom Charter? See if you can find answers in the sources. If you cannot find an answer in the source, do you know it yourself?

| Examples of democratic rights | How were these rights interfered with? |
|-------------------------------|--|
| A | |
| a) | |
| b) | |
| c) | |
| B | |
| a) | |
| b) | |
| C | |
| a) | |
| b) | |

2. Match the following extracts from the Freedom Charter to the democratic rights. (You can use a democratic right more than once.)

| Phrases in the Freedom Charter | democratic right |
|--|------------------|
| Only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief. | |
| The People Shall Govern! | |
| Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws. | |
| All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country. | |
| The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex. | |

3. We do not have to struggle for these rights any more, but how can we protect and defend them? Think of two good ideas and share them with the rest of the class.

Activity 12: Constitutional rights – the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Read excerpts A, B and C carefully. Then do the task which follow.

A. There is a commitment to break from the past, to heal the wounds of the past, to forgive, but not to forget, and to build a future based on respect for human rights. This new reality in the human rights situation in South Africa places a great responsibility upon all of us. Human rights is not a gift handed down as a favour by government or state to loyal citizens. It is the right of each and every citizen . . .

I wish to stress that the objective of the exercise is not to construct a witch hunt or to drag violators of human rights before court to face charges. However, it must be stressed that a commission is a necessary exercise to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally accepted basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation. I invite you to join in the search for truth without which there can be no genuine reconciliation.

Source: Dullah Omar, Minister of Justice. Introduction to a pamphlet on the envisaged Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1995.

B. Not all storytelling heals. Not everyone wanted to tell his or her story. Many, on the other hand, were able to reach towards healing by telling the painful stories of their pasts. The healing potential of storytelling, of revealing truth before a respectful audience and to an official body, is illustrated by the following testimonies.

At a Commission hearing in Heideveld, Cape Town, Mr Lukas Baba Sikwepere was given the opportunity to relate, in his own language, his account of human rights violations, of which he had been a victim. During a political conflict in KTC (one of the informal settlements around Cape Town) on 31 December 1985, police allegedly began shooting at a number of people gathered around a police vehicle.

I decided to walk because I knew that if you run, you were going to be shot... When I arrived at the place – when I thought, now I am safe, I felt something biting my cheek. I felt my eyes twitching... I was scratching my eyes, I wasn't quite sure what happened to my eyes.

Mr Sikwepere described to the Commission how he was shot in the face and lost his sight. He also told how, two years later, the police beat him with electric ropes, suffocated him, forced him to lie in an empty grave and tortured him in other ways.

When a Commissioner asked Mr Sikwepere how he felt after having delivered his testimony, he replied:

I felt that what has been making me sick all the time is the fact that I couldn't tell my story. But now it feels like I got my sight back by coming here and telling you the story.

Source: *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*, Vol. 5, Chap. 9

C. Reconciliation meant that perpetrators of gross human rights violations must be given the opportunity to become human again. Ms Cynthia Ngewu, whose son was killed by the police in the 'Gugulethu Seven' incident, confirmed this crucial insight. At the forum on Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Economic Justice in Cape Town on 19 March 1997, Ms Ngewu was asked how she saw the notion of reconciliation. She responded as follows:

Ms Ngewu: What we are hoping for when we embrace the notion of reconciliation is that we restore the humanity to those who were perpetrators. We do not want to return evil by another evil. We simply want to ensure that the perpetrators are returned to humanity.

Ms Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela: Many people in this country would like to see perpetrators going to prison and serving long sentences. What is your view on this?

Ms Ngewu: In my opinion, I do not agree with this view. We do not want to see people suffer in the same way that we did suffer, and we did not want our families to have suffered. We do not want to return the suffering that was imposed upon us. So, I do not agree with that view at all. We would like to see peace in this country... I think that all South Africans should be committed to the idea of re-accepting these people back into the community. We do not want to return the evil that perpetrators committed to the nation. We want to demonstrate humaneness towards them, so that they in turn may restore their own humanity.

Source: *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*, Vol. 5, Chap. 9.

Tasks

Answer the following questions in pairs or individually.

- Choose one of the following six statements with which you either *strongly agree* or *strongly disagree*. Read the source from which it comes and then work out the reasons for your feelings. Try to find at least three reasons.

Source A:

- “to build a future based on respect for human rights”
- “the search for truth without which there can be no genuine reconciliation”

Source B:

- “the healing potential of storytelling”
- “I got my sight back by coming here and telling you the story.”

Source C:

- “We do not want to return evil by another evil.”
- “We want to demonstrate humaneness towards them, so that they in turn may restore their own humanity.”

[It would be interesting to hear some feelings and the reasons for them reported to the class, and to see to what extent others feel the same way about them.]

- Do your reasons have anything to do with human rights? Think of the following in coming to your answer:
 - “Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, ... the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of ... people.”
 - “the dignity and worth of the human person”

Source: Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see Appendix A)

- “Considering that the enjoyment of rights and freedoms also implies the performance of duties on the part of everyone . . .”
- “Freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples.”

Source: African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (see Appendix B)

- “Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law.”
- “Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person.”

Source: Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (see Appendix C)

- Dullah Omar said in Source A, “I invite you to join in the search for truth without which there can be no genuine reconciliation”. Investigate Sources B and C and try to show how truth led to reconciliation.

| | This truth | led to | this reconciliation |
|----------|------------|--------|---------------------|
| B | | → | |
| C | | → | |

Activity 13 Land rights – the Land Charter

Read these two sources.

A. Sam Tshabalala said:

I live in the district of Bethlehem. I am many years in the Free State and have worked on the farms. It is very hard now to stay on the farms. It is difficult to stay on because after one has ploughed and sown the master always sends one off the farm. He says the agreement has been broken. Many come to the magistrate and complain of being turned off, and the magistrate cannot help us. The police say, 'Go to a lawyer.'

Vella Imphela said:

I have been here 40 years. I have only to say that our stock are dying, our children are dying, and we have no place to rest. We want a reserve.

Source: The Beaumont Commission of Inquiry, 1916

B. We, the marginalised people of South Africa, who are landless and land hungry, declare our needs for all the world to know.

We are the people who have borne the brunt of apartheid, of forced removals from our homes, of poverty in the rural areas, of oppression on the farms and of starvation in the Bantustans. We have suffered from migrant labour which has caused our family life to collapse. We have starved because of unemployment and low wages. We have seen our children stunted because of little food, no water and no sanitation. We have seen our land dry up and blow away in the wind, because we have been forced into smaller and smaller places....

We look forward to the birth of a new South Africa. But for us there will be nothing new until there is land and services and growth. We will not sit back and watch as the wealth builds up in the cities, while on the edges of the cities, in the small towns and in the countryside, we continue to suffer and starve.

Source: The Land Charter, which was adopted at the Community Land Conference,

Tasks

- Both sources are from the Free State. Write down in a table what you think had changed and what had not changed between 1916 and 1994. You can any add information you have about the land situation today in the third column.

| What had changed by 1994? | What had NOT changed by 1994? | What has changed since 1994? |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | |

- This task can be done in pairs or groups. Study the following rights contained in the South African Bill of Rights: [Next page]

25. Property

1. No one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of property.
2. Property may be expropriated only in terms of law of general application
 - a. for a public purpose or in the public interest; and
 - b. subject to compensation, the amount of which and the time and manner of payment of which have either been agreed to by those affected or decided or approved by a court.
3. The amount of the compensation and the time and manner of payment must be just and equitable, reflecting an equitable balance between the public interest and the interests of those affected, having regard to all relevant circumstances, including
 - a. the current use of the property;
 - b. the history of the acquisition and use of the property;
 - c. the market value of the property;
 - d. the extent of direct state investment and subsidy in the acquisition and beneficial capital improvement of the property; and
 - e. the purpose of the expropriation.
4. For the purposes of this section
 - a. the public interest includes the nation's commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources; and
 - b. property is not limited to land.
5. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis.
6. A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress.
7. A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress.

Each pair or group is to give advice to one of the following people on the basis of what they have read in Section 25:

- A farm worker who has lived on a farm his whole life and is told that if he retires he has to leave the farm.
- A farmer who wants to stop new people from settling on his land. (He does not want to remove anybody.)
- Someone whose grandparents were removed from their land by the government in the 1950s.
- A farmer who wants his or her workers to own their own piece of farm land.
- A community that is suffering a water shortage because they are not allowed to use the dam nearby.
- A farmer who has just bought a farm and wants to remove all the people who are living on it.

What is your advice?

Groups report back to the class.

Activity 14 Workers' rights – African sugar millers and indentured labourers

Read the following extracts from Chapter 2 of *The Struggle for Workers' Rights in South Africa*.

A. Indentured Labour in the Sugar Industry

In 1859 the Natal government passed three laws – Laws 13, 14 and 15. Law 13 allowed workers north of Zululand to be brought into Natal, while Laws 14 and 15 dealt with labour from India.

The Indian labourers were indentured labourers. This meant that workers were under contract to an employer for five years (three years in the early years), and this could be renewed for another five years at a fixed wage. . . .

Indentured Labour:

Many contemporary observers and scholars who have written about the indentured labour system have argued that it was very much like slavery. Planters in places like Mauritius and the West Indies had been so dependent on slave labour to grow sugar that after it was abolished they tried to devise a new system of unfree labour.

The use of indentured labour from India, begun in the 1830s, became widespread through to the first two decades of the twentieth century. Among the British colonies using indentured labour from India were Mauritius and the islands of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, St Lucia, Grenada and Fiji. The French colonies of Reunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana, as well as the Danish colonies of St Croix and Surinam also drew labour from India.

B. An African sugar miller tells his story

The Umvoti sugar mill was placed here in 1861. I was a young man then. The mill was delivered by Queen Victoria to assist the natives who grow at Groutville through the Rev. Mr Grout's petition. And the mill was set here by Mr Shepstone [the Secretary for Native Affairs]. The regulation was that if we failed to plant for the mill, we should be responsible for it. From 1861 to 1882 I never failed to plant nor to deliver cane to the mill. Then, when the government saw that the mill was getting old, they left it. After a time the government delivered the mill to the natives on the condition they would take it and use it. On

these grounds the mill was taken by Mlau, Makabani, Mhlonono and Philip, all of Groutville.

Source: Robert F. Osborne, *Valiant Harvest: The Founding of the South African Sugar Industry 1848-1926*. Durban, South African Sugar Association, 1964, page 137.

C. Mr Makabani, a mill owner, described the difficulties of running the Umvoti sugar mill:

When we entered the mill we bought a boiler, each of us paying £85, a total of £340. By and by Mlau died, and three remained. After a time, Mhlonono and Philip failed. The engine now wants to be repaired, also the cooling vats for the sugar, the loading house and stable, whilst batteries want to be replaced, and the wetzel pans. The other two could not do the above, so I myself removed them and replaced all the things. Then the rinderpest came. . . . I have not yet paid the repairs of the mill, and where shall I get the money? The mill is right enough to crush the cane today, if there is cane. But there are no oxen, no ploughing. Rinderpest has ruined us.

Source: Robert F. Osborne, *Valiant Harvest: The Founding of the South African Sugar Industry 1848-1926*. Durban, South African Sugar Association, 1964, page 137.

rinderpest - an infectious disease of cattle, caused by a virus. The cattle got a fever and diarrhoea, and often died.

D. Ghandi's view

"Having observed the system for nearly eighteen years, I have come to hold very strong views on the question of indentured emigration from India. Even if it were possible to secure fair treatment from the masters (which it is not) the system is inherently bad. As a solution of the problem of poverty such emigration has in no way proved helpful. As a nation we lose in prestige by sending our poorest brethren as practically slaves. No nation of free men will tolerate such a system for a moment" (Mohandas Gandhi, 1911).

Source: *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XI. New Delhi, Government of India, page 96.

E. Employment in sugar mills

On any sugar estate one could find indentured Indians, free Indians, local African labour, foreign African labour and some white skilled labour. In 1885 the Natal Central Sugar Company, one of the larger employers, had the following numbers:

- Indentured Indians: 467 men, 9 boys, 151 women and girls
- Free Indians: 143 men, 26 boys, 27 women
- Africans (including watchmen): 40

In 1901 there were 8 747 Indians employed in the sugar mills compared to 552 Africans and 161 whites. Because it involved some skill, mill work paid much higher wages than field work.

Task

Compare the evidence in the sources about the situation of the African millers (Sources B and C) to the Indian indentured labourers (Sources D and E) in terms of human rights. Use the table below or make a mind map of your own.

List of possible rights:

- the right to a home;
- the right to live with one's family;
- the right to dignity;
- the right to earn a living wage;
- (most importantly) the right to be in command of one's own labour (meaning that one has freedom to accept and leave work as one wishes);
- the right not to be held in slavery or servitude;
- the right not to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
- the right to equal pay for equal work.

| | African millers | Indentured labourers |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| | Rights that they had | |
| Evidence you are sure of: | | |
| Evidence you are uncertain of: | | |
| | Rights they <i>should</i> have had | |
| Evidence you are sure of: | | |
| Evidence you are uncertain of: | | |

Activity 15: Gender rights – Charlotte Maxeke

Read the story of Charlotte Maxeke. This excerpt is taken from Chapter 2 in *The Struggle for Gender Rights in South Africa*.

Charlotte Manye Maxeke (1874-1939) was the first black South African woman to earn a university degree. She was also a politician, an educator, a church worker and a social worker.

Charlotte lived in a society that was deeply divided on racial lines. Throughout her life she defended the potential of African people, especially women, to stand up for and take control of their own lives.

Charlotte Manye attended Edwards Memorial School in Port Elizabeth in the early 1880s, where she qualified as a teacher. A dedicated church-goer and choir member, Charlotte and her sister, Katie, joined the African Jubilee Choir that toured England in 1891. While in England, they listened to speeches by suffragettes, including Emily Pankhurst.

Charlotte agreed to go on a second singing tour, this time to the United States. In 1894, the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) – a church for black Americans – helped to enrol Charlotte and five other black South Africans at Wilberforce University. There she earned a Bachelor of Science degree.

Also at Wilberforce, Charlotte met her future husband, Marshall Maxeke, who had gone there to study in 1896. She and Marshall became engaged before she returned to South Africa in 1901. When Marshall joined her, they married. Working together as teachers and remaining stalwarts of the AME Church, they also became involved in the black political movements of the day. In 1918, Charlotte launched the Bantu Women's League in Bloemfontein. In 1920, she addressed the national launch of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU). She spoke strongly about the need to protect workers' rights. During this period, she also testified before various government commissions on the views and needs of the African people.

Charlotte supported troubled black women by visiting them in jails and

assisting them to get steady jobs. In 1922, this led the government's Native Affairs Department to create a post for her as "native welfare officer". In 1935 Charlotte became matron of a girls' hostel at the AME's Wilberforce Institute in Evaton, near Johannesburg. Always supporting a large household of orphans and other destitute people, she survived on financial assistance from both black and white friends.

In 1937 a new National Council of African Women brought together professional black women from throughout South Africa. Charlotte Maxeke was elected president. She died two years later.

suffrage – the right to vote in political elections

suffragette – a woman seeking the right to vote by taking part in organised protests

Task

Try to complete as much of the table on the following page as possible by copying extracts from the passage and finding out which of the Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is involved.

Universal Declaration Human Rights:

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

Article 2: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 6: Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7: All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.

Article 13: Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

Article 16: 3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17: Everyone has the right to own property, alone as well as in association with others.

Article 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion....

Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference....

Article 20: Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

Article 21: Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

Article 23:

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24: Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25: 1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services....

Article 26: 1. Everyone has the right to education.

| | Rights demanded by Charlotte Maxeke | Rights she exercised [that she used] | Rights that were denied |
|--|--|--|--|
| | <i>Example</i> "Women, to stand up and take control" (Article 19) | <i>Example</i> "She defended the potential of African people" (Articles 2 and 19) | <i>Example</i> "deeply divided on racial lines" (Article 2) |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

Activity 16 Youth rights – education as a human right

Read the following extract from the book *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction*, written by John Kane-Berman in 1978 (Johannesburg: Ravan), paying particular attention to the parts in bold print. See also Chapter 2 of *The Struggle for Youth Rights in South Africa*.

Khotso Seatholo, president of the Soweto Students Representative Council [said] in a press statement in October 1976:

We shall reject the whole system of **Bantu Education whose aim is to reduce us, mentally and physically into 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for the white racist masters.** Our whole 'being' rebels against the whole South African system of existence, the system of apartheid that is killing us psychologically and physically. **The type of education that we are receiving is like poison that is destroying our minds. It is reducing us to intellectual cripples** that cannot take a seat within the world community of academics... Twenty years ago when Bantu Education was introduced, our fathers said, 'Half a loaf is better than no loaf.' But we say, 'Half a gram of poison is just as killing as the whole gram.' Thus we strongly refuse to swallow this type of education that is designed to make us slaves in the country of our birth.

One Soweto schoolteacher said that among some pupils alienation went so deep that it involved a total rejection of the white-controlled political economy. Some of the more radical pupils did not want any kind of job in the white man's economy, which they saw as racist and exploitative. **Education was not seen as a means of furthering themselves within the economy, but as a way of acquiring the knowledge to change or overthrow it.** Another teacher said that teachers were jeered at when they asked pupils to study, and that **many were now coming to school not for the formal instruction** but to discuss among themselves the "political situation" and the "liberation struggle". It was also reported that many children in Soweto were saying that the only way they would get equality in education was to go to the same schools as whites.

Relentless everyday experience is as important a factor in the education of black youth as formal classroom curricula. "Every black home," observed the Rev. Barney Ngakane, "is a political school. The husband comes home every day and tells his wife how he has been kicked around and arrested for things like pass offences. The children are listening and they take all this in. This is why African schoolchildren have become politically aware so easily."

The principal of a school in the Free State [said] that **"students are becoming far more aware of history and politics than they were several years ago, and thus far more conscious of themselves and things happening around them."** They learn of colonialism, imperialism, decolonisation and the independence movement on the African continent. Then it comes down to themselves.... They have told me, "We are so fed up with apartheid we would rather have communism."

Task

Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says:

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

In Soweto in 1976, students were not protesting because they did not have schools, but about the *kind* of education they were receiving.

Find examples from the extract that show that their education in 1976 was **not** in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

| The Universal Declaration of Human Rights | Education in township schools in 1976 |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality. | |
| the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms | |
| It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship. | |
| Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. | |