



South African Democracy: The Rise and Fall of Hope

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This curriculum unit is recommended for:
12th grade – IB Twentieth Century History

Keywords: South Africa, democracy, Nelson Mandela, constitutions, corruption, apartheid, race

Teaching Standards: See [Appendix 1](#) for teaching standards addressed in this unit.

Synopsis: This unit addresses the rise of democracy in South Africa. Students will look at the circumstances leading to a push towards democracy then will investigate the role of domestic versus international pressures to create a democracy. Students will consider the role of important individuals like Nelson Mandela while also considering how South African democracy compares to other more established democracies. They will have the opportunity to compare the South African constitution to the US and Mexican constitutions to explore the concept and implementation of positive and negative rights. Finally, students will consider the strength of democracy in modern day South African and the conditions that contribute to its current state.

I plan to teach this unit during the coming year to 80 students in IB History of the Americas – 12th Grade.

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Introduction

Rationale

This unit addresses the circumstances leading to the democratization of the Republic of South Africa (RSA), the formation of institutions of democracy including a constitution, and the challenges to democracy faced since the creation of representative democracy in the country. The study will begin with the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960 and continue through the current Jacob Zuma administration. The most significant area of study will be the late-1980s through 2000 as actors in South Africa negotiated the formation of a new government and attempted to address the early challenges to legitimacy.

This unit warrants study for a number of reasons both curricular and social. First, this study directly addresses a component of the International Baccalaureate's World History curriculum for juniors and seniors (see *Appendix 1: Teaching Standards* for more details). Students undertake a detailed study of South Africa and Mexico in the twentieth century in the second year of the course in preparation for the IB exam. This curriculum unit will complement the existing study and provide greater depth of understanding particularly concerning the systems needed to create a democracy and the challenges faced by new democracies. These are all topics that could be directly addressed on the IB exam.

Second, this unit extends student understanding of democracy beyond the American system. Generally, detailed study of democracy is limited in the North Carolina curriculum to the structure and function of the American state. A brief study of Greek democracy is included in World History. As this unit will show, this necessitates an oversimplification of the concept of democracy. Through this unit, students will study a different kind of democracy without the pre-conceived notions of the American origin story and its mythological "Founding Fathers". Indeed, Nelson Mandela holds his own mythology. However, the geographic, temporal, and cultural differences between the United States and Republic of South Africa should allow for students to understand more clearly the challenges of instituting democratic reforms.

Finally, while democratization in the USA and RSA have clear differences, the similarities—particularly regarding race relations – should help students understand challenges to democracy in America over the last 250 years. As most students will understand the USA to be John Winthrop's proverbial "shining city on a hill", a study of democratization in another context will allow students to see the early years of the American republic in another light as well as evaluate the challenges of implementing democracy in a country with significant racial and social divisions. Opportunities to connect challenges faced by RSA and the modern USA will bring added relevance to this unit.

Demographics

North Mecklenburg High School is a large, comprehensive high school on the southern border of Huntersville, a suburb of Charlotte. We have three different magnet programs that draw students to our building as well as neighborhood students. Our magnet programs are the International Baccalaureate program (IB), the World Language Magnet, and the Career and Technical Education Hub. Our enrollment for 2017-18 is 2500 students. Our school is 58% African

American, 20% Caucasian, and 17% Hispanic. About 10% of our population receive Exceptional Children services and about 10% are identified as Academically Gifted. Our English Language Learner population is approximately 5%.

This unit will be taught to three sections of seniors in the IB program. A total of 80 students will participate in this full unit. Parts of this unit will be delivered to members of a freshmen World History class. Students in the IB program are generally college bound and are part of the most rigorous curriculum offered at the school. As a result, they are expected to participate in a college level curriculum that includes readings written at the college level. There are a couple of students who receive exceptional children services; however, these students are able to participate in the general curriculum with limited accommodations.

Unit Goals

Through this unit, students will deepen their understanding of what leads to the emergence of democratic states through an examination of a second democratic state, the Republic of South Africa. Students will explore the popular protest movements and official response to these movements that led to the creation of a multi-racial democracy in South Africa. Students will then examine the Constitution of South Africa and compare its nature to the nature of the US Constitution. In doing so, they will discuss the difference between positive and negative rights and relate this conversation back to a previous study of the Mexican Constitution of 1917. Students will evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of these two kinds of constitutions. Finally, students will examine the current state of democracy in South Africa and attempt to determine the circumstances in history that led to the political and economic instability in South Africa today.

Content Research

It is impossible to understand the politics of modern South Africa without understanding the deep racial and ethnic divisions resulting from European colonization. The scope of this unit does not reach back to the 17th century when the first Dutch merchants permanently settled in Cape Town so we will begin our examination of democracy in the Republic of South Africa on March 21, 1960. This day is considered a watershed moment in South African history as black Africans stood up to the minority government's oppressive Pass Law only to face violent suppression. The Nationalist Party gained full control of South Africa following Britain's exit as a colonial power in 1948. The Nationalist Party quickly set about codifying segregation through the Grand Apartheid system in order to insure white South Africans would maintain power despite their minority status. A key component to their political, economic, and social oppression was the requirement that all Blacks, Colored, and Indians carry pass books at all times. These pass books were required in order for Blacks to leave their designated Native Lands and gain more lucrative work in cities. The history of passes pre-dates the creation of an independent South Africa but they were central in maintaining the physical and symbolic segregation of the Apartheid government.

The Pan-African Congress, a more radical offshoot of the African National Congress, stood up to the Apartheid government on March 21, 1960 to burn passbooks in the township of Sharpeville. The burning of passbooks was symbolic as the Pass Laws were the single most

oppressive laws controlling the physical movement and thus the public and private lives and economic opportunities of Black South Africans.¹ Virtually all other Apartheid legislation relied on enforcement of the Pass Laws first. A peaceful protest ended in officers firing on protestors and killing over 60 and injuring dozens more. The large scale protest and reaction to the massacre led to a new era in the anti-Apartheid movement that was critical to the democratization of South Africa. The realization of the power of the majority alongside the ratcheting up of violence in response to peaceful protest called for a new era in popular uprising against the National Party.

The Sharpeville Massacre resulted in the exile of the ANC. Membership in the ANC became a criminal offense and South Africa, for all intents and purposes, became a single-party state with no legal opposition. This transformation triggered a change in tactics of the ANC. They functioned as an underground organization that embraced violent resistance. The massacre at Sharpeville demonstrated to party leadership, including Nelson Mandela, that passive resistance in the vein of Mahatma Gandhi was not effective.² The exile of the ANC and their transition to an organization of active, violent resistance led to the eventual arrest and conviction of Mandela in 1962 on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the state. The rest of the organization retreated to Zambia to regroup under the leadership of Oliver Tambo. The Sharpeville Massacre marks a turning point in the history of South Africa. From this point forward, there was no hope of the peaceful coexistence of the ANC and the Afrikaner Nationalist Party. Neither side would rest until the other had been neutralized and the ANC had the power of numbers on their side.

Apartheid South Africa

Political Parties

Afrikaner National Party

The National Party was formed under British rule then became the ruling party of Apartheid South Africa. The NP represented the interests of Afrikaner nationalists first then White South Africans more generally. The NP aimed to maintain the power of the white minority through grand and petty Apartheid legislation. Grand Apartheid was the system that geographically segregated Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians from whites in South Africa. This included Pass Laws and the creation of homelands for Blacks called Bantustans. Petty Apartheid legislation was a much more complex series of laws that controlled every aspect of life for all non-whites. This included education, marriage, transportation, employment, and political involvement. The National Party held power from South Africa's independence in 1948 until the end of Apartheid and the election of Nelson Mandela in 1994.

African National Congress

¹ "The Sharpeville Massacre, 21 March 1960", South African History Online, last modified 21 March 2017, www.sahistory.org.za.

² Leonard Thompson, *The History of South Africa*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

The African National Congress was formed before South African independence as the most powerful party to represent Black interests. Several other parties, including the Communist Party, started as part of the ANC then splintered off as the ANC aimed to become mainstream and a feasible governing party. The ANC is most famous as the party of Nelson Mandela. They spend much of the second half of the twentieth century as a party in exile, with official party headquarters in Zambia. The National Party outlawed the ANC as a terrorist group in an attempt to maintain control of the majority of the population.

Inkatha Freedom Party

The Inkatha Freedom Party was not a significant political player on the national stage like the ANC or the NP; however, they are emblematic of the challenges of attempting to create a unified opposition against the ruling National Party. The Inkatha Freedom Party was formed by a Zulu tribal leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a Zulu nationalist party. The IFP supported the creation of autonomous tribal homelands, rather than desegregation and a truly democratic South Africa. The NP was able to leverage the tribalism of IFP and other ethnic-nationalist groups to divide Black South Africans against each other while uniting White South Africans under a single identity. While the IFP represented a small minority, they wielded disproportionate power as the NP used them as a security force within black townships, further dividing the black population.

Reforms and Democratization

Democratization Theory

South Africa presents an interesting case study in democratization theory. As a relatively new democracy, we can identify the challenges inherent in creating a democratic state as they unfold. Samuel Huntington categorizes democratizing countries into three categories: replacements, transformations, and transplacements. The Republic of South Africa functions as a case study of transplacement through novel means.

The demographic imbalance in South Africa forced the white minority into talks with the ANC. As the twentieth century came to a close, there was little good will toward a government based in racial segregation and oppression. In addition, the black majority in South Africa was gaining confidence while losing inhibitions. The Soweto uprising and consequent massacre created a do-or-die moment for the opposition and catapulted the abuses of the Apartheid regime to the center of the world stage. Due to both domestic and international pressure, the National Party entered talks with the ANC spanning almost a full decade to lead to the election of Nelson Mandela.

This democratization process represents a transplacement because the Apartheid regime was replaced by a new ruling party, a new constitution, and the introduction of competitive elections. However, this was also a transformation as the old and new power structures worked together to organize a peaceful transfer to free elections.

Capitalism, Globalization, and democratization

Negotiation: the agreement to pursue majority rule & the creation of the new Constitution

The transformation of the Republic of South Africa required lengthy negotiations between the White minority government of F.W. de Klerk and the ANC. Spearheaded by Oliver Tambo and the capitalist motivations of Consolidated Gold Fields, representatives of the ANC and the ANP met over the course of several years from 1986 to 1990 to negotiate terms for the creation of a new, integrated government.³ These negotiations resulted in the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and the eventual transition into a power-sharing government.

In addition to the negotiations coordinated by Consolidated Gold Fields, South Africa faced increasing pressure from outside actors. Samuel Huntington identifies extra-state actors as a key component to the second and third wave emergent democracies. In the case of South Africa, the international press coverage of police brutality in the townships and bantustans led to public outcry in South Africa's two most significant economic partners, the USA and the British Commonwealth. Both Ronald Reagan's and Margaret Thatcher's administrations hesitated to impose significant sanctions for most of the 1980s, largely as a response to the Cold War atmosphere of the time. The Soviet Union openly supported the ANC and regime change. However, the press coverage of South African bombing campaigns on neighboring Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe in 1986 led public outcry and policy change. The British Commonwealth could not tolerate one Commonwealth member directly attacking other members of the Commonwealth so all Commonwealth members imposed harsher sanctions.⁴ The US Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which both provided support for non-white business and through "Title III: Measures by the United States to Undermine Apartheid" imposed meaningful sanctions against white-owned businesses in South Africa.⁵ Public support for sanctions against the Apartheid government was so strong Congress overrode President Reagan's veto.

A combination of external pressure and coordinated union strikes inside South Africa led to a crossroads for the Apartheid regime. It was apparent that a pure transformation was no longer going to be enough to appease the Black, Indian, or Coloured communities. A replacement of the existing regime was necessary. President P.W. Botha resigned over health concerns which allowed a more reform minded guard led by F.W. de Klerk to act on recommendations stemming from the Consolidated Gold Fields talks. The ultimate result of this transition was the release and eventual election of Nelson Mandela as president in the first open elections in South Africa's history.

Electoral System

The South African government consists of three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. There are a number of similarities to the US balance of power but some significant differences. The legislative branch has two houses, the National Assembly and the National Council of the Provinces. The National Assembly is most closely comparable to the US House of Representatives. The RSA Constitution allows 350-400 seats in the National Assembly. There

³ Sophy Bishop, "Michael Young discusses his role as facilitator in anti-Apartheid negotiations", *Harvard Law Today*, Harvard Law, 30 March 2012, today.law.harvard.edu.

⁴ Roger Beck, *The History of South Africa*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 200, p 176.

⁵ HR 4868, 99th Congress.

are currently 400 seats occupied. Elections more closely resemble a parliamentary system in the National Assembly. Constituents vote for political parties rather than individuals. Seats are awarded proportionately after nationwide elections. The President, the head of the Executive branch is selected by the majority party of the National Assembly. The current majority party is the ANC. In fact, the ANC has held the majority since the 1994 elections.

The National Council of the Provinces (NCOP) is more like the US Senate. There are 90 seats. Ten representatives are elected to represent each of the 9 provinces. The ANC also controls the NCOP. The largest opposition party in both houses is the Democratic Alliance, a centrist party with roots in the anti-apartheid movement. Both houses of the legislative branch are based in Cape Town.

The Republic of South Africa has three different capitals to represent the three different branches of government. The Executive branch is centered in Pretoria, the Legislative branch in Cape Town, and the Judicial branch in Bloemfontein.

Honeymoon

The election of Nelson Mandela ushered in a honeymoon period for South African democracy. Mandela's reputation and willingness to compromise without conceding equality allowed for a series of unlikely legislative and moral victories. Mandela was likely the only personality who could gain the trust and respect of the majority of all South Africans regardless of race. He encouraged conversations between all races and political parties and used national symbols to create a unified understanding of what it meant to be South African. He oversaw the rewriting of the South African National Anthem (see Appendix 3), the creation of a new flag, and the integration of the national rugby team. Mandela himself became a symbol of national unity. Two of the most significant components of the transition under Mandela included the ratification of a new constitution and a reckoning with the crimes of the Apartheid regime through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The Constitution: Positive v. Negative Rights

The South African Constitution was created in an attempt to right the wrongs of the Nationalist regime and insure they would never happen again. The current political environment in the United States highlights a central debate over the role of a constitution in the function of government. The controversy over healthcare as a right provides a relevant entry to a discussion of constitutions built on positive rights as opposed to negative rights. The US Constitution was crafted to prevent the intrusion of the state into the lives of citizens and to insure a check on the power of the state – that is, it emphasizes negative rights. In fact, all constitutions written prior to the twentieth century were concerned with negative rights.⁶ The South African Constitution, ratified in 1996, is of a different mold. The preamble to the Constitution promises to:

Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;

⁶ Cass R. Sunstein, *Designing Democracy: What Constitutions Do*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p 222.

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; and
Build a united a democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.⁷

The remaining thirteen chapters and numerous addendums proceed to enumerate precisely what are considered “fundamental human rights”, including “health care services, including reproductive health care”.⁸

The South African Constitution is considered a model for positive rights constitutions as the entire document exists to right the wrongs of the Apartheid regime. However, a study of the constitution allows for a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of a positive rights system. Cass Sunstein analyzes the difference between the implementation of positive and negative rights. He notes that there are distinct challenges in enforcing constitutions based on positive rights as the state has to figure out how to pay for the socioeconomic rights that are promised. The judicial system also has to figure out how to ride a fine line between interpreting the constitution and becoming a legislative body that spent much of its time determining the exact services an individual is owed.⁹

Reality Sets In

After Nelson Mandela was replaced through a peaceful transfer of power there was great hope for lasting, successful democracy in South Africa. The current climate with President Jacob Zuma facing just the latest round of corruption charges betrays the complexity of the new democracy. South African democracy faced its first major challenge during the presidency of Thabo Mbeki. Mbeki was widely respected and a close ally of Mandela; however, he refused to address the AIDS crisis at its peak and lost credibility in the ANC as a result.

HIV/AIDS ravaged South Africa in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The government response was glacially slow and Mbeki refused to acknowledge the scope of the crisis throughout his administration. This failure is just one symptom of a larger flaw in the implementation of democracy in South Africa. The government failed to provide access for the poor to anti-retroviral drugs. Rich South Africans could afford to buy their own anti-retrovirals. Poor South Africans, who were disproportionately black as a result of apartheid, were also disproportionately victims of HIV/AIDS.

The positive rights granted in the constitution of the RSA provide health care to all; however, a failure to acknowledge the systemic inequities between black and white communities by the Mbeki administration meant that the poorest never received the care they were constitutionally guaranteed. Never mind that meeting the basic needs of the poorest South Africans would be financially impossible as wealth was so unequally distributed to whites and foreign nationals.

⁷ Preamble, “South African Constitution”, *South African Government Information*, Government, 20 Apr. 2007, www.info.gov.za.

⁸ Chapter 2, Article 27, “South African Constitution”, *South African Government Information*, Government, 20 Apr. 2007, www.info.gov.za.

⁹ Sunstein, p 223.

The failures of Thabo Mbeki's administration led to the rise of the current president, Jacob Zuma. Mbeki resigned from office under pressure from the ANC. Jacob Zuma engineered this vote and rose to the head of the party as a result. Zuma faced charges of corruption even before his elevation to South Africa's highest office. He currently faces a no confidence vote in the National Assembly and clings to power through rampant corruption and support from a few foreign investors. The corruption of Zuma and the decline of the economy raise serious questions about the likelihood that democracy will survive another year in South Africa.

Instructional Implementation

Teaching Strategies

Socratic Seminar

Students will be arranged in two concentric circles. Students in the inner circle are responsible for talking and guiding the conversation. Students in the outer circle monitor the inner circle and note in two-column notes when speaking students use evidence versus when they use analysis. The inner and outer circles swap roles after 30 minutes so all students have an opportunity to both speak and listen.

Jigsaw

Jigsaw allows students to deal with a concentrated amount of material in depth while gaining exposure to a wider breadth of material. Small groups deal with a particular subject, in this case a particular individual in a political party. After this group has gained a deep understanding of their subject, new groups are formed so that there is a representative from each specialty group. Individuals then share out their information so all students have a general understanding of what other groups learned.

*I see, I think, I wonder*¹⁰

Students are presented with a text. This could be a written source, an image, a film, an artifact, or any other document that you want students to consider in depth. Students are given 2-3 minutes to individually examine the source and note three kinds of observations. "I see" observations are pieces of evidence that are clear in the source. These are pure facts. "I think" observations are hypotheses based on evidence from the source. These can range from the superficial, "I think that is a bird in the top left corner" to the more abstract, "I think this image portends the racial divisions in post-apartheid South Africa." The last kind of observation is the questions that arise as students spend more time with a source than they ordinarily would. These questions fall into the "I wonder" category. This category trains students to identify when they are asking questions. The first step to get students to create their own deeper investigation of a topic is to help them realize when they have a question. Some of the questions will still be superficial and closed. However, most students will have at least one deeper, open-ended question that could lead to greater depth of study.

¹⁰ Harvard Project Zero

After students have had at least 2 minutes for independent reflection, they turn to their table groups to share and discuss the source. In this conversation, inevitably new observations and questions will arise. Students are encouraged to add these to their own list of observations. After the small group discussion we hold the same conversation as a class. Again, this often leads to new observations and lines of inquiry.

Tag Team Wrestling

This strategy is intended to get students talking without allowing the class to descend into a shouting match. Set up three chairs at the front of the room. At any given time at least two of the three must be occupied by participants. Students may only speak if they are occupying a chair. If someone has something to say but they are not in a chair they may tag a chair occupant out if that student has already had the opportunity to make one novel point. Students may only ask questions if they are in a chair. Students are encouraged to ask their own questions though the teacher should provide a list of discussion questions to get the process started.

Classroom lessons/activities

Day 1 – Democratization theory

1. Warm up: Write for 5 minutes on the question – What are the necessary components of a democracy?
 - a. Anticipated response key words include: “free and fair elections”, “universal suffrage”, “First Amendment rights”, “checks and balances”, “civil rights”
2. Discussion – Think, Pair, Share: After composing their individual responses, students will discuss their responses with their table groups (3-5 students per group) and create a group comparison chart. This could be a T-chart, Venn diagram or the Group Think Comparison Graphic Organizer modeled in Appendix #4.
3. Share out group discussions with the class to compose a group definition. This should lead to a discussion about the complexities of defining a democracy
4. Small group discussion: Returning to their table groups, students should compile a group list of democracies and attempt to create a timeline based on when each transitioned to a democracy. Students are permitted to use technology after they have brainstormed together for 4 minutes.
5. Direct Instruction: Democratic transitions
 - a. Samuel Huntington’s Three Waves
 - i. First Wave
 1. 18th and 19th century democracies
 2. Liberal democracy based on negative rights
 - ii. Second Wave
 1. Post-Second World War democracies
 2. Reactions to fascism and communism
 3. Often politicized through the Cold war
 - iii. Third Wave
 1. Late 20th century transitions

2. Global South and former Soviet republics
3. Includes South Africa
- b. Types of transitions
 - i. Transition
 - ii. Replacement
 - iii. Transplacement
 1. This is where we will spend our time this unit
 2. South Africa as a transplacement
 3. South Africa faced a decision. If they completely overthrew the existing system, this could lead to civil war and economic ruin, but to simply transition while keeping the existing power structure would result in continued oppression of Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians. Power-sharing and a transplacement became the solution.
6. Reflection / Ticket out the door:
 - a. In a paragraph or two, explain how American democracy fits into Huntington's framework and the extent to which American democracy is relevant to the systems developed in the second and third waves.

Day 2 – South African Political Parties

1. I see, I think, I wonder – Thinking Routine with Sharpeville photograph (see Appendix 2)
2. South African interest group Jigsaw
 - a. Table groups are given a description of a significant political party leader with a description of their life experiences
 - b. Table groups use a series of questions to hypothesize how their character would feel about important issues in 1980s South Africa
 - c. Tables create an outline of their figure's position on various topics
 - d. Table groups are broken up to jigsaw out and share their group's understanding of political parties
3. Political Parties Venn Diagram
 - a. Students identify similarities and differences in the goals of each major political party in order to identify areas of possible compromise and conflict.

Day 3 – ANC leadership structure and Mandela's role

1. Socratic Seminar of Mandela's autobiography
 - a. Students are given excerpts from Mandela's autobiography
 - b. Anticipatory set given prior to reading, these statements will be used as structure for Socratic Seminar
2. Anticipatory set statements:
 - a. The ANC is a terrorist organization
 - b. Nelson Mandela is the only personality who could insure a successful transfer of power.
 - c. Nelson Mandela's time in prison strengthened his position to lead South Africa to democracy.

3. Students should create identification cards for major players in the ANC: Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela, Walter Sisulu

Day 4 – Domestic Pressure for democratization

1. Warm Up: 8 minute write - Based on your reading from Beck, which had a greater impact on the end of apartheid – pressure from unions or pressure from international organizations? Why?
2. Tag-team Wrestling
 - a. Use these guiding questions based on reading from Beck
 - i. What forces, both official and unofficial, acted against apartheid?
 - ii. How did the government of South African change between 1959 and 1978?
 - iii. What is the difference between petty apartheid and grand apartheid? How were each of these both maintained and opposed before 1994? (From Robert McNamara op-ed)¹¹
 - iv. What role did the labor movement have in the anti-apartheid movement? What were black laborers reacting to?
 - v. What was the Black Consciousness movement? How did it change the conversation around apartheid within South Africa? What role did Stephen Biko play as a leader and a symbol?
 - vi. What caused the Soweto uprising? How did this change the anti-apartheid movement?
3. Tag-team reflection: What points were made in this discussion that you did not consider as you completed your reading? What do you have to add to the discussion that you did not get to say to your classmates? What questions arose as a result of the discussion?

Day 5 – International Pressure for democratization

1. Warm up: What tools does the international community have to encourage change in a country?
2. Three column notes
 - a. Based on the Beck reading and in class lecture
 - b. Divide your paper into three columns: United Nations, United States, British Commonwealth
 - c. Identify strategies each actor used to exert pressure
 - d. Identify South Africa's response to each strategy
3. 3-Paragraph conclusion: Based on your notes, which actions had the greatest impact? Which actor held the greatest power over South Africa? Do you maintain your conclusion from yesterday's warm-up concerning domestic versus international pressure? Why or why not?

¹¹ Robert McNamara, "Before It's Too Late in South Africa", *The New York Times*, August 14, 1985. Accessed at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1985/08/14/opinion/before-it-s-too-late-in-south-africa.html>. Accessed on November 20, 2017.

Day 6 – State formation and Constitutional convention

1. Warm up: Brainstorm individually, what challenges did the new Americans face in forming a government immediately after gaining independence?
2. Discuss warm-up lists with your table group and add to your list
3. Now discuss ways the US confronted these challenges and determine how successful the United States has been in insuring all Americans receive access to democracy.
4. Notes on RSA's challenges in writing and implementing a new constitution

Day 7 – Constitutions, a comparison of USA, Mexico, RSA

1. Warm up: What weaknesses do you anticipate in the functioning of South African government given what you know about the formation of their executive and their complicated history?
2. Target Diagrams¹²
 - a. Each group will create a Target Diagram to compare the constitutions of the USA, RSA, and Mexico. Students will use www.constituteproject.org to complete their diagram.
 - b. Group topics:
 - i. Structure of government
 - ii. Bill of Rights
 - iii. Treatment of minorities
 - iv. Most significant amendments
 - v. Human rights – enumerated
 - vi. Civil and Political Rights
 - vii. Others can be added as deemed necessary
3. Students gallery walk through other target diagrams and identify themes between the three constitutions and key differences
4. Conclude with a brief discussion of positive versus negative rights

Day 8 – Consolidation and formation of a national identity

1. Warm up: What does it mean to be American?
2. After a class discussion of national identity (which should be a review from our study of the First World War) students will rotate through stations addressing the following:
 - a. South Africa's Old Flag (with a comparison to the Confederate Flag)¹³
 - b. Flag of the RSA
 - c. RSA National Anthem
 - d. 1995 Rugby World Cup
 - e. Coat of Arms of 2000
3. Class concludes with a discussion of the significance of symbols in unification of identity and the extent to which this is successful in modern day RSA.

¹² Russell Tarr, "Target Diagrams," www.classtools.net. Accessed November 20, 2017. (<http://www.classtools.net/blog/target-diagrams/>)

¹³ Gareth Van Niekerk, "This is what the Old Flag represents," *The Huffington Post*, October 31, 2017. http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/2017/10/31/this-is-what-the-old-flag-represents_a_23261628/

Day 9 – The 2000s, challenges to democracy

1. AIDS, poverty, and Mbeki: Watch PBS Newshour excerpt¹⁴
2. Discuss: How does the AIDS epidemic challenge what we learned about the South African constitution?
3. What responsibility does the South African government have to fight poverty based on the constitution?
4. How does corruption challenge democracy in South Africa?
 - a. Read and reflect on “End of Apartheid in South Africa? Not in Economic Terms”¹⁵
 - b. Read and reflect on “South African security services move to ban expose of Jacob Zuma government”¹⁶

Day 10 – What’s next for South Africa?

Assessment: Using evidence from 1980-present, address the question “Has democracy been a successful experiment in South Africa?”

Resources

Materials for Classroom Use

Choices Curriculum – Brown University created a packaged curriculum addressing twentieth century South African history. There are a number of engaging activities and easily accessible articles sequenced together into a stand-alone unit. I will make use of portions of this curriculum, particularly some of the readings regarding political parties and late twentieth century events. These readings serve as short, easy to comprehend surveys that will allow students to understand more complex texts.

Constitute Project (www.constituteproject.org) – This website is a brilliant tool for students and teachers. Constituteproject.org is a project of the Comparative Constitutions Project of the University of Texas at Austin. This resource holds every constitution in place as of 2013 so has the full text of the three constitutions that will be used in this unit. The project allows users to search each individual constitution for language relating to specific themes. For example, one can select “Requirements for birthright citizenship” and the constitution under review and the website will return all relevant provisions of the constitution highlighted. Further, one can select multiple constitutions to compare side-by-side. This will allow students to directly compare the US, Mexican, and RSA constitutions directly. This is particularly helpful as the Mexican and

¹⁴ William Brangham, “How South Africa, the nation hardest hit by HIV, plans to end AIDS,” *PBS Newshour*, July 21, 2016. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/south-africa-nation-hardest-hit-hiv-plans-end-aids>

¹⁵ Peter S. Goodman, “End of Apartheid in South Africa? Not in Economic Terms,” *New York Times*, October 24, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/24/business/south-africa-economy-apartheid.html>

¹⁶ Alison Flood, “South African security services move to ban expose of Jacob Zuma government,” *The Guardian*, November 7, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/nov/07/south-african-security-ban-expose-jacob-zuma-government-jacques-pauw-the-presidents-keepers>

RSA constitutions are quite lengthy. This resource will be used to access these three constitutions and compare XYZ in the comparative jigsaw activity.

Have You Heard from Johannesburg. Directed by Connie Field. US: Clarity Films, 2010.
www.kanopystreaming.com.

Resources for Students

Beck, Roger. *The History of South Africa*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

This text provides a general survey of South African history from pre-colonization through 2000. Selected chapters will be used as background reading for students. This is a good book to use with upper level students as there are opportunities for students to identify historical argument and historiography; however, the style is such that students can find the arguments and a general narrative without getting bogged down in academic jargon.

McNamara, Robert. "Before It's Too Late in South Africa." *The New York Times*, August 14, 1985.

<http://www.nytimes.com/1985/08/14/opinion/before-it-s-too-late-in-south-africa.html>

This article provides a clear, student friendly description of grand apartheid and petty apartheid. It is written by Robert McNamara, the former US Secretary of Defense. He presents an argument for why the US must step in to stop apartheid. This resource serves to provide a definition for students as well as previewing the role of foreign intervention in the system.

Resources for Teachers

Visible Thinking. *Harvard Project Zero*. Last Accessed: November 20, 2017.

www.visiblethinkingpz.org – This is a website of a series of thinking routines intended to help students with metacognition. The two thinking routines that will be used from this site are "I see, I think, I wonder" and "Tug of War".

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman, OK; Oklahoma University Press, 1991.

Tarr, Russell. *Tarrs Toolbox*. Last Modified: November 13, 2017. www.classtools.net - This website has a host of good ideas to help students organize their historical thinking. Russell Tarr is a history teacher in France. He keeps his blog updated with new ideas and rethought strategies with explanations of how he uses them in his history classroom. A must visit for all history teachers.

Appendix 1: Teaching Standards

International Baccalaureate Organization

World History Topic 9: Evolution and development of democratic states (1848-2000)

- Emergence of democratic states
 - Conditions that encouraged democratic states
 - Political, social, economic factors
 - Role and significance of leaders
 - Development of political parties, constitutions and electoral systems; the significance/impact of those developments

These objectives are assessed through essay prompts. Students have 45 minutes to compose a response to one essay question related to one of these big ideas.

Appendix 2: I see, I think, I wonder photographs



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I see...	I think...	I wonder...
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observations • Specific evidence from the photograph/excerpt/art work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hypotheses • Anything you are not positive about • Generally can be supported with evidence from the “I see..” column 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any questions you find yourself asking

¹⁷ “The Sharpeville Massacre”, *Divestment for Humanity*, <http://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/sarpeville>

Appendix 3: South African National Anthem¹⁸

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika (God Bless Africa) Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo, (Raise high Her glory) Yizwa imithandazo yethu, (Hear our Prayers) Nkosi sikelela, thina lusapho lwayo (God bless us, we her children)	isiXhosa and isiZulu
Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso, (God protect our nation) O fedise dintwa le matshwenyeho, (End all wars and tribulations) O se boloke, O se boloke setjhaba sa heso, (Protect us, protect our nation) Setjhaba sa South Afrika - South Afrika. (Our nation South Africa - South Africa)	Sesotho
Uit die blou van onse hemel, (Ringing out from our blue heavens) Uit die diepte van ons see, (From the depth of our seas) Oor ons ewige gebergtes, (Over our everlasting mountains) Waar die kranse antwoord gee, (Where the echoing crags resound)	Afrikaans
Sounds the call to come together, And united we shall stand, Let us live and strive for freedom, In South Africa our land.	English

¹⁸ Words, “National Anthem”, *South African Government Information*, Government, 20 Apr. 2007, www.info.gov.za.

Appendix 4: Group Think Comparison Graphic Organizer

My Response

Group Member #1



Similarities

Group Member #2

Group Member #3