World History Activators

Brief, Engaging Historical Experiences

v1.2

Learn Through Experience

About the Author

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Welcome to
World History Activators: 20th Century!

Student groups tackle problems confronted by various 20th century peoples in six whole-class simulations that use practical concerns to illustrate larger conflicts. Primary source documents provide the basis for reenacting history as students transform their classroom into a pivotal moment in time. For example, in the lesson on Indian independence, students decide how best to divide India, and on what basis, using a set of historical maps; and in the lesson on the Long March, students role-playing either Nationalists or Communists create propaganda posters based on originals to enlist support of the Chinese people, and then make decisions on how to survive the march. Other topics include apartheid, the Berlin Wall, the Oslo Accords, and the UN First World Conference of Women. The activators provide lesson plans, background essays, handout masters, primary source documents including photographs, graphic organizers, and classroom schematics (when applicable), and can be accomplished in one to three class periods.

Table of Contents

Introduction

In these six Activators, students experience some of the pivotal events in world history. "Experience" is the key word, since Activators are designed to recreate historical events in the classroom, and to give students roles as Key Players in many of the events. In several of the Activators the Key Players are important world leaders, while in others it is the common people themselves who take action and create history.

All Activators involve the analysis of primary source documents. In the Chinese Long March, students make propaganda posters, based on primary source examples. For the Partition of India, primary source maps are used as students decide how to divide Pakistan from India. When students debate key issues confronting women in 1975, they follow the actual agenda used at the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City. Students on the east and west sides of the Berlin Wall-in-the-classroom, must react to and make decisions based on a famous press conference—reenacted in the classroom and scripted from the press conference itself. Nelson Mandela's words become central to assessing his place in history. Finally, the Oslo Accords are "signed" in the classroom, with Key Players presenting excerpts from historic speeches, after which "members of the press" pose questions.

Each Activator has two activities; the first is designed to provide historical context for the second. However, each one can be implemented with or without the other. All Activators come with **Background Essays** and **Timelines**. These should be made available to students as hard copy handouts, or as materials posted on a class website. Each Activator also comes with images, from maps to photographs, that can be projected and analyzed in class, or that themselves provide a backdrop to the action. In the Schematic for each Activator, suggestions are made for transforming the classroom in time and place: South African protest songs play in the background as students reenact the laws of apartheid, flags are flung at the World Conference on Women, a piece of AstroTurf becomes the White House Lawn for the signing of the Oslo Accords, and so forth.

In the Activators, students have the opportunity, first of all, to take action, but also to think, analyze, role-play, sing songs, and design posters.

Certain themes emerge as students complete all six Activators. The legacy of colonialism impacts the World Conference on Women, the Partition of India, the Oslo Accords and the End of Apartheid. The rise and fall of Communism dominated the twentieth century. With its fall, alliances based on long-standing fears collapsed, making room for negotiations never thought possible, from the End of Apartheid to the Oslo Accords. The United Nations itself plays a significant role in many of these events, from hosting the World Conference on Women, to fostering the search for peace in the Middle East. Overall, the end of the century was in many ways a hopeful and uplifting time, full of the promise of increased freedom for ever more people.

The Chinese Long March, 1934

Overview

In 1934, China was in turmoil. More than 20 years after the collapse of the incompetent rule of the Qing Dynasty, the new Chinese republic remained weak and therefore easy prey for foreign invaders. While the Japanese were occupying Manchuria and stood poised to take over more of China, the Nationalist People's Party (*Guomindang*), led by Chiang Kai-shek, fought a war on two fronts: one against the Japanese and another against the Chinese Communist Party. The Communists understood the necessity of uniting their country in order to oust the Japanese. In the meantime, the Nationalist Party also vied for the allegiance of the Chinese people, and in 1934 it looked as if the Nationalists had won. The Communists were forced to leave the cities and instead set up rural soviets—political organizations run on the Russian communist model—including the famed Jiangxi Soviet run by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists went on the offensive, surrounding Jiangxi and tightening their stranglehold on the Communists. However, the Communists then staged an unlikely breakout in what became known in history as the Long March—a heroic, 6000-mile trek that saved the Chinese Communist Party from extinction and shaped the future of the 20th century.

In this Activator, students experience a propaganda war in which they make posters (based on primary sources) to support either the Communists or Nationalists. Afterwards, they "live through" the Long March as reported by newscasters (played by half the class) or as experienced by Communists who either survived it or fell along the way (played by the other half of the class).

Set-up Directions

1–3 class periods of instruction

Time Required

The Propaganda War in Posters takes two class periods. The Long March simulation can be completed in one or more classes.

Roles

For the Propaganda War in Posters, students are assigned to one of three groups: Nationalist Party members, Chinese Communist Party members, or constituencies of Chinese people who must ally with one party or the other. An Assignment Chart that you can use to keep track of students' roles appears on page 9.

For the Long March, there are 16 narrators and 14 marchers. The marchers need to "think on their feet" more than the narrators.

Teaching tip
Assign students who are better at abstract thinking to the parties.

Teaching tip
If you have a large number of students, divide the narration into more parts. For fewer students, condense the narrations.

Handouts

For all students

- The Background Essay, Handout 1: Propaganda Poster War, Handout 2: Political Parties and the Allegiance of the Chinese People.
- Optional for all students: The Timeline.

For the 16 Long March Newscasters

- Handout 3: Long March Narration.

For the 14 Long Marchers

- Handout 4: Long March Biographies.

Images to project

- Map A: China 1933–34.
- Map B: The Long March.
- Map C: Physical Map of China.
- Long March Documents Set 1: Propaganda Posters A, B, C.

Optional for the Debriefing

- Long March Documents Set 2: The Chinese Communist Party Propagandizes the Long March in Poetry and Art.

Materials and Props

- Large sheets of paper for the posters.
- Large markers for the posters, with two to three colors per poster.
- For the students assigned to the Long March Biographies, print out a copy of their photo for them to wear around their neck, or to use as a placard at their desk so that the rest of the class can "see" who they are.
- Newscasters should have access to a "microphone" as well as a pointer and "tacks" to place on the map.

Teaching tip

Try to enlarge the photos on a copy machine. Laminate the photographs for use in the future.

Schematic

For the propaganda war:

- Row in the back: Chinese People.
- Row to the left: Chinese Communist Party.
- Row to the right: Nationalist Party.
- Use posters to decorate the room.

For the Long March

- Maps of the Long March and relief map of China in the front of the class
- Marchers in the back of the room
- Newscasters in the front, by the map
- Microphone: center table facing the class

Options

You can implement only the propaganda poster war, only the Long March simulation, or both as designed in sequence.

Resources

Books

- Buck, Pearl S., *The Good Earth.* Washington Square Pocket Books, 2004 (1931).
- Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. *China: Cambridge Illustrated History*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Lee, Lily Xiao Hong and Sue Wiles, *Women of the Long March.* Allen and Unwin, 1999.
- Loa She, *Rickshaw.* Trans. Jean M. James, University of Hawaii Press, 1979. (Published as *Rickshaw Boy* in 1936).
- Snow, Edgar, *Red Star Over China*. Grove Press, 1994 (1939).
- Spence, Jonathan D.,*The Search for Modern China*. W.W. Norton, 1990.
- —. *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection* with Pei-kai Cheng & Michal Lestz. W.W. Norton, 1999.

Film

- Bertolucci, Bernardo, Director. *The Last Emperor.* DVD, 1987. (Artisan)

Websites

- *China Posters Online*, University of Westminster, UK. http://home.wmin.ac.uk/china_posters/cataloguelist.htm
- *The Long March* at Asia for Educators, Columbia University http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1900_mao_march.htm#activities
- *Chinese Posters Net* . 200 Highlights from the collections of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, and Stefan R. Landsberger (University of Amsterdam, Leiden University). http://chineseposters.net/index.php

Lesson Plan

Day 1

Propaganda War in Posters

1. Assign the **Background Essay** (or a similar reading in a textbook) the night before you begin the Activator.

2. Explain to the class that they will assume the roles of various people living in China in 1931. The days of Imperial China are long behind them, since the Emperor Puyi resigned in 1912. At this time, China's future is still unsettled. All Chinese have choices to make, including whether to side with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party or the much smaller and embattled Communist Party.

   Show the two-minute clip from the 1942 U.S. government film *The World at War*, which has been posted by David Burns for the Fasttrack American History Project site. You can also download the free mpeg file for this video from the Prelinger Archive at : http://archive.org/details/gov.archives.arc.38726. In addition, clips from this film appear on YouTube. http://wn.com/JAPAN_INVADES_CHINA

   Cut number 4, 1:58 minutes

   You may or may not want to analyze with students the point of view of this film clip. (It was made as a propaganda piece in order to justify the U.S. decision to go to war with Japan after Pearl Harbor was bombed.)

3. After viewing the film clip, show the class the map on page 15. Pose the following questions about the Japanese occupation of China up until 1934:

   - When did Japan take over Formosa (Taiwan) and Korea?
   - Why did the capital of China move from Beijing to Nanjing?
   - During these years, where were the Communist Party's various soviets located? How much of China was under Japanese control?

   Point out to students: the term "soviet" means any communist political organization, not necessarily one affiliated with Soviet Russia.

4. Discuss with the class:

   - If you were a Chinese person living in China during the early 1930s, how would you feel about Japan? How would you feel if you or your relatives lived in Manchuria? What would you think about the security of China in general?

- How important is it that China stay united during this critical time? What are the prospects that the Chinese will remain united in 1933?
- How would you feel and what would you want for the future of China if you were: A factory worker? A factory owner? A peasant? A landowner? One of the educated urban elite? A woman? (Note: All of these are discussed in the Background Reading).

5. Project in sequence the following from **Document 1: Chinese Propaganda Posters A, B, and C**. Tell the class that based on these posters, they will make their own posters as part of a "propaganda war."

   Explain that the use of posters in China predates the 20th century. China had invented block printing and had used mass-produced posters to instruct the public on good values and proper behavior well before the Communist era. The use of posters with a strong visual message was especially important in China because of its huge non-literate population at this time.

   You can ask students to analyze the posters using this Analysis Chart from the National Archives: http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/poster_analysis_worksheet.pdf

   You can also pose the following questions as students view the posters:

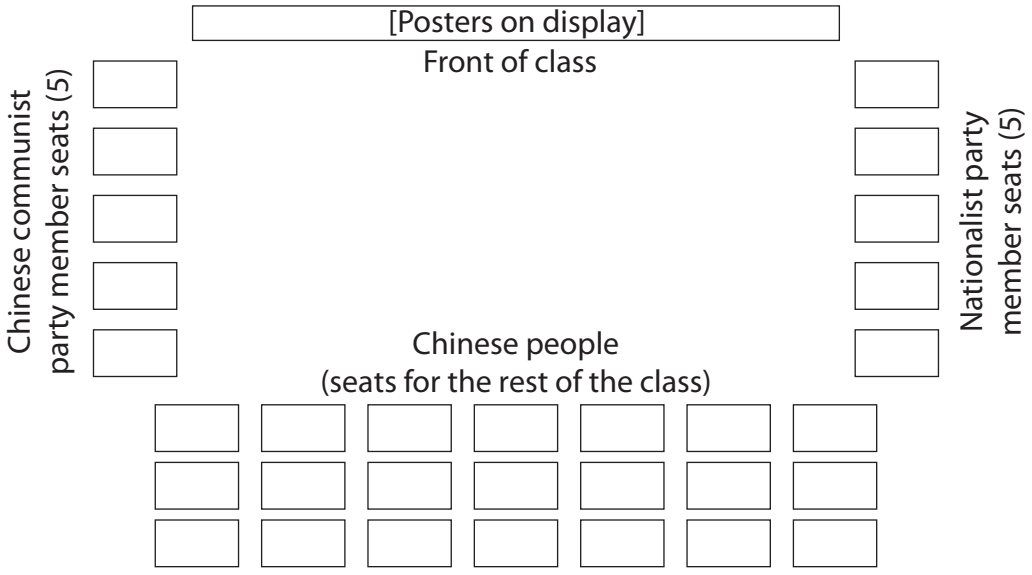
   - How much space is devoted to image and how much to print in these posters? Why do you think this is? (The population was largely illiterate; thus the posters need to convey a strong message without words).
   - In 1937, when these posters were printed, who was the main enemy of China? (Reference the map, pointing out the Japanese.) You can now read to students the translated captions from the posters, but point out that illiterate Chinese would still have understood them.
   - What is happening to the Japanese enemy in these two posters? Does it look like the enemy stands a chance? (Note how in Poster A the lone Japanese figure is overwhelmed by the united action of the Chinese. The two boots represent two different soldiers. The viewer looks up at them, which emphasizes the power of the soldiers as they stamp down).
   - How is action shown through the design of these posters? (Both posters are divided into a top [the Chinese] and bottom [the Japanese]. There is strong use of diagonals to show action from above.)
   - How many colors are used in each poster? Why do you think these colors were used? (The posters use only two colors plus shading. This makes them visually very bold and also cheaper and faster to mass-produce).

- In Poster B, we don't usually associate a heart with warfare. What does the heart represent? (The heart represents love of China by all Chinese, as shown by the many arms. Note how blood and tears drip down from the arms, a sign of the willing sacrifice made by the Chinese in their combat against the Japanese).
- Posters A and B were made by the Nationalist Party. Poster C was made by the Chinese Communist Party (Note: it is from 1967 because earlier ones are not available online). How do the compositions and messages of the posters differ? (Note the use of two contrasting colors and the strong diagonal action. The message is conveyed in the lower left: the Old World, including the Christian and Buddhist religions, are being destroyed by the victorious and cheering Communists).

6. Next, tell the class that they are going to make their own posters representing the viewpoints of different groups in China living in 1933, before the Long March.

   - Divide the class so that one or two students will be responsible for creating a poster. (Use the assignment chart on the next page to help you keep track of student roles).
   - Distribute **Handout 1** and **Handout 2** to all students.
   - Distribute poster-size paper or poster board, along with large markers or oil-based pastels. Give only two or three colors to each individual or pair working on one poster.
   - While students work, project images of Chinese political posters from the time.

Class Schematic



Teacher's Poster Assignment Chart

Assignments	Names of Students
The Chinese People	
Factory worker	
Factory owner	
Peasant farmer	
Landlord	
Urban elite/students	
Chinese in occupied Manchukuo	
Chinese women	
(Repeat the above, depending on the size of your class)	
Chinese Communist Party	
Poster designed to appeal to factory workers	
Poster designed to appeal to peasants	
Poster designed to appeal to urban elites and students	
Poster designed to appeal to Chinese in occupied Manchukuo	
Poster designed to appeal to women	
National Party Propaganda Posters	
Poster designed to appeal to factory workers	
Poster designed to appeal to landlords	
Poster designed to appeal to urban elites and students	
Poster designed to appeal to Chinese in occupied Manchukuo	
Poster designed to appeal to women	

Teaching tip
Assign students who are better at abstract thinking to the political parties.

Teaching tip
Try to assign one student with some artistic talent to each pair.

7. Concluding Activity. "Vote With Your Feet"

The posters should now be used as a means of propaganda to convince the students assigned to the category "Chinese People" to support either the Nationalists or the Communists.

Students can hold up their posters or you can post them around the room. Arrange students as per the Schematic for the Poster Propaganda War. Next, read the following script aloud:

Read or say

> In this year of 1933, we Chinese are confronted with a host of problems. Paramount among them is how best to modernize to compete with the Europeans, the Americans, and, above all, the Japanese. Due to our own weakness, the Japanese are occupying Chinese territory in Manchuria. We must stay united so that we can confront the Japanese before more of China falls into their hands. At the same time, two political parties are vying for our allegiance: the Chinese Nationalist Party, led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the much smaller Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong and others. What do these parties have to offer for the future of China—for our factory workers and factory owners, for our peasants and landlords, for our citizens in occupied Manchuria, for our students and urban intellectuals, and for women?
>
> At this meeting, we will see and hear the demands of Chinese citizens. What problems do they face? Why does China's future depend upon solving these problems promptly and efficiently?

Next, call up the seven Chinese citizen groups. Students should present their posters to the Nationalists and Communists one at a time and answer the following questions

- What urgent problem does your poster address?
- What is your solution to the problem?
- Why did you design your poster as you did?

After that, ask the students who created the Nationalist Party Posters to do the same, followed by the Chinese Communist Party.

After all of the posters have been presented, ask members of the seven constituent groups to decide which party to join. Give students time for a "think-pair-share" before they make their selection. Remind students

Bright Idea

At this point, you can choose to hold a debate between the Nationalists and Communists in which they present their party positions. The rest of the class, representing different groups of Chinese people, can then pose questions, make accusations, or deliver statements that force the parties to defend their positions.

that they are making their decisions not on what they think as students today, but on what they would have thought based on their roles almost 100 years ago.

Next, ask students to "vote with their feet" by either going to the left side of the room (Communist) or the right (Nationalist).

Debriefing

Frame discussion around the external threat to China from Japan and the internal threat of competing visions of the Communists and Nationalists that eventually led to civil war.

Discussion Questions

1. Do you think Chiang Kai-shek was wrong to go after the Communists while Japan posed an ever-increasing threat? Why or why not?

2. Which of the two parties do you think offered the best plan for the Chinese people as a whole? Explain why you chose either the Nationalists or the Communists.

3. Given the different constituencies to which the parties appealed, who do you think had a short-term advantage and who had the long-term advantage: the Communists or the Nationalists?

Note: Factory owners would definitely have supported the Nationalists, who were anti-union; factory workers would have supported the Communists, who helped them fight for their rights. Landowners would have supported the Nationalists because they benefited under them and the party had no plans to distribute their land to the peasants, as the Communists wanted to do. Other groups might have been less unified in their choices, and it is fine if poster-partners do not agree on which party to support (they can divide). Many peasant farmers would have supported the Communists, especially those in regions where the Communists had redistributed land. Both parties claimed to help women, but the Communists, unlike the Nationalists, were committed to aiding rural as well as urban women. Urban elites and students would have divided, the more radical among them (for example, those who participated in the May Fourth Movement) siding with the Communists. Some who studied abroad and who were introduced to Marxist ideology in Paris or Germany would have gone with the Communists, while many others would have preferred Western-style democracy. The Chinese in occupied Manchukuo were desperate for the Chinese to unite to fight the Japanese. The Communists were willing to do this, whereas the Nationalists felt that the Communists posed as great or even greater a threat to China than did the Japanese.

Lesson Plan

Days 2 and 3

The Long March

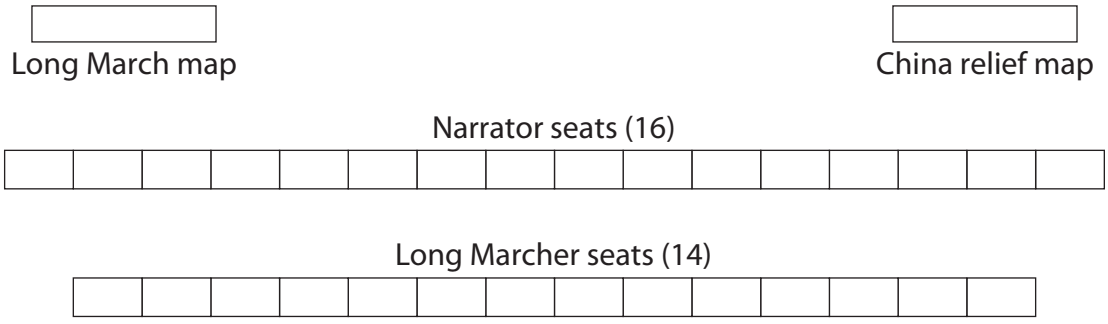
Explain to the class that they are now going to learn about the Long March, a year-long trek that covered more than 6000 miles—approximately double the width of the continental United States. While only one of the original marchers out of eight survived, their endurance ensured the survival of the Chinese Communist Party.

Note that the account of the Long March given here follows the progression of Mao Zedong's army, and not that of the several other Long March armies that took different routes. Students will learn about the march by presenting a newscast of the unfolding events. Half the class will be the newscasters, while the other half will represent historical figures who were involved in the events.

1. Project **Map B of the Long March** (see page 16).

   Alongside it, project **Map C: Relief Map of China** (see page 17) to show the points along this route where the Long March will encounter its highest terrain.

2. Divide the class as follows: Assign each student to either one section of the Long March Narration (1–16) or to one of the Long March Biographies (1–14). For each student who will be one of the people in the Long March (Long March Biographies), print out a copy of their photo for them to wear around their neck or to use as a placard at their desk so that the rest of the class can see who they "are." Newscasters should have access to a



"microphone" as well as a pointer and "tacks" to place on the map.

Option A: Short Version *(No preparation time).*

- Student narrators read their portion of the Handout 3: Long March Narration, including the column on the left (date, event) and right (details of the event). When a narrator reads the name of a marcher (in bold), the student representing that marcher stands up.

- At the end of the narration, call up the Long Marchers one by one. Each student will read out his or her biography so that we find out what happened to them on the Long March, if they survived it, and what other roles they played in China's subsequent history.
- Proceed from here to item 3 below.

3. After the narration and biographical recitations, have a "call out" for all marchers who fit the following categories. They can raise their hands, stand up in front of the class, or do a quick one-two-three-step march together. This is a good test of how well students have processed what they read.
    - All relatives of Mao.
    - Those who joined the Nationalist Party before they were members of the Chinese Communist Party.
    - All survivors of the Long March.
    - All those who went on to fight the Japanese from 1936 to 1945.
    - All those who fought in the Chinese Civil War against the Nationalist Party once World War II was over.
    - All those who lived to the age of 60 or older.
    - All those who gave Mao undivided loyalty.

Option B: Long Version

This version will require at least one night's worth of homework or a full class period to prepare.

Newscasters should:

- Embellish their account with dramatic flourishes.
- Practice reading and reciting ahead of time.
- Find images to go along with what they are presenting, such as the geography of China, images of people involved in the march, and so forth. If students use digital images, assign one newscaster to assemble them into a PowerPoint presentation.

Biography students should:

- Rewrite what they are going to say so that it reads in the first person (e.g., rather than "Mao decided that…" their narration should read, "I decided that…").
- Do further research about their assigned person. Note that the biographies in the Activator are very short and are not intended to be comprehensive. For most of the marchers, students can find more information online by using their person's name plus "Long March" as search terms.
- Bring to class some form of prop that represents something of importance in their person's life (e.g., a diploma, map, or photograph) to show as they recount their story.

Teaching tip
If you feel it's appropriate, give students time to reread their biographies.

Bright Idea
Play the "game" a second time but faster,like a military drill.

Bright Idea
Call a press conference in which the newscasters pose questions to the marchers, such as:

- What are your feelings about Mao?
- How did Mao consolidate power?
- Why do you think the Long March is important in Chinese history?
- What is the worst hardship you suffered?
- Which one of your comrades other than Mao do you admire the most, and why?

Debriefing

Read aloud Mao's assessment of the impact of the Long March:

Report given by Mao Zedong at a Party conference, December 27th, 1935

> "Speaking of the Long March, one may ask, 'What is its significance?' … The Long March is a manifesto. It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes, while the imperialists and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are impotent. It has proclaimed their utter failure to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us. The Long March is also a propaganda force. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have learned so quickly about the existence of the great truth which the Red Army embodies? The Long March is also a seeding-machine. In the eleven provinces it has sown many seeds which will sprout, leaf, blossom, and bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future."*

Read or say

Questions for debriefing:

- Was the Long March more of a military or a propaganda victory?
- How did the Long March consolidate Mao's hold on power?
- Based on the roles you reenacted, how did the Long March create a generation of national heroes and a founding mythology?
- To what national heroes and founding mythologies could you compare the Long March to in U.S. history?
- As China enters an era in which Communist ideology plays only a nominal role in its identity, do you think the Long March will maintain its place of importance in its history?
- What if Mao and his compatriots had not survived the Long March? How might the history of China—and world history—have been different?
- How else did the Communists use the Long March as Chinese Communist propaganda? Do you think it was an effective tool? Why or why not?

Bright Idea
Debriefing with Primary Sources:

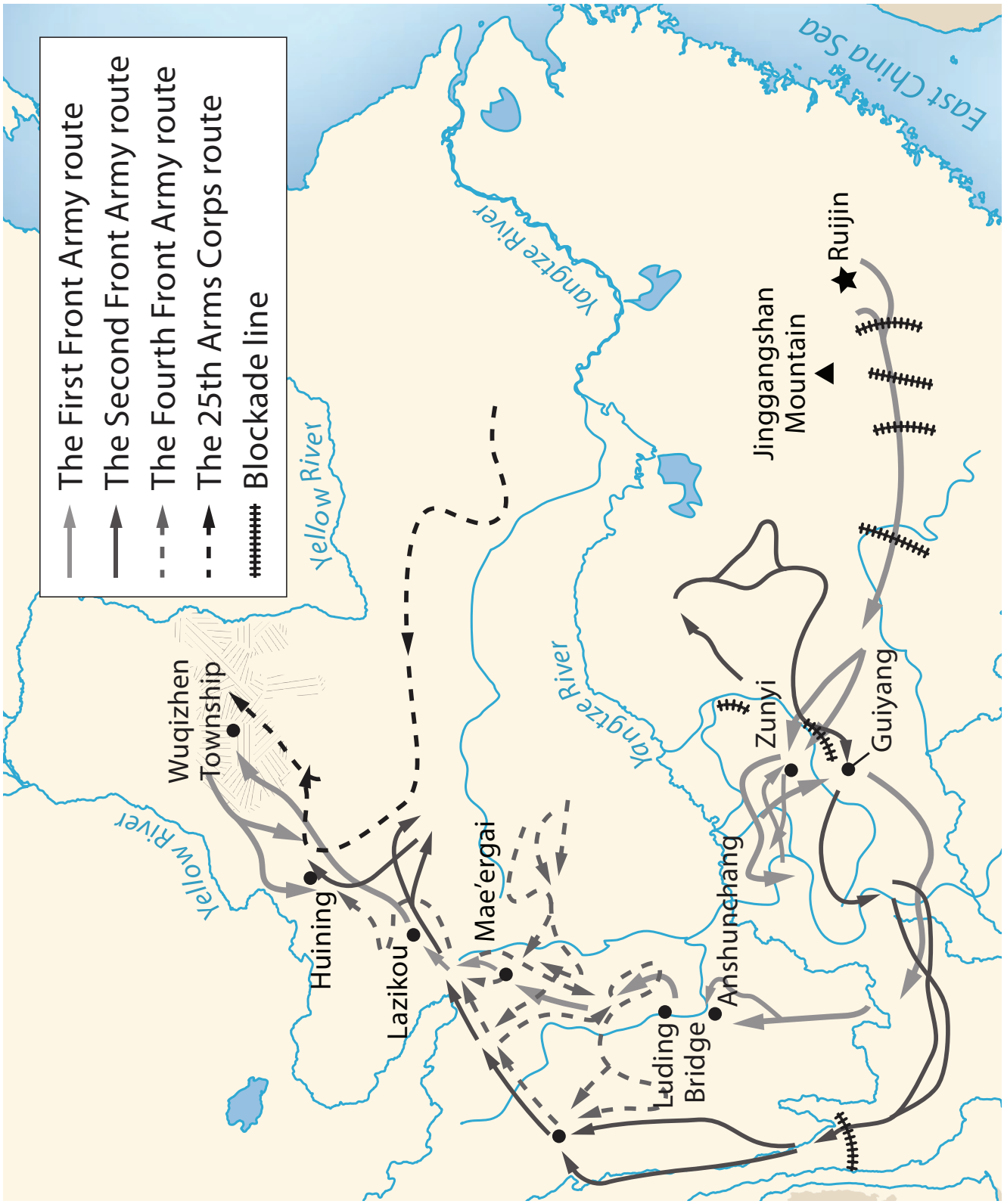
Have students read the **Long March Documents Set 2: The Chinese Communist Party Propagandizes the Long March in poetry and Art**. This set has three documents: two translations of a poem by Mao, and one piece of art about the Long March.

* Source http://www.morningsun.org/living/longmarch/index.html

Maps A, B, and C

Map A

Map B



Map C


East China Sea
Yellow Sea
Bo Hai
Taiwan Strait
Wuyi Shan
Amur River
Songhua River
Manchurian Plain
Da Hinggan Ling
(Greater Khingan Range)
Argun River
Shilka River
Lake Baikal
Lena River
Angara River
Yangtze River
North China Plain
Yellow River
Xi River
Gulf of Tonkin
GOBI DESERT
Ordos Desert
Yellow River
Sichuan Basin
Longtze River
Yungui Gaoyuan
(Plateau of Yunnan)
Mekong River
Salween River
Irrawaddy River
Brahmaputra River
Hengduan Shan
Qinghai Lake
QAIDAM PENDI
(TSAIDAM BASIN)
Turpan Pendi
-154 m (-505 ft)
Yenisei River
Ob River
Irtysh River
TIEN SHAN
TARIM PENDI
(TARIM BASIN)
Takla Makan Desert
KUNLUN MOUNTAINS
QING ZANG GAOYUAN
(PLATEAU OF TIBET)
Mount Everest
8,850 m
(29,035 ft)
Lake Balkhash
Issyk Kul
K2
8,611 m
(28,251 ft)
GREAT HIMALAYA RANGE
Ganges River

Background Essay

China's Last Dynasty: The Qing

China's long succession of dynasties began with the Shang Dynasty in 1600 BCE and ended in the 20th century with the fall of the Qing dynasty (1644–1912). The Qing had conquered China from their homeland in Manchuria and proceeded to expand the boundaries of ancient China to include regions ruled by China today, including Tibet and Xinjiang (western China). However, as the empire grew bigger it also got weaker. The Qing did not increase the country's infrastructure, bureaucracy, or means of production to keep up with its population, which had increased fourfold since the early days of the dynasty—to 430 million by 1853. Nor did it adapt quickly to the use of Western technologies such as mechanized farming, railroads, telegraphs, and factories. The Confucian civil service exam, which had long served China's centralized government so well, was no longer effective and didn't prepare officials to manage the rapid changes of the 19th and 20th centuries. Power thus devolved to provincial governments and eventually to warlords.

Inner dissension further weakened the state. Many Han Chinese resented the imposition of rule by the Qing, who came from Manchuria. Thus, many were eager to see the dynasty toppled. The leaders of the peasant uprising known as the Taiping Rebellion (1850 to 1864) called for the redistribution of land from landowners to peasants, an end of the oppression of women under Confucian ideology, and the industrialization of the nation. An estimated 30 million lives were lost in the rebellion, which was put down by loyalists of the Qing, including landowners. This mammoth effort further weakened China, making it easy prey for foreign countries to make inroads.

Until 1759, the Chinese had only allowed Europeans to trade in one city, Guangzhou (Canton). China later lost the series of Opium Wars (1839–1860) to the British; the ensuing peace settlement contained humiliating terms for the Chinese, including opening several ports to Western powers, surrendering the island of Kowloon to the British, and allowing foreigners to freely travel throughout China. The Chinese economy also suffered, as China began to purchase more foreign goods from Europeans; in addition, the peace settlement required huge payments of silver to the British and French, which greatly depleted the Chinese treasury. By 1860, there were 14 treaty ports, with Britain and France as their primary beneficiaries. As Europeans made inroads, they helped China modernize by building railroads, textile factories (primarily cotton), and shipyards. However, the profit from these endeavors either went to Europeans or to a small number of Chinese families and business associates whose primary goal was to increase their own wealth. Finally, a group of Chinese in northern China struck back in an anti-foreign uprising known as the Boxer Rebellion (1898–1901). It too failed.

The Qing Dynasty Falls

By the early 1900s, many educated Chinese had gone abroad to study, becoming influenced by democratic movements and impressed by the benefits of industrialization in the United States, Europe, and Japan. A group of students and intellectuals came together in the **New Youth** movement, which rejected Confucian veneration of elders in favor of the forward-looking younger generation. The educated elite, including many female graduates of the universities, supported this effort to institute a viable republic in the mold of Western democracies. They successfully pressured Qing rulers to abolish the Confucian civil servant exams in 1905 and begin an effort to institute a modern bureaucracy. Ultimately though, it was a coup by revolutionary army officers that ended dynastic rule in China. General Yuan Shikai forced the emperor to abdicate in 1912. Sun Yat-sen (also known as Sun-Jiang), founder of the Nationalist Party (or *Guomindang*), then declared China a republic to be governed according to his Three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy, and Livelihood. Sun did not back Yuan, but lacked the military force to remove him from power.

Yuan ignored the results of elections in which the Nationalist Party won an overwhelming number of seats in the parliament. It took little time before Yuan declared himself a military dictator—in effect, a virtual emperor. The Nationalist Party was banned and Sun fled to Japan.

Chinese National Party

When Yuan died suddenly in 1916, China fell into chaos. Warlords and gangsters quickly moved into the power vacuum and disrupted life throughout the country—especially in the north, where the Nationalists were trying to establish themselves in Beijing. Although Sun returned to China, he died in 1925 before the Nationalists could consolidate power. The year after Sun's death, Chiang Kai-shek (also known as Jiang Jieshi) took over the reins of the Nationalist Party.

Chiang was the son of a landlord-merchant who valued Chinese Nationalism above all else. Thus, Chiang was unsympathetic to university students and the educated elite who desired to overthrow traditional Chinese values. Democracy was not a priority for him. He was above all a man of action in a time of crisis. Within three years, he subdued the warlords and established a national government in Nanjing in 1928. With the help his government received from Western-trained engineers and economists, the Nationalists built schools, railways, factories, and roads. However, these improvements never reached the countryside, where most of China's population lived and farmed. In fact, Chiang allied himself with the landowners and empowered them to squeeze ever more produce and taxes out of their peasants. He also ignored the pleas of factory workers in the big cities for decent wages, hours, and living conditions, preferring to support factory owners in strikes.

Because the Chinese had little experience organizing themselves politically, the Nationalists accepted aid from the Soviet Union, whose agents taught them how to maintain party discipline and to propagandize. Chiang fought the warlords with materiels sent by the Soviets. He had at first agreed to form a United Front with Communist sympathizers, but he remained deeply suspicious of their motives for helping China to unify. Many Chinese were grateful to Chiang and the Nationalists for defeating the warlords and raising the standard of living for the educated urban dwellers, landowners, and factory owners. However, many accused the Nationalists of allowing these groups to accept bribes and to profit—at the expense of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Communist Party

The Chinese Communist Party was not officially organized until 1921. At first, it consisted of a mere 60 members. It was inspired by the ideas of the German political philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1893) and the establishment of the first communist government in Soviet Russia at the end of World War I. In the short term, the Communists wanted to see China free from imperialist intervention; in the long term, they sought a radical redistribution of land and wealth. The goal was to seize both factories and land and give them to the people, who would have collective (as opposed to private) ownership over "the means of production." This small movement began to gain ardent followers in the 1920s and 1930s due to a number of factors. In the cities, labor strife was rampant. Foreigners, and a limited number of wealthy Chinese owned most of China's factories. Owners often lured Chinese peasants from the countryside to work in factories with the promise of a better life, but when workers staged strikes to protest the degrading conditions in which they lived and worked, factory owners fought back. In one instance, British factory owners killed 55 strikers. The Communists supported the workers, whereas the Nationalists favored the factory owners. In areas of the countryside that came under Communist control, the Communists kicked out landlords and divided the land amongst the peasants, whom they organized into communes. They protected the peasants from both warlords and the National Party, which propped up the landlords and encouraged higher taxes on the peasants. In addition, the Communists had a reputation for honesty, whereas the Nationalists were often corrupt, allowing their followers to profit to the detriment of the general populace.

The Communists were aided and to some extent directed by the Russian Soviets, who wanted the

Communists to join the Nationalist Party in order to provide a united front against the imperialist powers (primarily Great Britain, France, and Japan). The Communists quickly became masters of propaganda techniques, which they employed to convince uneducated Chinese peasants of the party's great success at redistributing land, fighting the imperialists, and bringing better working conditions to the factories.

Mao Zedong (also spelled Mao Tse-Tung) was one of the party's early founders. He was the son of prosperous peasants. Only after the Long March was he acknowledged as unchallenged leader of the Chinese Communist Party. Throughout the ups and downs of his early career, Zhou Enlai was at times Mao's superior and at others his inferior, but the whole time his faith in Mao never waivered. While the Communists gained supporters throughout the 1920s and 1930s, they never had as many members as the Nationalists.

The Japanese Threat and the Formation of the Jiangxi Soviet

For a brief time, the Communists and Nationalists did indeed unite as the National Front to fight the warlords, but as Chiang consolidated his power he came to believe that the Communists actually posed the greatest threat to China. Many Nationalists were justly afraid that the Communists would promote "class warfare" by pitting factory workers and peasants against industrialists and landowners. In 1927, Chiang broke with the Communists and turned his military forces against the labor unions and Chinese Communist Party members in Shanghai, slaughtering hundreds. From 1927 to 1930, Chiang drove Communists out of the cities and into hiding in the countryside. There, the Communists won the allegiance of many, eventually garnering 250,000 peasant troops. Chiang's army and Mao's army clashed. As Mao was forced to retreat further inland, he perfected the use of guerilla tactics against the Nationalists. By 1934, the Nationalists had surrounded the Communists in Shaanxi province, where Mao had formed the Jiangxi Soviet. The Nationalists encircled the Communist forces with one million troops and built five rows of concentric fortifications around Jiangxi; the noose designed to eradicate the Communists could only grow tighter.

In the meantime, Japanese expansionism threatened China from the outside. Japan had industrialized far faster than China, and soon it embarked on a quest for a colonial empire. Japan had become a formidable military power; in 1895, it wrested control of Vietnam, Korea, and Taiwan from China, and in 1905 it gained a toehold in Chinese Manchuria. In 1931, the Japanese military waged all-out war against the Chinese in Manchuria. The pretext was a bomb that had exploded on a Japanese railroad in Manchuria (known as the Mukden or Manchurian Incident). Japan accused the Chinese of planting it as an excuse to start a war. In order to counter this Japanese aggression, it became critical for the Nationalists and Communists to join forces. However, Chiang resisted doing this for fear that the Communists would infiltrate and undermine the Nationalist Party. He thus greatly underestimated Japan's military might and the threat it posed to China. With China divided, Japan easily conquered Manchuria in 1932 and renamed it Manchukuo.

Meanwhile, Chiang hoped that his encirclement of the Communists spelled their doom in China. This might indeed have been the case, except for the Long March.

Timeline of Chinese History, 1905–1949

1905	End to the Confucian civil servant exams as China modernizes.
1911	The last dynasty of China comes to an end when Qing emperor Li Puyi is forced to resign.
1915	The New Youth Movement publishes a periodical, undermining the reverence for the old with a vision of the future, and overturning Confucian ideals.
1919	May Fourth Movement: Massive student protests against the Treaty of Versailles are staged in Tiananmen Square on May 4th, 1919. This effort at mass mobilization is successful, and China rejects a treaty that would have given Japan a toehold in China.
1925	Death of Sun Yat-sen, and with him, China's best hope of establishing a democratic republic.
1926	Facing imperialist demands, the two leading parties (Nationalists and Communists) unite to form a strong front.
1927	Chiang Kai-Shek leads the Nationalists, but rather than seeking unity he turns on the Communists and purges his party of them. Likewise, the Communists become suspicious of spies and turncoats in their midst and ruthlessly try to eradicate them.
1930	Almost 200,000 women work in cotton factories in Shanghai. The New Civil Code under the Nationalists gives women marriage and property rights. Mao Zedong and the Communists form the Jiangxi Soviet.
1931	Japan conquers Manchuria and occupies it, calling it the independent nation of Manchukuo. Their invasion is condemned by the European community. Mao is replaced as party leader by Zhou Enlai, who remains a loyal follower of Mao throughout the Long March.
1934	The Red Army under Mao breaks out of Jianxi, where the Nationalists have surrounded them. **The Long March**: the Communists flee, traversing over 6000 miles of difficult terrain while avoiding enemy bombardment.

1935	Mao's army reaches Shaanxi and unites with two other Communist armies that had taken different routes. Fewer than one in ten of the original marchers make it to Shaanxi. Supplemented with new recruits along the march, the Communists assemble a total of 20,000 soldiers in Yan'an, Shaanxi. The Communists hold their base there for the next ten years; Mao writes down his key thoughts during this period.
1937–38	Japan invades major Chinese cities and industrial areas. The Japanese "Rape of Nanjing" occurs, and Shanghai falls in spite of Chinese resistance. Chiang floods the Yellow River in order to impede the Japanese; however, almost a million Chinese die as a consequence. Chiang builds up a huge army to get ready to fight the Communists. In Yan'an, Mao gets little aid from the Soviets, but much support from Chinese farmers. He starts using guerilla warfare against the Japanese.
1945	End of World War II; defeat of Japan
1947	All-out civil war takes place between the Nationalists and Communists
1949	The Communists win, and the Nationalists flee to the island of Taiwan. Mao founds the People's Republic of China.

Name: _____ Date: _____

Handout 1: Propaganda Poster War Assignment Sheet

1. Name(s) of students working on your poster: _____

2. The political party or the group of Chinese people (factory workers, women, etc.) you have been assigned to represent: _____

3. What audience do you want to reach with the message of your poster?

   _____

4. Select the information you want your poster to convey by reading the Background Essay and Handout 2.

   - If you are making a poster for a group in the "Chinese People" category, read about the group you represent in Handout 2. Use the comparison chart to help you figure out if your needs are being met by either of the two parties (the Nationalists or Communists).
   - If you are making a poster as a member of either the Nationalist or Communist parties, what is your targeted audience? Read about the pros and cons of each party, and the paragraph about your targeted audience. Circle or underline all information relevant to your poster.

5. Submit a draft of the poster that includes:

   - a slogan of no more than five words.
   - a bold division of the area of the poster into top and bottom, or right and left, with diagonals cutting through to show action.
   - a striking use of color to arouse emotions.

6. Once the draft has been approved, make your poster.

7. Be prepared to present your poster to the class in a short oral presentation. What urgent problem does it address? What is your solution to the problem? Why did you design your poster as you did?

Handout 2: Political Parties and the Allegiance of the Chinese People

Factory Workers were located mainly along the east coast of China. Many workers, including women, were recruited from the countryside to work in factories; major industries were iron production, coal mining, and cloth manufacture (especially of cotton). Employees worked 12-hour days, seven days a week. They were provided with minimal housing and food (sometimes as a "loan" from the owners, which they then had to pay back). Because workers were never able to pay off their debt, they were unable to leave their jobs. Many of the factories were owned by foreign countries such as France and England. More recently, Japan had also built factories. Do these foreign-owned factories really benefit China? The factory workers have retaliated against the owners with massive strikes. These have been brutally put down, often by the warlords acting at the behest of the Nationalist Party.

Factory Owners. Compared to Japan, China had been very slow to industrialize. At first, it was only through concessions to the imperialist powers of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan that factories and railroads got built; however, China paid a heavy cost in revenues lost to those foreign countries. For example, in 1923 the foreign share of total investments in certain industries was more than 50 percent. While progress was made in limiting the power of foreign businesses in China, Chinese industrialists often remained dependent on foreign loans and expertise to modernize China. When Chinese industrialists realized a profit, some of it was siphoned off to pay protection from warlords, while other funds went to enrich the extended families of the Chinese factory owners. To move forward in the 20th century, the pace of Chinese industrialization must increase.

Peasant Farmers. Tenant farmers worked the land but did not own it. Their small, leased plots suffered from soil erosion, flooding, and poor transportation. As the population increased, they had to work on ever-smaller plots of land. They were often in debt due to heavy taxation. Their methods of farming both wheat (in the north) and rice (in the south) were the same that had been used for thousands of years. Mechanized farming had yet to be implemented in China because there was such an abundance of cheap human labor. There were also landowning peasants who worked their farms of 20 to 40 acres with their families, as well as employing other Chinese.

Landlords owned property that was passed down through male lineages over the generations. They leased their land to farmers, and in exchange demanded what they wanted in profits and taxes from what the farmers grew. They had little incentive to use mechanized farming tools, or even draft animals, since human labor was so cheap. The Nationalist Party bolstered the landlords' power, using the national police and allied warlords to help the landlords extract taxes from the peasants. To fight the Japanese, and to raise money to improve the army and the national infrastructure, the Nationalists depended on this source of revenue. The landlords, like the peasant farmers, often fell prey to the massive floods of the Yangzi River and other ecological disasters, as well as falling prices for their goods in the worldwide depression of the 1930s.

Urban Elites and Students. The urban elites and students were more exposed to and influenced by trends outside of China, such as Western democracy, Soviet communism, and Japanese industrialization. They wanted a new China in which the hierarchies of Confucian China and old ideals were overturned in favor of "new youth." At first, most of these privileged groups hoped that Europe and the United States would provide the best democratic model for China to adopt. However, other groups of young intellectuals began to sour on the West after the Treaty of Versailles gave Japan a foothold in China. The generation that participated in the successful May Fourth Movement (see timeline) to oppose this treaty turned against the Western "imperialists" and looked more favorably on communism. However, other students and elites saw that their positions of privilege would be threatened under a communist regime.

The Chinese of Occupied Manchukuo (Japanese-occupied Manchuria). Chinese Manchuria fell to the Japanese in 1931. The Japanese renamed it Manchukuo and set up a puppet state with the former Chinese emperor Puyi as the titular head of government. Under the Japanese, this area rapidly industrialized, but profits from these ventures went mainly to the Japanese. While some Chinese collaborated with the Japanese conquerors, most Chinese held an intense hatred for the Japanese. The Japanese had broad power to arrest Chinese people who formed any kind of opposition, regardless of whether they claimed allegiance to the Guomindang or the Communists. The Japanese imported several hundred thousand Japanese colonists into Manchukuo, where they established a strong beachhead for further invasions into mainland China. What was the future for the Chinese living there?

Women. In traditional Chinese culture, women of all social classes were taught to conform to Confucian values, under which they were expected to serve their husbands. Women were subject to arranged marriages, had no right to divorce, and could not inherit money. Peasant women labored on farms under extremely harsh circumstances, while upper-class women often were unable to work because of the crippling effects of foot-binding, a brutal practice designed to keep the feet as small as possible—a sign of beauty in Chinese culture. With the dawn of the 20th century, many aspects of Confucian feudalism began to fall. Many women moved to cities to work in factories, while others attended universities. Under the Nationalists, new laws were passed giving women in the cities great freedom (see the Comparison Chart), but little effort was made to bring these changes to the countryside. Meanwhile, the Communists had plans to ensure even greater equality for women throughout China.

Chinese National People's Party, (also referred to as the Kuomintang (KMT) or Guomintang.
Founded in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen, who died in 1925.
Leader: Chiang Kai-shek (also known as Jiang Jieshi or Jiang Zhongzheng).

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Positions</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">The three founding principles are nationalism, democracy, and the livelihood of the people.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Goals: Fight imperialism, fight the warlords, unify the country.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Headquarters: Nanjing.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Appeals to urban, educated elites, factory owners, rural landlords, and the Western powers.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Supporters: Urban elites, rural landlords, factory owners, Western powers.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Numbers: Vastly outnumber the Communists throughout the 1920s and 1930s.</td></tr>
<tr><th>Accomplishments</th><th>Criticisms</th></tr>
<tr><td>• Successful at beating the warlords and forming a centralized government.
• Wins concessions from foreign powers to reduce their special privileges, especially in cities along the coast like Shanghai.
• Brings railroads, factories, and electricity to urban centers.
• Allows the educated elite to prosper, bringing modernization to China.
• Modernizes the army with help from Germany. Drafts three million men.
• Raises taxes to fight Japan.
• Institutes a new code that empowers women to choose a spouse, inherit property, and avoid being subjected to foot-binding.</td><td>• Depends on factory owners who crush the labor unions.
• Allies with gangsters in Shanghai.
• Purges the Nationalist Party of Communists in 1927 in a bloody attack throughout Chinese cities.
• Weakens the country by fighting both the Japanese and Communists at once.
• Accused of graft and corruption.
• Cannot arm or clothe all the men it drafts.
• Lets the wealthy avoid taxes while starving farmers have to pay.
• Prints money to raise funds, causing inflation, black markets, and corruption.
• Makes no effort to let women in the countryside know about their new rights.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Alliances: Fearful of Communist influence, but works at times with the Communists to form a united front against the Japanese invaders.</td></tr>
</table>

Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
Founded in 1921 by a group of intellectuals.
Leader: Mao Zedong (1893–1976) also spelled Mao Tse-Tung. Influenced by the works of Karl Marx.

Positions	
Goals: Fight foreign intervention and make China self-sufficient, redistribute land to the peasants, form a collectivist society.	
Headquarters: Southeast in Jianxi, where they flee after purges by Chiang. After Chiang surrounds them there, they flee on the Long March to Yan'an in Shaanxi province.	
Appeals to rural peasants, factory workers, and increasingly to radicalized students. Wins strategic aid from Soviet Russia.	
Supporters grow rapidly after 1937, from 40,000 to over a million by 1945.	
Accomplishments	**Criticisms**
• Confiscates land from landlords and redistributes it to peasants. • Reduces rents and taxes for peasants, educates people, mobilizes women. • Organizes women strikers in the factories and gives support to female farmers. • Use of nontraditional but successful tactics to fight the Japanese, such as sabotage and guerilla warfare. • Empowers peasants to speak up for themselves. • Helps peasants pay for food; insists the army should not confiscate food from peasants. • Master propagandists, the Communists convince the peasants that radical change is necessary.	• 1928–35: Communists under Mao kill up to 100,000 people who they fear may be Nationalist infiltrators. • Confiscates food of the peasants and enforces conscription on them through intimidation. • Overplays success through clever propaganda. • Radical ideas for a revised China will hurt the very elite that the country needs to move forward.

Handout 3: Long March Narration

1	**Spring 1933** The encirclement of the Jiangxi Soviet	Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists encircle the Jiangxi Soviet in Yudu Province in the Fourth Encirclement Campaign—one designed to annihilate the Communists once and for all. The Communists and their troops have fled there after being persecuted by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces throughout China. The encirclement of Jiangxi includes machine-gun nests in rows stretching for 150 miles around the Jiangxi Soviet.
2	**September–October 16th, 1934** The Fifth Encirclement Campaign of the Jiangxi Soviet	The Jiangxi Soviet in Yudu Province is under the command of **Bo Gu** and **Otto Braun** (also known as Li De), as well as **Zhou Enlai**. The Communist leadership continues to use all-out frontal attacks against the Nationalist blockhouses, which are heavily fortified concrete barriers. The Communists face heavy losses and must withdraw further and further as the Nationalists tighten the noose. As a result, the Communists begin to lose their only viable base left in the country.
3	**September 1934** The reception of secret information	A spy for the Communists, **Mo Xiong**, returns with crucial information about Nationalist military plans. On the basis of Mo's information, the Communists know they must leave Jiangxi or face probable defeat from Chiang Kai-shek in yet another final push against them. The encirclement campaigns have already cost the Communists dearly.
4	**June 1934** The breakout plans	The plans are in place for the Communists to break out from Jiangxi, but only the top leaders know what those plans are. Sixteen thousand Communist troops will remain to form a rear guard and fend off the Nationalists, while the others will escape under cover of darkness. Among those who remain is **Fang Zhimin,** whose troops stand little chance against the invading Nationalists, as well as Mao's brother, **Mao Zetan**. Women and children are left behind, except for 35 women who take part in the breakout, including **He Zizhen,** Mao's pregnant wife.
5	**October 16th, 1934** The breakout	**Bo Gu** attacks the Nationalists' lines at Yudu. The breakout is a success, and more than 200,000 soldiers and civilians escape the confines of Jiangxi amidst heavy fighting.
6	**October 21st, 1934 to November 25th** The breakout continues	The Communists must cross through 150 miles lined with concrete machine-gun nests manned by 110 Nationalist regiments and their allied warlords. Five thousand Communists are assigned to transport war materiel and supplies. The Communists face heavy losses.
7	**November 25th–mid-December, 1934** Battle of Xiang River	At the fourth and final ring of defenses, the Communists are almost trapped, but most forces manage to break through. From here on in, the Communists can now march unimpeded by preexisting fortifications, but since they are being pursued ,a speedy retreat is of the essence, and they have to dump much of their equipment.

8	**January 15–18th, 1935** Zunyi Conference	The Communists enter the prosperous city of Zunyi, which, as Mao predicted, was poorly fortified. There, they commandeer badly needed supplies. They also distribute goods seized from wealthy merchants and landowners and give them to the poor. At the Zunyi Conference, the Communists analyze why the Jiangxi Soviet did not survive, and eventually put the blame on poor military tactics. **Zhou Enlai** accepts responsibility for his mistakes, but **Bo Gu** and **Otto Braun** are denounced for their unimaginative and disastrous strategies. **Zhou** assumes leadership with **Mao Zedong** as his assistant. Mao has always advocated fighting by unconventional means.
9	**February–April 1935** Across Guizhou province	**Mao** and **Zhou's** forces cross Guizhou province, where they face attacks from warlords as well as Nationalist forces. At times, Chiang Kai-shek personally arrives on the scene to take stock of the battles. Now the Communists' goal is to avoid direct confrontation with the Nationalists, to use guerilla tactics when possible, and to confuse the enemy about their planned moves. While they get thwarted from moving directly north to meet up with other Communist forces, they keep moving west and north. Mao's wife **He Zizhen** gives birth to a daughter. However, the child has no chance of surviving the harsh conditions of the march, and is left with a local family.
10	**April 29th–May 8th, 1935** The crossing of Jinsha River	Throughout the march, the Nationalists know that for the Communists to survive, they will have to cross the Yangtze River. The Nationalists therefore fortify possible river crossings wherever possible. The Yangtze includes immense gorges, steep mountains, and sheer cliffs rising from the water. "The fate of the nation and the party depends on bottling up the Reds south of the Yangtze," Chiang telegraphs his warlords. The Communists must go on countermarches to avoid these heavily fortified crossings, and end up marching deeper south to cross a tributary of the Yangtze, the Jinsha. Using only a handful of small boats working night and day, the entire army crosses in eight days.
11	**May 22nd, 1935** Yihai Alliance	The Communists enter the territory of the tribal people known as the Lolos or Yi. Over many long centuries, the Yi have hated the majority Han Chinese and resisted assimilation. Chiang Kai-shek expected the Communists to be weakened as they crossed into warlike Lololand. However, the Communists send Commander **Liu Po-Ch'eng**, who could speak Lolo, to negotiate a treaty. Both sides agree to unite to fight a common enemy: the Nationalists. In exchange for aid from the Lolo, the Communists give them arms. Hundreds of Lolos join the Communists and march to the Tatu River.

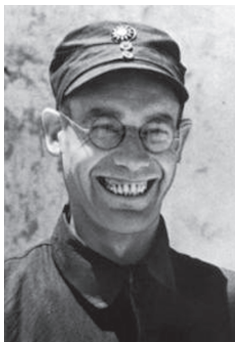
12	**May 29th, 1935** Battle of Luding Bridge	The Communists swing north over mountainous terrain heading for Luding Bridge. Sitting high over the Tatu (or Dadu) River (another tributary of the Yangtze) the bridge is flanked by steep gorges. Communist troops light 10,000 torches so they can see their way across at night. This is the Communist army's last chance to cross the Yangtze east of Tibet. The wide, swift river is spanned by a suspension bridge built in 1701 that is made of chain with a plank floor. However, anti-Communist forces have removed most of the planks from the bridge, leaving only chains of iron swinging wildly across the river, which is heavily guarded on the other side by Nationalist forces. Nevertheless, 30 Communists are chosen to be the first to cross the iron bridge, with grenades strapped to their backs. The ones that make it across throw the grenades at the enemy nests. The Nationalists fire on the remaining planks, but even this does not deter the Communists from crossing the bridge, and soon the Nationalists have to retreat.
13	**June12th, 1935** Across the Great Snowy Mountains in Sichuan province	The Communists now enter the Great Snowy Mountains of Sichuan province, whose peaks rise to 16,000 feet. Here, Tibetan forces attack them. Even **Lin Biao** faints from the thin air, and **Mao** has an attack of malaria. Foot soldiers succumb to frostbite, and some have to have their legs or feet amputated. Despite internal dissent among the Communists (such as that from **Zhang Guotao**, who wants to take a different route), **Mao** remains determined to drive northeast to Shaanxi. Mao's goal is to establish a united national defense government so that *all* Chinese forces, regardless of party affiliation, can join to fight the Japanese aggressors. As Mao's troops move steadily towards Shaanxi, the Communists confiscate weapons and food from landlords and warlords. Meanwhile, peasants and the poor join the army; some come willingly while others are probably coerced.
14	**September 1935** Marshlands of Quinghai-Gansu	Mao's forces enter new terrain: bleak, soggy marshlands. Rain hails down, making it impossible to lie on the wet terrain to sleep. Instead, men sleep standing up. Mao's forces suffer thousands of deaths due to illness, yet the remaining men keep moving, using grass ropes to help guide them through the swamps.
15	**October 20th, 1935** Mao reaches Shaanxi	Mao reaches Wuqi Zhen Township in Shaanxi. Out of 80,000 men who had left Jiangxi with him, only 8000 remain. Slowly, troops from **Zhang Guotao's** and **Zhu De's** forces trickle in and are reunited with Mao in the city of Yan'an. The Communists have survived the Long March.
16	**Late October, 1935** Finale	Unlike the Jiangxi Soviet, the Shaanxi Soviet survives. The Nationalists attack it too, but give up in 1935. Japan's aggression extends further into China, and by 1937 Japan and China are at war. The feuding parties of the Chinese Civil War—The Communist Party and the Nationalist Party—once again unite to stop Japanese aggression. However, after the Japanese withdraw from China at the end of World War II, the Chinese Civil War continues. It ends with the victory of Mao and the Chinese Communist Party forces in 1949.

Handout 4: Long March Biographies

Long March of the Red Army


Bo Gu

Bo Gu attended Shanghai University, where he got swept up in the revolutionary fervor and became a supporter of the anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement. As a young member of the Chinese Communist Party, he moved up to the position of General Secretary. He, Zhou Enlai, and Otto Braun formed the leadership of the Jiangxi Soviet during their siege by the Nationalists and on the Long March. Bo favored the use of conventional military techniques to fight off the Nationalists in Jiangxi, which proved disastrous, whereas Mao and Zhou favored unconventional methods of guerilla warfare. At the Zunyi Conference of 1935, Bo was discharged from his leadership of the military in favor of Mao and Zhou. Bo survived the Long March, but despite his shows of loyalty, Mao never entrusted him again with major positions of military responsibility. He died in an airplane crash in 1946 on his way to Yan'an in Shanxi.


Li De

Otto Braun was a German who used the name Li De during his years in China. The Soviets first sent him to China in 1932 to advise the Communists on military strategy in their fight to survive the Nationalist onslaught. He joined the Jiangxi Soviet, which was under threat from the Nationalists. Braun was in favor of using traditional all-out attacks against the Nationalists, which proved to be disastrous. When these tactics failed, he became an advocate for breaking out from Jiangxi, and he survived the escape. In 1934, he was given the authority to make military decisions along with Zhou Enlai and Bo Gu, but at the Zunyi Conference Mao and Zhou took over from Bo and Braun. Braun stayed in China until 1939. He was the only foreign participant in the Long March and his memoirs, *Chinese Notes,* provide historians with invaluable information about it. He died in 1974 at age 74 and was buried in East Berlin.


He Zizhen


Fang Zhimin

Fang Zhimin was a peasant who joined the Communist Party in 1924. In Jiangxi, he worked to organize the peasants, enacting land reforms and encouraging them to fight. These efforts helped him to rise in the party. Left in Jiangxi to defend it as the Red Army retreated, he was captured by the Nationalists and executed.

He Zizhen was educated at the Yongxin Girls School and joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1926. Several years later, she met Mao and became his wife. When she and Mao fled the Jiangxi Soviet, she was forced to leave her baby son with Mao's brother, Mao Zetan, who stayed behind. Because he was killed there, she never learned what became of the baby boy. During the Long March, she proved an excellent guerrilla fighter and marksman. When she thought her injuries would slow down the marchers, she asked to be abandoned, but Mao refused. She gave birth during the Long March, but the child was immediately given to a local family. The identity of their girl has never been scientifically corroborated. She and Mao were divorced in 1937. She died in 1984.


Liu Po-Ch'eng

Liu Po-Ch'eng grew up in poverty. He was a good student and managed to earn a degree at a military academy. In 1926, he joined the Communist Party and was sent to the Jiangxi Soviet. Liu was at first a supporter of the use of the conventional fighting methods advocated by Bo and Braun, but he saw that these tactics led to heavy casualties, and he consequently became a supporter of Mao. Liu helped to find a route across the Jinsha River. Once in hostile Lolo (Yi) territory, it was Liu who helped to negotiate with tribespeople, winning their loyalty to the Communist cause. Liu bravely led his men across the Tatu River. While never one of Mao's favorites, Liu later became a superb military organizer and tactician, and helped to secure success in the war against Japan, and in the Chinese Civil War against the Nationalists. He died in 1986.

Lin Biao was the son of a prosperous merchant and became one of the very best Chinese military commanders. After he abandoned the Nationalist Party, he became a member of the Jiangxi Soviet. There, he understood the importance of using guerrilla warfare against the Nationalists rather than facing them head-on. Along with Mao, he was also one of the first to advocate that the Communists break out of Jiangxi. After the Long March, Lin went on to play prominent roles in the war against Japan, and later in the Chinese Civil War. He died in 1971 in a plane crash.


Lin Bao


Mao Zedong

Mao Zedong was born in Hunan Province, the son of a peasant farmer. Despite hardships, he persisted in obtaining the best high school education available to him in Hunan, and further trained to become a teacher. As a youth, he joined the armed forces that rose against the Qing Dynasty, but left the military once the Republic of China was declared. Afterwards, he went to Beijing as well as Shanghai, where he first encountered and became influenced by communist ideas. At the age of 29, he was elected to a position in the Chinese Communist Party. During the years when the Communists advocated working with the Nationalist Party, Mao became Propaganda Director for the Nationalist Party. This brief period of unity ended when the Nationalists purged the Communists. His second wife, Yang Kaihui, was captured during the Nationalist purges of 1930 and executed. He was sent to the Jiangxi Soviet, where he met He Zizhen, who would become his third wife. He was elected chairman of the Jiangxi Soviet, but came under criticism for his brutal methods of purging anyone who might challenge him. He lost power to Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu, and Otto Braun before the breakout from Jiangxi. Only during the Long March was his de facto leadership restored, following the Zunyi Conference. At the end of the Long March, he emerged triumphant, and thereafter his leadership of the Communist Party was never in serious jeopardy. After the Long March, he helped form the united front with the Nationalist Party to fend off the invading Japanese. At the end of World War II, he led the Communists to victory against Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists.

Mao Zetan was the younger of Mao Zedong's two brothers. He was one of the original founders of the Communist Party. When the Nationalist Party began its purge of Communists, he fought back in what was called the Nanchang Uprising. As his brother escaped Jiangxi in 1934, he stayed behind to provide cover for the fleeing army. He was later captured and executed by the Nationalists. He was only 29 years old.

The national emblem of the People's Republic of China

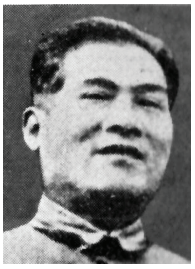
Mo Xiong was originally a close friend of Sun Yat-sen. He was trusted by the Nationalists and on that basis performed the role of spy for the Communist Party. He and other Communist agents copied important intelligence onto four dictionaries and made a hazardous trip to the Jiangxi Soviet. Thanks to this intelligence, the Communists knew they had to leave Jiangxi or be annihilated. His bravery was officially recognized only many years later in the 1950s, when Mao honored him officially. He died in 1980.

Peng Dehuai

Peng Dehuai was born into a peasant family too poor to afford to give him more than a few years of education. At 16, he became a soldier and served in various warlord armies. In 1926, he joined the Nationalist Party, but found that it would never became as revolutionary as he had hoped. Thus, he joined the Communist Party and helped to defend the Jiangxi Soviet. He was a survivor of the Long March and supported Mao at the Zunyi Conference. After the Long March, he led forces consisting of all Chinese factions in the fight against the Japanese. During the Chinese Civil War, he was in command of Communist forces in Northwest China. His enormous success led to the expansion of the Communists into the Xinjiang region, which was later incorporated into communist China. Although he reportedly saved Mao from capture more than once, he eventually fell out with him, disapproving of his cult of personality and the Great Leap Forward. He was purged from the party and given a life term in prison, where he died in 1974.

Xiang Ying

Xiang Ying was a high-ranking Communist official in the Jiangxi Soviet. Xiang was chosen to stay in Jiangxi as the main Communist army escaped on the Long March. There, he fought off attacks by the Nationalist Party and survived. He was killed in 1941 in a controversial incident by a member of his own staff who stole the gold Xiang was protecting for the Communists.



Zhang Guotao

Zhang Guotao was a student leader in the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party. Like Mao, he attended Beijing University; he later studied in the Soviet Union. He founded his own soviet bases in the countryside in Sichuan, but was forced by the Nationalists to abandon them. He led the 4th Red Army on the Long March, taking a different route than Mao's army. His forces greatly outnumbered Mao's, so he separated them when he could not convince Mao to go south instead of north to Shanxi. His challenge to Mao's leadership failed. Taking the southern route devastated Zhang's forces. Although he finally reunited with Mao in Shanxi, he was shortly thereafter purged from the party. Consequently, in 1938 he joined the Nationalist party. When they were defeated, he moved to Hong Kong and finally to Canada, where he died in 1979.


Zhou Enlai

Zhou Enlai was born into a family with a long history as scholar-officials in imperial China. He received an excellent education, at first from the well-bred women in his family and later at Western-style academies. In 1920, he was active in organizing a highly effective boycott of Japanese goods, but it was suppressed at the request of the Japanese and he was imprisoned for six months. After his release, he studied in several European cities, including Paris, where he organized Communist groups. In 1924, he returned to China. As directed by the Soviets, he joined the Nationalist Party to work from within by fostering unity and the larger cause of communism. After the Communists were purged by Chiang Kai-shek, he moved to the Jiangxi Soviet in 1927, where he first met Mao. He supported Mao's ruthless leadership of Jiangxi. As one of the three leaders of Jiangxi, he supervised the logistical plans needed for the Communists to break out and escape. At the Zunyi Conference during the Long March, he accepted responsibility for Communist losses to the Nationalists, and thus preserved his own leadership, unlike Otto Braun and Bo Gu. Meanwhile, he helped restore Mao to prominence for his brilliant strategies during the Long March. He represented the Communists and Nationalists when they reunited to fight the Japanese invasion of China. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, he became its Premier, a position he never gave up. He was the main architect of détente with the United States, a policy negotiated with President Richard Nixon in 1969. He died in 1976.

Zhu De grew up the son of a poor tenant farmer. His military career began as a warlord in Sichuan, and after his defeat in 1920 he became an official in the provincial government. After his wife and child were killed by rival warlords, he left for Shanghai, where he met Sun Yat-sen. From there, he went to study in Germany, where he met Zhou Enlai. He later studied military tactics in the Soviet Union. Around this time, he joined the Communist Party, but kept his affiliation secret while working for the Nationalists. In 1927, he fought against the Nationalists in their drive to purge Communists. With Mao, he formed the Jiangxi Soviet, where he built up its army and planned the breakout. He was commander-in-chief of the 4th Red Army during the Long March. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army during the war against Japan and in the Chinese Civil War. While he came under criticism during the Cultural Revolution, Zhou Enlai supported him and saved him from a prison term. He died in 1976.


Liu Po-Ch'eng, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Mao Zedong in 1930.

Document Set 1: Propaganda Posters A, B, and C

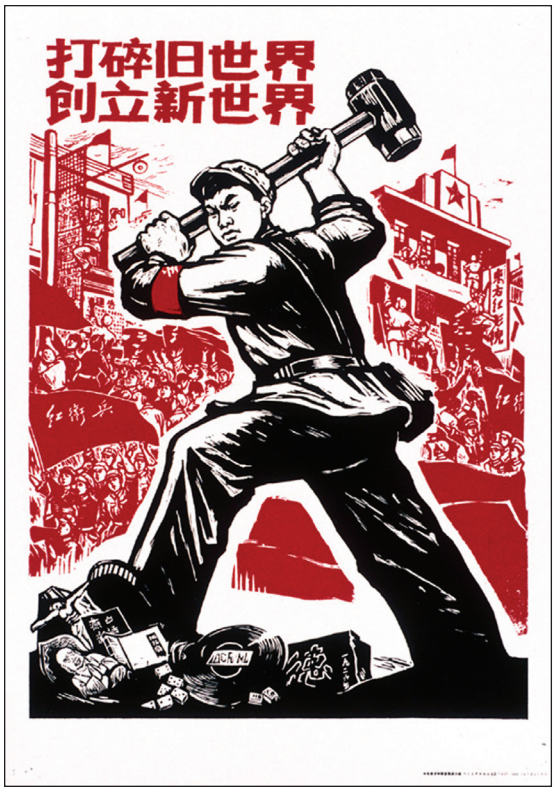
Poster A

Designer unknown
ca. 1937
"Defeat Japanese imperialism"
Dadao Riben diguozhuyi
Publisher: Junshi weiyuanhui zhengxunchu
Size: 64.5 x 39 cm.
Call number: BG D25/197 (Landsberger collection)

Anti-Japanese propaganda from the Nationalist Party (Guomindang)

Poster B

Designer unknown
ca. 1937
"Millions of people all of one mind vow to exterminate the Japanese enemy"
Wanzhong yixin shimie Wokou
Publisher: Junshi weiyuanhui zhengxunchu
Size: 55x39 cm.
Call number: PC-1938-011 (Private collection)



Poster C

Designer unknown)
ca. 1967
Scatter the old world, build a new world
Dasui jiu shijie, chuangli xin shijie
Size: 37x26 cm.
Call number: BG D29/184 (IISH collection)

Document Set 2: The Chinese Communist Party Propagandizes the Long March in Poetry and Art

Documents A and B: Two translations of "The Long March," a poem by Mao Zedong

Translation A

The Red Army fears not the trials of the Long March
And thinks nothing of a thousand mountains and rivers.
The Wuling Ridges spread out like ripples;
The Wumeng Ranges roll like balls of clay.
Warmly are the cliffs wrapped in clouds washed by the Gold Sand;
Chilly are the iron chains lying across the width of the Great Ferry.
A thousand acres of snow on the Min Mountain delight
My troops who have just left them behind.

—Mao Zedong, September 1935

From David L. Weitzman, Mao Tse-tung and The Chinese Revolution.
http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1900_mao_march.htm
(Field Educational Publications, 1969)

Translation B

The Red Army fears not the trials of the Long March,
Holding light ten thousand crags and torrents.
The Five Ridges wind like gentle ripples
And the majestic Wumeng roll by, globules of clay.
Warm the steep cliffs lapped by the waters of Golden Sand,
Cold the iron chains spanning the Tatu River.
Minshan's thousand li* of snow joyously crossed,
The three Armies march on, each face glowing.

Source: http://www.morningsun.org/living/longmarch/index.html

* one li = 0.5 kilometers

Document C

"We are determined to become revolutionary successors," 1965
http://chineseposters.net/themes/luding-bridge.php

You may also choose to use other images about the Long March to use in this lesson. Some additional images are available at http://www.chineseposters.net/gallery/. Please use your discretion when assigning these to students.

The Partition of India, 1947

Overview

In 1947, India was finally poised to win its long-sought freedom from Great Britain. Mahatma Gandhi spearheaded this struggle, based on his principles of nonviolence and civil disobedience. The Indian National Congress Party, founded in 1885 to foster democracy in India, was also a major force in the push for independence. As independence drew near, however, the future of India became more complicated. In 1940, the All Muslim League issued the Lahore Resolution, which advocated autonomy for Muslims in the north of India, where they formed the majority of the population. On May 16th, 1946 the British issued the Cabinet Mission Plan under which India would have gained its freedom as a federation of Muslim-majority and Hindu-majority provinces. However, the plan fell through as violence erupted across India. Meanwhile, the British were determined to leave India by 1948.

In this Activator, students enter the "Map Room" at the British headquarters in New Delhi in the spring of 1947. As members of either the All-Muslim League, the Indian National Congress, the Sikh community, or the British government, they consult maps to decide how best to divide India, and on what basis. On Day 1, students read background information and are introduced to the primary source maps. They then meet with like-minded members of their own constituency to prioritize their demands. On Day 2, they meet in teams to negotiate, with each team having a representative from all four groups. In the Debriefing, students analyze the consequences of partition.

Set-up Directions

3 days of instruction

Time Required

This Activator takes three days, including the Debriefing.

Roles

The class is divided into four groups: the All-Muslim League, the Indian National Congress, the Sikh community, and the British government.

Teaching tip
Depending on class size, you may wish to subdivide the negotiating teams so that there are eight or nine teams of four people each.

Handouts

- The **Background Essay** and **Timeline** for each student.
- **Handouts 1**, **2**, **3**, and **4**, (a minimum of one copy for each negotiating team, or preferably, one for each member of the class).
- Printout of **Map A: Political Divisions of India**, one per negotiating table.

- **Document Set 1: Maps A, B, C, D,** and **E** must be available to each negotiating team accessed either on the Web on laptops, or as printouts.
- **Document Set 2** (optional) for each class member or one per group.

Schematic and Props

The classroom is configured as the "Map Room" of a British government building in New Delhi in the spring of 1947.

- Project Image 2: The Seven Leaders Accept the Plan for the Transfer of Power.
- Fly or post several flags of the British Raj around the classroom.
- Post photographs of British government buildings in India around the room, downloaded from the Web.
- A large ticking clock should be running for dramatic effect once groups start negotiating.
- Make available a set of maps for each group of four students (**Document Set 1**), and also post printed copies around the room.
- Make other maps available to be viewed online.
- Post signs that say, "Congress," "League," "Sikhs," and "British" in each corner of the room.

Teaching tip
If you have enough laptops available so that each group can get one, you can have students look at the maps on computers rather than printing them out.

Resources

Books

- Khan, Yasmin, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan.* Yale University Press, 2008.
- Metcalf, Barbara and Metcalf, Thomas, *A Concise History of Modern India.* Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Talbot, Ian and Singh, Gurhpal, *The Partition of India*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Novels by Salman Rushdie, Anita Desai, and Amitav Ghosh.

Films

- *The Story of India* (2009). PBS Documentary.
- *Gandhi* (1982). Dir. Richard Attenborough, with Ben Kingsley.
- *Earth* (1998). Dir. Deepa Mehta. NR. Preview this film for suitability before showing.

Websites

- *After Partition: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.* BBC http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/629/629/6922293.stm
- *Asia for Educators*. Columbia University. http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/tps/1950_sa.htm#republic
- *The Road to Partition.* National Archives of Britain. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/topics/the-road-to-partition.htm
- *India and Pakistan: 60 Years of Independence*. PBS http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/asia/partition/timeline/timeline2.html
- *The Story of India*. PBS http://www.pbs.org/thestoryofindia/
- *Partition in the Classroom: Differentiated Strategies for Teaching India's Partition.* University of Texas. http://www.utexas.edu/cola/insts/southasia/_files/pdf/outreach/partition_in_classroom.pdf

Flag of the British Raj

Lesson Plan

Days 1 and 2

Preparation

Teaching tip
You may assign students to role-play one of the nine men at the table. If your class is not divisible by nine, reduce the cast of characters by taking out one or two members of Congress or the League.

Before students arrive in class for Day 1, have them read the **Background Essay** up through "Partition: The Mountbatten Plan." They should also consult the **Timeline** through 1947.

Assign each student a role as an Indian National Congress Party member, an All-India Muslim League member, a Sikh leader, or a British official. Tell students to read about their assigned role and to pay special attention to their character's goals.

In Class

As students enter the room on Day 1, they should sit in the quarter of the room reserved for their group.

Ask students to look around the room to figure out "where they are"—that is, in India, during the last days of British rule. Explain that British India is about to be divided up into more than one country, on the basis of religion. The men at the table represent the factions who are about to sign the document doing so: the Congress Party, the Muslim League, the Sikhs, and the British. Refer students to the projected image of the nine negotiators in the photograph (see photo on page 69).

Bright Idea
The photograph is being used as a basis for this simulation, but negotiations for the division of India were not done at this table; in the photo, the participants are gathered to sign the final document.

The roles are:

- **Congress leaders:** Acharya Kripalani, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru.
- **League leaders:** Abdur Rab Nishtar, Muhammed Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan.
- **Sikh leader:** Baldev Singh.
- **British leaders:** Louis Mountbatten (British Viceroy of India) and his Chief of Staff Lord Ismay. See the photo caption for the arrangement of the men at the table.

Explain that all parties now accept that India will be divided into two (or more) nations. Students will have to decide how India will be divided. It must be done hastily, with old maps, because there isn't much time.

Teaching tip
You can assume the role of a "British official" and announce to the class that the home office has just received a letter from a British officer describing the terrible riots breaking out in Calcutta.

Turn on the "ticking clock." Explain that it is ticking because violence is engulfing more and more of India. Explain to students that their job is to reach a settlement over the division of India as soon as possible, in order to avoid further violence.

The letter reads:

> From the time the riots started every little blacksmith was working like mad in his house manufacturing spears, rods, and knives. The iron rods used in reinforced concrete building works were all stolen and sharpened at both ends, and the butchery that these crude weapons did has got to be seen to be believed. Men, women, and children were slaughtered by both sides indiscriminately and when Mullick Bazar was burnt three Hindu children were thrown into the flames. The result of this riot has been complete mistrust between the two communities [Hindus and Muslims]. Though the city is quiet there are still stabbing cases and both sides are very very frightened. The trams are running today (22nd). There are buses and taxis and the city is fast returning to normal. We have cleaned up practically all the corpses, D.D.T. has been sprayed, and everything possible has been done.
>
> It is difficult to estimate the number of casualties but I should say it is somewhere in the region of 2 to 3 thousand at least. There were corpses all over North Calcutta, they were in the river, canals, side lanes, in fact, everywhere. The number of shops looted and burnt must be somewhere in the region of 2 to 3 thousand. I personally think that the killings of both sides were fifty, fifty, or if anything, more Muslims than Hindus, but damage financially has been much greater to the Hindus than to the Muslims.*

Next, explain that Viceroy Mountbatten has decided that the British will leave India earlier than previously announced: not in 1948 but in 1947. The spreading violence was obviously a factor in this decision.

Now ask all members assigned to the same role (Congress, League, Sikh, British) to hold a meeting. Distribute **Handout 1: Goals for the Division of India** and ask each group to fill in—What are their goals for creating a new nation or nations? What do they expect will be the goals of the other teams of negotiators?

Next, tell the class that they are going to enter the "Map Room." In creating new nations from imperial British India, detailed maps were essential for all the negotiators. Tell the class that they too will use maps, which are primary source documents.

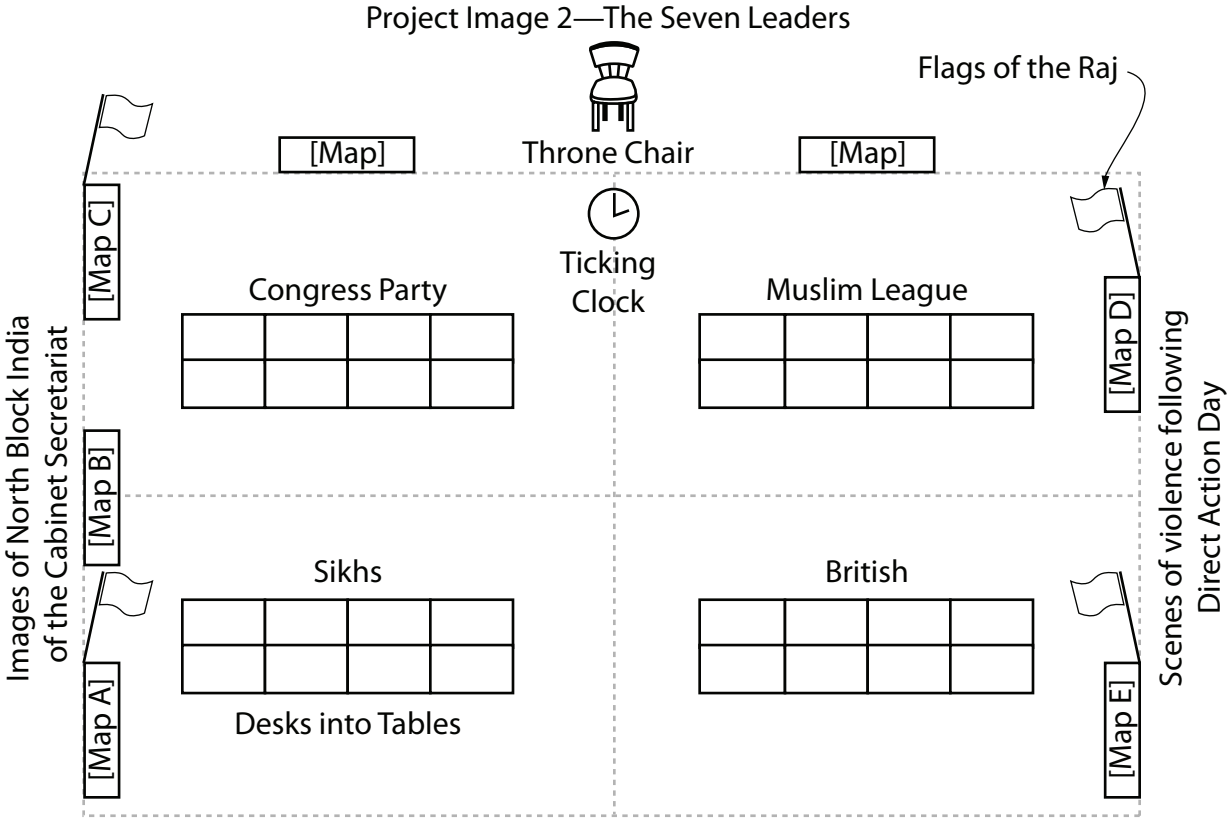
Bright Idea
In the role of a "British official" you can announce to the class that the British home office has just received a letter from a British officer, describing the terrible riots breaking out in Calcutta, as we meet in Delhi.

Read or say

Teaching tip
For a large class: create two groups for each party, with eight groups meeting in all.

* Source: Extracts from a military report on the Calcutta riots, 24 August 1946 (WO 216/662 http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/topics/calcutta-riots.htm)

Classroom Schematic: The Map Room, British India, the Raj



Teaching tip
You may wish to use the Map Analysis Worksheet from the National Archives in addition to the exercise: http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/map.html.

Distribute to all students **Handout 2: Maps as Primary Sources**, and **Document Set 1: Maps A, B, C, D, and E**. Students should also have on hand the **Background Essay** and **Timeline**.

Reconvene the class to debrief their analysis of the maps.

Answer Key

1. When were these maps published?
   1909. Evidence: The date appears on the map.

2. Who controlled most of India at this time?
   *The British Empire controlled most but not all of India. Evidence: Political map (also the **Background Essay** and **Timeline**).*

3. What was the name of the publication in which the maps appeared? Who published it?
   Imperial Gazetteer Atlas of India *by Oxford University Press. Evidence: The name appears in the top left corner. A gazetteer is a geographical dictionary or work with a geographical focus.*

4. What was the name of the cartographer (mapmaker) and for whom did

he work?

J.G. Bartholomew was the mapmaker for the Edinburgh Geographical Institute. Evidence: Bottom right and bottom left of the maps.

5. Who do you think used these maps, and for what purposes?

   These maps were made by the British for administrative purposes. Britain claimed India as part of its empire. To rule it effectively, it had to have an accurate estimate of India's population. Evidence: The maps were published in the English language by a British publisher. According to the Timeline and Background Essay, Britain administered the empire through direct rule and through the appointment of ministers (both British and Indian) working on behalf of the British.

6. Why do you think the British made such detailed maps based on the religious populations of India? (Use the **Background Essay** as well as the maps to explain).

   The British made maps such as this one in order to administrate India on the basis of religion in many areas. This was the "divide and conquer" strategy that pitted one religious group against another. Evidence: The graduated shading of the maps of Hindu and Muslim populations shows how concerned the British were about the density of population of one religion over another. In 1905, the British had divided the Punjab on this basis, causing a backlash from Indians of both religions.

Next, provide the class with the following information about the maps.

The *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas of India* in which these maps appeared was published in various editions from 1881 to 1931. (The 1931 edition is also available online, but can only be viewed onscreen at the University of Chicago website: http://dsal.uchicago.edu/reference/gaz_atlas_1931/).

Sir William Wilson Hunter, who was the editor of the first edition, wrote in his first introduction to it:

> Nothing is more costly than ignorance. I believe that, in spite of its many defects, this work will provide a memorable episode in the long battle against ignorance; a breakwater against the tide of prejudice and false opinions flowing down upon us from the past, and the foundation for a truer and wider knowledge of India in time to come. Its aim has been not literary graces, nor scientific discovery, nor antiquarian research; but an earnest endeavour to render India better governed, because better understood.

Read or say

Discuss this quote with the class. What does Hunter mean by "better governed?" Did the class extrapolate from the maps *only* the purpose that they served? If so, how?

Ask the following questions:

- How do members of each of the four groups feel about the use of these maps as a basis for the division of India?
- Would students wait to divide India until Indian cartographers make new maps? Why or why not?
- Point out key differences between India in 1909 and India in 1946:

  In 1905, rioting occurred throughout India when the British divided Bengal into two parts: the predominantly Muslim east (Bengal and Assam) and the predominantly Hindu west. Note that in 1911, England reunited Bengal, which remained so until the partition.

  Also note that in these maps Burma (now Myanmar) is shown as part of British India; it was separated from India by the British in 1937 and thus was not part of partition in 1946.

Go over the following information with the class, using the political map:

- In 1933, the term "Pakistan" was coined. In Urdu, Pakistan means "land of the pure." It is also an acronym for the territory Muslims wanted to include in their new country: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan. Ask students to find each of these provinces on the political map. Later, Muslims also wanted to include Bengal as part of Pakistan.
- Next, look at Map C: Prevailing Religions—Muslim. (Note: "Muhammadan" is an outdated term for Islam.) Ask students: Are the regions of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan all Muslim-majority regions?

(You may also wish to explain that Kashmir was not part of the partition negotiations because it was a princely state, never under direct rule by the British. Thus, the disposition of Kashmir was decided separately.)

Lesson Plan

Day 3

Negotiate

Seat the class so that at least one member of each of the four groups is represented at each "negotiating table."

Distribute **Handout 3: Agenda for Negotiations** and **Handout 4: Partition Plan**.

Distribute one printout of Map A to each group, along with a pencil with an eraser.

Tell the class that they have only 30 minutes in which to negotiate answers to the questions posed on **Handout 3: Agenda for Negotiations**. Tell students that they should do the best they can within this time limit to create a viable plan to divide India into two or more countries. *The goal is to reduce violence after the partition and to create countries that can thrive.* All negotiators at every table should participate with this goal in mind. If students get "stuck," remind them that riots will erupt in India with a consequent loss of life if they don't reach a settlement. Good decisions made in a timely fashion are critical.

Role Assignments

A student representing Britain should lead the discussion, following the Agenda.

A student representing the Sikhs should be appointed to report the plan to the whole class.

Debriefing

- In preparation for the Debriefing, students should finish reading the **Background Essay**.
- In a whole-class discussion, compare the plans of all negotiating teams. Ask one member of each team to explain their plan for partition to the entire class. (The Sikh negotiators are designated as presenters).
- Compare the class plan(s) to how India was actually partitioned.
- Debate whether partition was avoidable or inevitable.
- Evaluate: What was the worst mistake of the Mountbatten partition plan as it actually unfolded?
- How did the Cold War exacerbate tensions after India was partitioned?
- What is the legacy of partition for Pakistan and India today?
- What is the legacy of partition for the international community today?

Teaching tip
After the presentations, have the class debate the various plans and vote on which they think is best according to the following criterion: Which group best succeeded in creating a plan that creates countries that can thrive in the future, while avoiding violence in the wake of partition?

Background Essay

Prelude: The British Raj

For several centuries, the south Asian subcontinent of India was referred to as the "jewel in the crown" of the British Empire. Beginning in the mid-1750s, Britain laid the foundations of its empire in India, both formally and informally. The south Asian sub-continent was always a vast mosaic of different geographic regions, religious practices, languages, and social systems, so Indians did not see themselves as a nation or even as a single people. Indians didn't really start to unite until they began to resist British rule.

Historians trace the initial awakenings of Indian nationalism to the Sepoy Rebellion. In 1857, Indian soldiers (called sepoys) employed to fight on behalf of the British East India Company rebelled against their colonizers. Both Muslim and Hindu soldiers, and peasants and elites joined in the fight, and their combined strength took the British Empire by surprise. England succeeded in putting down the rebellion, after which it reorganized its Indian Empire. England dismantled what was left of the Mughal Empire (founded by Muslims in 1526), downgraded the power of the British East India Company, and set up direct rule of many parts of India by the British government. Decisions made in London were implemented by British viceroys (colonial governors) living in India.

The story of how India eventually gained its independence in 1947 is widely known, thanks to the prominent role played by Mahatma Gandhi, who pioneered the use of nonviolent resistance against oppression. Less well-known but no less important is the story of how the Indian subcontinent was divided into two countries instead of one as the British pulled out. This division led to the creation of India (predominantly Hindu) and Pakistan (overwhelmingly Muslim). The division left scars between the two countries, with international repercussions that have lasted to this day. Ever since, historians have argued over whether this division was avoidable or inevitable.

Britain Divides and Conquers India along Religious Lines

India has always been a land of many faiths. The Vedas, the foundational texts of Hinduism, were codified in around 600 BCE in India. Over time, a significant proportion of Indians became Muslim. Muslims arrived in India as early as the 7th century CE as Arab merchants, who settled along India's coastlines and won converts. Islam also arrived in India through the conquest of its northwest and northeast provinces. In 711 CE, Sindh was conquered by Arab forces fighting on behalf of the Umayyad Empire, based in Baghdad. In the 13th century, Bengal was invaded by Muslim forces as well. Over time, these two areas became Muslim-majority regions of India, as more and more people converted to the faith of their rulers. Finally, the Mughal Empire conquered northern India in 1526 CE, and by 1707 it had extended its rule throughout most of the Indian subcontinent. Among the Mughal leaders was Akbar the Great (1542–1605 CE), one of history's most enlightened and tolerant rulers. However, other Mughal rulers such as Aurangzeb (1658–1707 CE) tried to undo the culture of tolerance. It was a Mughal ruler who built India's most famous building, the Taj Mahal.

In addition to Hinduism and Islam, India has been home to many other faiths, including Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism—all of which arose in India. While intolerance existed at different times in India's history, coexistence was more the norm throughout the centuries.

British colonial policies upset this balance. First, the British overthrew Mughal rule, under which Indians lived in a variety of provinces speaking different languages and practicing different faiths. The British then encouraged rivalries between different groups, primarily on the basis of religion. While Mughal administrators disdained their British conquerors, the British successfully enticed Hindus to learn English and to work on behalf of England. Thus, Hindus moved up in the colonial

administration while Muslims in general did not. In 1905, England divided the northeast province of Bengal along religious lines, supposedly for administrative purposes. Indians abhorred this divide-and-conquer strategy and they united to confront it, staging boycotts and demonstrations. In 1911, England rescinded this division of Bengal. However, the British continued to use the divide-and-conquer strategy elsewhere. Thus, a precedent was set that became difficult to undo.

Loss of Muslim Influence

India's Muslims experienced a loss of power and influence in British India as the wealthy landowners and administrators of the Mughal era were sidelined. Meanwhile, Muslims as a whole were among India's poorest people. In part, this was because many lower-caste Hindus had tried to escape the rigidity of the caste system by converting to Islam, which stresses the equality of all believers. However, converting to Islam did not necessarily help these people get out of poverty. Although Muslims vastly outnumbered Hindus worldwide, in India they represented only one-fourth to one-third of the total population. At the same time, Muslims suffered from loss of prestige on the world stage with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I. For all these reasons, Muslims in India felt beleaguered.

Founding of the Congress Party

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, primarily by Hindus but with the goal to unite Indians from all regions and religions in their struggle against British rule. At first, the Congress attracted only the upper echelons of Indian society who were frustrated by the enduring condescension of their British rulers. In the early phase, the Congress sought a greater role for educated Indians (especially those who had studied in England) in governing India. When it became apparent that this would not happen, the goal became complete independence from Great Britain.

It was Gandhi who engaged all of Indian society (Hindus and Muslims alike) in the struggle to overthrow British rule, from India's elite to its very poorest. The Congress gained many new adherents when it protested the division of Bengal in 1905. Because it was the organization that spearheaded the fight for independence, the Congress Party won control of many provincial governments in the elections of 1937. In some provinces in which they were elected, Congress members alienated Muslims by using Hindu symbolism in their struggle for independence. On the other hand, the Congress always counted among its ranks Muslims who shared its goal of one united India. Gandhi's political philosophy, known as *satyagraha,* guided the confrontational but nonviolent protests of masses of Indians against British rule. Along with Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru was a key leader of the Congress Party.

Up until the failure of the Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16th, 1946, the Congress was adamantly in favor of a united India. As violence broke out and as the demand of the All Muslim League for a separate Pakistan became non-negotiable, the Congress finally acquiesced in dividing India. In negotiating for which territories would belong to which state, the Congress aimed to keep as much of India intact as possible.

All-India Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League was founded in 1906 to advocate for the Muslim population throughout India. While Muslims made up, at most, a third of the total population of British India, in certain provinces (the northeast, the northwest, and some portions of central India), they constituted the clear majority. How would Muslims be fairly represented in a predominantly Hindu country if and when Britain finally left? This was the key question with which the League had to grapple.

At first, the League did not push for a separate Muslim nation or nations; instead, it proposed self-rule for Muslim provinces within an Indian federal system, with a weak central government. However, it insisted on a variety of safeguards for Muslims, such as control of a third of all seats in the Indian government. The Congress Party—and Gandhi especially—rejected the idea that Indians should be divided on the basis of religion with a certain number of representative seats set aside for

different religious communities—a system that had begun under the British.

Since the Congress would not give the League the reassurances it felt it needed, League leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah reluctantly concluded that a separate nation was the only option. In a presidential address to the Muslim League in 1940, Jinnah said, "It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans [Muslims] derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different … to yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state." His concern was not over religious differences per se, but cultural and historical ones in which religion played a large part.

The Congress Versus the League

For a unified India to work, the Congress would have to acknowledge the insecurity that Muslims felt in an overwhelmingly Hindu nation, while Muslims would have to acknowledge the difficulties of dividing Hindus and Muslims geographically. For example, the League proposed a Muslim state that would include Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan, the North West Frontier Province, and Bengal, with protection guaranteed to religious minorities. However, the provinces of Punjab and Bengal were unevenly divided into Muslim majority and Hindu majority regions. Should these provinces be cut in two, with parts going to India and others to Pakistan? How would the division be effected?

In addition, there were many princely states throughout India that had never been fully incorporated into British India. Some of these were tiny, while others were huge. How should the fate of the princely states be decided, especially since some of them (for instance, Kashmir) had a Muslim majority but a Hindu ruler?

The goal of the League was to create a large and viable Pakistan, which would include major cities like Calcutta (located in the province of Bengal), while the Congress wanted as much of India to remain intact as possible. These goals came into direct conflict when it came to deciding what to do with the provinces of Bengal in the east and Punjab in the west. Both were Muslim majority as a whole, but Hindu majority in certain parts. The League wanted to incorporate Bengal and the Punjab whole; the Congress wanted to divide them in order to keep more territory for India.

Meanwhile, the Sikhs were caught in the middle. The Sikh religion was founded in the 16th century in the Punjab. For a century and a half, from 1799 to 1849, the Sikhs established their own empire in Northwest India by successfully fighting against Mughal rule. Although they constituted a majority in some areas of the Punjab, they were not strong enough to found their own nation. Since the Punjab was their heartland, if it was divided the Sikh population would also be divided between two nations. Overall, the Sikhs allied themselves with the Congress, since they believed that their interests would be best protected under a united India.

British Goals

At the end of World War II, a war-weary Britain was ready to grant India independence. Britain's goals were to preserve a united India and to prepare Indians for self-governance. This would take place in phases, the first of which would involve creating a Constituent Assembly that would later write a constitution. While the British felt obligated to oversee a peaceful transition, they were also determined to leave by 1948.

The British were not the only ones to see that a federal system might help to keep India united. The provinces could be granted substantial powers of self-government, while the central government would oversee things like foreign policy, defense, and communications. This was the proposal offered by the British in the Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16th, 1946. It divided the provinces based on their majority religious affiliation. It also left open the possibility that several of the provinces would join together to form larger Muslim or Hindu groups within the Federation. The Congress objected strongly to dividing up the provinces on the basis of religion; it also wanted a strong central government. The League would

only accept this plan if it gave Muslims political safeguards, such as proportionate representation in a central government.

Direct Action Day

On August 16th, 1946 Jinnah and the League organized a Direct Action Day to make clear that an independent Pakistan was a non-negotiable demand. They organized boycotts and strikes in Calcutta, but the "action day" quickly led to ruinous violence throughout the city and to other areas of India as well. Did the League instigate this chaos, or did both the inflamed Muslim and Hindu populations ignite it? Did the British stand by on the sidelines too long, quelling the violence only after devastation had been wrought? Whatever the causes, the effects of Direct Action Day convinced British observers that India was on the brink of civil war. Many others concluded that the only way out of chaos was to divide India and establish Pakistan for Muslims.

Partition: The Mountbatten Plan

Louis Mountbatten was appointed Viceroy of India after World War II with instructions to oversee the transition of British India to independence within two years. While Britain still favored a unified India, Mountbatten was given leeway to negotiate a two-state solution so that Britain could get out of India quickly. With events on the ground rapidly deteriorating, Mountbatten favored the creation of Pakistan, but a Pakistan that left most of historic India intact. By this time, both the Congress Party and the Muslim League had agreed on partition in principle, but not on specific boundaries.

According to the Mountbatten Plan, the North West Frontier Province and Sindh would become part of Pakistan via a referendum of its citizens. The Punjab was divided into two parts: the western Muslim-majority half of Punjab went to Pakistan, while the eastern half (which was heavily Hindu and Sikh) went to India. Bengal was also divided: East Bengal became part of Pakistan while the rest went to India. The possibility of creating two Muslim majority countries (one in the east and one in the west) was ruled out. Thus, the majority of Pakistan was in the west while its other half, East Bengal, lay 1000 miles to the east. A commission led by Cyril Radcliffe was appointed to determine these tricky boundaries within a month. The resulting "Radcliffe Line" was done hastily, using outdated maps.

Then there was the question of the 600 princely states. Technically, these states had never been incorporated into the British Empire; thus the Mountbatten plan gave each prince the power to decide what to do with his territory. Most of these were tiny principalities, but the large Muslim majority princedom of Kashmir quickly became a problem. Its Hindu ruler opted to join India. Muslim tribesmen promptly invaded and took a piece of Kashmir, but India fought to hold onto the rest. Had the population been allowed to vote by referendum, as planned, it probably would have voted to join Pakistan. Since partition, India and Pakistan have fought three wars over Kashmir and its fate divides them to this day.

Post-Partition Violence

The partition of India led to one of the largest migrations in history. More than 12 million people abandoned their homes to go and live with others of the same religion. At least half a million people were killed when violence broke out during the transition. The migrants, most of whom arrived in their new homelands without any property, were at first housed as refugees. As one might expect, the new borders that divided the Punjab and Bengal saw the greatest exchange of population—as well as the worst violence.

India retained Calcutta and most other major cities. Pakistan retained Lahore and Karachi, its first capital. The division of resources heavily favored India, which held onto the industrial heartlands. Both countries were quickly seated at the United Nations, but their relationship with one another remained hostile. During the Cold War, India declared itself officially non-aligned, but tended to favor the Communist Bloc, while Pakistan aligned itself with the United States. The question of Kashmir still divides India and Pakistan. After a war in 1971, East Pakistan won its independence from Pakistan and became the nation of Bangladesh. Today, India is still home to the world's third largest population of Muslims, after Indonesia and Pakistan.

Timeline of Events Leading to the Partition of India

1857	**The Sepoy Rebellion:** As the British East India Company consolidates its hold on large parts of India, a rebellion of Indian soldiers, known as *sepoys,* breaks out and is brutally suppressed by the British.
1858	**The India Act:** After the Sepoy Rebellion, the British government takes direct control of its colonial possessions in India.
1885	**Indian National Congress** founded: Originally organized to gain a greater voice for Indians in the British Raj, it later becomes the political party that advocates independence of India from Britain.
1905	**Partition of Bengal:** British Viceroy Lord Curzon divides Bengal into administrative halves on the basis of religion. It is viewed as a means to "divide and conquer" India and unites Indians in opposition to British rule altogether. (It will be revoked in 1911.)
1906	**All-India Muslim League** founded: Created in response to the partition of Bengal, the League at first seeks to protect Muslim interests by working with the British government, but later becomes a strong advocate for the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan.
1916	**Lucknow Pact**: The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League unite to push for greater self-government. While the British make modest concessions, they deny Indians the autonomy they want.
1919	**Government of India Act**: Britain grants greater voting rights to Indians in nine provinces, with the electorate divided by religion (Muslims and Hindus electing their own representatives). **Amritsar Massacre:** Continued frustration with the lack of rights under the British leads to further protests. British General Dyer open fires on 20,000 unarmed Indian civilians, leading to a further loss of faith in British rule.
1920	Gandhi launches a nonviolent protest movement, or *satyagraha*, against the British.
1929	The Congress calls for complete independence from Great Britain. Jinnah introduces his **Fourteen Points**, which aim to safeguard the rights of the Muslim minority in a united India.
1930	In Allahabad, Muslim academic and politician Alama Iqbal advocates the establishment of two nations: one for Muslims, the other for Hindus. However, other major leaders such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah still hope for unity with Hindus.

1933	The name for Pakistan is coined. In Urdu, "Pakistan" means "Land of the Pure." It is also an acronym for what would be the northwest provinces of a new country: **P**unjab, North-West Frontier Province (**A**fghan Province), **K**ashmir, **S**indh and Baluchis**tan**."
1937	The British concede some autonomy to nine Indian provinces in the Government of India Act (1935) and hold elections accordingly. More than 15 million Muslims, including nearly 100,000 women, exercise their right to vote. Overall, the Muslim League is disappointed with the results, as the vast majority of Muslims throughout the country (defining themselves by regional or national interests, rather than religious background) do not vote for the League.
1940	In the **Lahore Resolution**, the Muslim League with Jinnah's support calls for the creation of 'independent states' for the Muslims of British India. It is later interpreted as a call for one united Muslim state of Pakistan. The passage of the resolution is celebrated annually on March 23rd in Pakistan.
1942–43	The Muslim League gains more followers. It runs ministries in Sindh, Bengal, and North-West Frontier Province and gains greater influence in the Punjab.
May 16th, 1946	**The Cabinet Mission Plan:** According to this plan proposed by Britain, India will have a weak central government ruling over a loose confederation of provinces divided according to religious affiliation. Initially, both the Congress and the Muslim League join the Constituent Assembly, and intend to write a constitution for India under the Cabinet Mission Plan. However, Congress Party leader Jawaharlal Nehru wants a stronger central government, and Jinnah feels that Muslim interests would be overridden by the numerical power of Hindus in elections. The Congress does not give Jinnah any pledges of further safeguards.
June 16th, 1946	**Second Cabinet Mission Plan:** Under pressure from the Muslim League, the British offer a second plan in which two nations would be created, India and Pakistan. The Congress refuses to approve this plan but agrees to proceed with talks as part of the Constituent Assembly. Jinnah and the Muslim League withdraw from the Constituent Assembly.
August 16th, 1946	**Direct Action Day:** Jinnah and the Muslim League boycott the Constituent Assembly and organize protests pushing for an independent Pakistan. Violence among Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim factions rages, with over 5000 people killed, especially in the Punjab and Bengal, including the cities of Delhi, Bombay, and Calcutta. The British are accused of doing nothing stopping the violence.
June 1947	**Mountbatten Plan:** Lord Mountbatten, British viceroy for India, submits his plan for the partition of India, which he now views as inevitable. It is accepted by both Nehru and the Congress Party and by Jinnah and the Muslim League.
August 1947	**The Partition of India:** Britain passes the Indian Independence Act, creating the nations of India and Pakistan. The contested boundaries between the two (mainly in Punjab and Bengal) are defined by the Radcliffe Line. The princely states are allowed to choose to align themselves with either one country or the other.

1947	**The First War for Kashmir:** The Hindu ruler of the princely state of Kashmir, which is 77 percent Muslim, asks to remain independent of either India or Pakistan. He decides to become part of India, with Indian encouragement, after Pakistanis back the attack of a tribal group that entered Kashmir. Indian soldiers push back the Pakistani-sponsored tribal group and regain the vast majority of Kashmir. Violence breaks out along the newly-created borders of India and Pakistan as millions of Muslims move to Pakistan, and Hindus flee Pakistan. The Sikhs are caught in the middle.
1948	**Ceasefire in Kashmir:** The UN mediates a ceasefire and decides that a referendum needs to be held to let Kahmiris decide for themselves what they want to do. India insists that all Pakistani invaders leave before a plebiscite can be held. The plebiscite is never taken. Gandhi is assassinated by a Hindu radical. Jinnah dies of natural causes.
1971	**Creation of Bangladesh:** After a civil war, East Pakistan separates from West Pakistan and forms the new nation of Bangladesh.

Key Players

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar (1899–1958) was a member of the Muslim League who advocated for the establishment of Pakistan and later became a Pakistani politician.

Baldev Singh (1902–1961) was an Indian Sikh who felt Sikh interests lay with the Congress Party. He participated in the struggle to free India from British rule, and later became the first Defense Minister of India.

Jivatram Bhagwandas Kripalani (1888–1982) was president of the Indian National Congress at the time that India won its independence from the British.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel (1875–1950) was one of the foremost leaders of the Congress Party during its struggle to win independence from England. At Gandhi's request, he stepped aside to let Nehru assume leadership of India after independence.

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) was affiliated with the Congress Party throughout his life. He was one of Gandhi's closest associates and became Prime Minister of India after independence.

Louis Mountbatten (1900–1979) was the British Supreme Commander of the allied forces in southeast Asia during World War II, and was appointed Viceroy of India in 1947. He was instructed to oversee the British withdrawal from India.

Muhammed Ali Jinnah (1876–1948) was a reluctant convert to the two-state solution of India, willing to support a federal system for India (the Cabinet Mission Plan) as late as 1946, after which he called for a Direct Action Day to insist on a separate state of Pakistan. He is regarded as the father of Pakistan.

Liaquat Ali Khan (1895–1951), like other members of the Muslim League, was a gradual convert to the idea that India needed to become two nations. He was a close affiliate of Jinnah and was a negotiator during discussions of the Cabinet Mission and Mountbatten plans for India. He became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Lord Hastings Ismay (1887–1965) was a British citizen born in India who was chief assistant to Winston Churchill during World War II. After he retired from the military, he served as Lord Mountbatten's chief of staff. Before the partition, he was convinced that India was headed toward civil war and that the division of India was unavoidable.

Iqbal Muhammad (1877–1938) was a poet, philosopher, and statesman. He is regarded as the first to promote a Muslim-majority state in northwest India. He persuaded Jinnah to take the helm of the Muslim League and to promote a two-state solution for India.

Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) was responsible for formulating the nonviolent civil disobedience movement. He was in favor of a unified India and worked with Muslims towards the goal of independence. Gandhi was horrified by the violence that Indians inflicted on one another (Muslim and Hindu) and personally went into riot-torn areas to seek peace.

Name: _____ Date: _____

Handout 1: Goals for the Division of India

Re-read the Background Essay, and also consult the Timeline. Next, fill in the goals for what your group wants in the division of India once negotiations with other groups begin. After that, fill in the chart in anticipation of the demands that other groups will make.

	Goals for division of land and resources	Position on dividing Bengal and the Punjab	Safeguards you seek, and safeguards you are willing to give	Position on Kashmir	Timetable of British withdrawal
Congress					
League					
Sikhs					
British					

Name: _____ Date: _____

Handout 2: Maps as Primary Sources

Question	Answer	Evidence from the Maps, Timeline, and Background Essay
1. When were these maps published?		
2. Who controlled most of India at this time?		
3. What was the name of the publication in which the maps appeared? Who published it?		
4. What was the name of the cartographer (mapmaker) and for whom did he work?		
5. Who do you think used these maps, and for what purposes?		
6. Why do you think the British made such detailed maps based on the religious populations of India? (Use the Background Essay as well as the maps themselves to explain.)		

Name: _____ Date: _____

Handout 3: Agenda for Negotiations

1. **How many Muslim states would you carve out of India?** Using Map B: "Muslims," locate the most heavily Muslim areas of India. How many nations would you create for Muslims—one or two? Consult Map A: "Political Divisions of India." Would you create one nation composed of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan, and a second for Bengal a thousand miles to the east? Alternatively, would you make one country for all these regions? Before you decide, use Map E: "Population Density." Is the area designated in 1933 by the term PAKISTAN among the most densely populated in India? How densely populated is the area of Bengal and Assam and East Bengal?

2. **Will you divide the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab between India and the Muslim majority nation(s) you are creating?** Use Map B: "Hindus" and Map C: "Muslims" to create boundary lines for the Muslim majority country or countries you have decided to create. Use the map's color code to help you decide: Darkest green represents over 75% Muslim, Dark Green represents 50–75% Muslim, Lighter Green represents 20–50% Muslim, and so forth. What is your "cut-off point" going to be? Trace your imaginary cut-off lines on the map.

   On a printout of Map A, draw your boundaries using a pencil with an eraser.

3. **Where would you place the Sikhs?** Would you place Sikhs in a primarily Hindu or primarily Muslim area? Would you give them a country of their own? Use Map D: "Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains" to find the area in India most heavily populated by the Sikhs. Next, use map B: "Hindus" and Map C: "Muslims" to try to figure out if the Sikhs live in an area mainly populated by Hindus or Muslims. Also use information in the Background Reading before you formulate your answer. Based on this information, would you redraw your boundary lines on Map A?

4. **How will you distribute the major cities of India?** Use the maps of India to locate the major cities of Lahore, Calcutta, Delhi, Karachi, Bombay, Madras, and Hyderabad. In which of the nations you have created do these cities lie? Does the distribution of cities seem fair to you? Do you want to readjust your boundaries in any way? Once again, redraw your boundaries if necessary.

5. **How will you decide the fate of Kashmir?** Unlike other areas of India, Kashmir was a princely state that did not come under the direct rule of the British. Thus, the partition plan must give the ruler of Kashmir, the Hindu Maharaja Hari Singh, some say in the fate of his principality. Use Map A to find Kashmir. Use Maps B, C, and D to determine the religious affiliation and density of Kashmir's population. Decide on a plan for the fate of Kashmir. Could it become a separate country? If not, on what basis will it join either Pakistan or India?

6. **What safeguards will you create for Muslims and Hindus who remain in the minority within the new nations you create?** Before you formulate your plan, compare Map B: "Hindus" to Map C: "Muslims." Are Muslims confined to only a few areas of India or spread throughout many areas, including central and southern India? Is there any area of India that has no Muslim population? What safeguards would you provide to minority populations in both India and Pakistan?

7. **How will you ensure the peaceful migration of peoples after partition?** Predict what might happen along the boundaries of the countries you have created after partition. Do you envision that populations will migrate? Why? Who will be responsible for their safety as they cross borders? What is your plan? Does this affect your preferred timetable for when you think the British should withdraw troops from India?

8. **Create a timetable for the withdrawal of the British from India that includes Britain's responsibilities until it leaves.** Once Britain withdraws, the governments of the new nations you have created will assume power. Would you ask the British to wait until these new nations write constitutions? Until they have provisional governments in place? Until populations who want to migrate do so? Would Britain's continued presence increase or decrease violence?

Name: _____ Date: _____

Handout 4: The Partition Plan

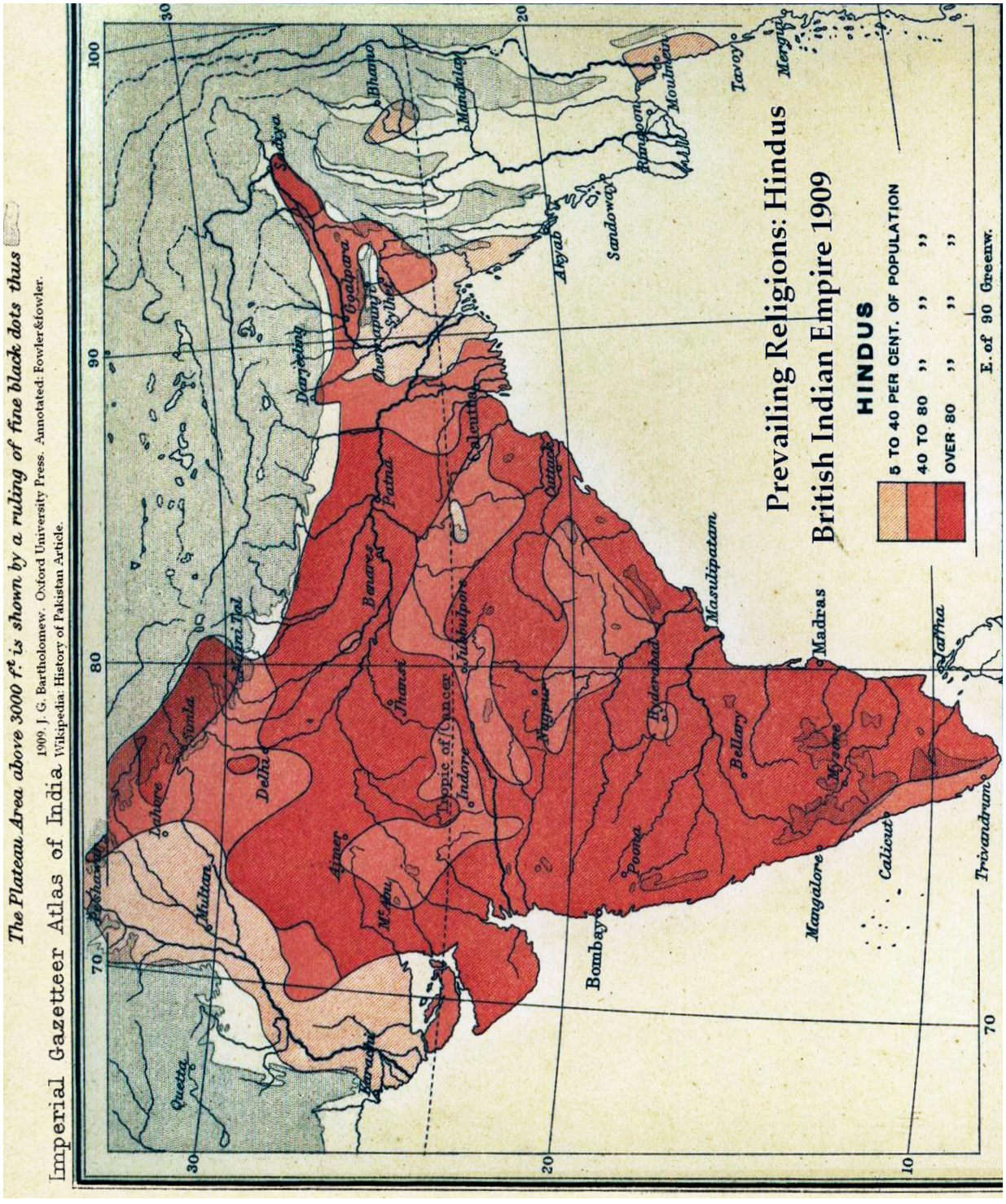
Question	Proposal of Group _____
1. How many nations will you create?	
2. Will you divide Bengal and the Punjab or not?	
3. Where will you place of the Sikhs after partition? What safeguards will you provide them?	
4. How will you distribute India's major cities among the new nations?	
5. Who will decide the fate of Kashmir?	
6. What safeguards will you provide for minority populations?	
7. What safeguards will you provide for migrants?	
8. Describe your preferred timetable for British withdrawal.	

Document Set 1: Maps A, B, C, D, and E

Map A. Political Divisions of India, 1909

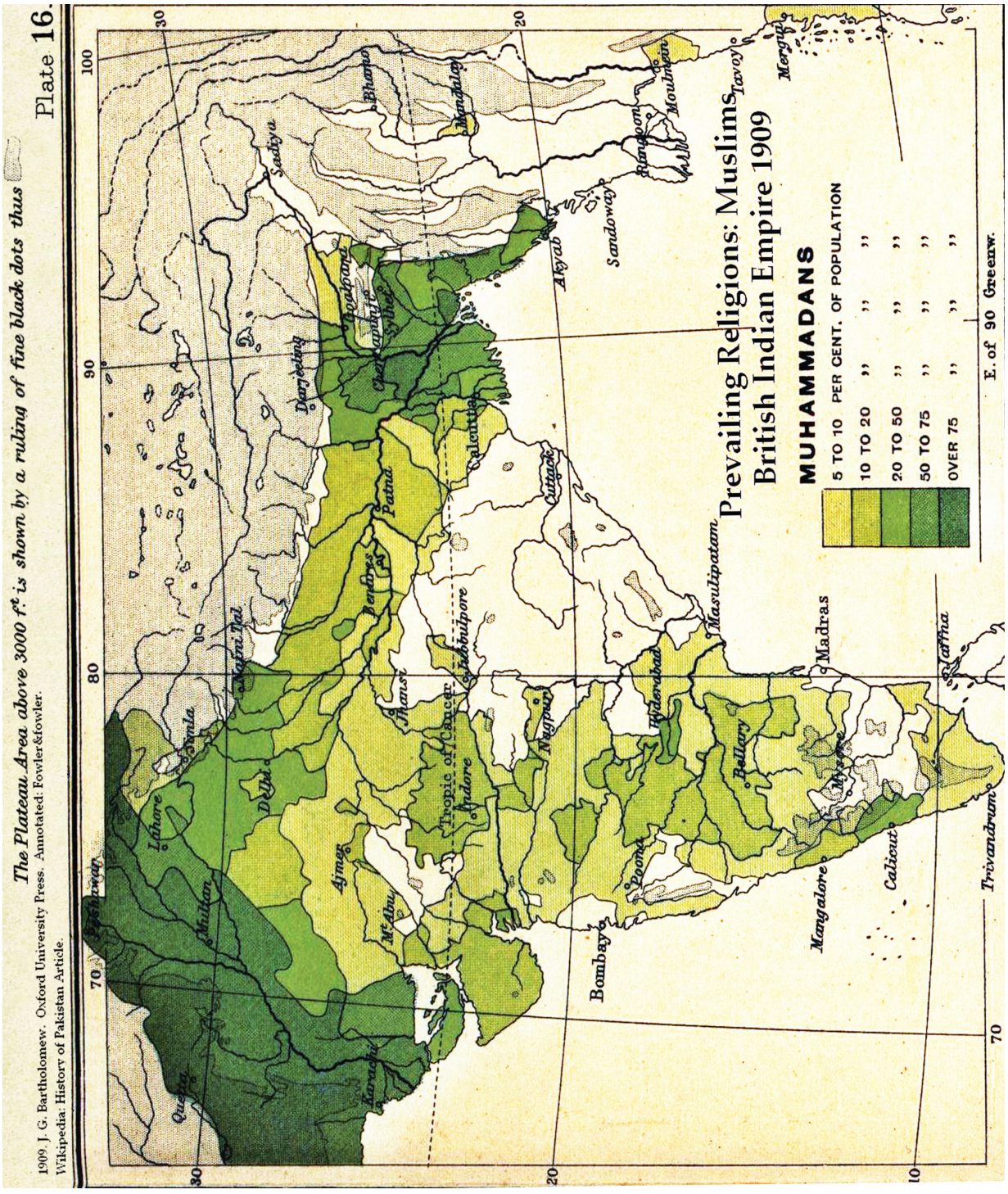
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:British_Indian_Empire_1909_Imperial_Gazetteer_of_India.jpg

Map B. Percentage of Hindus in British India, 1909



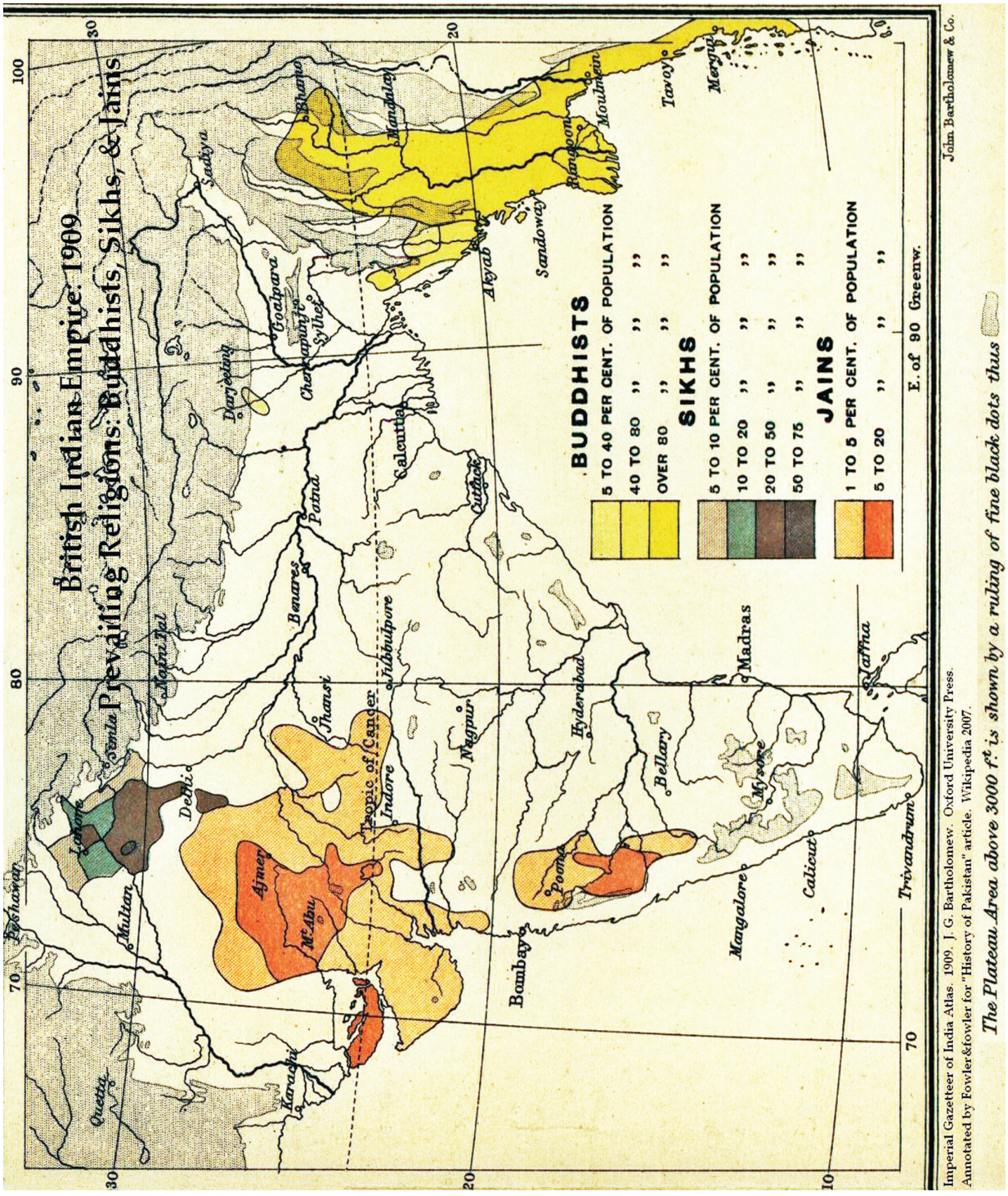
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hindu_percent_1909.jpg

Map C. Percentage of Muslims in British Indian Empire, 1909



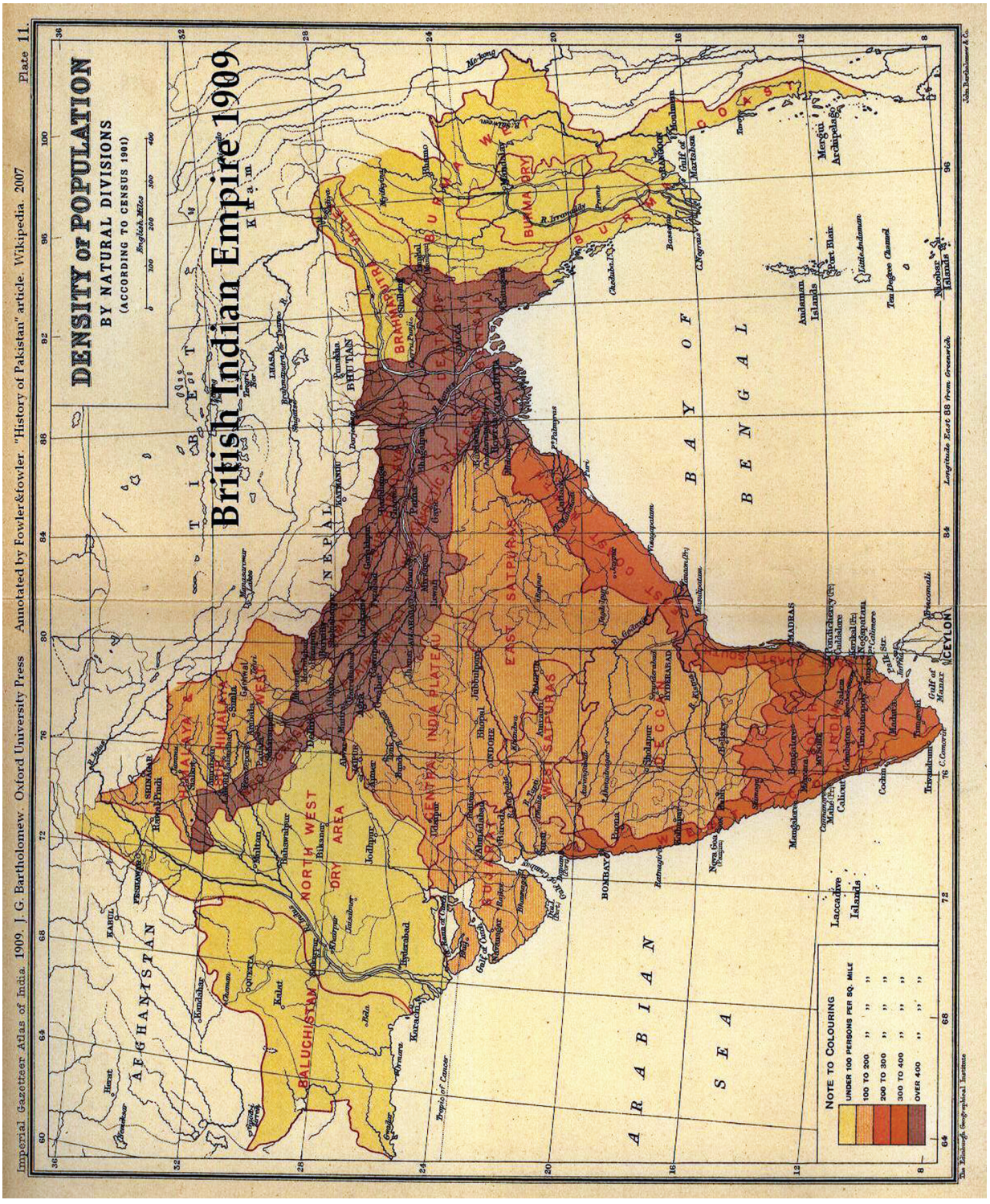
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muslim_percent_1909.jpg

Map D. Sikhs, Buddhist and Jains in British Indian Empire, 1909



http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/3c/Sikhs_buddhists_jains_percent1909.jpg

Map E. Density of Population in British India, 1909



http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Population_density_impgazind1909.jpg

Document Set 2: The Fate of the Sikhs, and the Partition of Punjab and Bengal

Move to Partition Punjab and Bengal

Text of Mr. Jinnah's Statement:

> I and B. Department, New Delhi, 4th May, 1947
>
> Now the question of partitioning Bengal and the Punjab is raised… as a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness, as they feel that India is going to be divided, firstly to create more difficulties in the way for the British Government and the Viceroy and secondly to unnerve the Muslims by opening and repeatedly emphasising that the Muslims will get a truncated or mutilated moth-eaten Pakistan. This clamour is not based on any sound principle, except that the Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal wish to cut up these provinces and cut up their own people into two in these Provinces. The Hindus have their homelands, as I have said, consisting of six vast Provinces. Merely because a proportion of the minorities in the Pakistan Provinces have taken up this attitude with the British Government should not countenance it, because the result of that will be logically that all other Provinces will have to be cut up in similar way, which will be dangerous, as to embark on this line will lead to a breaking up of various Provinces and create a far more dangerous situation in the future than at present. If such a process were to be adopted it will strike at the root of the administrative, economic and political life of the Provinces which have for nearly a century developed and built up on that basis and have grown as functioning under present constitution as autonomous provinces.
>
> It is obvious that if the Hindu minorities in Pakistan wish to emigrate and go to their homelands of Hindustan they will be at liberty to do so and ‹vice versa› and those Muslims who wish to emigrate from Hindustan can do so and go to Pakistan; and sooner or later an exchange of population will have to take place and Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan can take up the matter and subsequently the respective Governments in Pakistan and Hindustan can effectively carry out an exchange of population wherever it may be necessary and feasible.*

* http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/topics/the-road-to-partition.htm (click on "Jinnah on Partition")

Mountbatten on Dividing Bengal and Punjab

The Times reports on Lord Mountbatten's radio broadcast on partition, 4 June 1947 (CAB 21/2038):

> For more than a hundred years, 400,000,000 of you have lived together, and this country has been administered as a single entity. This has resulted in unified communications, defence, postal services, and currency; an absence of tariffs and Customs Barriers; and the basis for an integrated political economy. My great hope was that communal [religious] differences would not destroy this.
>
> My first course, in all my discussions, was therefore to urge the political leaders to accept unreservedly the Cabinet mission plan of May 16, 1946. In my opinion, that plan provides the best arrangement that can be devised to meet the interests of all the communities of India. To my great regret it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet mission plan or on any other plan that would preserve the unity of India. But there can be no question of coercing any large areas in which one community has a majority to live against their will under a Government in which another community has a majority—and the only alternative to coercion is partition.
>
> But when the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, Congress used the same arguments for demanding in that event the partition of certain provinces [Punjab and Bengal]. To my mind, this argument is unassailable. In fact neither side proved willing to leave a substantial area in which their community have a majority under the government of the other. I am, of course, just as much opposed to the partition of provinces as I am to the partition of India herself, and for the same basic reasons. For just as I feel there is an Indian consciousness which should transcend communal differences, so I feel there is a Punjabi and Bengali consciousness which has evoked a loyalty to their province. And so I felt it was essential that the people of India themselves should decide this question of partition.*

Lord Mountbatten on the Sikhs

The Times reports on Lord Mountbatten's radio broadcast on partition, 4 June 1947 (CAB 21/2038):

> We have given careful consideration to the position of the Sikhs. This valiant community forms about an eighth of the population of the Punjab, but they are so distributed that any partition of this province would inevitably divide them. All of us who have the good of the Sikh community at heart are very sorry to think that the partition of the Punjab, which they themselves desire, cannot avoid splitting them to a greater or lesser extent. The exact degree of the split will be left to the boundary commission on which they will, of course, be represented.
>
> The whole plan may not be perfect: but like all plans its success will depend on the spirit of good will with which it is carried out.**

* http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/topics/the-road-to-partition.htm (click on "Mountbatten Radio Broadcast")
** http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/topics/the-road-to-partition.htm (click on "Mountbatten Radio Broadcast")

The Sikh Viewpoint

Letter of Sardar Baldev Singh to Lord Mountbatten:

> 2nd June, 1947
>
> Dear Lord Mountbatten,
>
> I have discussed with Sikh leaders the Statement which His Majesty's Government propose to make tomorrow… The proposals in the Statement are far-reaching in character, envisaging the possibility of a division of India into two sovereign States, in both of which the Sikhs will have vital stakes. As you know, we as a community have always stood for a United India and all we have desired is that our particular interests should be adequately safeguarded. The plan now made implies that a substantial part of our community may go to the Muslim dominated area, where a sovereign State based ostensibly on Islamic principles is likely to be established as conceived by the spokesman of the Muslim League. The Sikhs have been unable to obtain any coherent and acceptable guarantee of their security in such a set-up and are therefore unable to contemplate being forced into it against their will. I have made this clear to you. Recent happenings in the Western Punjab have further proved that we can expect no security whatever under Muslim domination. You will therefore appreciate the anxiety of my community and their demand that. in the event of the division of India as contemplated, the plan must be so devised as to ensure that Sikhs as a community are not subjected to irreparable injury.

http://www.broadlandsarchives.com/the-independence-of-india-and-pakistan/the-seven-leaders-accept-the-plan-for-the-transfer-of-power-3-june-1947/ (click on "Partition and Sikh Community")

Image

The seven leaders accept the plan for the transfer of power, 3 June 1947

Clockwise from left: Abdur Rab Nishtar (League), Baldev Singh (Sikh leader), Acharya Kirpalani, Vallabhai Patel (Congress) Jawaharlal Nehru (Congress), Louis Mountbatten (British Viceroy of India), Mohammed Ali Jinnah (League leader), and Liaquat Ali Khan (League). Lord Ismay (British Chief of Staff for Mountbatten) is seated at the back.

First World Conference on Women, 1975

Overview

The year is 1975; the place, Mexico City. The historic event is the First World Conference on Women, sponsored by the United Nations to coincide with the International Women's Year. The conference is attended by delegations from 133 countries, 116 of them led by women. In the United States, the feminist movement is at its height, and around the world, similar movements are taking shape. As newly independent nations struggle to develop prosperous societies in the post-colonial era—many of them in Africa—many are coming to recognize the importance of women's roles, and the traditional notion of what those roles are has begun to change. No longer seen as passive recipients of international aid, women are now viewed as essential economic and political actors in forging new societies. The conference has a threefold purpose: full gender equality, increased economic roles for women, and the strengthening of world peace. The conference sets benchmarks for the United Nations Decade for Women (1976–1985), and becomes the model for the next three international conferences on women, culminating in Beijing in 1995.

In this role-play, each student represents and researches one country that attended the groundbreaking conference. Bilingual and foreign language students have the option to represent a country that speaks a language they speak (and to provide an English translation of their comments for the UN "translator"). The agenda is based on the primary source document *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year,* issued by the United Nations in 1976. On Day 1, students use timelines to understand the context of the conference in terms of women's history and world history. On Day 2, they formulate proposals and logos that they believe will further the goals of the conference (equality, development, peace). On Day 3, the conference convenes against a background of historical footage.

Set-up Directions

2–3 classes of instruction

Time Required

Two to three classes, depending upon whether you want to assign work during class time or at home. You also have the option of holding a two-day rather than a one-day convention.

Roles

Divide the class so that each member represents one of the countries on the "List of Countries with Date of Entry into the United Nations" (see page 75). Select countries so that they represent a balance of:

Bright Idea

Encourage students who come from immigrant families or have strong ties to another country to represent these nations. To reflect the way the United Nations functions, encourage bilingual students to give their speeches in a foreign language (they should also provide copies in English for the rest of the class).

Teaching tip

Ask some students to role-play historic women who attended the conference from the list of Key Players.

- Geographic world regions (northern and southern, eastern and western hemispheres, etc.).
- Urban and rural based economies.
- Founding members of the UN as well as the recently accepted.

Appoint a Secretary, who will cue the class in decorum and prompt them to applaud.

Appoint a "translator" to read out loud the English version if a speech is given in another language.

Handouts

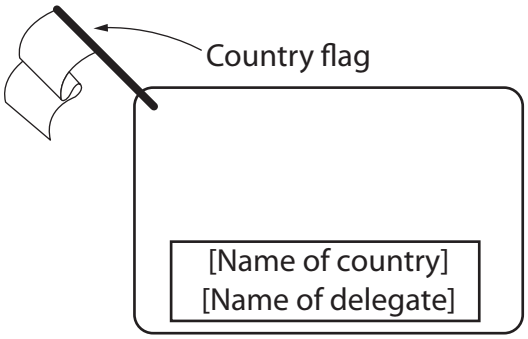
Each member of the class will need copies of:

- **Background Essay**
- **Timelines 1** and **2**
- **Handout 1: Know Your Country**
- **Handout 2: Design a Logo**
- **Handout 3: Make a Proposal**
- **Document 1: Contents, Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year,** which will be used as the agenda (this document may be downloaded from the UN web link provided at the end of the lesson).

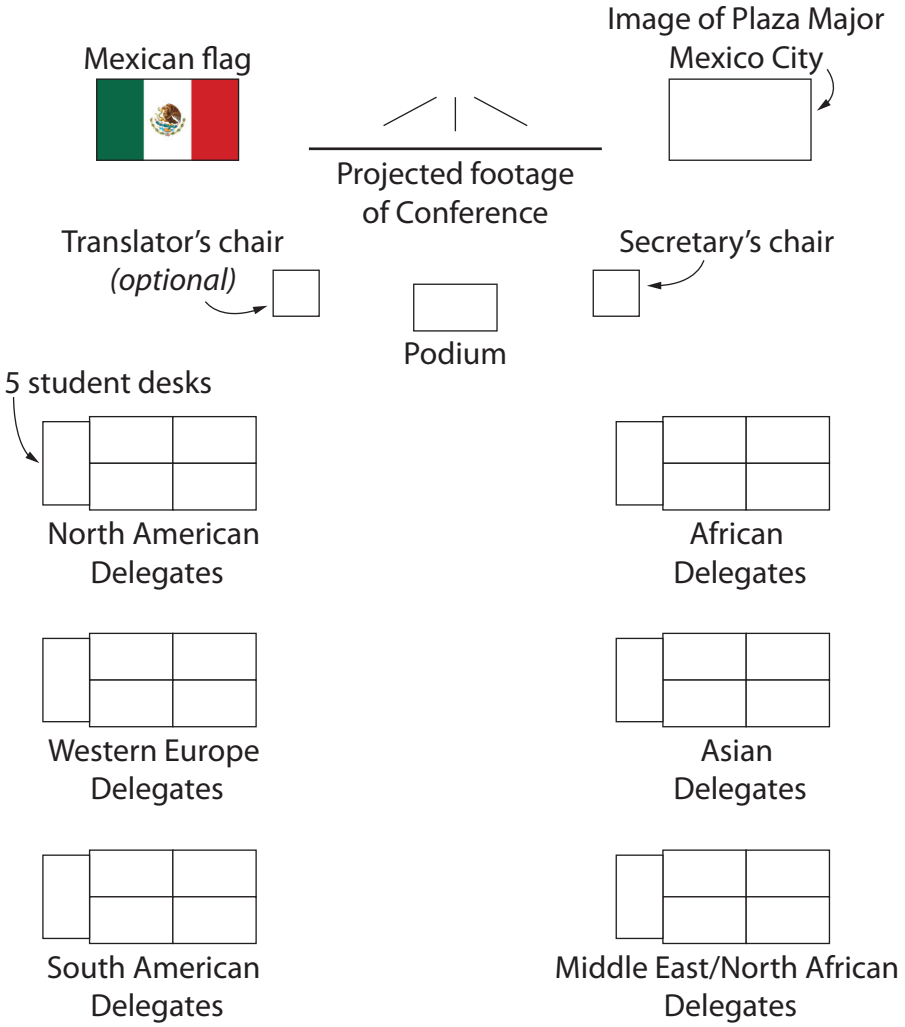
Schematic and Props

- For the scene in Mexico City: Display a Mexican flag prominently in back of the speaker's stand (a designated desk or podium). *Optional:* Also project or print out landmark buildings of Mexico City, such as the Plaza Mayor.
- Decorate the room with the flags of each country represented by students. These can be downloaded from the CIA World Factbook site at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/.
- Arrange the desks so that countries are grouped by world region (e.g., Europe, Africa).
- Put nameplates for each student and the name of their corresponding country at each desk.
- The day you convene the conference, show actual footage of the conference available at http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/mexico.html (also easily retrievable from YouTube).

Close-up view: At each desk



Class schematic



Lesson Plan

Day 1

Teaching Tip
Alternatively, start Day 1 with your normal classroom set-up and wait until students are ready before you stage the conference.

The night before Day 1, assign students to read the Background Essay up through "The Agenda." The classroom should already be set up to represent the first World Conference on Women in Mexico City, 1975, as per the schematic.

Tell the class that they are going to reenact the history-making World Conference on Women, held in Mexico City in 1975. Explain that by the end of class, each of them will have a role to prepare and play when the conference officially convenes tomorrow.

1. Setting the Scene: The Timelines

Next, tell the class that they need to "go back in time" to 1975. What is the "big picture" of the 1970s? In what ways were the 1970s similar to and different from the world in which we live today?

Distribute copies of **Timeline 2: U.S. and World Events from 1970 to 1981**, or project it for the entire class to see.

Teaching Tip
This is a perfect time to review and reinforce what the class has learned about the post-World War II world.

Prompt students to take note of the following about the world of 1975:

- The Vietnam War is ending.
- Watergate is making headlines.
- The Cold War still divides the world into eastern and western "blocs," but it is winding down; Nixon visits China, and various arms treaties are in place with the Soviet Union.
- New nations are still being created as colonizing powers leave Africa (Gambia, Angola, Mozambique).
- It is a world without AIDS, which was not identified by doctors until after 1980.
- Iran is not yet the Islamic Republic of Iran (1979) and is still ruled by the Shah.
- The European community has not yet become the European Union, although predecessor organizations exist.
- Various forms of technology we take for granted are not yet in general use, including the personal computer and cell phones.

Ask students the following questions, based on information in the **Background Essay** and **Timeline 1: Landmarks in Women's History**:

- In what ways and on what issues did the U.S. lead the world in women's rights? In what ways did it lag behind?
- What issues united women around the world?
- Why did women from different regions of the world have different priorities?

2. Assign Roles

Assign each student to represent one country at the conference (see list below). For countries not on the list, go to http://www.un.org/en/members/index.shtml or page 120 of the full report (see UN website below in Resources for a list of the 133 participating countries).

Note that:

- The date next to the country is the date of its entry into the United Nations.
- The arrangement of countries and topics has been designed to facilitate historical understanding, but doesn't represent the exact way the conference itself was organized.
- The Resolution Number corresponds to those used in **Document 1: Contents, Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year.**

List of Countries with Date of Entry into the United Nations

Equality Resolutions: Subcommittees 1, 2, 3

Subcommittee 1: North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

To Debate: Resolution 20—Integration of women in the process of political, economic, social, and cultural development as equal partners with men.

- U.S., 1945: _____
- Canada, 1945: _____
- Australia, 1945: _____
- New Zealand, 1945: _____

Subcommittee 2: Western Europe

To Debate: Resolution 7—Prevention of the exploitation of women and girls.

- France, 1945: _____
- United Kingdom, 1945: _____
- Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), 1973: _____
- Sweden, 1946: _____
- Finland, 1955: _____
- Denmark, 1945: _____
- Italy, 1955: _____

Subcommittee 3: South America

To Debate: Resolution 19—Women and communications media.

- Chile, 1945: _____
- Mexico, 1945: _____
- Brazil, 1945: _____
- Argentina, 1945: _____
- Peru, 1945: _____

Development Resolutions: Subcommittees 4, 5, 6

Subcommittee 4: Caribbean

To Debate: Resolution 10—Access of women to financial assistance.

- Jamaica, 1962: _____
- Haiti, 1966: _____
- Dominican Republic, 1945: _____
- Bahamas, 1973: _____

Subcommittee 5: Africa

To Debate: Resolution 13—Family planning and the full integration of women in development.

- Nigeria, 1960: _____
- Ghana, 1957: _____
- South Africa, 1945: _____
- Kenya, 1963: _____
- Gambia, 1965: _____
- Mali, 1960: _____

Subcommittee 6: Asia

To Debate: Resolution 24—Education and training.

- People's Republic of China (communist China), 1971: _____
- Japan, 1956: _____
- Philippines, 1945: _____
- Indonesia, 1950: _____
- India, 1945: _____
- Bangladesh, 1974: _____
- Nepal, 1955: _____

Peace Resolutions: Subcommittees 7, 8

Subcommittee 7—Middle East and North Africa

To Debate: Resolution 29—Women's participation in the strengthening of international peace and security and in the struggle against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, and foreign domination.

- Jordan, 1955: _____
- Israel, 1949: _____
- Turkey, 1945: _____
- Algeria, 1962: _____
- Egypt, 1945: _____
- Morocco, 1956: _____

Teaching tip

Suggestion: Since precise demographic figures for the year 1975 will be hard to come by, let students use more recent information such as that posted on the CIA World Factbook website. The CIA World Factbook has many wonderful features, including the ability to cross-reference a category (for example infant mortality rates) so that you can see where a country ranks today. See https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook. The BBC has a similar but less extensive site http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/country_profiles/default.stm.

Subcommittee 8: Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.

To Debate: Resolution 31—Women's contribution to world peace through participation in international conferences.

- German Democratic Republic (East Germany), 1973: _____
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 1945: _____
- Hungary, 1945: _____
- Yugoslavia (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) 1945,: _____
- Czechoslovakia, 1945: _____
- Poland, 1945: _____

Distribute to each student **Handout 1: Know Your Country**. Students will need to do at least some basic research to fill in this sheet. You can assign this as homework or arrange a class period to complete this work.

3. Distribute **Document 1: Contents, Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year** on page 95.

Explain that this document forms the basis for the agenda at the convention.

Questions about the document:

- Who published this report? (The UN itself published it).
- Was it published before or after the conference? (It was published after the conference, so it provides a record of what happened).
- Why do you think it was published? (It was published to make the proceedings public, and as a commitment to follow through on the recommendations of the conference. On page ii, you can see that the report is for sale).
- Is it the complete document? (Evidently not. The Roman numerals indicate it is just the preface of the report. According to the table of contents, the complete report was more than 200 pages).
- The report is divided into Part One, Part Two, Part Three, and two Annexes. Part One reports on the Action Taken by the Conference, which includes a Declaration, Plans of Action, Resolutions, and, finally, a recommendation for the convening of a second world conference in 1980. The table of contents lists the topics but not the content. Part Two is the Background to the Conference, and Part Three the Proceedings of the Conference.

- Tell the class that they are going to follow the proceedings of the conference as their agenda: in other words, they will introduce participants, elect a president, adopt rules of procedure and the agenda (A–F), and then debate resolutions. In addition, the participants will vote on a logo for the conference.
- Point out the summary of the general debate on these three topics:
    - Equality
    - Development issues
    - Peace

These three issues formed the central focus of the conference. Each student will debate a resolution related to one of these.

Resources

Books

- Beauvoir, Simone de, *The Second Sex* (1949). Vintage, 2011.
- Feree, Mayra Mark and Aili Mari Tripp, eds., *Global Feminism*. New York University, 2006.
- Fraser, Arvonne, ed. *Developing Power: How Women Transformed International Development*. Feminist Press, 2008.
- Friedan, Betty, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). W.W. Norton, 2001.
- Rupp, Leila J., *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement*. Princeton, 1997.

Websites

- Pietilä, Hilkka, *The Unfinished Story of Women and the United Nations*. New York, Geneva: UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS), 2007. Also at http://www.un-ngls.org/orf/pdf/UnfinishedStory.pdf.
- UN Women, *World Conference of the International Women's Year: Mexico City (19 June to 2 July 1975*. New York, 1976. See http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/mexico.html for the full report, individual sections including the Contents, and a video. Valuable background information for the conference may be found in Sections IV to VII, including a list of the participating countries.
- Women Watch: United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE). http://www.un.org/womenwatch/.
- World Bank, Toward Gender Equality, 1945 to Present. World Bank Group, 2013. http://www.worldbank.org/wb/2011-womens-day/.

Lesson Plan

Days 2 and 3

Teaching tip
You may wish to substitute more work time at home instead of class time, or give students both.

Teaching tip
Hold this activity like a ceremony by asking participants to rise, file in a line to view the proposals, play national anthems as they do so, etc.

Bright Idea
Ask the students who created the top three logos to explain how they best represent the goals of the conference.

Day 2: Research, Logo, Writing Resolutions

Students should use this day to fill in **Handout 1: Know Your Country**, **Handout 2: Design a Logo**, and **Handout 3: Make a Proposal**.

Day 3: Short Version of the Conference

- Every student should arrive with some emblem or wearable item that is symbolic of their country.
- Have national anthems playing in the classroom (many can be downloaded from the CIA World Factbook site).
- Ask students to form a single-file line as they enter the room and to post their proposed logo for the conference in a place you designate.
- A placard with the flag of each student's country (see Schematic) should be at their seats as per the instructions in the Schematic.
- Each student should have their Contents to the *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year* **(Document 1)** at their desk, open to page v ("Proceedings").
- Announce to students that they may be seated and that the conference has begun. Play video footage of the actual conference (this can be found at http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/mexico.html). Get the class to clap, wave their flags, etc. to stir up enthusiasm for the conference.
- In the short version of this Activator, you will play the role of conference president. Direct all students to silently read section VIII on bottom of page v of the report.
- Quote the document about the topics covered in the conference:

Read or say

1. "The involvement of women in strengthening international **peace** and eliminating racism, *apartheid*, racial discrimination, colonialism, alien domination, and the acquisition of territories by force."

2. "Current trends and changes in the status and roles of women and men, and major obstacles to be overcome in the achievement of **equal rights**, opportunities, and responsibilities."

3. "The integration of women in the **development** process as equal partners with men."

- Ask each representative to rise and present his or her proposal to the conference. Go in order of subject areas that correlate to geographical regions: equality proposals, followed by proposals on development, and finally on peace.
- After these have been read, you should say:

  Over the course of our historic two-week conference, we will consider whether or not to adopt each of these proposals. First, in order to publicize our goals strengthening world peace, achieving equal rights for women, and integrating women into the development of their nations, we must choose a logo. We will vote on the logo that best represents these goals to the rest of the world so that our cause is not forgotten.


Read or say

- Arrange for all members to view the logos posted around the room.
- With the assistance of the Translator and Secretary, pass out slips of paper so that students can vote. Tell students that they *may not* vote for their own logo.
- Hold a second election that is a run-off of the top three logos.
- When the logo has been chosen, the Secretary should be the first one to start clapping.
- Say:

  This concludes our very first day of this historic conference. We will reconvene tomorrow to consider proposals. The conference is adjourned for today.


Read or say

Teaching tip

Subcommittee work will engage small groups in real debate and give many more students a chance to participate.

Day 3: Long Version of the Conference

After voting on the Conference Logo, students meet in their subcommittees.

- Instruct each subcommittee to choose the most important single proposal submitted by its members to pass along to the entire conference. The one they choose will then be "passed out of committee" and put under consideration for the entire conference to adopt.

Next, run the conference according to simple rules of order with active debate about each of the eight proposals.

Move on to accept or reject each of the eight proposals that were placed on the floor, one from each subcommittee.

Debate can extend for several more days, if you have time.

Debriefing

- Direct students to finish reading the **Background Essay**. Debate the following: Was the first World Conference on Women a success? Ask students to back up their assessments with facts gleaned from the **Background Essay** and the two timelines.
- Ask students to write a report of their conference to be "published" by the United Nations. What do students think their own conference accomplished in terms of effectively proposing how to address the needs of women worldwide?
- Of the three goals of the conference (equality, development, peace), which one was the most important in 1975? Which one is most important today? Have students explain their positions on this question.
- To what extent do students think member states should respect the traditions of other cultures even if they conflict with the goals set forth by the United Nations?
- What do students think the most pressing needs of women are today in each of the countries represented at the conference? Ask students to research and report to the class.

Background Essay

The United Nations was founded in 1945 at the end of World War II to foster world peace, economic development, and human rights. Representatives from 51 countries signed its Founding Charter, among them four women (from Brazil, the Republic of China, the Dominican Republic, and the United States). The Founding Charter specifically safeguards the rights of women as well as men as part of its mission "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small…" Article I of the Charter states that the UN must promote respect for human rights "without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

To fulfill its commitment to women's rights, in 1946 the UN established the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). It had a lot of work to do: in 1945, only 25 of the founding nations gave women equal voting rights with men. At the start of its mission, the CSW focused on political, marital, and educational rights. In the 1950s, it began its quest to abolish practices that "violated the physical integrity and human rights of women."

By the 1970s, the United Nations was well poised to foster the growing movement for women's rights across the globe. From the 1950s on, United Nations membership expanded rapidly. This post-colonial era in world history saw the creation of many new nation-states throughout Africa, Asia, and South America that were eager to join the world community of nations. Despite the great diversity of their indigenous peoples, colonial histories, and cultural and religious practices, by joining the United Nations these countries aspired to meet the goals set out in the UN Founding Charter. To emphasize the importance of the equality of men and women in this changing world scene, the United Nations designated 1975 as the International Women's Year. The UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) also initiated plans to hold the very first World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975 to coincide with International Women's Year. Since 1975, the UN has sponsored three other international conferences on women, most recently in 1995 in Beijing.

Mexico City, 1975

The first World Conference on Women was thus a historic turning point. It took place in Mexico City from June 19th to July 2nd and was attended by 1800 people representing 133 countries. The UN encouraged men to participate as well, because without them the organizers feared that the Conference would get less respect and remain underfunded. Still, of the 133 delegations sent, 113 were headed by women.

Delegations from different regions of the world had different priorities at the conference. Communist countries were in the forefront of bringing women into the mainstream of their societies. Mao's saying that "women hold up half the sky" was his recognition of the critical role women were expected to play in the labor force, on an equal footing with men. Women's educational achievements soared under communist regimes. On the other hand, communist societies lacked political and economic freedoms for both sexes. Women from eastern Europe, for example, were often more concerned with general issues such as arms control, peace initiatives, and gaining political freedoms.

Women living in the urbanized and industrialized "Global North" made gender equality a main priority. In many of these countries, women had access to legal, readily available forms of contraception (and, more controversially, some had access to legalized abortion as well). Being able to plan when to have children and how many to have enabled women in the Global North to enter the work force in greater numbers than ever before. Better educational opportunities also meant that more women became college graduates, doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Still, they were paid less than men were for performing the same work. Few countries guaranteed paid maternity (or paternity) leave. Not many women had achieved positions of power in either the political or religious arenas, but as time went on, more and more did. In the U.S. Congress in 1975 there were only 16 female members of the House and not a single female senator. In the

United States, the struggle to raise the status of women often pitted feminist women against the men who dominated educational, political, and religious institutions.

Women in the developing nations, or "Global South," had a different set of priorities. They came from countries that needed to industrialize and build infrastructure, and where famine, drought, and warfare often remained a threat to basic survival. In the Global South, many women worked on rural farms; others were eager to find ways to participate in their growing economies as merchants and entrepreneurs. In these newly independent nations, women more often wanted to join forces with men (rather than oppose them) to fight the oppressive conditions that often were the legacy of colonialism, such as lack of medical care, industry, and infrastructure. The fight to end apartheid in South Africa epitomized their struggles.

At the World Conference on Women in 1975, development itself became a women's issue, with the understanding that developing nations could not make progress without the vigorous participation of women. Rather than being the passive recipients of aid, women could become agents of change. The UN recognized the power of grassroots organizations in women's home countries as part of this empowerment. To foster the work of NGOs (non-governmental agencies), such organizations sponsored a parallel conference called the International Women's Year Tribune, which attracted more than 4000 participants.

The Agenda

While the United Nations has no direct power to affect what happens within its member states, when members reach a consensus the UN can issue resolutions that have a far-reaching effect. Thus, the goal of the Conference on Women was to issue a World Plan of Action for what member nations should achieve and by when, and to issue guidelines for how best to make progress.

The conference centered around three key goals identified by the United Nations:

- Full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination.
- The integration and full participation of women in development.
- Increased contributions by women to strengthening world peace.

The goals of the conference thus focused on equal access for women to health care, education, housing, and their economic and political participation in society. It challenged member-states to meet these goals through their own institutions.

The Outcome

The conference set in motion numerous projects that affected women globally for decades to come, as it:

- Adopted the Mexico City Declaration and World Plan of Action.
- Declared 1976–85 the United Nations Decade for Women.
- Laid the groundwork for the establishment of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women and the United Nations Development Fund for Women, new organizations that promoted policy based on research, and fostered the training of women to promote development.
- Laid the groundwork for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), the first human rights treaty to recognize the reproductive rights of women.

While terrible injustices against women are still committed around the world (and especially in war-torn areas), women's policy organizations have taken root in most countries of the world since 1975, thanks to the work initiated by the women and men who participated in the first World Conference on Women.

Timeline 1: Landmarks in Women's History

1883	New Zealand becomes the first country in the world to give women the right to vote.
1915	International Congress of Women meets at the Hague in search of ways to end World War I. Twelve countries attend.
1916	Peru founds its first women's organization, the *Evolución Femenina*.
1917	In Soviet Russia, women are guaranteed maternity leave and equal wages. Laws passed in Cuba protect women's custody of children, divorce rights, and property rights.
1920	American women win the right to vote with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.
1925	The first women's college in Korea is founded.
1945	Following World War II, the United Nations is founded. Its founding Charter states that one goal is "to achieve international cooperation…in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."
1946	The UN creates the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). The Sudanese Women's League is founded to promote education for women.
1947	The new Japanese constitution guarantees women's equality.
1948	The UN issues the Declaration of Human Rights, which specifies that the rights apply to men and women. Former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt serves on the drafting committee.
1949	In France, Simone de Beauvoir publishes *The Second Sex*, initiating the second wave of feminism in Europe.
1956	Egypt and Tunisia give women the right to vote.
1963	Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique,* which begins the second wave of feminism in the U.S. The U.S. Congress passes the Equal Pay Act in an attempt to eliminate the practice of paying women less for the same work performed by men.
1964	In the U.S., the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, creed, national origin, or gender.
1966	NOW (National Organization of Women) is founded in the U.S. to promote full equality of women with men. Indira Gandhi becomes the first female prime minister of India.
1965	In the U.S., a Supreme Court ruling gives women the right to use contraception to control family planning.

1971	Switzerland gives women the right to vote. The U.S. Congress sends the Equal Rights Amendment to the states for ratification. Among other provisions, it prohibits gender-based discrimination against women.
1972	In the U.S., Gloria Steinem founds *Ms. Magazine*.
1973	In the case of *Roe* v. *Wade,* the U.S. Supreme Court makes abortion a legal right.
1975	**The General Assembly of the UN holds the first World Conference on Women in Mexico City to coincide with International Women's Year.** In Canada, the Anglican Church approves ordination of women to the priesthood.
1976	The United Nations Development Fund for Women is created. It provides direct financial support to women's economic development. In recognition of the important work of non-governmental agencies, the International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC) is established as an international organization to support the ongoing efforts of women's grass-roots work. It attracts over 4000 participants.
1976–1985	United Nations Decade for Women is established to carry forth the promises made in Mexico City. It adopts a World Plan of Action that focuses on helping women secure equal access to education, employment opportunities, political participation, health services, housing, nutrition, and family planning.
1979	The General Assembly of the UN passes the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. It establishes an agenda for nations to end discrimination against women, and is the only human rights treaty which safeguards women's reproductive rights. In response to the 1975 Conference in Mexico, the UN sets up the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, which recognizes the need for ongoing research into women's development. Margaret Thatcher becomes the first female Prime Minister of Great Britain.
1980	The second World Conference on Women in Copenhagen calls for nations to pass measures that will ensure women's rights to own and control property, and to safeguard their rights to child custody.
1982	In the U.S., the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution fails to win ratification.
1985	In Nairobi, the third World Conference on Women evaluates the progress made since 1975. It validates the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in fostering women's empowerment. One hundred twenty-seven member states respond to the call for advancing women's political and economic participation.
1995	In Beijing, the fourth World Conference on Women takes place. Following the conference, the UN establishes the Interagency Committee on Women and Gender Equality, consolidating a variety of organizations on women's rights.

Timeline 2: U.S. and World Events from 1970–1981

	United States	Elsewhere
1970	U.S. troops go into Cambodia to root out Vietcong sanctuaries. Congress establishes the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).	Gambia declares independence from England. Marxist Salvador Allende is elected president of Chile. Anwar al-Sadat becomes president of Egypt.
1971	The Twenty-Sixth Amendment lowers the voting age from 21 to 18. The U.S. and the USSR sign a treaty banning nuclear weapons from the ocean floor.	The United Nations admits communist China to the UN. East Pakistan declares itself independent of Pakistan and becomes the nation of Bangladesh. The Irish Republican Army steps up its terrorist war against Great Britain. Kurt Waldheim is elected UN Secretary General.
1972	NASA begins research into manned shuttle flights into outer space.	President Nixon visits China.
1973	The Watergate scandal engulfs the Nixon White House. Brezhnev and Nixon sign a nuclear arms limitation treaty. The Endangered Species Act protects animals at risk of extinction.	A worldwide energy crisis occurs as Arab oil producers ban the sale of oil to countries that support Israel. In Chile, Salvadore Allende is overthrown by a military coup. The Common Market (a predecessor of the European Union) gains support in Europe.
1974	Televised impeachment proceedings against President Nixon take place. The U.S. falls into a recession.	The Khmer Rouge seizes control of Cambodia. Portugal grants independence to Angola and Mozambique. Israeli Premier Golda Meir is replaced by Yitzhak Rabin. Millions in Africa suffer from a famine.

1975	The U.S. withdraws from Vietnam.	General Franco dies in Spain; Prince Juan Carlos is sworn in as king.
1976	The U.S. celebrates its bicentennial.	In China, Premier Zhou Enlai dies.
1977	Apple launches its first widely-bought personal computer.	Passenger flights on the supersonic Concorde begin, traveling from New York to London and Paris.
1978	President Carter brokers the Camp David Peace Accords between Egypt and Israel.	The first "test tube baby" is born in England.
1979	The U.S. and the Soviets sign a nuclear arms reduction treaty, SALT 2.	The Iranian Revolution occurs; the Shah is replaced by Ayatollah Khomeini. Japan launches the first commercial cellular network.
1980	Ronald Regan is elected president.	Soviet Union invades Afghanistan.
1981	AIDS is first identified by the Center for Disease Control.	Greece becomes the tenth member of the European Economic Community.

Key Players

For contributions of individual women, see Fraser, Arvonne, ed. *Developing Power: How Women Transformed International Development*. Feminist Press, 2008.

Gloria Scott, Jamaica: Gloria Scott was born in Jamaica and educated in London. She subsequently served in the Ministry of Development in Jamaica. She worked for the United Nations beginning in 1966, and in 1977 she became the first director for the women's program at the World Bank. Her interests included women and rural poverty, health, aging, and sustainable development.

Aziza Hussein, Egypt: Aziza Hussein was educated in Cairo and served as the first female Egyptian representative to the United Nations in 1954. She was a member of the UN Commission on the Status of Women. In 1974, she led the Egyptian delegation to the International Forum for Women in Mexico City, which brought together NGOs (non-governmental organizations) from around the world. After the conference, she was involved in the follow-up work of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of women.

Helvi Sipilä, Finland: Helvi Sipilä was a Finnish diplomat and politician. In 1974, she was put in charge of the UN Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. She helped to organize the World Conference on Women in 1975, and from there pushed to establish the Development Fund for Women. In 1982, she became the first woman to run for president of Finland.

Ester Boserup, Denmark: Ester Boserup was a Danish economist who also worked at the United Nations. As a writer, she had a profound effect on the burgeoning field of international development and women. In her books she argued that "women's work," whether in the home or outside of it, was indispensable to the economic growth of countries. Her work inspired the UN Decade for Women.

Lucille Mair, Jamaica: Dr. Lucille Mathurin Mair was a Jamaican ambassador and author. She was the first director for the Women's Bureau in Jamaica in the 1970s. She served in many posts at the UN and as secretary general to the United Nations Decade for Women.

Esther Ocloo, Ghana: Esther Ocloo was educated in Ghana, despite the poverty faced by her family. She was the first person to start a formal food-processing business in the Gold Coast and became a respected entrepreneur in the region. As an advisor to the first World Conference on Women, she promoted bank loans to women and was one of the founders of Women's World Banking in 1976.

Leticia Ramos Shahani, Philippines: Leticia Ramos Shahani left the Philippines to attend Wellesley College and earned a Ph.D. from the University of Paris. Beginning in 1975 she worked at the UN with a focus on development. She was the secretary general for the third World Conference on Women. As a senator in the Philippines, she worked on gender and development issues, and on anti-rape legislation.

Ela Bhatt, India: Ela Bhatt was the daughter of a lawyer who earned a law degree of her own in 1952. She was one of the founders of Women's World Banking in 1979 and served as its chair from 1980 to 1998. On November 2010, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton honored Bhatt for helping more than a million poor women in India achieve a position of dignity and independence.

Elizabeth Reid, Australia: Elizabeth Anne Reid was born in Australia and obtained advanced degrees from Oxford University and the Kennedy School. She founded numerous NGOs as well as many UN institutions. She was the Australian representative to the UN Forum on the Role of Women in 1974, and led the Australian delegation in Mexico City in 1975.

Name: _____ Date: _____

Handout 1: Know Your Country

Nation you represent: _____

Year admitted to the United Nations: _____

Date nation founded: _____

Form of government in 1975: _____

Major issues/problems facing this country in 1975:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

When did women win the right to vote in this country?* _____

How wealthy and industrially "advanced" was this country in 1975 relative to other countries? You may wish to consider the following before arriving at a conclusion**:

Purchasing power: _____

Labor force by occupation: _____

Agriculture (products): _____

Industries: _____

Electricity consumption: _____

Oil production: _____

Oil consumption: _____

Airports: _____

Roadways: _____

Life expectancy: _____

Maternal mortality: _____

Literacy (male and female): _____

Employment (male and female): _____

* You can go to the Women in Politics website at http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/suffrage.htm or http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_women's_suffrage to research this.

** Note: if you cannot find information for your country in 1975, you can use the CIA World Factbook statistics for today and work backwards. For example, India is booming in the 21st century but lagged much further behind in 1975. Next to the information you find, note the year to which it refers.

The rights of women concerning marriage, divorce, and equal pay:

Summarize what you believe are the major concerns of women at this time in your country:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Handout 2: Design a Logo

The logo you design must convey:

1. That the conference is sponsored by the *United Nations.*
2. That it concerns issues pertaining to *women.*
3. That the three main issues are *equality, development, and peace.*

- Use bold shapes and colors to design something that represents your message.
- The symbols you choose must be combined into one overall shape for the logo.
- You may use only three words in your logo.

Conference Logo Designed by the Delegate from: _____

Name: _____ Date: _____

Handout 3: Draft a Proposal

Your country: _____

Your geographical region: _____

Your topic relates to (check one): ☐ Equality ☐ Development ☐ Peace

What is the number and content of the Resolution you have been assigned to address? Restate the resolution below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Write a proposal pertaining to this topic. If members of the conference agree to it, your proposal will be adopted by the United Nations. Remember that your statement is designed to affect all member states of the United Nations, but the UN cannot make laws that directly govern member states; it can only set specific goals for member states and provide them with guidance that will help them to reach those goals. It can also initiate and fund research, set up agencies, hold meetings, help mediate international disputes, and send peacekeeping troops to troubled areas. For more information about what the UN can and cannot do pertaining to world peace, go to the UN Web page at http://www.un.org/geninfo/ir/index.asp?id=120#q7.

Your proposal should be no more than ten sentences long. Make sure you cover the following topics in this order:

1. What problem does your proposal address? Provide two details, and clearly explain why it is absolutely necessary to address this problem now.

2. What solution to this problem do you propose? Provide at least two details.

3. Why do you believe this solution will work to solve the problem either right now or in the long run?

4. How will the solution affect things specifically in your own country? How will it effect change in all nations?

Special instructions: If you are representing a foreign country and speak the language of that country, please write a version of your statement in that language as well as a version in English to be read at the conference by a "translator."

Document 1: Contents, Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

*

* *

The designations employed and the presentation of material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

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Annexes

*Source: United Nations, "Contents," *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year: Mexico City, 19 June–2 July 1975* (New York: UN, 1976).

Fall of the Berlin Wall, 1989

Overview

For the generations of Germans who came of age during the Cold War, the Berlin Wall was a grim fact of life. The East Germans built the wall in 1961 on their side of the dividing line between East and West Berlin in order to halt the defection of thousands of their citizens to West Germany. In its early years, the Berlin Wall was the site of heroic escapes and tragic deaths, but as East Germany learned to fortify the wall it became an effective way to permanently divide East from West. The fall of the wall was one of history's happy surprises. Historians, politicians, and journalists had not predicted it. In this reenactment, students relive the immediate events that led to the fall of the wall, and afterwards analyze the reasons for its demise.

The classroom itself is divided into East and West Berlin with "the wall" running down the middle. As students enter the classroom they become Berliners, divided by their Role and Scenario cards into either Easterners (*Osses*) or Westerners (*Wesses*). Their identities reflect the experience of East and West Germans whose lives were separated during 30 years of living in the shadow of the wall. Next, the class uses a primary source document as a script in order to restage East German official Günter Schabowski's 1961 press conference. Was it Schabowski's befuddled message that brought down the wall, or was history made by how people responded to it? After each pair reunites as the wall "comes down" to the sound of jubilant background music, students-cum-journalists interview each reunited pair.

Set-up Directions

Roles

- Assign six students to play East German officials at the press conference of Günter Schabowski on Day 1. These same students also play journalists who interview East and West Berliners the next two days.
- You will play the role of Günter Schabowski in the transcript of his press conference.
- There are 12 pairs of Berliners (for 24 students). They are assigned roles and scenarios to play when they are reunited as the wall comes down.

Handouts

- Make two copies of the **Assignment of Roles and Scenarios. After filling in students' names, keep one copy** for your records. The second copy should be cut up into squares such that each student receives just his or her role.
- Make seven copies of **Document A**, the Schabowski interview. You will

Teaching tip
Assign some students to role-play some of the historic Key Players at the fall of the wall.

need a copy to role-play Schabowski and so will the six students role-playing East German officials.

- *Option:* Photocopy the interview for everyone in the class or post it on a class website.
- Photocopy for all students the **Background Essay** and **Timeline**, or post them on a class website.
- Make copies of **Handout 1: Directions for East and West Berliners**. Distribute one copy to each pair of twelve students.
- Make six copies of **Handout 2: Directions for Journalists.**

Props/Music

- Materials for making the wall (e.g., rolls of thick brown paper, masking tape).
- Markers for "graffiti artists."
- A "microphone" for the press conference.
- There was a wealth of music created to celebrate the fall of the wall, including rock songs like "Looking for Freedom," sung by David Hasselhoff, and "Chipping Away 1990" sung by Crosby, Stills, and Nash. All can be found on YouTube.

  Also look for Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 with the choral Ode to Joy (sung as Ode to Freedom in Leonard Bernstein's celebration concert of the fall of the wall).

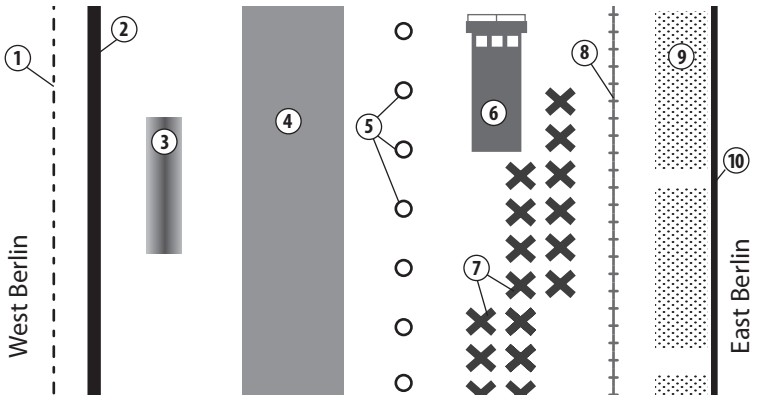
Schematic

On the day of the simulation, the classroom is arranged to represent the Berlin Wall in 1989. The wall was actually two walls—one facing west, another facing east—with the death strip in between. Put masking tape on the classroom floor to demarcate the border between East and West Berlin. Whereas the side facing West Germany had extensive graffiti on it, on the East German side was the "death strip." The death strip should be made to look as scary as possible, with danger signs like skulls and crossbones placed all around it. You can arrange student desks to be "the wall" (really two walls separated by the "death strip").

On the "wall" facing West Berlin, wrap the desks in brown paper. This is the wall surface on which students will design graffiti. You may also wish to create a part of the wall that can be chipped into pieces for the *Mauerspechte* ("woodpeckers" in German) who wanted to take home souvenirs.

The Brandenburg Gate (1791), a proud symbol of Germany, was enclosed inside East Berlin, its top still visible in West Berlin. An image of the Brandenburg Gate

as it existed in 1989 should be projected during the simulation.



1. Political border
2. Outer wall: Made out of 12' x 4' concrete sections, held together by a concrete pipe capping the top of the wall.
3. Vehicle ditch
4. Guard road
5. Lights
6. Watchtower
7. Tank traps
8. Signal fence
9. Spike mats
10. Rear wall: Made by dropping concrete slabs between steel beams, this wall is 10' high.

Resources

Books

- Buckley, William F. Jr., *The Fall of the Berlin Wall*. John Wiley & Sons, 2004.
- Schmemann, Serge, *When the Wall Came Down: The Berlin Wall and the Fall of Soviet Communism*. New York Times Books, 2007.
- Taylor, Frederick, *The Berlin Wall: A World Divided, 1961–1989*. Harper, 2006.
- Novels by Ian McEwan, Sven Regeners, Peter Schneider.

Film

- *Declassified: The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall*. The History Channel, 2009.
- *The Wall: A World Divided*. PBS, 2010.

Websites

- *The Berlin Wall Twenty Years Later. The New York Times http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/subjects/b/berlin_wall/index.html*
- *The Berlin Wall.* BBC Archives http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/berlinwall/8203.shtml
- *The Cold War in Berlin.* John F. Kennedy Presidential Library. http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/The-Cold-War-in-Berlin.aspx
- "The Making of History: 1989" George Mason University http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/items/show/685
- *Berlin Wall* archives from *The Guardian*. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/berlinwall
- *The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall* TIME archival photographs http://www.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,1631993_1383216,00.html

Lesson Plan

Day 1

Teaching tip
Divide best friends (as indeed the wall separated friends and family).

Teaching tip
Do not let East and West Berliners know with whom they are paired on the other side of the wall. They will search for each other after the wall comes down.

Teaching tip
As you make assignments and tell students where to sit, be as brusque and as militaristic as you can.

Before Day 1 of the simulation, assign students to read the Background Essay up until "November 9th, 1989 and After."

Arrange the classroom such that the "Berlin Wall" divides your classroom (see Schematic).

As students enter the classroom, hand each one an identity card. Students will become either an East Berliner, a West Berliner, or a Member of the Press/East German official (six students).

Direct students to sit on their appropriate side of the wall for their role, or to come to the front of the room if they are members of the press.

Seated in this divided arrangement, hold a discussion on the following topics:

- The Berlin Wall went up in 1961. Imagine that it's 1989 and you are a high school student in Germany. Did you ever live in an undivided city? What about your parents and grandparents? What might they remember? Which generation do you think faced the greatest hardships of living in a divided city? What personal and professional hardships might they have had to endure?
- Review the physical components of the wall. Why was it designed as it was? How hard do you think it would be to make an escape from East Berlin into West Berlin?
- What was happening in the summer of 1989 in the Soviet Union and its satellite states? (Refer to the Timeline and Background Essay.) The immediate problem for East Germany is that Hungary has opened its border with Austria. Hundreds of East German citizens are flocking to Austria and from there to West Germany. East Germany could potentially lose huge numbers of citizens, and West Germany is under pressure to find ways to accommodate them.
- The East German government has just changed leaders. There are massive demonstrations going on in East Berlin demanding greater freedoms.
- Imagine you are living in Berlin at this time. What might happen next? (Elicit a variety of responses from students.)
- Tell students to imagine that they are watching their TVs that very evening and hear the following press conference.

Distribute to the six members of the press **Document A:** Transcript of Günter Schabowski's Press Conference in the GDR International Press Center. You will play Schabowski, the spokesperson for the new East German government. Assign three students who are "members of the press" to play Banaschak, Labs, and Beil (GDR officials) and the three others to play press corps reporters (they will take turns asking questions).

Show the class **Document B: Photograph of the Press Conference**, the image Germans saw on their TVs.

Questions to pose about the photograph:

- What is a press conference? Who is on the podium [see caption]? What is the role of the people seated in the audience?
- Does the press conference look orderly? What evidence supports your answer?
- Does this look like an ordinary, run-of-the-mill press conference or like one at which a momentous event is taking place? What evidence supports your answer? (Note: It is a typical press-conference scene.)

Read aloud the script of the press conference with the assigned students and then pose these questions to the class about the press conference as they just heard it:

- Does Schabowski seem prepared for this conference? What evidence supports your answer? (Possible answers: He refers to the travel regulation as "only a draft," he looks to other GDR officials for confirmation of his answers, and keeps looking at his notes to check their content.)
- What are the most urgent matters that members of the press want Schawbowski to clarify? (Does free exit from East Germany include passage across the Berlin Wall? What documents do people need to cross the border? When can they start leaving?)
- Will East Germans who want to leave need to show a passport or visa? (Yes, they do. Schabowski reads from a document that says: "The offices in the GDR are instructed to issue visas for permanent exit without delays.")
- According to Schabowski's statement, when are the new rules to take effect? (Immediately.)
- Are the gates to the Berlin Wall now open? (According to what Schabowski reads, "Permanent exit is possible via all GDR border crossings to FRG [German Federal Republic]." However, at the end he exits without giving a clear answer.)

- As East and West Berliners, as *Ossis* and *Wessis* who have just heard this document read on television and who have no passports or visas at this moment, *what will you do?* Is it clear what will happen if you go to a checkpoint and try to cross over? (Elicit a variety of answers.)
- Consider having some "brave" students try to cross over to see what happens. (Nothing.)
- Now explain what actually did happen: East Berliners flocked to the Berlin Wall in such great numbers that it was impossible to check their documents, much less to issue any new ones. Border guards had no instructions to shoot those who crossed. In effect, they opened the gates.
- What makes the press conference document historic? Is it because of the words that were spoken, or because of what people bravely did as a consequence?

Teaching tip
Students can also become *mauerspechte*—woodpeckers who chop away at the Berlin Wall in the classroom as per your instructions.

Reenacting the Fall of the Wall

Next, tell students that they are going to reenact "tearing down" the Berlin Wall by crossing the Brandenburg Gate. They should search for one person on the other side—their "partner," as per their instruction sheet. Tell students that this may take some time. Once they find one another, student pairs should share their life stories in preparation for being interviewed by one of the six reporters.

Bright Idea
Project historic photographs such as the one on this page while students reunite. You can also use it as a backdrop to the interviews (see Day 2).

Once pairs reunite, give each a copy of **Handout 1: Instructions for the Interview**. Distribute to the members of the press **Handout 2: Instructions for Journalists**.

Potsdamer Platz Berlin, November 21, 1989.

Lesson Plan

Days 2 and 3

Day 2 Interviews

Arrange for each journalist to meet consecutively with the two pairs of *Ossis* and *Wessis* assigned to him or her.

All 12 interviews should ultimately be presented to the entire class.

Option 1: The interviews are presented "live" to the class with little rehearsal.

Option 2: While Pair 1 of *Ossis* and *Wessis* is being interviewed, Pair 2 (assigned to the same journalist) videotapes the interview with Pair 1. Pair 1 then videotapes the interview with Pair 2. The interviews can then be "broadcast" to the class on Day 3.

Day 3: Debriefing

Pose the following questions to help students to synthesize what they have learned from the interviews. Does the fall of the Berlin Wall have the same meaning to different constituencies?

- How did the Berlin Wall affect families, friends, and workers who were divided by it? In what ways does the motto "the personal is political" apply to the experiences of people in the role-play?
- By what means did people try to escape East Germany?
- Were all ordinary citizens who lived in East Germany opposed to the country's communist regime?
- Compare and contrast the experiences of different generations of Berliners who lived under the shadow of the Berlin Wall.
- Based on these interviews, predict some of the difficulties of reunification.

Option 1: Ask students to write essays in which they make an argument for the primary reason the wall fell when it did.

Option 2: Alternatively, ask them to rank in order of importance various hypotheses about the demise of communism in East Germany and the Soviet Union. In formulating their opinions, ask students to cite documents such as those at George Mason University's website on 1989 http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/items/browse/3?tags=East+Germany.

These include:

- The direct challenge from President Ronald Reagan to "tear down this wall" and Reagan's pressure to keep up the arms race against the U.S.S.R.

Bright Idea
As students search for one another, put on music that was played to celebrate the tearing down of the wall in 1989–90. Selections include Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 with the choral "Ode to Joy" (sung as "Ode to Freedom" in Leonard Bernstein's concert celebrating the fall of the wall), and the rock songs "Looking for Freedom" by David Hasselhoff and "Chipping Away 1990" sung by Crosby, Stills, and Nash. All can be found on YouTube.

Teaching tip
Circulate among students to help them focus on the essential narratives of their stories and to encourage them to include both facts and opinions.

- Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, along with the *Ostpolitik* of Willy Brandt.
- Failure of communism as an effective economic model.
- Corruption of Communist Party officials.
- The Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster.
- The Soviet debacle in Afghanistan.
- Lure and prosperity of the West.

Option 3: Designate part of the classroom "Berlin Wall" to memorialize with graffiti. Ask each student to make a draft of an image that includes words within an overall design that would be fitting as a memorial to the fall of the wall. After you approve the students' drafts, give them markers with which to inscribe their graffiti on the wall.

Background Essay

Postwar Germany

Between 1961 and 1989, the Berlin Wall remained a fixed boundary dividing the Soviet Bloc from western Europe during the Cold War era. While the term "behind the Iron Curtain" was only figurative, the Berlin Wall was all too real. Soviet Russia approved of the building of the wall, and once East German leader Walter Ulbricht issued the order, the wall went up quickly in August of 1961. In its first version, the barrier was essentially made of barbed wire. Over the years, the concrete walls were built and rebuilt; by 1989, the year it came down, it was a massive fortification with no less than 297 watchtowers.

The legacy of a divided Germany, as well as a divided Berlin, dates back to the end of World War II (1945). To defeat Hitler, Soviet troops invaded Germany from the east, while troops under the leadership of Supreme Allied Commander Dwight D. Eisenhower invaded from the west. Before the war ended, the United States, United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union forged a series of agreements under which Germany would be divided among the key Allied victors. After the Nazis were defeated, no one questioned that the world would be better off with Germany severed in two. West Germany, known as the Federal Republic of Germany or GFR, had a population of approximately 51 million, while East Germany, known as the German Democratic Republic or GDR, had a population under 17 million.

More complicated was the fate of Berlin itself. Berlin lay 75 miles inside East Germany, but it was too big a prize to hand over to the Soviet sphere. Thus, Berlin itself was divided into four sectors: British, American, French, and Soviet. According to the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, the city was capital of neither East nor West Germany, but rather administrated by all four powers. This was a potentially unstable arrangement. In 1948, Joseph Stalin made a stab at grabbing all of Berlin by instituting the Berlin Blockade. On the ground, Soviet troops encircled the city, preventing food and goods from getting into the French, British, and U.S. sectors. The Allies retaliated with the Berlin Airlift, whereby they transported goods into the city by air. Within a year, the Soviets backed down.

After the failure of the Berlin Blockade, people and goods moved with few restrictions among all sectors of the city. Over time, however, this free flow became a major problem for East Germany. It is estimated that by 1960 over 3.5 million people fled the GDR permanently to the West. This loss represented almost a quarter of the East German population. Compounding the problem was the fact that East Germany was losing its crème-de-la-crème—its wealthiest and best-educated citizens, including its engineers, doctors, and teachers. This brain-drain was a disaster for a country recovering from the devastation of war.

Why did so many East Germans want to leave? Overall, East Germany was more prosperous compared to other countries in the Communist Bloc, but nowhere near as prosperous as West Germany. While the Soviets demanded war reparations from East Germany, West Germany profited from the U.S. Marshall Plan. Because it adhered to communist ideology, East Germany nationalized property and industry. East German schools and the GDR media became the tools of communist propaganda. Situated as it was at the dividing point between the Eastern and Western blocs, Berlin naturally became a hotbed of spies for both sides. As the Communists became more and more paranoid about the ways in which their society and its values were being undermined, they instituted a secret police, the Stasi. The Stasi became notorious for its brutal invasions into the lives of ordinary citizens. East Germans lived in daily fear of saying the wrong thing to the wrong person and ending up in jail—or worse.

The Wall Goes Up

By 1960, approximately 12,600 East German citizens per month were applying for asylum in West Germany. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and East German leader Walter Ulbricht had had

enough; they were ready to act by building a wall. Although building the wall seemed to be an act of Communist aggression, President John Kennedy indicated the U.S. would not act to stop it. The Kennedy administration was still reeling from the aftermath of the Bay of Pigs, the failed U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba in April 1961, and headed for further confrontation with the Soviets over Cuba. What if U.S. support for an uprising in East Germany backfired, as had happened with the Hungarian uprising of 1956, which was brutally crushed? Furthermore, perhaps it was better to see the Communist Bloc hunkered down behind a wall, rather than trying to actively expand their sphere of influence westward.

For Germans, however, the wall caused a sudden and irreversible disruption of their lives and families. Those caught to the east of the wall were trapped. West Berliners still had rights to enter East Berlin, but they were severely restricted by complicated bureaucratic rules. A Christmas visit to relatives in East Berlin might be all they could expect. East Berliners with jobs in West Berlin found themselves suddenly without work. While the "wall" remained just barbed wire, families managed to stage weddings in view of family members on the other side. Once the concrete version of the wall went up, even this was not possible.

The wall consisted of a 27-mile barrier between East and West Berlin, and a 97- mile wall around the circumference of the three Western sectors, effectively isolating all routes in or out of West Berlin except for several autobahn, train, and air routes which could be controlled. The Berlin Wall was not one wall, but a 20-foot wide roadway with a wall on each side, all of it to the east of the border with West Berlin. Inside the two walls was the "death strip," so-called because even if someone made it over the first wall, they were unlikely to make it past the roadway and second wall without getting shot, since East German guards had standing "shoot to kill" orders. In the early years of the wall, the number of daring and successful escape attempts increased the East Germans' resolve to fortify the wall. Between the two walls, they built watchtowers with 24-hour-a-day surveillance teams. The wall facing East Berlin reached ten feet high and was rigged with alarms. It was designed to withstand cars attempting to break through. The second, or outer wall (facing west), was perfected over time to make it impossible to scale; no climber could grip its smooth surface or rounded piping along the top. However, the wall's slick surface proved to be an invitation to West Berlin graffiti artists. Graffiti was a form of protest not allowed on the East Berlin side of the wall.

From the point of view of stopping the brain-drain from East Germany, the wall was a success and East Germany began to prosper. However, for the West, the Berlin Wall became a potent symbol of the failure of communism. The daring escapes that East Germans made to flee the regime only reinforced the West's resolve to stop the spread of communism. One episode remains an especially searing reminder of the brutal reality of the Berlin Wall. In August 1962, two young men, Helmut Kubeik and Peter Fetcher, tried to escape East Germany by climbing over the wall near Checkpoint Charlie, one of several official gates between East and West. Kubeik made it over, but Peter Fetcher became entangled in barbed wire in the Soviet sector. East German guards shot him in the left hip, and there he was left to die in front of TV cameras for all the world to see. Overall it is estimated that approximately 5,000 East Germans did escape over or under the wall—many with the help of West Germans—while from 100 to 200 people died while attempting to escape.

The Wall Comes Down

How and when the wall came tumbling down took the world by surprise. Many controversies still surround the causes, circumstances, and outcomes of its demise. However, in retrospect we know that the events of November 9th, 1989 did not happen in a vacuum. Already the communist monolith—the U.S.S.R—was cracking. The Soviet war in Afghanistan and the arms race with the U.S. had proven costly. The Soviet economy was in bad shape, resulting in food shortages and state deficits. Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, and in response to these and other problems he initiated the policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). Gorbachev renounced the Brezhnev Doctrine of interfering in

the internal affairs of Soviet Bloc nations. Thus, great strides were taken towards creating democratic societies in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia—without Soviet tanks rolling in to stop them, as they had done in the past. To the surprise of many observers, Gorbachev did not interfere in the Soviet republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, all headed on the path to becoming independent states. These events loosened the bonds that tied the East German regime to Soviet influence.

In the U.S., many historians credit President Ronald Reagan with bringing about the end of the Cold War. His relentless drive to up the ante on the arms race with the Soviet Union meant that the Russians had to overspend on armaments, to the detriment of their economy and society. His challenge to tear down the wall, made at the Brandenburg Gate in 1987, is world famous: "General Secretary Gorbachev if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization, come here to this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!" European historians, however, tend to credit other factors in the fall of the wall– instead of confrontation, they believe *Ostpolitik*—change through rapprochement and diplomacy—paved the way.

November 9th, 1989 and After

Historians do agree that it was events rather than policy that forced the hand of the East Germans in 1989. In August 1989, communist Hungary opened its border with neighboring democratic Austria. Approximately 13,000 East Germans fled through Hungary to Austria. Others crowded into the West German embassy in Hungary itself. East Germans also left for Czechoslovakia and flooded into the West German embassy in Prague. A huge crisis was in the making with no easy way to solve it. On October 18th, Erich Honecker, the longtime leader of East Germany, resigned and was replaced by Egon Krenz. Inside East Germany itself, hundreds of thousands of people started massing in nonviolent demonstrations, yelling "*Wir sind das Volk!*" (We are the people!) and "*Wir wollen raus!*" (We want out!). The East German police did not fire on them, as they might have done in the past.

It was on November 9th that the new Krenz government decided the pressure was too great; they were ready to open the gates between East Berlin and West Berlin—beginning on November 10. Günter Schabowski, the unofficial spokesperson for the new Krenz government, was quickly briefed on the unfolding situation, without understanding the timetable or new regulations. At a press conference on November 9, Schabowski was asked by a reporter when the regulation would go into effect and he replied "immediately." The announcement was made public when the press conference was broadcast to Germans later that evening. East Germans were stunned by this unexpected news, and thousands decided to see if it was true, heading spontaneously to the Berlin Wall. Confused guards, given no orders to shoot, refrained from doing so. They started to stamp papers but were overwhelmed by the crowds who finally pushed through to the West German side, where joyous compatriots greeted them. Families who had been divided for decades were suddenly reunited. With the fall of the wall, the era of the Cold War reached its official end.

Within a year, a united Germany reemerged from the shadows of World War II and the Cold War, but not everyone was in favor of unification. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain is reputed to have said, "We beat the Germans twice, and now they're back." She wanted a gradual five-year plan for reunification of Germany—if the country were to be reunited at all. Others were worried about the fact that East Germany had never admitted responsibility for Hitler's atrocities—including the Holocaust—whereas West Germany had accepted guilt and addressed it in far-reaching educational programs for its citizens. Still others warned that the prosperity of West Germans would be lost if they had to absorb their poorer compatriots from the East. Some East German true believers in communism felt a "loss of faith" at the sudden switch to capitalism, while others missed the economic security provided by the communist regime. Germany recovered from the strains of reunification. Today it is the wealthiest country in the heart of Europe and the European Union. Sections of the Berlin Wall still stand in Berlin today as tourist attractions.

Timeline

	Germany	Cold War in Europe
1945	End of World War II in Europe: Red Army captures Berlin (May 8th). The Potsdam Agreement divides Germany into four zones of occupation.	Yalta Conference: Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin meet to plan the consequences of the fall of Germany (February 4th).
1946	Demarcation line is secured at the request of the Soviets; passage between the two zones is permitted with a pass (June 30th).	
1948	Berlin Airlift: Soviets blockade Berlin, which is situated within communist East Germany, hoping to incorporate it into East Germany. The allies defy the blockade by airlifting supplies into the city.	
1949	Soviets end blockade of West Berlin (May). The Federal Republic of Germany is founded (West Germany). The German Democratic Republic is founded (East Germany). End of the airlift (October).	
1952	The borders between East and West Germany are closed, except for the borders in the city of Berlin itself. Berlin becomes the route by which East Germans leave for the West.	
1953	East German citizens can no longer travel to West Germany, by order of East Germany. Building workers protest.	
1955		The Warsaw Pact is made among eastern European satellite states of the Soviet Union.
1956		The Hungarian uprising is crushed by the Soviets.
1957	Those who travel from East Berlin to West Berlin without permission are imprisoned for three years.	
1958	Khrushchev announces plan for East German sovereignty.	
1960	12,600 East Germans flee to West Germany each month.	
1961	**The Berlin Wall is built**, starting with barbed wire and fences. The Brandenburg Gate is closed (August 13th).	Bay of Pigs: U.S. fiasco when the C.I.A. backed an ill-fated invasion of Cuba to try to topple the communist Castro regime (April).

1962	At Checkpoint Charlie, 18-year-old Peter Fechter attempts to climb the wall, is shot, and left to die.	Cuban Missile Crisis: A nuclear war is narrowly averted.
1963	President Kennedy visits West Berlin and at the Brandenberg Gate and claims, "*Ich bin ein Berliner*" ("I am a Berliner").	
1968		Prague Spring: A period of liberalization in Czechoslovakia, after which the Soviets invade.
1972	East and West Germany establish diplomatic ties.	
1975		Helsinki Accords: Thirty-five nations pledge to improve relations between the Communist Bloc and the West.
1979		Soviet troops invade Afghanistan.
1981		In Poland, the workers' movement Solidarity gains a mass following.
1985		In the U.S.S.R., Mikhail Gorbachev initiates the policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring).
1987	President Ronald Reagan urges Gorbachev to, "Tear down this wall" (June).	
1988		Soviets announce full withdrawal from Afghanistan, which they invaded in 1979. Gorbachev renounces interference with the internal affairs of the Eastern Bloc of satellite states.
1989	Hungary opens its border with Austria. East Germans flee to the West via Hungary (August). East Berlin is the site of a massive pro-democracy rally. Erich Honecker of East Germany resigns. Egon Krenz replaces him (November 4th). Fall of the Berlin Wall. The East German government announces that its citizens are free to visit West Germany. Border guards in East Germany stand back and let thousands of East German demonstrators cross over. People spontaneously start to destroy the wall. The Brandenburg Gate is opened (November 9th).	Poland holds its first free elections in 50 years (June). The Soviet Union concedes that Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia have the right to be independent (July).
1990	The wall is all but destroyed, except for patches that become memorials. Germany is reunified (October).	
1991		The USSR is formally dissolved, leading to the independence of fifteen former Soviet republics. The remainder of what was the USSR becomes the nation of Russia.

Key Players

Egon Krenz: Egon Krenz took over the East German government from Erich Honecker in 1989, and was the last Communist leader of East Germany. His tenure lasted only a few months, and once Germany was reunited he served some time in prison for his role in the German Democratic Republic.

Erich Honecker: Erich Honecker served as the leader of the German Democratic Republic from 1971 until 1989. He was ousted from power because he failed to realize that the democratizing changes underway in many communist countries would also, inevitably, affect East Germany. Honecker resettled in Chile and died several years after the fall of the Berlin Wall. He was never successfully prosecuted for crimes committed while he was in office.

Günter Shabowski became an important player in the fall of the Berlin Wall when Erich Honecker left office, and Egon Krenz appointed him to be an important Communist Party spokesperson for East Germany. At the press conference on November 9th, 1989 he gave the impression (mistakenly) that the border was to open immediately. After reunification, he denounced the government of East Germany.

Walter Ulbricht: Walter Ulbricht was a dedicated Communist from the pre-World War II years of the Weimar Republic. As secretary of East Germany's leading communist party, he ruled East Germany from 1950 to 1971, and as such was one of the leading architects of the Berlin Wall. He died soon after being ousted from office.

Willy Brandt: Willy Brandt was Chancellor of West Germany from 1969 to 1974. He served as leader of the Social Democratic Party up until 1987. He was forced to leave office when it was discovered that one of his closest aids, Günter Guillaume, was a secret agent for East Germany. For his efforts to bring about a rapprochement between West Germany and the Communist Bloc, known as *Ostpolitik,* he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1971. As Chancellor, he was succeeded by Helmut Schmidt.

Helmut Kohl: Helmut Kohl was Chancellor of Germany from 1982 to 1998. He is credited with helping Germany reunite and find prosperity after the fall of the wall. He was also instrumental in bringing about German integration into the European Union, as well as the development of the European Union itself.

Mikhail Gorbachev: Mikhail Gorbachev was the Soviet Premier when the Berlin Wall fell. His policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* were crucial in bringing about political reform within the Soviet Union. Because his goal was reform, he attended summit conferences with presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush, under whose tenure the wall fell. His policy of not interfering with the internal politics of the satellite states led to a variety of former Soviet republics declaring their independence. Two years after the fall of the wall, the Soviet Union itself was dissolved.

Wolfgang Fuchs: Wolfgang Fuchs fled East Berlin before the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. He helped to engineer the flight of other East Germans via the numerous underground tunnels that were dug in the wake of the wall's erection. He is credited with bringing scores to safety via daring escapes through the tunnel networks.

Assignment of Roles and Scenarios

Role 1: East German official, Banaschak, at the press conference.

Role 2: Dimitri Ivanovitch, *Pravda*, U.S.S.R.

Assigned to interview:

- Olga and Conrad Hesse.
- Inga and Otto Brunt.

Journalists

Role 1: East German official, Labs, at the press conference.

Role 2: Suzanna Peres, *New York Times*.

Assigned to interview:

- Freida Hausen and Markus Kraus.
- Fritz and Hans Koning.

Journalists

Role 1: East German official, Beil, at the press conference.

Role 2: Anna Hesse, *Neues Deutschland*, East Germany.

Assigned to interview:

- Sofie and Johanna Kluger.
- Dietrich and Eberhard Wolff.

Journalists

Role 1: Member of the press at the press conference.

Role 2: Ewald Fenster, *Die Zeit*, West Germany.

Assigned to interview:

- Gunther and Marie Kleisenholst.
- Krista Evehold and Annemarie Genwalt.

Journalists

Role 1: Member of the press at the press conference.

Role 2: Stephan Holst, *Izvestia*, U.S.S.R.

Assigned to interview:

- Dieter Shaffer and Emanuel Phiberg.
- Greta and Angela Freisen.

Journalists

Role 1: Member of the press at the press conference.

Role 2: Phillipa Phips, *The Times of London*.

Assigned to interview:

- Lukas Frist and father of Max Schiffen.
- Olga and Agnes Brauer.

Journalists

Fill in the names of one of your students next to each German name on these cards and on the following pages. Photocopy the sheets. Cut up the photocopy so that each student receives an "identity card." Student pairs can fill out the remaining information. If you have an odd number of students, consider taking on a role yourself and partnering with one student.

Note: While these roles are fictional, they are based on historical material.

Partner 1

1. **Olga Hesse** _____

You and your brother grew up in a building that later faced directly toward the Berlin Wall. You remember that one of your neighbors tried to jump to freedom from a window in your apartment building, but fell to her death. East German officials then bricked in all the windows that faced the wall as well as entrances to the rooftop of your building.

Looking for your brother Conrad Hesse.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

East Berliner (Ossis)

Partner 2

1. **Conrad Hesse** _____

You have been permanently separated from your sister since 1961, except for three visits when you got permission to return for Christmas Day. You left East Berlin and obtained West German citizenship in 1959 easily because you are a highly educated person. You expected that the treaty agreements would mean that you could always visit East Berlin freely.

Looking for your sister Olga Hesse.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

West Berliner (Wessis)

Partner 1

2. **Dietrich Wolff** _____

You are a cousin of Eberhard Wolff and both of you were students in 1961. Eberhard had arranged to help several of your friends escape through the sewer system and you were set to do the same. The day of your planned escape, you went down to the sewers only to find the police at work installing bars connected to alarms. You came so close to freedom, but could not escape. Eberhard never learned what happened and why because you were afraid to communicate this information due to fear of the Stasi, the East German secret police.

Looking for your cousin Eberhard Wolff.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

East Berliner (Ossis)

Partner 2

2. **Eberhard Wolff** _____

You were a student living in West Berlin when the wall went up in 1961. In the very early days, it was possible to escape via the sewer system of Berlin. Through contacts, you found maps of the sewer system and arranged to help a dozen people escape this way. Your cousin Dietrich was also supposed to escape with you, but you never found out why he didn't make it through.

Looking for your cousin Dietrich Wolff.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

West Berliner (Wessis)

Partner 1

3. **Agnes Brauer** _____

You and your sister grew up in East Berlin, but you both moved to West Berlin before the wall went up to attend universities. In 1960, you went back to East Berlin to visit your mother, who was sick and who refused to leave the house in which she grew up. While there, your papers were stolen and the East German secret police (the Stasi) refused to let you return to West Germany. Fearing retribution from the Stasi, you kept secret how desperately you wished to return to West Berlin.

Looking for your sister Olga Brauer.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

East Berliner (Ossis)

Partner 2

3. **Olga Brauer** _____

You and your sister grew up in East Berlin, where your mother still lives. You were both attending universities in West Berlin, but Agnes left in 1960 to visit your sick mother in East Berlin. She has remained there ever since, although you are not sure why. You know that your sister has had to adjust to a much harsher life in East Germany, and you have searched in vain for a way to help her out.

Looking for your sister Agnes Brauer.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

West Berliner (Wessis)

Partner 1

4. **Emanuel Phiberg** _____

You and Dieter Schaffer grew up together as best friends in East Berlin, where you both studied to be car mechanics. Soon after the Berlin Wall went up, Dieter drove a Mercedez-Benz the two of you were repairing for a communist official through the flimsy barrier to West Berlin. You were hoping to follow his lead, but after his escape you were questioned by the Stasi, fired from your post, and questioned regularly about your loyalty to the Communist Party.

Looking for friend your Dieter Schaffer.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

East Berliner (Ossis)

Partner 2

4. **Dieter Schaffer** _____

You and Emanuel Phiberg grew up together as best friends in East Berlin, where you both studied to be car mechanics. Soon after the Berlin Wall went up, you drove a Mercedez-Benz you were both repairing for a communist official through the flimsy barrier to West Berlin, in a feat that made the news. You hoped that Emanuel would follow your lead but he never did, and after a while, thick concrete walls went up to prevent such escapes.

Looking for your friend Emanuel Phiberg.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

West Berliner (Wessis)

Partner 1

5. **Inga Brunt** _____

You and Otto Brunt are cousins. Otto was a diplomat in West Berlin in the 1960s and as such had easy passage in and out of East Berlin. Because his license plates showed he was a diplomat, his car was not likely to be searched. He had heard of many diplomats fetching relatives out of East Berlin by hiding them in their big cars. He tried to rescue you this way, but on the assigned day you fell too ill too travel. Since then, you have had to suffer knowing that you lost your one chance to escape from East Berlin.

Looking for your cousin Otto Brunt.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

East Berliner (Ossis)

Partner 2

5. **Otto Brunt** _____

You and Inga Brunt are cousins. You were a diplomat in West Berlin in the 1960s and as such had easy passage in and out of East Berlin. Because your license plates showed that you were a diplomat, your car was not likely to be searched. You had heard of many diplomats fetching relatives out of East Berlin by hiding them in their big cars. You tried to rescue Inga this way, but on the assigned day she fell too ill too travel. Since then, you have lost your status as a diplomat and have had to suffer knowing that your cousin lost her one chance to escape from East Berlin.

Looking for your cousin Inga Brunt.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

West Berliner (Wessis)

Partner 1

6. **Johanna Kluger** _____

You and Sofie Kluger are sisters, raised in what became East Berlin. Sofie studied in West Berlin and married a Swiss diplomat who obtained identity documents that could be forged to bring East Germans to the West as Swiss citizens. Sofie brought these documents to you and you distributed them to friends. In the meantime, however, you fell in love with a Communist Party official in East Berlin. You decided to stay, marry him, and sever ties with your sister for fear of implicating your husband in escape plots. You are sad to this day that your family was so divided.

Looking for your sister Sofie Kluger.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

East Berliner (Ossis)

Partner 2

6. **Sofie Kluger** _____

You and Johanna Kluger are sisters, raised in what became East Berlin. You studied in West Berlin and married a Swiss diplomat who obtained identity documents that could be forged to bring East Germans to the West as Swiss citizens. You brought these documents to your sister, Johanna, who distributed them to friends. In the meantime, however, Johanna fell in love with a Communist Party official in East Berlin. She decided to stay, marry him, and sever ties with you for fear of implicating her husband in escape plots.

Looking for your sister Johanna Kluger.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

West Berliner (Wessis)

Partner 1

7. **Father of Max Shiffen** _____

Lukas Frist was an engineering student in West Berlin in 1960. He put his engineering skills to use in building an underground tunnel a mere 140 yards under two buildings, connecting East and West Berlin. Max Shiffen, your son, worked on the East Berlin side of the tunnel. He died in an underground accident before the tunnel was ready. When it opened, 24 people came through. There is nothing to compensate for the loss of your son, but you have always wanted to thank Lukas for the help he gave others in their successful bids for freedom.

Looking for Lukas Frist.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

Partner 2

7. **Lukas Frist** _____

You were an engineering student in West Berlin in 1960. You put your engineering skills to use by building an underground tunnel a mere 140 yards under two buildings, connecting East and West Berlin. A man named Max Shiffen worked on the East Berlin side of the tunnel. He died in an underground accident before it was ready. When it opened, 24 people came through. You have always wanted to meet Max's family to thank them for the heroic work of their son.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

Partner 1

8. **Greta Freisen** _____

You are the mother of Angela Freisen. Your daughter left East Germany as a university student with a forged document and never looked backed. You were a Communist from the time of your youth in Hitler's Germany. You are employed by the East German government, and you are proud of the work you have done to bring people free kindergartens, universal healthcare, and subsidized rents and vacations. You are happy to see the Berlin Wall fall, but skeptical about the greater divide in West Berlin between rich and poor. In West Berlin, your daughter remains embarrassed that her mother is an enthusiastic Communist.

Looking for your daughter Angela Freisen.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

Partner 2

8. **Angela Freisen** _____

Greta Friesen, your mother, still lives in East Germany. You left East Germany as a university student with a forged document and never looked back. Greta was a Communist from the time of her youth in Hitler's Germany. She is employed by the East German government, and is proud of the work she has done to bring people free kindergartens, universal healthcare, and subsidized rents and vacations. She is happy to see the Berlin Wall fall but skeptical about the greater divide in West Berlin between rich and poor. Meanwhile, you have been embarrassed that your mother is an enthusiastic Communist.

Looking for your mother Greta Freisen.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

Partner 1

9. **Fritz Koning** _____

You and Hans Koning are cousins who grew up after the wall was built and never thought they would see it come down. In East Germany, you joined a punk rock band in order to express your anger and lack of hope about the future. You were hounded by the Stasi and then sent to an industrial work school to "re-educate" you. Meanwhile, in the 1970s in West Berlin idealistic Hans became a founding member of the Green Party, dedicated to protecting the environment.

Looking for cousin Hans Koning.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

East Berliner (Ossis)

Partner 2

9. **Hans Koning** _____

You and Fritz Koning are cousins who grew up after the wall was built and never thought they would see it come down. Fritz joined a punk rock band to express his anger and lack of hope about the future. He was hounded by the Stasi and then sent to an industrial work school to "re-educate" him. Meanwhile, you remained an idealist, and in the 1970s in West Berlin became a founding member of the Green Party, dedicated to protecting the environment.

Looking for cousin Fritz Koning.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

West Berliner (Wessis)

Partner 1

10. **Krista Evenhold** _____

You and Annemarie Genwalt know each other as athletic competitors at the Olympics. You are a swimmer for East Germany (GDR) and Annemarie for West Germany (GFR). Beginning in 1976, East Germany competed as a separate nation, in some years coming in second only after the U.S.S.R. in overall medals won. This made you proud of your country. Its distinguished record for athletic prowess was tainted, however, by accusations that East German athletes were using performance-enhancing drugs. You would like to swim on a team with Annemarie, if only to prove that you did not use drugs to be a champion.

Looking for athlete Annemarie Genwalt.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

East Berliner (Ossis)

Partner 2

10. **Annemarie Genwalt** _____

You and Krista Evenhold know each other as athletic competitors at the Olympics. Krista is a swimmer for East Germany (GDR) and you for West Germany (GFR). Beginning in 1976, East Germany competed as a separate nation, in some years coming in second only after the U.S.S.R. in overall medals won. Its distinguished record for athletic prowess was tainted, however, by accusations that East German athletes were using performance-enhancing drugs. You would like to eventually swim on a team with Krista, rather than compete against her.

Looking for athlete Krista Evenhold.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

West Berliner (Wessis)

Partner 1

11. **Gunther Kleisenholst** _____

You and Marie Kleisenholst are first cousins. The Berlin Wall divided your families in 1961. Marie works in West Germany's ministry of education, writing materials for state schools about Germany's Nazi past and its responsibility for the Holocaust.

East Berliner (Ossis)

You are a scientist who grew up indoctrinated into the East German position that, as a socialist state allied with the Communists who fought the Nazis, East Germans bear no responsibility for the crimes of the Holocaust. East Germany renounced ties to its Nazi past, styling itself the "anti-fascist rampart" and proclaiming itself the first socialist state on German soil. It has refused to admit the existence of anti-semitism and refused to recognize Israel or reimburse victims of the Holocaust.

Looking for your cousin Marie Kleisenholst.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

Partner 2

11. **Marie Kleisenholst** _____

You and Gunther Kleisenholst are first cousins. The Berlin Wall divided your families in 1961. You work in West Germany's ministry of education writing materials for state schools about Germany's Nazi past and its responsibility for the Holocaust.

West Berliner (Wessis)

Gunther is a scientist who grew up indoctrinated into the East German position that, as a socialist state allied with the Communists who fought the Nazis, East Germans bear no responsibility for the crimes of the Holocaust. East Germany renounced ties to its Nazi past, styling itself the "anti-fascist rampart" and proclaiming itself the first socialist state on German soil. It refused to admit the existence of anti-semitism and has refused to recognize Israel or reimburse victims of the Holocaust. You are excited to see your cousin, but wonder whether his political views will be acceptable to you.

Looking for your cousin Gunther Kleisenholst.

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

Partner 1

12. **Freida Hausen** _____

You work for the Under Secretary of the mayor's office in East Berlin, while Markus Kraus works for the mayor's office in East Berlin. Neither of you ever thought the two Germanys or Berlin itself would ever be reunited. With the possibility of reunification after November 9th, 1989, both parts of Germany are confronted with the practical considerations of unification, from telephone connections to currency to transportation. The reality of German reunification has never occurred to you. What would it mean for you and your colleagues on the other side?

East Berliner (Ossis)

Looking for Undersecretary Kraus

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

Partner 2

12. **Markus Kraus** _____

You work for the mayor's office in West Berlin, while Freida Hausen works for the mayor's office in East Berlin. Neither of you ever thought the two Germanys or Berlin itself would ever be reunited. With the possibility of reunification after November 9th, 1989, both parts of Germany are confronted with the practical considerations of unification, from telephone connections to currency to transportation. The reality of German reunification has never occurred to you. What would it mean for you and your colleagues on the other side?

West Berliner (Wessis)

Looking for Undersecretary Hausen

Age in 1989: _____ Occupation: _____

Personal/political interests: _____

_____

Handout 1: Directions for East and West Berliners

Each pair of East and West Berliners has been assigned a scenario designed to teach the rest of the class about some aspect of life during the Cold War in Berlin or the potential difficulties of German reunification. Each of the stories is unique. Some of you made daring escapes from East Berlin soon after the wall was erected; others of you grew up in the shadow of the wall. In some way, each pair has a tale of separation and endurance to share with each other and with the class.

After the West Berliners and East Berliners reunite, each pair will be interviewed by a reporter for a newspaper. To prepare for the interviewer's questions, you should review the Timeline and Background Essay. Prepare to answer questions posed to you about your personal past as well as your political views, such as: Why do you think the Berlin Wall fell when it did? Who deserves the credit? What will be the consequences?

- To prepare for your roles, make up credible details about your past. Based on the information provided in your Role and Scenario, figure out your age (roughly), as well as a likely occupation, then fill in the blank spaces on the form.
- It is November 9th, 1989. What does this date mean to you? What are your feelings? What are your expectations?
- What is the story each of you has to tell about life in a divided Berlin?
- Since your interview will be "broadcast" on TV, what is the story you want the world to know?

Handout 2: Directions for Journalists

Each journalist will interview two pairs of reuniting East and West Berliners. As the pairs prepare to be interviewed, you should get your interview questions ready. Review the Timeline and Background Essay to help you with this.

Before you begin to interview your pair, give an introduction to the situation, setting, and your role, such as: "We are here on this historic day. My name is Ewald Fenster and I am a reporter for *Die Zeit*, in West Germany. I have with me [introduce the interviewees]…" Begin the interview.

The questions you pose should elicit information that covers the following information.

- Background information about each person in the pair, including age, occupation, and how they know one another.
- The ways in which the Berlin Wall has affected their lives in the past.
- The emotions and feelings the pair is experiencing at this historic moment (November 9th, 1989, Berlin) and why.
- Their analysis of why the Berlin Wall fell at this time.
- Their predictions for the future in light of the fall of the wall. How will it affect their own lives? Germany as a whole? The global community?
- Be prepared to ask follow-up questions.

Document A: Günter Schabowski's Press Conference in the GDR International Press Center

11/09/1989

Schabowski: …

> So, we want… through a number of changes, including the travel law, to [create] the chance, the sovereign decision of the citizens to travel wherever they want. (um) We are naturally (um) concerned that the possibilities of this travel regulation—it is still not in effect, it's only a draft.
>
> A decision was made today, as far as I know (looking toward Labs and Banaschak in hope of confirmation). A recommendation from the Politburo was taken up that we take a passage from the [draft of] travel regulation and put it into effect, that, (um)—as it is called, for better or worse—that regulates permanent exit, leaving the Republic. Since we find it (um) unacceptable that this movement is taking place (um) across the territory of an allied state [Hungary], (um) which is not an easy burden for that country to bear. Therefore (um), we have decided today (um) to implement a regulation that allows every citizen of the German Democratic Republic (um) to (um) leave the GDR through any of the border crossings.

Question: *(many voices)* When does that go into effect?… Without a passport? Without a passport? *(no, no)*—When is that in effect?… *(confusion, voices…)* At what point does the regulation take effect?

Schabowski: What?

Question: At once? When…

Schabowski: *(… scratches his head)* You see, comrades, I was informed today (puts on his glasses as he speaks further), that such an announcement had been (um) distributed earlier today. You should actually have it already. So, *(reading very quickly from the paper)*:

> 1) "Applications for travel abroad by private individuals can now be made without the previously existing requirements (of demonstrating a need to travel or proving familial relationships). The travel authorizations will be issued within a short time. Grounds for denial will only be applied in particular exceptional cases. The responsible departments of passport and registration control in the People's Police district offices in the GDR are instructed to issue visas for permanent exit without delays and without presentation of the existing requirements for permanent exit."

Question: With a passport?

Schabowski: *(um…) (reads:)* "Permanent exit is possible via all GDR border crossings to the FRG. These

changes replace the temporary practice of issuing [travel] authorizations through GDR consulates and permanent exit with a GDR personal identity card via third countries."

(Looks up) (um) I cannot answer the question about passports at this point. *(Looks questioningly at Labs and Banaschak).* That is also a technical question. I don't know, the passports have to … so that everyone has a passport, they first have to be distributed. But we want to…

Banaschak: The substance of the announcement is decisive…

Schabowski: … is the …

Question: When does it come into effect?

Schabowski: *(looks through his papers…)* That comes into effect, according to my information, immediately, without delay *(looking through his papers further).*

Labs: *(quietly)* …without delay.

Beil: *(quietly)* That has to be decided by the Council of Ministers.

Question: *(…many voices…)* You only said the FRG, is the regulation also valid for West Berlin?

Schabowski: *(reading aloud quickly)* "As the Press Office of the Ministry … the Council of Ministers decided that until the Volkskammer implements a corresponding law, this transition regulation will be in effect."

Question: Does this also apply for West Berlin? You only mentioned the FRG.

Schabowski: *(shrugs his shoulders, frowns, looks at his papers)* So … *(pause)*, um hmmm *(reads aloud:)* "Permanent exit can take place via all border crossings from the GDR to the FRG and West Berlin, respectively."

Question: Another question also: does that mean that effective immediately, GDR citizens—Christoph Janowski, Voice of America—does that mean that effective immediately, all GDR citizens cannot emigrate via Czechoslovakia or Poland?

Schabowski: No, that is not addressed at all. We hope instead that the movement will (um) regulate itself in this manner, as we are trying to.

Question: *(many voices, incomprehensible question).*

Schabowski: I haven't heard anything to the contrary.

Question: *(many voices, incomprehensible).*

Schabowski: I haven't heard anything to the contrary.

Question: *(many voices, incomprehensible).*

Schabowski: I haven't heard anything to the contrary. I'm expressing myself so carefully because I'm not up to date on this question, but just before I came over here I was given this information.

(Several journalists hurry from the room).

Frage: Mr. Schabowski, what is going to happen to the Berlin Wall now?

Schabowski: It has been brought to my attention that it is 7:00 P.M. That has to be the last question. Thank you for your understanding…*

* Source: Transcript of television broadcast. Translated for CWIHP by Howard Sargeant. The Wilson Center Cold War International History Project. http://legacy.wilsoncenter.org/va2/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=home.document&identifier=5034D7FF-96B6-175C-98E17DFE653CFD6F&sort=rights&item=cwihp

Document B: Photo of Press Conference

Photo of the press conference on November 9th, 1989 by Günter Schabowski (seated on stage, second from right) and other East German officials.

Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1989-1109-030 / Lehmann, Thomas / CC-BY-SA.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_183-1989-1109-030%2C_Berlin%2C_Schabowski_auf_Pressekonferenz.jpg

The End of Apartheid, 1990

Overview

From 1948 through the 1980s, South Africa was governed by the National Party, which was dominated by Afrikaners—descendants of Dutch colonizers who arrived in South Africa beginning in the 17th century. In alliance with English-speaking whites, the National Party instituted a formal policy of separation, or "apartheid," for four groups of designated "races": whites, Indians, "coloureds" (mixed race), and blacks. The division of land, resources, and services amongst these groups was intended to keep whites in control of South Africa's economy and government while disenfranchising everyone else. The National Party also outlawed organizations that fought apartheid, including the African National Congress, whose leader, Nelson Mandela, was sentenced to life in prison in 1964. By the mid-1980s, a new generation of protesters from within South Africa kept up the struggle and the international community increasingly withdrew its support from the apartheid regime. However, few imagined that the end of apartheid would come peacefully, and that by 1994 South Africa's newly-elected president would be Nelson Mandela himself.

On Day 1 and Day 2 of this Activator, students learn about apartheid and participate in a simulation in which the laws of apartheid are applied to four randomly selected groups of students. On Day 3, they debrief and prepare for their assigned roles for Day 4, a commemoration of Nelson Mandela's life. In the commemoration, students role-play key players in Mandela's "Long Walk to Freedom" as they analyze different aspects of his life in roundtable discussions. Sources include selected quotations from Mandela's autobiography. A document analysis of Mandela's inaugural speech concludes the unit.

Set-up Directions

Time Required

Up to 4 classes of instruction

Implementing both activities (the Simulation of Apartheid Laws and the Commemoration of Nelson Mandela's Life) with debriefings takes four days. You can also use either one as a stand-alone activity.

Roles

For Day 1 and Day 2 the class is divided into the four "racial" groups on a random basis.

- Groups 1, 2, and 3 represent residents of townships or homelands (Bantustans).
- Group 4 role-plays the police.

Assign role A in all four groups to a student who shows leadership and organizational ability. Other roles within each group will be determined by the students themselves.

On Day 3 and Day 4, students work in pairs to represent one of 17 key players in Nelson Mandela's life. In each pair, Student A writes and presents an introduction to the key player while Student B role-plays the key player.

Handouts

All students should have copies of the **Background Essay** and **Timeline**. For Day 1 and Day 2, duplicate **Handouts 1**, **2**, **3**, and **4** so that members of each of the four groups has the proper handout for their assigned role: **Handout 1** goes to Sophiatown residents, **Handout 2** to residents of Bophuthatswana Bantustan, **Handout 3** to residents of Transkei, and **Handout 4** to the South African police.

For Day 3:

- *Optional:* **Handout 5: Pro and Con Charts** (helps students to debrief the simulation).
- **Document Set 1A: Selected Quotations from Nelson Mandela's Autobiography**—duplicate it for all students, project it in class for the debriefing, or make it available on a class website.
- **Handout 6: Biography of Nelson Mandela**. Each pair of students should receive a copy on Day 3. Alternatively, you can read it aloud or post it online.
- **Handout 7: Assignment Chart of Key Players in Nelson Mandela's Life** (duplicate for all students).
- **Handout 8: How to Prepare for the Commemoration of Nelson Mandela's Life** (duplicate for all students).
- *Optional:* **Handout 9: Questions on Nelson Mandela's Inaugural Speech.**
- **Document 2A: Nelson Mandela's Inaugural Speech** (make available for all students to read in one form or another).

Props

- Materials for making protest signs.
- For Day 2: Colored armbands or different colored plaques (one for each "race") for students to wear around their necks.
- Days 3 and 4: Name plaques for the Key Players at the Commemoration.

Schematic

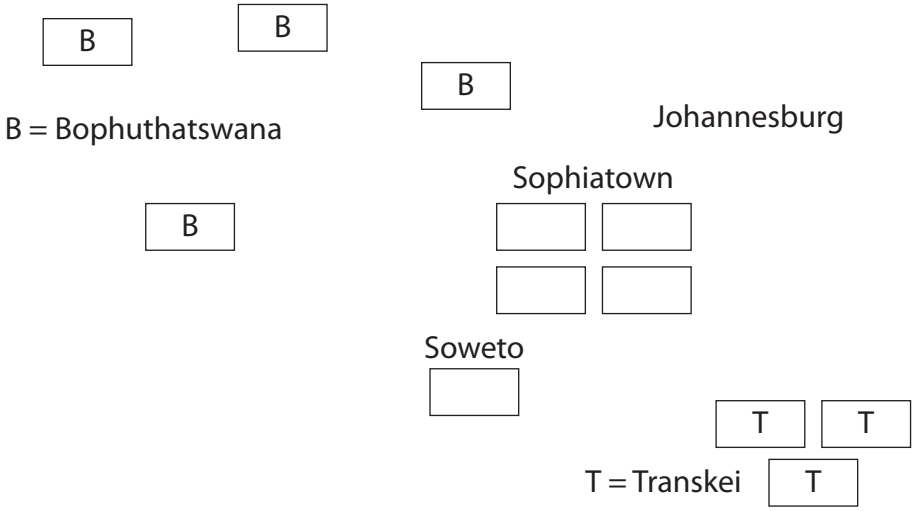
For Day 1

Project the map of Apartheid-era South Africa (page 170) on one wall. Set up the room so that approximately 87% is left empty to represent the portion of South Africa allotted to whites.

Students' desks will represent the Bantustans (homelands) of Bophuthatswana and Transkei and the township of Sophiatown. Label each desk with a sign so students know where to sit.

Apartheid signs like Image 2 should be posted in all the "white" areas and especially around Johannesburg.

Play South African protest music in the background as students enter the room, or at other times during the simulation.



Resources

Books

- Beinart, William, *Twentieth Century South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Mandela, Nelson, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Little Brown, 1995.
- Thompson, Leonard, *A History of South Africa*. Yale University Press, 2000.
- Sampson, Anthony, *Mandela: The Authorized Biography*. Vintage, 2000.
- Novels, plays and memoirs by South African writers Andre Brink, J.M. Coetzee, Athol Fugard, Nadine Gordimer, Mark Mathabane.

Film

- *A World Apart,* 1988, Atlantic Releasing Co. PG. Barbara Hershey stars as activist Ruth First in this film by her daughter.
- *Cry the Beloved Country*. 2011. Echo Bridge Home Entertainment. PG. Starring James Earl Jones.
- *Inviticus*, 2009. Warner Home Video. Directed by Clint Eastwood, starring Morgan Freeman as Mandela. PG.
- *The Long Walk of Nelson Mandela*. Frontline. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/

Music

- *Amandla! A Revolution in Four- Part Harmony.* ATO records. (Also a film, rated PG-13 released by Lion's Gate)
- *Have you Heard from Johannesburg*, Independent Lens, Soundtrack of a Revolution http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/have-you-heard-from-johannesburg/soundtrack.html
- *This Land Is Mine: South African Freedom Songs*, various artists, 1965 Folkways http://www.folkways.si.edu/search/Thinantsha
- "Recorded by South African refugees, *This Land Is Mine: South African Freedom Songs* unites people of all races in the struggle for a South Africa free from apartheid." First composed in the 1950s in conjunction with the South African Liberation Movement, the songs express "the aspirations and above all the fighting spirit of South Africa's freedom fighters."
- *South Africa, Free At Last: The Freedom Songs of South Africa and the Civil Rights Movement in America*. Voices of the Civil Rights Movement: Black American Freedom Songs 1960–1966. http://www.folkways.si.edu/voices-of-the-civil-rights-movement-black-american-freedom-songs-1960-1966/african-american-music-documentary- struggle-protest/album/smithsonian

Websites

- *Apartheid Museum*, Johannesburg. http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/
- *South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy*. Michigan State University. http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/index.php (Includes biographies.)
- *Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory*. http://www.nelsonmandela.org/
- *South African History Online: towards a people's history.* http://www.sahistory.org.za/

Lesson Plan

Day 1

Simulation of Apartheid Laws

Before Day 1, assign students to read the Background Essay up through "Apartheid Under Siege."

Before students enter the classroom, ask them to line up outside the door. Divide the class randomly in four groups. Distribute **Handout 1** (residents of Sophiatown) to Group 1, **Handout 2** (residents of Bophuthatswana) to Group 2, **Handout 3** (residents of Transkei) to Group 3, and **Handout 4** (Police and Apartheid Laws) to Group 4. Explain that students have been assigned to their group roles randomly. Next, select from each of the first three groups a student who has demonstrated leadership ability to be "Resident A." For Group 4, the leader will be "Police Officer A."

Explain what constituency of South Africa each group represents. The only white group is Group 4, the police. All residents of Bantustans are considered to be blacks. Residents of Sophiatown represent other racial groups as defined by apartheid (black, Coloured, Indian).

Crowd all but members of Group 4 onto the 13% restricted area of the classroom. Ask Group 4 (the police) to sit wherever they like.

Project or show **Image 1: Map of Apartheid South Africa** (page 170) to the class. Hold a general discussion in which you focus on the role of the Bantustans (the "homelands") in apartheid South Africa. Students should understand why black South Africans were forced onto these homelands. Discuss the following:

- The primary goal was to isolate ethnic/racial groups in order to prevent whites from coming into contact with members of other ethnic/racial groups.
- Whites wanted the most valuable parts of the country, as well as the ability to use other groups as labor.
- Another purpose was to divide and conquer ethnic groups by manipulating tribal affiliations (the Bantustans), thus dividing black Africans from one another.
- What does the landmass of a Bantustan like Bophuthatswana look like? (Note its many separated parts). Is it designed to function effectively as a nation?

Next, have each group meet separately, with Resident A (or Police Officer A for Group 4) taking a leadership role. Distribute **Handouts 1**, **2**, **3**, and **4** to the appropriate groups. Students should now follow their handouts.

Give students the rest of class to prepare in their groups.

Teaching tip
Optional: Implement the following exercise before you begin the simulation. Explain that whites held 87% of the territory of South Africa but only represented approximately 20% of the population. Measure the classroom with students to determine its area. Ask students to figure out how many square feet equals 87% of the total area. Mark off the remaining space (13%) in the least desirable part of the classroom (for example, away from the windows and door). Explain that the non-white population (representing at least 80% of the students) will be forced to live in this remaining space.

Bright Idea
Give Group D (the police) time to meet before making arrests so that they can decide which apartheid law is most applicable to a given situation.

Lesson Plan

Day 2

Send all groups to their assigned spaces as per the Schematic. Explain that you will call out the order of "what happens when" during the simulation.

Explain that although the simulation is about the corrosive effects of dividing people on the basis of race, no racial epithets can be used by any students during the simulation.

Direct the simulation according to the following sequence, while encouraging students to engage in impromptu, interactive dialogue based on the information at hand.

Option: If you have more time, ask students to research at greater length their Bantustan, or Sophiatown. They can find and post images of their assigned area. Group 4 can investigate actual legal cases that were waged against apartheid laws relating to Sophiatown, Sharpeville, or the Rivonia trial that sent Nelson Mandela to prison.

Sophiatown

Call on Group 1 (Sophiatown). Ask Resident A to rise to describe Sophiatown to the rest of the class.

Ask all members of Group 4 to encircle Sophiatown. Ask Police Officer A to inform Sophiatown residents about The Natives Resettlement Act, Act No. 19 (1954).

Police Officer A should then question Resident B and arrest and "remove" him or her, explaining the legal reasons why. Police Officer B should do the same with Resident C. The officers will then bring these residents to their assigned spaces.

Sophiatown residents should then rise to protest with signs and chants.

Police Officer A should then question Resident D about the meaning of the protest and then provide justification for arresting the resident and all the protesters.

The police will now arrest the remainder of the residents and take them to "jail" in Johannesburg.

Bophuthatswana

Call on Group 2 (Bophuthatswana). Ask Resident A to describe Bophuthatswana to the rest of the class. Point out that Bophuthatswana will get more crowded as the police force other people onto it. Ask a student who has been removed to Bophuthatswana to describe how he/she feels and how he/she will earn a living now. Call on Resident B of Bophuthatswana to leave the Bantustan and head to the mines outside of Johannesburg.

Ask Officer C to question this resident and ask for his or her passbook. Have the officer explain what information is missing from the passbook, and under what laws the resident can be arrested. The resident should then be brought to jail.

Call on all residents of Bophuhatswana to stage their protest with posters and chants. Ask Officer D to question Resident C (the leader of the protest) about the reasons for the protest. Afterwards, Officer D arrests Resident C.

Transkei

Call on Group 3 (Transkei). Ask Resident A to describe Transkei to the rest of the class. Point out that Transkei, like Bophuthatswana, will get more crowded as the police force other people into it.

Call on Officer E to interrogate Resident B as to why Resident B is preparing to leave Transkei. Officer E should ask Resident B for his or her passbook; who has granted Resident B permission to live elsewhere?

Call on Officer F to interrogate Resident C about the reasons for the protest. Afterwards, Officer F arrests Resident C.

Lesson Plan

Day 3

Debrief the Simulation and Prepare for the Commemoration

Debrief the simulation by asking students how it made them feel, and what they learned about apartheid from it.

Project **Image 3** (page 171), which shows the relationship of Johannesburg to Soweto, where most residents of Sophiatown were taken. There, they were placed in areas reserved for their "race": Coloured, Indian, and black. As many as 2000 armed policemen descended on Sophiatown at a time to implement the removal, which took place over a number of years, beginning in 1954.

Project **Image 4** (page 172), which shows the destruction of Sophiatown. It then became a whites-only area and was renamed "Triumph" by the apartheid regime. Ask students to note the foundations of houses that were destroyed.

Project **Image 5** (page 173), which shows Soweto. Students should compare the type of housing representative of Sophiatown to that of Soweto. Point out that Soweto would be the site of the next great uprising against apartheid: the student revolt of 1976.

Discuss the three controversial questions below. Distribute **Handout 5** (Pro and Con T-Charts) so that students can record their personal responses and/or use them to record small-group or whole-class discussions (as you wish).

1. Based on what students have learned from the simulation, do they believe that the African National Congress can win the struggle against apartheid using only nonviolent means? Should it turn toward violent means? Why or why not?

2. The simulation included members of all four racial categories as defined by the apartheid regime. Do students believe that the ANC should include white activists who deplored the apartheid regime? Should it include or ally with Coloured and Indian activists? Conversely, should the ANC be restricted only to those labeled "black" by the apartheid regime? Why or why not?

3. Should members of any race who were members of the Communist Party be invited to work with the ANC in the anti-apartheid struggle? Why or why not?

Remind students that Nelson Mandela was born in 1918 and grew up in a family with royal tribal lineage in the Transkei. After receiving an elite education, he was

expected to return home to an arranged marriage, but instead ran away and became a lawyer and activist working for the African National Congress (ANC).

Explain that Nelson Mandela had to advocate against policies such as the ones just discussed by the class.

Once students have reached their own conclusions about the three questions, distribute **Document Set 1A: Select Quotations from Nelson Mandela** then do the following:

- Compare students' responses with Mandela's responses to the same issues. Using the quotations, ask students to analyze how Mandela's views changed over time. Based on the quotations, what do students expect his course of action would be? (Note: the quotations are taken from his autobiography and appear in chronological order).
- Did a peaceful end to apartheid look promising in the 1960s and 1970s? Why or why not? Discuss what happened in Soweto in 1976, as well as the creation of the armed unit of the ANC, Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto we Sizwe), in 1961.
- Explain that apartheid did end peacefully, thanks to Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk. Next, tell students that they are going to learn about Nelson Mandela from the people who worked with him—and sometimes against him—in the struggle to end apartheid.

  For a class size of 30, have students work in pairs. Assign each pair one of the 17 Key Players who were important in the course of Mandela's lifetime.

  Student A in the pair will introduce the Key Player who will be portrayed by Student B at a commemoration honoring Nelson Mandela.

  Distribute **Handout 6: Biography of Nelson Mandela** to all students in the class. Alternatively, read it out loud or post it on a website. Also distribute to all 30 students **Handout 7: Assignment Chart of Key Players**, which contains blurbs about the Key Players along with Focus Questions for each Key Player to answer at the commemoration. You will play the moderator at the commemoration. Allow time in or out of class for students to research their roles and how their Key Player made an impact on Mandela's life.

  Distribute to all students **Handout 8: How to Prepare for a Commemoration of Nelson Mandela's Life**. Student A of each pair will write an "introduction to our honored guest" that explains to the audience the Key Player's role in the struggle to end apartheid.

  Student B (the Key Player) will answer questions posed by the moderator and reflect on how the Key Player's life intersected with Mandela's.

Teaching tip
Option: For a class of 17 students or fewer, assign each class member a Key Player to role-play. Students can write blurbs about themselves as Key Players and publish them in a "flyer" for the commemoration.

Lesson Plan

Day 4

The Commemoration

Assign students to finish reading the **Background Essay** before Day 4. Students should also have their **Timeline**s available.

You will play the role of the moderator. Have student pairs sit together.

Make a brief speech to the class-cum-audience at the commemoration, similar to the one below.

Read or say

> We are here today to honor one of the most remarkable figures of the 20th century: Nelson Mandela. Before his release from prison in 1990 at the age of 72, it was impossible to imagine a peaceful end to apartheid—or indeed any end at all. How did he achieve the remarkable feat of going from a prisoner sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 to becoming South Africa's president? What personal sacrifices did he make to effect this change? Who helped along the way? How did he grow and change over the long course of this heroic struggle? Here with us today is a distinguished group of people who made history with him. They will share with us their memories and impressions of this remarkable man.

Begin with the focus questions about Mandela's youth. Call to the front of the class the Key Players who will speak on this topic. For each pair, ask Student A to introduce Student B. Use the Focus Questions and Quotations from Mandela as your guide. Also pose other follow-up questions as the discussion unfolds. Explain that the goal is to get multiple viewpoints on Mandela; the speakers need not agree. End by asking for responses to the quotation from Mandela himself.

Repeat this process for the other Focus Question topics, calling up the other Key Players. (Some Key Players get called up twice. If they have already been introduced, skip introductions on the second round).

Debriefing

Implement the following activities and/or ask the following questions:

- How important were the Key Players to ending apartheid? Could Nelson Mandela have accomplished this goal on his own?
- Could apartheid have ended peacefully without Nelson Mandela? Why or why not?

- Ask the Key Players to arrange themselves in a line from 1 to 15, with "1" being the person who most helped to end apartheid and "15" the person who helped least, or resisted ending it.
- What are the key problems still facing South Africa today?
- Was the Truth and Reconciliation Committee effective in helping all South Africans to move beyond the apartheid era? Why or why not?
- Distribute, project, or read out loud **Document 2A: Nelson Mandela's Inauguration Speech**.

Teaching tip
Option: Distribute **Handout 9: Analyzing Mandela's Inauguration Speech**

Handout 9: Answer Key

- What deductions can you make about who is in the audience at Mandela's inauguration? What evidence do you have? (The audience is international as well as South African. Great Britain was represented by Prince Philip).
- Why is the international community an important component of the event? (The international community had ostracized apartheid South Africa. Now, South Africa is welcomed back into the world community. Furthermore, Mandela asks the international community to "stand by us" as South Africa moves forward).
- Does Mandela make distinctions between the native people of South Africa and those whose ancestors were colonizers? (No. He says that like the beautiful trees of the land they love, everyone has deep roots to the soil of the country. His goal is to unify the new nation based on equality).
- Who had suffered under apartheid? (Mandela acknowledges that all South Africans suffered. He does not privilege the victims, but portrays the suffering as a national calamity).
- What forms of equality does Mandela want the new South Africa to embody? (He refers to gender equality as well as racial equality).
- This is not a religious speech, but there are phrases that have Biblical cadences. Why do you think he includes them? ("The time for the healing of the wounds has come… The time to build is upon us" echoes Ecclesiastes 3.3. These phrases have a healing purpose).
- Do any phrases remind you of speeches made by U.S. presidents or patriotic songs you know? ("We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines…who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free" echoes the Gettysburg Address. "Let there be justice for all. Let there be peace for all" echoes "Let freedom reign").
- Why does Mandela conclude with "God Bless Africa" instead of "God Bless South Africa?" ("God Bless Africa" is an anthem, "Nkosi Sikelel iAfrica," originally written in Xhosa in 1897 by Enoch Sontonga. It has been adopted as the national anthem by other African countries as well).

Background Essay

Introduction

When the National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948, it pledged to institute the racial policies known as apartheid, or "apartness." Under apartheid, the population of South Africa was officially divided into four categories based on "race." These groups reflected the colonial history of South Africa. The first Europeans to colonize South Africa were the Dutch, who arrived in 1652. Dutch settlements were later conquered by England. Descendants of the Dutch, known as Afrikaners (or Boers, meaning "farmers"), spoke a version of Dutch also known as "Afrikaner." Afrikaners, along with descendants from English-speaking Great Britain, were classified as "White." The vibrant and diverse indigenous African population, regardless of tribal affiliation or cultural background, was classified as "Black.'' "Indian" referred to people who traced their heritage to India. Many Indians had been brought to South Africa as indentured labor in the 19th century. The fourth category was "Coloured," a classification used for people whose ancestry was mixed. Afrikaners led the National Party and won the support of English-speaking whites to implement apartheid. Its purpose was to give whites, representing 20% of the population, control of the government and economy, while ensuring that they had access to a continuous supply of cheap black labor.

The Laws of Apartheid

The National Party started to implement apartheid legislation upon taking office in 1948. The laws built on racist policies already in place, but extended them to a degree unparalleled in any other country. The basis of apartheid was the Population Registration Act. It placed everyone in a category according to racial "characteristics." Later, the government passed laws forcing people in each category to live in a certain area. Once designated "Black," a person was assigned to a Bantustan, or "homeland," whether or not they had ever lived there. Ten Bantustans were created, representing 13% of the land of South Africa, most in the least profitable areas of the country. This meant that to support their families, workers living in the Bantustans had to seek employment elsewhere. To move out of one's designated area, a person had to show a pass to the police. Hundreds of thousands of non-whites a year were arrested for not having a proper pass, for which they could be fined, jailed, or worse. Up until apartheid, the township of Sophiatown had been a vibrant urban center with a mixed population. It was razed to the ground and 50,000 residents were forcibly removed elsewhere—most to Soweto. An all-white city was built in its place. Non-white families could be divided if the state decided that married partners were from different "races." Mixed marriages were forbidden. In any case, it was difficult for residents of the Bantustans to maintain a stable family life. Blacks who worked in mines and other white-owned businesses far from their homelands could only return there once or twice a year.

Every aspect of life in South Africa was segregated according to racial categories, including cinemas, hospitals, parks, and buses. Sports teams were completely segregated and teams of different races were not allowed to compete against each other. The school system made no pretense that separate was "equal"; instead, it inhibited the education of blacks by designing their schools to only prepare them for manual labor. There were separate universities for each racial group, but only a handful for blacks. In this rigidly segregated world, most whites never knew what life was like outside their own communities. While they lived in comfortable and even luxurious settings by international standards, residents of the Bantustans lived in overcrowded shacks without running water or electricity.

By the 1970s, the apartheid government justified the existence of the Bantustans by claiming that they were really separate countries that would eventually gain autonomy. It cultivated relationships with tribal leaders in an attempt to make them beholden to the apartheid regime. As a consequence of the government claiming that the Bantustans were countries, blacks lost their rights to South African citizenship. The international community refused to buy into this system, and it denied recognition to the four Bantustans deemed ready for autonomy.

Resistance to Apartheid

In the early 1950s, the African National Congress (ANC)—a black-led organization founded to respond to apartheid—held massive strikes, boycotts, and other means of peaceful protest. From its inception, the ANC welcomed all South Africans who were willing to fight apartheid, including communists and whites. In 1959, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) broke away from ANC to form a protest organization for blacks only. There were also some white groups that had earlier protested against apartheid. For example, in 1955, white women organized the Black Sash, in which they wore black sashes as a visible sign that they opposed the system.

At first, anti-apartheid protests used nonviolent tactics. These broke down, however, after the massacre at Sharpeville in 1960. Thousands of blacks had gone there to peacefully protest the pass laws by assembling without their passbooks, therefore making themselves liable to be arrested. Instead of issuing arrests, the police shot into the crowd indiscriminately, killing 69 people. No one was ever prosecuted. After Sharpeville, the South African government banned ANC and the PAC and forbade public meetings entirely. As a consequence, both organizations went underground and began to strategize other means to overthrow apartheid.

International Condemnation of Apartheid

The international community at first was slow to condemn apartheid for several reasons. One was the speculation that communist regimes would come to power in recently liberated African countries, like Angola (1975). South Africa claimed that anti-apartheid groups were spreading communist propaganda, and that it was holding up the fight against the spread of communism on the African continent. As the Cold War waned, these arguments held less sway. South Africa was also a wealthy country. Numerous worldwide industries relied on South Africa's vast array of exported minerals, including chromium, manganese, and phosphates, not to mention its gold and diamond reserves. Huge British and American companies, like Barclay's Bank and IBM, had their own branches in South Africa. Some of them claimed that foreign investment would improve the life of South Africa's underclasses, even under the apartheid regime.

However, after Sharpeville, the international community took a strong stand against apartheid. In 1971, the United Nations condemned the homelands policy, and in 1977 it issued a mandatory arms embargo against the apartheid regime. South Africa was also banned from participating in the Olympics. By the 1980s, many U.S. universities refused to hold stock in businesses with branches in South Africa, and gradually, international businesses pulled out. These strategies isolated South Africa from the world community and took a great toll on its economy.

Apartheid Under Siege

By the mid-1980s, the apartheid regime, led by president P.W. Botha, was under siege. It used state-of-emergency legislation to give every police officer the power to make arrests without a warrant. Protest meetings were banned, as was press coverage of unrest. In addition, the economy was in decline. The policy of keeping blacks undereducated had backfired because most did not have the training to contribute to a

diversified economy. Lack of employment meant that blacks could not make the purchases needed to keep South African companies profitable. Apartheid was also abysmally inefficient, with layers of bureaucracy needed to administer four sets of race-based laws in all areas of society. Something had to change, but in the 1980s it was hard to imagine a peaceful end to apartheid. What would impel whites (by now only 15% of the population) to give up their privileged position and become a small minority in a country dominated by blacks? President Botha responded by giving Coloureds and Indians representation in the government, but not blacks. This "divide and conquer" strategy failed to win much Indian or Coloured support. Botha also lifted some apartheid laws, but at the same time further empowered the police. Unofficially, he began to hold dialogues with ANC members. Most importantly, Botha moved ANC leader Nelson Mandela from imprisonment on Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison, near Cape Town. He offered Mandela his freedom, with the condition that he abstain from politics. Mandela refused.

Mandela and De Klerk

Nelson Mandela was the most famous ANC political prisoner in South Africa, and the unofficial leader of the resistance movement. He was born in 1918 and grew up as a royal member of the Xhosa tribe, groomed to provide counsel to its rulers. From this early training, he understood the importance of building consensus to solve problems. His mother sent him to Healdtown boarding school, after which he attended Fort Hare University. At the time, Fort Hare was forced to embrace apartheid policies, and when Mandela led protests, he was asked to leave. He managed to earn a law degree while in and out of prison, via correspondence course work.

In 1943, Mandela joined the ANC, and a year later he formed its Youth League with Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu. After the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, Mandela became convinced that nonviolent tactics would not work in South Africa. Thus, in 1961 he founded MK (the initials for "Spear of the Nation"), for which he raised funds and planned sabotage campaigns against the South African government. MK successfully bombed many buildings, including power facilities. Subsequently, Mandela went into hiding for many months, but eventually faced charges at the Rivonia Trial, during which he justified the use of violence against the oppression of apartheid. He was convicted of sabotage and treason. In 1964, at the age of 46, Mandela began serving his life sentence. He spent 27 years of his life in prison before being freed in 1990 by Botha's successor, F. W. de Klerk.

De Klerk came from a prominent Afrikaner family that had long been involved in politics. When he came to office, no one expected him to end apartheid altogether, but on taking office he could see no other viable way out of a deteriorating situation for all South Africans. First, he lifted the ban on the ANC, the PAC, the Communist Party, trade unions, and other opposition groups. These changes convinced Mandela that De Klerk was serious about ending apartheid. Subsequently, De Klerk was willing to free Mandela without conditions.

Even with the good will of De Klerk and Mandela, peaceful negotiation was not a forgone conclusion. There remained white South Africans opposed to ending apartheid, including members of the Conservative Party, the police, and the armed forces, some of whom were willing to use violence. A black political party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IPF), also posed serious impediments. Its leader was Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ruler of one of the homelands, the Bantustan of KwaZulu-Natal. He was in favor of ending apartheid and opposed the use of violence. However, he had also profited by allying the homeland he ruled with the apartheid regime, which had promised to establish an independent KwaZulu-Natal. In the new South Africa, the Bantustans were to be dismantled, thus diminishing Buthelizi's power.

Fighting between Inkatha and ANC forces threatened to derail peaceful rapprochement. Beyond that, the ANC accused factions within De Klerk's government of actually aiding infighting among black Africans to subvert peaceful negotiation. The descent into violence was arrested, however, by Mandela's personal plea for peaceful negotiations. Finally, South Africa could move forward.

Writing a New Constitution

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa was established to write an interim constitution. It was composed of delegations from all political parties. The interim constitution would guide elections for a Constituent Assembly, which would then write the final constitution. Here, Mandela and De Klerk came into conflict. It was De Klerk's goal to implement a system of checks and balances in order to safeguard power for whites in the new constitution. Mandela held out for flat-out majority rule, but conceded on "sunset clauses" which honored the contracts of whites working for the old government, until they expired. This helped De Klerk to win the support of white South Africans who feared losing their hold on power. While Mandela never sacrificed the ultimate goal of majority rule, compromise along the way saved the day.

In 1994, the ANC won a majority of seats in the new Constituent Assembly and Nelson Mandela was elected president of South Africa, a post he held until he retired at age 80 in 1999. First and foremost, Mandela had to unite the country. As a symbolic gesture, he donned the uniform of South Africa's rugby team after it won the World Cup, even though the team had no black players. He also visited the home of his former Robben Island jailor, and even paid courtesy calls to leading Afrikaner politicians who had resisted change. In 1996, South Africa enacted a permanent constitution and also set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to help South Africa confront its apartheid past. The commission dealt with three issues: gross human rights violations, amnesty, and reparations for victims. The Commission, led by Bishop Desmond Tutu, was color-blind in its application of legal principles. Beyond these issues, it was crucial to the ultimate success of South Africa that the state find the means to raise the educational level of its black citizens and to equalize the standard of living for all South Africans.

Timeline

1910	Union of South Africa created by Great Britain; it includes former British and Afrikaner colonies. Only whites can be members of the parliament.
1912	The predecessor of the African National Congress is formed to fight institutionalized racism in South Africa.
1913	The Natives Land Act confines African landownership to specified rural "reserves." Over time, the land given to people of native African descent is limited to 13% of South Africa. By law, Africans could not buy or lease land from non-Africans outside their reserves.
1923	The Natives Act limits blacks to certain residential areas of cities. Blacks must carry passes to stay in cities (the "pass laws").
1944	Mandela and others form the more militant ANC Youth League. It spearheads strikes, protests, and boycotts against racist laws.
1948	**The National Party, dominated by Afrikaners, wins power and the official system of apartheid begins.**
1949	The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act forbids interracial marriages.
1950	The Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act establish racial categories and require people to live only among their classified "race." Under these laws many family members get separated from one another. Under the Immorality Amendment Act, people of mixed races are not allowed to reside together, which made it possible for the government to segregate the different races.
1952	The ANC and its allied groups organize massive peaceful resistance to apartheid. In turn, the government outlaws protests, and fines, arrests, flogs, and imprisons people who disobey.
1953	The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act enforces segregation of all public facilities. The Bantu Education Act mandates racial segregation in schools. Black schools are intentionally kept inferior to white schools.
1954	The Native Resettlement Act gives the government the power to force blacks to "resettle" in their "homelands," known as Bantustans. Sophiatown, an interracial and vibrant section of Johannesburg, is razed to the ground and its residents forcibly removed.
1959	The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act creates black "homelands" with the pretense that these will eventually become self-governing entities.
1960	The Sharpeville massacre occurs, in which white police kill peaceful protesters. The government bans the ANC, the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress), and other organizations.

1961	The ANC moves beyond nonviolent tactics. The armed group, Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto we Sizwe), is founded, and targets government facilities for acts of sabotage.
1964	In the Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela is charged with high treason and jailed for life.
1970	The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act strips blacks of their right to South African citizenship under the pretense that they are now citizens of their "homelands."
1983	A parliament with three chambers is created—one for whites, one for Coloureds, and a third for Indians. Many Coloureds and Indians resist. Blacks have no representation in parliament.
1973	Workers and students strike in Durban.
1976	Black high school students riot in Soweto to protest a law that forces them to study in Afrikaner rather than in their native languages. Police open fire and kill over 600 of the protesters—134 of them under the age of 18.
1977	The UN passes an embargo on arms sales to South Africa.
1988	President P.W. Botha moves Mandela from Robben Island to a prison outside Cape Town and allows him to have visitors. Some apartheid laws are abolished but protests are still forbidden.
1989	President F. W. de Klerk begins to dismantle the apartheid laws.
1990	**Apartheid officially ends.** The ANC and other political parties are legalized, and Mandela is set free.
1992	Violence from all sides threatens negotiations to form a new constitution. In a referendum, white South Africans vote to continue negotiations to form a new constitution without apartheid.
1993	Mandela and De Klerk win the Nobel Peace Prize.
1994	The ANC is the winner in South Africa's first general election. Mandela becomes president. International sanctions against South Africa are lifted.
1995	The Truth and Reconciliation Commission begins investigations.
1996	South Africa enacts a permanent constitution.
1999	Mandela leaves office. He is succeeded by ANC leader Thabo Mbeki.

Handout 1: Sophiatown

You live in Sophiatown, a township within Greater Johannesburg that is referred to as "Sof'town" by locals. Because of its unique history, Sophiatown was one of the few places where blacks were allowed to own and rent out housing. It was a thriving mixed community consisting of blacks, whites, people of mixed races, along with people of Indian and Chinese descent. These cultural crosscurrents made Sof'town a center for artists, writers, and especially musicians who were experimenting with musical forms in the 1940s and 1950s. While American jazz, swing, and blues made their impact, local musicians blended imported sounds with uniquely African melodies to create "Tsaba-tsaba" and "kwela." Musicians like Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela, who later became world-famous, originally played in Sophiatown. Architecturally, too, Sophiatown was a varied environment, ranging from fine brick houses to shanties with tin roofs, unlike the cookie-cutter housing of other suburbs. However, as the white communities of Johannesburg expanded, the government looked for ways to keep Johannesburg strictly "lily white" and to end this "eyesore" of the white South African urban landscape.

One strategy the government used was to enforce the newly passed Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, which banned people of mixed races from living side by side, as they did in Sophiatown. When the government moved in to forcibly resettle people, Sophiatown became a cauldron of protest led by Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress, as well as white leaders like Ruth First and Father Trevor Huddleston.

Discuss the following as a group:

- Are you pleased with where you are living? Why or why not?
- What does your group think would be the best way to protest the removal of residents from Sophiatown? Plan at least two strategies.

Assign members of your group the following roles:

- Resident A: Read out loud the description of Sophiatown to your group, and assign roles to everyone in it. You will present to the rest of the class basic information about who lives in Sophiatown, its cultural life, and how you like living there.
- Resident B: You are a person of Indian descent married to someone who is coloured (a person of mixed descent). You have two children. Make and show your Classification Certificate (see next page). When asked by the police, explain the racial classification of other members of your family.
- Resident C: You are an African whose native language is Tswana. You grew up in Sophiatown. Your spouse is Coloured (a person of mixed descent). Make your Classification Certificate (see next page). When asked by the police, describe the racial classification of other members of your family.
- Resident D: You are the organizer of a protest. Write a protest chant for your group. When the police ask you, explain the purpose of your protest, and the goals you hope to achieve.
- All other residents: Make protest signs.

BI-26

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID – AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

_____
Today's Date (YYYY-MM-DD)

Sy Ed., Prof., Dr., Ds., Mnr., Mev., Mej.
The Hon., Prof., Dr., Rev., Mr., Mrs., Miss.

_____
Street Number

_____
Street

_____
City

_____
Zip Code

Neem asseblief kennis dat —
Please note that —

VAN
SURNAME _____
Last Name

VOORNAME
FORENAME _____
First Name, Middle Name

GEBOORTE-INSKRYWINGSNOMMER
BIRTH ENTRY NUMBER _____

is vir die doeleindes van die Bevolkingsregistrasiewet, 1950, in die
has, for the purposes of the Population Registration Act, 1950, been

Bevolkingsregister opgeneem is as lid van die
included in the Population Register as a member of the

_____ bevolkingsgroep.
Population Group population group.

OP LAS VAN DIE DIREKTEUR-GENERAAL VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE
BY ORDER OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF HOME AFFAIRS

86/649/D

EXPLANATION OF IDENTITY NUMBER

The identity number consisting of 13 digits and appearing on page 1 of the identity document is made up as follows: (a) The first six digits represent the date of birth of the holder, the first two indicating the year, the next two the month, and fifth and sixth the day of birth. (b) The following group (four digits) is a serial number and indicates the sex of the person concerned. If the 7th to 10th digits are 0001 to 4999 the holder is a female person, and if they are above 5000 a male person is indicated. (c) The third group of digits (the 11th and 12th) indicates the person's citizenship and population group as follows:

	Population group	***S.A. Citizen***	***Non-S.A. Citizen***
(i)	White	00	10
(ii)	Cape Coloured	01	11
(iii)	Malay	02	12
(iv)	Griqua	03	13
(v)	Chinese	04	14
(vi)	Indian	05	15
(vii)	Other Asian	06	16
(viii)	Other Coloured	07	17

(d) The last digit (the 13th) is a control digit forming part of the number.

Kyk bladsy 9 vir Arikaanse teks.

Handout 2: Bophuthatswana

You live in Bophuthatswana, one of ten Bantustans—"homelands" designated by the ruling National Party, which put in place the laws of apartheid. Bophuthatswana was created for Africans who speak Tswana as their native tongue. Bophuthatswana is not one continuous territory but rather several pieces of land hundreds of miles apart, separated by white-owned property. Rainfall is scarce, the landscape is covered with scrub brush, and 90% of the land is not arable and thus can't be farmed. However, the Bantustan is rich in mineral wealth, especially platinum, chromium, and manganese. Because of its mining wealth, Bophuthatswana is a showcase for the South African government Bantustan policy. In 1961, the National Party created the Bophuthatswana Territorial Authority. By the mid-1980s, the population reached approximately 1.5 million people. Once a Bantustan like Bophuthatswana was granted "independence," people living there would no longer have citizenship rights in South Africa.

The Bantustans have the worst living conditions in South Africa. Mortality rates for blacks are 13 times higher than for whites. Settlements lack the basic amenities of 20th-century living, such as running water, sewage systems, and access to telephones and electricity. As the South African government forced more and more blacks out of white areas and onto Bantustans, they became more and more crowded, and unemployment rates rose. However, Bophuthatswana was the wealthiest among the ten homelands created by the government.

Thus, the term "homeland" ultimately referred to a place where many people had never lived until they were forced to move there.

To discuss as a group:

- Are you pleased with where you are living? Why or why not?
- The government of South Africa is offering to give you independent status. Why do you think they are doing this? Looking at the map of apartheid South Africa (Image 1), do you think such a move would be practical?
- What might be the advantages or disadvantages of independence?
- Why do you think the United Nations has refused to recognize your Bantustan as an independent nation? Why do you think every other country has also withheld recognition?
- Propose and plan two forms of protest directed against the apartheid system and what you dislike most about it.

Assign members of your group the following roles:

- Resident A: You will read out loud the description of Bophuthatswana to your group and assign roles. You will also present to the rest of the class basic information about Bophuthatswana and how you like living there.

- Resident B: Explain that you cannot find employment in your Bantustan and that you plan to move to Johannesburg to do household work for a white family. You carry a passbook, which you should make out of folded paper. In it, write your name, date of birth, and Bantustan. When asked by the police, explain that on your way to your job outside of Bophuthatswana you asked for food in a white restaurant because there were no others around, and you had not eaten in two days.
- Resident C: You are the leader of a protest. Write a protest chant for your group. When you demonstrate, lead your group in singing the chant. When questioned by the police, explain the purpose of your protest, and the results you hope to achieve.
- All other residents: make protest signs.

Handout 3: Transkei

You live in Transkei, one of ten Bantustans—"homelands" designated by the ruling National Party, which put in place the laws of apartheid. Transkei was one of two Bantustans created for Xhosa-speaking Africans. Nelson Mandela was born in a small village in the district of Umtata in 1918, before the apartheid regime came to power. The landscape was too hilly for farming, so in order to survive, men sought work in gold, coal, and manganese mines in other areas, necessitating long separations from their families. Perhaps up to a quarter of its citizens (estimated at 2.3 million by the early 1980s) lived permanently outside of Transkei.

The Bantustans have the worst living conditions in South Africa. Mortality rates for blacks are 13 times as high for whites. Settlements lack the basic amenities of 20th-century living, such as running water, sewage systems, and access to telephones and electricity. As the South African government forced more and more blacks out of white areas and onto Bantustans, they became more and more crowded, and unemployment rates rose.

Thus, the term "homeland" ultimately referred to a place where many people had never lived until they were forced to move there.

To discuss as a group:

- Are you pleased with where you are living? Why or why not?
- The government of South Africa is offering to give you independent status. Why do you think they are doing this? Looking at the map of apartheid South Africa, do you think such a move would be practical?
- What do you think are the advantages or disadvantages of independence from South Africa?
- Why do you think the United Nations has refused to recognize your Bantustan as an independent nation?
- What does your group think would be the best way to protest current living and political conditions? Propose a plan.

Assign members of your group the following roles:

- Resident A: You will read out loud the description of Transkei to your group and assign roles. You will also present to the rest of the class basic information about Transkei and how you like living there.
- Resident B: Explain that you cannot get work in your Bantustan. You plan to move to the gold fields in the Orange Free State. You carry a passbook, which you should make out of folded paper. In it, write your name, race, date of birth, and Bantustan.
- Resident C: You are the leader of a protest. When asked by the police, explain the purpose of your protest, and the results you hope to achieve.
- All other residents: make protest signs.

Handout 4: The Police and the Laws of Apartheid

You are the enforcers of the apartheid regime. When residents of the Bantustans or townships want to travel for any purpose whatsoever, organize protests, strike, or demonstrate, you have an arsenal of laws to apply. Familiarize yourself with these brief summaries of the laws. Try to apply *all of them*, one at a time, by the end of simulation. Each one of you should arrest someone at some point in the simulation on the basis of one of these laws. You can consult as a group before making an arrest. Bring Handout 4 with you so that you can reread it if necessary. When you make the arrest explain, "I am making this arrest on the basis of the [Name of Act, Date of the Act], which states that…."

As a group, try to apply as many laws as possible. If you "remove" people, remember that you must relocate them according to "race." If a person is moving from one place to another you will need to ask for their Classification Certificate or passbook to see who gave them permission to move. *Families of mixed races must be separated*.

Officer A: It is your job to keep a record of which laws are applied to arrest people as the simulation moves forward. No law should be used more than twice. You should appoint members of your group to roles B, C, D, E, and F. All other members of your group will be assisting officers.

First, have members of your group take turns reading out loud the laws of apartheid as listed on this handout. Discuss the kinds of situations under which you would make an arrest.

When the simulation begins, wait for instructions from your teacher, and on cue do the following:

- Encircle Sophiatown (Group 1). In a commanding and forceful voice, Officer A should announce to the residents of Sophiatown that **The Natives Resettlement Act, Act No. 19 (1954)** is now in effect. Explain the law to the residents as well as to the rest of the class.
- Next, proceed to question people from Sophiatown:
    - Question Resident B. Send the Indian to the section of Soweto reserved for Indians. Ask about Resident B's family. Explain that since Resident B's family is not Indian but Coloured, you must resettle family members in a different section of Soweto.
    - Question Resident C. Send the Tswana speaker to Bophuthatswana. Ask about Resident C's family. Send Resident C's spouse to the section of Soweto reserved for Coloured people.
- As members of Sophiatown protest, arrest all other members and send them to "jail" citing the laws that give you the power to do this. Wait for cues from your teacher before arresting members of Bophuthatswana and Transkei. Arrest residents for a variety of reasons as the simulation continues, such as using facilities reserved for whites, congregating and protesting, being a "communist" because they're taking part in a demonstration, and so forth.

Laws

1. Group Areas Act (1950)

This act assigned each racial group to a specific area within cities. Only whites were allowed in most places. Other groups had to reside in their assigned area and commute long distances to get to their places of work. If residents lived in the wrong area they could be forcibly removed from it.

2. Pass Laws Act (1952)

This law made it mandatory for all black South Africans to carry a passbook when traveling into areas designated for whites only. The passbook contained fingerprints, a photograph, the name of the person's white employer, and so forth. If any piece of information was missing, police could use it as an excuse to arrest the person.

3. Suppression of Communism Act (1950)

This law banned the Communist Party in South Africa, as well as any party or group that subscribed to communist ideology. "Communism" was very broadly defined as any plan that aimed to bring political, economic, or social change through "disturbance or disorder." Thus the law effectively outlawed many different types of protests.

4. Bantu Authorities Act (1951)

This law assigned to every person designated "black" a homeland or Bantustan. A black person who was elsewhere without legal authority could be deported to their assigned Bantustan.

5. Public Safety Act (1953)

The Public Safety Act gave the government the power to declare a state of emergency in any part of the country. Once declared, the authorities could issue their own laws and ignore laws passed by the South African parliament. The law was used frequently to quell demonstrations and protests. If you were arrested for reasons of public safety, you could be thrown in jail without a trial.

6. Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953)

This act legalized segregation in all public places in South Africa—restaurants, buses, schools, movie theaters, and so forth. It specifically stated that facilities need not be equal or even available to all races (such as swimming pools). A person who ignored these rules or intentionally broke them could be arrested.

7. The Natives Resettlement Act, Act No. 19 (1954)

This act was designed specifically to protect Johannesburg from the encroachment of any black or racially mixed communities, such as Sophiatown. It gave the state the power to remove blacks from Johannesburg to Soweto.

8. Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act, Act No. 64 (1956)

When blacks began to appeal to the South African court system to stop forced removals, the government passed this act, which deprived blacks altogether of the right to appeal to the courts.

Handout 5: Pro and Con Charts

Apartheid South Africa, 1954

1. Only use nonviolent strategies to fight apartheid:

Reasons For:	Reasons Against:
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
Conclusion	

2. Exclude all non-blacks from the African National Congress:

Reasons For:	Reasons Against:
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
Conclusion	

3. Exclude all Communists from the African National Congress:

Reasons For:	Reasons Against:
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
Conclusion	

Handout 6: Biography of Nelson Mandela, Including Key Players Who Knew Him

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in 1918 in the Transkei of southeastern South Africa. In his homeland, he is still affectionately called "Madiba," a reference to his Xhosa name. Mandela's given name, "Rolihlahla," means, "to pull a branch of a tree"—in other words, to be a troublemaker. Mandela was descended from royalty, but was never in line to inherit the throne of his people. Instead, like his father, he was groomed to be an advisor to the tribe's ruler. However, Mandela soon realized that a higher authority existed outside the tribe in the face of which the Xhosa Thembus were impotent. In a dispute with the British magistrates who ruled South Africa, Mandela's father (who himself was not afraid to be a troublemaker) refused to cede to their authority. For his insubordination, and without a trial, Mandela's father was stripped of his title, his cattle, and his land. He died when Mandela was just nine years old. Mandela was then entrusted to the guardianship of Jongintaba Dalindyebo, the regent of the Thembu clan.

Soon after, Mandela's mother arranged for him to be schooled away from his tribal roots. He attended Methodist boarding schools set up by British missionaries, who gave him the name "Nelson" while he was there. With his lifelong friend **Oliver Tambo**, Mandela then attended the elite Fort Hare University, the only campus of higher education for blacks in South Africa. He also befriended the royal heir to the Thembu throne, **Kaiser "K.D." Matanzima**, although their relationship grew strained over time. Plans for Mandela's return to the Transkei went awry when the regent set up an arranged marriage for him. In an act of defiance, Mandela fled the regent's grasp and settled in the bustling city of Johannesburg. There, he found his way to the white law firm of **Lazar Sidelsky**, who had many black clients. Sidelsky employed Mandela as an apprentice lawyer. Mandela also began his legal studies at the University of Witwatersrand, where he met future activists **Harry Schwarz, Joe Slovo,** and his wife, **Ruth First**. In 1952, Mandela opened his own practice with Tambo. It was the only black law firm in Johannesburg.

Mandela became involved in the African National Congress in his early years in Johannesburg, where he met ANC leader **Walter Sisulu,** who became a lifelong mentor. In 1944, he co-founded the more militant ANC Youth League, and by 1951 had been elected its president. He took a leadership role in spearheading the Defiance Campaign (1952), which organized mass resistance to apartheid laws—demonstrators broke regulations and risked arrest. Mandela writes about the first time he addressed a mass audience, "About ten thousand people were in attendance…I had never addressed such a crowd before, and it was an exhilarating experience…I told the people that they would make history." From 1956 to 1961, Mandela and many others were brought to trial on charges of treason. Ultimately, they were not convicted. During this time, Mandela spent many years under government bans which forbade him from attending meetings or traveling at will. Mandela's commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle took a toll on his first marriage to **Evelyn Mase,** with whom he had four children. They divorced in 1958, and Mandela married **Winnie Madikizela,** who herself became a leader of the anti-apartheid cause.

Mandela's commitment to nonviolence began to waver after the destruction of Sophiatown and the massacre by South African police of peaceful demonstrators in Sharpeville in 1960, after which the ANC

was banned. In 1961, he turned to violence as a last resort and founded Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), "Spear of the Nation," which committed acts of sabotage against government installations. Because the ANC was now banned, Mandela was forced to live a life on the run, hiding out with one supporter after another, such as Wolfie Kodesh. He also went abroad to get military training and raise support for MK. However, the South African police soon caught up with him. In 1963, he was put on trial in the Johannesburg suburb of Rivonia (the Rivonia Trial), along with **Walter Sisulu** and **Ahmed Kathrada** (among others), for acts of sabotage and treason. Among their defense lawyers were **George Bizos,** Bram Fischer, and Harry Schwarz. The trial succeeded in bringing to the world's attention the injustices of apartheid. While Mandela escaped the death penalty, he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mandela remained a prisoner for 27 years, first on Robben Island (until 1982), where he suffered under harsh conditions, including forced manual labor. During this time, his mother and eldest son died; he was not permitted to attend their funerals. Any contact with his wife, Winnie, was extremely limited. All of his letters were read by prison wardens. When authorities found portions of his autobiography that he had written in secret, they destroyed it. Even in prison, the apartheid system reigned, and black prisoners fared less well than whites. One of the only white South Africans to visit him in prison was **Helen Suzman,** a member of parliament who came to investigate the condition of the prisoners. Throughout this experience, Mandela's goal was to maintain his dignity and to force those who imprisoned him to acknowledge his humanity as equal to theirs. In this, he finally succeeded.

By the early 1980s, the South African regime was faced with a younger generation of protesters, international pressure to end apartheid, and a sagging economy. The National Party was looking for ways to ease the situation, and they looked to Nelson Mandela. In 1982, South African authorities transferred Mandela, along with Sisulu and Kathrada, to prisons where it was easier for government officials to visit them in secret. In 1985, South African president **P.W. Botha** offered Mandela his freedom if he would abstain from politics and renounce violence. Mandela refused, saying that only a free man can negotiate freely. In 1988, Mandela set forth his preconditions for entering into negotiations with the government: the legalization of the ANC and other political parties, the release of political prisoners, an end to the state of emergency, and the withdrawal of troops from the townships. **Kobie Coetsee** was a key negotiator who met with Mandela in prison. Botha refused to meet these demands, but his successor, **F.W. de Klerk,** had a change of heart. In 1990, he agreed to free Mandela unconditionally.

In negotiating the terms of a transition from apartheid, Mandela kept his eyes on the prize: a unitary government elected by the majority of South Africans, with no special privileges for the white minority. However, he also understood that a key to success lay in allaying white fears about black majority rule. In 1994, Mandela was elected president of South Africa. In his inaugural speech he said, "We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity." Both Mandela and De Klerk agreed that a Truth and Reconciliation Commission should be established to heal the new nation. Mandela persuaded Archbishop Desmond Tutu to become its chair. The mandate of this new nation was to unearth human rights violations on both sides, to grant amnesty, and to make reparations. Mandela resigned after one term in 1999 at the age of 80. He had great confidence that his colleague Thabo Mbeki would make an excellent successor as president of South Africa. Mandela later received a Nobel Prize (with De Klerk) for "laying the foundations for a new democratic South Africa."

Handout 7: Assignment Chart of Key Players in Nelson Mandela's Life

Partner A introduces Partner B, who role-plays the Key Player.

Focus Questions timeline:

- Mandela's Youth: 1918–1941.
- Johannesburg Years: 1941–1963.
- Prison Years: 1963–1990.
- End of Apartheid: 1985–1994 (some overlap with the prison years).
- Future of South Africa: 1994–present.

George Bizos:

George Bizos was born in 1928 in Greece. He arrived in South Africa in 1941 as a World War II refugee. In Johannesburg, he opened a law practice and dedicated his life to fighting apartheid. He represented both Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial. After the end of apartheid, he worked on behalf of families appearing before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, including those of Steve Bantu Biko and Chris Hani.

Focus Questions: Johannesburg Years, Future of South Africa.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Pieter Willem Botha:

P.W. Botha was born in 1916 in South Africa and served as its chief of state from 1978 to 1989. During this time, South Africa saw increasing unrest as well as worldwide protest against apartheid. Botha authorized the government's first contact with the imprisoned Nelson Mandela. He also loosened some of the rules of apartheid. In the end, however, he refused to release Mandela or to negotiate with ANC. When his successor, F. W. De Clerk, held a nationwide referendum on whether or not to end apartheid, Botha urged his successors to vote "no."

Focus Question: End of Apartheid.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Kobie Coetsee:

Kobie Coetsee was born in 1931 in South Africa. As a lawyer and politician for the National Party, he played a key role in negotiating with Nelson Mandela while he was still in prison, beginning in 1985. As Minister of Justice and Prisons, he visited Mandela in Pollsmoor prison and offered him his freedom in exchange for a renunciation of violence. After Mandela turned down the offer, they

continued to negotiate. He was among the first members of the National Party to understand that apartheid was a doomed system. After the end of apartheid, he played a significant role in the new government. Even though the ANC members held a majority in the new Senate, he was elected its president, a post he kept until 1997.

Focus Question: End of Apartheid.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

F. W. de Klerk:

Frederik Willem de Klerk was born into a prominent Afrikaner family in Johannesburg in 1936. He was a practicing attorney before he entered politics. He held many positions in the cabinet of P. W. Botha, and became his successor as president in 1989. He freed Mandela from prison, and together they began the negotiations that would lead to the end of apartheid. However, according to Mandela, de Klerk was not ready at the time for majority rule, but rather was seeking for protections for the white minority even as apartheid ended. For his role in ending apartheid, de Klerk was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize of 1993, along with Mandela.

Focus Question: End of Apartheid.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Ruth First:

Ruth First was born in 1925 in South Africa to Jewish immigrants from Latvia. Like her parents, she was a Communist. She and her husband, Joe Slovo, were members of ANC. In her role as a journalist, she exposed many aspects of the apartheid regime to the public. With Mandela, she was put on trial for treason from 1956 to 1961. She was placed in solitary confinement without charge for 117 days. After her release, she moved to London but still worked to end apartheid.

Focus Question: Johannesburg Years.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Ahmed Kathrada:

Ahmed Kathrada was born in 1929 in the Western Transvaal to Muslim parents from India. He graduated from high school in Johannesburg. He became an activist fighting for the rights of the Indian community in South Africa, and through this work came into contact with the ANC and Nelson Mandela. After the ANC was banned, he went underground. At the Rivonia Trial, Kathrada was accused and convicted of sabotage and treason, and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was released in 1989. After the end of apartheid, he served the ANC in the new government in numerous roles.

Focus Questions: Prison Years, Future of South Africa.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela:

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was born in 1936 in the Transkei to Xhosa parents. She was a social worker when she married Nelson Mandela in 1958. During her husband's long imprisonment, she became a leading activist in the fight against apartheid. She won the affection of anti-apartheid South Africans, who called her "Mother of Africa." She herself spent 18 months in solitary confinement. While the marriage resumed after Mandela's release, her increasingly erratic behavior and accusations against her of theft, graft, and abduction tarnished her reputation. Mandela divorced her in 1996.

Focus Question: Prison Years.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Kaiser ("K.D.") Matanzima:

Kaiser Matanzima was a nephew of Nelson Mandela. Like Mandela, he studied at Fort Hare University, and in their youth the cousins remained friends. Matanzima returned to the Eastern Cape where he was born and became paramount chief of a branch of the Thembus. Unlike Mandela, Matanzima supported the Bantu Authorities Act (1951) passed by the apartheid regime, which propped up tribal leaders of the Bantustans (homelands). While Matanzima ruled the Transkei, Mandela opposed the creation of the Bantustans.

Focus Questions: Mandela's Youth, End of Apartheid.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Evelyn Mase:

Evelyn Mase was born in 1922 in the Transkei. She was a relative of Mandela's friend Walter Sisulu. Her father was a mineworker who died when she was a child. She attended high school in Soweto and trained as a nurse. Mase married Mandela in 1944 just as politics began to dominate his life. With Mandela she had four children; one died in infancy, and her son Thembi died in a car accident at age 25. She was not involved in politics; instead, she was a deeply religious member of the Jehovah's Witnesses. She and Mandela divorced in 1958.

Focus Questions: Mandela's Youth, Johannesburg Years

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Thabo Mbeki:

Thabo Mbeki was born in Transkei in 1942. As a youth in Johannesburg, Walter Sisulu became his mentor. His father, Govan Mbeki, was imprisoned with Nelson Mandela on Robben Island. As apartheid South Africa became increasingly dictatorial and violent, the ANC ordered Mbeki to go into exile. He went to Tanzania and then to England, where he earned a masters degree. In London, he worked for the ANC with Oliver Tambo. In 1997, Mbeki became president of the ANC, and later succeeded Mandela as president of South Africa.

Focus Question: Future of South Africa.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Lazar Sidelsky:

Lazar Sidelsky was born in South Africa in 1912 to Jewish immigrant parents from Lithuania. He obtained a law degree, and by the age of 30 had a thriving practice. What made his law firm unusual in apartheid South Africa was that it helped blacks to obtain mortgages so that they could own property. Sidelsky not only employed the young Mandela as an law clerk, but also loaned Mandela money to set up his own practice in Johannesburg.

Focus Question: Johannesburg Years.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Walter Sisulu:

Walter Sisulu was born in 1912 in South Africa, the son of a Xhosa mother and a white father. He was educated in a local missionary school. In 1943, along with Mandela, he joined the ANC Youth League and was active in Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"). Unlike Mandela, he also became a Communist. He was accused of sabotage and treason at the Rivonia Trial. He served 26 years of a life sentence. He resumed his work for the ANC at the end of apartheid.

Focus Questions: Prison Years, Future of South Africa.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Joe Slovo:

Joe Slovo was born in 1926 in Lithuania to a Jewish family. The family immigrated to South Africa when he was eight. He studied law at Wits University with Nelson Mandela and Harry Schwarz. In 1942, Slovo joined the South African Communist Party and also worked closely with the ANC over his lifetime. He married the South African activist Ruth First. While he spent time abroad gaining support for the ANC and its military wing, Spear of the Nation, he returned to South Africa to help forge the compromises that led to the end of apartheid.

Focus Question: End of Apartheid.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Helen Suzman:

Helen Suzman was born in South Africa in 1917 to immigrants from Lithuania. Originally a university lecturer, she was drawn to politics and was first elected to national office in 1953. As Member of Parliament from 1961 to 1974, she was the only legislator who was utterly opposed to apartheid. Despite being an English-speaking Jewish woman in a legislative body dominated by Calvinist Afrikaner men, Suzman made her opinions known, and was fearless in the face of intimidation. She was the only member of the South African Parliament to investigate prison conditions on Robben Island, where Mandela was held captive.

Focus Question: Prison Years.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Oliver Tambo:

Like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo was born on the Eastern Cape of South Africa. He and Mandela attended Fort Hare University together, where both were expelled for supporting a student strike. He was a founding member with Mandela of the ANC Youth League, and his law partner in Johannesburg. After the ANC was banned, he went abroad to recruit foreign support in the fight against apartheid.

Focus Questions: Mandela's Youth, Johannesburg Years.

Partner A: _____ Partner B: _____

Desmond Tutu:

Desmond Tutu belonged to a younger generation of activists than Mandela. As an Anglican minister, Tutu's fight to end apartheid brought the cause international support. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984. Because he was widely respected throughout South Africa and the world, Mandela appointed Tutu to lead the Truth and Reconciliation Committee to help heal South Africa after apartheid.

Focus Questions

1. **Mandela's Youth:** Oliver Tambo, Kaiser ("K.D.") Matanzima, Evelyn Mase.

    - Describe Xhosa tribal traditions, and the role of Mandela's father and mother in his life.
    - How did his life as royalty in the Thembu tribe prepare him for leadership?
    - What was his relationship to Chief Jongintaba? What were the positive and negative aspects of this relationship?
    - What did Mandela like most about his childhood?
    - How did he end up at missionary schools? What effect did his education have on him?
    - Why did he leave Fort Hare University before he graduated? What do you think this showed about his character?
    - How did he perform as a student overall?
    - Why did he not return to the Transkei and his people?

    Mandela quote to discuss: "It was only when I began to learn that my boyhood freedom was an illusion, when I discovered as a young man that my freedom had already been taken from me, that I began to hunger for it."

2. **Johannesburg Years:** Lazar Sidelsky, Evelyn Mase, Ruth First, Oliver Tambo, George Bizos.

    - What were Mandela's first experiences like "on the run" from Chief Jongintaba in the "big city" of Johannesburg?

- How did he get established as a lawyer there?
- Explain how Mandela first became involved with the African National Congress.
- In what ways was he dissatisfied with the ANC leadership? How did he handle them? Did he show leadership qualities within the ANC?
- Describe his marriage to Evelyn Mase.
- What toll did his political activities take on his marriage?
- What role did he play in the Defiance Campaign against apartheid laws?
- Why was he first arrested and tried for treason? Who else was accused at the time? Why were these others not convicted?
- What effect did the Sharpeville Massacre have on Mandela?
- Why did Mandela move towards the use of strategic violence and found Spear of the Nation? Who else joined? Who objected?
- Describe the Rivonia Trial and any role your Key Player had in it. How did Mandela defend himself? Was he prepared for the consequences of conviction (death or life in prison)?

Mandela quote to discuss: "It was this desire for freedom of my people … that transformed a frightened young man into a bold one, that drove a law-abiding attorney to become a criminal, that turned a family-loving husband into a man without a home."

3. **The Prison Years:** Helen Suzman, Ahmed Kathrada, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Walter Sisulu.

   - What were the physical conditions of Mandela's incarceration on Robben Island, and later at Pollsmoor Prison?
   - What mental and emotional hardships did he face, and how did he overcome them? What examples can you give?
   - Describe a meeting that you had with him in prison.
   - In what ways did he assume a leadership role in prison?
   - How did he maintain his dignity in the face of his jailers?
   - How did he grow and change as a result of the experience?

   Mandela quote to discuss: "It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed."

4. **End of Apartheid:** Joe Slovo, F.W. de Klerk, Pieter Willem Botha, Kaiser ("K.D.") Matanzima, Kobie Coetsee.

   - Why did the South African government first make contact with Nelson Mandela after so many years of keeping him in isolation? What had changed?
   - Who stood in the way of his release in the 1980s? What conditions did Mandela set for his release? What conditions did the government set?
   - What if Mandela had died in prison? How might South Africa be different today?
   - What fears did white South Africans have? What fears did some black African groups have? How did Mandela address both of these?
   - After Mandela's release, violence broke out that threatened South Africa's stability. Who was responsible for this violence? What groups were dissatisfied with the way things were changing? What did Mandela do to reassure the public about the future?
   - What did Mandela accomplish as president of South Africa?
   - What do you think was Mandela's greatest moment of triumph, and why?

   Mandela quote to discuss: "I said that there was a middle ground between white fears and black hopes, and we in the ANC would find it."

1. **Future of South Africa:** Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Thabo Mbeki, George Bizos.

   - Why did Mandela insist on a Truth and Reconciliation Commission?
   - Were the commission's criteria administered on a fair basis? Did it accomplish everything it set out to do?
   - How successful is the new constitution of South Africa? Explain your position.
   - What are the greatest political problems facing South Africa today?
   - What are the greatest economic problems facing South Africa today?
   - What kind of leadership does South Africa need as it moved forward?

   Mandela quote to discuss: "We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road."

Handout 8: How to Prepare for a Commemoration of Nelson Mandela's Life

Student A and Student B

Student A should write and deliver an introduction to the Key Player your teacher has assigned to the two of you. Student B, who will role-play the Key Player at the commemoration, should prepare answers to the Focus Questions listed on Handout 7.

Student A:

At the commemoration, you will formally introduce your partner, Student B, who will role-play the Key Player assigned to you. Imagine that you are at an official gathering. You want to make certain that everyone at the commemoration understands why the Key Player is an important person. With this in mind, write a brief biographical portrait of the Key Player that highlights his or her role in ending apartheid and explains their connection to Nelson Mandela (as mentor, husband, political opponent, and so forth). Your introduction should be formal and to the point. It can begin with a phrase like, "We are honored to have with us today one of Nelson Mandela's closest colleagues in the anti-apartheid struggle. He/she…" Note that since all the Key Players are assumed to be alive at the time of the commemoration, do not include information about the Key Player's death if that person is no longer living.

Sources of information: Research your Key Player online. You can use websites such as the biographies at South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid: Building Democracy (http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/listpeople.php). Many people on the list also appear in interviews in *The Long Walk of Nelson Mandela* (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/interviews). In addition, you can read obituaries in newspapers like *The Guardian* for many Key Players who are no longer living.

Student B:

You will role-play one Key Player who knew Nelson Mandela. Some Key Players were lifelong friends; a few were adversaries. All are important to the story of how apartheid ended. Student A, your partner, will introduce you at the commemoration and give a brief summary of your life. As the Key Player, your job is to answer questions posed by the Moderator (your teacher). For this purpose, you will need to know about Mandela's life and the role you played in it at one or more crucial points. Thus, your job is to prepare answers to the Focus Questions assigned to your Key Player in Handout 7. You can research Nelson Mandela online; websites like *The Long Walk of Nelson Mandela* (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/) may also be helpful. In addition, consult Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* (Little Brown, 1995) and biographies of him. You do not need to know everything about Mandela; instead, research the section of his life that pertains to your role and the Focus Questions assigned to you.

Handout 9: Questions About Nelson Mandela's Inauguration Speech

- What deductions can you make about who is in the audience at Mandela's inauguration? What evidence do you have?
- Why is the international community an important component of the event?
- Does Mandela make distinctions between the native people of South Africa and those whose ancestors were colonizers?
- Who has suffered under apartheid?
- What forms of equality does Mandela want the new South Africa to embody?
- This is not a religious speech, but there are phrases that have Biblical cadences. Why do you think he includes them?
- Do any phrases remind you of speeches made by U.S. presidents or patriotic songs you know?
- Why does Mandela conclude with "God Bless Africa" instead of "God Bless South Africa?"

Document Set 1A: Selected Quotations from Nelson Mandela's Autobiography

These quotations from *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (1994) are taken chronologically from his life. Over time, his opinions on some topics changed (such as adopting a policy of inclusion for the ANC), while on others they remained constant (his views on the use of violence).

- "Others, including myself, countered that if blacks were offered a multiracial form of struggle, they would remain enamored of white culture and prey to a continuing sense of inferiority. At the time, I was firmly opposed to allowing Communists or whites to join the league"(100).
- "I believed that it was an undiluted African nationalism, not Marxism or multiracialism, that would liberate us"(108).
- After the government passed the Suppression of Communism Act, Mandela writes: "…clearly, the repression of any one liberation group was the repression against all liberation groups"(117).
- "Apartheid was designed to divide racial groups, and we [ANC] showed that different groups could work together"(133).
- "The anti-removal campaign in Sophiatown was a long-running battle … The lesson I took away from the campaign was that in the end, we had no alternative to armed and violent resistance"(166).
- "I enlisted the efforts of white Communist Party members who had resolved on a course of violence and had already executed acts of sabotage like cutting government telephone and communication lines"(274).
- "In planning the direction and form that MK [Spear of the Nation] would take, we considered four types of violent activities: sabotage, guerilla warfare, terrorism, and open revolution. For a small fledgling army, open revolution was inconceivable. Terrorism inevitably reflected poorly on those who used it, undermining any public support it might otherwise garner. Guerrilla warfare was a possibility, but since the ANC had been reluctant to embrace violence at all, it made sense to start with the form violence that inflicted the least harm against individuals: sabotage"(282).
- "I wanted to impress upon the court that we had not acted irresponsibly or without thought to the ramifications of taking up violent action. I laid particular emphasis on our resolve to cause no harm to human life"(364).
- "If the oppressor uses violence, the oppressed have no alternative but to respond violently. In our case it was simply a matter of self-defense"(537).
- "They [the National Party] maintained that the Communist Party dominated and controlled the ANC … I then explained at length that the Party and the ANC were separate and distinct organizations that shared the same short-term objectives, the overthrow of racial oppression and the birth of a nonracial South Africa, but that our long-term interests were not the same"(538).

Source: Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Little Brown, 1995.

Document 2A: Nelson Mandela's Inauguration Speech

Pretoria May 10
From: ancdip@WN.APC.ORG (Tim Jenkin)
Date: Wed, 11 May 1994 13:37:00–0400

> STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, NELSON MANDELA, AT HIS INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, UNION BUILDINGS, PRETORIA, MAY 10 1994.

Your Majesties, Your Highnesses, Distinguished Guests, Comrades and Friends:

Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty.

Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.

Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all.

All this we owe both to ourselves and to the peoples of the world who are so well represented here today.

To my compatriots, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld.

Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal. The national mood changes as the seasons change.

We are moved by a sense of joy and exhilaration when the grass turns green and the flowers bloom.

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlawed and isolated by the peoples of the world, precisely because it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression.

We, the people of South Africa, feel fulfilled that humanity has taken us back into its bosom, that we, who were outlaws not so long ago, have today been given the rare privilege to be host to the nations of the world on our own soil.

We thank all our distinguished international guests for having come to take possession with the people of our country of what is, after all, a common victory for justice, for peace, for human dignity.

We trust that you will continue to stand by us as we tackle the challenges of building peace, prosperity, non-sexism, non-racialism, and democracy.

We deeply appreciate the role that the masses of our people and their political, mass democratic, religious, women, youth, business, traditional, and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my Second Deputy President, the Honourable F.W. de Klerk.

We would also like to pay tribute to our security forces, in all their ranks, for the distinguished role they have played in securing our first democratic elections and the transition to democracy, from blood-thirsty forces which still refuse to see the light.

The time for the healing of the wounds has come.

The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come.

The time to build is upon us.

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender, and other discrimination.

We succeeded to take our last steps to freedom in conditions of relative peace. We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just, and lasting peace.

We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity—a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.

As a token of its commitment to the renewal of our country, the new Interim Government of National Unity will, as a matter of urgency, address the issue of amnesty for various categories of our people who are currently serving terms of imprisonment.

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free.

Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward.

We are both humbled and elevated by the honour and privilege that you, the people of South Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, to lead our country out of the valley of darkness.

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom.

We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success.

We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all.

Let there be peace for all.

Let there be work, bread, water, and salt for all.

Let each know that for each the body, the mind, and the soul have been freed to fulfill themselves.

Never, never, and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.

Let freedom reign.

The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!

God bless Africa!

Source: University of Pennsylvania African Studies at http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/menu_Articles_Gen.html

Images

Image 1: Apartheid South Africa, 1986—South Africa: Black Homelands

Image 2

Image 3

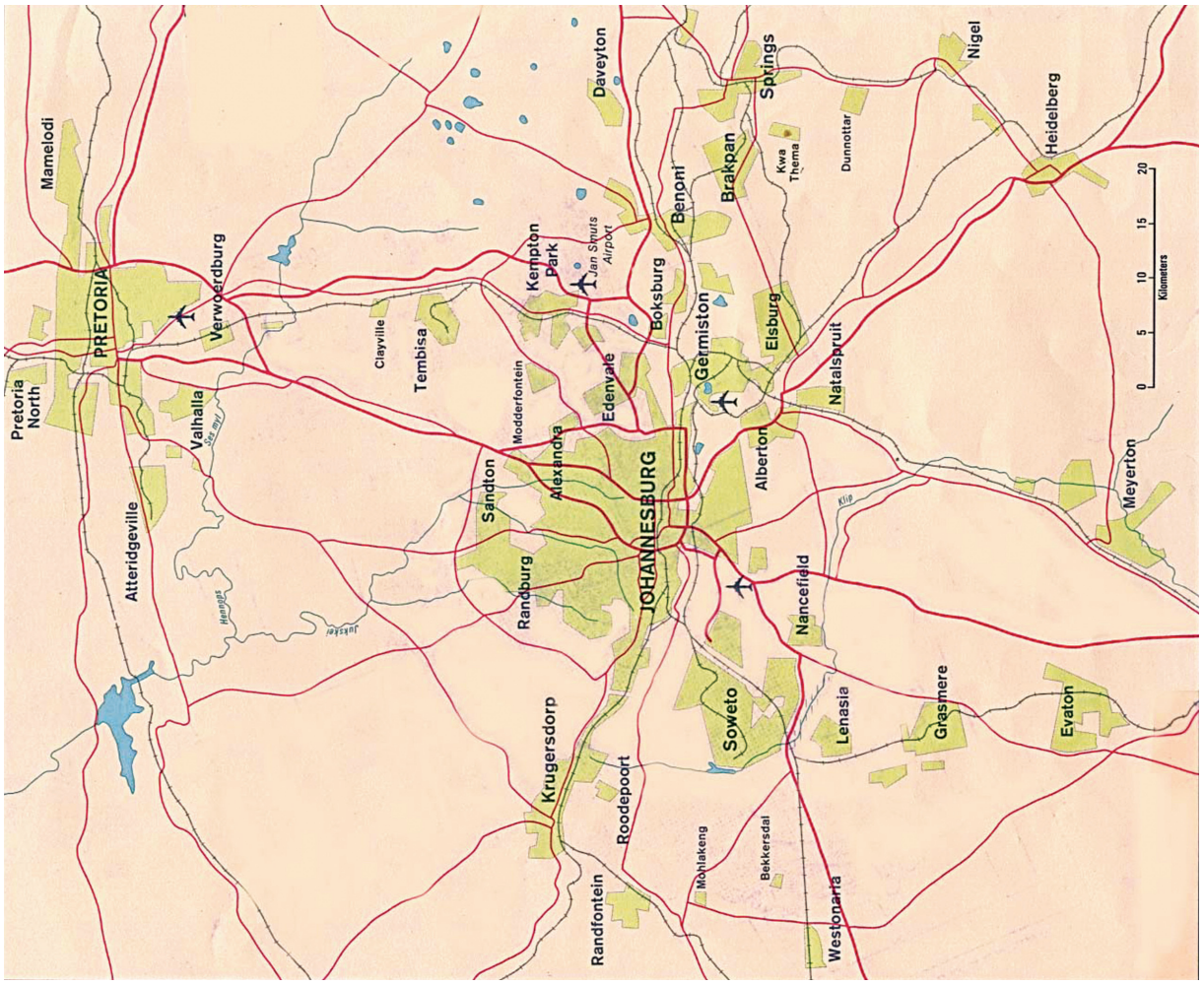


Image 4

Photo by Eliot Elisofon. From the National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution. Used with permission.

Image 5

Photo by Matt-80. Used under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Soweto_township.jpg

The Oslo Accords, 1993

Overview

In 1993, the prospects for peace in the Middle East looked brighter than ever before, thanks to the Oslo Accords, in which Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) pledged to find a peaceful resolution to their long-standing conflict. It was the first time that Israeli and Palestinian representatives had officially met face-to-face at the negotiating table. The Oslo Accords were signed in front of the White House and televised around the world. As guarantors of the ongoing peace process, the United States and Russia were also signatories. The Oslo Accords themselves were preceded by letters in which Israel and the PLO acknowledged each other's legitimate claim to part of the land previously referred to as part of the British Mandate of Palestine. Thus, the Oslo Accords acknowledged that the conflict would be resolved in a "two-state solution."

In Day 1 of this Activator, students reenact the signing of the Oslo Accords. The students playing the seven Signatories and Witnesses read aloud portions of primary source documents—speeches that were actually made on September 13, 1993, at the White House. The words for the role-play come from the official transcript of the proceedings. On Day 2, students hold a Press Conference in which journalists from different constituencies question the seven Signatories and Witnesses about various aspects of the Accords, and their viability. In the debriefing, students grapple with questions about the legacy of the Oslo Accords. You can implement both Day 1 and Day 2, or one or the other.

Set-up Directions

2 class periods of instruction

Time Required

The Day 1 and Day 2 role-plays take two full class periods, with assigned homework.

The Debriefing takes another 20 minutes on a third day.

Roles

- Seven students are assigned to play Signatories and Witnesses to the Oslo Accords. On Day 1, they read out loud portions of historic speeches, practiced the night before. At a Press Conference on Day 2, they answer questions about the Oslo Accords.
- Fourteen students are assigned to role-play diplomats and reporters on Day 1 and Day 2. On Day 1, they sit in the audience at the White House. On Day 2, they pose questions about the Oslo Accords to the seven Signatories and Witnesses.

Bright Idea
All activities can be enhanced by allowing students more work time, such as an extra class period between Days 1 and 2.

Teaching tip
Assign your best students to the seven roles of Signatories and Witnesses. These students need to read documents out loud with fluency and emphasis, and to use facts to support their viewpoints with greater facility than students in other roles. Let some of your best students shine in these roles.

- Invited Guests of ten or more students also sit in the audience at the White House on Day 1.

Handouts

- Make copies of the **Background Essay** and **Timeline** for all members of the class, or make them available digitally.
- **Handout 1: Preparing Your Speech for the Signatories and Witnesses**. Make seven copies.
- **Handout 2: Press Conference Assignment Sheet for the Signatories and Witnesses** (7) **and journalists and diplomats** (14). Make 21 copies.
- **Handout 3: Press Conference Questions for the Signatories and Witnesses**, **Journalists, and Diplomats**. Make 21 copies.
- **Document Set 2: Extracts from the Remarks at the Signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Agreement** for the seven Signatories and Witnesses. Make seven copies of the entire set, or photocopy one copy of each speech for the student giving the speech.
- **Document Set 3: The Oslo Accords**. Make seven copies for the Signatories and Witnesses.
- *Option:* If you have a uniformly high-level class, make copies of **Document Set 3** for every student in order to enhance the learning experience.

Props and Materials

- One "Bound copy" of the Oslo Accords (see **Document Set 3**), and pens for signing.
- Name plaques for President Clinton and the seven signatories to the Oslo Accords.
- "Reserved Seat" signs for all other guests, including reporters, diplomats, and the various invited guests.
- A large, black-and-white checked scarf for Yasser Arafat.
- Flags of the United States, the United Nations, Israel, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization.
- "Flash cameras" for the journalists.

Schematic

The Schematic on the next page is for Day 1 but can also be used for Day 2, with modifications.

On Day 1, project an image of the White House or the image on page 208 on a smartboard or other device.

At the end of Day 1, project the image on page 200 behind the students role-playing Yitzak Rabin, President Clinton, and Yasser Arafat.

Place seven chairs at a desk for Signatories. These chairs will face the rest of the class. Create name plaques on the desks with the names of the Signatories and Witnesses.

For the "White House Lawn," find a piece of AstroTurf or another similar item, such as a green blanket.

For the audience facing the Signatories Desk: Place seats in a horseshoe shape.

Option: Hold the Activator in the school auditorium.

"Rope off" seats for the following constituencies, with signs that say "Reserved for Members of Congress," "Jewish Americans," "Arab Americans," etc. as per the list.

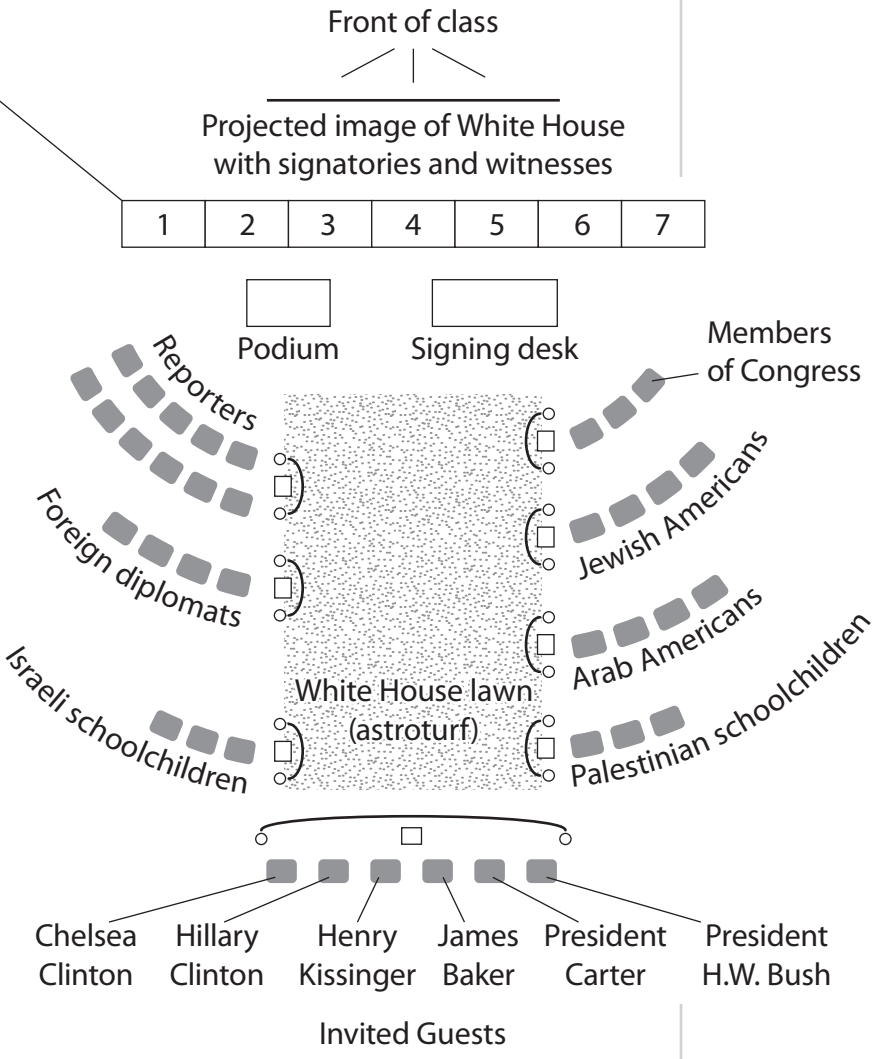
Bright Idea
Suggested Prop: A podium placed on the desk will give the proceedings a formal feeling.

If possible, label the seven signatories and witnesses as follows:

1. *Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev*
2. *Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin*
3. *President Bill Clinton*
4. *PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat*
5. *U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher*
6. *PLO negotiator Mahmoud Abbas*
7. *Shiman Peres (seated)*

Audience chairs should face the podium

Signs should say, "Reserved for" followed by the name of the group the section is for (e.g., "Reserved for Reporters," etc.)



Resources

Books

- Gelvin, James L., *The Modern Middle East: A History,* third edition. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Golan, Galia, *Israel and Palestine: Peace Plans and Proposals from Oslo to Disengagement.* Markus Wiener Publishers, 2008.
- Said, Edward W., *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After.* Granta Books, 2000.
- Shlaim, Avi, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History.* Penguin Books, 1995.

Websites

- "The Mideast: A Century of Conflict, A Seven-Part Series Traces the Israeli-Palestinian Dispute." National Public Radio. http://www.npr.org/news/specials/mideast/history/index.html
- "Sixteen Years of Israeli-Palestinian Summits." *TIME* Magazine Specials. http://www.time.com/time/specials/2007/article/0,28804,1644149_1644147_1644129,00.html
- "History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." PBS, POV. December, 2001. http://www.pbs.org/pov/pdf/promiese/promises-timeline.pdf
- "Palestine-Israel Primer." Middle East Research and Information Project http://www.merip.org/palestine-israel_primer/brit-mandate-pal-isr-prime.html
- "History of Mid-East Peace Talks." BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11103745 with Key Maps http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/world/2001/israel_and_palestinians/key_maps/
- "On this Day" Rabin and Arafat Seal Their Accord as Clinton Applauds 'Brave Gamble', September 13, 1993. Learning Network. *The New York Times*. http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0913.html

Film

- "Shattered Dreams of Peace: The Road from Oslo." PBS, Frontline. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/oslo/

Lesson Plan

Assignment of Roles

Before Day 1, make the following role assignments and fill in this sheet for your records.

Signatories and Witnesses to the Oslo Accords (Day 1 and Day 2):

Student	Role
	Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres
	Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev
	Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin
	U.S. President Bill Clinton
	PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat
	U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher
	PLO negotiator Mahmoud Abbas

Members of the Press and Diplomats (Day 1 and Day 2):

Assign 14 students to these roles:

Student	Reporters and Diplomats
	Reporter from Russia for *Pravda*
	Reporter from Russia for *Izvestia*
	Reporter with a special interest in Jewish affairs for *The New York Times*
	Reporter with a special interest in Arab affairs for the *Washington Post*
	Reporter from the Pan-Arabic newspaper *Al-Quds Al Arabi,* which focuses on Palestinian refugees
	A reporter from the official newspaper of the PLO, *Al-Hayat al-Jadida*
	A reporter for the Pan-Arabic publication *Al-Hayat,* which reports on the views of Hamas

	A reporter from Israel who writes about the Labor Party for *Haaretz*
	A reporter from Israel who writes about the Likud Party for *Yedioth Ahronoth*
	A reporter for the Israeli newspaper *Makor Rishon,* which represents the national right and religious right
	Diplomat from Syria
	Diplomat from Egypt
	Diplomat from Jordan
	Diplomat from Lebanon

Invited Guests: (Day 1 only)

Assign ten or more students to these roles:

Bright Idea

Note: these roles are not assigned to pose questions at the press conference on Day 2. However, if you wish, you can assign students playing these roles to write their own questions about the Oslo Accords and to pose them at the Press Conference.

Student	Role
	Chelsea Clinton
	Hillary Clinton
	Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of State
	James Baker III, former Secretary of State
	President Carter
	President George H.W. Bush
	Palestinian schoolchildren
	Israeli schoolchildren*
	Jewish Americans
	Arab Americans
	Members of Congress

Lesson Plan

Day 1

The Signing

Option 1:

In preparation:

- Assign all students to read the **Background Essay** through "The Agreements."
- Assign students their Roles for Day 1 and Day 2 and distribute nametags.
- Students playing the roles of the Signatories and Witnesses should receive copies of **Document Set 2: Extracts from the Remarks at the Signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Agreement**. These students should also receive **Handout 1: Rehearsing Your Speech**.

The class arrives for the historic signing of the Oslo Accords on the White House South Lawn on September 13th, 1993.

- See the Schematic for set-up instructions for the classroom.
- Students should arrive wearing their nametags and look for the appropriate "Reserved Seats." Members of the audience get seated first, then the Signatories and Witnesses arrive.
- Signatories and Witnesses should be seated facing the class, in the same order they appear in the historic photograph: (left to right) Kozyrev, Rabin, Peres, Clinton, Arafat, Christopher, Abbas. Project an image of the White House in back of the Signatories and Witnesses, or use Photograph A from **Document Set 1.**

Script:

You will play the Assistant to the Proceedings. Cue the audience about when they should clap at various moments in the ceremony. Also cue members of the audience to stand up when they are acknowledged by one of the speakers.

- Announce:

> We are here today at the White House to witness the historic signing of the Oslo Accords. Among our honored guests are Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton and her daughter Chelsea, President Jimmy Carter and President George H.W.

Teaching tip
If possible, work with the speechmakers ahead of time or arrange for a drama teacher to practice with them.

Read or say

> Bush, members of the foreign press, both Jewish and Arab Americans, Israeli and Palestinian schoolchildren, diplomats from around the world, and former Secretaries of State James Baker and Henry Kissinger. All rise for the President of the United States.

- President Clinton reads his speech.
- Shimon Peres of Israel and Mahmoud Abbas make their speeches.

You say:

Read or say

> Foreign Minister Peres and Mr. Abbas, please come forward to sign this historic document."

Open the document.

You say:

Read or say

> Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Kozyrev, please step forward to sign the Oslo Accords as witnesses.

- Call up Secretary Christopher to make his speech.
- Call up Foreign Minister Kozyrev to make his speech.
- Call up Minister Rabin to make his speech.
- Call up Chairman Arafat to make his speech.
- Cue President Clinton, with arms outstretched, to invite Arafat and Rabin to shake hands (show or project Document Set 1, Photograph B).

Bright Idea
Project the photograph behind the three students as they role-play this scene.

Class Discussion

When the speeches are finished, ask each class member to write down three adjectives that describe how they feel at this historic moment in time from the point of view of their assigned role.

Ask students to share their responses.

Prompt a general assessment of feelings in the room by asking, "Who else used that same adjective?" and taking a show of hands.

Option: You may prefer to break up the speeches with responses from the audience.

Next, ask students:

- How does President Clinton's speech frame this moment with references to the history of Israel/Palestine and past peace accords?
- For how long had this conflict been going on, and at what cost?
- What do you think made the signing of the Oslo Accords such an important moment in history?
- What references does Clinton make to religion? Would you expect to find religious allusions in the Oslo Accords themselves?
- According to what the speakers said, did the Oslo Accords resolve all the conflicts?
- Based on what you heard, what commitments did each of the parties make to the others?
- After witnessing the signing, what makes you hopeful? Does anything give you pause about the agreement's eventual success?

Possible answers to these questions:

- President Clinton referred to the U.S. recognition of Israel (1948), the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel (negotiated with the help of President Carter in 1979), and the Madrid Conference (1991). These were landmarks on the road to peace, but none officially involved representatives of the Palestinian people.
- What made Oslo unique is that it was the first time that Israel and the PLO had face-to-face negotiations and signed the same document. It was also the first time that both sides pledged to resolve the conflict peacefully.
- The cost of the ongoing conflict included Israeli and Palestinian lives lost, the loss of economic prosperity for Palestinians, and the inability to achieve peace in the wider region of the Middle East.
- President Clinton referred to the "children of Abraham," alluding to the ways in which the religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all trace their roots back to Abraham. This inspiring rhetoric brought unity to the proceedings and a higher sense of purpose, but it had no place in a legal document like the Oslo Accords, as students will discover.
- The Oslo Accords did not profess to resolve all issues, but rather set up the principles under which they would be resolved within a certain timeframe (five years). Arafat referred to the key issues that were not yet resolved: refugees, the status of Jerusalem, boundaries, and the settlements. He also referred to implementing UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

- Israel and the PLO pledged to find peaceful solutions to outstanding problems and pledged to work together to further the economic development of the region as well. It is important for students to understand that neither the U.S. nor Russia had been involved in the negotiations in Oslo. However, both Israel and the PLO wanted international help to implement the peace process; and both the U.S. and Russia pledged to do so.

Lesson Plan

Day 2

The Press Conference

- If students prepare for the Press Conference in advance, it runs itself. The journalists and diplomats are each assigned to ask a specific question or questions. They need to prepare an introduction to their questions as per the instructions in **Handout 3: Press Conference Questions**. The Signatories and Witnesses likewise know in advance which question(s) will be posed to them, and can prepare their responses in advance.
- You will play the role of moderator. Using **Handout 3: Press Conference Questions**, work your way down the list of people posing questions. Allow time for follow-up questions and encourage impromptu exchanges in addition to the prepared statements.

Before the Press Conference

Assign the following tasks to all students as homework:

- Complete reading the **Background Essay.**
- Complete reading the **Timeline.**

Distribute **Handout 2: Press Conference Assignment Sheet** to the seven Signatories and Witnesses, and to the 14 journalists and diplomats.

Distribute **Handout 3: Press Conference Questions** to the seven Signatories and Witnesses, and to the 14 journalists and diplomats.

Distribute **Document 3: The Oslo Accords** to the seven Signatories and Witnesses. (They are only four pages long and not too difficult to read).

Option: Have the entire class read **Document 3: The Oslo Accords** (depending on the reading capabilities of your students).

Bright Idea
Use an additional in-class period to help students prepare for the Press Conference.

Teaching tip
Remember that you can also have the Invited Guests write their own questions to pose at the Press Conference.

Lesson Plan

Day 3

Debriefing

Questions to pose to the class after the Press Conference:

- Based on the Press Conference questions and responses, do you think the Oslo Accords were flawed, or were they a viable means to bring peace to the Middle East?
- Were the Oslo Accords fair to both Israelis and Palestinians, or did one side come out with the upper hand?
- Based on the **Timeline**, what factors led to another stalemate in the Middle East by 2000? Were either or both sides responsible?
- Did the United States and Russia stay as involved as they pledged they would to move the peace process forward?
- Despite failures, what aspects of the Oslo Accords endure?
- When the Oslo Accords were written, no one predicted the Arab Spring. What new factors came into play in the Middle East since the spring of 2001?
- Since the Oslo Accords did not bring peace to the Middle East, should they still be remembered as important? Can primary source documents such as this one become more or less important over time? Why or why not?

Option: Assign all class members to write a news article based on the Press Conference.

Background Essay

Introduction

One of the most intractable conflicts of the 20th century has been between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews over the right to land. The claims that each side makes are tied to a sense of identity and history, as well as to religious tradition. Throughout the long conflict, each side has felt that its cause has been insufficiently covered or misrepresented in the worldwide media. In this unit, the land in dispute will be referred to as "Israel/Palestine." For centuries, it was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. When the Ottomans were defeated at the end of World War I, the victorious British Empire acquired it as part of the British Mandate for Palestine. In addition to Jews and Muslims, the Mandate included a Christian Arab population, centered mainly in Jerusalem.

UN Partition of Palestine

At the end of World War II, England relinquished control of the Mandate for Palestine. The struggle for Israel/Palestine involved competing claims as to who had the right to create a nation or nations. The UN decided to divide the Mandate for Palestine between Jews and Arabs (Resolution 181, 1947).

It is important to note that the language of the resolution refers to dividing Palestine for "Arabs and Jews," not specifically for Palestinians. Communities of Jews have lived in Israel/Palestine since ancient times. The idea of a Jewish national homeland took root among European Jews as nationalist ideologies spread throughout the continent in the 19th century, and became an urgent quest after the Holocaust. The Palestinians, whose ancestry in Israel/Palestine also goes back thousands of years, tended to identify with a specific region, religious sect, or family lineage. For many Palestinians, a deepening sense of national identity was crystallized by the loss of a homeland they always expected to inhabit.

The UN partition plan allocated 56.47% of Mandated Palestine to a Jewish state, and 43.53% to an Arab state. Jerusalem was to remain an international city. A majority of member nations approved of the UN plan (including the Soviet Union), but no Arab nation voted in favor of it. Before the UN plan could be implemented, civil war broke out between Palestinians and Jews. Jews declared the state of Israel on May 15th, 1948. This joyous event for Israelis is remembered by Palestinians as *al-Nakba* or "The Catastrophe."

To contest the establishment of the state of Israel, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan (now Jordan) invaded Israel in 1948. Since Arab states had opposed the division of Mandated Palestine from the start, they fought to restore all of Palestine rather than found an Arab nation on less than half the land. Six months later, Israel emerged victorious and possessed one-third more land than it had been accorded by the UN plan. During the course of the fighting, an estimated 600,000 to 700,000 Palestinians became refugees and fled to other

UN partition plan for Palestine

1949 Armistice line

Arab nations. Arab nations took advantage of this situation to add to their own territory. At the war's end, Jordan took East Jerusalem (including the Old City) and the West Bank, while Egypt kept the Gaza Strip. Together, Jordan and Egypt acquired approximately 25% of Mandated Palestine. Thus, the UN Plan for the establishment of a Palestinian state never materialized.

The Six-Day War and Its Legacy

The cease-fire boundaries of 1949 left Arab nations frustrated. However, the nationless Palestinians suffered the greatest defeat. In the late 1950s, Arab Nationalist Yasser Arafat founded the Fatah organization as a way to mobilize the Palestinians in an ongoing armed struggle against Israel. Fatah forces launched effective guerilla attacks on Israel from their bases in Jordan and Syria. The Palestine Liberation Organization, founded in 1964, then took up the armed struggle begun by Fatah. Israelis thus felt that the security of their new nation was at stake. Finally, all sides anticipated the outbreak of war. In May 1967, Egypt sent 80,000 troops to Israel's border, and on June 5th, 1967 Israel launched a series of preemptive attacks. Six days later, Israel seized the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the West Bank from Jordan, including East Jerusalem. As a result, Israel doubled the area of land under its control. The "occupied territories" Israel dominated now included 650,000 Palestinians in the West Bank and another 350,000 in Gaza. Supervised by the Israeli military, the occupied territories were given autonomy to manage their communities, but were forbidden from creating any nationwide political bodies. The occupation and its hardships reinforced a sense of Palestinian national consciousness and brought international attention to the Palestinian cause.

After the Six-Day War, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242, which emphasized "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security." It affirmed that Israel should withdraw from territories it occupied after the Six-Day War. It also affirmed that each state was entitled to live in peace and that their boundaries should be recognized by their neighbors. This is the origin of the term "land for peace" that has been the basis of talks ever since. Under this principle, Arab states would recognize Israel's right to exist; in exchange, Israel would return the land acquired in the Six-Day War of 1967. Needless to say, some parties on both sides resisted this. Arafat's Fatah and the PLO kept up an informal state of war with Israel, launching terrorist attacks from within and without its borders. On the Israeli side, the Labor Party favored the exchange of "land for peace" (although not the establishment of a Palestinian state), but the Likud Party favored subsidizing thousands of Jews to settle on the West Bank and in Gaza. Likud hoped that in the face of the "facts on the ground," entrenched Israeli settlements would make the exchange of land for peace an ever-distant goal.

The Camp David Accords

The persistent violence that continued to erupt made the search for peace even more imperative, especially after the Yom Kippur War (also known as the Ramadan War) of 1973. Egypt and Syria

spearheaded the fight to win back the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights. They did not succeed, but the war came close to igniting a greater conflagration among the superpowers, since the Soviets backed the Arabs while the U.S. backed Israel. To avoid confrontation, President Jimmy Carter initiated a multilateral approach, reaching out to all sides in the conflict. The result was the Camp David Accords, signed in 1978 by Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, and President Carter. Egypt thus became the first Arab nation to recognize the state of Israel. In exchange, Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. Israel also recognized the legitimate right of self-government for the Palestinians.

Oslo Accords

What brought Israelis and Palestinians to the negotiating table, face to face, in Oslo? Historians credit several factors. The dissolution of the Soviet Union left the PLO without its key backer in the region. Arafat was also weakened by his stance in the 1991 Gulf War; unlike other Arab leaders, he supported Iraq after it invaded Kuwait, thereby losing support from Saudi Arabia. In addition, after Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which was aimed at rooting out the PLO's base there, Arafat had been forced to move his headquarters to Tunisia.

Land occupied by Israel in 1967

The Israelis came to the negotiating table for their own reasons. The Gulf War convinced them that the United States would use military force to come to the aid of an ally, which eased some of their insecurity. Holding on to strategic pieces of land now seemed less important than access to advanced military technology. Another factor was the five-year long Palestinian Intifada (1987–1993), uprisings that took place in Israeli-occupied territories. Facing a growing and angry population of almost three million Palestinians, Israelis were ready to look at alternatives to unending occupation. In 1991, Israeli representatives attended the Madrid Conference to discuss peace with representatives of Arab countries, but still refused to openly negotiate with the PLO. Then, in 1992 the Israeli elections put the Labor Party back in power under the leadership of Yitzhak Rabin. Historically, Labor had always been less hawkish than the Likud Party. Finally, the PLO began to look like a moderate organization compared to other radical groups of Muslim fundamentalists that had arisen. Arafat, too, was in competition with some of these same groups, like Hamas.

In 1993, Norway extended an invitation to the Israelis and the PLO to come to the Fafo Institute to meet out of the public eye. Holding private talks was the key to the success of Oslo. It allowed ideas to flow freely, without concern that the media would inflame opinions before disagreements could be settled. By late August, negotiators had crafted an agreement. The Oslo Accords were signed months later in Washington, D.C. with millions of people around the world watching the ceremony on TV.

The Agreements

The Oslo Accords set up an ongoing peace process within a framework of mutual discussion and trust. The Accords were actually made up of several agreements. First were the letters of mutual recognition. The letter signed by Arafat said, "The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.… Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence." Israel's letter stated that, "…the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the

PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process." Thus, for the first time both sides acknowledged each other's right to exist.

The heart of the document was the Declaration of Principles (DOP). It set forth the guidelines for all future negotiations, which were to take place within the next five years. The Declaration of Principles acknowledged that the goal of peace was implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 (withdrawal of Israeli forces from land occupied after the Six-Day War) and Resolution 338 (which reinforced Resolution 242). By accepting Resolution 242, the Palestinians relinquished claims to the whole of Palestine; instead, they acknowledged that Israel's legitimate borders were as they stood at the end of the Israeli-Arab War of 1948. Israel pledged that it would leave the Gaza Strip and the West Bank (both acquired at the end of the Six-Day War) in an exchange of "land for peace."

The Declaration of Principles recognized the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and self-rule, although it stopped short of defining nationhood. The Declaration also created an interim elected body for the Palestinians (Palestinian Interim Council), which since 1994 has been called the Palestinian National Authority. The Authority was to rule Gaza and the West Bank. Palestinians would have authority over education and culture, health, social welfare, taxation, and tourism. The Authority would build infrastructure, promote economic growth, and form cooperative economic and ecological projects with the Israeli government. Israeli military forces were to be withdrawn from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The Accords stipulated that "…the [Palestinian] Council will establish a strong police force, while Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order."

The Oslo Accords stipulated that "permanent status negotiations" begin within three years. The unresolved issues included the ultimate status of Jerusalem and the question of refugees. Did Palestinian refugees have a "right of return" to the land now held by Israel since 1948? If so, the Palestinian population would eventually outnumber that of the Jewish one in Israel, effectively ending Israel's role as a Jewish state. Other questions included whether Palestinian refugees should be compensated in some other manner, and, conversely, whether the Israeli government should compensate Jewish settlers who would be forced to leave their homes in the West Bank or Gaza. Other permanent status negotiations would include "security arrangements, border, relations, and cooperation with their neighbors…" A Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee and an Arbitration Committee would provide both sides with a means to settle future disputes.

Problems with the Oslo Accords

From the start, there was mistrust between the parties. Palestinians feared that Israel would use the five-year interim period to increase the number of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Israelis feared that once Palestinians had control of the West Bank and Gaza, they would use them to launch future attacks on Israel. Both sides also had fears that Oslo would merely provide a cover for ongoing—albeit stealthy—hostilities and would not actually accomplish anything.

On each side, too, there were factions unwilling to make the compromises stipulated in the Oslo Accords. The Palestinian parties Hamas and Islamic Jihad refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the two-state solution at all, and kept up attacks on Israel. Israel claimed the Palestinian Authority had failed to suppress these attacks. When the Likud Party under Benjamin Netanyahu came back to power in Israel, many more Israeli settlements were built in the occupied territories. Groups like the Land of Israel (Eretz Yisrael) believe that Israelis should acquire all of the "Land of Israel." Extremists on both sides also tried to thwart the peace process. In 1981, an Egyptian army official assassinated President Anwar Sadat of Egypt for making peace with Israel. In 1995, an Israeli extremist assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin for his role in the Oslo Accords. In order to make peace, both sides would need to find effective ways to rein in their own extremists.

Timeline

1947	The British prepare to leave the Mandate for Palestine. The United Nations partitions historic Palestine into two states (UN Resolution 181): one for Jews and the other for Arabs living in Palestine. The plan is accepted by the international community, but not by Arabs.
1948	War breaks out between Jews and a coalition of Arab countries as each side tries to hold on to more land. Israelis emerge victorious, and hundreds of thousands of Palestinians flee their homeland, becoming refugees. Other Arabs remain in Israel.
1964	The Palestine Liberation Organization is founded.
1967	Israel is victorious after the Six-Day War with Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. As a consequence, it doubles the land it controls and occupies Gaza, Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem. Israelis begin establishing settlements on land acquired in the war. UN Council Resolution 242 declares that Israel must withdraw from the territory it conquered in the Six-Day War. Israel, Egypt, and Jordan accept the Resolution; the PLO rejects it.
1972	The PLO resorts to terrorist tactics to win back all of Palestine. At the Olympics in Munich, the PLO kills 11 Israeli athletes. The PLO is consequently condemned by the international community.
1973	The October War (also known as the Yom Kippur and Ramadan War) is waged by Egypt and Syria against Israel. The Arabs are unsuccessful in their attempt to win back territories previously lost to Israel in the Six-Day War. The UN passes Resolution 338, which reiterates the need to implement Resolution 242.
1974	Arafat makes his first appearance at the UN as the PLO seeks to win recognition as a legitimate political organization representing the Palestinian cause.
1977	Menachem Begin comes to power. The stated goal of the Likud Party, which he leads, is to win all of historic Palestine for Israel.
1978	Egypt and Israel sign the Camp David Accords in Washington, D.C., making Egypt the first Arab nation to come to a peace agreement with Israel. The Accords implement the "land for peace" principle, and Israel returns the Sinai Peninsula in exchange for Egypt's recognition of Israel, and peaceful coexistence.
1979	Israel withdraws from the Sinai Peninsula.

1982	Israel invades Lebanon in a massive attack to root out PLO camps along its border, from which terrorist attacks were being launched. The PLO leadership leaves Lebanon and moves to Tunis. Lebanon falls into a civil war, and Israeli leader Ariel Sharon resigns when a government inquiry concludes that he failed to halt massacres of Palestinians in Lebanese refugee camps.
1981	President Sadat of Egypt is assassinated by an Egyptian army official who objects to the Camp David Accords. The assassin is executed and becomes a martyr to some Islamic fundamentalists.
1984	Jewish settlements in the West Bank reach 35,000 settlers; the number will double by 1988.
1987	The Palestinian Intifada is born out of ongoing frustration with Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Primarily a grassroots, non-violent protest movement, it continues for five years. A total of 164 Israelis and approximately 1000 Palestinians lose their lives. The Hamas organization is founded with the goal of "liberating" all of historic Palestine from Israeli control in order to create an Islamic state.
1989	Arafat addresses the UN General Assembly and as such is recognized as the spokesperson for the Palestinian people. He accepts the two-state solution in principle.
1990–91	The Gulf War takes place, in which the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is repulsed by a UN coalition led by the United States. PLO leader Yasser Arafat sides with Iraq and thus loses the support of wealthy Arab Gulf states.
1991	The Madrid Conference is held at the invitation of the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and Palestinian groups (but not officially the PLO) and representatives from Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel attend televised sessions.
1993	The Oslo Accords are signed in Washington, D.C. The PLO agrees to recognize the state of Israel in exchange for a gradual withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories and the phasing in of Palestinian self-rule. Both sides accept the two-state solution in principle.
1994	The Palestinian National Authority is founded. Yasser Arafat is elected president of the Authority and takes up residence in Gaza. Israel accepts the Cairo Agreement and agrees to withdraw from 60% of the Gaza Strip and Jericho (on the West Bank). Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, and Yasser Arafat jointly win the Nobel Peace Prize for their work on the Oslo Accords. Israel and Jordan sign a peace treaty. Jordan leaves the West Bank; it will now be governed by the PLO.

1995	The Oslo Accords 2 (also known as the Interim Agreement) are signed. The West Bank is divided into areas A (Palestinian), B (Palestinian and Israeli) and C (Israeli jurisdiction). An extremist Israeli Jew assassinates Yitzak Rabin for his role in the Oslo Accords.
1996	Palestinian elections are held. Hamas instigates suicide bombings within Israel. The Likud Party under Benjamin Netanyahu, which had never been in favor of Oslo, comes to power.
1997	Israel withdraws from 80% of Hebron.
1998	The Wye River Memorandum outlines further withdrawal of Israeli forces from the West Bank.
1999	**The five-year mark for the Oslo Accords is not met.**
2000	Peace talks at Camp David, hosted by President Clinton, do not find any solutions as to the status of Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the right of return of Palestinian refugees. Ariel Sharon tours the al-Aqsa/Temple Mount complex, an act many see as a means to provoke Palestinians' anger. The second Palestinian Intifada begins.
2002	In response to the Intifada, Israel reoccupies Palestinian territories.
2003	President George W. Bush, the European Union, and Russia propose a "road map" for peace in the Middle East. It offers a set of phases for establishing a two-state solution.
2005	Israel evacuates 21 settlements in Gaza Strip and four in the West Bank, forcibly removing Israeli settlers.
2006	Fatah and Hamas dissolve a unity government. Hamas takes Gaza by force while Fatah (PLO) continues to govern the West Bank. Approximately 250,000 Israeli settlers live in the West Bank.

Key Players

Shimon Peres: Shimon Peres was the Israeli Foreign Minister in 1993 and a member of the Labor Party. He was first elected to the Knesset (the Israeli legislature) in 1959. He had previously served in the Israeli military. After the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, he became acting Prime Minister. As Prime Minister, he was dedicated to implementing the Oslo Accords, but he was defeated by the Likud Party. Benjamin Netanyahu took his place in 1996. Peres won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994 for his work on the Oslo Accords.

Andrei Kozyrev: Andrei Kozyrev served as the Russian Foreign Minister under President Boris Yeltsin at the time of the Oslo Accords. His support for Western liberal-democratic policies won him many supporters in the West, but not always within the Kremlin. He lost his post as Foreign Minister in 1996, and served in the Duma (the Russian legislature).

Yitzhak Rabin: Yitzhak Rabin was Israel's Prime Minister when the Oslo Accords were signed. Rabin's outstanding military career made it easier for him to win the support of Israelis for the Accords. He won victories in the war of 1948, and in 1964 he was appointed Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces. Under his command, Israel won its stunning success in the Six-Day War. He won a Nobel Peace Prize for his contribution to the Accords. He was assassinated in 1995 by an Israeli extremist upset by the Accords. This tragic loss made it harder for the Accords to succeed.

Bill Clinton: Bill Clinton served as president of the United States from 1993 to 2001. A Democrat, he defeated incumbent Republican George H.W. Bush, under whose leadership the Madrid Conference—a precursor to Oslo—had been called. While Clinton was not involved in negotiations in Oslo, he was present when the agreements were signed at the White House. At Clinton's urging, Arafat and Rabin shook hands; the photograph of that moment remains iconic. Dedicated to moving the peace process forward, Clinton sponsored the Camp David talks in 2000, but they failed to make headway.

Yasser Arafat: Yasser Arafat's goal was to establish a Palestinian nation. He wrested control of the PLO from other Arab states, insisting that it be led by the Palestinians themselves. Dedicated to destroying Israel, the PLO was at first branded a terrorist organization for its use of violent tactics against Israelis. However, in 1988 Arafat accepted UN Resolution 242, leading to international recognition of the PLO as a legitimate political organization. He was also the founder of the Fatah party. He was accused of corruption and of conceding too much to the Israelis by organizations such as Hamas. The circumstances surrounding his death in Paris in 2004 are still under investigation.

Warren Christopher: Warren Christopher served several Democratic presidents. He was Bill Clinton's Secretary of State when the Oslo Accords were signed. He had a far-reaching vision for a peaceful and prosperous Middle East. After Oslo, Christopher was instrumental in encouraging Jordan and Israel to arrive at a peace treaty.

Mahmoud Abbas: Mahmoud Abbas was born in Galilee. His family was forced to flee from Palestine to Syria during the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. In 1961, Arafat recruited him to join Fatah. Abbas played various diplomatic roles for the PLO, leading up to his part in the signing of the Oslo Accords. In 2005, he became President of the Palestinian National Authority, a body created by the Oslo Accords.

Handout 1: Preparing to Deliver Your Speech

For those role-playing Clinton, Abbas, Christopher, Arafat, Rabin, Perez, and Kozyrev:

Your teacher will provide you with a speech given at the signing of the Oslo Accords on September 13th, 1993. It is your job to role-play the speechmaker assigned to you, and to read out loud to the class these historic words.

Your audience will not have the chance to read your speech ahead of time, nor to hear it again. Thus, it's very important that you read it loudly, slowly, and with dramatic flair. Certainly the speechmakers themselves practiced these very words before saying them to the world.

Here are steps that will help you to improve your performance:

- Read the speech out loud to yourself.
- Underline words you do not recognize, do not know the meaning of, or do not know how to pronounce. Look them up in a dictionary, or do a computer search for them. Some websites will have a little speaker icon next to the words; when you click on it, you will hear the word pronounced out loud. Read the definition.
- Reread the speech. This time, look for places where you want to pause or raise your voice for emphasis. Mark these places by circling words, highlighting them with a marker, or in some other way.
- Remember your audience: You will be speaking in front of former U.S. presidents, Israeli and Palestinian schoolchildren, and people who were formerly your enemies. Decide at whom you will look when you speak certain sentences.
- Practice a few hand gestures to go along with your speech in order to give your words dramatic emphasis.
- Next, re-read the speech in front of a mirror. Practice it until you are able to look at your audience at key places without having to consult the text.

Handout 2: Press Conference Assignment Sheet

You are about to attend a press conference at which journalists will ask questions about the Oslo Accords. These questions will be posed to the Signatories and Witnesses who just gave speeches about the Oslo Accords. The journalists who will ask the questions represent the United States, Russia, the Palestinians, the Israelis, and countries that border Israel/Palestine. The journalists want to gain a better understanding of exactly what the Oslo Accords say and what they will mean to different groups of people in the future.

Instructions for Journalists

In order to ask relevant questions, answer them, and pose follow-up questions, all journalists must:

- Complete reading the Background Essay and Timeline.
- Find the question(s) you are assigned to ask in Handout 3.
- Write three or four sentences leading up to those questions in which you use facts from the Background Essay and Timeline.
- When you are called upon, remember to:
- State your affiliation as a journalist (newspaper/country).
    - Explain why your readers are interested in the issue you are posing.
    - Direct the question to only one person; for example, "I would like to pose this question to Mr. X."
    - Listen carefully to the response.
    - Think of a short follow-up question.
    - Thank the speaker who answered your question(s).

Instructions for Signatories and Witnesses

If you are a Signatory or Witness, your role is to defend the Oslo Accords as best you can and to show why they represent a historic breakthrough that will improve the future for everyone.

Students role-playing the seven Signatories and Witnesses must:

- Complete reading the Background Essay and Timeline.
- Review the events that preceded the Oslo Accords.
- Know the key issues that have thwarted peace in the Middle East in the past.

- Read the Oslo Accords and bring a copy of them to the Press Conference.
- Locate the question(s) you are assigned to answer in Handout 3, and re-read the Oslo Accords to see if they answer the question.
- Think about why this journalist (representing a specific country or point of view) might be posing this particular question.
- In your answer, show why the Oslo Accords either solve this problem in the immediate future, or provide the means to settle it later on.
- Remember that you are now on friendly terms with people on the panel who were previously your enemies, and remain cordial at all times.
- When you are called upon, remember to:
    - Listen carefully to the person who poses the question because they will include a brief introduction to the question.
    - Thank the speaker for the question.
    - Repeat the question before you answer it, "I have been asked…"
    - Respond to any follow-up questions with well-informed answers.

Handout 3: Press Conference Questions

Question	Posed by a journalist from:	Answered by:
1. What makes the Oslo Accords different from other peace treaties that Israel has made with its neighbors?	*The New York Times*	Clinton
2. What should make us most hopeful about the success of the Oslo Accords?	*Pravda*	Kozyrev
3. What do both Israelis and Palestinians have to gain from signing the Oslo Accords?	*The Washington Post*	Christopher
4. How will Israel's neighbors in the Arab world benefit from the Oslo Accords?	Jordan	Abbas
5. How do the Oslo Accords set up a means for Israelis and Palestinians to solve the problems between them within the next five years?	*Isvestia*	Peres
6. What is the relationship between the formation of an elected Palestinian government (the Palestinian National Authority) and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied lands?	*Al-Quds al-Arabi*	Arafat
7. How will Israel deal with settlers who refuse to leave their homes in Gaza or the West Bank? How will Israel deal with political parties who oppose giving up any land for peace?	*Izvestia*	Rabin
8. What happens if Israeli settlers (with or without the aid of the Israeli government) make new homes on the West Bank or in Gaza during the five-year interim period?	*Al-Hayat al-Jadida*	Clinton
9. What happens if Palestinian organizations such as Hamas or Islamic Jihad, who are opposed to a two-state solution, attack Israel? Whose responsibility is it to stop them?	*Haaretz*	Abbas
10. What is the timetable for Israel to withdraw from the territories, including the Gaza Strip? What if Israel fails to follow this timetable?	Egypt	Kozyrev

11. For decades, the PLO was an outcast organization in the world community and could only exist in the shadows. What hope is there that it can become a responsible governing body?	*Yedioth Ahronoth*	Arafat
12. What is the viability of a Palestinian state divided into two parts, the West Bank and Gaza?	Syria	Rabin
13. What are the responsibilities of the Israeli army with regard to Gaza and the West Bank? Do both sides agree?	Lebanon	Christopher
14. Will the Oslo Accords improve trade, commerce, and economic prosperity for the Palestinians in particular and for the Middle East in general?	*Pravda*	Arafat
15. According to the Oslo Accords, what will be the fate of East Jerusalem, captured by Israel in the Six-Day War?	*Makor Rishon*	Peres
16. Is there anything in the Oslo Accords regarding prisoners? Why or why not?	*Al-Hayat*	Peres
17. According to the Oslo Accords, what is the status of Palestinian refugees who fled Israel/Palestine or were forced from their homes in Israel/Palestine in 1948?	*The Washington Post*	Abbas
18. What can the United States and Russia do to move the peace process forward?	*The New York Times*	Clinton
19. Since the Labor Party in Israel signed the Oslo Accords, what happens if it gets voted out of office and the Likud Party takes over the reins of government?	*Makor Rishon*	Rabin

Document Set 1: Photographs

Photograph A: The Signing

Signing the document: Shimon Peres, Israeli Foreign Minister. Left to right: Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, X, President Bill Clinton, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, PLO negotiator Mahmoud Abbas. Photograph copyright © Cynthia Johnson, Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images. Used with permission.

Photograph B: Yitzak Rabin, President Bill Clinton, Yasser Arafat

Document Set 2: Extracts from the Remarks at the Signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Agreement

Note: The ceremony and complete remarks of all the speakers can be found at: http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3925. The full text of Clinton's speech is also online. The remarks of the other speakers have been transcribed and considerably shortened.

Document A: President Clinton's Remarks

Prime Minister Rabin, Chairman Arafat, Foreign Minister Peres, Mr. Abbas, President Carter, President Bush, distinguished guests.

On behalf of the United States and Russia, cosponsors of the Middle East peace process, welcome to this great occasion of history and hope.

Today we bear witness to an extraordinary act in one of history's defining dramas, a drama that began in the time of our ancestors when the word went forth from a sliver of land between tide river Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. That hallowed piece of earth, that land of light and revelation is the home to the memories and dreams of Jews, Muslims, and Christians throughout the world.

As we all know, devotion to that land has also been the source of conflict and bloodshed for too long. Throughout this century, bitterness between the Palestinian and Jewish people has robbed the entire region of its resources, its potential, and too many of its sons and daughters…

Then, 14 years ago, the past began to give way when, at this place and upon this desk, three men of great vision signed their names to the Camp David Accords. Today we honor the memories of Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, and we salute the wise leadership of President Jimmy Carter. Then, as now, we heard from those who said that conflict would come again soon. But the peace between Egypt and Israel has endured. Just so, this bold new venture today, this brave gamble that the future can be better than the past, must endure.

Two years ago in Madrid, another President took a major step on the road to peace by bringing Israel and all her neighbors together to launch direct negotiations. And today we also express our deep thanks for the skillful leadership of President George Bush…. Ever since Harry Truman first recognized Israel, every American President, Democrat and Republican, has worked for peace between Israel and her neighbors.

Today the leadership of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization will sign a declaration of principles on interim Palestinian self-government. It charts a course toward reconciliation between two peoples who have both known the bitterness of exile. Now both pledge to put old sorrows and antagonisms behind them and to work for a shared future shaped by the values of the Torah, the Koran, and the Bible…

Above all, let us dedicate ourselves today to your region's next generation. In this entire assembly, no one is more important than the group of Israeli and Arab children who are seated here with us today.

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, this day belongs to you. And because of what you have done, tomorrow belongs to them. The children of Abraham, the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael, have embarked together on a bold journey. Together today, with all our hearts and all our souls, we bid them shalom, salaam, peace.

Document B: Remarks of Shimon Peres

Mr. President, your excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

What we are doing today is more than signing an agreement, it is a revolution: Yesterday a dream, today a commitment. The Israeli and Palestinian people who have fought each other for almost a century have agreed to move decisively on the path of cooperation. We live in an ancient land. As our land is small so must our reconciliation be great.… I want to tell the Palestinian delegation that we are sincere and we mean business. We will offer you our help in making Gaza prosper and Jericho blossom again.… We have to build a new commonwealth on our old soil. A Middle East of the people and a Middle East for the children.… For their sake we must put aside an arms race and invest our resources in education. May there be no more victims on either side.

Document C: Remarks of Mahmoud Abbas

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In these historic moments with feelings of joy that are mixed with a maximum sense of responsibility regarding events that are affecting our entire region, I greet you…We have come to this point because we believe that peaceful coexistence and cooperation are the only means for reaching understanding and for realizing … our hopes… We know quite well that this is merely the beginning of a journey that is surrounded by numerous dangers and difficulties and yet our mutual determination to overcome everything that stands in the way of the cause of peace, our common belief that peace is the only means to security and stability, and our mutual aspiration for a secure peace characterized by cooperation—all this will enable us to overcome all obstacles with the support of the international community.

Document D: Remarks of Warren Christopher

Mr President, Mr. Prime Minister, Chairman Arafat, Members of Congress, and Distinguished guests,

I am honored to have witnessed the signing of this agreement on behalf of the United States. Millions of people have dreamed of this moment.… The Israelis and Palestinians have taken a dramatic step for a just, comprehensive peace, an agreement that can lift the lives of the people of the Middle East. They overcame seemingly insurmountable obstacles in framing the declaration of principles and the terms for mutual recognition. They have broken through the barriers of hatred and fear and throughout the process they demonstrated extraordinary courage and statesmanship.… This gives genuine hope that they will complete the journey that has begun today.

Document E: Remarks of Andrei Kozyrev

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman,

On behalf of President Yeltsin I would like to congratulate you and other colleagues and friends here who made possible through their effort and good will this major step on the long road to comprehensive peace in the Middle East. I think it's really time to rejoice but it is no time for euphoria. Unfortunately this is only a first step, major, but a first step on a long, long road. I want to assure you that Russia is one of the co-sponsors … and will spare no effort together with the U.S. and the United Nations and other interested parties to go on this road and not let this major event to fail.

Document F: Remarks of Yitzak Rabin

President Clinton, Your excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The signing of the Israeli and Palestinian declaration of principles here today, it's not so easy, neither for myself as a soldier in Israel's war, nor for the people of Israel, nor for the people of the Jewish diaspora, people who are watching us now with great hope mixed with apprehension. It is certainly not easy for the families of the victims the wars, violence, terror whose pain will never heal…. We remember each and every one of them with everlasting love … We have … come to try to put an end to the hostilities so that our children's children will no longer experience the pain and cost of violence and war.… Let me say to you the Palestinians… We who have fought against you … we say to you today in a loud and a clear voice—enough of blood and tears, enough! We have no desire for revenge, we harbor no hatred towards you. We, like you, are people, people who want to build a home, to plant a tree, to love, to live side by side with you in dignity, in empathy, as human beings, as free men. We today are giving peace a chance, and saying again to you—enough.

Document G: Remarks of Yasser Arafat

In the name of God the most merciful, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am taking this opportunity to assure you that we [Palestinians] share your values for freedom, justice, and human rights, values for which my people have been striving. My people are hoping that this agreement (which we are signing today) will usher in an age of peace, coexistence and equal rights. We know that without peace in this region of the world, there can be no world peace. In moving towards the final settlement after two years, to implement all aspects of the UN Resolution 242 and 338, to resolve all the issues of Jerusalem, the settlements, the refugees, and the boundaries, will be a Palestinian and Israeli responsibility. It is also the role of the international community in its entirity to help the parties overcome the tremendous difficulties which are still standing in the way of reaching a final and comprehensive settlement.

Document Set 3: The Oslo Accords

Note that technically the Oslo Accords are composed of several other documents, including an exchange of letters and a variety of additions known as "Annexes." However, this is the heart of the document.

Israel-Palestine Liberation Organization Agreement: 1993

The Government of the State of Israel and the Palestinian team representing the Palestinian people agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security to achieve a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process. Accordingly, the two sides agree to the following principles.

Article I: Aim of the Negotiations

The aim of the Israeli Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council, (the "Council") for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

It is understood that the interim arrangements are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the negotiations on the permanent status will lead to implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 and 338.

Article II: Framework for the Interim Period

The agreed framework for the interim period is set in this declaration of principles.

Article III: Elections

1. In order that the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip may govern themselves according to democratic principles, direct, free, and general political elections will be held for the Council under agreed supervision and international observation, while Palestinian police will insure public order.

2. An agreement will be concluded on the exact mode and conditions of the elections in accordance with the protocol attached as Annex I, with the goal of holding the elections not later than nine months after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles.

3. The elections will constitute a significant interim preparatory step toward the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements.

Article IV: Jurisdiction

Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations. The two sides view the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, whose integrity will be preserved during the interim period.

Article V: Transitional Period and Permanent Status Negotiations

1. The five-year transitional period will begin upon the withdrawal from the Gaza strip and Jericho area.

2. Permanent status negotiations will commence as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian people representatives.

3. It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, border, relations, and cooperation with their neighbors, and other issues of common interest.

4. The two parties agreed that the outcome of the permanent status negotiations should not be prejudiced or preempted by agreements reached for the interim period.

Article VI: Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities

1. Upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and withdrawal from the Gaza and Jericho area, a transfer of authority from Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the authorized Palestinians for this task, as detailed herein, will commence. This transfer of authority will be of preparatory nature until the inauguration of the Council.

2. Immediately after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, with the view of promoting economic development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, authority will be transferred to the Palestinians on the following spheres: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, and tourism, the Palestinian side will commence in building the Palestinian police, as agreed upon. Pending the inauguration of the Council, the two parties may negotiate the transfer of additional powers and responsibilities, as agreed upon.

Article VII: Interim Agreement

1. The Israeli and Palestinian delegations will negotiate an agreement on the interim period (the "Interim Agreement").

2. The Interim Agreement shall specify, among other things, the structure of the Council, the number of its members, and the transfer of powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Council. The Interim Agreement shall also specify the Council's executive authority, legislative authority in accordance with Article IX below, and the independent Palestinian judicial organs.

3. The Interim Agreement shall include arrangements, to be implemented upon the inauguration of the Council, for the assumption by the Council of all of the powers and responsibilities transferred previously in accordance with Article VI above.

4. In order to enable the Council to promote economic growth, upon its inauguration, the Council will establish, among other things, a Palestinian Electricity Authority, a Gaza Sea Port Authority, a Palestinian Development Bank, a Palestinian Export Promotion Board, a Palestinian Environmental Authority, a Palestinian Land Authority and a Palestinian Water Administration Authority, and any other authorities agreed upon, in accordance with the Interim Agreement that will specify their powers and responsibilities.

5. After the inauguration of the Council, the Civil Administration will be dissolved, and the Israeli military government will be withdrawn.

Article VIII: Public Order and Security

In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Council will establish a strong police force, while Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order.

Article IX: Laws and Military Orders

1. The Council will be empowered to legislate, in accordance with the Interim Agreement, within all authorities transferred to it.

2. Both parties will review jointly laws and military orders presently in force in remaining spheres.

Article X: Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee

In order to provide for a smooth implementation of this Declaration of Principles and any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, a Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee will be established in order to deal with issues requiring coordination, other issues of common interest, and disputes.

Article XI: Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation in Economic Fields

Recognizing the mutual benefit of cooperation in promoting the development of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Israel, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, an Israeli-Palestinian Economic Cooperation Committee will be established in order to develop and implement in a cooperative manner the programs identified in the protocols attached as Annex III and Annex IV.

Article XII: Liaison and Cooperation with Jordan and Egypt

The two parties will invite the Governments of Jordan and Egypt to participate in establishing further liaison and cooperation arrangements between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian representatives on one hand, and the Governments of Jordan and Egypt, on the other hand, to promote cooperation between them. These arrangements will include the constitution of a Continuing Committee that will decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern will be dealt with by the Committee.

Article XIII: Redeployment of Israeli Forces

1. After the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles*, and not later than the eve of elections for the Council, a redeployment of Israeli military forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will take place, in addition to withdrawal of Israeli forces carried out in accordance with Article XIV.

2. In redeploying its military forces, Israel will be guided by the principle that its military forces should be redeployed outside populated areas.

3. Further redeployments to specified location will be gradually implemented commensurate with the assumption of responsibility for public order and internal security by the Palestinian police force pursuant to Article VIII above.

Article XIV: Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area

Israel will withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, as detailed in the protocol attached as Annex II.

Article XV: Resolution of Disputes

1. Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of the Declaration of Principles, or any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, shall be resolved by negotiations through the Joint Liaison Committee to be established pursuant to Article X above.

2. Disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations may be solved by a mechanism of conciliation to be agreed upon by the parties.

3. The parties may agree to submit to arbitration disputes relating to the interim period, which cannot be settled through reconciliation. To this end, upon the agreement of both parties, the parties will establish an Arbitration Committee.

Article XVI: Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation Concerning Regional Programs

Both parties view the multilateral working groups as an appropriate instrument for promoting a "Marshall Plan" for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as indicated in the protocol attached as Annex IV.

Article XVII: Miscellaneous Provisions

1. This Declaration of Principles will enter into force one month after its signing.

2. All protocols annexed to this Declaration of Principles and Agreed Minutes pertaining thereto shall be regarded as an integral part hereof.

* Source: Peace Agreements & Related, *Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements* ("Oslo Agreement"), 13 September 1993. Available at http://www.refworld.org/docid/3de5e96e4.html.

Photograph A for Projection

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Release Form for Photographic Images

To Teachers:

To help illustrate to others the experiential activities involved and to promote the use of simulations, we like to get photographs and videos of classes participating in the simulation. Please send photos of students actively engaged so we can publish them in our promotional material. Be aware that we can only use images of students for whom a release form has been submitted.

To Parents:

I give permission for photographs or videos of my child to appear in catalogs of educational materials published by Interact.

Name of student: _____ (print)

Age of student: _____ (print)

Parent or guardian: _____ (print)

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Address:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Phone: _____

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