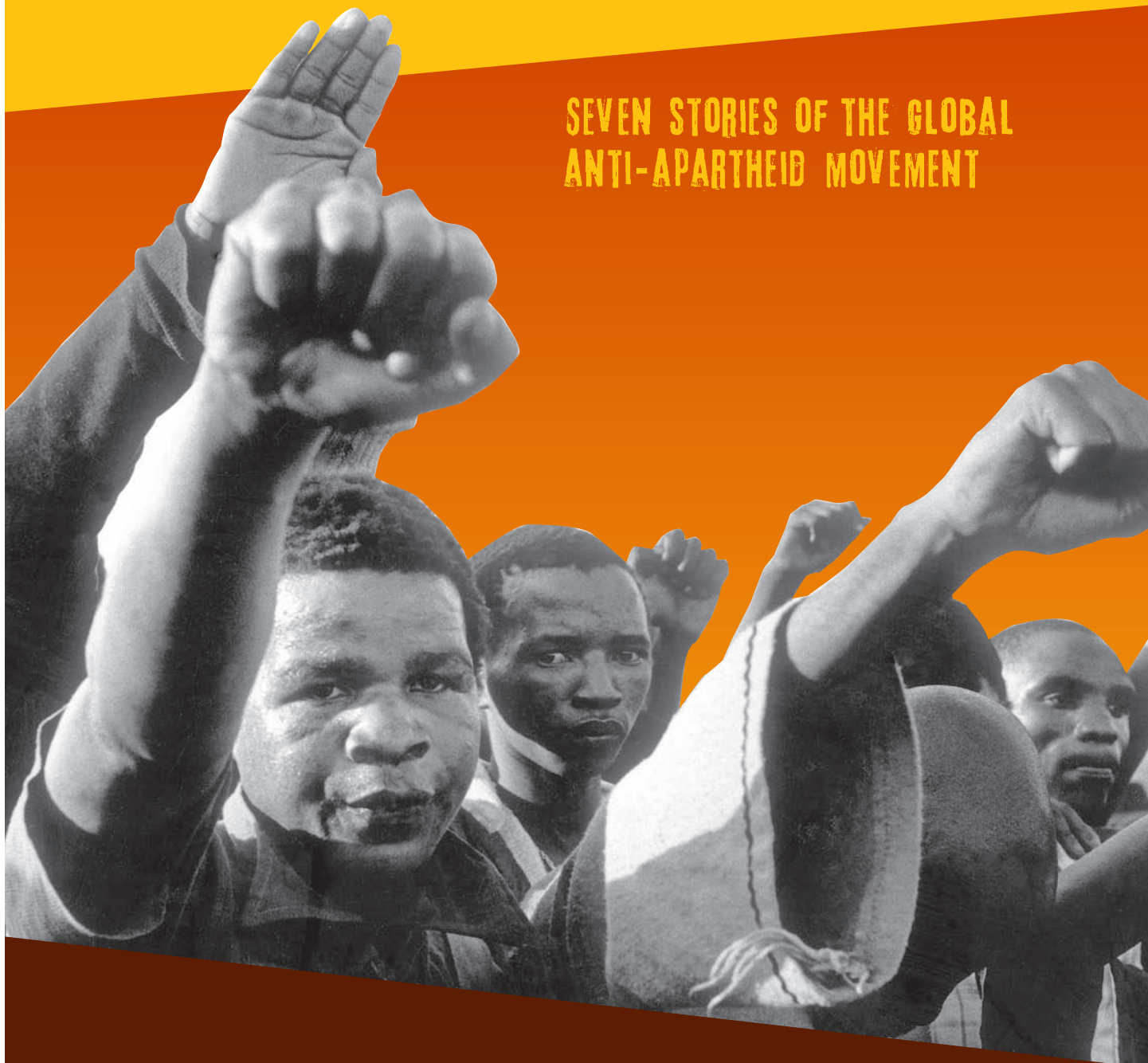


HAVE YOU HEARD FROM JOHANNESBURG

DISCUSSION
GUIDE

SEVEN STORIES OF THE GLOBAL
ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT



HAVE YOU HEARD
FROM JOHANNESBURG



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HAVE YOU HEARD FROM JOHANNESBURG

THE WORLD AGAINST APARTHEID

A new documentary series by two-time Academy Award® nominee

CONNIE FIELD



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Photos (page 2, and left and far right of this page) courtesy of Archive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Center photo on this page courtesy of Clarity Films.

Introduction

ABOUT THE *HAVE YOU HEARD FROM JOHANNESBURG* DOCUMENTARY SERIES

Have You Heard From Johannesburg, a Clarity Films Production, is a powerful seven-part documentary series by two-time Academy Award® nominee Connie Field that shines light on the global citizens' movement that took on South Africa's apartheid regime. It reveals how everyday people in South Africa and their allies around the globe helped challenge — and end — one of the greatest injustices the world has ever known.

For more information about the *Have You Heard* series and to purchase available films, please visit www.clarityfilms.org.

Have You Heard From Johannesburg presents numerous characters and points of view — from activists who storm the fields to derail matches with South Africa's apartheid rugby team and athletes who've devoted their careers to the sport and just want to play, to shareholders demanding that a company pull out of South Africa and corporate officers concerned with maximizing profit. Viewers are invited to see the global anti-apartheid movement not only for what it achieved, but also for what it took to get there: setbacks, compromises, disagreements, victories and countless challenges fought in the hearts and minds of everyday people.

Ten years in the making, the *Have You Heard* series is the first time any medium has pulled together the many threads of anti-apartheid action that formed the international movement. The series features interviews that span 12 countries and three decades. It reveals the untold story of one of the largest, most successful human rights campaigns in history.

For more information about the *Have You Heard* Global Engagement Project and how you can get involved, please visit: www.activevoice.net/haveyouheard.html.

ABOUT THE *HAVE YOU HEARD* GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROJECT

The *Have You Heard* series can be a powerful starting point for discussing where our responsibilities as global citizens begin and end. As we continue to seek solutions for the economic, environmental, social and human rights challenges that affect us all, these stories can serve as a much-needed reminder that a better world is possible.

The *Have You Heard* Global Engagement Project uses the story of the global anti-apartheid movement to inspire audiences to think about what they can do to change the world today. Active Voice (AV), a team of strategic communications specialists working to harness the power of film and media, join with partners in the United States, South Africa and worldwide to develop focused, engaging events organized around the *Have You Heard* series.

USING THIS DISCUSSION GUIDE

This guide is designed to help viewers use the *Have You Heard* series as a springboard for dialogue on a range of themes and issues related to the global anti-apartheid movement: human rights, social justice, race relations, civic engagement, global citizenship and economic justice.

It suggests overarching discussion questions about the entire series, and also allows viewers to delve deeper into each of the seven episodes and explore key themes. Throughout, we provide additional resources that provide background and context to support deeper dialogue — including an identity chart activity on page 13 and faith-specific discussion questions on page 15. We encourage you to browse through this guide, choose the episodes and themes that are most relevant to you, and tailor your discussion to meet your and your audience's needs. This guide includes just a few suggestions, so get creative!

Additional *Have You Heard* resources (listed on page 19.) are available at <http://www.activevoice.net/haveyouheard/resources.html>.



Photo: Diane Bratcher, New York Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, care of African Activist Archive

FILMMAKER'S INTERVIEW

The *Have You Heard From Johannesburg* series is produced and directed by acclaimed American filmmaker Connie Field, whose previous work includes the multi-award-winning *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* and the Academy Award®-nominated *Freedom On My Mind*.

Why did you decide to make *Have You Heard From Johannesburg*?

I wanted to tell the story of the world effort to eliminate apartheid as a focus for global action. This is a story about people who were fighting for their rights against a very oppressive regime and were able to strategically harness the rest of the world.

What makes this story so important, in your opinion?

We live in a globalized world today. Our problems cannot really be addressed separately. We need to act together, and this story sheds light on how that can happen.

This movement really did inspire the world. Why did South Africa in particular mean so much to so many people?

One important aspect was the effort to end the colonialism and institutionalized racism that was happening all over the world. South Africa was the last domino to fall. That's why it meant so much to everyone. That's why Mandela means so much to everyone. In addition, the decision for the ANC not to be vengeful is inspiring. Every time a takeover of this magnitude has happened, there has always been retaliation — and there was really a huge effort on South Africa's part to resist that and to have reconciliation. And even though there was violence involved in the struggle to end apartheid, the tactics that really won the day were the non-violent tactics ... and I think that's a great lesson.

That's true. But what do you think about the very real problems that South Africa still faces?

The problems that the people in South Africa face are global problems. They are not just South Africa's problems. Our economies are globally linked, and poverty and social inequality are issues all countries face. People often ask me about the *disappointments* of a post-apartheid South Africa and I remind them that 1994 was only 14 years ago. That's no time at all for things to change and if we look at our own country and we look at when slavery was abolished and how much that legacy has affected our society for 100 years since, then we realize real change takes time. Knowing history gives us perspective and helps us to not give up hope on the possibility of changing things.

So many of your documentaries are historical. What inspires you to make them?

In every culture there's storytelling. History is another kind of storytelling. These are stories that enrich where we are today. This is why human beings tell stories — so I'm interested in histories that have relevance. Many have had to fight to ensure that some histories are acknowledged: African American Studies, for example. I think it is important to understand from whence you came to understand where you are going. It always gave me strength and perspective when I was a young organizer to learn about social battles that had been fought before my time. I was able to learn from them and they gave me hope. And many of us discovered *hidden histories* that were not taught in our school system. So in my film work I have continued to tell *hidden histories*.

What were some of the challenges you faced in developing this series?

We were telling an untold global story. There were some books about the anti-apartheid movement in different countries but nothing had been done that put together the whole story from a global perspective ... and because it was such a big story, we had to figure out how to tell it. It didn't work just chronologically, so we came up with a kind of hybrid of chronology and themes that really became the structure of the whole series. You can get a clear narrative out of seeing each of these stories by themselves, but you really will not get the whole story unless you see the whole series in order.

How were you involved in the anti-apartheid movement? Where were you at the time?

In the mid to late seventies, I was involved with a group called African Liberation Support, which focused on supporting the anti-colonial struggles in Southern Africa — Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Most people in the seventies focused on all of these countries. In the eighties the movement was focusing solely on South Africa and I actually was not involved then as an organizer, though I certainly went to my share of demonstrations.



Connie Field, *Have You Heard from Johannesburg* filmmaker, on location

Discussion Questions

CONNECTING THE DOTS: THE HAVE YOU HEARD FROM JOHANNESBURG SERIES

Does Long-Term Activism Pay Off?

Have You Heard From Johannesburg shows how people in South Africa and all over the world came together to fight apartheid, opposing some of the world's most powerful governments, corporations and institutions to eventually overthrow the apartheid regime. The questions in this section are designed to encourage people to reflect on themes that run through the series as a whole and to prompt discussions about how to build a long-term human rights movement and how to incorporate a spirit of activism into our everyday lives. **These questions can be used with any film in the series, or with groups that have chosen to screen all or several episodes.**

Discussion Questions:

1. Were you involved in the anti-apartheid movement? If so, how? What are some of your memories of that time? Do you see any connections between this story and your life today? What are they?
2. What scenes jumped out at you? Were there any moments in the film that struck or moved you? What were they and why?
3. The *Have You Heard* series presents many leaders and ordinary people who were involved in the anti-apartheid movement and highlights some of their stories. Was there anyone in the series that you felt you could relate to? If so, who was it and why? Who are the "ordinary heroes" in your own community or areas of interest that inspire you? Why?
4. Many anti-apartheid activists believed that apartheid was so morally outrageous that, as Dutch activist Connie Braam put it, "the world will stand up" once people learned what was happening. In fact, it took almost forty years of struggle before apartheid ended. Can you think of instances where you have not gotten involved in an issue that you care about? If so, what made you reluctant?



Demonstration against Shell in New York City.
Photo: David Vita, courtesy of African Activist Archive

EPISODE SYNOPSIS

Road to Resistance

As the U.N. adopts the Declaration of Human Rights, South Africa heads in the opposite direction and implements apartheid. A mass movement is born, then crushed, and Nelson Mandela is jailed for life.

Hell of a Job

The future of the movement is on the shoulders of Oliver Tambo, who escapes into exile and begins a 30-year journey to engage the world in the struggle to bring democracy to South Africa.

The New Generation

Youth in South Africa and around the world join the growing movement against apartheid; the brutal suppression of a youth uprising in the South African township of Soweto galvanizes public support for sanctions against South Africa.



Demonstration in Albany, New York.
Photo: David Vita, courtesy of
African Activist Archive

5. People of faith were some of the most ardent supporters of the anti-apartheid movement. How do you think their faith motivated their activism, if at all? Can you think of a faith-leader who has had an impact on a human rights issue beyond the anti-apartheid movement?
6. The anti-apartheid movement was largely nonviolent, both within South Africa and abroad. Does this surprise you? Why or why not? In your opinion, are there instances when violence might be justified? Are there instances when nonviolence is a stronger option for trying to achieve a goal than violence? What are those instances?
7. Activists who disrupted a major Springboks rugby match on Hamilton Field pressured the police to leave them alone by reminding them, "The whole world is watching." What are the challenges and opportunities of working with media to support human rights campaigns?
8. P.W. Botha and many other leaders in the apartheid government insisted that South Africa's problems would be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners. Do you agree or disagree that the international community should not get involved in one country's issues? Do you feel that way about all circumstances, or are there unique circumstances that call for different levels of action?
9. In the series, we learn that a major factor in the success of the United Democratic Front in South Africa was its ability to build coalitions. What are some of the benefits and challenges of bringing different groups together? Have you ever had experience with this? What happened?
10. Apartheid is over, but South Africa still faces many challenges, including severe economic disparities and ongoing poverty. How can allies abroad continue to support the people of South Africa? Are there ways to connect the issues that you care about and their continued struggle?

"It is not the kings and generals that make history, but the masses of the people."

— NELSON MANDELA

Fair Play

Athletes and activists around the world hit white South Africa where it hurts: on the playing field. The international sports boycott becomes the first campaign to successfully isolate apartheid South Africa.

From Selma to Soweto

African Americans alter U.S. foreign policy for the first time in history, successfully pressuring the United States to impose sanctions and politically isolate Pretoria.

The Bottom Line

This is the story of the first-ever international effort to successfully use economic pressure to help bring down a government. Grass-roots campaigns against Polaroid, Shell, Barclay's, General Motors and others doing business in South Africa economically isolate the apartheid regime.

Free at Last

An uprising in South Africa becomes the final blow in the cumulative world effort to topple apartheid. Nelson Mandela becomes a household name as the campaign to free him ignites a worldwide crusade.



Photo courtesy of Clarity Films

“ The idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities — it is an idea for which I hope to live and to see realized, but my Lord, if it need be, it is an idea for which I am prepared to die.”

— NELSON MANDELA,
TESTIMONY AT THE RIVONIA TRIAL, APRIL 20, 1964

EPISODE 1: ROAD TO RESISTANCE

Key Themes: U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international solidarity, armed resistance versus nonviolence, East Indian anti-apartheid activity, role of faith in social justice, consumer boycotts.

Discussion Questions

1. Albertina Sisulu, describing the liberation movement in South Africa, said, “Freedom to us was to be known as human beings. We wanted freedom of everything — education of our children. To be allowed to go wherever ...” What does the word *freedom* mean to you?
2. The U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that all people should be free, equal and protected under law. Is this the case in your own country? In your opinion, what are some of the challenges to ensuring these freedoms in the world?
3. While many people participated in the boycott against South African goods, some did not. What are a few of the factors that affect your own choices to avoid or support certain products today?
4. The rulers of the apartheid government justified their political system as *separate development*. In the United States, there are instances where this may be true in fact but not by law, as in the case of some schools and neighborhoods, for example. Can you think of other examples? How may these cases be similar and how are they different?
5. Peter Molosti of the Pan-Africanist Congress in exile praised the Indian prime minister’s joking but forceful condemnation of apartheid because he was “very knowledgeable, and not as angry as we were.” Why do you think he felt this was praiseworthy? Can you think of situations where anger *has* been effective in building public support? Other situations where it has been less effective? What, in your opinion, were the differences in each circumstance that made it so?

EPISODE 2: HELL OF A JOB

Key Themes: violence versus nonviolence, Cold War, role of the media, moral responsibility toward other nations, role of faith in social justice, Oliver Tambo, solidarity among African nations.

Discussion Questions

1. Ron Segal, a white South African journalist, described his decision to take Oliver Tambo into exile: "It was just as natural as breathing," he said. Can you think of a time when you took a risk to help out someone or a group of people? What made you do it? Would you do it again today? Why or why not?
2. Can you imagine leaving your home country and living in exile as Oliver Tambo did? What effect do you think this might have on you? What circumstances might compel you to leave your country (or, if you are an immigrant, why did you leave your home country)?
3. The South African government claimed that members of the African National Congress (ANC) and their allies were "terrorists," a term that is debated internationally. Based on what you know, does the ANC fit that description? Why or why not? What connotations does the word *terrorist* have for you?
4. Bishop Trevor Huddleston said of Christians, "Of course you've got to be involved in politics — Christ was a highly political figure." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
5. Many members of the World Council of Churches objected to funding the liberation struggle because groups like the ANC engaged in armed conflict. Do you believe that there can ever be a *just war*, or is it always wrong to support or engage in violence?

"I'm not a Christian in the sense that I can tolerate exploitation and oppression and repression. I don't believe in that kind of Christianity at all. I believe in a Christianity which defends justice."

— OLIVER TAMBO

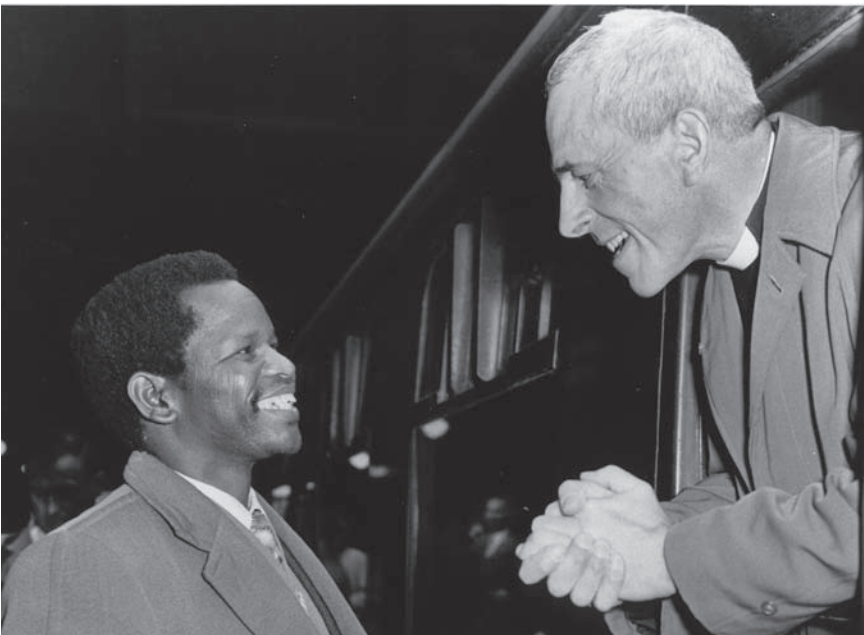


Photo courtesy of Clarity Films

“The future of South Africa was in his hands, and I had him on the back of my bicycle.”

— DUTCH ANTI-APARTHEID
ACTIVIST CONNIE BRAAM,
ON OLIVER TAMBO

EPISODE 3: THE NEW GENERATION

Key Themes: youth leadership, grass-roots movements, black consciousness, Steve Biko, transnational activism, U.S. foreign policy, arms embargo, economic sanctions, United Nations.

Discussion Questions

1. Despite his death in police custody, Steve Biko’s legacy — the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) — shaped how black South Africans understood themselves, inspiring them to be fearless and proud in the face of ongoing injustice. Has anyone or anything ever inspired you to see the world or yourself in a new light? If so, how did that experience shift who you are in the world today and what you contribute to it?
2. If you had been a parent in apartheid South Africa, do you think you would have gotten involved in the liberation movement? How would your family have affected your decision? How would you have felt about your child participating?
3. Black South Africans objected to *Bantu education*, designed only to prepare them for menial jobs that whites wouldn’t want. Today, some American scholars call hyper-segregated and underfunded public schools in the United States *apartheid schools*. What are some of the differences and similarities?
4. Connie Braam, a longtime anti-apartheid activist, says in the film, “We didn’t see ourselves as people from Amsterdam or from Holland. We were part of the world.” Do you see yourself this way? Why or why not? Are there certain issues that make you think of yourself as a citizen of the world? What are they?
5. Why do you think the Anne Frank House allowed an exhibit that drew a link between Nazism and apartheid in its institution? What were the risks involved in this decision? What, in your opinion, is the role of cultural institutions in politics?

The United Nations and Apartheid

The United Nations was established in 1945 with the aim of preserving peace through international cooperation and collective security. Within the U.N., the General Assembly and the Security Council are among the most important bodies. The General Assembly includes one voting representative from each of the U.N. member states (a group that currently includes almost every nation in the world) and meets regularly to discuss the world’s most pressing problems. Under the U.N. charter, the Assembly “cannot force action by any State, but its recommendations are an important indication of world opinion and represent the moral authority of the community of nations.”¹ In contrast, the U.N. Security Council includes just five permanent member states and 10 nonpermanent members, and all member states must comply with its decisions.¹

During the years of apartheid, many activists urged U.N. member states to take action against South Africa’s repressive regime. Many representatives to both the General Assembly and the Security Council — particularly African nations and their allies in the global south — voted in favor of sanctions against South Africa, including arms and oil embargos, economic boycotts and expulsion of South Africa’s delegates on the grounds that they did not truly represent all the people in South Africa.

Eventually, in 1962, the U.N. established a Special Committee Against Apartheid within the General Assembly, however, because the General Assembly’s resolutions were nonbinding, the U.N. Security Council played a pivotal role in condemning — and

for years, failing to sanction — the apartheid regime. No matter how many countries voted in favor of resolutions against South Africa in the General Assembly, such resolutions were immediately tabled by a veto from one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. As Les de Villiers of the apartheid government’s Department of Information explains in *Hell of a Job*: “South Africa always relied on France, the U.S. or the United Kingdom to have the one dissenting vote. That’s all you needed.”

Anti-apartheid activists were extremely frustrated by the failure of these nations to condemn South Africa’s government, arguing that, “All these countries which are supposed to be the guardians of freedom, of democracy, of human dignity and

so on completely abandoned their postures when it came to the situation of dealing with the apartheid regime,” explains Salim Salim, a representative from Tanzania, in *Hell of a Job*. Eventually, opponents of apartheid were able to secure several important victories in the United Nations, including an arms embargo and an oil embargo. South Africa’s relations with the U.N. were finally normalized in 1994, when Nelson Mandela became president and the Permanent Mission of South Africa to the U.N. was established to represent all South African people.

1. Visit the United Nations online for more information: <http://www.un.org/Overview/uninbrief/sc.shtml>



Photo courtesy of Clarity Films

EPISODE 4: FAIR PLAY¹

Key Themes: sports and social change, international solidarity, role of the media in social change, youth activism, direct action tactics, racism, solidarity among African nations, coalition-building.

Discussion Questions

1. *Fair Play* highlights the many sports-oriented demonstrations occurring in nations other than South Africa. In your opinion, is sport a useful vehicle for social change? If so, what about sport makes it effective for organizing? Can you think of examples in your country where sports have been used to make a political or social statement? Do you think it was effective? Why or why not?
2. In one scene, protestors are shown storming the soccer field at the Hamilton game (1985) and subsequently causing the game to be cancelled. What do you think of this and the other tactics you saw used at sports events internationally? Do you think the protestors were justified in doing what they did?
3. Some would say that the South African sports players were just doing their job and were not responsible for the policies of the government. Do you think they deserved the treatment they received? Why or why not?
4. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) expressed concern that members of the South African Olympic team would not be selected on merit, and without that assurance, South Africa was to be banned from the 1984 Games in Tokyo. Do you think the IOC's concern was a valid one? Why or why not? Do you agree or disagree with its decision to ban South Africa from that year's Games?
5. In one scene, representatives from African nations note that they lacked political power on the international stage until they began using sport as a tool to fight for human rights. Based on what you know, what about the sports boycotts gave them such political leverage? Can you think of any other cultural institutions that carry such political weight? What are they?

1. This section was prepared by Sport in Society. Please see <http://www.northeastern.edu/sportinsociety/>

Why Sports and Social Change?

Sport is a powerful social phenomenon with a unique influence and appeal in the world. Due to its central place in society, the visibility of athletes, and the extent to which its worldwide audience cuts across gender, race and socioeconomic lines, sport can be a vehicle and a platform to bridge cultural gaps, resolve conflict and educate people.

- In 1947, Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in American professional sports by becoming the first African American player in major -league baseball. This integration occurred prior to numerous other American

institutions and prior to the U.S. civil rights movement.

- In 1967, Muhammad Ali refused three times to accept his draft duties in the U.S. armed services due to his religious affiliation with the Nation of Islam. He was arrested, banned from fighting and lost his title. In the same year, he gave up his championship belt as a protest.
- Joey Cheek, the fastest speed skater at the 2006 winter Olympics, gave his winnings to the organization Right to Play, which uses the

power of sport and play to promote development, health and peace. Cheek later became the organizer of an association of athletes devoted to raising awareness of humanitarian crises related to war in Darfur, Sudan.

- The International Olympic Committee (IOC) flies the United Nations flag at all Olympic events as a visible reminder of the purpose shared between the U.N. and the IOC in building a more peaceful and sustainable world.

EPISODE 5: FROM SELMA TO SOWETO²

Key Themes: civil rights, grass-roots movements, Congressional Black Caucus, U.S. foreign policy, Cold War, youth leadership, student activism, lobbying, divestment, boycotts, legislative tactics, transnationalism, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the role of media in social change, solidarity of African Diaspora with Africa.

Discussion Questions

1. *From Selma to Soweto* highlights the stories of a few South Africans in exile, including Jennifer Davis, Chris Nteta and Dumisani Kumalo. Why did so many people, especially Oliver Tambo, leave their country — and often their families — for decades? Do you think that the global anti-apartheid movement could have succeeded without the work of exiled South Africans? Have you ever spoken to someone who was forced to flee his or her home country for political reasons? What did he or she say about the experience?
2. While exiled South Africans and anti-apartheid activists promoted economic sanctions as a strategy, many Americans, including a conservative movement led by the Reagan Administration argued that the sanctions “negatively punished” South Africa and could make things worse for the people who needed help. They argued instead for “constructive engagement.” Based on the film or your own research, define economic sanctions and constructive engagement. What did each mean within the context of the United State’s relationship to South Africa?
3. In making the case for sanctions to the U.S. Congress in 1986, Representative Ronald Dellums argued, “First ... we must make this statement. We must assert our role in the international community as a nation committed to the dignity of people, to freedom of human beings, to the concept of human rights, not as an abstract ideal but as a reality. That is our destiny. That is our role. That is our obligation.” What is Dellums’ vision of the United States? Do you agree with it?
4. Consider more recent events in the world, from the atrocities in Darfur to the United States’ relationship with Iran. How are sanctions used in these cases? Why do you think the United States is a leader in using sanctions? Imagine that there are a range of diplomatic tools and sanctions represent one tool. What are some of the other tools?
5. The anti-apartheid movement drew on strategies from the U.S. civil rights movement, guided by the African American leadership of TransAfrica Forum in particular. One strategy was the breaking of laws. For example, they sat in at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C., and protested in front of it despite laws against such actions. For these violations, they were arrested. Their arrests became a significant breakthrough for the anti-apartheid movement because of the attention they received from media and influential citizens. Do you agree with this strategy?



Ron Dellums in front of South African embassy. Photo: Rick Reinhard, courtesy of African Activist Archive

2. This section was prepared by Facing History and Ourselves <http://www.facinghistory.org>. A more complete curriculum for this episode is available at www.activevoice.net/haveyouheard/resources.html

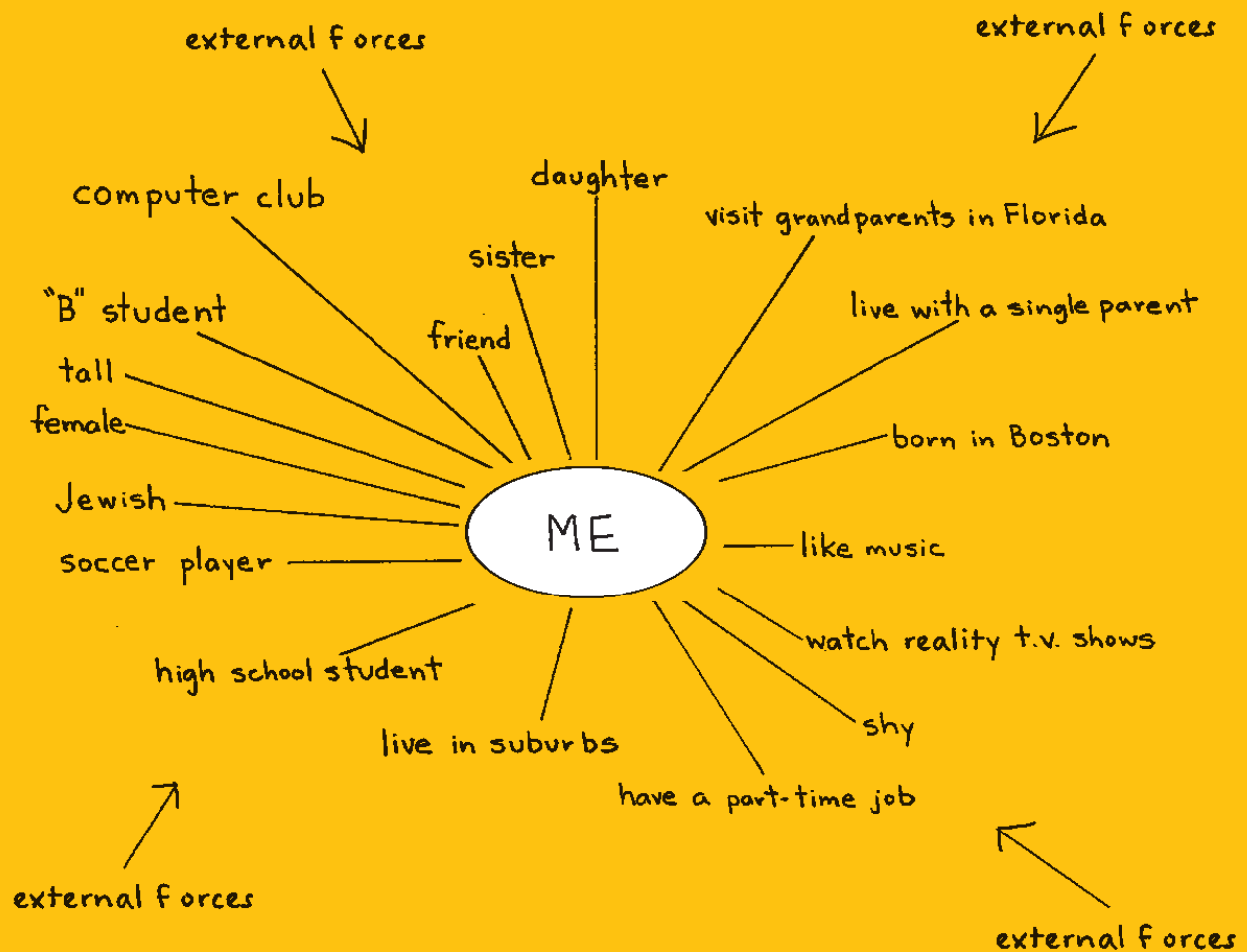
3. Staub, Ervin. *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

“ People become brave by doing brave acts. People become compassionate by doing compassionate acts. People become good citizens by engaging in acts of good citizenship.”

— ERVIN STAUB³

Hinengaro Davis. Black activist, in the action against Lion Breweries. Khyber Pass Rd., Auckland. Photo courtesy of Clarity Films.





Activity: Make an Identity Chart

Prepared by Facing History and Ourselves

"Who am I?" is a question that each of us asks at some time in our life. It is an especially critical question for adolescents. As we search for the answer, we begin to define ourselves.

Identity charts are used in Facing History and Ourselves classrooms to help students think about labels they use to define themselves and others. The diagram above is one example of an identity chart. Individuals fill it in with the words or symbols they use to describe themselves as well as the labels others give them.

Make an identity chart of someone who has chosen to make a difference. Look at the words and phrases you have selected. What aspects of their identity seem most significant when you reflect on that individual's decision to participate?*

The identity chart activity reinforces two critical skills in the Facing History program: taking a risk in expressing one's personal ideas and learning to take the perspective of someone else.

* See: <http://www2.facinghistory.org/Campus/rm.nsf/sc/IDCharts>

Photo courtesy of
Clarity Films



“ For Americans who are used to instant success, it was something to learn that we had to have the endurance of the long-distance runner.”

— TIM SMITH, INTERFAITH CENTER FOR CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

EPISODE 6: THE BOTTOM LINE

Key Themes: consumer and corporate responsibility, role of faith in social justice, divestment, student activism.

Discussion Questions

1. In one scene, Tony Bloom, a Barclay's South Africa board member, shares the moment he realized just how big the anti-apartheid movement had grown: His daughter, shopping near Cambridge where she went to school, was unable to use a check from her Barclay's account because the shop owner would not accept it. Can you think of a moment in your own life when a political issue suddenly became personal? What happened?
2. Can you imagine standing up to your employer the way Caroline Hunter and Ken Williams did when they challenged Polaroid's support for the apartheid government? Under what circumstances would you do something like that? What would the risks be?
3. Toward the end of the film, a white South African businessman explains that he “had the conventional view of the ANC as the devil incarnate,” but that after meeting with Oliver Tambo and others, “I found it very easy to like them.” Have you ever had an experience like this with a person or group you didn't know well beforehand? If so, what contributed to your misconceptions? What caused your change of heart?
4. Polaroid stopped providing its photo technology to the apartheid government, becoming one of the first companies to take a stand against the apartheid regime. In your opinion, is it a corporation's responsibility to monitor how its products are being used around the world? Why or why not?
5. South Africa's Department of Information is shown infiltrating and influencing major media outlets in one segment of *The Bottom Line*. What are some other, less overt ways that freedom of the press is compromised? In your opinion, is free press a necessary component of democracy? Why or why not?
6. In one scene, we learn that a Shell employee leaked the company's plan to discredit anti-apartheid activist groups. What would you have done had you been in that employee's shoes? Can you imagine leaking information that would discredit your employer? Why or why not?

Faith In Focus

Auburn Media at Auburn Theological Seminary recommends that faith-focused viewers view *The Bottom Line* in relation to the Bible story Luke 13:10-17, which is Luke's account of Jesus healing a woman in pain and the synagogue leader who questions that a miracle should take place on the Sabbath. The moral of the story is that the bottom line of a life of faith is to help those in need. This Bible story calls for considering the moral dilemma we face when our faith calls us to challenge the rules in order to help the common good. Just as the synagogue leader failed to look at the larger picture and see the actual need, *The Bottom Line* reveals how companies prospered in South Africa amidst the apartheid struggle. The hope in both stories is found in people's willingness to put faith into action in counter-cultural ways and turn to help those who are struggling. Auburn Theological Seminary has prepared this section to help those interested in using this series to renew their call to leadership in the context of their faith.

Why Faith And Social Justice?

Auburn Theological Seminary explains: "God calls people of faith to heal and repair the world. The Gospel message is to bring good news to the poor and advocate for those in need. Our faith charges us to turn to our neighbor to build community and pursue justice. Let your commitment to social justice be inspired through *The Bottom Line*. Learn how the economic strategies that played a pivotal role in ending South African apartheid can inspire you to create effective change in the world today."

Prayer

Holy One, you have gathered us for a special purpose. You have asked us to recall our history so that we might learn from it and be challenged and renewed. May our hearts and minds be open to your call and let us approach our lives with passion and humility. Amen.

Faith Questions For *The Bottom Line**

- In one scene we see the Episcopal Church organize a boycott against General Motors stating that the company is "profiting from apartheid." Are people of faith responsible to invest morally? Can the market be used for good? How?
- In one scene Baptist minister and General Motors Board Member Rev. Leon Sullivan begins to challenge the GM board by stating that sometimes "to move a car you have to bump it." What do you make of Rev. Sullivan's approach as a Christian leader?
- At the beginning of this film we hear Archbishop Desmond Tutu asking for an end to South African apartheid because "it is a moral decision." As people of faith, how can we understand the relationship between our spiritual selves and the world around us?
- *The Bottom Line* highlights South African President P.W. Botha's infamous Rubicon Speech wherein he stated, "South Africans problems will be solved by South Africans." Do you think Americans should get involved in civil crises elsewhere in the world? If so, when is the right time to do so? What are the criteria for deciding? What are the limitations and how does a life of faith inform that?



March to the South African embassy, 1984.
Photo: Rick Reinhard

*You can download the *Have You Heard From Johannesburg* Faith Curriculum, prepared by Auburn Theological Seminary at www.activevoice.net/haveyouheard/resources.html

EPISODE 7: FREE AT LAST

Key Themes: democracy, civil disobedience, media blackout and celebrity campaigns, long-term movement-building, international solidarity, Nelson Mandela.

4. In South African terms, *coloured* refers to a mixed race ethnic group of European, African and Asian descent.

Discussion Questions

1. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher strongly opposed economic sanctions: “When you’ve got them coming in the right direction ... encourage the further movement in the direction you want to go,” she said. What do you think about this strategy and perspective? To what extent do you agree or disagree?
2. Why do you think Indian and coloured⁴ political groups decided to join black South Africans in the United Democratic Front rather than accept positions in Botha’s proposed tricameral parliament? Do you think this was a difficult decision? Why or why not?
3. Why do you think South Africa’s liberation movement decided to focus so much attention on freeing Nelson Mandela? What was it about him and his situation that eventually made him a symbol of the movement? Can you think of similar examples from other movements?
4. Govan Mbeki of the ANC said he felt only “half free” when he was released from prison because the ANC was still banned and he was not allowed to make any political statements. In your view, what constitutes *full* freedom?
5. An airline stewardess became the courier for top-secret information related to the liberation movement. This was one of many examples of *ordinary* people doing extraordinary things or taking risks — sometimes small, sometimes great — that contributed to the downfall of the apartheid regime. Who are the *ordinary* heroes in your own life? What about them inspires you?

“ The international isolation of the apartheid regime was not because the leaders in those countries made that decision. It came from the grass roots in those countries. And people must know it made a huge difference.”

— CHERYL CAROLUS, SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANIZATION



Demonstration against apartheid, New York City. Photo by: David Vita, courtesy of African Activist Archive



Randall Robinson and Desmond Tutu.
Photo: Rick Reinhard, courtesy of African Activist Archive

Extras

GLOSSARY OF TERMS⁵

AFRICANS Africans are people who live on the African continent, or people whose ancestors came from Africa. It has also been used by many South Africans as shorthand for black South Africans.

AFRIKANER As descendants of Dutch settlers to Southern Africa, the identity of this Afrikaans-speaking ethnic group was influenced by its defeat of the British following the Anglo-Boer War (South African War). The modern culture of this group has since transcended its traditional alliance with the National Party's apartheid policy. See **BOER**.

APARTHEID Loosely translated as *separate development*, this racist system was practiced as South African state policy between 1948 and 1994. It involved the segregation of South Africa's racial groups, with particular discrimination against nonwhite residents.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) The ANC was founded on January 8, 1912, as the South African National Native Congress and renamed the African National Congress in 1923. After being banned in the early 1960s, the ANC launched its underground armed struggle through its military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation). The ban on the ANC was lifted February 11, 1990, and it won South Africa's first democratic election on April 27, 1994.

BANTU Bantu is a broad ethnic term meaning *the men or people*, but it has derogatory implications because of its use by the apartheid government. Beginning in 1955, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development promoted systems of education, pass laws and job reservation, as well as the Bantustan, or homeland, system, which was instrumental in disenfranchising and oppressing black South Africans.

BIKO, STEVE Stephen Bantu Biko led and was a founding member of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). He became politically active while studying medicine and believed strongly in the BCM goals of empowering black South Africans. After the BCM was banned in 1977, Biko was detained and murdered while in the custody of South African Security Police.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

The BCM was a grass-roots anti-apartheid organization started during the 1960s to stimulate political awareness among black South Africans and unite ethnically divided black groups. Its policy of direct confrontation brought it into direct conflict with the apartheid government.

BOER Dutch term that means *farmer* or *pastoralist*, but in a South African context, it generally relates to the ethnic Afrikaner group. See **AFRIKANER**.

BOYCOTT Anti-apartheid boycotts involved a tactical refusal to engage with the apartheid state in an attempt to change its policies. Boycotts took on different forms, including the exclusion of South Africa from sports, business diplomatic relations and cultural activities.

COLOURED In South African terms, *coloured* refers to a mixed heritage ethnic group of European, African and Asian descent. Largely based in the Western Cape, this group has developed a distinct cultural heritage.

DIVESTMENT Reaching its height in the 1980s, the anti-apartheid divestment (or disinvestment) movement became a socio-political tool that investors used to protest against the South African state by removing their investment from the local economy.

EMBARGO A diplomatic embargo is a legal barrier to trade aimed at pressuring a nation to change its policies. Its success relies on effective international participation. By 1987, the U.N. General Assembly had the support of 130 nations for its international oil, arms and fiscal embargo against South Africa.

FRONTLINE STATES In 1970, regional opposition to apartheid urged southern African nations bordering South Africa to unite. This included Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia. In 1980, this grew to include Zimbabwe. These states formed the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, a body aimed at minimizing economic dependence on South Africa, and supporting underground members of the ANC and PAC.

5. Generously prepared by South African History Archive, an independent human rights archive dedicated to documenting, supporting and promoting greater awareness of past and contemporary struggles for justice in South Africa. See <http://www.saha.org.za/>



Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela. Photo courtesy of Clarity Films.

MANDELA, NELSON Mandela was South Africa's first democratically elected state president. He led the anti-apartheid movement and was central in transforming the ANC into a mass movement during the 1940s. He led the ANC's armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), until his 1962 arrest on charges under the Sabotage Act. Sentenced to life imprisonment, he spent 27 years in prison, during which time he became an international symbol for solidarity with South Africa. After his release, he led South Africa through negotiations towards a multiracial democracy.

SANCTIONS Sanctions refer to penalties imposed upon a country to coerce it to change its policies in compliance with international demands. From the 1960s, when South Africa's effective expulsion from the Commonwealth led to its growing isolation, it had numerous sanctions imposed on it by 25 countries, supported by the U.N. General Assembly.

SHARPEVILLE Sharpeville is a township south of Johannesburg where, on March 21, 1960, police shot at several thousand protesters during a protest against pass laws. Sixty-nine people were killed and thousands were injured. This led to an international outcry, and, within a week, a state of emergency was declared. The massacre influenced international opposition to apartheid.

SISULU, WALTER Mission school-educated Walter Sisulu began his lifelong struggle for freedom when he joined the ANC in 1940. Before being charged with treason and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963, he advocated national liberation through his writing and travel. He was elected ANC deputy president at the July 1991 National Conference.

SOWETO This city started out as a segregated township for migrant gold mine workers in the late 19th century. Its name, officially adopted in 1963, refers to the first syllables of "South Western Townships" of Johannesburg. It grew substantially in the first half of the 20th century but most residents lacked even basic facilities until the 1990s. Soweto made international headlines during the 1976 student uprising.

TAMBO, OLIVER The founding member of the ANC youth league, Oliver Tambo became ANC deputy president in 1958, just before other ANC leaders sent him into exile to build support for their work against the apartheid regime. He spent 30 years in exile successfully mobilizing international support for his people.

TOWNSHIP In South African terms, township implies a peri-urban or urban living area built on the periphery of a town or city, generally reserved for nonwhites during apartheid.

TUTU, DESMOND Desmond Tutu is a cleric and activist who gained international fame through his significant contribution to the liberation struggle. He is the second South African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Since 1994, he has chaired the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and also campaigned internationally for the rights of the oppressed.

U.N. OR UNITED NATIONS See description on page 10.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL The U.N. Security Council was formed in 1946. Any resolution that is passed by the U.N. General Assembly must be approved by the Security Council, which includes five permanent members: United States, Britain, France, Russia and China. A veto from any one of these countries can block a resolution.

OTHER RESOURCES

Visit our online *Have You Heard* Project page at <http://www.activevoice.net/haveyouheard/resources.html>

- **A timeline of apartheid and resistance**
- **A faith-based curriculum for four episodes** of *Have You Heard From Johannesburg*
- **A lesson: “Choosing to Participate: From Selma to Soweto”**
- **Books and Websites on various aspects of apartheid**, the global anti-apartheid movement and ongoing human rights struggles today
- **“Then and Now” interviews** with former anti-apartheid activists appearing in the series and still actively advocating justice today
- **Event Planning Toolkit and other materials** for those who are hosting *Have You Heard* community events

WHAT YOU CAN DO: RELATED ORGANIZATIONS AND CAUSES TODAY

If you want to learn more about the issues and themes raised by the series, or if you would like to get more involved in supporting survivors of South African apartheid and other related causes, consider checking out the work of these groups and organizations:

Africa Action is the oldest human rights organization focused exclusively on Africa. In partnership with activists and civil society organizations throughout the United States and in Africa, Africa Action is working to change U.S. foreign policy and the policies of international institutions in order to support African struggles for peace and development. <http://www.africaaction.org/index.html>

Auburn Media at Auburn Theological Seminary equips bold and resilient leaders — religious and secular, women and men, adults and teens — with the tools and resources they need for our complex, multifaith world. Auburn provides education, research, support and media savvy to bridge religious divides, build community, pursue justice and heal the world. <http://www.auburnseminary.org>

The Enough Project is helping to build a permanent constituency to prevent genocide and crimes against humanity. Enough Project conducts intensive field research in countries plagued by genocide and crimes against humanity, develops practical policies to address these crises, and shares sensible tools to help empower citizens and groups working for change. <http://www.enoughproject.org>

Facing History and Ourselves delivers classroom strategies, resources and lessons that inspire young people to take responsibility for their world. Their work over the last 30 years demonstrates that effective teaching can cultivate the sense of civic responsibility needed to protect human dignity and prevent violations of human rights. <http://www.facinghistory.org>

Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) is the oldest interfaith peace and justice organization in North America. FOR staff and members were deeply involved in supporting African liberation struggles through active nonviolence, and FOR continues to work in more than 50 countries to end war and support global human rights. <http://www.forusa.org/>

Global Action Project (G.A.P.) is a media arts organization that prepares youth to be media makers and community leaders. For over a decade, G.A.P. has been helping young people, both in the United States and internationally, share their stories and perspectives by producing and showcasing their media. <http://curriculum.global-action.org>

The Khulumani Support Group provides resources, training and support for survivors of apartheid in South Africa. All of Khulumani’s members are survivors of gross human rights violations under apartheid. <http://www.khulumani.net/>

Shared Interest mobilizes resources to guarantee bank loans for low-income communities in South Africa to construct houses, create jobs and launch small businesses. This provides a unique opportunity for U.S. supporters to invest in South Africa’s future. Since it opened its doors in 1994, Shared Interest has benefited more than 1.8 million black South Africans. <http://www.sharedinterest.org>

Sport in Society, a Northeastern University Center, uses the power and appeal of sports to foster diversity, prevent violence, and improve the health of local and global communities. <http://www.northeastern.edu/sportinsociety>

TransAfrica Forum is the oldest and largest African American human rights and social justice advocacy organization promoting diversity and equity in the foreign policy arena and justice for the African world. To learn more about how you can help to create closer alliances between African Americans, Africans and Afro-descendants in Latin America and the Caribbean, visit: <http://www.transafricaforum.org>

Acknowledgments



Generous support and funding for the series and the *Have You Heard* Global Engagement Project comes from the **Ford Foundation**. www.fordfoundation.org

Additional major funding for the series was provided by National Endowment for the Humanities, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts.

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Active Voice uses film, television and digital media to spark social change. Our team of strategic communications specialists works with filmmakers, funders, advocates and thought leaders to put a human face on the issues of our times. We frame and beta-test key messages, develop national and local partnerships, plan and execute outcome-oriented screenings and high-profile events, repurpose digital content for Web and viral distribution, produce ancillary and educational resources, and consult with industry and sector leaders. Since our inception in 2001, Active Voice has built a diverse portfolio of film-based campaigns focusing on issues including immigration, criminal justice, healthcare and sustainability. www.activevoice.net.



Clarity Films, headed by *Have You Heard From Johannesburg* Producer/Director Connie Field (*Freedom On My Mind*, *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter*), has more than 25 years of experience producing social issue documentaries and study guides and distributing them to TV venues, theaters, and educational institutions, both in the United States and internationally. For more information about other Clarity Film projects, visit: www.clarityfilms.org.



Steps International is a global association of TV broadcasters and documentary film professionals whose projects start worldwide conversations. Projects include *Why Democracy?* and *Steps for the Future*, media advocacy campaigns that use collections of film to promote debate and discussion in Southern Africa, Europe, North America and beyond.

The *Have You Heard* Global Engagement Project is a partnership of Active Voice, Clarity Films and Steps International. Project allies include:



African Activist Archive



TransAfrica Forum