

An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

## Diverse People Unite



- Post Reprint: “South Africa’s Quiet Revolution”
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— and Economic Sanctions — Are Destroying Apartheid; Words in Context
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**D**iscovered by Portuguese explorers Bartholomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama in their search for a route to India in the late 1400s, the land and inhabitants in southern Africa was plied by English and Dutch explorers in the next 100 years. They traded with the Khoi-Khoi for iron, copper and marijuana.

Years of colonialism and missionary endeavors, slavery and battles, expanded settlement and discovery of diamonds on Griqua lands follow. Years of fighting between the British and Boers in the late 1800s, resulted

in 1909 with establishing the Union of South Africa, with British control and Afrikaner home rule. The Natives' Land Act of 1913 further subjugated the majority black population, legislating segregation and legalizing apartheid.



BARTOLOMEU DIAS, SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE;  
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANCIENT ART

### Portuguese explorers Bartholomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama

the international community employed divestments and sanctions to place economic pressure on the government.

It is this South Africa and Nelson Mandela that we explore in articles, editorials, editorial cartoons and commentary.

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# South Africa's Quiet Revolution

*Slowly but Surely, Black Resolve — and Economic Sanctions  
— Are Destroying Apartheid*



**President Pieter W. Botha, left; Presidents Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk**

BY WILLIAM CLAIBORNE

• Originally Published January 14, 1990

In the spring of 1986, when the black townships of South Africa were in flames and the white government seemed to be on the brink of collapse, I was finishing a tour as *The Post's* Jerusalem correspondent and was waiting impatiently for Pretoria to issue a visa so I could take up my new assignment here.

South Africa's economy was failing, whites were fleeing the country, the revolution was in full swing, and people kept asking me — as if I could know — how long I thought the beleaguered government of President Pieter W. Botha could hang on. Veteran Irish diplomat Conor Cruise O'Brien was predicting it wouldn't be long — that the "civil war" in South Africa was headed toward a joint U.S.-Soviet military intervention that would depose the white government.

I remember my feeling of panic that the revolution would be over

before I could move down to cover it. With apocalyptic visions swimming in my head, I pleaded with the South African embassy in Tel Aviv to expedite my visa application so I wouldn't miss the story of the century.

I blush at the recollection of my naivete. Within months after my arrival, the uprising was methodically and brutally crushed by the combined army and police forces, accompanied by some of the most Draconian emergency laws ever imposed in a country claiming a place among Western



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democracies. The violence did focus world attention on South Africa, but it altered little on the political landscape.

South Africa's real revolution, it gradually dawned on me over the next 3 1/2 years, would ultimately be a bloodless one, driven by forces more powerful than the stone-throwing black youths who were bravely but ineffectually battling the most powerful military and state security machine on the African continent.

When I arrived that July, however, South Africa's civil upheaval was still in its final spasms. It had claimed upwards of 2,000 lives over the previous 2 1/2 years. Some of the violence in the coming months was as ugly as I had seen anywhere in the Middle East or in India and Pakistan.

As I recently glanced through old notebooks about to be thrown away after my assignment in South Africa, images came racing back: automatic rifle fire reverberating through the smoky dusk of Soweto as armored personnel carriers roared down Old Potchefstroom Road in menacing convoy; young black militants with scarves around their faces



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

**Wounded people lie in the street in Sharpeville, where South African police opened fire on black protestors.**

barricading Alexandra streets with horse carts, garbage containers and burning tires as they stoned passing cars; two white policemen, each on a motorcycle, laughing as they frog-marched a manacled black man toward a police station, one motorcyclist on either side of the prisoner as he struggled to keep up.

An estimated 13,000 blacks were detained without charges in August 1986, and in the ensuing months prohibitions against political dissent were tightened. In 1983, it had seemed incredible enough that a black could be sentenced to 1 1/2 years in prison for scratching an innocuous slogan of the outlawed African National Congress onto his tin coffee mug. But under the state of emergency decreed on June 12, 1986, a black could be imprisoned for up to 10

years merely for making any statement that would "weaken or undermine" the public's confidence in the white government. You don't have to live under apartheid to be emotionally affected by it. Before the state of emergency blacked out the images of the turmoil surrounding apartheid and then silenced the turmoil itself, an American television viewer could tune into the nightly news and glimpse



COURTESY: AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ARCHIVES

**Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu met in Johannesburg.**

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the ordeal being inflicted on South Africa's 23 million blacks by the elected representatives of the 4.5 million white minority.

What could be more emotive than the image of a keening black woman, her face contorted in grief before the yawning grave of a teen-aged son gunned down during a peaceful demonstration, or



DENNIS LEE ROYLE/AP

**African women join in a demonstration in Pretoria, demanding the release of Nelson Mandela.**

a black family being set upon by white policemen brandishing rubber whips and holding snarling Doberman pinschers at the leash? Or the haunting sounds of impoverished squatters being dragged screaming from their squalid tarpaper shacks as white policemen holding sledgehammers and crowbars stand impassively by, waiting to begin their destructive work?

These things happened. They were not, as government officials liked to say, the imaginations of a biased foreign press, or the artful creations of seditious provocateurs employed by and covered by network television.

Little wonder then that the American public was repelled by what it saw and clamored for retribution against the white government. Small wonder, also, that an aroused Congress imposed punitive economic sanctions against South Africa in October 1986.

However, I was skeptical about sanctions then and remained so for a good part of my tour in South Africa.

It seemed to me that punitive economic sanctions might be effective as a threat, but once they were imposed the stiff-necked, self-reliant nature of the Afrikaners who rule this country would come to the surface and Pretoria would find ways to circumvent

them and perhaps become even more intractable. South Africa could draw upon Rhodesia's experience with U.N.-imposed trade sanctions in 1965 and its own success in developing one of the world's biggest weapons manufacturing industries following the 1977 arms embargo, and could easily weather new sanctions. Moreover, sanctions seemed certain to create massive unemployment in the black labor force but not so certain to diminish the standard of living of the

privileged whites.

I was wrong. For all of their faults — and there still are faults, because an economically crippled South Africa is no better a prospect for the disenfranchised majority than it is for the privileged minority-sanctions are beginning to work, finally. The first suggestion that I was wrong came, according to the scribbles in my notebooks, on Feb. 12, 1988, during back-to-back meetings in Cape Town with two men — both now dead — who, perhaps more than anybody else, were in positions to know just how hard South Africa was being squeezed by sanctions.

One was Gerhard de Kock, then governor of the Reserve Bank; the other was Frederik du Plessis, one of the country's most respected Afrikaner businessmen and a key economic adviser to the president. Both, of course, were adamantly opposed to sanctions and argued forcefully and articulately against them. But unintentionally, they revealed the traces of panic that were beginning to set in at the highest levels of government.

In the previous two years, the economists said, South Africa had sustained net capital outflows of nearly \$4 billion, not so much because of trade sanctions but because of a cutoff of U.S. and European investment

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models which boil down to sharing power without giving it up.

Both sides appear to have resigned themselves to a long-haul solution. De Klerk's ruling National Party adopted a five-year "action plan" of reform, and the Mass Democratic Movement, at a recent national conference, declared the 1990s a decade of mass defiance of apartheid.

Black nationalists say, correctly, that the reforms made and offered by de Klerk so far have been relatively simple ones that have nothing to do with the central issue in South Africa: power. Reforming apartheid may be a step in the right direction, they say, but it does not address the ultimate grievance of an absence of majority rule.

However, apartheid — both social and political — becomes increasingly vulnerable as it is tampered with. As John Kane-Berman, head of the South African Institute for Race Relations has often told me, modifying the system is like peeling away successive layers of an onion until the center is left exposed and unprotected and is ultimately destroyed.

Significantly, the process of change has gathered a momentum of its own. For years, it has had less to do with the initiative of government reformists like de Klerk than with choices made by ordinary black people from day to day.

As a consequence, changes in the law have followed rather than preceded changes in the social structure. Black labor unions organized before they were legalized; the pass laws were repealed only after



ALEXANDER JOE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

**Nelson Mandela and his then-wife Winnie raise their fists to the cheering crowd upon Mandela's release from the Victor Verster prison.**

blacks streamed into the cities by the millions from the rural reservations to which they had been forcibly moved; beaches were legally desegregated long after blacks started going to them anyway; private schools were integrated years before the government said they could legally do so; multiracial "gray areas" were commonplace in Johannesburg and other cities before the government decided to create integrated "free settlement" residential neighborhoods.

In the long run, these forces for change, coupled with the pressure of economic

sanctions and South Africa's growing isolation, make the collapse of apartheid inevitable. Changing social attitudes and a growing awareness among South Africa's leaders of the country's demographic realities could even hasten that collapse.

The street violence of 1984-86, tragic as it was, fulfilled a purpose. It concentrated the world's attention on the evils of apartheid and created the climate of moral outrage needed for the U.S. Congress and other legislatures around the world to adopt sanctions. But the expectations of a dramatic and swift fall of the government that were generated here and abroad by the street revolution — and which fooled me — were a mirage.

Change will come to South Africa, I have learned, because 23 million black people will continue making changes that don't depend on either the government or the revolution — and because the government has lost its will to enforce a system that it no longer believes can work. One by one, blacks will ignore, defy and overwhelm the laws that were intended to confine them, and then they will become free.



## Economic Sanctions Against South Africa



**UN General Assembly** Goals are to end apartheid, possibly leading to black majority rule; terminate South African presence in Namibia. (Doxey 1980, 60-65) UN Security Council Resolution 418: “[s]trongly condemning the South African Government for its acts of repression, its defiant continuance of the system of apartheid and its attacks against neighbouring independent States...; Decides that all States shall cease forthwith any provision to South Africa of arms and related material of all types, ... and shall cease as well the provision of all types of equipment and supplies and grants of licensing arrangements for the manufacture or maintenance of the aforementioned....” (UN Security Council S/RES/418, 4 November 1977)



**US Congress** Section 311 of Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 provides for termination of sanctions if South African government takes the following steps: “(1) releases all persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained unduly without trial and Nelson Mandela from prison; (2) repeals the state of emergency...and releases all detainees held under such state of emergency; (3) unbans democratic political parties and permits the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process; (4) repeals the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and institutes no other measures with the same purposes; and (5) agrees to enter into good faith negotiations with truly representative members of the black majority without preconditions.”

Section 311 also provides for modification of any sanctions if president determines that South Africa has taken “three of the four actions listed in paragraphs (2) through (5)” and “made substantial progress toward dismantling the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy.”



**President P. W. Botha** In his first major policy statement after declaring first state of emergency: “We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so. South Africa’s problems will be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners. We are not going to be deterred from doing what we think best, nor will we be forced into doing what we don’t want to do.” (Washington Post, 16 August 1985, A1)

## OUTLOOK: Questions for Discussion

# Slowly but Surely, Black Resolve — and Economic Sanctions — Are Destroying Apartheid

1. Review the vocabulary listed in “Words in Context.” All of these terms are used by William Claiborne in his 1990 guest commentary that was published in *The Washington Post*’s Outlook section.
2. William Claiborne in the 1990 commentary “South Africa’s Quiet Revolution” covers more than six years of recent history, 1984-1990. Summarize the political background of the time span.
3. The United States Congress overrode President Reagan’s veto of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. According to Claiborne, what economic impact did the sanctions have by 1989?
4. What actions did the newly-elected President de Klerk take in 1990?
5. Claiborne writes: “Significantly, the process of change has gathered a momentum of its own. For years, it has had less to do with the initiative of government reformists like de Klerk than with choices made by ordinary black people from day today.” He follows this with examples to support his conclusion. Select one of the examples and discuss its shift in racial expectations and relations.
6. In what way(s) was Claiborne’s prediction right/wrong/partially correct in the conclusion of his Outlook guest commentary?
7. Beyond the article: From the 30 years since 1983, select five actions or events that took place in South Africa to put on a timeline. Why do you think these are significant?
  - a.
  - b.
  - c.
  - d.
  - e.

## Words in Context

Abyss  
 Apartheid  
 Apocalyptic  
 Demographic  
 Disenfranchised  
 Draconian  
 Elusive  
 Embargo  
 Eschew  
 Ineffectual  
 Inflation  
 Innocuous  
 Integrated  
 Intractable  
 Isolation  
 Keening  
 Naivete  
 Plebian  
 Provocateur  
 Punitive  
 Sanctions  
 Seditious  
 Segregate



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# Sanctions Require Attention to the List

*A sanction, noun, is a threatened penalty for disobeying a law or rule. The order serves to force individuals, countries or regions to obey international laws by limiting or stopping trade and economic aid with that country. Its goal is to deter further acts, to protect assets of invaded countries, or to bring about change.*

*To sanction, verb, is to impose a sanction or penalty on.*

American sailors were being harassed. Great Britain needed to understand that the United States, though a young country, would protect its citizens. So before the War of 1812 began, sanctions were imposed. The Department of Treasury's role of administrator of sanctions began.

The Department of the Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), is responsible today for controlling the sanctions held by the United States. OFAC was created in December 1950 after China entered the Korean War. The sanctions imposed "can be either comprehensive or selective, using the blocking of assets and trade restrictions to accomplish foreign policy and national security goals," according to the OFAC website.

## Problem 1

Visit the OFAC Programs and Country Information for a full list of the countries and the type of sanction currently held. [<http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Programs/Pages/Programs.aspx>]

1. Select one of the countries. Review the information that is provided. Read and summarize one of the "Intrepretive Rulings on OFAC Policy."
2. Visit 2013 OFAC Recent Actions.  
[<http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/OFAC-Enforcement/Pages/OFAC-Recent-Actions.aspx>]  
Select one of the recent actions of the OFAC. Read about the action through the OFAC online notice, press release and Web notice.
  - What government or other organization is involved?
  - What violation of U.S. sanctions took place?
  - Why is this sanction in place?

## Problem 2



Do an e-Replica search to locate *Washington Post* coverage of this country. Does coverage include the sanction against this country and action taken?

3. Summarize the story in the form of a news brief that would inform your readers. Include URLs for sources for more information on the topic.

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### Problem 3

Visit the Resource Center — SDN Search, SDN: Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons List. [[http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/SDN-List/Pages/fuzzy\\_logic.aspx](http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/SDN-List/Pages/fuzzy_logic.aspx)]

There are more than 6,000 companies and individuals on the list. U.S. citizens and businesses are prohibited from dealing with SDNs. Blocking or “freezing” is one way to control targeted property.

4. In the Search field, type in your research term. For example, “Cuba imports,” “investment in Serbia,” and “travel in North Korea.” Summarize the information about this topic and write a news brief of no more than 350 words.

5. Use the same research term to conduct a *Washington Post* e-Replica edition search. Has *The Washington Post* covered this topic? If no, modify your research term to see if you might find related coverage.



Summarize the *Post* article, including the date of publication, page number and byline.

### Problem 4

6. Read the FAQs to find the answer to these questions.

- A. How much are fines for violating OFAC regulations?
- B. You tried mailing a package to a relative. It was returned “due to OFAC sanctions.” Why did this happen?
- C. What is the Control list?
- D. Are banks required to know individuals, organizations and countries on the SDN list? Why?
- E. Is it permissible to send gifts to someone in a sanctioned country using the Internet? Explain.

### Problem 5

The Department of Treasury is responsible for administering sanctions. This is not done in isolation of the other cabinets and federal agencies. Review OFAC Programs and Country Information, Cuba Sanctions.

7. Give an example of each of the following needing to be aware of applications of these sanctions of Cuba.

- The Department of State
- The Department of Education
- The Department of Agriculture
- U.S. Postal Service

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# THE PRISONER WHO BECAME PRESIDENT

South African leader was symbol of moral force

BY SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN  
AND LYNNE DUKE

• Originally Published December 6, 2013

Nelson Mandela, the former political prisoner who became the first president of a post-apartheid South Africa and whose heroic life and towering moral stature made him one of history's most influential statesmen, died Thursday, the government announced. He was 95. The death was announced in a televised address by South African

President Jacob Zuma, who noted, "We've lost our greatest son." No cause was provided.

To a country torn apart by racial divisions, Mr. Mandela became its most potent symbol of national unity, using the power of forgiveness and reconciliation to heal deep-rooted wounds and usher in an era of peace after decades of conflict between blacks and whites. To a continent rife with leaders who cling to power for life, Mr. Mandela became a role model for democracy, stepping down from the presidency after one term and

holding out the promise of a new Africa.

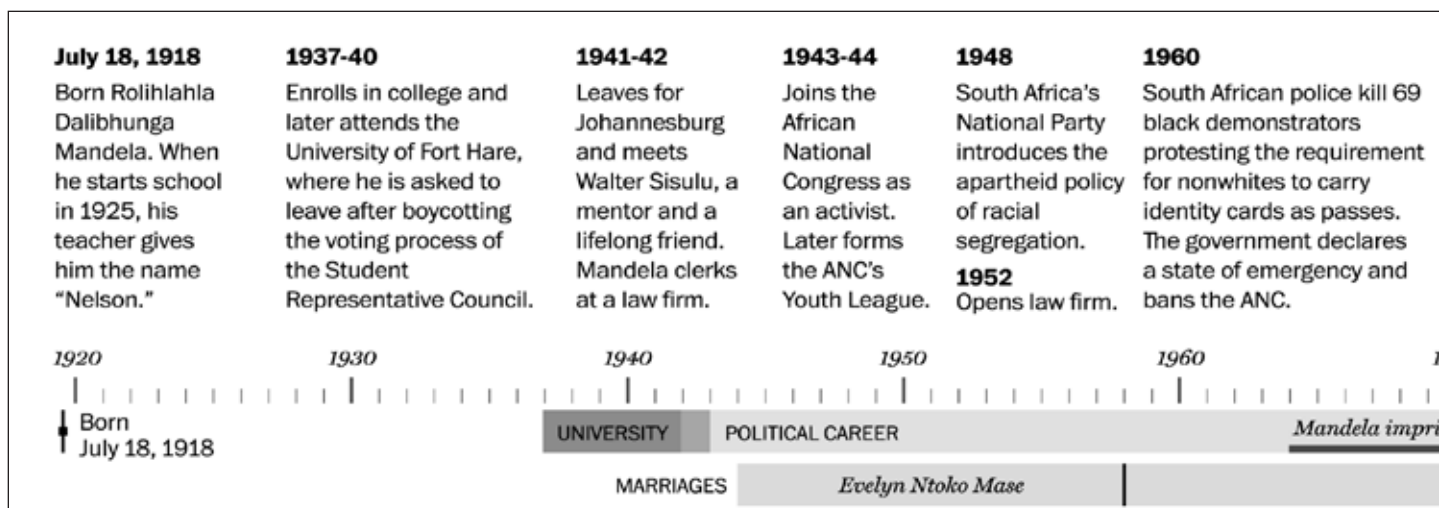
And to a world roiled by war, poverty and oppression, Mr. Mandela became its conscience, fighting to overcome some of its most vexing problems. He was a Nobel Peace Prize laureate who spent 27 years in prison as part of his lifelong struggle against racial oppression.

Throughout this moral and political fight, Mr. Mandela evoked a steely resolve, discipline and quiet dignity, coupled with a trademark big, charismatic smile. He ultimately

NELSON MANDELA 1918 - 2013

## Remembering Nelson Mandela

A look back at some of the milestones of the historic leader's life:





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carried them into office as South Africa's first black president.

His victory capped decades of epic struggle by the African National Congress and other liberation groups against South Africa's brutal white rulers, first under British colonialism and then under a white-run system called "apartheid," or racial separation.

On the day of his inauguration — May 10, 1994 — Mr. Mandela stood at the podium near South Africa's last apartheid-era president, F.W. de Klerk. A year earlier, they had shared the Nobel Prize for what the

Nobel committee called "their work for the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime, and for laying the foundations for a new, democratic South Africa."

"We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation," Mr. Mandela, then 75, declared. "Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another ... the sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement."

Only a few years before, the 20th century's most celebrated political prisoner had been dubbed a terrorist

by the conservative governments in the United States and Britain under Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, respectively.

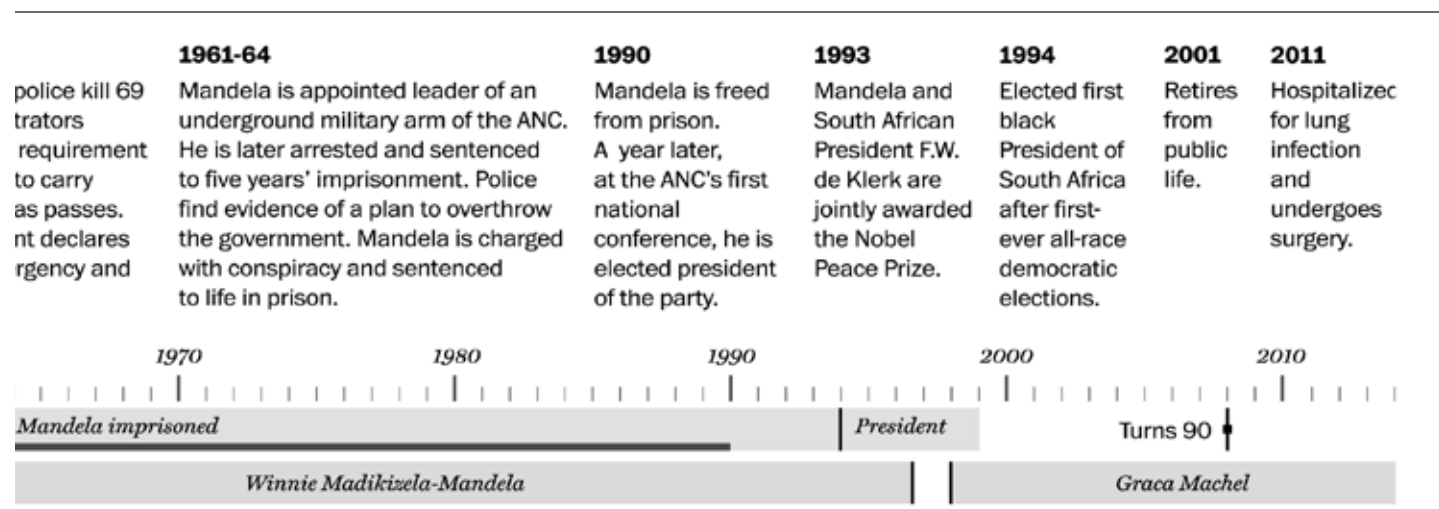
In the decades after Mr. Mandela's release from prison in 1990, many South Africans of all races referred to him reverentially as Madiba, his Xhosa clan name. Countless others called him Tata, which means father in the Xhosa language.

To continue reading the article, visit <http://thewashingtonpostnie.newspaperdirect.com/epaper/showlink.aspx?bookmarkid=87LC3ZL30325>

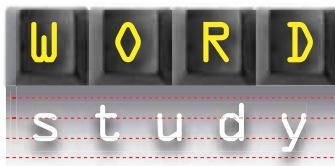


Source: Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory

PHOTOS BY JURGEN SCHADENBERG/AP (1962); REUTERS (1968); ALEXANDER JOE (1990); GERARD JULIEN (1993); GUY TILLIM/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES (1995); CAROLYN KASTER/AP (2013) — GRAPHIC BY THE WASHINGTON POST



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## Eulogies, Tributes, and Paeans

*South Africans sang, word leaders openly grieved and cyberspace erupted with Nelson Mandela tributes in a collage of languages Thursday as word spread that a man likened to a living saint had died.*

*The passing of Mandela, 95 and long ill, was at once thoroughly foretold and unexpectedly jarring, as people recalled his graceful leadership through what appeared to be an intractable racial crisis in South Africa and his ability to embody hope for moral progress in a beleaguered and often-unjust world.*

— ‘He no longer belongs to us; he belongs to the ages’

Craig Timberg and DeNeen L. Brown, *December 6, 2013*

The passing of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela did elicit tributes from around the world. From Soweto’s lanes to London’s Parliament, in a digital conversation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, in formal decrees and Facebook pages, expressions of respect for his actions and affection for the individual were made. The idea of giving tribute is rooted in the Middle English word *tribut* from the Latin *tribus*, meaning to pay a fee or give a grant. Today, a tribute indicates the worth, virtue, or effectiveness of the one honored.

There are a number of synonyms — commendation, accolade, panegyric — that convey the same idea of acknowledging the merit of a person’s ideas, life and actions. Commendations may be presented as official letters, certificates or in small ceremonies.

An accolade is given to highlight some noteworthy deed, especially those that benefit others. Its etymology is rooted in the French, *accoler* to embrace, from Vulgar Latin *accollare*, from Latin *ad-* + *collum*, neck.

“Panegyric,” which is a public speech or published text in praise of someone or something, was observed in the state memorial service for Nelson Mandela on December 10. Panegyric is used to convey a more formal or elaborate expression of praise. The Latin word, *panegyricus*, is based in the Greek word *panegyrikos*, meaning of or for a festival assembly.

More than 90,000 gathered in the rain at FNB

Stadium in Soweto. After the national anthem, interfaith prayers and personal reflections of Andrew Mlangeni, Mandela’s friend who was imprisoned with him, and from Madiba’s grandchildren were given. This was followed by panegyrics by Cuban President Raul Castro, U.S. President Barack Obama, Chinese Vice President Li Yuanchao, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff, Namibian President Hifikepunye Pohamba, and Indian President Pranab Mukherjee. A keynote address was given by South African President Jacob Zuma and a sermon by Bishop Ivan Abrahams.

Eulogy, a speech or essay that praises someone highly, is given at the death of the person. The Middle English word *euloge*, is from Medieval Latin *eulogium*, which is rooted in the Greek *eulogia*, meaning “praise, good or fine language.” A closer look reveals a word composed of *eu-* meaning “well,” “luckily, happily” and *logia* or “speaking.” So, not only is an eulogy high praise for the person, it is also expected to be composed of words that are well chosen and well delivered.

A paean was originally a Greek hymn of thanksgiving especially addressed to Apollo — *paian* and *palon*. This song of joy, praise or victory honors its subject. Today it is usually used to indicate formality. The exuberant dances and songs that South Africans used to spontaneously celebrate Mandela, the father of their unified country, capture this essence of joy, praise and highest respect.

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# Nelson Mandela: Tributes and Eulogies

World leaders, South African leaders and writers, internationally known artists, businessmen, and citizens around the world expressed their respect and grief. Print and online media covered the official memorial service, burial and South Africans' spontaneous farewell.

Read the following collection of some of these expressions. Are the poems elegies, lamenting the loss and written in memory of Mandela? What do the works reveal of Mandela, about the author of the work, and of South Africa's history and present?

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2013/12/10/eulogizing-a-hero-obama-celebrates-and-scolds/?hpid=z1>

## **Eulogizing Mandela, Obama celebrates and scolds**

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/12/10/read-obamas-powerful-eulogy-for-nelson-mandela/>

## **President Obama's Powerful Eulogy for Nelson Mandela**

<http://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/eulogy-by-president-jacob-zuma-at-the-state-funeral-of-nelson-mandela>

## **President Jacob Zuma, South Africa**

<http://www.state.gov/p/af/ci/sf/>

- **"His Day Is Done,"** a tribute poem for Nelson Mandela by Maya Angelou
- **"Madiba's 'long walk to freedom' gave new meaning to courage, character, forgiveness, and human dignity. He will be remembered as a pioneer for peace,"** from Secretary of State John Kerry

<http://blogs.state.gov/stories/2013/12/06/inspired-words-madiba-memorializing-mandela-through-poetry>

## **Inspired by the Words of Madiba: Memorializing Mandela Through Poetry**

<http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/newsdesk/2013/12/mandela-my-countryman.html>

## **Mandela, My Countryman by Nadine Gordimer**

<http://world.time.com/2013/12/05/bono-the-man-who-could-not-cry/>

## **Bono Honors the Man Who Could Not Cry**

<http://www.nelsonmandela.org/>

## **Nelson Mandela Foundation**

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2013/12/10/video-nelson-mandela-memorial-service-in-south-africa/?tid=up\\_next](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2013/12/10/video-nelson-mandela-memorial-service-in-south-africa/?tid=up_next)

## **VIDEO: Nelson Mandela memorial service in South Africa**

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/south-africa-and-world-leaders-say-farewell-to-mandela/2013/12/10/53970846-6153-11e3-a7b4-4a75ebc432ab\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/south-africa-and-world-leaders-say-farewell-to-mandela/2013/12/10/53970846-6153-11e3-a7b4-4a75ebc432ab_story.html)

## **South Africans, world leaders gather to mourn former president Nelson Mandela**

[http://www.za.news.co.za/nelson\\_mandela\\_farewell\\_tata](http://www.za.news.co.za/nelson_mandela_farewell_tata)



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# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## EDITORIALS

# Nelson Mandela

*He brought not only South Africa but the whole world  
toward a racial reconciliation.*

Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill, Hitler — these were the names that, for much of the world, defined the first half of the 20th century, the most destructive era in history.

Gandhi, King, Mandela — these, it could be argued, are the figures who will live longest in the public consciousness as we look back on the postwar world: leaders who had no real armies to speak of and who wielded little power in office but who helped create a new ethic through the power of their ideas and the example of their lives

Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. were, of course, men of peace, preaching nonviolent resistance to oppression and exploitation. Nelson Mandela, though not a combative man, felt there was no alternative to war against the apartheid government under which he lived, and he spent 27 years in prison for plotting violence against that government. (He and his associates planned a campaign of nonlethal sabotage and envisioned a military front, neither of which had come to much before he was arrested.)

Mr. Mandela emerged from prison in 1990 with greater stature than any leader in South Africa, white or black. More important, he came out espousing reconciliation, understanding and forgiveness. Although he was an old man by the time he took power in his country, and delegated much of the work of governing to others, the trust he had gained among people in just about every camp was essential in South Africa's transition from a racial dictatorship to a true democracy.

Like Gandhi and King, Nelson Mandela had personal shortcomings, domestic discord and so on. But it was, to a large degree, the overwhelming and reassuring force of his personality that won over nearly everyone he came in contact with, from African villagers to prison guards to the men who ran his government. He was a regal figure, born into tribal royalty, tall, handsome and charming. He moved comfortably and confidently among his country's many peoples — black, Indian,

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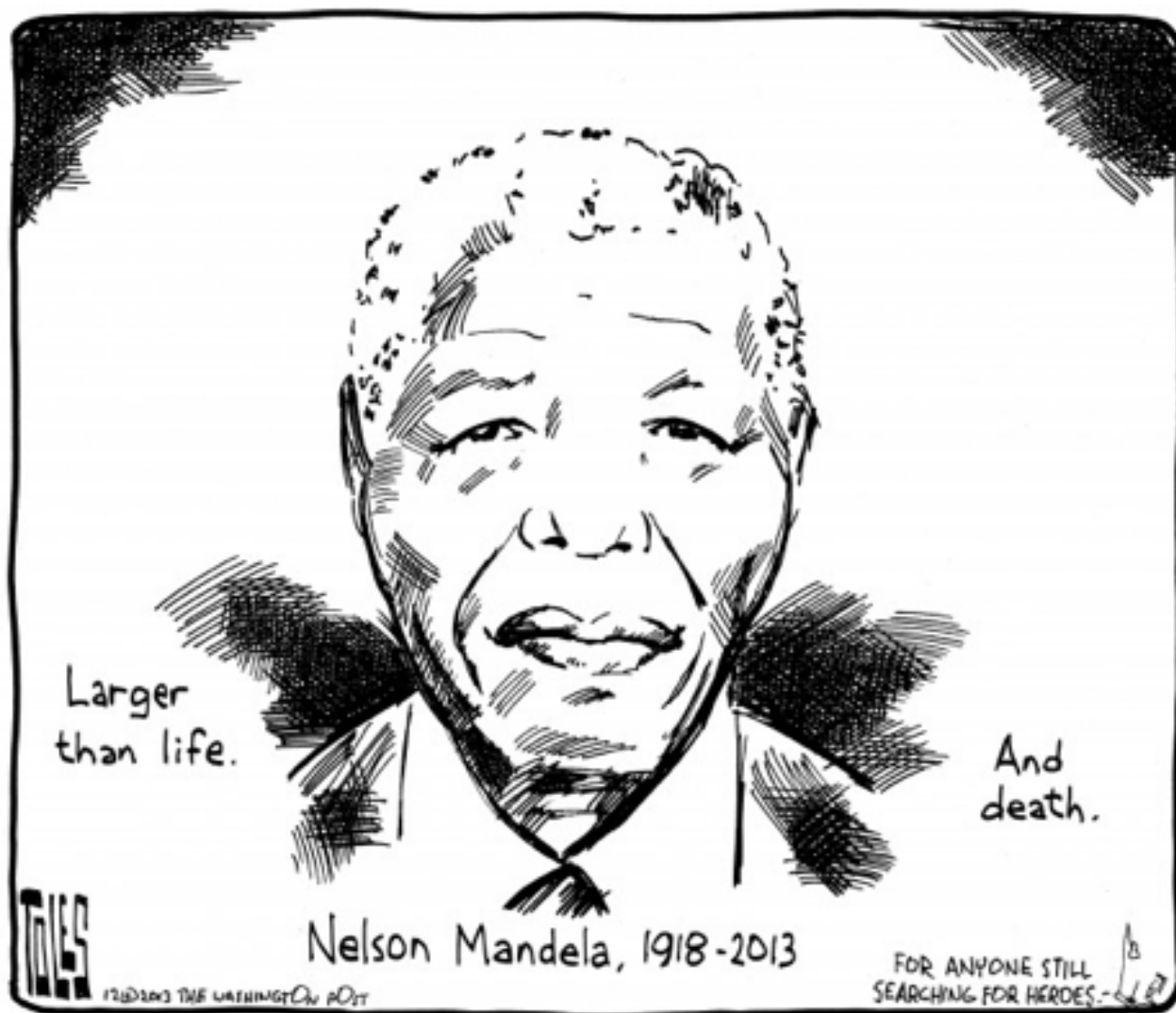
white — and made a point of seeing the good in each of them. As one of his admirers remarked, he had the gift of making all those he met feel better about themselves.

Also as with Gandhi and King, Mr. Mandela engaged in one of the world's most vital postwar tasks: dismantling the strong web of racist ideas, with which certain Western thinkers had sought for more than a century to rationalize the subjugation of others through colonialism, segregation and disenfranchisement. Anyone born in the past 50 years or so would have a hard time understanding how pervasive these ideas were in many advanced and sophisticated nations (including our own, which in much of its territory bore an unsettling resemblance to apartheid South Africa).

Mr. Mandela, who died Thursday night at age 95, seemed to understand that the motivating force behind ethnic, religious and racial hatred is not only, or even primarily, self-interest; it is fear, distrust, a lack of understanding. In his person and his policies, he set out to show those on the other side that they had little to fear. He sought unity rather than revenge, honesty and understanding rather than the naked exercise of power. These are all fine abstractions, of course, but never so clear to us as when there is a living figure to exemplify them. That's why Mr. Mandela's influence extended so far beyond South Africa and was felt by so many of the world's peoples other than Africans. It is the reason, now that he is gone, that it is more important than ever — in a century marked so far by frightening eruptions of terror and religious intolerance — to keep before the world the name and example of Nelson Mandela.

— *December 6, 2013*

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**Tom Toles** | *December 10, 2013*

1. What tone is created with Toles' use of white space?
2. A cartoonist captures or emphasizes chief features of individuals. What features of Mandela are emphasized? What do they communicate to the reader?
3. In what ways does the vital information under the image inform the reader?
4. What is Toles' perspective on Mandela as expressed in the five words "Larger than life" and "And death"?
5. Toles' alter ego appears in the lower right corner of his editorial cartoons. What message does he add?
6. In a short statement, summarize the idea presented in this editorial cartoon.