

SAHA IN THE CLASSROOM

RESISTANCE IN THE 1980s: CIVIL SOCIETY

A set of classroom materials
produced by the South African History Archive
for Grade 12 learners

SOURCE BOOKLET FOR LEARNERS



THE SAHA IN THE CLASSROOM SERIES

This series of booklets comprises an introductory booklet on how to use the SAHA in the Classroom series and 9 source booklets for learners, with corresponding guide booklets for educators, exploring the following aspects of South Africa's history from 1976 - 1994:

The 1983 Constitution

The United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum

Formal repression in the 1980s

Covert repression in the 1980s

Resistance in the 1980s - civil society

Resistance in the 1980s - militancy

Resistance in the 1980s - international pressure

The move to democracy - negotiations

The move to democracy - the role of violence

The South African History Archive (SAHA) is an independent human rights archive committed to recapturing lost and neglected histories, documenting past struggles against apartheid, as well as ongoing struggles in the making of democracy in South Africa. SAHA's central mission is to bring South African history out of the archives and into schools, universities and communities in new and innovative ways. SAHA is also dedicated to using South Africa's Promotion of Access to Information Act in order to extend the boundaries of freedom of information in South Africa and to build up an archive of materials released under the Act for public use.

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INTRODUCTION

These historical sources and questions are produced by the South African History Archive (SAHA) for Grade 12 History learners. They form part of a broader historical study of South Africa in the 1980s.

This section examines the role of civil society in resisting apartheid. This involved ordinary people from many different organisations in a wide range of largely peaceful demonstrations and protests. Civil resistance came from disparate elements - including church leaders and educators, amongst other civic organisations.

In the national examination, you will be asked questions on a wide variety of different sources. These will include written, oral, visual and other material useful to the historian.

There will be questions on both **primary sources** and **secondary sources**:

- **primary sources** are sources that come from the period that is being studied
- **secondary sources** are sources that are produced after the period of history that is being studied

Before getting to the sources, you will be given the historical context of resistance to apartheid from the churches and in education in the 1980s. This text is much like a secondary source, as the information comes from the books written by historians who have researched this period. The sources themselves are drawn from the archives of SAHA, and will, more often than not, be primary sources.

These learning materials are intended to:

- provide you with an opportunity to use source material to **help your understanding** of South Africa in the 1980s
- provide you with **practice** in answering source-based questions
- guide you on **how to approach answers**

Some tips:

- Always look at the mark allocation to guide you.
- In this material, two marks are given for each point that can be explained and backed up with evidence from the source.
- A two-mark question will usually award one mark for identifying evidence from the source, and one mark for your explanation.
- When you answer a question for six marks, you need to explain at least three points and provide evidence from the source to back up each point.

After the sources and questions you will find a glossary of difficult terms and a list of books for further reading.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

RESISTANCE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Resistance succeeded in part because of the mass support and participation of ordinary people in a wide range of demonstrations and protest. It is thus important to examine the role of the many different organisations that resisted the apartheid government and contributed towards bringing about change in South Africa. This section examines the contribution of the churches, civil protest against the education system, as well as other civic organisations, which were not avowedly political organisations.

THE CHURCHES

By the 1980s, many of the political parties had been banned and their leaders arrested. The churches increasingly played a more important role in speaking out against injustice and resisting apartheid than they had in the past.

Some churches became more openly critical of the government's policies, and their religious leaders now played an active role in the liberation movement. Religious organisations felt that the government was less likely to attack religious leaders, which meant they could be more politically active. Many church leaders were motivated to get involved in protest because of their concern for the lives of their people. They saw apartheid as fundamentally unjust and unchristian. They gave hope and inspiration to those resisting apartheid.

An early example of such leadership came from Beyers Naudé, who founded the interracial Christian Institute of South Africa (CI) in 1963. He was thus forced to leave the pro-apartheid Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). His ecumenical church group defied racial laws by bringing black and white Christians together. In 1977 the state banned the CI, and placed Naudé under house arrest until 1985, at which point he became general secretary of the SACC.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) successfully coordinated church opposition. Its strong stance on certain issues brought the SACC in direct confrontation with the state. Specifically, the SACC supported conscientious objection to serving in the South African Defence Force (SADF), and called on foreign companies to refuse to apply the policy of job reservation. It also supported sanctions.

In 1984 the executive office of the South African government responded to the actions of the SACC by declaring that the council could no longer be identified plainly in religious terms. It had revealed itself to be a renegade political group that identified itself with the liberation struggle. In 1985 church leaders from sixteen church groups met to discuss these matters. In a jointly written document known as the 'Kairos document' the SACC called on all South African Christians to 'participate in the struggle for liberation' by supporting civil disobedience campaigns, consumer boycotts and strikes.

Perhaps the best known of outspoken church leaders was Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Aside from being a popular religious leader, he was also the general secretary of the SACC. He used his

position and his popularity to criticise the government. For his ongoing anti-apartheid efforts he was awarded the Nobel Peace prize in 1984.

Contrary to the assumption that clergy members could not be persecuted for resistance to apartheid, the government did act against many of them. Notable clerics, including Frank Chikane and Archbishop Denis Hurley, experienced harassment from the security police as a result of their vocal opposition to apartheid. Allan Boesak, leader of the World Council of Reformed Churches (WCC), was influential in founding the United Democratic Front (UDF). For his contribution he was jailed for a month after organising a march demanding the release of Nelson Mandela.

Members of the Muslim community in the Western Cape were also involved in the liberation struggle. Muslim leaders such as Farid Essack and organisations such as the Call of Islam played a prominent role. A number of Jews also played a role in the struggle, including members of the organisation Jews for Justice.

In 1988, Khotso House, the headquarters of the SACC, was destroyed by bombing, injuring 23 people. Suspicion later arose that the order for this action had been made by President P W Botha himself. During 1989 the church continued to play a key role as the momentum for change grew.

STUDENTS AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE (NECC)

Student groups played an important role during the 1976 Soweto uprising, and their resistance continued into the 1980s. By 1979 two key student organisations had been formed. This included the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), which represented students at both schools and colleges. The Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) was also created, representing university students strongly influenced by Black Consciousness.

Notably, one pre-existing student movement, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), became more radicalised during the 1980s. It had been formed in 1924 and consisted of the Student Representative Councils (SRC) from the various universities in South Africa. It had become a mainly English-speaking body during the 1930s when Afrikaans-speaking universities left the body. Initially a white organisation, NUSAS became multi-racial in 1945 when black student representatives from Fort Hare University joined the organisation. However, its membership was comprised of predominantly white students from the liberal universities. NUSAS campaigned for multi-racial university campuses and academic freedom. NUSAS students eventually became involved in resistance to apartheid at all levels. Throughout the 1980s its publications were frequently banned and some of its members detained. Both COSAS and AZASO established links with NUSAS in their struggle for justice in education.

CRISIS IN SCHOOLS

COSAS made a number of demands to the Department of Education and Training (DET). These included calls to scrap the matriculation exam fees, as well as demands that all students pass their exams – one slogan for this was ‘Pass one! Pass all!’ Two major urban school boycotts took place during this time – first in 1980 and then in 1983. Both involved African, Coloured and Indian children, and went on for months at a time. ‘Liberation before education’ became the rallying cry.

This gained support in many townships. Between 1985 and 1986 these school protests extended to the rural areas. The government's retaliation was hard-hitting. Schools were closed and thousands of students and teachers were arrested.

In 1986 the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was formed to deal with the crisis in the schools. It consisted of concerned parents, teachers and students. It put forward an alternative slogan, 'Education for liberation' and suspended the school boycott. Students and teachers were urged to challenge the system of education from within the schools, and to use knowledge and skills to empower students to fight apartheid. It called for support for 'People's education' and developed alternative teaching materials to counter the apartheid ideology inherent in the curriculum. The NECC was later banned and many of its leaders detained.

CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

The growth of community or civic organisations, known as 'civics', was an important development in the apartheid resistance movement. These popular democratic groupings campaigned on issues like education, housing, rents and consumer issues, and included youth groups, sports clubs and religious associations. The civics usually focused on local issues, but they became part of the wider spread of resistance and opposition to the government.

Civics acted as pressure groups in order to get authorities to improve facilities. They tried to mobilise people to take action to improve the quality of their lives. Hundreds of such civic organisations were drawn together in 1983 to form the United Democratic Front (UDF). At its peak the UDF had an affiliated membership of more than two million and claimed the support of many more. Particular targets of the civics were the black councillors who served on the community councils. As these had been formed through the Black Local Authorities Act, they were rejected by the UDF as legitimate sources of civic leadership.

A unique community organisation concerned with human rights and justice for all was the Black Sash. It started as a white women's movement in the 1950s. Its work involved advising and assisting African people with legal problems ranging from the pass laws to housing and unemployment through the apartheid years. It also gave support to people who were victims of forced removals. Its distinctive silent protests of groups of white women wearing black sashes, in condemnation of apartheid laws, drew media attention, and invoked President PW Botha's anger on many occasions.

SOURCE A: Article – The Church In Protest (1988)



THE CHURCH IN PROTEST

THE CHURCH IN PROTEST

On Monday 29 February, church leaders, ministers and members gathered at St. George's Cathedral to protest against the most recent government restrictions. Representatives from the following churches were involved:

Anglican (CPSA), Roman Catholic, Methodist, N.G. Sendingkerk, Apostolic Methodist, United Congregational, Evangelical Lutheran Church, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Presbyterian Church of Africa, Council of African Independent Churches and Call of Islam.

The protest started with a service in the Cathedral. To conclude the service a petition drawn up by the Heads of Churches for the State President was read out. The intention was to carry this petition to Parliament and return to the Cathedral.

THE MARCH

The procession left the Cathedral in orderly rows of four people with their arms linked. As the procession moved forward, the first row of prominent religious leaders, including Archbishop Tutu, Archbishop Naidoo, Dr. Boesak, Rev. Frank Chikane from SACC and Moulana Faried Es-

sack were arrested. The police tried to disperse the remaining 150 by spraying them with a water cannon. This was unsuccessful and finally the whole group was arrested, still singing and praying in a peaceful and disciplined way. Their names, particulars and denominations were taken down and they were released a few hours later, with the warning of a possible summons to court.

WHY DID THE CHURCH PROTEST ?

Why did Christians in severely restricted times like these get involved in a protest that led to their arrest for a few hours?

On 24 February 1988, the government announced heavy restrictions effectively banning 17 organisations and several key persons. There was widespread shock and outrage from the public but the organisations directly affected were unable to respond, as it would be illegal for them to make any public statement or even hold a public meeting. These restrictions are seen as another attempt to silence the major democratic organisations. They are so broad and vague however, that they will most probably not stand up in court if they are challenged.



From a pamphlet of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) (2 May 1990)
(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: 0.3.4 – SACC Publications)

QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE A

A1.

According to Source A, what were church leaders protesting against when they marched to Parliament on 29 February 1988? (2)

A2.

Why did church leaders choose to protest when they probably knew that they would be arrested for engaging in such a march? Provide two clear reasons. (2 x 2 = 4)

A3.

What was the outcome of the protest? (4)

A4.

Why do you think the apartheid government did not detain the church leaders as they had done with other activists? Provide two possible reasons. (2 x 2 = 4)

A5.

What do you think the aim of the SACC was in producing this pamphlet?
Provide evidence to justify your answer. (8)

A6.

What impact would this photograph have on people reading this pamphlet? (6)

(TOTAL MARKS: 28)

**SOURCE B: Letter from President P W Botha to
Archbishop Desmond Tutu (16 March 1988)**



ANNEXURE C

M.54

PERSONAL

Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town
Bishopscourt
CLAREMONT
7700

Tuynhuys
Cape Town

16 March 1988

Dear Archbishop Tutu

I hereby wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 1 March 1988 with the attached petition dated 29 February 1988.

Before I comment on your petition, I wish to ask whether it is your considered opinion that the so-called march on Parliament was really necessary, and worthy of the cause and message of Christ and the churches represented by those who were involved, knowing that the actions were illegal?

You know that you and others who were with you on that day, have on more than one occasion been well received at Tuynhuys and the Union Buildings - sometimes in a blaze of publicity but sometimes also unknown to others in order to maintain a measure of confidentiality that is apparently necessary at times to protect some of those who have discussions with the Government. The truth of the assertion in your petition that you have "virtually no other effective and peaceful means" of "witnessing effectively", therefore stands under serious doubt.

Furthermore, in your petition you referred to trade unions; and you are no doubt aware of the fact that only last week I extended an invitation to various important trade unions in our country, to have talks with me and members of the Government in Tuynhuys. Some of the very people you referred to, were among those who did not turn up for the meeting, some even without having the courtesy of replying to the invitation.

I am sure you will agree that the whole basis of your action is therefore seriously in question, and that it was to a large degree planned as a calculated public relations exercise.

But it goes much further than that, as you know so well. To illustrate the point, I wish to quote from a recent broadcast by the ANC's propaganda radio, Radio Freedom:

"The church must now be developed into a fierce battleground against the regime. ... We must organise our forces for a physical confrontation with the forces of the apartheid regime."

The question inevitably arises whether it is possible to come to any other conclusion than that actions such as the march to Parliament may be seen as part of the campaign referred to in the ANC propaganda broadcast? But there is also a wider element involved, as illustrated by Sechaba of September 1985 where it was stated that:

"Members of the ANC fully understand why both the ANC and SACP are two hands in the same body, why they are two pillars of our revolution."

You are no doubt aware that the expressed intention of the planned revolution by the ANC/SACP alliance is to ultimately transform South Africa into an atheistic marxist state, where freedom of faith and worship will surely be among the first casualties.

If you disagree with this, you should state so clearly and publicly, because it also directly relates to your petition, and in particular the statement that: "victory against evil in this world is guaranteed by our Lord".

What is clearly at issue here, is your understanding of evil: is atheistic marxism the evil, or does your view of evil include the struggle on behalf of Christianity, the Christian faith, and freedom of faith and worship, against the forces of godlessness and marxism?

In the petition you used phrases such as the following: "people's organisations", "democratic activity", the "struggle for justice and peace", and "the real struggle for democracy".

In this regard I wish to quote again from the already mentioned broadcast by Radio Freedom :

"In the name of justice we must take up the fight: we must participate in such means of struggle; the democratic movement must be given a voice in all churches; church services must be services that further the democratic call; the church must be for liberation."

You owe all Christians an explanation of your exact standpoint, for we are all adults, and the time for bluffing and games is long past. The question must be posed whether you are acting on behalf of the kingdom of God, or the kingdom promised by the ANC and the SACP? If it is the latter, say so, but do not then hide behind the structures and the cloth of the Christian church, because Christianity and marxism are irreconcilable opposites.

In your petition you urged the Government to take a number of immediate steps. In reply to that, I urge those who support this petition to reply to the following questions:


- * does the phrase: "the transfer of power to all the people of our country" as used in your petition have the same meaning as the same phrase used by the ANC and the SACP, that is for the ultimate creation of a marxist regime in South Africa?
- * are you and those who co-signed the petition in favour of the establishment of a marxist dictatorship in South Africa under the rule of the ANC and the SACP, and to the detriment of the church?

- * do you believe it to be in line with your interpretation of the church's "prophetic mission" and so-called "liberation theology" to which you subscribe, to further the cause of the ANC and the SACP, and thus marxism and atheism?

In conclusion I wish to ask you whether it is not true that the Christian church knows no other power than love and faith, and no other message than the true message of Christ; and if it brings its spiritual power into secular power-play, and the message of Christ into disrepute, then it becomes a secular instead of a sacred spiritual subject, thereby relinquishing its claim to be church?

If you accept this statement as true, you should establish whether you were acting in the name of God and the church, or whether it was in your individual capacities as members of society embracing secularism, thereby doing a disservice to the very churches which you claim to have represented.

Yours sincerely


P W BOTHA
STATE PRESIDENT

QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE B

B1.

Why does PW Botha believe that the reasons given by church leaders marching and presenting a petition to parliament were “in ‘serious doubt’?” (4)

B2.

Why do you think that the State President PW Botha wrote this letter to Archbishop Tutu? (3)

B3.

Provide two examples from the text that reveal P W Botha’s belief that the churches were acting as a mouthpiece for the ANC. Write in your own words. (2 x 2 = 4)

B4.

What is Botha’s challenge to the church in their association with the ANC?
Explain how he comes to this belief? (6)

B5.

What is the tone of Botha’s letter? Provide evidence from the source to justify your answer. (8)

(TOTAL MARKS: 25)

SOURCE C: Memorandum to the State President from Church Leaders (11 October 1989)

October 11, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO THE STATE PRESIDENT

Our intention in entering discussions with you is to try to act as facilitators, promoting a process through which apartheid will be speedily dismantled and negotiations to bring about a non-racial and truly democratic South Africa will be entered into. We come to Pretoria as church leaders, attempting to create the climate for negotiations, rather than as people with a mandate to enter actual negotiations.

We are concerned that although you have travelled to meet the leaders of Frontline States, within the country the initiative for a meeting has had to come from our side. We are also very unhappy that in the days leading up to the Cape Town peace march on September 13, messages about your willingness to meet did not come directly from your Government, but through foreign diplomats. Most recently, we have been distressed that your Government has been responding to the statements of foreign governments in Washington and London, and not to the demands of South Africa's people as expressed during the Defiance Campaign and in the series of marches which have been sweeping our country.

We believe that our meeting can be productive only if we express ourselves frankly and openly. On that basis, and with the deep desire of promoting the security and happiness of all South Africans, black and white, we feel we need to say to you clearly that, on the basis of the statements which you and members of your Government are reported to have made since the General Election on September 6, it does not appear to us that your Government appreciates the far-reaching nature of the steps it needs to take to get negotiations off the ground.

We believe the following immediate and medium-term steps are crucial to the creation of a climate conducive to genuine and productive negotiations to resolve the crisis facing our country. We should like to establish from you your Government's intentions in regard to each of these issues.

The following are steps we believe your Government must take immediately:

1. Lift the State of Emergency.
2. Lift restrictions on people, not only those imposed in terms of Emergency Regulations, but also those imposed in terms of other legislation (e.g. Internal Security Act).
3. Release all people detained without trial.

..... /2

4. Lift restrictions placed on the activities of organisations, including the banning of political organisations.
5. Release all political prisoners, which your Government sometimes refers to as security prisoners.
6. Reprieve all those sentenced to death, and declare a moratorium on the imposition of the death penalty.

In addition, the following are steps which need to be taken in the next six months, i.e. in the period leading into the next Parliamentary session:

1. Allowing exiles to return home.
2. Repealing all regulations and laws which enable your Government to prohibit or inhibit free political activity (e.g. to ban meetings and to outlaw all outdoor meetings).
3. Repealing the Population Registration Act.
4. Repealing the Separate Amenities Act.
5. Repealing the Group Areas Act.
6. Repealing the Land Act.
7. Embarking on negotiations with liberation movements, including the African National Congress.

Dr Boesak intends travelling to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting later this month and Dr Chikane travels to Canada soon. Our meeting will determine our attitude to your Government's intentions and our views on the attitude we believe the international community should adopt towards your Government.

We pray for God's blessings on our deliberations.

Dr Allan Boesak

Dr Frank Chikane

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE C

C1.

Who is the State President to whom this memorandum is addressed? (2)

C2.

According to Source B, why did the Church leaders enter into a discussion with the apartheid government? (2 x 2 = 4)

C3.

What are the main demands made in this memorandum? Use your own words when answering the question. (6)

C4.

What is the tone of this memorandum? (6)

(TOTAL MARKS: 18)

EDUCATION CRISIS 76-86

Has anything changed?

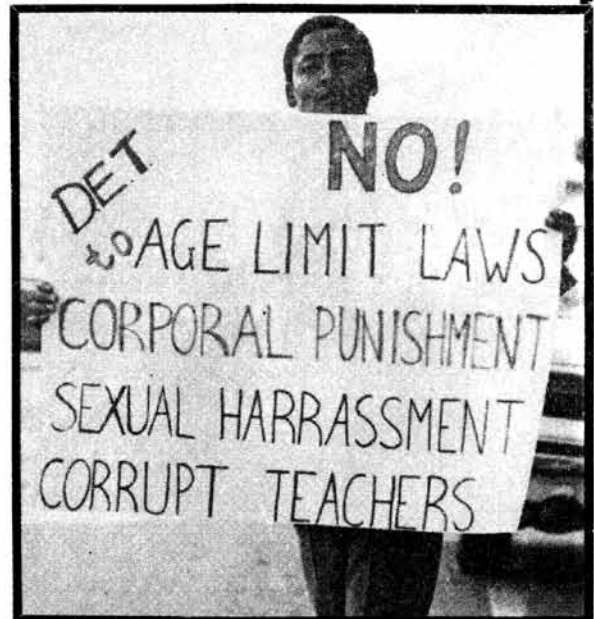


What did you learn in school today,
Dear little child of mine ?
We learnt that West is always best,
and white is usually right,
that rich and poor will always be,
And that's what makes us free.

What did you learn in school today,
Dear little child of mine ?
That education brings opportunities,
In this advancing age,
But we'll end up working in the factories,
For a measly weekly wage.

What did you learn in school today,
Dear little child of mine ?
We learnt that teargas burns the eyes,
We learnt how police dogs bite,
We learnt that batons break our bones,
And we're learning how to fight !

What did you hear on the news today
Dear little child of mine ?
That agitators stir us up,
And lead us all astray,
But we can think and we can see,
And we want change today !



Popular History Trust

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EDUCATION FOR CHANGE

QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE D

D1.

This source has used a number of different ways to get its message across. Identify the different methods and state whether or not they have been successful. (10)

D2.

What does the song imply about the lessons that one learns from police brutality? (6)

D3.

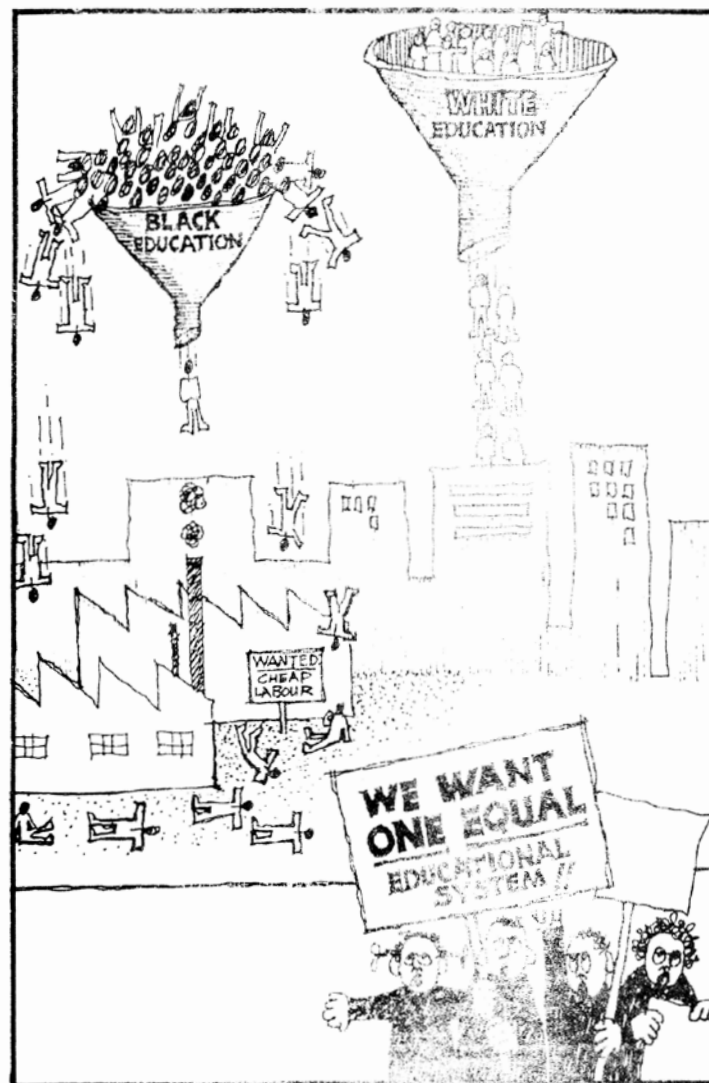
*Using this source as a basis for discussion, discuss whether education today has changed from the period under discussion (1976-1986).

(TOTAL MARKS: 16)

SOURCE E: A cartoon created by COSAS (1983)

13

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!
LONG LIVE THE ALLIANCE OF WORKER AND STUDENT !!
FORWARD WE SHALL MARCH TO A TRULY NONRACIAL
DEMOCRATIC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN A NON-RACIAL
DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA WHERE STARVATION AND
POVERTY SHALL BE A PUNISHABLE CRIME !!!!



Printed at ERIC, 201 Malta House, Malta Road, Salt River.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection SAHA AL2457: N3.2 – COSAS)

QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE E

E1.

What does the cartoon suggest happens to white students who finish school?
Explain how you know this. (4)

E2.

What does the cartoon suggest happens to black students who finish school?
Explain how you know this. (6)

E3.

Using your own knowledge, explain why there was a crisis in education in the 1980s.
Write a paragraph. (10)

E4.

What do you think the aim of this cartoon was? (4)

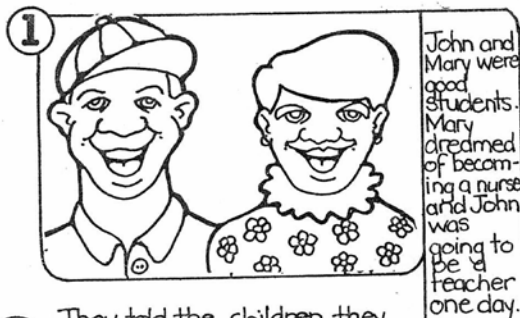
E5.

Do you think this cartoon is effective or not? Explain your answer. (10)

(TOTAL MARKS: 34)

SOURCE F: Pamphlet – John and Mary Boycott School (c. 1985)

JOHN & MARY BOYCOTT SCHOOL



John and Mary were good students. Mary dreamed of becoming a nurse and John was going to be a teacher one day.

3 They told the children they must boycott school for a better education.



The children were told they would have a holiday of "n maand lang". They must shout "n maand lang" so that the teachers would know how long the holiday must be. The children didn't know about another organisation whose slogan is "Amandla". They didn't know what this word means.

2 For a long time people had been handing out pamphlets...

...and holding meetings in John and Mary's township. These people were strangers in the township. They were much richer and better dressed than the people who lived in the township.

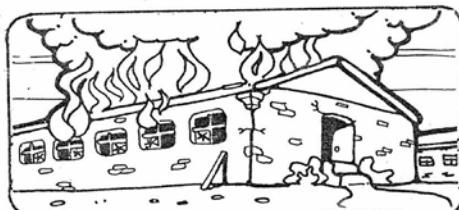


4 Many children did not want to boycott school. John and Mary sat in class while the children played outside. But they were....



...threatened with violence by the tsotsis who waited outside the school.

5 The children started destroying the school.



They were told by the strangers in their township that they would receive new, better schools when the government had been replaced.

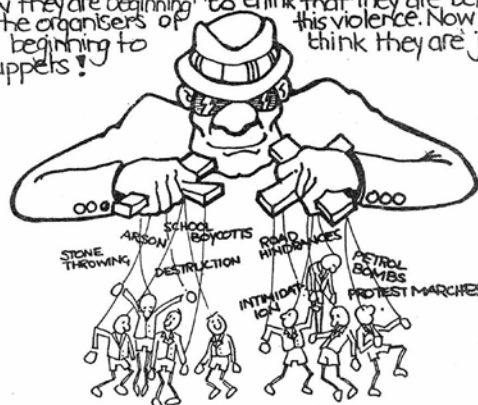
6 Their school is a mess! They have already had 3 months holiday! They are bored of playing and dancing in the halls.

7 10 YEARS LATER...



The strangers were not able to keep their promises.

8 When the students started the boycotts they never knew they would miss so much school! They never thought of how they would waste this school year, and all the other years they have already spent at school. Now they are beginning to think that they are being used by the organisers of this violence. Now they are beginning to think they are just puppets!



9 Now they are beginning to think about "where will the strangers get the money for all their plans" and "where will they get the money to fix the schools which they have told us to destroy?" **NOW** the students are beginning to think that the strangers made them false promises! **STOP BEING USED! STOP BEING BULLIED INTO YOUR OWN DESTRUCTION! THE POWER IS IN YOUR HANDS!**

YOUR DEFENCE FORCE IS HERE TO PROTECT YOU AND ENABLE YOU TO ATTEND CLASSES AGAIN!

QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE F

F1.

What does the pamphlet suggest that the 'strangers' told the children at school to do?
(2 x 2 = 4)

F2.

Who do you think the 'strangers' are? (2)

F3.

In what style is this pamphlet written?
Explain why you think it has been produced in this form? (6)

F4.

Who does the puppeteer represent and how effective is its representation? (6)

F5.

This source is clearly biased. Provide two examples of this and show why they are biased. (8)

F6.

If you were a ten year old child living in the townships,
would you be persuaded by this pamphlet? (6)

(TOTAL MARKS: 32)

**SOURCE G: Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal
(CAST) Pamphlet (1990)**

**CAST calls on all people to UNITE
and MARCH peacefully on:
Saturday 17 November 1990**

Let us mark this day as the beginning of sustained, **united mass action** until our struggle achieves:

- * **The total collapse of the BLA's, Coloured and Indian management committees.**
- * **The restoration of lights and water to all townships and the stopping of power-cuts.**
- * **Single cities and single tax-bases between townships and "white" cities and towns.**

CAST strongly requests:

- * **Taxis to suspend normal services during marche**
- * **Businesses to close during the marches.**

**MASS ACTION FOR NEGOTIATIONS
THAT BENEFIT OUR PEOPLE**

MASS ACTION FOR CHANGE

First phase: 17 November 1990

We fully support the talks initiated by our leaders with the government. We, as civic organisations, are fully committed to negotiations at local and regional level if such negotiations improve the day-to-day lives of our people.

But; what improvement has there been in the daily lives of the majority of South Africa's people since 2 February?

Thousands of our people:

- are still homeless
- are still plagued with diseases and no health facilities
- are still without education
- are still poverty-stricken
- are still subjected to apartheid.

While De Klerk talks of change and an end to apartheid; the reality is that:

- Black councillors, Coloured and Indian management committees are still being forced upon our people.
- Councillors and white local authorities continue to cut lights and water in our townships.
- The TPA is unwilling to create a proper climate for fruitful negotiations.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2431: G2.1)

QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE G

G1.

Using Source G, identify the issues that this particular civic organisation was protesting about? (6)

G2.

What does the nature of these demands and these kinds of protests suggest about the role of civic organisations in the struggle? (6)

G3.

Using information in this source as well as your own knowledge, explain why you think civic organisations played an important role in the struggle in the 1980s. (8)

(TOTAL MARKS: 20)

GLOSSARY

agitator – a person who tries to stir up people in support of a cause (often used in an negative sense)

atheistic – rejecting any belief in God

boycott – to refuse to deal with (an organization or country) as a protest against its actions or policy

civics – community organisations that developed in the 1980s that mobilised local communities by focusing on local, grassroots issues

ecumenical – this refers to a state of greater cooperation among different religious denominations of a faith, specifically the Christian church

Marxism – the economic and political theories of Karl Marx which argue that class struggle is the driving force of historical change, and that capitalism will be replaced by communism

negotiations – discussions between disagreeing parties in an attempt to resolve their differences and reach some kind of agreement

petition – a formal written document requesting a right or benefit from a person or group in authority

propaganda – information that is spread in order to promote a specific cause

repeal – revoke (get rid of) an official or formal act

reprieve – to bring relief by postponing or cancelling a punishment.

FURTHER READING

Clark, N.L and W.H. Worger. *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, Pearson Longman, 2004

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Seekings, J. *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, David Philip, 2000

Worden, N. *The Making of Modern South Africa*, 4th ed., Blackwells, 2007

Out of Step: War and Resistance in South Africa, Catholic Institute for International Relations Publication, 1989