# SAHA IN THE CLASSROOM

# THE MOVE TO DEMOCRACY: THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE

A set of classroom materials

produced by the South African History Archive

for Grade 12 learners

# **GUIDE BOOKLET FOR EDUCATORS**



#### 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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These notes on the role of violence in the move to democracy provide guidance on how to assess your learners' answers to the questions on each of the sources using Bloom's taxonomy. (See the Introduction on 'Levels of questioning'.) For curriculum purposes we have indicated the Learning Outcomes (LO) and their associated Assessment Standards (AS) for each source.

## **SOURCE A: Newsletter – Freedom Alert (September 1990)**

Extract from the newsletter published by the International Freedom Foundation, no. 4, September 1990 (Archived at SAHA as Collection AL 2457: K4.1.1, Ad Hoc and Unsourced)

LO 1: The learner acquires and applies historical enquiry skills

**AS 3:** Interprets and evaluates information and data from the sources

**AS 4:** Engages with sources of information, evaluating the usefulness of the sources, including stereotypes, subjectivity and gaps in available evidence

## A1.

Study the above newsletter in Source A and identify three different ways in which politically inspired violence in 1990 exceeded the 'worst manifestations of unrest' during the period between 1984 and 1987. (6)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a Level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners need to extract the information from the source. Although the answer may be found in the source, learners should answer in their own words, as this shows their ability to understand the source. Learners should provide three ways in which politically inspired violence in 1990 exceeded the 'worst manifestations of unrest' during the period between 1984 and 1987.

#### Suggested answer

In terms of:

- Level of violence (quantity)
- Intensity of violence (number of deaths and injuries)
- Extent of violence (geographic distribution).

## A2.

Examine the symbol used in the top centre of the newsletter, under the heading 'Freedom Alert'. What is the symbol and what is it meant to represent? (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners will be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will also have to demonstrate an understanding of both the broader context and of symbols.

#### Suggested answer

A clock with hands fixed at four minutes to midnight. It is meant to represent imminent danger, like a time bomb about to go off between the two organisations.

#### Who created this document and which audience is it aimed at? How do you know this? (6)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to analyse the document and identify the targeted audience and the intention of the creators of the source. Learners should substantiate their answer by using evidence from the source.

#### Suggested answer

The International Freedom Foundation created this document. It is aimed at an international audience. Its name suggests this.

## A4.

#### Who does this newsletter imply is responsible for failing to halt the growing violence? Does this mean that the document is right-wing (in favour of the apartheid government) or left-wing (opposed to the apartheid government)? (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to examine the document for meaning, determine who the document blames for failing to halt the violence, and identify the political orientation of the document.

#### Suggested answer

The document implies that Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, was responsible for/ not able to halt the violence, by asking 'Can Mandela Curb the Violence?' By blaming Mandela for failing to stem violence, the document is effectively pro-apartheid or right-wing.

The following rubric can be used to help with assessment:

The learner can:	Yes	No
Identify who is held responsible for failing to curb the violence?		
Identify the political position of the document as either left-wing or right- wing?		
Explain how he or she is able to identify the political orientation of the document.		

# SOURCE B: Extract – The South African War: The Violence (1990)

An extract from *Work in Progress*, a journal, volume no. 69, September 1990, p.5. (Archived at SAHA as Collection AL 2457:K1, Ad Hoc and Unsorted)

#### Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

**LO 1:** The learner acquires and applies historical enquiry skills

## B1.

#### Who is the writer of the source and to which organisation does he belong? (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a Level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners will be able to extract the information from the source. Learners should answer in their own words, as this shows their ability to understand the source.

#### Suggested answer

The writer of the source is Andrew Mapheto. The organisation that he belongs to is the ANC (he used to belong to MK more specifically but had resigned from it by the time this article was written).

## B2.

## Using your own knowledge and Source B, explain why it is headlined 'a view from the ground'. (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners will be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will also have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader context.

#### Suggested answer

The article is headlined 'a view from the ground' because Mapheto had spent 'most of the last two months travelling from township to township' speaking to people and trying to restore peace. In the process, he came to know ordinary people well and thus could provide their perspective in the article. That is why the article was referred to as a 'view from the ground'.

#### Which organisation was this article directed at and why? (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to identify the targeted audience of the article and explain why this article was directed at this organisation.

#### Suggested answer

The organisation was the African National Congress. Mapheto felt that the ANC needed to understand how angry ordinary ANC members were about the indiscriminate killings.

### B4.

#### As a photographer, what aspects of the photograph do you think would support the article and the ANC? (8)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question, focusing on the skill of synthesis. Learners need to visually interpret the source and synthesise this understanding with their understanding of the historical context in order to formulate a response.

#### Suggested answer

Those aspects of the photograph that would support the article and the ANC are:

- The victim is a black South African who has died as the result of the violence perpetrated under apartheid led by a white National Party government.
- The victim is from a poverty-stricken background such as an informal settlement or a poorly-resourced township which provided many supporters for the ANC.
- The violence occurred in open view and in broad daylight indicating how serious it had become.
- The victim was unarmed and was poor so the violence was not aimed at robbery but was carried out for ideological or political reasons.

## SOURCE C: Extract – Let the People Decide! (1991)

Extract from a booklet produced by the African National Congress, Department of Political Education, January 1991, p. 22.

(Archived at Cullen Africa as Pamphlet JQ1998:A6)

#### Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

LO 3: The learner constructs and communicates historical knowledge and understanding

- **AS 1:** The learner identifies when an interpretation of statistics may be controversial and engage critically with the conclusions presented by the data
- **AS 2:** The learner synthesises information to construct an original argument, using evidence from sources provided and independently accessed in order to support the argument

## C1.

What evidence is there in Mandela's speech in December 1990 that he felt that the National Party government was trying to drag out negotiations for as long as possible? (6)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a Level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners will be able to extract the information from the source to demonstrate their ability to understand the source.

#### Answer

Mandela said that:

- 'many of the obstacles that we aimed to set out in May remain in place'
- 'the government seems determined to postpone their removal as long as possible'
- 'our own commitment to see the process moving along as swiftly as possible is not yet matched by that of the government'

## C2.

Use Source C and your own knowledge to explain what the pamphlet meant when it said that the 'apartheid government...fails to keep its side of the bargain'. (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners will be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will also have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader context.

#### Suggested answer

The pamphlet meant that the government had promised to introduce reforms but had failed to do so. Instead of peace, the government had fomented 'apartheid terror'.

## C3.

## Who was this pamphlet aimed at and why did it make use of cartoons to get its message across? (6)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to carry out two different tasks: identification of the intended audience of the pamphlet and an explanation for the format of the source.

#### Suggested answer

The intended audience is aimed at the ANC's black supporters or the broad mass of people, the black majority. We know this because it is titled 'Let the People Decide!' and it depicts ordinary black South Africans. It made use of a cartoon format because some black South Africans were illiterate but could still understand the pictures and so the message would still get across.

### C4.

Is this pamphlet reliable as a historical document for understanding the causes of political violence? Is it useful as a historical document for understanding the causes of political violence? (8)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 7 question, focusing on the skill of evaluation. Learners must judge the document in terms of reliability and usefulness. To judge this, learners should look for one-sidedness, exaggeration, the use of factual information as opposed to opinion, and whether other sources corroborate this information.

#### **Suggested Answer**

The pamphlet is not reliable as a historical document for understanding the causes of political violence as it takes only the side of the ANC and so is biased. It was produced by the ANC's Department of Political Education and is meant to win support for the ANC. It is also unsure of its facts and is speculative e.g. one character says 'some of those with guns look like BOERS – with their faces painted black' so he is not sure if they are black people or white people in disguise.

The pamphlet is useful as a historical document because it provides the viewpoint of the ANC, an important political party whose members were frequently victims of the violence and who blamed the government. The pamphlet is also useful as it provides us with the beliefs of the ordinary supporters of the ANC.

## SOURCE D: Map – Where is the Violence?

Extract from a booklet produced by the Institute for Contextual Theology, headed by Dr. Beyers Naude' who was banned at the time, undated. (Archived at SAHA as Collection AL 2457: K1, Ad Hoc and Unsourced)

#### Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

- LO 3: The learner constructs and communicates historical knowledge and understanding
- AS 3: The learner sustains and defends a coherent and balanced argument with evidence provided and independently accessed
- AS 4: The learner communicates knowledge and understanding in a variety of ways including discussion (written and oral), debate, creating a piece of historical writing using a variety of genres, research assignments, graphics and oral presentation

## D1.

List three areas where violence occurred that are depicted on the map or mentioned in the text on the left hand side or in the list of place names on the right hand side. (6)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a Level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners will be able to extract the information directly from the source.

#### Suggested answer

Many different areas are mentioned in the source and any three of these can be marked as correct e.g. Boipatong, Mooi River, Khayelitsha, Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Phola Park.

## D2.

## Using your own knowledge and Source D, identify when this undated pamphlet was likely to have been issued and explain how you know this. (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners will be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will also have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader context.

#### **Suggested Answer**

The undated pamphlet is likely to have been issued after 1992 because the Boipatong Massacre had already occurred. Furthermore, the train violence had been going on for some time as nearly 250 people had been killed, so it must have been 1993 or early 1994.

## D3.

#### Who do you think created this pamphlet and what was its target audience. Substantiate your answer. (4)

#### Type of question

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to identify the creator of the document and the targeted audience.

#### Suggested answer

The creator of the pamphlet was a member of the Institute for Contextual Theology, headed by Dr. Beyers Naude' but probably not Dr. Naude' himself as he was banned at the time and would have risked a jail sentence if he wrote the words himself. The target audience was probably black South Africans as the places where the violence occurred were townships where black South Africans lived.

## D4.

#### Which form of violence does this pamphlet ignore? (4)

#### Types of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to use their broader knowledge to determine what aspect is ignored.

#### Suggested answer

This pamphlet ignores attacks on informers by the 'com-tsotsis.' For example, it ignores 'necklacing.'

## SOURCE E: A pro-Nationalist government pamphlet

Issued during the negotiations process, undated. (Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: A7.4)

#### Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

- LO 1: The learner acquires and applies historical enquiry skills
- AS 4: The learner engages with sources of information, evaluating the usefulness of the sources, including stereotypes, subjectivity and gaps in available evidence
- LO 3: The learner engages critically with issues around heritage
- AS 1: The learner explains ideologies and debates around heritage issues and public representations

## E1.

#### List two positive ideas that are linked to the Nationalist Party government in this pamphlet and two negative ideas that are linked to anti-government elements. (8)

#### Type of question and approach

This is largely a Level 3 question, as the learner will be able to extract the information directly from the text. The mark allocation is also an important guide. Usually, the learner is awarded two marks for every main point that is made.

#### Suggested answer

- The Nationalist government wants blacks and whites to work together.
- The Nationalist government wants to bring about change in South Africa.
- The anti-government forces want to kill people that support law and order in South Africa
- The anti-government forces want to burn down the houses of people that support law and order in South Africa.

#### E2.

## Using your own knowledge and Source E, explain why this pamphlet was probably issued during the negotiations process. (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question. The learner will be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will mainly have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader context. The question is allocated four marks, which means that the learner must write two coherent, relevant sentences that address the question.

#### Suggested answer

- The Nationalist Party government wanted to portray itself in a positive light so that it could win votes in the democratic elections.
- The Nationalist Party government wanted to weaken support for its political rivals like the ANC.

## E3.

#### Who do you think created this pamphlet and what was its target audience? Substantiate your answer. (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, where the learner needs to identify the targeted audience and the intention of the creators of the source. The answer is awarded four marks so the learner will be awarded two marks for each answer.

#### Suggested answer

- The Nationalist Party created this pamphlet as it is clearly pro-government, portraying it as working towards change in South Africa while encouraging co-operating between black and white South Africans.
- The targeted audience is likely to be those black voters who the Nationalists want to convince to vote for them instead of the ANC.

#### E4.

#### Which aspects of the Nationalist Party government does this pamphlet ignore? (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question which requires a sophisticated form of analysis. It is worth four marks so the writer must discuss two aspects of the Nationalist Party government which are ignored in the pamphlet.

#### Suggested answer

- The pamphlet ignores the fact that the Nationalist Party created a cruel and oppressive racist system of apartheid.
- The pamphlet ignores the role played by the government in violence such as police shootings and deaths in detention.