

# **SAHA IN THE CLASSROOM**

## **RESISTANCE IN THE 1980s: MILITANCY**

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 booklet examines the role of militancy in the South African political resistance movement of the 1980s, which specifically opposed Botha's 'Total Strategy'. The anti-conscription movement gained ground during the 1980s through the End Conscription Campaign, and aimed at opposing the state-sanctioned repressive military tactics of the South African Defence Force. Forms of militancy were employed by the resistance movement in exile and through the armed struggle, and had a major role to play in political resistance.

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 the use of various forms of militancy in the resistance during the 1980s, as well as the resistance to state-sanctioned militarism. 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 TO 'TOTAL STRATEGY'**

Central to PW Botha's policy of 'Total Strategy' was the increase of the power, influence and size of the army. During Botha's era conscription was extended; this meant that all white men had to do two years of compulsory military service. If they refused, they faced a jail sentence. A few individuals went to jail, and others, to avoid conscription into an army fighting for apartheid, went into exile as political refugees. The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was formed in 1983 to oppose the conscription of white males into the Defence Force. Support for the ECC increased once the government began to send the army into the townships to control unrest. Although the support base for the ECC was never very large, the government still saw it as a threat, and the ECC was banned in 1988.

## **THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS IN EXILE AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE**

The ANC in exile received a massive boost in membership and morale after the 1976 uprising, when thousands of young people went into exile to join the movement. Many of these exiles joined the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and received training in ANC camps. The headquarters of the movement was in Lusaka, Zambia. Under the leadership of people such as Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo and Thabo Mbeki, the ANC gained increasing international support for sanctions against South Africa. Both the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity recognised the ANC as the official representative of the people of South Africa, and the ANC eventually had more envoys stationed in foreign capitals than the South African government did. Support for the ANC within South Africa also increased significantly. The ANC had support among the civics, in the UDF and in COSATU.

In the early 1980s, MK launched attacks on high-profile targets, such as the SA Air Force in Pretoria, the dockyards in Durban, and the Koeberg nuclear power station near Cape Town. By the mid-1980s MK stepped up the number of attacks on police stations and other targets.

## **THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT**

The ANC called for 1989 to be a 'Year of Mass Action'. In August a broad alliance of anti-apartheid organisations formed the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), with COSATU and the UDF as its core members. It launched a Defiance Campaign against the government. The Defiance Campaign was a national programme that called for an end to segregation in hospitals, on public transport, and on the beaches, and widespread worker stay-aways in opposition to the Tricameral elections in September 1989.

As the pressure on the government grew, the authorities reacted with intensified repressions, and thousands of activists were arrested. However, the mood of defiance grew. Three million workers stayed away from work on the election day. People became bolder and ignored government banning orders, evictions, and restrictions.

The Defiance Campaign was successful and there was an end to segregation. However, some historians argue that this occurred because the government had already planned to end segregation and therefore did not feel threatened by the MDM's actions.

Later that year a number of peaceful marches against the State of Emergency were organised by the MDM in the major cities. Whereas previously the government had reacted against such challenges, now the government took little action against the marches. This was evidence that apartheid and the government's will was weakening.

A number of factors came together, and by the end of 1989, the stage was set for major changes in South Africa.

## **INSURRECTION IN THE TOWNSHIPS**

The spark of revolt came in September 1984 when rent increases were announced in the industrial regions of the then Transvaal. The increases were imposed by the new tier of, frequently corrupt, black councillors who were seen as apartheid stooges. Such 'collaborators' were an obvious target for the hatred of ordinary township residents. The rent increases came at a time of distress when unemployment was at about 30 per cent.

In September, matters came to a head when violent confrontations took place in the African townships of Vereeniging (including Sharpeville) and other parts of the Vaal Triangle. The protestors attacked targets that symbolised Botha's system of local government. They burnt down police stations and other government buildings, including municipal beer halls, along with the homes of black policemen and town councillors. By April 1985, twelve councillors had been killed. The ANC added its voice to the community activists, calling in April 1985 for people to 'Make apartheid unworkable! Make the townships ungovernable!'

The police and army occupied the townships. But instead of restoring order, as had happened after Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976, the struggle was intensified and the 'Vaal uprising' soon spread to the Eastern Cape, Orange Free State and Natal. These protests were remarkable in their extent, far exceeding the anti-apartheid campaigns of the 1950s and the Soweto uprising. There was widespread community involvement of young and old, female and male.

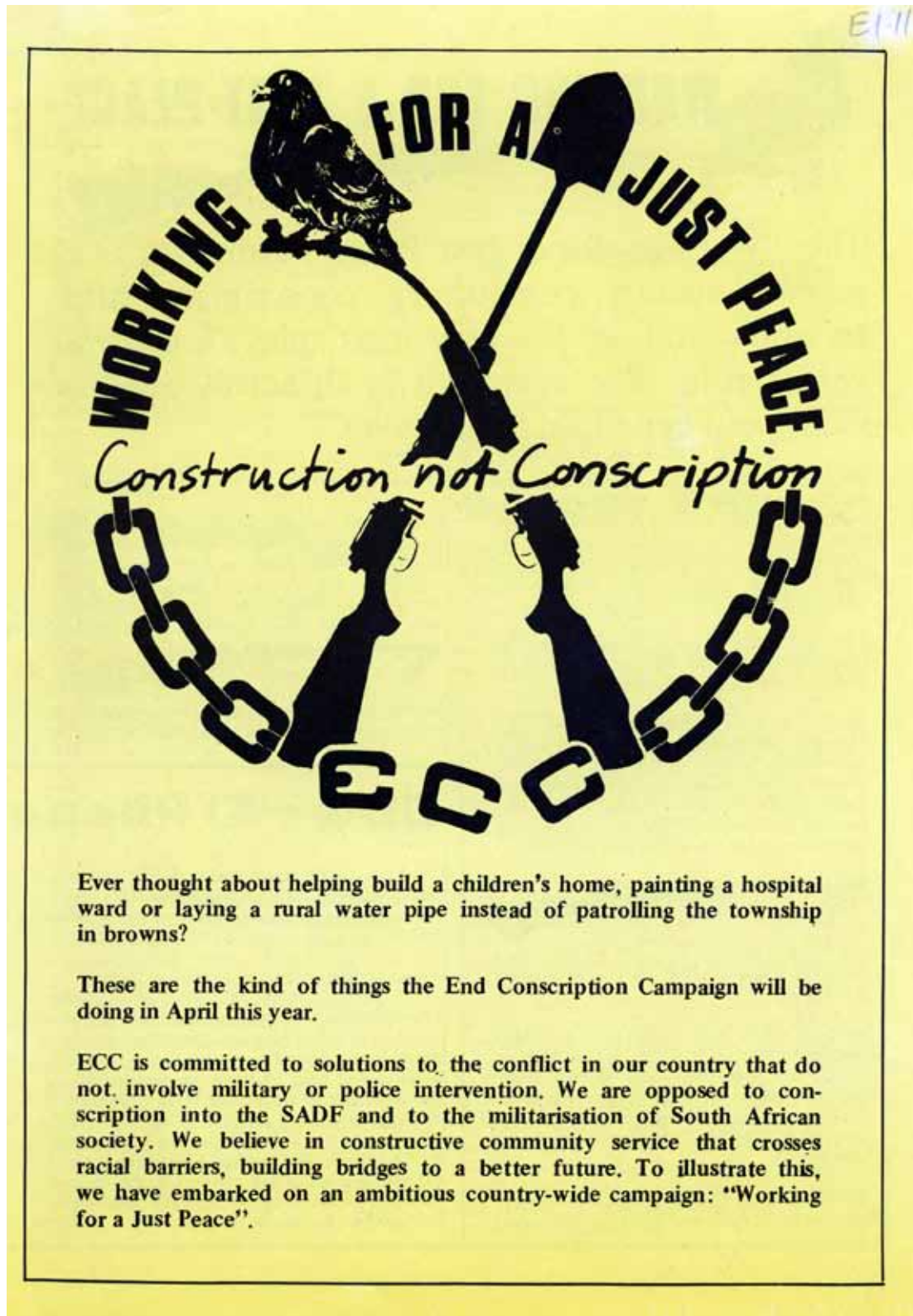
The apartheid system of local and township governance had largely collapsed by mid-1985. It was replaced by an alternative structure of community-organised bodies such as street committees, residents' associations and peoples' courts. These community organisations enforced, often through the young people who became known as 'comrades', UDF-supported boycotts and punished those who transgressed. After 1985 the revolt extended to the 'independent' and self-governing black homelands where corruption had reached intolerable proportions.

In spite of their efforts, the police and army never regained full control of the townships. In 1985 – 1986 there were well over 2 000 deaths as a result of political violence. Tens of thousands of activists were detained or went into hiding. Of the countless incidents that might be mentioned, one stands out in particular: the unprovoked killing by police of 21 mourners in a funeral procession – on the 25th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

With the country, in the words of the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, 'at the edge of anarchy and bloody revolution', Botha proclaimed a State of Emergency on 21 July 1985 – the first imposed since Sharpeville twenty five years earlier. Under the terms of the State of Emergency, the police were given the power to arrest people without warrants and to detain them indefinitely without charging them. It also gave the government even greater authority to censor radio, television and newspaper coverage of the unrest.



**SOURCE A: Pamphlet – Working for a Just peace:  
Construction not Conscription**



Undated pamphlet of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), a white, anti-apartheid organisation affiliated to the UDF and the MDM.

(Archived at Historical Papers as Collection AG1977:N1)

## **QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE A**

**A1.**

According to the pamphlet, how did the End Conscription Campaign suggest that white conscripts could help to build up communities that crossed racial barriers? (6)

**A2.**

By analysing both the text and the visual images used in this article, determine whether the End Conscription Campaign supports or opposes the SADF. (10)

**(TOTAL MARKS: 16)**

## SOURCE B: Pamphlet – How much are we spending on Defence? (1988)

### HOW MUCH ARE WE SPENDING ON DEFENCE?

1972/3 - SA spent R3 330m on defence

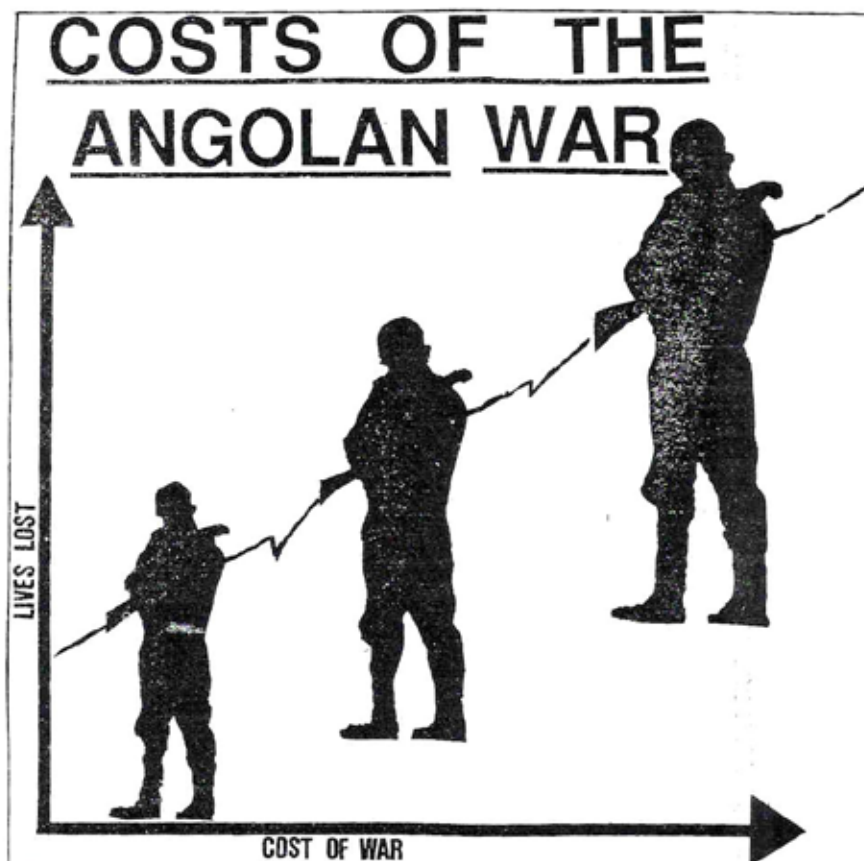
1985/6 - SA spent R5 123m on defence,

1986/7 - SA spent R6 683m on defence

These figures are **exclusive** of other security costs such as Secret Services and Detention: including such costs, the total Security Force budget is between **R11 and R12 billion per annum** - about 10% of South Africa's Gross National Product (GNP).

But these figures are in turn **exclusive** of the war in Angola which currently costs South Africa R5 million per day, which amounts to R4 billion per year!

" If we could put an end to this Angolan expenditure, we could cut income taxes by as much as 1/4 and create much economic growth . . . the biggest cost is in human lives, which can't be measured in Rands and cents. " -Weekend Argus 2\7\88.



A pamphlet produced by the Economic Research Committee (ERC) a sub-committee of the Student Representative Council (SRC) of the University of the Witwatersrand and the NUSAS, a largely white anti-apartheid student organisation.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: N8.1.5, NUSAS Publications)

## **QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE B**

### **B1.**

Analyse the graph. Identify two different ways in which it suggests that the number of lives lost was increasing as a result of South Africa's involvement in the Angolan war?

What is missing from the graph? (8)

### **B2.**

How much was spent on defence by South Africa in 1986/7? What happens to the Defence Budget when it is calculated to include Secret Services and Detentions? Now add the money spent on the Angolan war, what is the total? (6)

### **B3.**

What is this pamphlet's view on the impact of South Africa's war in Angola and other military costs? Provide evidence to substantiate your answer. (10)

**(TOTAL MARKS: 24)**



# SOURCE C: Extract – The African National Congress (ANC) in exile and the armed struggle (1986)

Anti-Apartheid News October 1986 Page 5

## SANCTIONS NOW !



Picture by Stefano Capomonte/Report

People's sanctions now – part of the crowd at the AAM's 28 June March for Freedom

### NON-ALIGNED STATES PRESS FOR TOTAL BOYCOTT OF APARTHEID

THE Non-Aligned Movement, meeting almost on Pretoria's doorstep, concentrated most of its attention on apartheid and the need for practical support for the liberation movements. KEITH SOMERVILLE reports on its summit meeting, which ended with a decision to send an eight-person group to the US, Britain, West Germany and Japan to press for comprehensive mandatory UN sanctions.

The final declaration of the eighth Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit, which ended in Harare on 7 September, demanded the immediate imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The summit, attended by well over 100 countries as either participants or observers, also adopted a special declaration on Southern Africa, which called for increased international assistance for the liberation movements and the front line states.

In his address to the summit, Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos said that 10 years ago it would have been impossible to foresee that Harare (then still Salisbury) could be the NAM's venue, but the pace of change in the region had accelerated and the racist regime had vanished from Zimbabwe.

The Angolan leader's speech was not all hope and prospects of a peaceful future. He strongly attacked western collaboration and stressed the NAM's desire for firmer and more urgent actions by the West to bring pressure to bear on Botha.

The NAM should itself move 'from rhetoric and declarations of intent to the adoption of concrete actions in the diplomatic and economic fields' – to force the racist Pretoria regime to renounce violence', he said.

The summit declaration was consistent with the passionate and hard-hitting keynote speech by the new chairman, Robert Mugabe.

He condemned Pretoria for its policy of state terrorism against

### International action: THE PACE STEPS UP – BUT IS IT ENOUGH ?

NOW that growing numbers of Commonwealth, Scandinavian and other governments are beginning to impose their own sanctions against South Africa, the debate has changed from *whether* sanctions should be adopted to what *type*. How should the Anti-Apartheid Movement react to the arguments for and against such selective sanctions? asks ABUL S MINTY.

The Botha regime's failure to regain the initiative from the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa has presented its western allies with a serious policy crisis.

Foreign secretary Geoffrey Howe's disastrous and humiliating mission to South Africa, intended to sabotage the valuable work of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, showed yet again how far the Thatcher government is prepared to go to help Pretoria avoid large-scale sanctions. But Botha's refusal to make even 'minor' concessions has embarrassed his allies and sent their policies up a cul-de-sac.

Neither Washington nor London has anything to show for 'constructive engagement' and 'dialogue'. Both have been forced to adopt certain limited sanctions measures.

Indeed, the situation is now so transformed that the debate is no longer about whether sanctions should be adopted but what *type* of sanctions. While this shift has been brought about by anti-apartheid pressure, it does contain some dangers for the continuing campaign for South Africa's total isolation.

In the recent past several western governments, including members of the Commonwealth, have imposed a variety of sanctions.

The Danish government enacted virtually total sanctions from June 1986. The rest of the Nordic governments are also now agreed on the imposition of total sanctions although Sweden prefers to see one more attempt made to secure their adoption by the UN Security Council.

Most western governments, however, are reluctant to adopt really meaningful measures and do the minimum: that they can get away with in the face of growing public pressure. Their continuing opposition to mandatory economic sanctions has encouraged a growing body of

research on selective sanctions and fuelled debate about the value of one type or package of sanctions as compared to another.

Of course it is important to establish South Africa's dependence on particular items of trade, but the danger of this approach is that it tends to concentrate on those sanctions which would be 'less costly' than others to enforce.

It automatically projects a time scale over which sanctions can be gradually escalated. Its greatest danger lies in its failure to treat sanctions in the context of the overall liberation struggle.

In the present situation, the AAM's traditional and consistent policy of demanding comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa takes on a new importance.

**Maximum impact**

There is just no time for a step by step process of gradual sanctions. It may already be too late to avoid violent confrontation throughout the region. Total and binding sanctions can play a decisive role in reducing the levels of violence; partial or selective sanctions cannot have the same impact.

Besides, long drawn out debates about possible types of selective sanctions only serve to give advance warning, and time, to Pretoria to take action to try and reduce their impact.

It is vitally important that the outside world, particularly those countries with economic and other links with South Africa, understands that sanctions will involve some cost. It will certainly not be as great as the enemies of sanctions claim. And in calculating the cost it must be offset against the enormous cost of doing nothing – a policy option which simply encourages violent confrontation and more and more aggression



Oliver Tambo

apartheid 'regardless of the price they have to pay', needed modern weapons 'to enable them to march against Pretoria'.

President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO, who reminded the summit that the victory of the Zimbabwean masses had expanded the 'frontiers of freedom' from the Zambezi to the Limpopo, pledged that the ANC and SWAPO would wipe out the remnants of colonialism on the African continent.

In his closing address, Mugabe said that the summit's most important achievement was the programme of action it envisaged 'through the creation of an Africa fund'.

The Africa fund will be run by the same group of countries which is spearheading the NAM's diplomatic initiative to the West: to press for sanctions (Algeria, Argentina, Congo, India, Nigeria, Peru, Yugoslavia, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

It is intended to help the front line states improve their roads, railways and communications, and to ensure that they are not deprived of vital supplies such as oil through Pretoria's counter-sanctions and military aggression.

### CUBAN ARMY TO STAY IN ANGOLA

CUBAN president Fidel Castro told the Non-Aligned summit in Harare that Cuba was prepared to keep its troops in Angola 'for as long as apartheid exists in South Africa'.

The presence of Cuban troops in this front line state was 'based on principle' he said. 'It is in no way motivated by Cuba's national interests or matters of prestige.'

The Angolan government, at whose request the 20,000 Cuban combatants are defending strategic lines in the south of the country, could ask for their withdrawal at any time.

When the Botha regime finally collapses, the Cuban president said, then no country will feel threatened and not a single Cuban soldier will be needed.

'...African National Congress president Oliver Tambo told the summit that the South African people, who were ready to mount an assault on apartheid 'regardless of the price they have to pay', needed modern weapons 'to enable them to march against Pretoria.'

An extract from a speech by Oliver Tambo at the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit in Harare, printed in *Anti-Apartheid News*.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: W2.1, AAN, 1986 oct 5)

## QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE C

**C1.**

List two positive ideas that are linked to the logo of the eighth Non-Aligned Summit in Harare in 1986 and explain why this logo is depicted side-by-side with a photograph of Oliver Tambo. (6)

**C2.**

Using your own knowledge and Source D, explain why it was fitting that the summit meeting was held in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, in 1986. (6)

**C3.**

Study the images and the text in Source D.  
Identify the different ways that the image and text differ from one another. (6)

**(TOTAL MARKS: 18)**

## SOURCE D: Statement – Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) Position on the Formation of the Democratic Party

PD-H23.6

### THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT'S (UDE AFFILIATES AND COSATU)

#### POSITION ON THE FORMATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Mass Democratic Movement notes the formation and launching, of the Democratic Party which has within it a number of individuals who who have been sympathetic to the struggle of the oppressed masses for an end to the apartheid systems

To the white community, the event is probably seen as an attempt to provide an alternative to the present Apartheid Government.

In so far as there is a genuine desire on the part of more and more whites to move away from apartheid, the shift is welcome.

It is our duty to point out that participation in the tricameral parliament is totally unacceptable to the overwhelming majority of S.Africa's oppressed people.

The tricameral system divides our people and its whole purpose is to preserve a system based on ethnicity, group rights and privileges. It entrenches the Apartheid System.

What is more, real power no longer rests in parliament which is nothing more than a smokescreen to cover the presidential-military dictatorship which exercises power in S.A.

It is our desire that whites who share our vision of a single non-racial democratic South Africa in which all persons are citizen and enjoy full equality with each other should take their place in the Democratic Organisations of our people so that they may fight side by side with us for a new South Africa free from apartheid, division, oppression and exploitation.

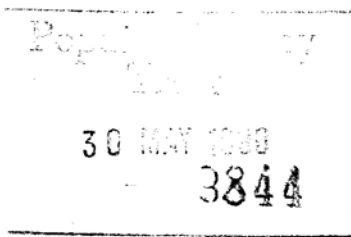
Any person or group that wants to contribute to a solution in our Country will have to address itself to and call for

- (1) An end to the State of Emergency.
- (2) An end to arbitrary detentions.

- 
- (3) The removal of troops from townships and schools.
  - (4) The unconditional release of all political prisoners
  - (5) The unbanning of the A.N.C. and all other banned organisations.
  - (6) The unconditional return of all exiles with guarantees for their safety.
  - (7) The immediate end to all forms of apartheid.
  - (8) Free political activity with the right of freedom of speech, assembly, movement and association for all South Africans.

The new party will be judged on its track record in these matters.

SIGNED: -----



Statement issued by the Mass Democratic Movement on the formation of (the white opposition political party) the Democratic Party.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: H23.1)



## QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE D

**D1.**

What evidence is there that the MDM cautiously welcomed the formation of the Democratic Party?  
(6)

**D2.**

What concerns were expressed by the MDM about the Democratic Party's  
participation in parliament? (6)

**D3.**

What would the MDM prefer democratic whites to do instead of joining the Democratic Party? (4)

**(TOTAL MARKS: 16)**

# SOURCE E: Cartoon – Insurrection in the townships

Page 12 Anti-Apartheid News July-August 1986

## Campaign Diary

■ **July:** Month of boycott action against Shell in protest at its involvement in South Africa and Namibia. Campaign to disinvest from Shell: pickets and leafleting of Shell service stations and outlets. Contact Simon Sapper at AAM headquarters for details.

■ **Saturday 9 August: SOUTH AFRICA WOMEN'S DAY** 30th anniversary of the historic 20,000-strong women's march on Pretoria in protest at the pass laws. Public meeting and cultural events organised by ANC. Contact Carola Towle, AAM, on 387 7966.

■ **Saturday 9 August: SOUTH AFRICA WOMEN'S DAY MEETING**, London 7.00pm, Stoke Newington Town Hall, Stoke Newington Church Street, N16 (No 73 bus to the door). Organised by the ANC. Don't come empty handed – fill the box with goods for the ANC school and creche at Mazimbu.

■ **Tuesday 26 August: NAMIBIA DAY** 20th anniversary of the launch of SWAPO's armed liberation struggle. Contact AAM or Namibia Support Committee, 01-267 1941/2.

■ **Saturday 7 September: National 25-mile Sponsored Mandela Cycle Ride** in aid of political prisoners campaign. Contact Mick Flynn at AAM headquarters if you would like to take-part or can sponsor riders.

■ **Thursday 11 October: UN DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS**

■ **Monday 27 October:** 20th anniversary of the UN General Assembly's termination of South Africa's mandate in Namibia. Start of International Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia.



25p each or 15p each if ordering more than ten  
Write to SWSC, PO BOX 16  
LONDON NW5 2LW  
Tel: 01-267 1941

65th Anniversary of the South African Communist Party

Public Meeting  
Conway Hall, London  
(nearest tube Holborn)  
Wednesday July 30  
at 7.30pm

Joe Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party  
Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the African National Congress  
Amath Dausoko, general secretary of the Party of Independence and Labour, Senegal  
Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain  
James Stewart, general secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland

## War resistance on show

STOP the Apartheid War, an exhibition by the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR), is being staged at the Africa Centre, 38 King Street, Covent Garden, on 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28 and 29 July from 10am to 5pm. The event opens with an evening of speeches and cultural activities and closes with a special video screening and speakers to

mark the trial in South Africa of war resister Phillip Wilkinson.

The exhibition features posters and graphics produced during the campaign against conscription, raids by the South African Defence Force into neighbouring states and military occupation.

Admission is free though donations are welcome. Details on 278 6928.

## Zimbabwe honours Mandela

THE University of Zimbabwe conferred honorary doctorate of law degrees on Nelson Mandela and former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, at an impressive ceremony in Harare.

Nelson Mandela's award was collected on his behalf by his elder daughter Zenani, who brought a personal message of thanks to Zimbabwean president Canaan

Banana and the university: 'The freedom of the oppressed in South Africa, which remains elusive for the moment, is inevitable with your help,' Mandela told the Zimbabwean people.

Julius Nyerere, who continues as chairman of Tanzania's ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi, appealed urgently for greater unity among African states.

## AA News copy dates

THE copy date for the September issue of AA News is FRIDAY 8 AUGUST.

Printed copies will be available for collection from AAM headquarters at 13 Mandela Street from Thursday 21 August.

Copy dates for subsequent issues are: October – FRIDAY 5 SEPTEMBER; November – FRIDAY 3 OCTOBER; December – FRIDAY 7 NOVEMBER.

# KEEP APARTHEID ON THE RUN



Apartheid is legalised racism. Apartheid is a crime against humanity. With your help the struggle for a democratic non-racial South Africa and a free Namibia will be won.

Now is the time for action.

**JOIN AAM TODAY**

☐ I want to help free South Africa and Namibia. My donation is for £.....  
Name .....  
Address .....  
Post code .....  
☐ Also, I want to join the Anti-Apartheid Movement.  
Waged £9 ☐ Students £5.50 ☐  
Unwaged/pensioner/school student £3.50 ☐  
☐ Two people at same address £12 ☐  
☐ I would like more information about campaigning against apartheid.  
I enclose £..... plus £..... donation  
(Please make cheques payable to AAM)  
Return to: AAM, 13 Mandela Street,  
London NW1 0DW. Tel 01-387 7966.

A cartoon encouraging people to join the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), published in *Anti-Apartheid News* (1986).

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: W2.1, AAN, 1986)

## QUESTIONS FOR SOURCE E

### E1.

How do we know that apartheid causes poverty and misery among black people from this cartoon?  
(6)

### E2.

How is the apartheid government (represented by the figure of PW Botha) portrayed in the cartoon? Why is he presented in this way? (8)

### E3.

Who do you think created this pamphlet and what was its target audience.  
Substantiate your answer. (6)

**(TOTAL MARKS: 20)**

## GLOSSARY

**liberal** – supporters of the political philosophy of liberalism who favoured protection of individual rights such as the freedom of speech and the press

**academic freedom** – the right to research, study and teach on any topic by any writer, including those critical of the current government

**tier** – layer or level

**stooges** – dupes, people who are easily fooled

## **FURTHER READING**

Callinicos, L. *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, David Philip, Cape Town, 2004

Gevisser, M. *Thabo Mbeki: the Dream Deferred*, Jonathan Ball, Cape Town, 2007

Kasrils, R. *Armed and Dangerous: from undercover struggle to freedom*, J. Ball, 2005

Mandela, N. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, Macdonald Purnell, Randburg, 1994

Sampson, A. *Mandela: the Authorised Biography*, Harper Collins Library, Johannesburg, 1999