

SAHA IN THE CLASSROOM

FORMAL REPRESSION IN THE 1980s

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 formal repression in the 1980s 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: Extract – Deaths in Detention (1982)

Newsletter from the Detention Action Committee, August 1982.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection UWL, AD2951: H, South African Institute of Race Relations, Detentions, Bannings)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

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 the available evidence

LO 2: The learner is able to use historical concepts in order to analyse the past

AS 1: Analyses concepts such as detention

AS 3: Compares and contrasts interpretations and perspectives of events, people's actions and changes in order to draw independent conclusions about the actions or events

LO 3: The learner is able to construct and communicate historical knowledge and understanding

AS 3: Sustains and defends a coherent and balanced argument with evidence provided and independently assessed

A1.

Give three reasons the police gave for detainee deaths in detention. (3 x 2 = 6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners need to demonstrate the ability to understand the document as well as be able to extract the information from the source. Learners need to use the skill of selection as well as extraction.

Suggested answer

Suicide, death by hanging, fell out of the window, natural causes (any 3)

A2.

Why do you think the newsletter refers to these causes of death as 'attributed causes'?(4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to extract some of the information from the source, but will have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader issues by applying the knowledge gained from the source.

Suggested answer

The causes of death were not necessarily as they were recorded. The reasons given were

often to cover up brutal interrogation methods and to misinform the people. It was most likely that the real reasons for detainee deaths were not being told to the public.

A3.

Why do you think that so many people died in detention? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to interpret the source, by determining the point of view from the source. It is asking the learner to examine the intention of the source and the message.

Suggested answer

- The brutal police system did not care what happened to people.
- The interrogation methods of the police were cruel and inhumane.
- There was no code of conduct for interrogators - they were not accountable for their actions.

A4.

Why do you think this pamphlet refers to South Africa's security laws in inverted commas, and refers to them as so-called? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to interpret the source, by determining the point of view from the source. It is asking the learner to examine the intention of the source and the message, by looking at the kind of audience it was aimed at. The learner should look for double meanings that are often implied by inverted commas.

Suggested answer

They were anything but security laws! They gave no security to the people. Rather, they placed them in danger. So-called implies that they are not real and they are just a name with no real meaning and security to the people.

A5.

The newsletter refers to the Rabie Commission. What does the source say about the Rabie Commission? Why did it not ask why so many detainees died? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to use a more

complex form of interpretation. In this instance, learners need to 'read between the lines'. They have to identify the judgment that is being passed by the source.

Suggested answer

According to the source, the Rabie Commission was about security, about the threat to South Africa - as the apartheid government saw it. The Commission was not concerned with how many detainees might die.

The Rabie Commission was created by the government in August 1979 to look into the security of the country and to seek out any threats to the security of the existing government. It created an avenue for systems to be created so that detainees could be found and arrested. They did not ask the question as to why so many detainees had died because they did not care. The Commission believed that detainees were a threat to the security of the state, and as such, it was not their concern to examine security police methods. The Commission was clearly only concerned with securing its position and that of the government.

A6.

What was the attitude of the Detention Action Committee towards the police and its policy of detentions? Provide evidence from the source to justify your answer. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 7 question, focusing on the skill of evaluation. Learners need to use more complex forms of interpretation. In this instance, learners need to 'read between the lines'. They have to identify the judgement that is being passed by the source. They should look for emotive language, which would reflect an attitude.

Suggested answer

While answers may vary, the learner needs to discuss the attitude of the Detention Action Committee. The Detention Action Committee is angry and frustrated by the system. It believes that the police are to blame for the deaths, and what is happening is wrong. Evidence from the source would be 'the system needs to change', 'brutal system', 'killed by the police'. There are no other reliable sources other than from the detainees themselves, as the Rabie Commission cynically pointed out.

SOURCE B: Obituary of Anton Fransch (1989)

Anton Fransch was a victim of police action.
(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: F6)

The use of an obituary as a source

In the 1980s many political activists were killed by armed government forces. There were a number of obituaries that could be used as sources. An obituary is a notice of someone's death, usually including a short biography. Like all sources they need to be investigated and questioned in terms of reliability and usefulness. When analysing an obituary it is important to remember the emotional issues that would surround such an event.

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

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 the available evidence

LO 2: The learner is able to use historical concepts in order to analyse the past

AS 1: Analyses concepts such as the armed struggle

B1.

How did Anton Fransch believe people could effectively protect themselves from the brutality of the police? (2)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners need to demonstrate the ability to understand the document as well as be able to extract the information from the source. They need to use the skill of selection as well as extraction.

Suggested answer

He believed that people must resist and fight back; he used terms such as 'you must arm yourself' and 'you must meet fire with fire'.

B2.

Did the government detention imposed on Anton Fransch have the desired effect?
Explain. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to extract some of the information from the source, but will have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader issues by applying the knowledge gained from the source.

Suggested answer

No, it did not have the desired effect. It made him stronger and motivated him to fight harder. It made him more determined to beat the evil system.

B3.

What is meant by: 'We will pick up his fallen spear'? Did this indeed happen? (6)

Type of question and approach

This question has two parts to it. In the first instance, learners must explain what is meant by the quotation. This is a level 3 question, focusing on comprehension, in which learners will have to demonstrate understanding of the source. It also has aspects of a level 4 question, focusing on application. Learners will have to use a wider knowledge to explain the consequences of an action.

Suggested answer

- It means they will continue the struggle. His death will not stop their cause.
- Yes, this did happen. Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) continued to fight even when forced underground. The struggle continued up to 1994 when the first democratic government came into power.

B4.

Why was Anton Fransch referred to as a 'lion' in the title?
Use words in the source to support your answer. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to interpret the source. They need to examine the intention of the source and to select sources that would help to explain why Anton Fransch was referred to as a lion. It requires skills of word association.

Suggested answer

He was the leader of the young lions of Bonteheuwel. He was described as exhibiting the qualities of a lion. He was a good leader, courageous, strong, proud, fierce and he fought tirelessly just like a lion.

B5.

Give two reasons as to why Umkhonto we Sizwe was known as the people's army. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question, focusing on the skill of knowledge. This question asks for a wider knowledge to explain why members of Umkhonto we Sizwe were known as the people's army.

Suggested Answer

The army was fighting for the freedom of the people. It was a true representation of the people. It consisted of people from all walks of life and represented people at grass roots level. It was made up of volunteers.

B6.

How effective do you think the chants/refrains 'Long live... (etc); Victory is certain!' would be on the young people in the struggle? Explain your answer. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to analyse the source and to interpret the message. They also need to have insight into the impact of the words on a group of people.

Suggested answer

It would be very effective. It gives the people hope for the future. It makes them believe that all the danger they were confronted with was not in vain, that victory would happen. The people were motivated and mobilised by these chants. It united the people around a cause.

SOURCE C: Pamphlet issued by Interim Committee against Political Imprisonment

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: F4.15.9)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

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 the available evidence

LO 2: The learner is able to use historical concepts in order to analyse the past

AS 1: Analyses concepts such as detention

C1.

What does the acronym CAPI stand for?

Type of question and approach

This is a simple level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners can extract the answer directly from the source.

Answer

Committee against Political Imprisonment

C2.

The images on both sides of the pamphlet give a powerful message regarding the struggle. Describe and explain the message and why the images are so effective. (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question, focusing on the skill of synthesis. Learners need to interpret the source, synthesizing their comprehension of the source together with insight and visual analysis. It requires a more complex form of interpretation focusing on an understanding of the visual aspects of the pamphlet. Learners need to identify what they see and then explain the visuals.

Suggested answer

The images are repetitive and so are eye catching. There are many people in the struggle. The image alternates with one person behind bars and another in front. This gives the idea of freedom from behind bars. The bars are a powerful reminder of prison, and that actions can lead to imprisonment and that there is a personal cost. The black power fist, raised arm and clenched fist, is a reminder of the struggle and the sacrifices people are prepared to make. The effective use of the images is enhanced further by them being on the front and back of the pamphlet, always prevalent.

C3.

What questions does the pamphlet urge the people to ask of their organisations?
Write them in your own words. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a simple level 3 question, in which learners can extract the answer directly from the source.

Suggested answer

What the situation is with prisoners, are they being looked after; have they access to the necessary support; are their families being supported; what prisoners needs will be on release.

C4.

What are the different forms of political imprisonment mentioned in the source? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a simple level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners can extract the answer directly from the source, but do need to select the information.

Suggested Answer

Awaiting trial, on trial and serving sentences.

SOURCE D: Extract – Use of the Courts: Bannings (1989)

An extract from the booklet *Suppressing Apartheid Opponents: the State of Emergency June 1987 to March 1989* by David Webster and Maggie Friedman.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457:K1)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

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 the available evidence

LO 2: The learner is able to use historical concepts in order to analyse the past

AS 2: Examines and explains the dynamics of changing power relations

D1.

What was the UDF and why was it formed in 1983? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to apply their wider knowledge about the UDF to answer the question. They need to describe the UDF and to give reasons as to why it was formed.

Suggested answer

The UDF was a non-racial, broad-based organisation. It initially was formed to protest against the Tricameral Parliament of 1983 and called for coloureds and Indians to boycott the elections. After 1983 it became more of a political party which aimed to unite people across the spectrum in opposition against the apartheid government.

D2.

From the source, identify four of the charges laid against anti apartheid groups. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners can extract the answer directly from the source, but need to select four charges from the information.

Suggested Answer

‘Charges ranged from treason, terrorism, membership and furthering the aims of banned organisations or being a member of a banned organisation, sabotage, undergoing military training, harbouring guerillas, attending illegal gatherings to murder and public violence’ – any 4.

D3.

Why does the source regard the above charges as political? (4)

Type of question

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to apply their wider knowledge to the question, by explaining how the government generalised the term political. It does require an explanation of the use of the term.

Suggested answer

Anything done against the government was seen as a threat; a threat to their control and a threat to their existence. The government used this generalised term as an excuse to come down hard on any offenders. It would also give a clear warning signal out there that punishment would be harsh. The government's actions were justifiable as the crimes were political i.e. against the state.

D4.

Why could the charges be regarded as 'tenuous'? (2)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to use their wider knowledge to explain why the charges were tenuous and to link this to the information in the source.

Suggested answer

Tenuous means weak or thin. The charges could be regarded as tenuous as the people had done little that was wrong. They were charged for crimes that were difficult to prove, and for which there was little real evidence. The connection between the crime and the charge was thin. However people were convicted and given severe sentences.

D5.

Why do you think only 4 of the 22 accused in the Delmas Trial were actually jailed? (2)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to apply their wider knowledge to the question, by making links with this question and the previous one.

Suggested answer

The courts could not prove that the accused had done anything that could be regarded as a crime.

D6.

What impact would the removal of the general secretary and the publicity secretary of the UDF have on the struggle? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question, focusing on the skill of synthesis. Learners must have knowledge beyond the source as well as insight into the issue. It requires a more complex interpretation of the source and to link events so as to draw a conclusion.

Suggested answer

It would have a negative impact as it would be removing the leaders from the organisation. This would affect the direction in which the organisation could develop. The general secretary would be the managerial position and this would impact on decisions made. The publicity secretary's arrest would reduce the amount of information that reached the people.

D7.

The government used the procedure of long treason trials to disempower the struggle. Name and describe the Trial of 1956 showing how it was similar to the Delmas Trial. (10)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. It does require learners to reproduce knowledge but the question expects learners to apply their knowledge to compare and discuss similarities between the Delmas and Treason Trials.

Suggested answer

The 1956 trial was known as the Treason Trial. It was held in the wake of the drawing up of the Freedom Charter. The government was attempting to silence the liberation movement. This was the same reason for the Delmas Trial. In the Treason Trial 156 people were arrested, and it lasted over four years. The accused were finally all acquitted. In the Delmas Trial although the number of accused was less, most were acquitted after three years. In both cases the government was attempting to weaken the resistance by removing their most powerful leaders.

SOURCE E: Extract – Table and Pie Graph (c. 1989)

An extract from *Suppressing Apartheid Opponents: the State of Emergency June 1987 to March 1989* by David Webster and Maggie Friedman, SA Research Service and Ravan Press.
(Archived at SAHA as collection AL2457:K1)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

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 the available evidence

LO 2: The learner is able to use historical concepts in order to analyse the past

AS 2: Examines and explains the dynamics of changing power relations

LO 3: The learner is able to construct and communicate historical knowledge and understanding

AS 1: Identifies when an interpretation of statistics may be controversial and engage critically with the conclusions presented by the data

AS 2: Synthesizes information to construct an original argument, using evidence from sources provided, in order to support the argument

E1.

Give two reasons as to why bannings were most prevalent in the political youth and student movements. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to extract some of the information from the source, but must also demonstrate an understanding of the broader issues.

Suggested answer

They were more active, and played a significant role in resistance. This threatened and directly challenged the position of the government so they were banned. The youth and student groups tended to be more radical and fiery and had more to gain as they were fighting for their future. These organisations were increasing in membership and so gaining momentum.

E2.

The graph in the source shows a trend of fewer bannings between 1950 and 1976. Account for this. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to use their wider knowledge and to interpret a graph showing links and reasons for this trend of bannings. Note that a trend implies that the information needs to be viewed from a wide perspective and specific events are not the focus.

Suggested answer

Resistance during the 1950s was more passive and the government was less threatened. Post 1960 government control was tight, especially after Sharpeville when the ANC and the Pan African Congress (PAC) were banned. As government leaders changed, e.g. from B.J.Voster to P.W. Botha, and the more restrictive laws were implemented, there were more bannings. After 1976, the year of the Soweto uprising, bannings increased enormously.

E3.

What event occurred in 1960 that caused banning to increase? (2)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question, focusing on the skill of knowledge. This question asks learners to use their wider knowledge and to interpret the source. The answer is not found in the source and for this reason the learner has to have some knowledge on this period.

Suggested answer

The anti-pass campaign and Sharpeville

E4.

In 1976 yet another event caused a spike in bannings. Using your own knowledge describe why this event significantly increased the bannings. (10)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to have knowledge of this period, as the answer is not in the source, and must apply this knowledge to a wider interpretation of events. They must exhibit an understanding of how the actions and events of the Soweto uprising in 1976 would have impacted on the number of bannings. A cause and effect relationship must be discussed. The learners are expected to describe and discuss events that occurred in Soweto and how these encouraged further repression.

Suggested answer

In Soweto, students took to the streets over a number of issues. The spark that started the uprising was when the Department of Bantu Affairs, in 1975, decided to enforce its policy where half the subjects would be taught in Afrikaans. This meant Mathematics, History and Geography would be taught in Afrikaans. The South African Students' Movement (SASM) called for a boycott of the June exams. Teachers were dismissed when they refused to teach in Afrikaans and protest action began to spread.

The Soweto riots had significant coverage and this caused the government to clamp down. This event high-lighted the power of the student movements. The Riotous Assembly Act was invoked to ban all outdoor public meetings. Various organisations were banned: the

South African Students' organisation (SASO), the SASM, the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) were banned. This event was the greatest challenge of civil unrest that the government had been faced with since coming to power in 1948.

E5.

Why did bannings increase once again in 1988? (2)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question, focusing on knowledge. Learners need to use their wider knowledge to interpret the source. The answer is not in the source and they are expected to show knowledge of the period.

Suggested answer

By 1988 there was increased ungovernability in the aftermath of the introduction of the Tricameral Parliament. This was also related to the activities of the UDF and other events surrounding the State of Emergency of 1986.

SOURCE F: Cartoon – “The Dark Ages Revisited” (1997)

A political cartoon by Zapiro, published in *The Sowetan*, 19 September 1997.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL3129: C23, Zapiro TRC Cartoon Collection)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

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 the available evidence

LO 2: The learner is able to use historical concepts in order to analyse the past

AS 1: Analyses concepts such as censorship

AS 2: Examines and explains the dynamics of changing power relations

AS 3: Compares and contrasts interpretations and perspectives of events, people’s actions and changes in order to draw independent conclusions about the actions or events.

LO 3: The learner is able to construct and communicate historical knowledge and understanding

AS 3: Sustains and defends a coherent and balanced argument with evidence provided and independently assessed

F1.

Which political leader does the Emperor represent? (2)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question, focusing on the skill of knowledge. The cartoon is a caricature of P.W. Botha and learners are expected to recognize him from the visual context. (The cartoon is based on the fairy story of the Emperor’s Clothes – a wily merchant sold the Emperor a set of ‘invisible clothes’ saying that only the stupid could not see the clothes, and not wanting to appear stupid....)

Suggested answer

P.W. Botha

F2.

With reference to the cartoon what kind of support was Stoffel Botha giving to the Emperor? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. The learners need to extract visual information from the cartoon. They will then need to apply their knowledge gained from the visual information to determine what kind of support Stoffel Botha was giving. They will need to identify the role Stoffel Botha plays by his dress and mannerism as is depicted in visual form. This visual information will need to be processed into the written word.

Suggested answer

He is playing a supportive role. He is smaller in size and is running behind PW Botha, which indicates he is obeying orders. He is dressed like a medieval guard and armed with a weapon to threaten the opposition and to be able to carry out orders.

F3.

How has the cartoonist shown the differences between the alternative press and the regular press? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question, focusing on the skill of synthesis. It requires a complex level of visual interpretation, including emotive language. It requires knowledge of generally used symbols in historical cartoons, interpretation of body language and compliancy. Learners then need to use this knowledge to deduce the differences between the alternative press and the regular press.

Suggested answer

The alternative press is represented by Robin Hood, a character known for his protection of the downtrodden. He stands upright and asks a challenging and perceptive question indicating his refusal to play along with the status quo (i.e. not being conned into admiring the Emperor's 'clothes'). The other press is seen to be groveling on their knees in an obsequious gesture with fixed grins and saying what is expected of them (e.g. 'beautiful clothes your Excellency'). Their position shows them to be worshipping PW Botha.

F4.

What message is the cartoonist trying to convey to the reader by using the title 'The Dark Ages Revisited...' (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question, focusing on the skill of synthesis. Learners are expected to show prior knowledge. They need to link the title of the cartoon to the context of the cartoon. The cartoon was drawn in 1997, but it depicts 1987 – the Dark Ages of apartheid.

Suggested answer

The period of apartheid reflected the repression of the Dark Ages, a period that seemed to be without progress and enlightenment. The word 'dark' has connotations of evil, and apartheid could be regarded as evil. It reflects how misguided PW Botha and others were; the suppression of the obvious and a refusal to accept reality.

F5.

Read the speech bubble on the right hand side of the cartoon where the alternative press is sitting on a bench. What do you think the alternative press is predicting for the future?
(4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 7 question, focusing on the skill of evaluation. Learners are expected to analyse the information and make a prediction from it. This is an open ended question. The teacher needs to judge the answer on its merit.

Suggested answer

That the regular press ten years after 1987 will have distorted the past so that it seems it opposed apartheid, and that it can be 'proud' of its record of opposition. In 1997 the press is predicted to be assertive about its role in bringing about the end of apartheid.

F6.

Do you think this source is biased? Substantiate your answer. (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 7 question, which focuses on the skill of evaluation. Learners need to use a more complex form of interpretation, in which they examine the source for bias. To analyse for bias learners need to identify emotive language, especially persuasion and point of view.

Suggested answer

It is biased towards the alternative press which is depicted as the folk tale hero, Robin Hood, who was known to steal from the rich and give to the poor. This suggests that the alternative press will ignore government restrictions and keep the people informed. PW Botha is portrayed as ugly, with exaggerated features, and as having been fooled into wearing no clothes, which suggests that the cartoonist is against him. The title suggests that the time of PW Botha was the Dark Ages; and people like Stoffel Botha supported him unquestioningly, with the alternative press admiring his 'new clothing.'