

SAHA IN THE CLASSROOM

RESISTANCE IN THE 1980s: INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE

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 resistance 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: Article – The Disinvestment Debate

An article from *Wits Student*, the student publication of the University of the Witwatersrand (Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: T13, Foreign Relations – Sanctions)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

LO 1: The learner is able to acquire and apply historical enquiry skills

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

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

AS 1: Analyses concepts such as disinvestment and sanctions.

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.

AS 4: Communicates knowledge and understanding in a variety of ways.

A1.

How does the article in Source A explain disinvestment? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners can extract the answer from the source. However, they should demonstrate an understanding of the meaning conveyed by those words by writing the answer in their own words.

Suggested answer

It explains disinvestment as the withdrawal of all foreign business activity from South Africa. This includes foreign money, goods, shares and businesses. Once foreign capital has been withdrawn, the South African economy has to rely on its own resources, including South African capital and industries.

A2.

According to the article, what did those calling for disinvestment in South Africa hope to achieve? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners can extract the answer from the source. However, they should demonstrate an understanding of the meaning conveyed by those words by writing the answer in their own words.

Suggested answer

It was hoped that by withdrawing foreign capital and investment from South Africa, the South African economy would collapse. This, in turn, would lead to the collapse of the South African government, which would then lead to the end of apartheid.

A3.

What are the major arguments against disinvestment in South Africa? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners can extract the answer from the source. However, they should demonstrate an understanding of the meaning conveyed by those words by writing the answer in their own words.

Suggested answer

- Disinvestment will lead to the withdrawal of foreign companies, and the African working class will suffer as they will be unemployed.
- Foreign companies working within South Africa can bring about greater change by working to improve conditions for workers.

A4.

If you were an African worker working for a foreign company in South Africa in the 1980s, would you have supported disinvestment or not? Explain your answer. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to use the information in the source to develop an understanding of the impact of disinvestment on the African working class, and then need to apply what they have learnt to formulate a position that an African worker would have adopted in the 1980s.

Suggested answer

This is to some extent an open-ended answer as learners may adopt a position whereby they support disinvestment or oppose it. In both instances, they need to demonstrate that they are operating from the viewpoint of an African worker in the 1980s. As a worker who would oppose disinvestment, the answer should include reference to the following: it is likely that the worker would lose his/her job and therefore suffer considerably. As a worker who would support disinvestment, it is likely that the worker would make reference to the withdrawal of foreign machinery and that South Africa would have to return to more labour-intensive forms of production. This would lead to increased levels of employment and the worker would not necessarily face unemployment. It is also likely that this worker would be more politicised, thus supporting disinvestment as a part of the struggle.

A5.

By analysing both the text and the visual images used in this article, determine whether *Wits Student* supports or opposes disinvestment in South Africa. (10)

Type of question and approach

This question involves two levels of questioning. As a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis, learners need to analyse both the written text and the visuals and determine the meaning of both. As a level 7 question, focusing on the skill of evaluation, learners need to evaluate the viewpoint of the producer of the article through an understanding of the meaning of the text and the visuals.

Suggested answer

The written text provides a fairly balanced view of the arguments for and against disinvestment. It analyses the positions both for and against disinvestment, giving evidence to support both sides of the argument. It also looks at the positive role that foreign companies believe that they can play by working within South Africa. However, in its conclusions *Wits Student* is critical of the role that foreign powers were playing in South Africa. It suggests that foreign powers do not support disinvestment because they stand to benefit economically and strategically from maintaining good relations with South Africa. Its concluding words - 'we must remember that reform is true conservatism'- are critical of attempts to reform South Africa from within. This statement thus suggests that the article advocates radical action in the form of disinvestment.

The visuals within the text are also critical of foreign investment in South Africa. For example, free enterprise and profits are achieved through the exploitation of cheap black labour. The cartoon depicts foreign money being poured into the South African economy, suggesting that it is at the expense of the oppression of black South Africans. The hand around Africa suggests that foreign businesses want to be involved in African economies because they grow wealthy from this.

SOURCE B: Article – ‘Reagan’s “sanctions” - the point is made’, by Tim Kingston, *Anti-Apartheid News* (November 1985)

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: W2.1, International – Anti-Apartheid Movements)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

LO 1: The learner is able to acquire and apply historical enquiry skills

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

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

AS 1: Analyses concepts such as disinvestment and sanctions

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

B1.

What was President Reagan’s approach to sanctions against South Africa?

Use evidence from the source to substantiate your answer. (3 x 2 = 6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on analysis. Learners need to analyse the text, and demonstrate an understanding of Reagan’s position on sanctions by finding relevant evidence from the source. Learners should identify Reagan’s position and then find at least two points of evidence to back up their answer.

Suggested answer

Reagan was opposed to sanctions against South Africa. This can be seen from the following points in the source:

- Reagan ‘conceded defeat’ in imposing partial sanctions. This suggests that he was not happy to impose sanctions.
- Reagan’s sanctions are always referred to in inverted commas, suggesting that they are not real sanctions.
- Because Reagan implemented these sanctions as a result of an executive order, they did not have the force of law, and could be recalled if and when he wanted.

B2.

Using your own knowledge and the source, explain why Reagan adopted this attitude towards sanctions. (3 x 2 = 6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question, focusing on the skill of knowledge. Learners need to recall information about Reagan's position on sanctions. Learners will be able to extract some of the information from the source, which allows for level 3 questioning, based on comprehension.

Suggested answer

Reagan was a Republican who was mainly interested in trade and business. He supported the Apartheid regime because it was strongly anti-communist, and also because the United States had vigorous trade relations with South Africa, particularly valuable raw materials. Bishop Tutu also suggests that Reagan was mainly concerned with not alienating people too much, because he wanted to ensure that Republicans would win the upcoming elections.

B3.

What were the proposed sanctions of Congress and what did they hope to achieve? (8)

Type of question and approach

This question has two parts. In the first, learners need to extract the information about the nature of the Congress sanctions from the source. This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. The second part requires learners to apply this information to their own understanding of how sanctions could affect an economy. This relies on a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application.

Suggested answer

The US Congress planned to ban imports of coal and uranium from South Africa while banning export of nuclear technology to South Africa. It would have also banned any new commercial investments. By this limitation of trade and without any further investments, the South African government would become increasingly isolated and weak. It was hoped that the South African government would bow down to this economic pressure and abandon apartheid.

B4.

What is the attitude of the author of this article to President Reagan and his sanctions strategy? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to analyse the article in order to determine the point of view of the author. They should analyse the headline as well as the tone of the article, and the author's use of words. Learners must use examples from the text to justify their answers.

Suggested answer

The author is somewhat scornful of President Reagan. He refers to his proposed sanctions in inverted commas, suggesting that he does not take them seriously as real sanctions. He views Reagan's sanctions as ineffective, describing them as 'little more than a slap on the wrist'. He does acknowledge that Reagan's strategy has backfired in that it has now given the idea of sanctions more credibility to the rest of the world.

B5.

Do you think that the author of this article has treated President Reagan in a fair way? (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 7 question, focusing on the skill of evaluation. Learners are required to determine whether this source deals with Reagan in a biased way or not.

Suggested answer

This is to some extent, an open-ended answer as learners may make their own judgements about how the author deals with Reagan. However, there are some points that learners should note. Although the author makes it clear that he is scornful of Reagan's approach to sanctions, he does not do so without any basis. He provides evidence of how limited Reagan's sanctions are and how he believes that they will have no real impact on the South African government. He also does not rely on his own opinion. He gains an opinion from Bishop Tutu who is also scornful of President Reagan. He interviews a Democrat who supports sanctions who would obviously not support Reagan's position. Of course, he does not interview any clear supporters of Reagan, and in this way, he might be indicating a level of unfairness towards Reagan. He does quote reactionary editorials that also condemned South Africa in seemingly harsher terms than Reagan, thereby trying to establish some balance.

Source C: Cartoon - Sanctions against South Africa, Anti-Apartheid News (September 1986)

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: W2.1, International – Anti-Apartheid Movements)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

LO 1: The learner is able to acquire and apply 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 for the task, 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 disinvestment and sanctions.

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.

C1.

Using your own knowledge and the cartoon, explain why Margaret Thatcher was opposed to sanctions being imposed on the South African government. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question, focusing on the knowledge of the learners. They need to draw upon their own knowledge about the attitude of the Western powers like Britain and the US's attitude to sanctions.

Suggested answer

Margaret Thatcher was a pragmatist (practical person), who believed in the importance of trade and business more than she believed in principle. As a result, she wanted to continue to trade with South Africa as this was to the benefit of British companies and the British economy. She was also strongly anti-communist and wanted to maintain links with the South African government which was also dedicated to trying to keep communism out of South Africa and Africa.

C2.

Who do the other people in the cartoon represent? (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners are able to identify the people directly from the cartoon. However, they should be able to demonstrate who the people represent. This also requires additional knowledge so it is also a level 2 question.

Suggested answer

- Rio Tinto is a large multinational corporation which gains raw materials, metals and ore (e.g. zinc), from South Africa.
- Barclays Bank – a British bank with holdings in South Africa
- Consolidated Goldfields – a large company with investment in gold in South Africa
- A Tory MP – a Member of Parliament (MP) of the Conservative Party in Britain who would clearly support the views of Mrs Thatcher.

C3.

What is ironic about Margaret Thatcher saying, ‘Sanctions would hurt the wrong people?’ (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to show that they understand the concept of irony, and apply this concept to the statement made by Margaret Thatcher. It is also a level 5 question, as learners need to analyse the statement in terms of the existing views on sanctions.

Suggested answer

One existing view on sanctions and disinvestment was that it would hurt the African working class. When foreign companies withdrew or sanctions were applied, African workers would lose their jobs and face unemployment and more hardship. Margaret Thatcher is stating this view, and it makes the reader believe that she is showing some sympathy for the African working class. However, she is addressing all the symbols of big business in Britain. This suggests that she is not feeling any sympathy at all with the African working class. Rather, it suggests that she believes that sanctions will be harmful to British business. In fact, this was Thatcher’s position, and the reason that she opposed sanctions. The irony lies in hearing Thatcher echo a view that suggests she cares about the African people in South Africa, when in fact she only cares about sustaining links with South Africa because it was good for British business.

C4.

What is the cartoonist’s attitude towards Margaret Thatcher? 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 tools used by the cartoonist that convey his attitude towards her.

Suggested answer

The cartoonist is scornful of Margaret Thatcher. He is mocking her. This is shown by the way that he has drawn her. Her features are exaggerated, especially her nose, and the scolding finger pointing at big business suggests a woman who will not stand for opposition. The fact that the cartoonist has her making an ironic statement also suggests that he does not trust the public statements that she makes, and that they usually mean the opposite of what she has said.

SOURCE D: Article – The Pillars of Apartheid: Foreign trade and investment, *Anti-Apartheid News* (July-August 1990)

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: W2.1, International – Anti-Apartheid Movements)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

LO 1: The learner is able to acquire and apply historical enquiry skills

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

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

AS 1: Analyses concepts such as disinvestment and sanctions

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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

AS 4: Communicates knowledge and understanding in a variety of ways

D1.

What role does the article suggest that foreign trade and investment has played in the South African economy? (8)

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. However, they need to read the article carefully as the answer is not provided in a clear, linear way. They will also need to use the skill of summarisation as the article is very detailed. They need to extract the most important points.

Suggested answer

The article suggests that foreign trade and investment kept the apartheid system going. Beginning with the mining industry, which was supported by international capital, foreign investment supported the exploitation of cheap black labour in the mines. Cheap labour made South Africa an attractive place for multinationals to establish industries as they were able to use these cheap resources to their own advantage. Foreign trade and investment paid the bills for apartheid's racial bureaucracy and repressive regime. It states that South Africa's economy was too small to generate enough capital for investment needs and thus economic growth was reliant on foreign capital.

D2.

What was the nature of foreign investment in South Africa in the 1980s and what effects did this have on the South African economy? (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.

Suggested answer

In the 1980s, a large portion of foreign investment was based on the lending of money rather than direct investment in industry. As a result, South Africa's foreign debt rose. As unrest escalated in the 1980s, many banks demanded repayment of their loans. South Africa was unable to pay, and many banks refused to grant South Africa further loans. This led to a crisis in the economy.

D3.

Analyse the graph. What does it show in terms of fixed investment? (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 graph. Learners should be quite specific in terms of what they can see in the graph.

Suggested answer

The graph shows a steady decline of fixed investments as a percentage of the GDP. In 1981, fixed investments represented over 27% of the GDP. From 1983, there was a steady decline, which became a sharp decline from 1985 onwards. In 1987, fixed investments dropped to 18% of the GDP, only marginally rising by a percent in 1988.

D4.

How would you explain this decline in fixed investments? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to apply their historical knowledge to what they can see from the graph to work out why there are periods of steady and then rapid decline in fixed investment.

Suggested answer

The steady decline began in 1983 when Botha introduced his new Constitution. This started a growing movement of resistance. Foreign investors began to feel insecure about their investments. In 1985, with Botha's Rubicon speech, it became clear to many investors

that the possibility of political change was lessening. This led to increased pressure from anti-apartheid groups for sanctions and disinvestment. 1987 represented an all-time low as state repression intensified and the State of Emergency seemed without end.

D5.

What is the article's view on the impact of sanctions?
Provide evidence to substantiate your answer. (6)

Type of question and approach

This combines both a level 3 and a level 5 question. Learners need to demonstrate an understanding of the content of the article, and determine whether the author believes that sanctions were successful or not.

Suggested answer

The author believes that sanctions played an important role in bringing about the end of apartheid. He quoted Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, who argued that only political progress would stop the 'internationally-organised assault on the economy'. The author believes that Mandela's release was a result of the effectiveness of sanctions (and disinvestments), but does acknowledge that it was both external and internal pressures that brought about these changes.

SOURCE E: Poster – Don't entertain apartheid – Support the cultural boycott

(Archived at SAHA as Collection: AL2446)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

LO 1: The learner is able to acquire and apply historical enquiry skills.

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

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.

E1.

**What is the message of this political poster?
Substantiate your answer with evidence from the source. (4)**

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners are able to work out the message from the source, but also need to extract evidence from the source to substantiate their answer.

Suggested answer

The message of the poster – it is calling on international entertainers and singers to join the cultural boycott and not come to South Africa, and Sun City, to entertain. This can be seen by the main heading 'Don't entertain apartheid – support the cultural boycott.'

E2.

Who do you think the intended audience is of this poster? Explain. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to analyse the poster for meaning and determine who the intended audience is by looking at the point of view of the producer of the source.

Suggested answer

It seems to be addressing overseas artists. It looks at it from the perspective of the artist, who flies into Jan Smuts airport, Johannesburg, while the workers in the third panel seem to be directly confronting the artists and explaining the unfairness of their situation.

E3.

What does the drawing in the middle panel suggest about artists who come to South Africa?

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question, focusing on the skill of analysis. Learners need to analyse the drawing and deduce the meaning from the drawing.

Suggested answer

- Artists who come to South Africa are greedy – they come here only to make money.
- The artists are often hypocrites – this drawing shows a woman wearing a peace sign, which suggests that she is interested in world issues and issues of peace, and yet does not care about the oppressed working class of South Africa.

E4.

Do you think this is an effective poster? Substantiate your answer. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 7 question, focusing on the skill of evaluation. Learners need to make a judgement about the effectiveness of the poster by looking at the creators' intention, the message, the drawing and how well the poster gets its message across.

Suggested answer

This is an open-ended question in which learners must make their own judgement about the effectiveness of the poster. They need to use the tools of judgement which are suggested in the type of question and approach.