

SAHA IN THE CLASSROOM

THE MOVE TO DEMOCRACY: NEGOTIATIONS

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

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These notes on the move to democracy through negotiations 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: Press Release from the African National Congress (ANC) (1993)

From a pamphlet of the South African Council of Churches (SACC)
(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL 3078: A1.1, Press Releases)

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 available evidence

A1.

Study the above press release and identify four words that attempt to give the impression that the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have drawn closer together. (8)

Type of question and approach

This is largely a Level 3 question, as the learner will be able to extract the information from the source. Although the answer may be found in the source, the learner should answer in his or her own words, as this shows their ability to understand the source.

The mark allocation is also an important guideline of how much to write. Usually, the learner is awarded two marks for every main point that is made. As the question is for eight marks, the learner should provide four words that give the impression that the ANC and the IFP have drawn closer together.

Suggested answer

The four words are: 'we', 'both', 'our' and 'us'.

A2.

Use your own knowledge and Source A to explain why this press release was issued by the ANC. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question. The learner will be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will also have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader context. As the question is for six marks, the learner should produce three reasons why the press release was issued by the ANC.

Suggested answer

- The relationship between the ANC and the IFP had deteriorated according to the source and the press release would give the impression that the ANC was trying to mend bridges between the two organisations.
- The Boipatong Massacre by Zulu-speaking men from a migrant hostels, (and the

agreement by De Klerk to fence off hostels housing migrant hostels dominated by the IFP), would have raised tensions between the IFP and the ANC.

- The leader of the IFP, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, refused to take part in the negotiations.

A3.

Who created this document and which audience is it aimed at? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, where the learner needs to apply their understanding and identify the targeted audience and the intention of the writers of the press release. The answer is awarded four marks which means it should consist of two well-written and substantial sentences. The first sentence should identify the person who created the source while the second sentence should identify the audience. In each case the learner should substantiate his or her answer by drawing evidence from the source.

Suggested answer

- The ANC created this document and the source indicates that it was based on the words of the ANC President, NR Mandela.
- The audience targeted would have been the members of the ANC as this was an official press release by the organisation, and members of the IFP, as the letter calls for the two sides to work together in the future. As a general press release, the ANC would also have wanted to demonstrate to all South Africans and to the world that they were trying to heal the rift with IFP.

A4.

*Imagine that you are an ANC member. Write a speech that you will deliver at the next branch meeting to lend support to this press release, without using the same words. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question which requires the learner to create their own answer using the information in the source. It is worth six marks so the writer must produce three coherent and substantial sentences that help to persuade the branch members to support the press release and which takes into account the concerns and anger of the ANC members who may be reluctant to co-operate with the IFP.

Suggested answer

The speech could proceed as follows: 'Comrades! I know we have many grievances with the IFP because of the violence that some of their members committed at Boipatong but we must let bygones be bygones. Let us leave the past behind us or else we will never have the future that our children deserve. We need to support Madiba, our President, who has called on us to work together with the IFP so we can persuade them to take part in the democratic elections next year.'

The speech...	Yes	No
Uses inclusive language like 'we', 'us', etc.		
The speaker acknowledges the anger felt by branch members		
The speaker provides at least one reason why they should support the press release.		
The speaker convincingly states why the past should be left behind.		

SOURCE B: Report of the Gender Advisory Committee to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa 2 (CODESA)

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL3078:B1, 21, Gender Advisory Committee)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

LO 1: The learner acquires and applies historical enquiry skills

AS 1: Formulates questions to analyse concepts for investigation within the context of what is being studied (e.g. globalisation).

AS 2: Accesses a variety of relevant sources of information in order to carry out an investigation.

B1.

What was the Gender Advisory Committee of CODESA 2? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is largely a level 2 question, as the learner will be able to extract the information from the source. The mark allocation is also an important guide. Usually, the learner is awarded two marks for every main point that is made. As the question is for four marks, the learner should provide two points, which describe what the Gender Advisory Committee was and what purpose it served.

Suggested answer

- The Gender Advisory Committee of CODESA 2 was a body appointed to represent women in the negotiations process.
- It was a sub-committee of the Management Committee with the task of studying the working groups of CODESA 2 and advising them on gender issues

B2.

Use Source B and your own knowledge to explain why it was considered necessary to form this Gender Advisory Committee. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question. The learner should be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will also have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader context. Four marks are awarded which means that two substantial sentences need to be provided that can explain why the Gender Advisory Committee was considered necessary.

Suggested answer

- The source suggests that public pressure by women's groups and political parties persuaded the Management Committee of CODESA 2 to appoint the Gender Advisory Committee.
- Women form 53% of the population and their voice needed to be heard, especially as it seems that all the key figures in the negotiations process appear to have been men.

B3.

Who produced this document and who is it aimed at? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, where the learner needs to identify the creator of the document and the targeted audience. The answer is awarded six marks which means it should consist of three well-written and substantial sentences.

Suggested answer

- The Management Committee of CODESA 2 produced this document.
- The targeted audience is, at one level, likely to be all the political parties taking part in the negotiations process as well as the working groups making up CODESA 2.
- At another level, the targeted audience consists of those women's groups and the wider public that agitated for the formation of a Gender Advisory Committee.

B4.

Write a paragraph for a history textbook that makes use of the evidence in Source B to assess the success of the Gender Advisory Committee of CODESA 2. (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question. It is worth eight marks so the learner should produce four coherent and substantial sentences for a history textbook that makes an assessment of the Gender Advisory Committee's success.

Suggested answer

The Gender Advisory Committee was formed in May 1992 to provide a voice for women in the multiparty negotiations process CODESA 2. It had some success in that most participants at CODESA 2 sent representatives to the Gender Advisory Committee (there were no representatives from Bophuthatswana and Venda). Its role was to discuss the Terms of Reference of the working groups as well as their minutes and decisions. The Gender Advisory Committee worked hard and promoted a spirit of unity, reaching consensus of many issues.

SOURCE C: Pie chart showing the division of democratic South Africa into regions (new provinces)

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL3078: C1.1)

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 engages 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.

Examine the pie chart and identify the region with the most people and the region with the least people. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is largely a Level 3 question, as the learner will be able to extract the information from the source to demonstrate their ability to understand the pie graph. The question is for four marks so the learner should correctly identify each 'slice' for two marks each.

Answer

PWV area - 23%

Northern Cape - 2%

C2.

Use Source C and your own knowledge to explain why this pie chart was produced during the negotiations process. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 question. The learner will have to be able to analyse why the information would be useful; as well as demonstrating an understanding of the broader context. The mark allocation is for four marks so two coherent, relevant sentences will be needed.

Suggested answer

- This pie chart identifies the size of the population of each of the regions in South Africa so that the different political parties taking part in the negotiation process can see where the voters are and can agree on the boundaries of each region.
- This pie chart could also provide the information that was needed to ensure that sufficient ballot papers and polling stations are produced for each area.

C3.

Re-write the names of the nine regions as the provinces they are today. (9)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, where the learner needs to combine two different kinds of information: knowledge of how South Africa is divided into regions (provinces) today with the information that is provided here, depicting the regions as they appeared before democratic elections were held. One mark will be awarded for each correctly identified region.

Suggested answer

- a. Cape – Western Cape
- b. Northern Cape – Northern Cape
- c. Orange Free State – Free State
- d. Eastern Cape – Eastern Cape
- e. KwaZulu/Natal – KwaZulu-Natal
- f. Eastern Transvaal – Mpumalanga
- g. Northern Transvaal – Limpopo
- h. PWV Area – Gauteng
- i. North West – North West

C4.

You are a political consultant and a major political party asks for your advice in the upcoming democratic elections. The political party wants to target each region to get the most votes, using its limited funds efficiently. Write a report that will set out the best strategy for this political party for spending its money. (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 5 as well as a level 7 question which requires both analysis and judgement. It is worth 8 marks so the writer must produce 4 coherent and substantial sentences for two marks each which will advise the political party on how to spend its funding wisely and effectively.

Suggested Answer

There are different ways of approaching this question, here is one possible answer:

Gauteng province has the most voters and needs to be allocated the largest share of the funding in relation to the other regions. Northern Cape has the least number of voters and so the least amount of money should be spent trying to win the voters there.

A proportional share of money should go to the three biggest regions after Gauteng, namely, KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Transvaal and Cape. Less funding should go to the three smallest regions after Northern Cape, namely Orange Free State, Eastern Transvaal and North West.

SOURCE D: A mock up of an election ballot paper produced during the multi party negotiations (1993)

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL 3078: C1.11, E30)

Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

LO 1: The learner acquires and applies historical enquiry skills

AS 1: The learner formulates questions to analyse concepts for investigation within the context of what is being studied (e.g. globalisation)

AS 2: The learner accesses a variety of relevant sources of information in order to carry out an investigation

D1.

What clues suggest that this is not a real ballot paper for the 1994 democratic elections but rather a mock up ballot paper? (6)

Type of question and approach

This is largely a Level 3 question, as the learner will be able to extract the information from the source. The learner should answer in his or her own words, as this shows their ability to understand the source.

The mark allocation is also an important guide. Usually, the learner is awarded two marks for every main point that is made. As the question is for six marks, the learner should provide three points, which outline the reasons why this ballot paper is a mock up rather than a real ballot paper.

Suggested answer

- The ballot paper does not include any well-known political parties like the ANC, PAC and NP.
- The ballot paper has strange-sounding political parties that are not likely to be genuine such as the 'Equal Party' or the 'Active Party'.
- The symbols used on the ballot paper are strange or inappropriate e.g. a man running as a symbol for the 'Active Party'.

D2.

Using your own knowledge and Source D, explain why a mock up of the ballot paper was produced. (4)

Type of question and approach

This is both a level 2 and a level 3 question. The learner will be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will also have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader context. This question is for four marks so two good sentences are required.

Suggested Answer

- A mock up of the ballot paper was produced at this time probably by the committee so that the real political parties could study it and discuss its overall design without getting stuck in details like the order in which parties could appear.
- The ballot paper was being prepared for the first democratic elections ever held in South Africa and many South Africans had never voted before. Substantial numbers were illiterate so the ballot paper had to be carefully designed.

D3.

Look carefully at the names of the 'political parties' and identify the racial and language groups that these would appeal to. (One mark for each political party) (8)

Type of question

- a. Afrikaans Party – appeal only to Afrikaners
- b. Eenheidsparty/Unity Party – appeal to Afrikaners and English-speaking whites
- c. Equal Party – All
- d. Future Party/Mokgatlo Wa/Komoso – appeal to English-speaking whites and black voters
- e. Mokgatlo Wa Lananeo – appeal only to black voters
- f. Mokgatlo Wa Matlkagatlhaga/Active Party – appeal to English-speaking whites and black voters
- g. Mokgatlo Wa Tokologo/Liberale Party – appeal to Afrikaners and black voters
- h. New South African Party/Nuwe Suid-Afrikaanse Party – appeal to Afrikaners and English-speaking whites

D4.

*As a political consultant approached by all the political parties, offer advice on the symbols used on the ballot. (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question, which requires a creative answer. It is worth eight marks which usually means two marks per answer but in this case it is specified that advice given to each political party receive one mark.

Suggested answer

- a. Afrikaans Party: no symbol – this is risky, as people who respond visually might not recognise the party and vote for you.
- b. Eenheidsparty/Unity Party: this is quite effective as it shows two streams coming together but it could be mistaken for a rocket taking off!
- c. Equal Party: Quite effective but black and white figures would have been better.
- d. Future Party/Mokale Way Komodo: this is effective, like the sunrays shining ahead?
- e. Mokale Way Leanne: the symbol is not so clear, is it a door opening? If it is, then this is quite good but it needs to be clearer.
- f. Mokale Way Matlkagathaga/Active Party: a running figure does convey action but he can also be seen as cowardly, running for the exit!
- g. Mokale Way Tokologo/Liberale Party: an open hand can indicate peace but this looks like a policeman indicating 'stop!'
- h. New South African Party/Nuwe Suid-Afrikaanse Party: this does not work: perhaps it is supposed to be the sun rising, in which case it needs sunrays.

SOURCE E: Letter to the Transitional Executive Committee (TEC) requesting voting rights for prisoners (March 1994)

The TEC was the council made up of the main political parties (the ANC and NP) represented at CODESA.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL3183: E.3.6.4.2.2.24)

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 the demands made in this letter from prisoners to the Transitional Executive Committee. (6)

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 source. The mark allocation is also an important guideline of how much learners should write. Usually, the learner is awarded two marks for every main point that is made. As the question is for 6 marks, so the learner should identify three requests made by the prisoner to the Transitional Executive Committee, and write these in his or her own words.

Suggested answer

- the right to vote in the democratic elections
- to be released under General Amnesty
- to be protected from harassment from warders and other prison authorities

E2.

Using Source E and your knowledge explain why the prisoners chose this time to make an appeal. (6)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question. The learner will have to demonstrate an understanding of the broader context. The question is allocated six marks, which means that the learner must write three coherent, relevant sentences that address the question.

Suggested answer

The prisoners chose this time to appeal because they wanted the right to vote in the first democratic elections that were scheduled to be held the following month.

The prisoners noted that some categories of prisoner were allowed to vote and saw this as an opportunity to have this right extended to all prisoners.

The prisoner knew that in the excitement of the elections and the goodwill that would be generated by the idea of a new future for South Africa, prisoners had a good chance of amnesty.

E3.

Who were the prisoners writing to? Why? (4)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, where the learner needs to identify the targeted audience and the intention of the creator of the source. This is clear from the source. The answer is awarded 4 marks so the learner needs to write two sentences: the first should identify the audience and the second should explain the letter writer's intentions.

Suggested answer

The prisoner was writing to the Transitional Executive Committee (TEC), an interim governing council formed consisting of representatives of political parties like the ANC and NP. It had the authority to grant prisoners the vote and to release them.

The writer's intentions were to persuade the TEC to allow all prisoners to vote and to be granted amnesty (be released).

E4.

*Assume that you are a member of the Transitional Executive Committee. Draft a proposal to grant all prisoners the right to vote that is persuasive but which takes into account the concerns that other members may have. (8)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 6 question as well as a level 7 question, which requires a fairly sophisticated answer. It is worth 8 marks so the writer must write four substantial and coherent sentences that are persuasive and convincing.

Suggested answer

My fellow members of the TEC, I think that in the spirit of generosity we should allow all South Africans to vote, even prisoners. Many prisoners are in prison because of the system of apartheid which left them without an education and in poverty, so it is only right that they should take part in these upcoming democratic elections that will finally end the

apartheid system. We need to rehabilitate prisoners and bring them back into our society as responsible citizens; and what better way to teach responsibility than to grant the vote to these prisoners? Many prisoners were charged with 'crimes' that were only crimes according to apartheid laws; rather than deny a single innocent prisoner the vote, I think we should grant the vote to all prisoners, even if some of them are guilty of serious anti-social crimes.