

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

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 through militancy 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: 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)

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 conscription and community development

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.

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)

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

The pamphlet suggests that white conscripts could help to build up communities that crossed racial barriers by building a children's home, painting a hospital ward, or laying a rural water pipe rather than patrolling the townships. Further it explains that they are embarking on a campaign: 'Working for a Just Peace'.

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)

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. Learners also need to remember that in the 1980s to seem to be criticising the Defence Force would not only get the ECC banned, but the organisers jailed – actively to encourage people not to serve in the Defence Force could be seen as treason.

Suggested answer

The visuals and the text in the pamphlet do not, at first glance, seem to attack or criticise the SADF and seems to provide a fairly balanced view of the SADF. It analyses what the SADF does in an apparently objective way ('patrolling the township in browns') without obviously attacking it. The image depicts two crossed army rifles that at first glance seem to be pro-military. It claims that the ECC was looking for solutions to the conflict in the country that did not involve the military intervention. It implies that the SADF was also involved in finding solutions to the conflict, and the pamphlet does not explicitly criticise this military intervention by the SADF.

However, upon closer inspection, the pamphlet is attacking the SADF. The phrase 'patrolling the townships in browns' is dismissed as a waste of time and meaningless. By saying 'browns' instead of 'brown uniform', the pamphlet belittles the SADF as something trivial or silly. Later on, the text makes it clear that the ECC is 'opposed to conscription into the SADF' and rejects the 'militarisation of South Africa society'. The pamphlet says that it favours 'constructive community service that crosses racial barriers'. This implies that the SADF's contribution was destructive and promoted racial tension. The ECC aims to 'build bridges' for a 'better future', implying that the SADF was breaking down 'bridges' between races and this was leading to a less than ideal future. Finally, the ECC's campaign is called 'Working for a Just Peace', suggesting that the SADF was working towards either an unjust peace or towards war.

The visual image does depict crossed rifles but one rifle is depicted as bent (so it cannot be fired) with a dove, the traditional symbol of peace, resting on it. The other rifle is depicted as having been beaten into a hoe (from the Biblical reference to spears being turned into pruning hooks and swords into ploughshares) indicating peace and constructive labour to grow food. A chain is meant to represent the SADF and the ECC is depicted as broken chain links, suggesting freedom. This is connected to the slogan, 'construction not conscription' and indicates that the ECC promotes liberty and meaningful labour whereas the SADF supports oppressive, compulsory military service. The slogan 'Working for a Just Peace' contrasts with the chain of the SADF. In all these ways, the pamphlet is, upon closer inspection, severely critical of the SADF.

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

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)

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 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: Constructs and communicates historical knowledge and understanding

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

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)

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 indicates that the number of lives lost was increasing by depicting the line of the graph climbing upwards over time. The figures of the soldiers representing 'cost of lives' is depicted as increasing in size over time, suggesting that more lives were lost as time passed.

The graph does not provide information on the actual number of lives lost nor does it provide details on the 'cost of the war' in specific amounts of money.

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 Service and Detentions? Now add the money spent on the war in Angola, what is the total? (6)

Type of question and approach

This question involves two levels of questioning. This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners need to extract the information from the table and apply it to answer the question set. This is also a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to apply their numerical skills to what they can see from the table to work out what the total cost of the Angolan war was to the South African economy.

Suggested answer

The table indicates that a total of R 6 683 million was spent on defence by SA in 1986/7. When the Defence Budget is calculated to include Secret Services and Detentions, the amount increases to R 11 or R 12 billion. When adding the money spent on the war in Angola, which costs about R 4 billion a year, the total is R 15 to R 16 billion.

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)

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 by displaying comprehension skills, and determine, through analytical skills, whether the author believes that the impact of South Africa's war in Angola and other military costs were beneficial or not.

Suggested answer

The article begins by pointing out that South Africa's spending on defence increased from R 3 330 m in 1972/3 to R 5 123 m in 1985/6 to R 6 683 m in 1986/7. This suggests that military spending is increasing rapidly over a short period of time. The article goes on to add up the costs of 'Secret Services and Detention' and to point out that this amounts to R 11 or R 12 billion or 10 percent of Gross National Product. It then points out that SA spends R 5 million per day on the Angolan war or an additional R 4 billion per year.

The article then makes it clear that South Africa's spending on the Angolan war is harmful. It points out that if the Angolan war was halted income taxes could be reduced by one quarter. This would lead to greater economic growth. It would also end the loss of human lives which 'is the bigger cost' and much more important than 'Rands and cents.' This suggests that many lives are lost by the expenditure of money on the Angolan war and this is clearly harmful, an impression that is reinforced by the images on the graph. The financial cost, it implies, is harmful to the economy and the cost of war means higher income taxes to the detriment of the ordinary taxpayers.

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

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, 1986oct 5)

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 armed struggle

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.

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)

Type of question and approach

This combines both a level 3 and a level 5 question. Learners need to demonstrate an understanding of the symbols in the logo of the summit and then analyse why this was linked to the photograph of Oliver Tambo.

Suggested answer

The logo is associated with a symbol of a dove of peace and a stone tower (from the ruins of Great Zimbabwe) a symbol of power. The logo is depicted side-by-side with a photograph of Oliver Tambo to associate the ANC President with these two values.

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)

Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question, focusing on the skill of knowledge. Learners need to recall information about Zimbabwe's relationship with apartheid South Africa. Learners will be able to extract some of the information from the source, which makes it a level 3 question

which is based on comprehension.

Suggested answer

It was fitting that the summit meeting was held in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, in 1986, because Zimbabwe had gained its independence just six years earlier, in 1980. Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zanu-PF, had become the new leader of this independent African state, replacing the racist white regime of Ian Smith. Mugabe was strongly opposed to the apartheid government of South Africa. The summit meeting's organisers had invited Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, to be present and so it was appropriate that it was held in a 'frontline' state opposed to apartheid. The text of Source D and the symbol of the stone tower suggest that the ANC was determined to challenge apartheid South Africa with the help of the Non-Aligned Movement.

C3.

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

Type of question and approach

This is a level 4 question, focusing on the skill of application. Learners need to apply the skill of comparison to the images and text, looking for contrasts between these.

Suggested answer

The symbol of the dove suggests peace but the text states that the people of South Africa were ready to 'mount an assault on apartheid'. Although the summit stressed the message of peace, the ANC planned to use violence and needed 'modern weapons' to 'march against Pretoria'. Furthermore, the symbol of the stone tower suggests great power but the people lacked sufficient weapons, and there was fear that as a result their resistance would lead to the people having to pay a heavy price due to their relative powerlessness.

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

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)

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 democracy

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

D1.

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

Suggested answer

The MDM cautiously welcomed the formation of the Democratic Party because it had in its ranks a number of 'individuals who had been sympathetic to the struggle of the oppressed masses who have called for an end to the apartheid system'. Furthermore, it cautiously welcomed the new party because it aimed to present the white community with an alternative to the apartheid government. Finally, the Democratic Party could help to shift more whites away from apartheid.

D2.

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

Suggested Answer

The Democratic Party's participation in the 'Tricameral system' was 'totally unacceptable to the overwhelming majority of S. Africa's oppressed people'. Furthermore, the Tricameral system divided people according to ethnic origin, perpetuating the apartheid system. Parliament lacked the power to bring about meaningful change and acted merely as a 'smokescreen' for the 'presidential-military dictatorship' that exercised the real power in South Africa.

D3.

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

Type of question

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

Suggested answer

Instead of joining the Democratic Party, the MDM hoped that democratic whites would join the 'Democratic Organisations of our people' to fight side-by-side with the oppressed majority for a South Africa free of apartheid.

SOURCE E: Cartoon – Insurrection in the townships

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

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

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 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

E1.

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

Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question, focusing on the skill of comprehension. Learners are able to identify evidence of poverty from the cartoon.

Suggested answer

The main figure lacks shoes, the streets are unpaved dirt roads, there are no trees, grass or fences, and houses are ramshackle shelters made from corrugated iron.

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)

Type of question and approach

This combines both a level 3 and a level 5 question. Learners need to demonstrate an understanding of the cartoon's depiction of PW Botha and determine why the cartoonist chose to represent him in this way.

Suggested answer

PW Botha is depicted as a Nazi swastika symbol and as a Fascist or Nazi-like figure with a whip and jackboots as well as an elaborate uniform. He is portrayed as snake-like with a

forked-tongue. A figure representing the township youth is depicted as kicking Botha out of the township. The cartoonist depicts PW Botha in this way because he or she wishes to associate the racist ideology of apartheid with the racist ideology of Nazism. The cartoonist would also like to portray Botha as untrustworthy (linking to ideas such as 'a snake in the grass' and 'speaking with a forked tongue'). The cartoonist wants to portray the township youth resisting and eventually overthrowing the apartheid regime.

E3.

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

Type of question and approach

This combines a level 2, a level 3 and a level 5 question. Learners need to demonstrate an understanding of the cartoon and its broader context, and determine who (or which organisation) was responsible for commissioning the cartoon and the composition of its intended audience, using knowledge, comprehension and analytical skills.

Suggested answer

The pamphlet was created by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and it was intended to recruit new members. This is clear because it urges readers to 'join the AAM today'. The cartoon is clearly an anti-apartheid image that urges readers to sympathise with the township youth and admire his strength in being able to evict apartheid in the form of the Nazi-like PW Botha in the shape of a swastika. It comes from a newspaper that opposes apartheid, Anti-Apartheid News. The target audience would have been the readers of this newspaper who were not yet members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain, urging them to join.