

# **SAHA IN THE CLASSROOM**

## **THE UDF AND THE NATIONAL FORUM**

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 United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum 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 – Declaration of the United Democratic Front (UDF)(1983)**

A pamphlet produced by the UDF.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2431: A1.2.1.5, UDF Collection)

### **Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)**

**LO 1:** The learner acquires and applies historical enquiry skills

**AS 3:** The learner interprets and evaluates information and data from the sources

**AS 4:** The learner engages with sources of information, evaluating the usefulness of the sources, including stereotypes, subjectivity and gaps in the available evidence

### **A1.**

According to the Declaration of the United Democratic Front, what were the main aims of the UDF? (10)

#### **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. However, the source is long – probably much longer than will be given in an examination and the learner needs to use the skill of selection as well as extraction. 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 2 marks for every main point that is made. As the question is for 8 marks, the learner should provide four points, which outline the broad aims of the UDF.

#### **Suggested answer**

- To organise and mobilise a range of different organisations under the banner of the UDF
- To work towards a united and democratic South Africa which reflects the will of the people
- To build and strengthen the organisations that operate under the banner of the UDF
- To oppose the introduction of the new Constitution Bill and the Koornhof Bills through united action

### **A2.**

Using Source A and your own knowledge, explain what the Government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills were. (4)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 2 question. The learner will be able to extract some of the information from the source, but will mainly have to demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the broader issues. The question is for 4 marks. The learner should provide two coherent explanatory sentences.

**Suggested answer**

In 1983 the government proposed introducing a new constitution that would provide limited representation for coloureds and Indians in a Tricameral Parliament. Africans would still be denied the right to vote, but their interests would be represented by black community or town councils. These community councils were proposed by Piet Koornhof and were thus known as the Koornhof bills.

**A3.**

What kind of audience do you think this declaration was aimed at?  
Substantiate your answer. (4)

**Type of question and approach**

This is a level 5 question, which asks the learner to interpret the source, by determining the point of view of the source. It is asking learners to examine the intention of the source, by looking at the kind of audience it was aimed at. Two good sentences should be written, one explaining what kind of audience it was aimed at, and the other using evidence from the source to substantiate this answer.

**Suggested answer**

The declaration is aimed at communities and organisations such as trade unions, workers' groups, women's groups and community organisations that support the ideals of the UDF. The pamphlet directly addresses such organisations, and includes these organisations by referring to them as 'we, the freedom loving people of South Africa'. This suggests that the people who read the pamphlet support the ideals of the UDF and are a part of the UDF.

**A4.**

Do you think that this source is biased? Substantiate your answer. (4)

**Type of question and approach**

This is a level 7 question, which asks learners to use a more complex form of interpretation. In this instance, learners need to examine whether the source is biased. To analyse for bias, they should look for emotive language, and one-sidedness.

**Suggested answer**

To some extent, this is an open-ended question. Learners are asked for an opinion, and should substantiate it with reference to evidence from the source. This source is biased in that it is one-sided; it promotes the ideals and beliefs of the UDF in a positive and forceful way. It does not find fault with the UDF or suggest other alternatives. There are many examples that the learners could use to show emotive language, such as 'in accordance with these noble ideals'; 'in our march to a free and just society', etc. Accept other examples, so long as they are valid.

## **SOURCE B: Poster – Don't Vote in Apartheid Elections (1984)**

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2446: 0182)

### **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:** 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

### **The use of posters as sources**

In the 1980s, political posters were an important form of protest. Many of the posters were produced by grassroots community structures and they addressed a range of different issues and injustices under apartheid. They are visual sources that have a particular message. Posters, like all other sources, need to be investigated and questioned in terms of their reliability and usefulness.

When analysing posters, learners should look at the composition of the poster as well as its message. It might be useful to ask the following questions of a poster:

- Who is the target audience of the poster?
- Does the poster attract the attention of its target audience? To answer this, look at the composition, the design and the slogan of the poster.

## **B1.**

### **What issue is this poster about? (2)**

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a simple level 3 question. The learner can extract the answer directly from the source.

#### **Suggested answer**

This poster is calling for Indian and coloured voters (and whites) not to vote in apartheid elections of the Tricameral Parliament.

## B2.

Why did the UDF target this issue as a source of protest? (2)

### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 2 question which asks learners to use their wider knowledge to explain why the UDF called for a boycott of elections to the Tricameral Parliament. It requires one coherent, explanatory sentence.

### **Suggested answer**

The UDF actually formed itself around the issue of the Tricameral Parliament, because it represented a sham democracy in which coloureds and Indians would be co-opted into the white apartheid regime, while still denying the majority of people, the Africans, participation in democracy.

## B3.

How does this poster, including the banner of the UDF (seen at the top of the poster), show what kind of organisation the UDF was? (4)

### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 3 question which requires a simple interpretation of the visual aspects of the poster. Learners need to identify what they can see in the poster, and then explain what those visuals represent.

### **Suggested answer**

Many different people are shown under the banner of the UDF. There are women, workers, members of the church, youth groups, and people belonging to different racial groups. These visual images represent the kind of organisation that the UDF was – it brought people together from all different walks of life, from different organisations and different racial groups in a united front against apartheid.

## B4.

In the 1980s, political posters became an important form of protest. What do you think were the benefits of using posters as a form of protest? (4)

### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 4 question in which the learners need to determine the usefulness of posters as a form of protest. In order to do this, learners need to examine the purpose of a poster, its target audience and whether the message of the poster would have been effective.

### **Suggested answer**

This is an open-ended question in which learners would need to examine the role of posters in the struggle. Learners could suggest a range of different benefits.



These might include the following:

- Because the posters are visual, it was easy for people who were unable to read and write to understand them.
- They were eye-catching and the message stuck in people's mind.
- They were able to spread a message quickly and to a large audience if they were put up in easily accessible areas.

## B5.

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

### **Type of question and approach:**

This is a level 3 question which requires learners to extract relevant information and data from the sources. It is also a level 7 question requiring learners to judge the value of the material based on personal opinions.

### **Suggested answer:**

Yes, the poster is an effective form of protest. It provides the clear and unequivocal message about what the UDF stands for, and its use of imagery is inclusive of those who cannot read or understand English.

## **SOURCE C: Poster – We Demand: The People Shall Govern (1985)**

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2466: 2622)

### **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:** 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

### **C1.**

**What do the six items held in each fist represent? (12)**

#### **Type of question and approach**

To a large extent this is a level 3 question, because the learners are able to identify the objects in the poster. But because they also have to state what each item represents, it does include some simple interpretation of these visual images.

#### **Answer**

- The pen and paintbrushes – artist, writers or more broadly - arts and culture
- The book – the students, teachers or more broadly – education
- The spanner – workers, particularly workers in factories
- The pickaxe – mineworkers, involved in underground work
- The hoe – peasants and farm workers
- The banner – all people who are working towards the creation of a democratic society.

### **C2.**

**What is the effect of using them in this poster? (2)**

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a fairly simple level 3 question. It is asking the learner to explain the purpose of the visuals in the poster. It requires one clear sentence.

**Suggested answer**

It shows all the different sectors of society that were brought under the umbrella of the UDF and indicates that they each have a role to play in the struggle.

**C3.**

What does the use of the slogan 'the people shall govern' say about the ideology (belief system) of the UDF? (4)

**Type of question and approach**

This is a level 2 question. It requires the learner to use the information in the poster together with a broader knowledge of the UDF and its ideology. Two good sentences should be written.

**Suggested answer**

The slogan clearly states that the UDF is a national and democratic organisation. It believes in democracy because it believes that all the people should participate in government through a democratic system of government. It is nationalist because it includes all the people that make up the nation and not just one sector.

**C4.**

In what way had the UDF changed direction by 1985?  
Use the poster to back up your answer. (4)

**Type of question and approach**

This is also a level 2 question. The learner must use information in the source with a broader knowledge of the activities of the UDF.

**Suggested answer**

The UDF began as an umbrella organisation to protest against the formation of the Tricameral Parliament. By 1985, it had broadened its base to take up wider issues relating to apartheid in general and linking them with local struggles that affected local communities. This can be seen by the UDF's demand to support the consumer boycott.

**C5.**

Which poster (Source B or Source C) has more of an impact? Substantiate your answer. (6)

**Type of question and approach**

This is a level 7 question. This is a more complex interpretative question in which the learner must compare the two sources and evaluate them in terms of their effectiveness.

### Suggested answer

This is an open-ended question. The learner's belief that one poster has more impact than the other is a personal one. However, in terms of comparison and evaluation of each poster, the learner must look at the following issues in order to come to a conclusion:

- The impact of the design. In other words, which design is more eye-catching?
- The impact of the message. Which message grabs the attention of the viewer more effectively?

The learner must also use techniques of comparison, rather than examining each poster separately.

## C6.

**\*Using your own knowledge and the available sources, select a campaign that the UDF was involved in. Design a poster to promote this campaign. Your poster should reflect the aims and identity of the UDF. (12)**

### Type of question and approach

This question requires learners to use their creativity as well as their historical knowledge in order to design a UDF poster.

### Suggested answer

You can use the rubric below to assess this poster.

| <b>Assessment Category</b>         | <b>Level 1</b><br>Not achieved   | <b>Level 2</b><br>Partially achieved   | <b>Level 3</b><br>Achieved   | <b>Level 4</b><br>Outstanding achievement   |
|------------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
|                                    | <b>1</b>   | <b>2</b>   | <b>3</b>   | <b>4</b>  |
| Design and Presentation<br>4 marks | The poster is not well-designed. The poster is difficult to read. Facts are not written clearly. It is not well presented. | There is some evidence of design, but the poster does not attract attention. The poster can be read, but with some difficulty. The presentation is fair. | The poster is easy to read and attracts attention. The content is written down in a fairly logical manner. The presentation is good. | The poster is bold, easy to read and attracts attention. The content is presented clearly and logically. The presentation is excellent. |

| <b>Assessment Category</b>   | <b>Level 1</b><br>Not achieved  | <b>Level 2</b><br>Partially achieved   | <b>Level 3</b><br>Achieved  | <b>Level 4</b><br>Outstanding achievement  |
|------------------------------|---|--|---|--|
|                              | <b>1</b>  | <b>2</b>   | <b>3</b>  | <b>4</b>   |
| Content<br>4 marks           | The content is incorrect. It fails to address a UDF campaign accurately and does not convey an understanding of the issues of a UDF campaign. It fails to reflect the aims and identity of the UDF. | The content is not dealt with adequately. It addresses an UDF campaign but lacks focus and does not always address the main issues of the campaign. It does not always reflect the aims and identity of the UDF. | The content is dealt with well. It addresses the UDF campaign and shows an understanding of the main issues of the campaign. It adequately reflects the aims and identity of the UDF. | The content is focused, accurate and relevant. It clearly addresses a UDF campaign and shows a clear understanding of the main issues of the campaign. It clearly reflects the aims and identity of the UDF. |
| Slogan and impact<br>4 marks | The learner does not provide a slogan, or provides a slogan that fails to address the issue. The poster does not persuade the reader in any way.  | The learner provides a slogan that does not fully address the issue. The poster is not really persuasive.  | The learner provides an apt slogan, which is eye-catching. The poster is quite persuasive, but doesn't quite achieve the desired effect.  | The learner provides an appropriate slogan, which is eye-catching and interesting. The poster is persuasive. It has the desired effect.  |

## SOURCE D: The Manifesto of the Azanian People

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2457: H6.1.3)

### Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)

**LO 1:** The learner acquires and applies historical enquiry skills

**AS 3:** The learner interprets and evaluates information and data from the sources

**AS 4:** The learner engages with sources of information, evaluating the usefulness of the sources, including stereotypes, subjectivity and gaps in the available evidence

### D1.

Find three examples in the *Manifesto of the Azanian People* which show that AZAPO believed in socialism and the working class struggle. (6)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 3 question in which the learners need to extract three examples from the Manifesto. However, they will need to understand what socialism means in order for them to extract the correct examples.

#### Suggested answer

Any three examples:

- 'the system of racial capitalism, which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists'
- 'the black working class, inspired by revolutionary consciousness, is the driving force'
- South Africa is referred to as a 'socialist Azania'
- 'It is the...task of the black working class...to mobilise the urban and rural poor...to put an end to the system of oppression and exploitation by the white ruling classes'

### D2.

Using the source and your own knowledge, explain why AZAPO and the National Forum were opposed to working with whites in the struggle against apartheid. (4)

#### Type of question and approach

This is a level 2 question. The learner must use the source with their broader knowledge of AZAPO and the National Forum to answer the question.

#### Suggested Answer

In the Manifesto, it is clear that AZAPO and the National Forum regard capitalism as the major exploitative and oppressive force in South Africa. In this capitalist society, the white ruling classes were the major exploiters of the black working classes and the poor. Whites were also the major beneficiaries in this unequal society. They do not want to work with

whites because they believe that all whites benefited from apartheid and capitalism and therefore could not work within a socialist system.

### D3.

In what way do the aims of the National Forum as represented by the *Manifesto of the Azanian People* and the aims of the UDF, as represented in the *Declaration of the UDF*, differ? (8)

#### **Type of question**

This is a level 5 question. This is a more complex interpretative question in which the learner must analyse the two sources and determine the differences between the aims of the two organisations from a close reading of the sources. The learner should provide two areas of difference and show how the UDF and National Forum adopted different positions.

#### **Suggested answer**

- The National Forum aimed to end capitalism and to create a socialist society; the UDF was not seeking to transform the economic base of society but was focusing on breaking down apartheid.
- The National Forum aimed to mobilise the black working class and the urban and rural poor; the UDF aimed to mobilise a much wider spectrum of people, drawn from all walks of life and of any racial identity.

## **SOURCE E: Extract from AZAPO publication – Azanian Focus (1985)**

This is an extract from the AZAPO publication *Azanian Focus*.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL 2431: A1.26.1.4\_AF, UDF Collection)

### **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 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

### **E1.**

Why does the publication *Azanian Focus* argue that the UDF has betrayed the Freedom Charter? (4)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 2 question. The learner must find the relevant information in the source. Two clear and coherent sentences should be written.

#### **Suggested answer**

*Azanian Focus* believes that the UDF has betrayed the education clause of the Freedom Charter by calling for an education boycott. By students not attending school, they will remain ignorant and therefore will not have 'the doors of learning and culture' opened for them.

### **E2.**

Using your own knowledge and the source, explain why *Azanian Focus* would have taken this position. (4)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 2 question. The learner must use the source and their broader knowledge. However, there are also aspects of a level 4 question, in that the learner needs to interpret and apply information from the source. The learner should write two clear and coherent sentences.

#### **Suggested answer**

AZAPO and the National Forum adopted an antagonistic and hostile stand against the UDF,



and therefore opposed any campaign that the UDF adopted. It is clear that AZAPO is also opposed to Bantu Education but have decided that an education boycott is undesirable largely because this is the strategy adopted by the UDF.

### **E3.**

Give two examples of the use of emotive language in this source. (4)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 3 question. The learner needs to extract two examples from the source.

#### **Suggested answer**

There are many examples of emotive language in the source. Any two examples are acceptable. Below two suggested answers are given, but these are not the only examples that a learner can give.

- 'We need to pitch our power – BLACK POWER – against the perpetrators of this boycott that has brought us misery, poverty and divided us.'
- 'The UDF is leading the Black man to the brink of chaos through its short-sighted stupidity.'

### **E4.**

How does the use of such emotive language affect the reader of this source? (4)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 5 question. The learner must analyse the message of the pamphlet, looking at the use of language as a tool of persuasion. The learner needs to concentrate on the intention of the pamphlet, and show how emotive language affects the reader's understanding of the source.

#### **Suggested answer**

The emotive language of the source persuades the reader that the UDF is behaving recklessly and stupidly. There is no real evidence given of the stupidity of the actions of the UDF; but because of the continual repetition of the negative words against the UDF, the reader can begin to accept these criticisms of the UDF unquestioningly.

## E5.

What message is the cartoon on the front cover of *Azanian Focus* trying to give about the UDF? (4)

### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 7 question. The learner needs to provide an intention behind the cartoon and its appropriateness regarding AZAPO's stand.

### **Suggested answer**

The message given in the cartoon is that the UDF are destructive thugs, not understanding that black people should be helping and teaching one another rather than forcing a boycott of what they have.

## **SOURCE F: OPEN LETTER TO AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO) (1985)**

A letter written by the UDF.

(Archived at SAHA as Collection AL2431: A1.26.1.1 & SAHA AL2431: A1.26.1.2, UDF Collection)

### **Learning Outcomes (LO) and Assessment Standards (AS)**

**LO1:** The learner acquires and applies historical enquiry skills

**AS 3:** The learner interprets and evaluates information and data from the sources

### **F1.**

Using your own knowledge and the source, explain what the UDF meant by the statement that 'our struggle has reached a new and unprecedented height.' (4)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 2 question. The learner must extract knowledge from the source but mainly use a broader understanding of the period to answer the question. An important clue is to look at the date of the letter.

#### **Suggested answer**

During 1985 the South African government intensified its repressive forces against the people. It declared a state of emergency, and SADF troops became a permanent presence in the townships. During this period about 25 000 UDF members were detained.

### **F2.**

Using the source, describe actions taken by the apartheid state to intensify the disunity between the UDF and AZAPO. (6)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 3 question. The learners must extract the information from the source. Three clear examples written in their own words should be given.

#### **Suggested answer**

- The apartheid state issued pamphlets in the names of the UDF and the National Forum, in which the organisations seemed to attack one another.
- The homes of UDF and National Forum members were attacked and petrol bombed. These attacks were made to look as if each organisation had carried out these actions against the other.
- Mass media – newspapers and the SABC – carried exaggerated reports of the tension and antagonism between these two organisations.

### F3.

Using both Source E and Source F, explain how the division between the UDF and the National Forum worked to the advantage of the apartheid state. (4)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a level 4 question. The learner must use both sources to arrive at an explanation.

#### **Suggested answer**

In Source E, it is clear that the National Forum expended much of its energies and direction in whipping up a hate-campaign against the UDF. This means that instead of directing its energy against the real enemy – the apartheid state – the National Forum was fighting the UDF. From Source F, it is clear that the apartheid state benefited from these divisions which they actively encouraged. A process of 'divide and rule' worked to the advantage of the apartheid state.

### F4.

Imagine that you are a member of the National Forum. Write a reply to this letter from the UDF, explaining why you believe it is impossible for the two organisations to work together. Use information from Sources D, E and F, as well as your own knowledge. (14)

#### **Type of question and approach**

This is a creative response based on an understanding of the three sources as well as the broader knowledge of the learner. It is a level 7 question. The learner must use a number of sources to carry out the task. This is an empathy exercise in which the learner must try and walk in the shoes of a member of the National Forum. It is important to make use of the evidence in the sources when writing this letter.

#### **Suggested answer**

This is an open-ended response. You can use this rubric to assess the answer (see facing page).

| Assessment Criteria | Not achieved Level 1   | Partially achieved Level 2  | Achieved Level 3   | Outstanding achievement Level 4   |
|---------------------|--|---|--|---|
| Marks               | 1-2  | 3 – 4   | 5-6  | 7-10  |
| Content and context | The learner struggles to respond to the UDF letter. The stance of the National Forum member is not clear or is absent. There is little content and the ideas are not contextualised, or there are no ideas at all. Focus absent. | The learner has responded to the UDF letter but has not answered the question well. The stance of the National Forum member is only partially explained. There are gaps in the context, limited use of sources and only a partial understanding of the historical context has been displayed. | The learner has responded to the UDF letter in a satisfactory way. The stance of the National Forum member is explained. The content is relevant to the line of argument. The learner has made use of sources. The historical context has been understood. | The learner has responded to the UDF letter in a meaningful way. The stance of the national Forum member is very clearly explained. The content is relevant to the line of argument. The learner has made use of sources accurately and coherently. The historical context has been fully understood. |
| Marks               | 1  | 2   | 3  | 4   |
| Presentation        | The information has not been presented in the form of a letter or all elements are absent. No introduction, body and conclusion, with all information merging together.  | The information has been presented in the form of a letter, but most of the necessary elements are absent. There is no clear introduction, body and conclusion, and aspects of the information merge together.  | The information has been presented in the form of a letter with most of the necessary elements present. There is an introduction, body and conclusion.   | The information has been presented in the form of a letter, with all the necessary elements present. There is a clear introduction, body and conclusion.  |