



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION  
NOVEMBER 2021

**HISTORY: PAPER II**

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<p><b>SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C</b></p>
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**SOURCE A**

**This is an extract from a journal article called: 'The Role of Non-Violent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid' by Stephen Zunes, written in 1999. It compares the strength of government forces to those of the resistance.**

... While the armed struggle never reached a level which threatened the survival of the regime, the threat of such an armed uprising may have played a role in forcing it to compromise. Yet, ... the regime clearly had the means to forestall\* a successful uprising for many years to come, whereas the largely non-violent resistance was already causing enormous disruption to the existing order ...  
**(Paragraph 1)**

... White South Africa possessed by far the most powerful military machine on the continent. By the early 1980s, it had a rigorously trained operational force of 180 000 men and, with a reserve force constantly replenished through universal white male conscription\*, it could mobilise nearly half a million troops within a few hours ... The South African Air Force possessed over 875 aircraft, including over 500 combat aircraft and more than 200 helicopters; the army owned over 260 tanks, 1 300 armoured cars ... and a large number of self-propelled medium and heavy artillery guns ... The material of the liberation movements ... was limited to small, outdated Western arms and a limited supply of modest-grade Soviet hardware ... **(Paragraph 2)**

... The black townships outside South African cities were designed so that they could be easily cordoned off ..., making it easy for the military to suppress any armed uprising. While some ANC leaders began to advocate a 'people's war' of massive armed resistance within the townships in the mid-1980s, such a scenario was never realistic ... there was no maze of alleys in which guerrillas could lose those in pursuit. The black townships were built as grids, with wide thoroughfares, making it difficult for a guerrilla to find shelter ... **(Paragraph 3)**

... The nationwide two-day general strike in 1984, the largest of its kind in South African history up to that point, terrified the government, and many observers see it, along with the government crackdown which followed, as the starting point of the final wave of unrest which brought the regime to the negotiating table ... As many as 800 000 people refused to go to work and 400 000 students boycotted classes. The strike was more than 80 per cent effective among workers from the besieged Vaal townships, and in the East Rand, where heavy industry and organised labour is concentrated. The SASOL (oil-from-coal) and ISCOR (iron and steel) parastatals ground to a halt, despite threats to fire workers who joined the strike. ... the stayaway strike had been the most successful in South Africa's history. **(Paragraph 4)**

The combined force of the muscle of organised labour and the back-up of the UDF's affiliated organisations had dealt the government a body blow that sent the politicians, ... and the army reeling. To try to halt these challenges, the government imposed a state of emergency in 1985 to curb the dissent. ... Initially, the restrictions were so comprehensive\* and the penalties so severe, that this hampered\* the non-violent resistance efforts ... Yet the state of emergency did not halt the nonviolent movement ... **(Paragraph 5)**

[Adapted from Stephen Zunes, 1999. 'The Role of Non-Violent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid' in *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Mar., 1999), pp. 137–169. Published By: Cambridge University Press: [ONLINE] at <<https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/Non-violent%20action%20against%20apartheid,%20by%20Zunes.pdf>>, Accessed 12 January 2021]

\*forestall – to prevent someone from doing something by taking action before he or she does

\*conscription – compulsory military service

\*comprehensive – complete, covering all possible elements

\*hampered – restricted, interfered with

**SOURCE B**

**This is an extract from the book: *From Protest to Challenge, Book 6*. It comments on how the state used the media and the courts to try to contain resistance in the 1980s.**

The power of religious leaders to promote or thwart\* government plans was another consideration that occupied Botha's security specialists ... With leadership more attuned\* to black concerns, churches were cautiously moving beyond mere condemnation of injustice to calls for specific forms of action, including civil disobedience, international economic sanctions and resistance to military conscription. The SACC was at the forefront of this growing activism ... Despite the government's desire to avoid negative publicity ... bannings, deportations, death threats, detention and even torture of religious leaders became a feature of political life in the 1980s ... a campaign of vilification\* was conducted through the publications and sermons of right-wing religious organisations ... **(Paragraph 1)**

... The 'Total Onslaught' necessitated reform, according to the Botha government, but the national interest also required constraints\* on the mass media ... By the early 1980s, more than a hundred laws regulated what journalists could report ... after 1984, measures to intimidate and gag opposition newspapers reached new extremes ... Media censorship may have dampened international criticism somewhat but foreign pressure for economic sanctions mounted ... **(Paragraph 2)**

... For the Botha government, the courts played a dual role, helping to perpetuate\* white rule while also furthering the National Party's agenda of political legitimisation through reform ... the government ... reviewed the country's multiple security laws and consolidated\* them into a new ... Internal Security Act ... When operatives of the underground ANC were captured ... the resulting political trials ... branded the regime's enemies as violent, locked them away for extended periods, or sent them to the gallows ... **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted from: *From Protest to Challenge – A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882–1990. Book 6*: Gail M., Gerhart and Clive L. Glaser. 2013. Jacana Media (Pages 34 to 38).]

\*thwart – to prevent someone from accomplishing something

\*attuned – aware of

\*vilification – to speak or write about people in a harsh, abusive way, which damages their character

\*constraints – limitations or restrictions

\*perpetuate – to make something continue for a long time

\*consolidate – to combine different elements into a unified whole

**SOURCE C**

The following photograph was taken in 1985: South African police officers charge a group of United Democratic Front demonstrators as they march to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town in an attempt to free political prisoners.



[From Michael Neocosmos. 2020. *The Archive Part 1: People's to state politics* (Photograph by Gideon Mendel/ Corbis via Getty Images) [ONLINE] at <<https://www.newframe.com/from-the-archive-part-one-peoples-politics-to-state-politics/>>. Accessed on 12 January 2021]

**SOURCE D**

This is an extract from a book called: *Days of the Generals*. It describes action taken by black communities against the government in the 1980s.

There can be no question that the ANC succeeded in turning up the heat and putting the South African government's feet to the fire. Between September 1984 and May 1986, 3477 private black homes were destroyed or badly damaged, education in non-white areas ground to a halt, black local authorities crumbled, and 573 people were killed in black-on-black violence, including 295 who were burned to death by the necklace method.

[Adapted from. Hilton Hamann. 2001. *Days of the Generals*. Zebra Press. Page 128]

**SOURCE E**

This is an extract from a book by a former National Party cabinet minister, Leon Wessels. It gives his impression of the impact of the violence in the country.

We saw the frightening violence daily on the TV screens. Anyone witnessing these scenes of violence, the fires, the protesting crowds, surely had to conclude that the country was on the brink of collapse. The violent protests troubled me greatly – I got the impression that the security forces were not able to subdue the masses and control the unrest. It was apparent that our political initiatives were not sufficiently imaginative to forestall this revolution.

[Adapted from: Leon Wessels. 2020. *Encountering Apartheid's Ghosts*. NALEDI. Page 162.]

**SOURCE F** This is a poster produced by the Athlone Action Committee in 1985. Athlone is a suburb of Cape Town. Athlone was designated a 'coloured' area under the Group Areas Act and was the site of a massacre of schoolchildren. This poster shows South African Defence Force troops using a tank to patrol the streets of a residential township.



[Available at <[https://www.saha.org.za/imagesofdefiance/mass\\_rally\\_state\\_of\\_emergency\\_consumer\\_boycott\\_schools.htm](https://www.saha.org.za/imagesofdefiance/mass_rally_state_of_emergency_consumer_boycott_schools.htm)>. Accessed on 12 January 2021]

**SOURCE G**

**This is an extract from a book by John Pampallis, a historian, author and teacher. It describes the government's tactics to gain control over increasing resistance in South Africa in the 1980s.**

As resistance to apartheid mounted inside South Africa, particularly when black local authorities began to collapse and local organs of people's power ... started to establish themselves, the regime decided that a more naked use of repressive force was necessary to try to restore its authority. In July 1985, it declared a State of Emergency over many parts of the country ... Despite the detention of over 8000 people and other forms of repression, it proved unsuccessful in quelling\* resistance which actually increased during this period. The State of Emergency was lifted in early 1986. However, the regime was only preparing itself for a more vigorous assault on the liberation movement. This came in June 1986 with the declaration of a new, nation-wide State of Emergency.

[Adapted from Pampallis John. 1991. *Foundations of the New South Africa*. Zed Books. P. 286]

\*quelling – to put an end to something through force

**SOURCE H**

**This is an extract from a book on South African history by Anthea Jeffery, which discusses government action against activists and its impact on them.**

Soon after the start of the people's war, the police began detaining activists and holding them incommunicado\*. However, this made little difference to the ferment or the violence. If some UDF leaders were neutralised\* in some way, other activists immediately sprang into action and began launching school, bus and consumer boycotts to protest against the detentions and increase the pressure on government. Soon the police began resorting to extrajudicial\* executions instead. In May 1985 three Pebco activists\* ... were abducted by the security police and ... interrogated, tortured, and killed ... The killing of activists also boomeranged\* against Pretoria ... for these deaths were invariably followed by politicised funerals, which helped spark further unrest, boycotts and stayaways.

... The UDF was weakened by the emergency restrictions and the detention of many of its activists. However, the front also made major gains at the expense of the government ... though emergency restrictions helped reduce political violence, in the vital battle for legitimacy, the declaration of a partial State of Emergency harmed the government and buttressed\* the revolutionary alliance ... Though there was little prospect of the ANC being able to mount a successful insurrection\*, the level of violence in the country was rising steadily.

[Adapted from: Anthea Jeffery. 2019. *People's War. New Light on the Struggle for South Africa*. Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers. P. 94]

\*incommunicado – not allowed to talk to anyone

\*neutralise – to stop someone from having an effect

\*extrajudicial – not legally authorised

\*Pebco activists – The Pebco (Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation) Three were black South African anti-apartheid activists – Sipho Hashe, Champion Galela, and Qaqawuli Godolozu

\*boomerang – to bring about a harmful result instead of the intended good one

\*buttress – to give support or stability to something

\*insurrection – a violent uprising against a government