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NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
SUPPLEMENTARY EXAMINATION – MARCH 2019

HISTORY: PAPER II

SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C

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SOURCE A

This is an extract from a speech made by Rev. Dr. Allan Boesak at the launch of the United Democratic Front on 20 August 1983 in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town.

... We have arrived at a historic moment. We have brought together under the aegis* of the United Democratic Front the broadest and most significant coalition of groups and organisations struggling against apartheid, racism and injustice since the early nineteen fifties. **(Paragraph 1)**

... We are here to say that the Government's constitutional proposals are inadequate, and that they do not express the will of the vast majority of South Africa's people. ... Racism, so embedded* in South African society, is once again written into the constitution ... The homelands policy ... forms the basis of the ... exclusion of 80% of our nation from the new political deal. ... Clearly the oppression will continue, the brutal break-up of black family life will not end. The apartheid line is not at all abolished, it is simply shifted so as to include those so-called coloureds and Indians who are willing to co-operate with the Government. **(Paragraph 2)**

... And therefore we must resist it! ... To be sure, the new proposals will make apartheid less blatant* in some ways. It will be modernised and streamlined, and in its new multicoloured cloak it will be less conspicuous* and less offensive* to some. Nonetheless, it will still be there ... We want all of our rights, we want them here and we want them now. We have been waiting so long; we have been struggling so long. We have pleaded, cried, petitioned too long now. We have been jailed, exiled, killed for too long. Now is the time. **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted from: Speech by Rev. Dr. Allan Boesak at the launch of the United Democratic Front, 20 August 1983, Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchell's Plain. 2018. History Matters. ONLINE. Available at: <<http://historymatters.co.za/>> Accessed 3 January 2018]

*aegis – protection, support

*embedded – entrenched or rooted

*blatant – noticeable or observable

*conspicuous – obvious

*offensive – upsetting or insulting

SOURCE B

An extract from a South African journalist's comment on the effects of PW Botha's reforms on South Africa in the 1980s.

... The very act of political reform that Botha thought was going to enable him to co-opt* the emergent* black middle class and win new credibility* in the world in fact triggered the most serious ... revolt in South Africa's history ... It should have come as no surprise in 1984 when only five days after the last votes were cast for the "coloured" and Indian houses ... the great ... revolt began ... by granting political rights to "coloured" and Indian [people] and withholding them from [black people] he was sharpening the edge of racial discrimination ... This was divide-and-rule strategy at its most blatant* ... In August 1983 more than five hundred community, church, professional, sports, workers, students', women's and youth organisations formed an alliance called the United Democratic Front to campaign against the new constitution ... Rallies were held everywhere ... the level of political consciousness in South Africa rose to unprecedented* heights ... Five days later the great revolt began ...

[Adapted from: Sparks, A, *The Mind of South Africa: The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, Cape Town, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2007, pp. 333–337]

*co-opt – invite

*emergent – up-and-coming or growing

*credibility – trustworthiness

*blatant – obvious

*unprecedented – record or extraordinary

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SOURCE C

This is an extract from a historian's comment on the effects of reform and repression on South Africa during the 1980s.

In August and September 1984, confrontation erupted* in the townships of the Vaal Triangle and the East Rand ... In each case protests were provoked by discontent* over civic issues, especially increases in rents effected by unpopular township councillors, combined with student discontent* around educational grievances* and the state's constitutional reforms. The state responded to largely peaceful protests with severe repression, which prompted further protests and escalated* direct action against the symbols of state power ... The state declared a partial state of emergency in July 1985, but this neither suppressed resistance in the affected areas nor prevented its spread to other regions ... Civics, as structures that represented the community, played a pivotal* role in "people's power".

[Adapted from: Adler, G and Steinberg, J (ed), *From Comrades to Citizens: The South African Civics Movement and the Transition to Democracy*, Great Britain, Palgrave MacMillan, 2000, pp. 70–71]

*erupted – broke out

*discontent – unhappiness

*grievances – injustice or unfairness

*escalated – increased

*pivotal – key or essential

*civics – civic organisations

SOURCE D

An extract from a Western academic's comment on the effects of repression on protest in South Africa in the 1980s.

... The Black [Local] Authorities Act spurred* popular resistance: calls for councillors to resign, rent boycotts and much more. By 1985 local young people were organising clandestine* UDF neighbourhood committees ... indeed during the 1980s, the response to state repression was not less protest, but more and more violent waves of protest in the townships. Over South Africa as a whole, this sort of interaction between repression and local activism produced a surprising pattern. When government threats increased, so did popular opposition ... threat itself was focusing resistance ...

[Adapted from: Aminzade, RR and Goldstone, JA et al, *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*, Great Britain, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp.179–180]

*spurred – encouraged

*clandestine – secret

SOURCE E

This is an extract from an online South African newspaper, *The Daily Maverick*, from 22 August 2013, commenting on the impact of the United Democratic Front (UDF) on protest action in South Africa during the 1980s.

... the UDF demonstrated that even in the most astonishingly difficult circumstances, a broad, diverse* coalition of groups and individuals could be held together – despite institutional differences, arrests, banning orders and differences in ideology – to put sustained*, ultimately successful pressure on an odious* regime. And even if the UDF was not able to make the entire country totally ungovernable, they did succeed in making it impossible for the old order to continue ... **(Paragraph 1)**

By 21 July 1985 the government had declared a state of emergency ... the first such declaration since 1960, giving the police broad powers to detain, impose curfews and control the media and, a few days later, even to control funerals. The UDF was now increasingly under pressure; many of its leaders imprisoned, its networks giving way. At this juncture*, consumer boycotts became the most widely used means of civic revolt – with UDF sanction* and sanction from other bodies ... **(Paragraph 2)**

... The UDF could claim their sustained* pressure on the government, in spite of the military balance ... in the government's favour. The state was forced to rely increasingly on direct military power ... **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted from: J Brooks Spector, The UDF at 30: An organisation that shook Apartheid's foundation. 22 August 2013. *The Daily Maverick*. ONLINE. Available at: <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-08-22-the-udf-at-30-an-organisation-that-shook-apartheids-foundation/>>. Accessed 10 January 2018]

*diverse – many different

*sustained – constant

*odious – horrible or disgusting

*juncture – moment in time

*sanction – approval

*sustained – continued or persistent

SOURCE F

This is a poster published by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in South Africa during the 1980s.



[DISA Archive, United Democratic Front Poster. 1980s. South African History Online.
ONLINE. Available at: <<http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/>> Accessed 10 January 2018]

SOURCE G

This is an extract from a South African historian's comment on resistance to apartheid during the late 1980s.

Despite the intense repression by the state in the late 1980s, which included mass detentions, the restriction of political activity and a ban on all media activity, the state had not been able to crush resistance. 1989 saw a strong revival of anti-apartheid activity ... The UDF began to strengthen its political alliances and formed an alliance with COSATU, which came to be known as the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). ... In August 1989 the MDM embarked on a massive defiance campaign ... Thousands of people started to engage in acts of civil disobedience ... A number of mass marches took place ... This sustained* resistance and pressure on the government was known as rolling mass action.

[Adapted from: H. Basabenzi, Defiance through mass action, Commemorating South Africa's Labour Movement. 2018. South African History Archive.
ONLINE. Available at: <http://www.saha.org.za/workers/the_unraveling_of_apartheid.htm> Accessed 1 January 2018]

*sustained – continued or persistent

SOURCE H

This photograph shows protesters in support of the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign in Cape Town in August 1989.



[Adapted from: Orde Eliason, (1989), Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign, Cape Town, August 1989.
ONLINE. Available at: <<http://www.sahistory.org.za/>> Accessed 26 December 2017]