

South Africa, 1948-94: from Apartheid state to 'rainbow nation'

Topic 2: Radicalisation of reistance & the consolidation of National Party power 1960-68



Topic	Class	Notes	Revision
Peaceful protest			
The Sharpeville massacre			
Banning political parties			
South African independence 1961			
Moves to armed struggle			
The ANC and uMkhonto weSizwe			
The PAC and Poqo			
The Rivonia Trial			
Exile and imprisonment			
Strengthening apartheid – economic recovery			
Developing the Bantustans			
Diplomatic ties			





Section A mark scheme (The SOURCES)

- Analytical focus (identifying & explaining key features of the source, handling it as an interpretation)
- Accurate detail (using your own knowledge to explain the source)
- Supported judgement (evaluating the value of the source throughout the essay)

Section B mark scheme (The Essay)

- Analytical focus
- Accurate detail
- Supported judgement
- Argument and structure

Level	Mark	Description
1	1-3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Surface level comprehension of source – paraphrase Some relevant knowledge to context No overall evaluation of the sources / discussion of reliability & utility basic
2	4-7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some understanding – selects & summarises Knowledge linked to the sources to support / challenge Overall judgement presents – limited support & discussion of provenance may be based on assumption.
3	8-12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of key points of the source, explains meaning, valid inferences Historical context supports inferences, knowledge expands support & challenge Overall judgement relates to the nature & purpose, based on valid criteria, support may be limited
4	13-16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Examines evidence to make reasoned inferences, valid distinction between fact & opinion Context used to reveal & discuss the limitations of the source. Attempts to interpret the source in the context of the society it comes from Overall judgement supported by valid criteria, evaluation of sources reflects the weight of the evidence
5	17-20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Confident interrogation of both sources demonstrated by reasoned inferences Context used to reveal & discuss limitations of sources' content. Interprets the source in the context of the society from which it came Overall judgement supported by valid criteria, reflects the weight of the evidence & degrees to which the sources may be useful

Level	Mark s	Description
1	1-3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Simplistic statements Very limited accurate and relevant knowledge No overall judgement / very basic Very little structure or argument
2	4-7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Descriptive statements Limited range of accurate and relevant knowledge Limited support of judgement – lacks clear criteria Beginnings of structure attempts to make an argument
3	8-12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some analysis of key features Mostly accurate knowledge, showing understanding of the question Judgement presented with some attempt to establish criteria Some structure and a generally clear argument
4	13-16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of key features Sufficient knowledge used to answer most aspects of the question Overall judgement based on valid criteria – may only be partially supported Well structured with a clear argument – may lack precision in places
5	17-20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustained analysis Sufficient knowledge used to answer all aspects of the question Overall judgement based on valid criteria, fully supported. The relative significance may be considered Well structured argued with precision

About Paper 2: Depth Study

Paper 2 tests you against two Assessment Objectives: AO1 and AO2.

AO1 tests your ability to:

- Organise and communicate your own knowledge
- Analyse and evaluate key features of the past
- Make supported judgements
- Deal with concepts of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance.
- **AO1 TASKS YOU TO WRITE AN ESSAY FROM YOUR OWN KNOWLEDGE**

AO2 tests your ability to:

- Analyse and evaluate source material from the past
- Explore the value of source material by considering its historical context.
- **AO2 TASKS YOU TO WRITE AN ESSAY WHICH ANALYSES TWO SOURCES.**

At A Level, Paper 2 is worth 20% of your grade. At AS Level it is worth 40% of your grade.

The exam is **1 hour and 30 minutes** (AS and A Level) and divided into two sections.

AS Level Q's:

Ai) Why is Source 11 (p.320) valuable to the historian for an enquiry into the ANC's attitude to South Africa becoming a republic? (8 marks)

Aii) How much weight do you give the evidence of Source 4 (p. 315) for an enquiry into events at Sharpeville in 1960? (12 marks)

B) How accurate is it to say that the anti-apartheid protests of the 1960s served only to strengthen the determination of the authorities to enforce apartheid? (20 marks)

A Level Q's

A) How far could the historian make use of Sources 12 and 13 (p.323) together to investigate opposition to apartheid in South Africa in the 1960s?

Explain your answer using the sources, the information given about them and your own knowledge of the historical context. (20 marks)

B) To what extent was the Rivonia Trial a political opportunity for the ANC? (20 marks)

Key Terms – Chapter 2

Define all of the below key terms using Chapter 2 of the main text (pp311-333)

Key Term	Definition
Stayaway	
Suez Crisis 1956	
Social history	
Apartheid alcohol restrictions	

Individual	Organisation	Key events /ideas
Robert Sobukwe		
Verwoerd		
Harold Macmillan		
Nelson Mandela		
Joe Slovo		
Sisulu		
Joe Modise		
Oliver Tambo		
Trevor Huddleston		
Ambrose Reeves		
E.S Reddy		
Dennis Brutus		
B. J. Vorster		
Chief Victor Poto		



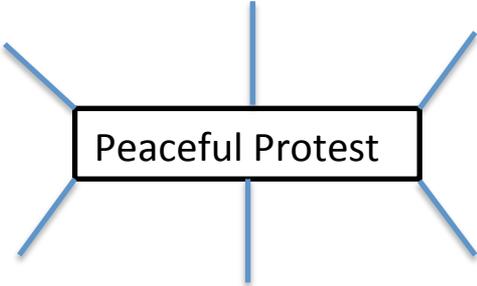
Why did opposition to apartheid increase during the years 1960-1?



Use pages 311-315 to complete

Sharpeville

1. Create a timeline to show the main events of the massacre



2. Why was the Sharpeville massacre significant?

How far could the historian make use of Sources 1 and 2 together to investigate the reasons for the killings at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960?

First look for aspects of the source that refer to the events and discussions that were going on around the time that the source was written. Underline the key phrases and write a brief description of the context. Try to find three key phrases in each source.

Source 1 *From Africa South in Exile Vol 4 No 4 July-September 1960, a magazine published in London. The magazine opposed apartheid and supported liberation struggles against colonialism throughout Africa.*

There are many who still doubt that the South African Government planned the killings at Sharpeville. Yet much larger crowds of protesting Africans than the ones which assembled outside Sharpeville police station have since been dispersed with 3 warnings, baton charges, shots in the air or the wounding of a few front-line demonstrators in the legs. And surgeons giving evidence at the Sharpeville Commission of Enquiry claim that three-quarters of the Sharpeville wounded whom they examined in hospital had all been shot in the back. Eye-witness affidavits that no warnings were given by the police emphasize the significance of this. The Government decided upon a massacre at the outset of the anti-pass campaign, as the show of intransigence that it had for so long been promising the country. It is unfortunate that the show should have excited so much censure abroad, but no loyal Nationalist considers the show any less right or necessary than had the outside world ignored Sharpeville altogether.

A government capable of Sharpeville is unlikely to be turned from the highway of defiance it has chosen by the plucking's of protest. The censure of the outside world may be inconvenient; but white South Africa has suffered censure before, without feeling it necessary to make any changes in its conduct.

Key phrase	Context

Source 2: *From Shooting at Sharpeville by Ambrose Reeves, published in 1961. Reeves was Bishop of Johannesburg and a strong critic of apartheid.*

From what the police did at Sharpeville a heavy burden of guilt lies not only with Lieutenant Colonel Pienaar for his failure to control and superintend his men but also upon the individual policemen who fired. Standing orders also provide that the police must exercise great care that in firing they merely wound or maim their target and do not kill: at Sharpeville the police fired recklessly and indiscriminately into an unarmed crowd which was not attacking them. They killed 69 people and no justification or even extenuation can be found for such conduct... At Sharpeville the police went on firing into the back of the crowd long after it had turned and began to flee from the scene. They fired their automatic weapons in tremendous and devastating bursts and the only problem is to find suitable words of condemnation for the conduct of such an enormity.

The banning of political parties and the state of emergency

Review the statements below using pages 316-317

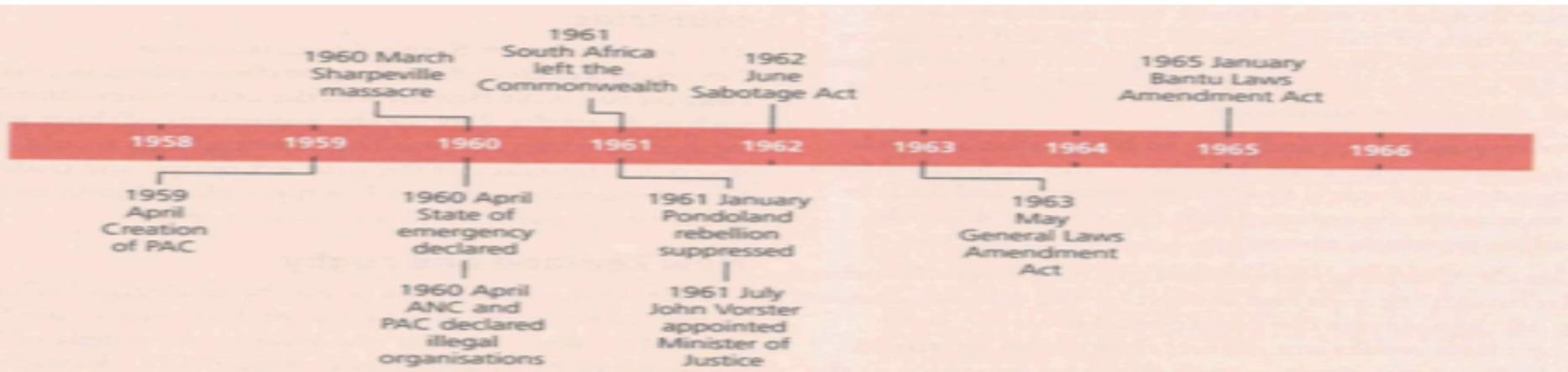
Statement	✓ True	✓ False	Correction / Explanation
All police officers were white			
The state of emergency was declared on 30 th March 1960			
Political leaders were surprised by the clampdown			
Leading protesters were arrested			
Verwoerd was shot by a radical black activist			

The Sharpeville Massacre

Read the question, study the timeline and, using three coloured pens, put a star next to the events to show:

- Red: events and policies that have no relevance to the question
- Amber: events and policies that have some significance to the question
- Green: events and policies that are directly relevant to the question

To what extent were the repressive measures passed in the period 1960 to 1965 a consequence of the Sharpeville massacre?



The below paragraph contains a limited amount of detail. Annotate the paragraph to add additional detail to the answer.

To what extent did government repression follow the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960?

The government responded to the Sharpeville massacre with a series of measures of repression. In April they declared a state of emergency. Some anti-apartheid groups were banned as a result. In the following year they passed a Sabotage Act. This was followed by the General Law Amendment Act in May 1963. the Bantu Laws Amendment Act was passed in 1964 to come into effect in January 1965. these were all responses to the Sharpeville uprising although the appointment of John Vorster as Minister of Justice in July 1961 may have had some thing to do with increasing repression too.

Why did SA become a republic in 1961? Pages 317-322

1. Why was the republican issue not really important in the 1950s?

5. Why did South Africa not have television until 1976?

2. Verwoerd felt confident to announce a whites only referendum in early 1960...

6. Who visited South Africa in February 1960 and why?

3. Why were the Cape nationalists unhappy with Verwoerd?

7. What was Macmillan's memorable phrase. 'the wind of change is blowing through Africa' intended for?

4. How did Verwoerd increase his support in the Afrikaner Christian nationalist association?

8. Why did Macmillan advocate 'rapid decolonisation'?



Why did SA become a republic in 1961? Pages 317-322

<p>9. How did Macmillan present African nationalism?</p>	<p>5. Why did South Africa leave the Commonwealth?</p>
<p>10. How did Verwoerd respond to Macmillan?</p>	<p>6. How did Britain respond to SA leaving the Commonwealth?</p>
<p>11. What was the result of the referendum in October 1960?</p>	<p>7. How did withdrawal from the Commonwealth affect the economic position of SA?</p>
<p>12. What changed when South Africa became a republic on 31 May 1961?</p>	<p>8. What economic sanctions were placed on SA?</p>



Explain the difference

The sources on the following page, give different accounts of the challenges facing the apartheid regime in SA in the early 1960s.

1. List the ways in which the sources differ.
2. Explain the differences using the provenance of the sources, and the historical context. The provenance appears at the top of the source (Who wrote it, when, etc.) Make sure you stay focused on the differences that are relevant to the question:

‘How far could the historian make use of Sources 1 and 2 together to investigate the challenges facing the apartheid regime in SA during the 1960s? Explain your answer, using both sources, the information given about them and your own knowledge.’

Explain the difference – The Sources

SOURCE 1

From 'winds of change' speech by Harold Macmillan to the South African parliament, 3 February 1960. Macmillan was the British prime minister.

...the most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it takes different forms, but it is happening everywhere.

The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it.

Well you understand this better than anyone, you are sprung from Europe, the home of nationalism, here in Africa you have yourselves created a free nation. A new nation. Indeed in the history of our times yours will be recorded as the first of the African nationalists. This tide of national consciousness which is now rising in Africa, is a fact, for which both you and we, and the other nations of the Western world are ultimately responsible.

As I have said, the growth of national consciousness in Africa is a political fact, and we must accept it as such. That means, I would judge, that we've got to come to terms with it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so we may imperil the precarious balance between the East and West on which the peace of the world depends... As I see it the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West. Will they be drawn into the communist camp? Or will the great experiments in self-government that are now being made in Asia and Africa, especially within the Commonwealth, prove so successful, and by their example so compelling, that the balance will come down in favour of freedom and order and justice? The struggle is joined, and it is a struggle for the minds of men. What is now on trial is much more than our military strength or our diplomatic and administrative skill. It is our way of life. The uncommitted nations want to see before they choose.

SOURCE 2

From Prime Minister Verwoerd's response to Macmillan's speech, 3 February 1960.

The tendency in Africa for nations to become independent, and at the same time to do justice to all, does not only mean being just to the black man of Africa, but also to be just to the white man of Africa.

We call ourselves European, but actually we represent the white men of Africa. They are the people not only in the Union but through major portions of Africa who brought civilisation here, who made the present developments of black nationalists possible. By bringing them education, by showing them this way of life, by bringing in industrial development, by bringing in the ideals which Western civilisation has developed itself.

And the white man came to Africa, perhaps to trade, in some cases, perhaps to bring the gospel; has remained to stay. And particularly we in this southernmost portion of Africa have such a stake here that this is our only motherland, we have nowhere else to go. We set up a country bare, and the Bantu came in this country and settled certain portions for themselves, and it is in line with the thinking of Africa, to grant those fullest rights which we also with you admit all people should have and believe in providing those rights for those people in the fullest degree in that part of southern Africa which their forefathers found for themselves and settled in. But similarly, we believe in balance, we believe in allowing exactly those same full opportunities to remain within the grasp of the white man who has made all this possible.

Use pages 322 – 324 to complete

Moves to armed struggle

The ANC and uMkhonto
weSizwe



Did the ANC and PAC radicalise after 1960?



The PAC and Poqo



Below are a sample exam question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Read the paragraph and identify parts of the paragraph that are not directly relevant to the question. Draw a line through the information that is irrelevant and justify your deletions in the margin.

'The decision by the ANC leadership to turn to violence was largely in response to government repression.' How far do you agree with this statement?

The ANC leadership was increasingly frustrated by government repression which defeated peaceful protest. The government had passed a raft of measures in the early 1960s which banned protest and had outlawed groups such as the ANC. The security forces had always been prepared to use violence, for example in the massacre at Sharpeville, and activists were becoming increasingly militant and frustrated with peaceful tactics. At Sharpeville the authorities fired on peaceful protesters, killing 69 – although the authorities said the demonstrators were armed and threatening. Indeed, violence was already widespread in many rural areas, for example in Eastern Pondoland where the rebellion led by the Intaba movement had been defeated by superior government forces. The decision to begin an armed struggle was to some degree a case of leaders catching up with the demands of their supporters. There were, however, other factors such as the failure of peaceful protest. The government sometimes arrested leaders after they had agreed to meet with them. Accordingly MK began their campaign on 16 December 1961. Bombings took place in government buildings in Durban and Port Elizabeth, including an electricity sub-station. In the next 18 months 200 attacks took place.

Turning assertion into argument

Read the exam question and then add a justification to each of the assertions to turn it into an argument.

To what extent was the decision among anti-apartheid groups to turn to armed conflict in the early 1960s a response to the failure of peaceful protest?

The ANC had decided to begin armed struggle in the early 1960s because

Peaceful protest had proved to be ineffective because

Many of their supported believed the ANC leadership should have begun the armed struggle earlier because

Poko was more extreme than MK because

In may ways the armed conflict was a response to the failure of peaceful protest because

The Rivonia Trial and significance for Mandela

1. What did Mandela use the trial as an opportunity for?
2. Who defended the Rivonia accused?
3. What did the prosecution push for?
4. What was the significance of the imprisonment?
5. What did the outcome mean for MK?
6. After reading through Source 16 on page 326 answer the following question:

This was the last public speech Nelson Mandela made for 26 years. Was it a threat? A warning? A plea for understanding? Explain what his 'message' was in your own words.

Identify an argument

Below are a series of definitions, a sample exam question and two sample conclusions.

One of the conclusions achieves a high mark because it contains an argument. The other achieves a lower mark because it contains only description and assertion. Identify which is which.



- **Description:** a detailed account
- **Assertion:** a statement of fact or an opinion which is not supported by a reason
- **Reason:** a statement which explains or justifies something
- **Argument:** an assertion justified with a reason

‘The main result of the Rivonia Trial was international condemnation of South Africa’. How far do you agree with this statement.

Student 1:

The Rivonia Trial certainly led to international condemnation. However, it also showed government determination to defeat anti-apartheid activities and restore order. It believed a major trial would defeat the violence to which they had been subject by MK - 200 attacks in the 18 months following the formation in December 1961. the government wasn't concerned as a priority about international condemnation if it meant that MK would be defeated. However, international condemnation was acute and long-lasting: many leaders called for clemency and the international media interest brought South Africa into world focus.

Student 2:

The Rivonia Trial took place in 1964. it was a result of the leaders of MK being captured. Notable among these was Nelson Mandela. Mandela knew he would be found guilty so he used the trial to make a four-hour speech advocating democracy and equal rights in South Africa. This reached a worldwide audience due to media interest in the trial and was the main consequence. It led to international condemnation and caused protest in many countries.



Developing an argument

Below are a sample exam question, a list of key points to be made in the essay, and a paragraph from the essay. Read the question, the plan, and the sample paragraph. Rewrite the paragraph in order to develop an argument. Your paragraph should answer the question directly, and set out the evidence that supports your argument. Crucially, it should develop an argument by setting out a general answer to the question and reasons that support this.

How significant was the Rivonia Trial on international responses to apartheid?

Key points

- The Rivonia Trial involved most of the ANC leadership.
- Nelson Mandela made a key speech justifying the struggle against apartheid.
- The trial was reported internationally and led to widespread criticism of South Africa.
- The leaders of many countries called for clemency.

Sample paragraph

The Rivonia Trial attracted worldwide attention. The United Nations called for the defendants to be released while dockworkers in several countries threatened to refuse to handle South African goods in the ports. The leader of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, joined US Congressmen and British MPs in calling for clemency while 50 of the latter led a protest march in London. This opprobrium formed the context in which Judge Quartus de Wet had to deliver his verdict – and indeed the international concerns about the Rivonia Trial were significant reasons for the widespread protests against apartheid and sanctions against South Africa in the years to come.

Use pages 326-327 to complete

Oliver
Tambo



The AAM

The impact of exile and imprisonment on the ANC and
PAC

The UN

Sport



Create a timeline (using pp.326-327) to show how apartheid or 'separate development' was strengthened in the years 1960-68. Ensure you include all dates mentioned as well as the points below:

Verwoerd's murder

Manufacturing

Construction industry

Whites

Economic recovery

The colour bar

Increased income

Women



Use pages 329-330 to complete

How did the townships and role of African women develop?



Use pages 331-332 to complete

The Bantustans

Other factors strengthening apartheid or 'separate development in the 1960s

Diplomatic Ties

Vorster's use of police powers



i The flaw in the argument

a

Below are a sample exam question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. The paragraph contains an argument which attempts to answer the question. However, there is an error in the argument. Use your knowledge of this topic to identify the flaw in the argument.

To what extent did the South African economy recover from the international reaction to the Sharpeville shootings in the 1960s?

South Africa quickly recovered after the economic downturn following international reaction to the Sharpeville massacre although the economy was fragile because it relied on foreign investment. International investment, for example from Britain and the USA, grew with the result that more people were involved in industry, which grew by 7 per cent in each of the years of the 1960s. It was possible to expect 15 to 20 per cent profit on investment. The number of white people employed in manufacturing rose from 957,000 to 1,181,000 between 1960 and 1966. The white population itself rose from 3.09 to 3.77 million over the course of the 1960s, largely as a result of immigration.

Below are a sample exam question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Read the paragraph and the mark scheme provided on page 86. Decide which level you would award the paragraph. Write the level below, along with a justification for your choice.

How far was South Africa diplomatically and economically isolated as a result of international condemnation of the Sharpeville massacre?

While international condemnation continued after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and with the continuation of apartheid policies, the impact diplomatically and economically was slight. South Africa quickly recovered economically after the downturn following the massacre which saw for example reductions in foreign investment and increased emigration among whites. South Africa remained attractive to investors, with returns of as high as 20 per cent. This investment saw industrial growth with the numbers employed in manufacturing growing from 957,000 to 1,181,000 between the years 1960 to 1966. Western countries such as Britain and the USA were leading this investment: British banks in particular dealt extensively in South Africa. Diplomatically too, individual or group criticism did not lead to isolation – particularly as South Africa was seen as a reliable ally in the fight against communism. It was moreover surrounded by friendly countries – the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola and white-controlled Rhodesia for example. Even newly independent African nations relied on South Africa for trade.

Level:

Mark:

Reason for choosing that level:

Spot the Inference – AO2

High-level answers avoid excessive summerising or paraphrasing the sources. They instead make inferences from the sources, as well as analysing their value in terms of their context. Below are a source and a series of statements. Read the sources and decide which of the statements:

- Make inferences from the source (I)
- Paraphrase the source (P)
- Summerise the source (S)
- Cannot be justified from the source (X) A



	I	P	S	X
Bantustans are economically unviable				
Bantustans are simply a dumping ground for the surplus black population				
Bantustans are a fraud: they represent only 13% of the land but are expected to sustain 80% of the population.				
Bantustans are expected to sustain 80% of the population but they are in the poorest areas and the government control the mineral rights.				
Bantustans comprise the areas white South Africans do not want because they are barren and infertile; however, should they contain wealth such as minerals these will be taken by the South African government.				

From Steve Biko, ‘Let’s Talk about the Bantustans’, undated essay in I Write What I Like, a collection of essays first published in 1978. Biko was a Black Consciousness activist and leading anti-apartheid campaigner.

Geographically, i.e. in terms of land distribution, Bantustans present a gigantic fraud that can find no moral support from any quarters. We find that 20% of the population are in control of 87% of the land while 80% control only 13%. To make this situation even more ridiculous, not one of these so-called ‘Bantustan nations’ has an intact piece of land. All of them are scattered little bits of the most unyielding soil. In each are the more productive bits are white-controlled islands on which the white farms or other types of industry are situated.

Economically the blacks have been given a raw deal. Generally speaking the areas where Bantustans are located are the least developed in the country, often very unsuitable for either agricultural or pastoral work. Not one of the Bantustans have access to the sea and in all the mineral rights are strictly reserved for the South African government...

Added to these observations is the fact that the operative budgets allowed the Bantustans for development projects are kept so low.