



education

Department:
Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**NATIONAL
SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

GRADE 12

HISTORY P2

NOVEMBER 2009

ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 11 pages.



QUESTION 1: WAS IT THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION THAT INFLUENCED THE ENDING OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA?**SOURCE 1A**

The following source comprises two perspectives:

Perspective 1: Taken from *The State of Africa* by M Meredith

But of all the international influences, none was greater than the Gorbachev reforms that began unravelling the communist empire, for they eased Pretoria's phobia [fear] that the Black struggle against apartheid was a conspiracy directed from Moscow. It took the monkey off De Klerk's back and enabled him to justify to his people what would otherwise have appeared to them like a suicidal course of action ... Economic sanctions and campaigns to withdraw investment in South Africa added significantly to the pressures on De Klerk to act. These, together with racial unrest, had plunged South Africa into the deepest financial crisis of its history. Business confidence was at an all-time low, and increasingly the cry was raised, 'We can't go on like this!'

Perspective 2: Taken from *South African Review from Red Friday To Codesa*

By the end of 1989 a change in the balance of international, regional and national forces had opened new areas of struggle in South Africa. Internationally, the Cold War had ended while international anti-apartheid solidarity was reaching a crescendo [climax]. Major powers, including the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, intensified pressure on South Africa to resolve the political deadlock through a negotiated settlement. Regionally, the SADF's defeat in Angola in 1988 and Swapo's victory in the Namibian independence elections of November 1989 politically weakened South Africa's hard-line military and securocratic [safety and security] rulers. Internally, both political and economic development rendered the ruling National Party responsive to international pressures for a negotiated settlement.

SOURCE 1B

This is an extract from *Tomorrow Is Another Country, The Story of South Africa's Negotiated Settlement* by Allister Sparks.

Despite signs of a right-wing backlash and deep misgivings among the security establishment, De Klerk took the plunge. In a calm, confident manner in parliament in Cape Town on 2 February 1990, he announced that he was lifting the ban on the ANC and releasing Mandela. 'It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation,' he declared, outlining new aims towards which the government would work. These included a democratic constitution and universal franchise. In effect, De Klerk pronounced the death sentence of apartheid. The boldness of De Klerk's reforms set South Africa on an entirely new course. In the titanic struggle between white and black, the central issue had always been political power. None of the reforms hitherto implemented by the National Party had come close to addressing the issue. Now, at a stroke, De Klerk had conceded one-person one-vote and opened the way for its attainment.



SOURCE 1C

The following source is taken from *The State of Africa* by M Meredith.

And so, on 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela walked through the gates of Victor Verster prison, hand in hand with his wife, Winnie, towards a waiting crowd of supporters and the ranks of the world's media. It was a moment of liberation experienced around the world. Mandela was once asked how different was the man who emerged from prison after twenty-seven years from the one who went in. He replied, with characteristic brevity [a few words], 'I came out mature.' Mandela disliked talking about himself and allowed few glimpses of his personal thoughts or emotions.

This is a photograph showing Mandela accompanied by his wife Winnie on the day of his release.



QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR CAUSE ANGOLA (CENTRAL AFRICA) TO RE-IMAGINE ITSELF IN THE 1990s?**SOURCE 2A**

This extract is taken from *Conflict in Africa: Angola – Ending the Cold War in Southern Africa* by B Munslow.

The first glimpse of peace in Angola's interminable [never-ending] civil war came in 1990 as the Cold War drew to a close. Throughout the 1980s Angola had remained a pawn in the Cold War, a theatre in which the USA and the Soviet Union used proxy [outside representative] forces to compete for ascendancy [power and control]. While the Russians and the Cubans continued to prop up the MPLA's [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Marxist regime in Luanda, the Americans, along with the South Africans, sustained Jonas Savimbi's rebel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement.

In 1990, after the Russians had lost interest in Angola, the MPLA formally abandoned Marxism-Leninism and pronounced itself in favour of economic reform. The MPLA followed with the decision at its congress in December 1990 to adopt a multiparty system and moved, albeit haltingly, towards market-oriented economic policies, after finally obtaining membership of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The reforms it instituted, however, provided yet more business opportunities for the elite, notably the privatisation of state assets.

SOURCE 2B

This extract is taken from *The State of Africa* by M Meredith.

With the Cold War in southern Africa drawing to a close, the prospects for reaching an eventual settlement of the domestic conflict in Angola appeared brighter than ever before. US Secretary of State, James Baker, and Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, took advantage of their presence at the Namibian independence celebrations to try to reach a joint strategy on the Angolan civil conflict. Mr Shevardnadze predicted then that a peace settlement was possible by July 1991, following the completion of the Cuban troop withdrawal. The terms of the peace agreement signed by the Angolan government and UNITA provided for a ceasefire, after which all lethal military aid from the United States of America and the Soviet Union would stop. Britain and France would assist in forming a national army in a process to be completed before the elections in September 1992.

Despite rising tensions, Angola experienced its first dance of freedom. New shops and bars opened; cooperantes [foreign volunteers] arrived in droves; ambitious plans for reconstruction were drawn up; foreign businessmen came in search of contracts; residents painted their houses. 'Angola in 1992 was like a Rip Van Winkle [hero of a story who slept for 20 years and suddenly got up to find a new world] yawning and stretching awake after the moribund [gloomy] days of socialist deprivation,' wrote Judith Matloff, an American journalist.



SOURCE 2C

The following source shows the results of the 1992 elections in Angola. Taken from the website <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ao>.

29 – 30 September 1992 National Assembly Election

| PARTY | NUMBER OF VOTES | % OF VOTES | NUMBER OF SEATS (220) |
|---|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) | 2 124 126 | 53,74% | 129 |
| National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) | 1 347 636 | 34,10% | 70 |
| National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) | 94 742 | 2,40% | 05 |
| Liberal Democratic Party (PLD) | 94 267 | 2,39% | 03 |
| Social Renewal Party (PRS) | 89 875 | 2,27% | 06 |
| Democratic Renewal Party (PRD) | 35 293 | 0,89% | 01 |
| Democratic Alliance of Angola (AD) | 34 166 | 0,86% | 01 |
| Social Democratic Party (PSD) | 33 088 | 0,84% | 01 |
| Party of the Alliance of Youth, Workers and Peasants (PAJOCA) | 13 924 | 0,35% | 01 |
| Angolan Democratic Forum (FDA) | 12 038 | 0,30% | 01 |
| Democratic Party for Progress-Angolan National Alliance (PDP-ANA) | 10 620 | 0,27% | 01 |
| Angolan National Democratic Party (PNDA) | 10 281 | 0,26% | 01 |
| Others | 52 209 | 1,32% | - |



QUESTION 3: WHY WAS THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA FRAUGHT (FILLED) WITH UNCERTAINTY, FEAR AND ANXIETY?**SOURCE 3A**

The following extract is taken from a South African History school textbook, *Making History*.

Mandela was allowed to hold a meeting with his ANC [African National Congress], UDF [United Democratic Front] and MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] comrades in preparation for the meeting with De Klerk. This included Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Mineworkers' Union, as well as his comrades from Robben Island, such as Tokyo Sexwale and Patrick 'Terror' Lekota. Together they drafted a letter to FW de Klerk in which they proposed negotiations and rejected preconditions for talks, requested the dismantling of apartheid and the paving of the roads to reconciliation ...

On 13 December 1989, De Klerk invited Mandela to Tuinhuys, to the same room where he had tea with PW Botha. Mandela congratulated De Klerk on his appointment as State President and expressed his hope that they would work well together in shaping a new South Africa.

SOURCE 3B

This source is an extract of a televised speech by Nelson Mandela on 10 April 1993 after the death of Chris Hani.

Today, an unforgivable crime has been committed. The calculated, cold-blooded murder of Chris Hani is not just a crime against a dearly beloved son of our soil. It is a crime against all the people of our country. A man of passion, of unsurpassed courage, has been cut down in the prime of his life. During that time he served the cause of liberation with distinction, earning the respect and love of millions in the country. His death demands that we pursue that cause with even greater determination. We appeal to every religious service over the Easter Holidays to commemorate Chris Hani's life and what he stood for. This killing must stop.

Tonight I am reaching out to every South African, black and white, from the very depths of my being. A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters on the brink of disaster. A white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice, this assassin ... Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for – the freedom of all of us.

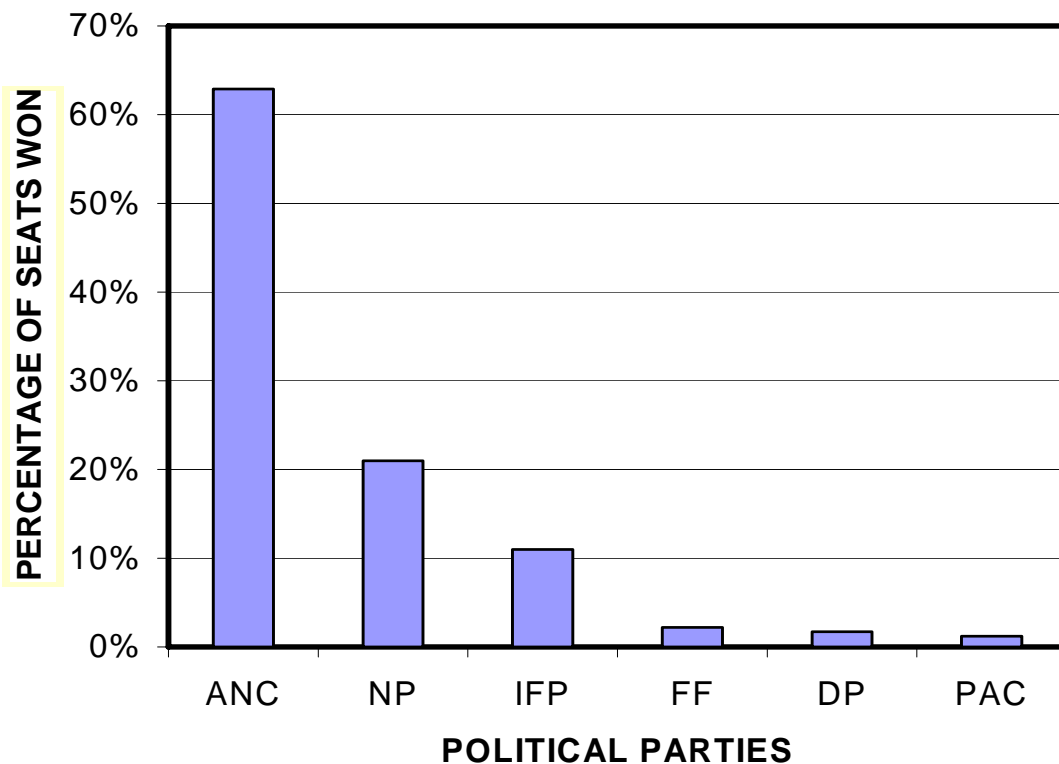


SOURCE 3C

The source below is an extract and a graph showing the percentage of seats won in the general elections of 1994. Details provided by the Independent Electoral Commission.

On 6 May the Independent Electoral Commission declared the election 'free and fair'. The ANC obtained just short of the two-thirds majority that would have enabled it to write the final constitution on its own. The NP won 20,4% of the votes, enough to give it a Deputy President, and control of the Western Cape, one of the nine new provinces. The IFP won 10,5% of the vote and control of KwaZulu-Natal; the Freedom Front of General Viljoen won 2,2% of the vote, the Democratic Party 1,7%, and the Pan-Africanist Congress 1,2%. The ANC won control of the other provinces, and the former nominally independent Bantustans were reincorporated into a united South Africa of the nine new provinces.

RESULTS OF THE 1994 ELECTIONS



QUESTION 4: WAS THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) REOPENING THE HEALING WOUNDS OF A PAINFUL SOUTH AFRICA?**SOURCE 4A**

The following extract is taken from *No Future Without Forgiveness* by Desmond Tutu.

In the early hours of 31 August 1988, a massive bomb rocked Khotso House in Johannesburg, the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches, and reduced it to a rubble.

... No less a person than Mr Adriaan Vlok, then Minister of Law and Order, announced that the ANC – which was still a banned organisation whose members were routinely described as "terrorists" whose activities were "Communist-inspired" – was responsible for the Khotso House bomb. He had the audacity [courage] even to name the person the police claimed had been the mastermind behind this latest outrage. He accused a Ms Shirley Gunn, who was detained without trial for about six months with her infant son.

The world and South Africa would perhaps never have been the wiser about what actually happened to Khotso House had it not been for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The police could hardly be expected to blow the whistle on themselves, so the world would have gone on believing that the ANC had been the culprits ...

... Then the truth came out, disclosed by the culprits themselves in applications for amnesty. The former cabinet minister, Mr Vlok, who had announced so categorically to the media that the bombing was the handiwork of the ANC, revealed the truth in his amnesty application. This act of terrorism, as he had accurately portrayed it when making his announcement, was in fact the work of his own department. His own police officers, meant to uphold law and order and to apprehend terrorists, had themselves carried out a very serious act of urban terrorism. It demonstrated so clearly the moral bankruptcy of the foul system that it had to use such evil methods to sustain itself. A minister could lie blatantly and publicly. Mr Vlok revealed that Khotso House was bombed on the instructions of the then State President, Mr PW Botha.

... To his credit, after applying for amnesty, Mr Vlok apologised handsomely to Ms Gunn for having maligned [defamed] her so disgracefully. Nothing could compensate for the loss of personal freedom and gross injustice that she had suffered.



SOURCE 4B

The following source comprises two parts that deal with PW Botha's stance with regard to the TRC.

PART I: TAKEN FROM *LAYING THE GHOSTS TO REST* BY MAMPHELA RAMPHELE

Another controversial case was that of former President PW Botha. He refused to co-operate with the TRC, rejecting it as a tool to discredit Afrikaner history and his ancestors' contributions to South Africa. Tutu courted [persuaded] him in many ways. He was allowed months to respond to questions from the TRC. Tutu visited Botha at his residence in the Wilderness, Southern Cape, in an attempt to convince him to own up to the consequences of policies pursued on his watch. Botha was unrepentant to the end. The Afrikaners had done nothing wrong, he said. They had done what they had to do to fulfil their God-given responsibility to protect Christian national values against terrorists and communists. Tutu treated Botha with great respect and generosity even though he disagreed with his stance.

The court arraigned [reprimanded] Botha for refusing to obey a subpoena to appear at the TRC hearings. Even in court Tutu did not give up on Botha and the opportunity for healing the nation. He suggested a way out for Botha to acknowledge that the policies of his government had led to wrongdoing by various government officials, for which he was sorry. But Botha was stubborn to the end.

Some members of the commission thought that Tutu had bent over backwards for an unrepentant perpetrator. This was not just anyone, but one who had played a leadership role. Should he not have been made to take responsibility for acts of human rights violation under the system of government over which he had presided for so long? Others pointed to the risks attached to humiliating President Botha at that time. The threat of a right-wing revolt was significant, given the fragility of the new democracy.

PART II: TAKEN FROM *NO FUTURE WITHOUT FORGIVENESS* BY DESMOND TUTU

Desmond Tutu was called to give evidence against PW Botha. He made the following appeal:

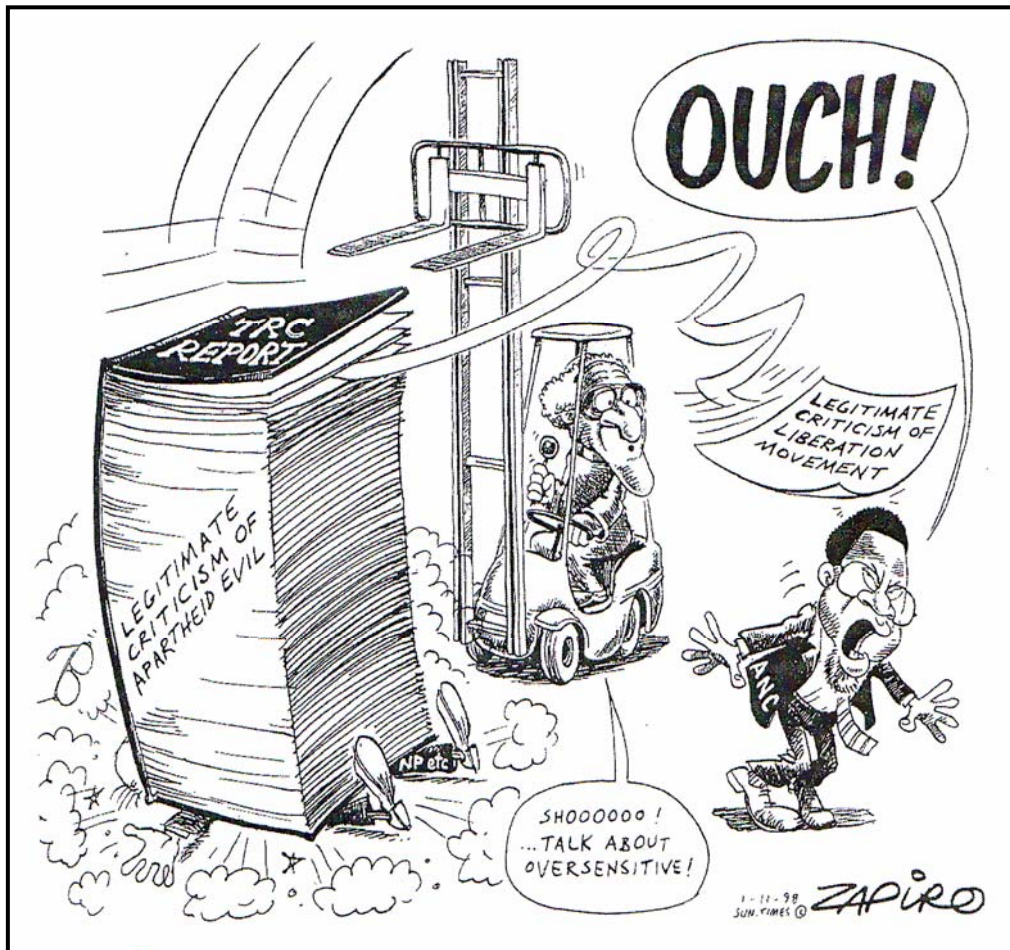
... I am just saying that the government that he headed caused many of our people deep, deep anguish and pain and suffering. Our people want to be part of this country and to be part of reconciliation. If Mr Botha was able to say, 'I am sorry that the policies of my government caused you pain.' Just that. Can he bring himself to say, 'I am sorry that the policies of my government caused you so much pain'? That would be a tremendous thing and I appeal to him.

Mr Botha only showed anger at my appeal.



SOURCE 4C

The following cartoon by Zapiro, dated 1 November 1998, appeared in the *Sunday Times*. Tutu is shown on a forklift with the ANC walking away and the NP buried under the TRC report.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Visual sources and other historical evidence were taken from the following:

- Bradley, C. 1996. *Causes and Consequences of the End of Apartheid* (Raintree Steck – Vaughn)
- Bottaro, J et al. 2007. *In Search of History – Grade 12* (Oxford University Press)
- Claire, H et al. 2007. *Making History – Grade 12* (Heinemann Publishers)
- Clark, JF. 2002. *The African States of the Congo War* (Palgrave)
- Christie, K. 2000. *The South African Truth Commission* (Palgrave Publishers)
- Culpin, C. 2000. *South Africa Since 1948* (John Murray Publishers)
- Dlamini, N et al. 2007. *Shuters History Grade 12* (Shuter & Shooters Publishers)
- Dugmore, C et al. 2007. *Viva History – Grade 12* (Vivlia Publishers & Booksellers)
- Friedman, M et al. 2007. *Focus on History Looking Into The Past Grade 12* (Maskew Miller Longman)
- Gevisser, M. 2007. *The Dream Deferred: Thabo Mbeki* (Jonathan Ball Publishers)
- Govender, SP et al. 2007. *New Generation History Grade 12* (New Generation Publishing Enterprises)
- Graves, F et al. 2007. *Moments in History* (Juta Gariep)
- <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ao>
- Mandela, N. 1994. *Long Walk to Freedom* (Abacus)
- Meiring, P. 1999. *Chronicle of the Truth Commission: A Journey Through The Past and Present – Into the Future of South Africa* (Carpe Diem Books)
- Meredith, M. 2005. *The State of Africa. A History of Fifty Years of Independence.*
- Mkondo, R. 1993. *Reporting South Africa* (Heinemann Publishers)
- Mohamed, S et al. 2004. *Capital Flight from South Africa 1980 – 2000*
- <http://www.tips.org.za/events/forum2004/Papers>
- Morris, M. 2004. *Every Step of the Way: The Journey to Freedom in South Africa* (Cambridge University Press)
- Munslow, B. 1995. *Conflict in Africa: Angola – Ending the Cold War in Southern Africa* (Taurus Publishers)
- Nugent, P. 2004. *Africa Since Independence: A Comparative History* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke)
- Roberts, M. 2001. *South Africa 1948 – 1994* (Longman)
- Saul, S. 1986. *South Africa – The Crisis Deepens* (Juta)
- Sparks, A. 1994. *Tomorrow is Another Country* (Struik Publishers)
- Sowetan (1 December 1998); *Sunday Times: How Hani Died* (11 April 1993)
- Tutu, Desmond. 1998. *No Future Without Forgiveness* (Cambridge University Press)
- Woods, D. 2001. *Nelson Mandela. The Illustrated Long Walk to Freedom* (Little Brown)

