



# education

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Department:  
Education  
**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

## **NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

### **GRADE 12**

### **HISTORY P2**

### **FEBRUARY/MARCH 2010**

### **ADDENDUM**

**This addendum consists of 12 pages.**



**QUESTION 1: DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION INFLUENCE THE ENDING OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA?****SOURCE 1A**

The following extract is from a school text book *Viva History* by C Dugmore et al.

The fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 was a historical event that echoed around the world. The collapse of communism opened up new possibilities. It meant that the apartheid government could no longer justify the policy of apartheid as necessary to stop the spread of communism. It removed one of the major reasons for the West's [USA and Britain] support for the Nationalist (De Klerk) government ...

The Hammer and Sickle, the symbol of the Soviet Union

**SOURCE 1B**

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

... The collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist governments in Eastern Europe in 1989 deprived the ANC of one of its main sources of financial, logistical and military support. The fear that the ANC could be used as a Trojan horse [device used to bring about an enemy's downfall] for advancing Soviet interests fell away.

De Klerk was quick to grasp the importance of these strategic openings ... Weighing up the balance of risks, De Klerk believed there was a good chance that, if set free, the ANC, poorly organised and ill prepared for peace, would fall into disarray [disorder], leaving the government to forge ahead with a new alliance of conservative black organisations ...

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.

**SOURCE 1C**

The following source comprises two parts regarding the release of political prisoners in 1989.

**WRITTEN SOURCE:** The following is part of a letter that Nelson Mandela wrote to FW de Klerk on the release of political prisoners. Taken from *Long Walk to Freedom*.

Mr President

I hope that Ministers Kobie Coetsee (Justice) and Gerrit Viljoen (Constitutional Affairs) have informed you that I deeply appreciate your decision in terms of which seven fellow prisoners were freed on 15 October 1989, and for advising me of the fact in advance. The release was clearly a major development which rightly evoked praise here and abroad ... In your inaugural address on 20 September 1989, you made an important statement which must have had a formidable impact inside and outside the country. You said, 'There is but one way to peace, to justice for all, that is the way of reconciliation, of together seeking mutually acceptable solutions, of together discussing what the new South Africa should look like, of constitutional negotiation with a view to a permanent understanding.'

**VISUAL SOURCE:** This photograph shows political activists at the 'Welcome Home' rally that was held in Soweto for the freed leaders of the ANC in 1989.



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

Angola was a pawn in the Cold War struggle: Russia and Cuba supported the MPLA Marxist regime in Luanda and America supported Jonas Savimbi's rebel UNITA movement. The end of the Cold War changed the situation.

The following is an adapted excerpt from *Africa – Altered States, Ordinary Miracles* by Richard Dowden.

In Angola, as soon as the Cold War ended, the Americans began to organise a peace agreement as if the Angolan civil war had simply been an extension of the Cold War. The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] dropped the façade of Marxist-Leninism, and called an election. It was held in December 1992 and America backed UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] to win. The MPLA was declared the winner; Savimbi rejected the result and war restarted.

The Americans, realising Savimbi could not win, switched sides and began to help the MPLA win the war.

In the mid 1990s, anxious to secure Angolan oil, the US abandoned its previously stated mantra [view] that the war in Angola was not winnable by either side. Having changed sides, the Americans helped the government launch an offensive in 1999 to drive UNITA from its heartland in Central Angola. Abandoned by the Americans, it lost support outside Angola. In 1996 its main ally in Africa, President Mobutu Sese Seko of the Congo (Zaire), was overthrown. The Angolan army blocked supplies crossing the border. The Angolans bombed a power station in northern Zambia to warn the Zambian government of its support for UNITA.

**SOURCE 2B**

The following extract is taken from *Africa* by T Falola.

The Bicesse Agreement was signed in Lisbon [Portuguese capital] in late May 1991. The accord called for a multiparty system and the separation of parties from national government and the military. It also called for the MPLA and UNITA to integrate into a single army.

Meanwhile, over a half-dozen political parties sprang up, but they remained too small and too splintered to offer any counterbalance to the MPLA and UNITA. In the context of the peace agreement, and after almost two decades of civil war, some element of change suffused [filled] the air. Roads into the interior were opened for travel, a free press blossomed, and elections were set for September 1992. The UN election observers pronounced the 1992 elections relatively honest and fair. Even airplanes and helicopters had been used to carry people from inaccessible places to the polls. The MPLA obtained a majority, slightly over 49% of the votes.



**SOURCE 2C**

This source comprises two parts: a written source and a visual source.

**WRITTEN SOURCE:** Taken from *Responding To Landmines: A Modern Tragedy and its Consequences*, Diana, Princess Of Wales. London, 12 June 1997. Taken from the website <http://gos.sbc.edu/d/diana>.

... I was in Angola in January with the British Red Cross – a country where there are 15 million landmines in a population of 10 million – with the desire of drawing world attention to this vital, but hitherto largely neglected issue. Some people chose to interpret my visit as a political statement. It was not ... My interests are humanitarian. That is why I felt drawn to this human tragedy.

One of my objectives in visiting Angola was to forward the cause of those, like the Red Cross, striving in the name of humanity to secure an international ban on these weapons ...

The country is enriched by the work done by its overseas agencies and non-governmental organisations who work to help people to improve the quality of their lives. Yet mines cause a constant shadow over so much of this work. I would like to see more done for those living in this 'no man's land' which lies between the wrongs of yesterday and the urgent need of today.

**VISUAL SOURCE:** Princess of Wales, Diana, with landmine victims in Angola.



**QUESTION 3: WHY WAS THE 1994 GENERAL ELECTION A SPECIAL HISTORICAL EVENT IN SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL HISTORY?****SOURCE 3A**

The following source comprises two extracts.

**EXTRACT 1: Taken from *No Future without Forgiveness* by Desmond Tutu.**

27 April 1994 – the day for which we had waited all these long years, the day for which the struggle against apartheid had been waged ... After voting, I went outside and the people cheered and sang and danced. It was like a festival. I decided to drive around to see what was happening.

It was an amazing spectacle. People of all races were standing together in the same queues, perhaps for the very first time in their lives. Professionals, domestic workers, cleaners and their madams ... those long hours helped us South Africans to find one another. People shared newspapers, sandwiches, umbrellas, and the scales began to fall from their eyes. South Africans found fellow South Africans ... They discovered not a coloured, a black, an Indian, a white. No, they found fellow human beings ... all had the same concerns and aspirations. They wanted a decent home, a good job, a safe environment for their families, good schools for their children and almost none wanted to drive the whites into the sea.

The black person entered the voting booth as one person and emerged on the other side a new person ... she entered weighed down by the anguish [pain] and burden of oppression ... she reappeared as someone new, 'I am free.' The white person entered the voting booth burdened by the load of guilt for having enjoyed the fruits of oppression and injustice. He emerged as somebody new. He too cried out, 'The burden has been lifted from my shoulders, I am free ...'

**EXTRACT 2: Taken from *Tomorrow is Another Country* by Allister Sparks.**

... the act of waiting in line together to vote in the country's first democratic election was revealed in a multitude of ways: in the moving sight of an old black woman being propelled to the voting station in a wheelbarrow; in a young black woman who threw her arms spontaneously around a young white woman as she emerged from the polling station and planted a kiss on her cheek; and in the unemployed black in the queue beside me who said simply, 'Now I am a human being.'



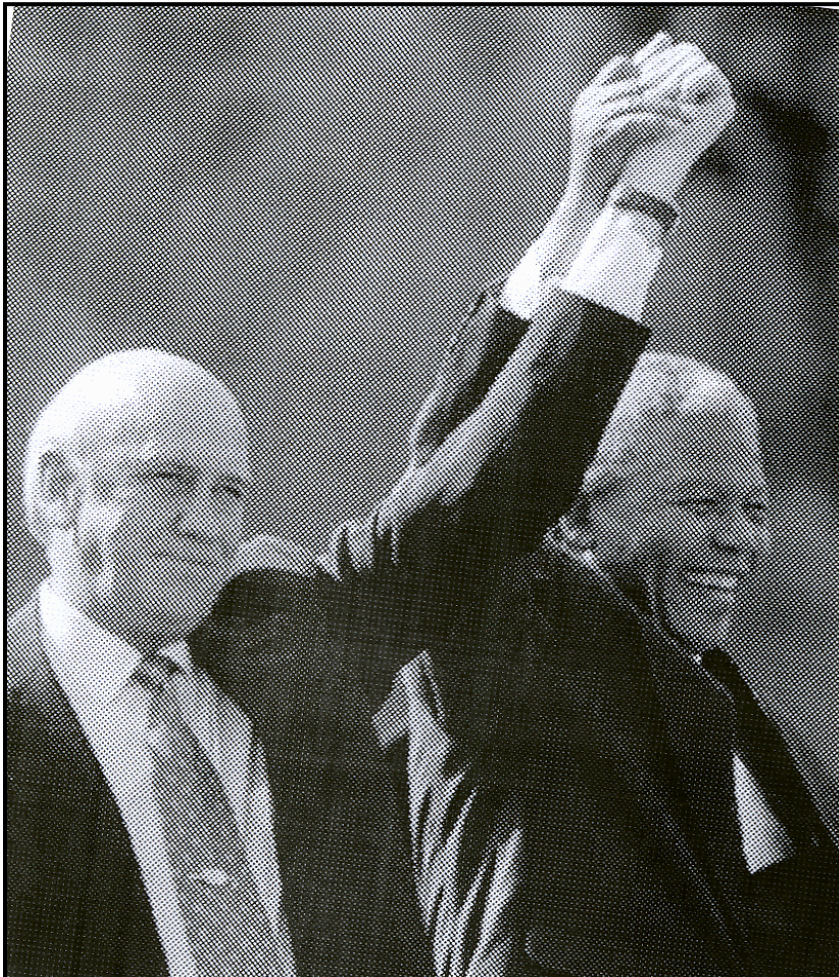
**SOURCE 3B**

The following source comprises two parts: a written source and a visual source.

**WRITTEN SOURCE:** Taken from *The State Of Africa* by Martin Meredith.

The transfer of power was accomplished in an atmosphere of much goodwill. Closing the book on three centuries of white rule, De Klerk chose words of encouragement fitting for such a historic moment. 'Mr Mandela has walked a long road and now stands at the top of a hill. A man of destiny knows that beyond this hill lies another and another. The journey is never complete. As he contemplates the next hill, I hold out my hand to Mr Mandela in friendship and cooperation.'

**VISUAL SOURCE:** President Mandela and De Klerk after the inauguration ceremony in 1994. Taken from the website [http://www.blackpast.org/files/blackpast\\_images](http://www.blackpast.org/files/blackpast_images).

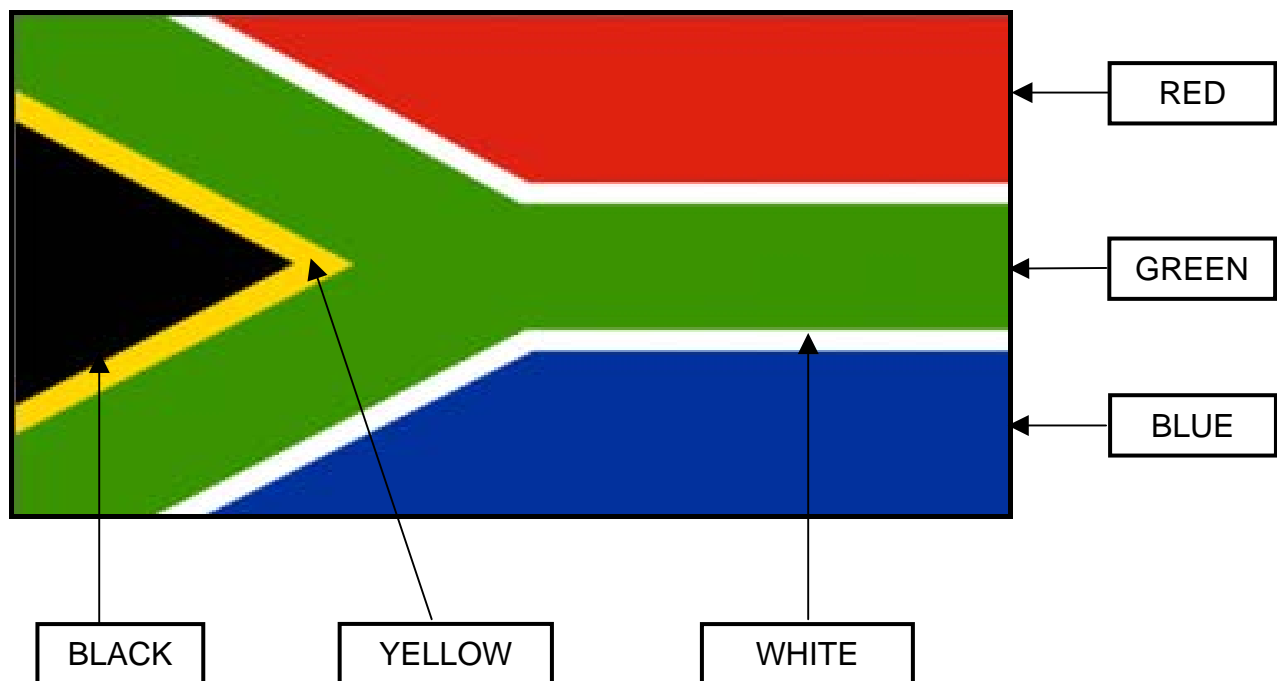


**SOURCE 3C**

This is an excerpt from Nelson Mandela's inaugural address on 10 May 1994.

... Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud ...

The time for healing of the wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms [rift] that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us ... We enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity – a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world ... (SYMBOLISED BY A NEW FLAG FOR A NEW DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA)





**QUESTION 4: DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCEED IN UNCOVERING THE TRUTH OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PAINFUL PAST?****SOURCE 4A**

The following extract is taken from *Truth Justice Memory* and comprises two viewpoints.

**VIEWPOINT 1: Experiences of MK recruits and experiences told at the TRC hearing.**

Phila Portia Ndwandwe left South Africa illegally to join Umkhonto weSizwe after she left school and did her basic military training in Angola in 1985. The name given to her by MK was Zandi or Zandile. Her commanders at the time remember her as exemplary, highly intelligent, committed and hard-working.

After her training she was sent to Swaziland, from where MK's operations in KwaZulu-Natal were run. Her dedication impressed her seniors so much that she was promoted to MK commander for the Natal operations. Richard Jones, a member of Phila's unit, remembers her as a 'strong person, with a powerful personality, and she had a strong and powerful body too'. Her unit was very successful and Phila was growing in stature in MK. Phila and her MK comrade Bheki Mabuza started living together in Manning and had a baby in June 1988. They called him Thabang.

One day, in October 1988, Phila had a meeting with some of her comrades. Afterwards, she got into a car and was never seen again. Her disappearance caused consternation [concern] among the MK high command. She was a key person in the Swaziland/KwaZulu-Natal operation and knew about all MK's structures and plans. They knew something was very wrong ...

**VIEWPOINT 2: Testimony given by the police in an application for amnesty at the TRC hearing.**

The police were worried about the effectiveness of Phila's unit, and decided to neutralise her. They decided to abduct her from Swaziland and then to persuade her to switch sides and work against MK. In October 1988, the men went into Swaziland using false passports, accompanied by two Askaris, former MK operatives who had switched sides. The Askaris set up a meeting with Phila in Manzini. Her colleague Richard Jones drove her to the meeting. She told him she would see him later, and then got into the bakkie with the Askaris. According to the policemen, Phila's hands were then tied and driven to the border, where she was forced to creep through the border fence with them. Back in South Africa, Phila's interrogation started. Major Hendrik Botha testified that he had asked her to cooperate with them as a police informer, but she refused and never showed any sign that she would consider it. Botha and Wasserman denied all suggestions by the TRC that they had tortured Phila, although she was forced to undress. They admitted that they never had any intention of prosecuting her. (Continued on page 10)



Phila was also interrogated by security policemen of the then Eastern Transvaal branch, and then by Colonel Johannes Steyn. Phila told him she would never cooperate with him, no matter what they did to her, and would continue with her MK activities should she be released. The policemen concluded that Phila was 'too tough a nut to crack', that she was very brave and would never betray her comrades. Steyn then ordered Phila to be killed.

**SOURCE 4B**

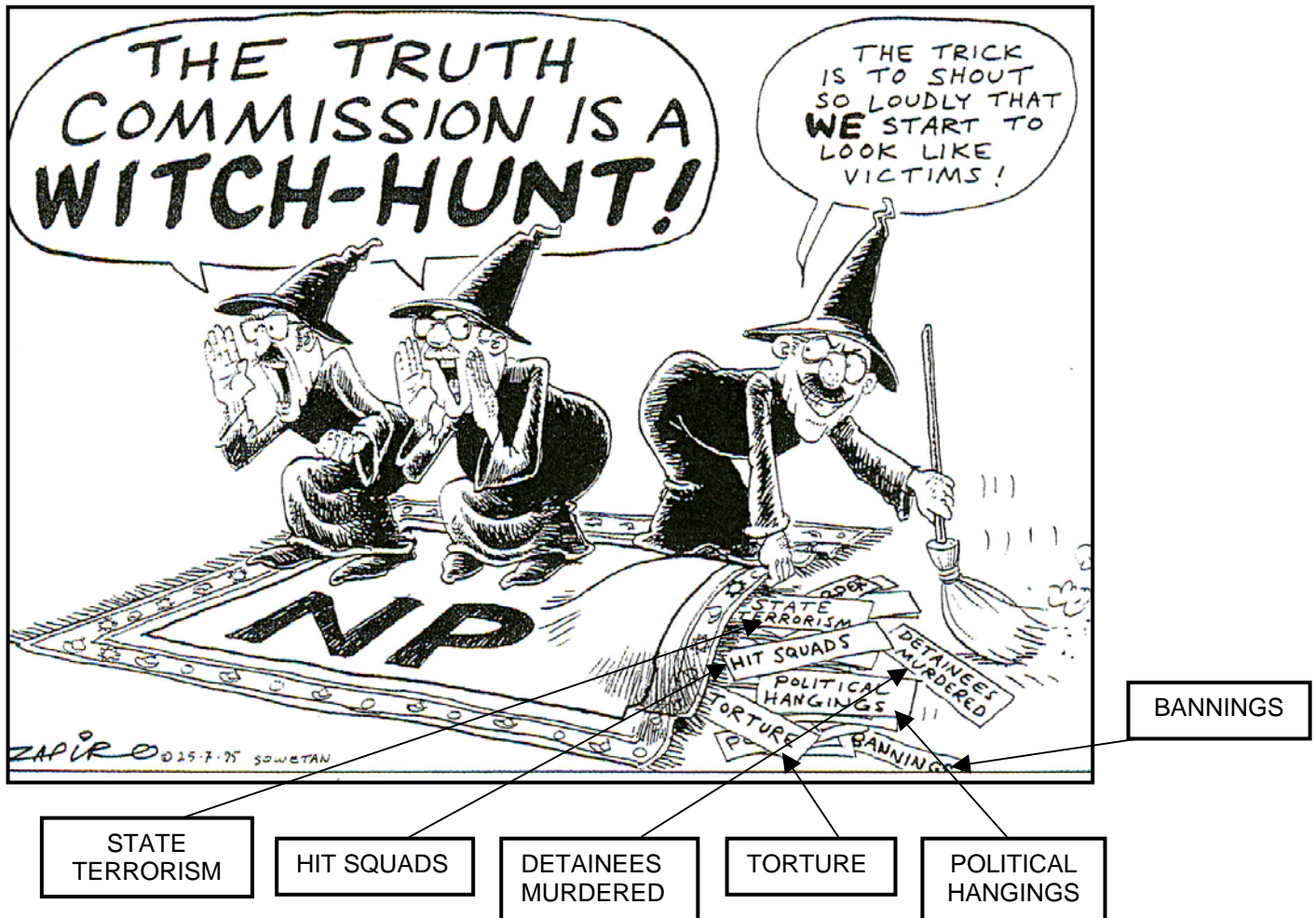
The following is an extract from the submission to the TRC delivered by the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

My own deep conviction is that violence is evil and must not be used for political purposes. And despite the IFP's constant vigil to keep violence out of the IFP's politics, I know that members and supporters have been drawn into violence. I say I'm sorry to SA for this, for although I've not orchestrated one single act of violence against one single victim of this violence that has cost us many lives, as the leader of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] I know that the buck stops right in front of me. From my side I wish to say I'm sorry for any hurt that I've caused the ANC leadership. I sincerely hope that the apology to Mr Mandela and others that I carry in my heart will be as simply and publicly made by him and others as I have now myself again done. I know, because we are human beings and therefore sinners, that we shall still hurt each other still tomorrow. I nevertheless apologise for the past hurts and I do so on behalf of my followers.



**SOURCE 4C**

The following cartoon by Zapiro appeared in the *Sowetan* of 25 July 1999.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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