



Province of the  
**EASTERN CAPE**  
EDUCATION

**NATIONAL  
SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

**GRADE 12**

**SEPTEMBER 2013**

**HISTORY P2  
ADDENDUM**

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This addendum consists of 10 pages.

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**QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION CONTRIBUTE TO THE ENDING OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

**SOURCE 1A**

The source below consists of a visual and a written source about the policy of Perestroika that brought changes in the Soviet Union.

**VISUAL SOURCE:** The poster deals with the policy of perestroika

**A poster for perestroika**



[Taken from: *Russia Building Democracy* by J. Bradley.]

**WRITTEN SOURCE:** The source deals with the implications of the changes implemented by Gorbachev.

Gorbachev's reform affected not just the economy but politics as well. These reforms were opposed by a large section of the Soviet Communist Party which feared that these policies would in the end lead to the abandonment of communism. In order to reduce their influence Gorbachev pressed for "democratisation." By democratisation Gorbachev meant elections that will replace the old communist with his own supporters. Gorbachev struggled on for six years, he was popular abroad because he wanted change, but unpopular at home because these changes never happened. The old Soviet Union fell apart in 1991.

[Taken from: *Causes and Consequences of the Collapse of Communism* by M. Rady]

**SOURCE 1B**

This extract deals with the political situation in South Africa in the 1980's that paved the way for reforms.

By 1988 the idea of negotiations was widely promoted, with the OAU, the Commonwealth and countries such as Cuba, the USA and Soviet Union involved. Both pre-empting (lead to) and encouraging this move, the ANC came up with the Harare Declaration in August 1989, conditionally supporting talks with the National Party government. However it set five conditions, i.e. lifting the State of Emergency and with its restriction on political activity, legalising all political organisations, releasing all political prisoners and putting an end to political executions, then all armed violence will be suspended.

A set of unexpected circumstances helped this to happen sooner other than later. With the Apartheid regime internationally isolated, the economy in crisis and thousands marching in the streets, PW Botha fell ill and resigned as president, and then in late 1989 the Berlin Wall came crashing down that ended the Cold War. Changes were inevitable. The new president of South Africa, FW De Klerk, made a bold decision. South Africa was in a dead-end street. After nearly four years of negotiations, an event nearly unthinkable even a decade before had occurred, Nelson Mandela, son of a Xhosa chief, became president of South Africa.

[Taken from: *The Liberation struggle in South Africa* by A.D. Odendaal]

**SOURCE 1C**

This source explains the significance of 2 February 1990 and the reactions to the announcement.

In December 1989, De Klerk met Nelson Mandela at the presidential residence in Tuynhuys and this paved the way for significant changes. On 2 February 1990, De Klerk made the most ground breaking and unexpected changes in the history of white minority rule in South Africa, in his opening address to parliament. He announced the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP, the release of political prisoners, lifting of emergency regulations placed on educational bodies, censorship of the media will be lifted limiting the detention period and the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela as soon as possible. By making these announcements, De Klerk opened the door to formal negotiations. He knew that the outcome of this must be a new constitution, providing for universal suffrage.

However De Klerk's announcements aroused mixed reactions. Archbishop Tutu noted that "De Klerk has taken my breath away." Foreign leaders such as the US President George Bush, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the UN Secretary General all welcomed De Klerk's historic decision. It was only right-wing leaders such as Andries Treurnicht who were not pleased with De Klerk's announcement.

[From: *Africa since 1990* by Y.N. Seleti]

**QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION CAUSE ANGOLA TO RE-IMAGINE ITSELF IN THE 1990s?**

**SOURCE 2A**

This extract focuses on how Angola was used in the Cold War conflict.

In Angola there were several rival armies fighting for power on the withdrawal of the Portuguese. The strongest was the Russian-backed MPLA, but they were opposed from the south by UNITA which had the backing of South Africa and indirectly the United States. At the end of 1975 the South Africans invaded Angola, hoping to drive out the Socialist MPLA and install a UNITA government which would be an ally rather than an enemy of South Africa. The MPLA called for the support of a large, well-armed Cuban army which forced a South African withdrawal, but the foundation had been laid for a bitter civil war which was to devastate Angola for the next 20 years.

[From: *Causes and Consequences of Independence in Africa* by K. Shillington]

**SOURCE 2B**

This extract deals with the political changes in Angola after the ending of the Cold War.

When the Cold War ended, the USA and Russians lost interest and left Angolans with the mess their intervention had caused. After the peace agreement in 1993, the MPLA discarded its Marxism-Leninism in favour of co-operation with the neo-liberal west and it made gestures toward allowing multiparty elections, because since its independence a single party system operated in Angola and restrictions on parties other than the ruling MPLA were only lifted in 1991. In the 1992 parliamentary election the MPLA secured 54% of the votes and took 129 seats, while UNITA took 30% of the votes and held 70 seats. The remaining 21 seats in the Assembly are shared between 10 other parties.

The president remains the most powerful figure in government and he can appoint or dismiss a prime minister as he pleases. In the latest cabinet reshuffle no prime minister was appointed as President Dos Santos was preferring to retain those powers for himself. Provincial and local structures were embryonic (anything in its earliest stages of development) even before independence, and have largely dislocated by decades of war. Most of the country is under no effective administrative control, and since the beginning of the fighting there has been little permanent or effective administration beyond the outskirts of the major urban centres.

[From: *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* by F. Cooper]

**SOURCE 2C**

This source below consists of a visual and a written source on the conditions in Angola after the end of the Cold War.

**VISUAL SOURCE:** This photo shows how ordinary citizens were used in conflicts in Angola.



**The faces of war, a very young soldier for the MPLA, beneath a poster of the party's leader, Agostinho Neto, in the city of Huambo, Angola**

**WRITTEN SOURCE:** This extract focuses on the socio-economic conditions in Angola after the ending of the Cold War.

After independence the government introduced a Marxist type, centrally planned economy, nationalising property and extending state control across most sectors. Attempts at economic reform in the face of serious imbalances were made in the 1990's. Faced with deteriorating economic and social conditions, the government adopted a number of bold measures during 1999, giving in to the long-standing demands that resulted in a substantial shift in their economic policy.

For the better part of forty years Angola had been the site of a bloody conflict that cost the lives of between 500 000 and a million people, led to the internal displacement of over four million people, and the exile of a further 400 000 refugees. The infrastructure of the country was shattered, the economy crippled and the land rendered unsafe and unstable by millions of landmines scattered across the country.

[From: *Angola: Struggle for Peace and Reconstruction* by I. Tvedten]



**QUESTION 3: WHAT CHALLENGES DID SOUTH AFRICA FACE DURING THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS?****SOURCE 3A**

This source deals with the reason for conflict between the ANC and IFP that interrupted the negotiation process.

Negotiations between Mandela and De Klerk went forward slowly and fitfully (positively) in more meetings over the following months. Negotiations took place against a background of growing violence in South Africa. Fighting among black factions had become a way of life in some of the urban townships and certain rural areas. Much of the conflict grew out of rivalry between the ANC followers and members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Inkatha supporters resented the fact that the ANC was seen by the world as the voice of all black South Africans. On the other hand members of the ANC resented the fact that Inkatha grew in strength and took support away from the ANC. Since the early 1980s fighting between armed and angry followers of the two parties had killed far more blacks than confrontations with the white government had done. In the Natal Province more than 3 000 deaths were caused because of the animosity between these two groups. A month after his release from prison, Mandela made an emotional plea to both groups, urging them to throw their guns and knives into the sea and to work together to fight apartheid, not each other. But the violence continued.

[From: The autobiography of Nelson Mandela: *Long Walk to Freedom*]

**SOURCE 3B**

This photo focuses on a violent incident between the ANC and IFP.



[From: *Pictorial History of South Africa* by A. Preston]

**SOURCE 3C**

The following source comprises of two extracts and deals with different views on violence.

**VIEWPOINT 1: Deals with attempts by the ANC and IFP to end the violence and who were to be blamed for the violence.**

Mandela and Buthelezi met in January 1991. Both leaders expressed a desire for peace, but the killing did not stop, and there were bitter recriminations (blaming) on all sides of about the role of the police in the clashes between Inkatha and the ANC supporters. There were even allegations by the media that a government sponsored “third force” was behind the violence that was a severe blow to the peace process. In 1991 the government was forced to admit its support for Inkatha and the reputation and integrity of De Klerk suffered a huge blow. There was clear proof that the government was pursuing a “double agenda.”

**VIEWPOINT 2: Deals with De Klerk’s reaction to the allegations of acts of violence.**

De Klerk removed General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok from the portfolio’s of Defence and Police respectively. De Klerk’s reaction on allegations of violence and the rumours of police complicity at Biopatong added fuel to the ANC’s campaign of “rolling mass action” over several weeks. In November 1992 the Goldstone Commission found evidence that efforts were made by the Military Intelligence to undermine *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. After further investigations none of the allegations could be proved, but De Klerk dismissed 22 military officers.

[From: *New History of South Africa* by H. Giliomee et al]

**SOURCE 3D**

This source deals with an attempt by both the NP and the ANC to end violence and work towards a new dispensation.

Cyril Ramaphosa and the National Party’s new chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, were given the task of forming a new channel of communication between the parties. Eventually a Record of Understanding was signed as Meyer explained the turnaround of events in an interview. “The Record of Understanding that came about after three months of one-on-one negotiations between the government and the ANC was actually the birth of the new constitution and democracy in South Africa. The ANC moved away from their demand for a quick fix and accepted a two-phase process: first there would be an interim constitution agreed to by all negotiating parties and an election; then the elected assembly would draft the final constitution for the country. We on the government’s side made a compromise by dropping the demand for minority rights.”

[From: *Africa since 1990* by Y.N. Seleti]

**QUESTION 4: DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) REALLY BRING ABOUT PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

**SOURCE 4A**

This source deals with the reason for the establishment of the TRC.

The TRC was set up by the post-apartheid government as a way to deal with the past and to see that people's human rights are not abused again. The Interim Constitution of 1993 spoke of, "A need for understanding, but not for vengeance, a need for reparation, but not for retaliation, a need for Ubuntu but not for victimisation". It also said, "The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society." Therefore, the first democratic parliament approved legislation that set up the TRC.

[From: *Turning Point in History* by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.]

**SOURCE 4B**

This source deals with the positive aspects of the TRC.

The TRC also had to deal with grievances stemming from actions of both black and white during apartheid. To encourage people to come forward, limited amnesty was offered. Amnesty does not imply forgiveness or acquittal, but simply means that for any confessed crimes the perpetrator cannot be tried later in court. Those wishing for amnesty had to testify at an open hearing. The hearings were designed to give surviving victims the opportunity to confront those who have harmed them and to ask why, and to give perpetrators the chance to express remorse if they wished. At these hearings, many victims learned what had happened to loved ones who had disappeared or who had been found dead. Others confronted for the first time the individuals responsible. Some people were told the location of the bodies of their loved ones and were thus able to find the remains for proper burial.

Though the commission had its critics, among them relatives who were denied the chance to seek justice in the courts, it has generally been viewed as a success in encouraging the nation to move on after the horrors of the apartheid era.

[From: *South Africa in the 20<sup>th</sup> century* by P. Joyce]



**SOURCE 4C**

This source comprises of a written and a visual source on the TRC.

**WRITTEN SOURCE: This source deals with De Klerk's view of the TRC.**

According to FW De Klerk the success of the TRC would depend on the impartiality of its members. He was concerned that Archbishop Tutu was suggested as chairperson of the TRC and that not one member of the National Party has been elected to serve on the commission. It seemed unlikely that President Mandela's commission would be able to achieve similar results in South Africa as has been in other countries.

The situation was further aggravated by allegations that FW de Klerk had given the security forces a licence to kill. The investigation by the Goldstone Commission to investigate such allegations could not find any such evidence, that the guilty were apprehended, charged and sentenced. De Klerk has also been accused of gross violation of human rights. In fact during the hearing, Boraine said that he (De Klerk) made a mistake by not applying personally for amnesty. "Despite my growing misgivings, I decided to give the commission my full co-operation."

[From: *The Last Trek: A New Beginning* by FW de Klerk]

**VISUAL SOURCE: This cartoon shows De Klerk giving testimony before the TRC.**

This source was drawn by Zapiro and reflects that the TRC was accusing De Klerk and his followers in participating in violating of human rights.



[From: *Google cartoons on TRC* by Zapiro]

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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