



# basic education

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Department:  
Basic Education  
**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

## **NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

**GRADE 12**

**HISTORY P2  
NOVEMBER 2010  
ADDENDUM**

**This addendum consists of 14 pages.**

**QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION INFLUENCE POLITICAL EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA?****SOURCE 1A**

This excerpt from *The Cold War Factor in South Africa's Transition*, January 1996 by J Daniel, refers to the influence of the Cold War on South Africa.

... The beginning was the 'accession (rise) to power in the Soviet Union of Mikhail Gorbachev and the crucial signal was the Reykjavik summit between Gorbachev and Reagan in October 1986' ... 'the United States agreed to a non-interventionist (non-involvement) role in Eastern Europe, in return for which the Soviet Union ceded Africa to the United States ... specifically southern Africa'.

... Fifteen months after Reykjavik, secret talks between South African government officials and the ANC were initiated. But they still had to move cautiously and largely clandestinely (secretly). Two events changed that scenario.

The first was the SADF's (South African Defence Force) military at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in late 1987. Confronted by the increasingly obvious limitations of a military strategy, President PW Botha authorised Pik Botha to negotiate a way out of the Angolan-Namibian impasse (deadlock). The end result was the New York Accords of December 1988 which triggered the withdrawal of both Cuban and ANC military forces from Angola and South African troops from Namibia and which, in turn, led to its independence in March 1990. The second was the enforced removal from office in September 1989 of an ailing PW Botha and his replacement by FW de Klerk.

It should be clear from the above that by the time of the events around the Berlin Wall the momentum (drive) for change in South Africa was gathering pace. It was now possible for FW De Klerk, under intense pressure from the United States and facing the prospect of intensified (increased) sanctions, to tell his critics that the Cold War was over, that 'we had won and the Soviets lost and that this had in turn, weakened the ANC in that it had lost its main sponsor'.

**SOURCE 1B**

The following source comprises two extracts on the fall of the Berlin Wall and the impact this event had on South Africa.

**Extract 1: Taken from *New History Of South Africa* by H Gillomee and B Mbenge.**

The dismantling (breaking down) of the Berlin Wall, which began on 9 November 1989, dramatically heralded (brought) the end of the Soviet Union's sway (influence) over Eastern Europe, and also contributed to the breaking of the deadlock in South Africa. Communism as a political and economic system was rapidly beginning to disintegrate (break down). These developments presented FW de Klerk with what he termed a 'God-sent opportunity'. The National Party could tell its constituency that without Soviet-backing the ANC, with its ally the SA Communist Party, no longer constituted a major threat to stability and private ownership. He could also argue that communism was so discredited that the ANC would be compelled to accept the free market, property rights and other investment-friendly policies.

For the National Party government the fall of the Berlin Wall was a double-edged sword (a two-sided instrument). Anti-communism had long been the main reason why Western governments accepted and even bolstered (strengthened) white rule in South Africa. But the disappearance of the communist threat and the ANC's retreat from nationalisation had made the South African government's anti-communism old-fashioned, and deprived it of its strongest argument for Western pressure to force the ANC to accept power-sharing ...

Without the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is difficult to conceive (think of) of the ANC coming to power five years later.

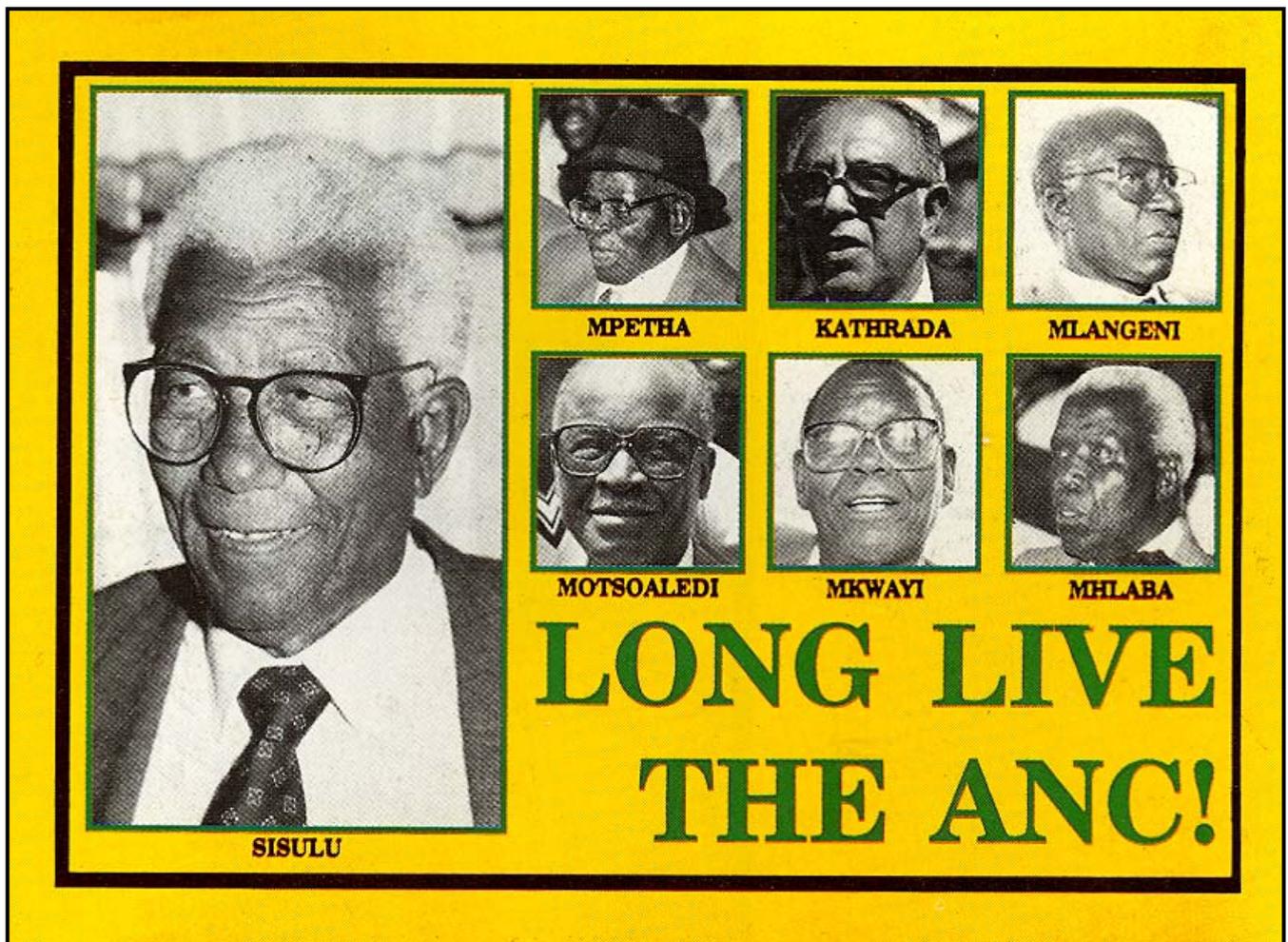
**Extract 2: Taken from *The Man In His Time* by W de Klerk.**

In ANC ranks, FW de Klerk's speech caused a good deal of confusion. The ANC had been caught on the wrong foot. They had expected Mandela's release, but not the unbanning of the organisation itself. In fact, their planned strategy was to use the released Mandela for a massive campaign to demand the unbanning of the ANC.

... from being part of the 'struggle', it had suddenly become part of the 'system' ... From being an organised underground army it had been converted overnight into a public organisation. Where it had basked in (depended on) foreign applause for its fight against apartheid, the ANC was plunged into the democratic political process ...

**SOURCE 1C**

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the need for the ending of apartheid, FW de Klerk began a process of change and reform. One of the important reform measures announced by De Klerk was the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations. Of particular significance was the release of political prisoners, shown in the poster below, from Robben Island on 10 October 1989, namely Walter Sisulu, Oscar Mpetha, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi and Raymond Mhlaba.



**QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR CONTRIBUTE TO BENIN (WEST AFRICA) RE-IMAGINING ITSELF IN THE 1990s?****BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Benin is a West African country which was colonised by the French. After independence it became known as the Republic of Dahomey. The country followed a democratic system with a capitalist economy. In 1972, after a successful coup, Major Mathieu Kerekou installed himself as the leader, who then abandoned Western democracy and the capitalist economy. He established a socialist state which became known as Benin and was a close ally of the USSR.

**SOURCE 2A**

This extract is taken from *Democratization without Development: Benin 1989 – 2009* by T Bierschenk.

On 10 December 1989, around one month after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Marxist-Leninism, which had formed the ideological basis of political and social relations in Benin since 1974, was abolished at a meeting of the politburo of the *Parti de la Revolution Populaire du Benin (PUB)*. Three months later, from 19 to 27 February 1990, a *Conference Nationale des Forces Vives de la Nation* took place which heralded (resulted in) the country's transition (change) to a multi-party Western-style political system. This peaceful transition to democracy had a signal effect for Africa. The Beninese National Conference became the model for similar conferences in seven other African states within a three-year period (Gabon 1990, the Republic of the Congo, Mali, Niger and Togo 1991, Zaire 1992, Chad 1993).

**SOURCE 2B**

This extract is taken from *Powers in the Village: Rural Benin between Democratisation and Decentralisation* by JO de Sardan.

For over twelve years now the Republic of Benin has been in a phase of transition from democratisation to decentralisation. The Marxist-Leninist regime, in power since 1972/74 was replaced in 1989/90 by a democratic multi-party system in the course of a peaceful process referred to locally as 'Democratic Renewal'.

Since then, Benin has often been cited as a model democracy in the African context. Presidential and parliamentary elections have been fair and free. The number of political parties in Benin increased substantially. This was a demonstration that Benin became the first African country in which the civilian population managed to overthrow a military regime and remove a sitting president by means of elections.

Furthermore, the country enjoys free and lively media. The Constitutional Court has admirably fulfilled its role as guardian of the constitution and the country has no political prisoners. Benin has also been spared major outbursts of ethnic and social violence since 1991 ... This must be acknowledged as a major political achievement on the part of the country...

**SOURCE 2C**

The following source shows the results of the 1991 elections in Benin. Taken from the website <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ao>.

PARTY	NUMBER OF VOTES	% OF VOTES	NUMBER OF SEATS (64)
Union for the Triumph of Democratic Renewal (UTRD)	194 213	18,9%	12
National Party for Democracy and Development-Democratic Renewal Party (PNDD-PRD)	120 705	11,7%	7
Social Democratic Party-National Union for Solidarity and Progress (PSD-UNSP)	101 348	9,8%	6
National Rally for Democracy (RND)	124 392	12,1%	9
Our Common Cause (NCC)	104 347	10,1%	6
National Movement for Democracy and Development-Movement for Solidarity, Union and Progress-Union for Democracy and National Reconstruction (MNDD-MSUP-UDRN)	86 556	8,4%	5
Union for Democracy and National Solidarity (UDSN)	72 899	7,1%	5
Rally of Liberal Democrats for National Reconstruction (RDL-Vivoten)	57 852	5,6%	4
Alliance for Social Democracy-Bloc for Social Democracy (ASD-BSD)	35 700	3,5%	2
Alliance for Democracy and Progress-Democratic Union for Social Renewal (ADP-UDRS)	38 684	3,8%	3
National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP)	-	-	-
Popular Republican Union-National Labor Party (URP-PNT)	93 321	9,1%	5

**QUESTION 3: WHY WAS THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA A TURNING POINT IN SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORY?****SOURCE 3A**

The following source comprises two perspectives on South Africa's political changes in the 1990s.

**Perspective 1: Part of FW de Klerk's address delivered on 2 February 1990 on the 9<sup>th</sup> opening of parliament.**

The steps that have been decided, are the following:

- The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary (supplementary) organisations is being rescinded (removed).
- People serving prison sentence merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.
- The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety ...
- The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded (removed). The organisations include the following: National Education Crisis Committees, South African National Student's Congress, United Democratic Front, Cosatu, Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika ...

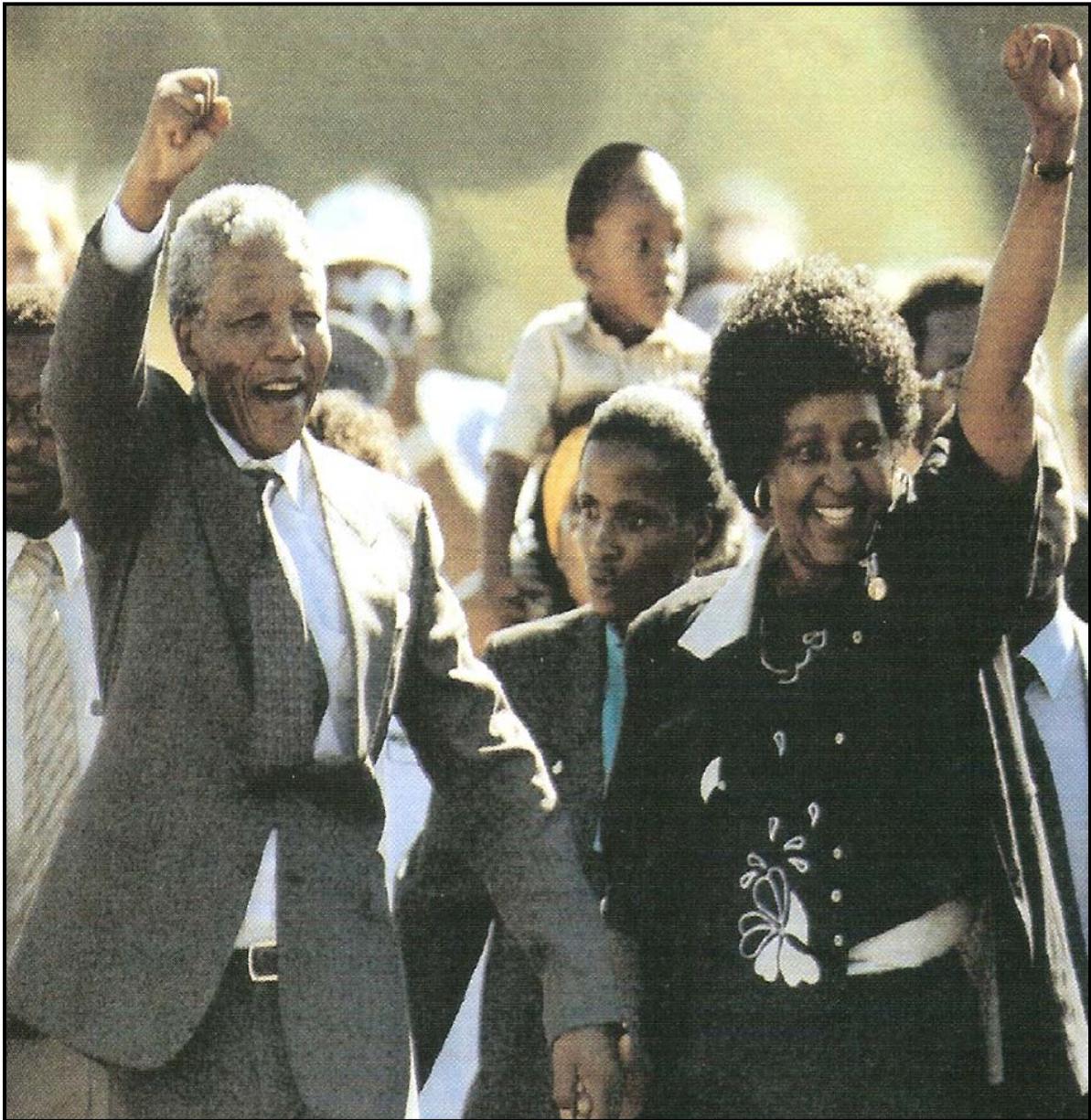
**Perspective 2: The following is a response by Clive Derby Lewis, a member of the Conservative Party.**

With the speech of February 1990 announcing the unbanning of not only the ANC but also the SACP, it became obvious to me and others that De Klerk was preparing to betray us all. On 26 May 1990 Dr Andries Treurnicht made his party's feeling and intentions clear, when he spoke to 150 000 people at the Voortrekker Monument. He called people up to the third freedom struggle. As the previous two freedom struggles were wars, this was clearly a call to arms to Afrikaners ... As De Klerk's treachery (betrayal) became more obvious, it became clear that armed struggle was the only way open to us ...

**SOURCE 3B**

The following source consists of two photographs on the release of Nelson Mandela.

**Photograph 1:** On 11 February 1990 – Nelson Mandela accompanied by his wife, Winnie Mandela, leaving Victor Verster prison. Mandela spent 27 years in prison. Taken from *South Africa 1948 – 1994* by M Roberts.



**Photograph 2:** Ordinary South Africans celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela. Taken from *Mandela The Authorised Portrait*. Editorial Consultants: M Maharaj and A Kathrada.



**SOURCE 3C**

The following source consists of extracts taken from newspapers, on the release of Nelson Mandela.

**Extract 1: Cheryl Carolus, UDF activist, recalls the day when Mandela was released from Victor Verster prison. The following is part of an interview which appeared in the *Sunday Tribune*, 31 January 2010 edition.**

This was my piece of the action. I was going to manage the journalists and the comrades. The world would not see disaster. But then the journalists started surging (pushing). The cops were getting their guns up. I was screaming at them.

Then I managed to do something which I still do not know how it happened; we all began to hold hands ... the cops, the comrades ... and everybody cried. Even the cops. We all just cried, watching as Madiba walked towards us. Oh! It was far, far more special than anything you can imagine. Actually it was more special to be on that side than in the picture, where Trevor (Manuel) was. And once we headed back into Cape Town, it was almost impossible to believe. Everywhere you looked, people were lining the streets. I just have those images in my head, black and white people everywhere, waving ...

**Extract 2: The following excerpt appeared in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper, 12 to 18 February 2010 edition. It focuses on the role played by leading UDF activists in transporting Nelson Mandela from Victor Verster prison.**

... On the day of the release Trevor Manuel helped Mandela pack his belongings into one of the waiting vehicles, and got into a car behind his. Then they drove the back roads to Cape Town ...

Willie Hofmeyer (UDF activist) heard over the traffic cops' radio that Mandela's convoy was on its way, but now there was mayhem (chaos) outside the City Hall. He rushed to the freeway turnoff to warn them not to come to the city centre. Manuel spotted him at the turnoff and he said, 'Comrades stop! They're killing people in the city.' So Manuel drove ahead to the Civic Centre on the other side of the freeway from the City Hall and Grand Parade. He told the security guards there that in a few minutes a convoy would arrive and they should let them in ...

Then he and three other leaders, Cyril Ramaphosa, Valli Moosa and Jay Naidoo, went to the City Hall to scout for a safe route for Mandela. They found a way in but when they returned to the Civic Centre, they discovered, to their horror that the car carrying Mandela had disappeared. A traffic cop had told them they were in the wrong venue and redirected them to the City Hall ...

Mandela may have looked impassive but his driver panicked, edged out of the crowd and took the first turn out of the town. He sped along the freeway to the southern suburbs, ending up in Rosebank ...

When Mandela's car had disappeared, Manuel was beside himself. 'How could we lose Madiba on the day of his release? How would you write that thing in history?'

**QUESTION 4: DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCEED IN HEALING SOUTH AFRICA FROM ITS DIVIDED PAST?****SOURCE 4A**

The following extract relates to Archbishop Desmond Tutu's reflection of the TRC process on the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the TRC.

**Desmond Tutu:** 'I would first like to pay tribute to my colleagues on the Commission – the Commissioners, the committee members and all of the staff – and then I want to pay a very, very warm tribute to the people we call victims who came to the TRC.'

Let me now try to answer the question. We need to look at places like Rwanda, Northern Ireland, the Middle East and Bosnia to get a sense of just how incredibly fortunate we have been. Virtually everybody expected South Africa to have a blood bath. The fact that it didn't happen is because our country was blessed to have had a particular kind of leadership at a crucial moment but also, and I would say by far the most important reason is, we actually do have incredible people. The TRC was flawed in many ways, but the world thinks the South African TRC has set a benchmark against which every other TRC is to be measured.'

**SOURCE 4B**

The following is part of the testimony given by Nonhle Mohapi at the TRC Hearings in East London, 1996. Taken from *Truth & Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 Years On* by C Villa-Vicencio.

'In 1976 I was widowed – I became a widow of the apartheid regime. When the TRC began I was sceptical (doubtful), not knowing what to expect from the process, yet I was forward looking. I persistently (patiently) reminded myself that my main purpose in choosing to be a witness at the TRC was to unlock the truth of how my beloved husband Mapetla Mohapi died. I expected to get the whole truth from the TRC process. It is true that the TRC was a political process forging the concept of nation-building and the rainbow nation. But did it do so at the expense of thousands of African victims and families living in South Africa.'

As a doting (loving) mother and wife I welcomed the opportunity after waiting patiently for nearly 20 years to stand before the commission and ask for the truth.'

**SOURCE 4C**

This source comprises three perspectives on the TRC.

**The following two perspectives are from G Simpson *Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories*.**

**Perspective 1: Mrs Mlangeni**

... the mother of Bheki Mlangeni – whose son was killed by a South African Police Security Branch bomb hidden in the earphones of a walkman tape player. Despite her status as survivor, Mrs Mlangeni described herself as dead when she said: 'You kill one member of the family and the whole family is dead ... as we are dead now.'

**Perspective 2: Mr Sithole**

... the father of an ANC guerrilla killed in action – similarly made no mention of forgiveness. He acknowledged that his son was a former combatant – a fighter – and did not express any surprise or anger at the fact that he was killed: 'I understand why he was killed. He fought to achieve what we have today, democracy, and change.'

But Mr Sithole went on to say: 'What I want is that the world should know that the people he fought for are now in positions of real power and I am nothing. What will they do for me now?'

**The following perspective is taken from S Nuttal *Negotiating the Past*.**

**Perspective 3: Mr Uys**

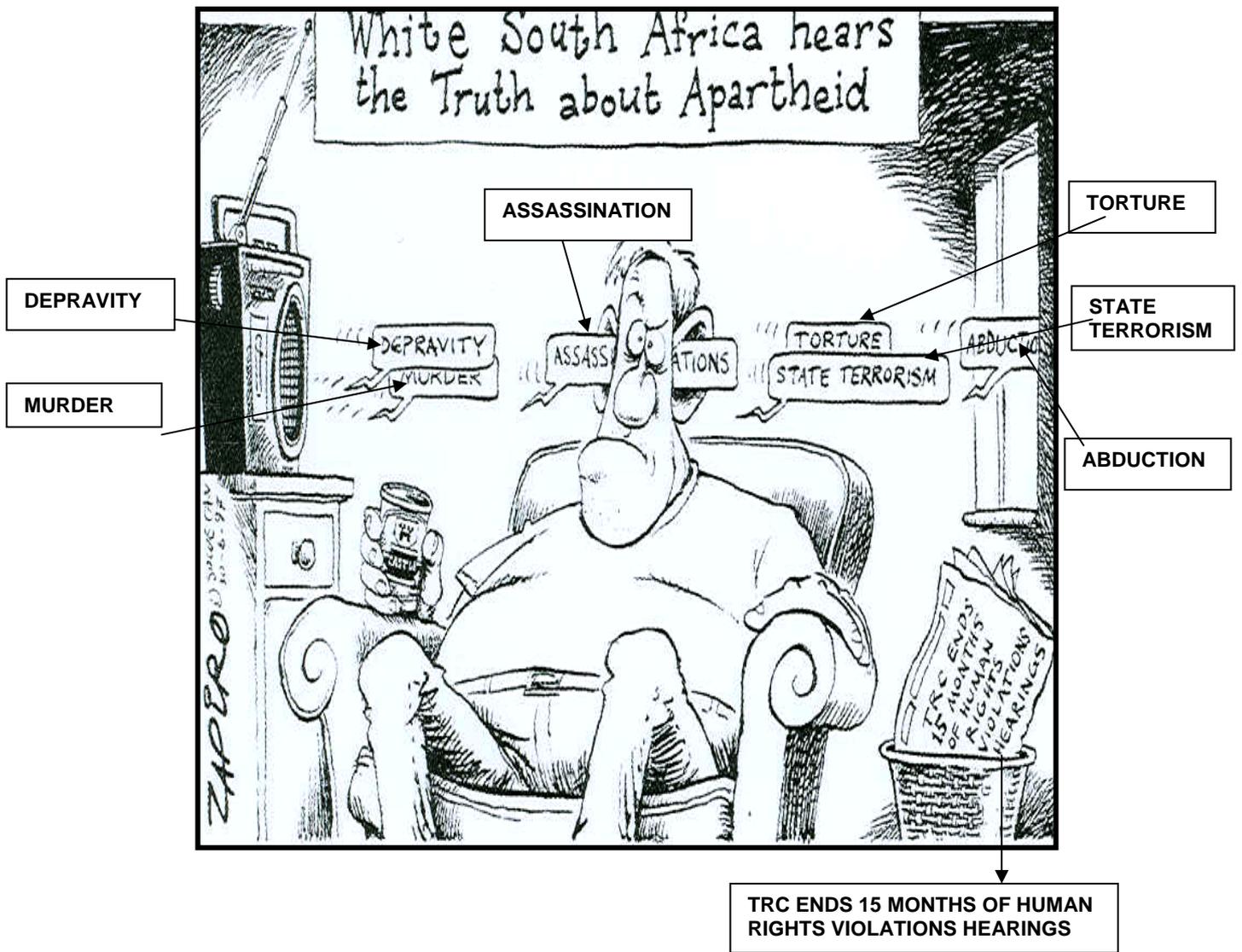
The ideal of the TRC to contribute to the ANC's objective of building one nation, is an ANC-inspired ideal. The ANC wants to build one nation out of a large variety of peoples and tribes ...

We oppose the concept of one nation; one nation does not exist in this multi-racial country, and the more the ANC forces its policies down the throats of the citizens, the more they object to ANC policies. The TRC seeks not only to give the people a common memory; they want to rewrite history ...

We will not accept their version of history.

**SOURCE 4D**

The following cartoon entitled 'White South Africa hears the Truth about Apartheid' by Zapiro. It appeared in the *Sowetan* newspaper, 30 June 1997 edition.



**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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