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HISTORY – PAPER 2

ADDENDUM

MARKS: 150

TIME: 3 hours

This question paper consists of 13 pages.

QUESTION 1: WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR IN 1989 ON SOUTH AFRICA?**SOURCE 1A**

The following is an extract from, *Democratisation in South Africa, Political Science Quarterly, Volume 110*, by Herman Giliomee.

...De Klerk would not have moved towards negotiations with the ANC as long as it was strongly backed by the Soviet Union. As late as September 1989, De Klerk sent word to his brother [Wimpie De Klerk] to stop talking to the ANC. In his view, this movement could never have a role in negotiations. Informal talks with the ANC by South Africans hoping to act as third parties, in De Klerk's words, "played into the hands forces who are geared towards destabilising South Africa and destroying the good order...". In the last months of 1989 the external environment improved dramatically from the government's point of view... . The crucial development was the severe internal troubles experienced by the Soviet Union. Moscow told the ANC that it was up to the South Africans themselves to reach a political accommodation. At the same time Pretoria believed that without Soviet backing it had a much better chance to contain a legalised ANC.

SOURCE 1B.

This is an extract taken from *Mandela: The Authorised Biography* by A. Simpson. It deals with the change in Russian policy toward the ANC and the South African Government after the collapse of communism.

One country was notably missing from Mandela's journeys in the aftermath of the Cold War: the Soviet Union, which had loyally supported the ANC and supplied arms and money for the last quarter-century. Gorbachev had invited him to Moscow in a message to Lusaka just after he was released. Mandela had a friendly meeting with the Foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the Namibian independence celebrations in March. But the plans kept being postponed. In fact, Moscow, just when it might have reaped rewards from the long support for the ANC, was warming up to De Klerk. Gorbachev's government battered by economic crises was desperate for immediate commercial opportunities. In 1990 they signed a direct marketing agreement with de Beers Diamonds, and soon Gorbachev, breaking promises to the ANC was establishing direct contacts with Pretoria, and stopped providing free training for ANC guerrillas. De Klerk paid a visit to Moscow in June 1992, when the new Russian President Boris Yeltsin assured him that he would not receive Mandela as the ANC president, only as an international fighter for human rights.

SOURCE 1C

This is an extract from *Tomorrow is Another Country* by Alistair Sparks in which he describes the impact of De Klerk's speech.

At home, there was a mixture of trauma, exhilaration, and disbelief as different groups struggled to come to terms with a change so profound. Abroad, there was a sense of wonderment and relief. Here, so soon after Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika revolution was another miracle of reform: at a stroke South Africa and all it symbolised was transformed. The 2 February speech was to race relations everywhere what the collapse of the Berlin Wall was to communism. It signalled the end of the world's last racial oligarchy.

Just as Gorbachev could not have known that his restructuring of the Soviet system would lead to the loss of his Eastern European empire, the collapse of communism, and the dismemberment of the Soviet Union itself, so too, De Klerk did not expect his reforms to lead to black majority rule and the end of Afrikaner nationalism before the end of the decade.

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR CONTRIBUTE TO THE RE-IMAGINING OF GUINEA (WEST AFRICA) IN THE 1990s.

SOURCE 2A

This extract deals with Guinea's relations with the different countries during the Cold War taken from the web page www.wikipedia.com.

During his presidency Toure led a strong policy based on Marxism, with the nationalisation of foreign companies and strong planned economics. He won the Lenin Peace Prize as a result in 1961. Most of the opposition to his socialistic regime was arrested and jailed or exiled. His early actions to reject the French and to appropriate wealth and farmland from traditional landlords angered many powerful forces, but the increasing failure of his government to provide either economic opportunities or democratic rights angered more.

Opposition to his single party grew slowly and by the late 1960's those who opposed his government faced fear of detention camps and secret police. From 1965 to 1975, he ended all his relations with France. In 1978, as Guinea's ties with the Soviet Union soured, the President of France visited Guinea as a sign of reconciliation. Throughout his dispute with France, Guinea maintained good relations with several socialist countries. However, Toure's attitude towards France was not generally well received, and some African countries ended diplomatic relations with Guinea over this incident.

Relations with the United States fluctuated during the course of Toure's reign. He was unimpressed with the Eisenhower administration's approach to Africa. He came to consider President J.F. Kennedy "a friend and an ally". He even came to state that Kennedy was his "only true friend in the outside world". In 1962 he blamed the labour unrest in Guinea on Soviet interference and turned to the United States. Relations with Washington soured after the death of Kennedy. After the overthrow of Nkrumah in Ghana, Toure blamed the CIA and feared that it was plotting against his own regime. Toure's increasing paranoia led him to arrest large numbers of suspected political opponents and imprison them in camps such as the Camp Boiro National Guard Barracks. Here 50 000 people are believed to have been killed under his regime. Thousand of Guineans sought refuge in exile. Guinea's rapprochement with France in the 1970's caused his Marxist support to oppose his government's increasing move to capitalist liberalisation. In 1978 he formally renounced Marxism and re-established trade with the West.

SOURCE 2B

The following is an extract taken from the webpage www.infoplease.com/ipa and deals with the status of Guinea under a new government.

Sekou Toure died in 1984, and the military under General Lanssana Conte seized political power. General Conte promised to liberalize Guinea politically and economically, which he did to some extent. In 1989, President Conte announced that Guinea would move to a multiparty democracy and voters approved a new constitution. In the 1990's, as elsewhere on the continent, democratic forces emerged to demand a return to a multiparty system. Elections took place, although they also brought to the fore existing polarization between the three dominant ethnic groups, the Fula, Malinke and the Susu. In 1993 the President's Unity and Progress Party took almost 51% of the vote. In 2001, a government referendum was passed that eliminated presidential term limits, thus allowing Conte to run for a third term in 2003. Despite the trappings of a multiparty rule, Conte has ruled the the country with an iron fist.

Although the constitution makes explicit provision for the protection of the Individual liberties and freedoms, the government has been gradually sliding into dictatorship, tightening its grip over civil society. Opponents of the ruling party are subject to attack and threats. The media as a whole remains state-dominated and private press houses are intimidated. There is a strong military presence in the city of Conakry, with road blocks and interrogation at every stop. Police officers and the army are corrupt. In fact, corruption affects almost every aspect of social life, going hand in hand with poor economic conditions.

SOURCE 2C

This extract taken from [http:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/) deals with the new government of Guinea under General Conte and explains the influence of the Western countries into the affairs of Guinea.

Sekou Toure's death in 1984 and the arrival of Lansana Conte in Guinea's political scene were to mark the end of the Guinean government's struggle against imperialism. Conte is an army general who worked under Sekou, but he became undetermined to follow the foundation that was being built by Sekou. France and the United States who described it as "the beginning of a new era in the history of Guinea" welcomed his assumption of office.

Indeed, Guinea under Conte represented "a new era" that changed the course of the people's struggle against imperialism. Like all the successive governments that emerged in Africa after the 1960s, Conte's administration and his two decades of governance have represented misery, poverty, oppression and deprivation of the African masses whose quest for freedom has grown more obvious than it ever was.

From 1984 to present, Conte has been working for the interests of France, the United States and the various imperialist nations who currently control the economy and have absolute access to all the resources in Guinea.

Conte has only been able to keep himself in power through the support of the various imperialist nations whose interests he is serving. The United States and France developed an army and security apparatus in Guinea trained and equipped to suppress the people's struggle for freedom.

Interestingly, in this desperate effort to accomplish his insatiable desires, Conte has found himself entangled between the scramble of the various imperialist nations to control the country's resources. The move with Japanese imperialism has placed him in direct confrontation with the United States and France.

QUESTION 3: WHAT IMPACT DID THE OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT DURING THE 1990s HAVE ON THE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA?

SOURCE 3A

This source consist of three different viewpoints on the increase of political violence in the country during the 1990s.

Viewpoint 1:

Nelson Mandela made the following statement, concerning the role of the ANC in the outbreak of violence. This extract is taken from, *Shuters History*, a South African schools' history textbook.

"There are members of the ANC who are killing our people. We must face the truth. It is true that the government is involved in the violence. It is members of the army, members of the police force, members of the Intelligence service who are also behind the violence, because they want to cripple and weaken the ANC. But I am not going to criticise only the government and Inkatha. People who participate in this violence, for whatever reason kill innocent people because others have killed innocent people — are not serving the cause of freedom. Those of you that have in your midst members of Inkatha. PAC or AZAPO, do not use violence against them unless it is self defence..."

Viewpoint 2:

Gatsha Buthelezi made the following statement on the outbreak of violence. This extract is taken from a South African schools' textbook, *Shuters History*.

"Inkatha believes it has the right to defend itself. We will not be intimidated out of existence. I am a black leader in the midst of violence. I am a leader of an angry people..."

Viewpoint 3:

Rich Mkhondo (a Reuter's journalist) had the following opinion on the political violence. This extract is taken from a South African schools' textbook, *New Generation*.

...Millions of black people are caught up in an endless spiral of despair, unemployment, homeless and poverty. Place the controversy amongst traditional leaders and modern government structures and add the power struggle between the two main political groupings in the region, the security forces with their masks and the faceless, apparently trained third force ... spice that with aged and recent political and social grievances, then you have a deadly mixture.

SOURCE 3B

The following source shows the outbreak of violence that happened during the 1990's. This extract is taken from a South Africa schools' textbook, *New Generation*.

Written Source

Following the Boipatong massacre on 17 June 1992 (when men from the KwaMadala hostel in Vanderbijlpark attacked and killed 15 people from a squatter camp in Boipatong), mass action swept the country resulting in major work stoppages, demonstrations and disruption of essential services. When the Bisho massacre occurred in 7 September 1992 (Ciskei soldiers under the leadership of Brig. Oupa Gqozo killed 29 protestors), the major political players realised that negotiations had to continue.

Visual Source

Marchers flee after Ciskei soldiers opened fire on them at the Bisho Stadium in September 1992.



SOURCE 3C

The following source focuses on the attack of the right-wing Afrikaners on the World Trade Centre during the sitting of CODESA 2. This extract was taken from, *New Generation*, a South African schools' history textbook.

Written Source:

Although the death of Chris Hani was a heavy setback for the negotiations process, it (the negotiations) continued. On 25 July, about 200 members of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront and the AWB showed their anger by storming the World Trade Centre in an armoured car and crashed through a glass door. AWB-protesters smashed equipment and wrote slogans on the walls. A right-wing supporter slapped the leader of the National People's Party (NNP), Armichand Rajbansi! They demanded a Volkstaat for the Afrikaners. Eugene Terre'Blanche said the following, "This is only the start of the process. We do not want war, but we also do not want peace under communist suppression."

Visual Source

The following is a photo of Eugene Terre'Blanche and right wing militant supporters that stormed the World Trade Centre wanting to disrupt the negotiations process.



QUESTION 4: WAS THE FORMATION OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) IN SOUTH AFRICA NECESSARY TO BRING ABOUT PEACE AND RECONCILIATION?

SOURCE 4A:

The following is an extract from, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid by Martin Roberts*, in which he describes the reason for the formation of the TRC.

Mandela believed that, with the exception of Hitler's genocide of the Jews, "there is no evil which has been so condemned by the world as apartheid". The ANC had to find a way to forgive without forgetting. Mandela's solution to "forgiving without forgetting" was to set up in 1995, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Although amnesties had been granted to most of the individuals involved in the violence of the apartheid years, Mandela was convinced that the truth had to be told and through that process, with the guilty admitting in public the dreadful wrongs they had done, genuine reconciliation would come. Chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the TRC heard many confessions of appalling crimes, mainly of torture and murder. Most came from the defenders of apartheid but some too from the ANC side. The TRC published its findings in 1998, though both the NP and the ANC, to Mandela's anger, tried to get sections removed. Although the anguish caused to the friends and families of the victims of the crimes which the TRC revealed was great, there is little doubt that the TRC was a vital part of the reconciliation process. It became easier for South Africans to put the past behind them and look forward to the future.

SOURCE 4B:

The following are two extracts of viewpoints on the TRC.

Viewpoint 1: by Antjie Krog, a renowned South African writer and poet

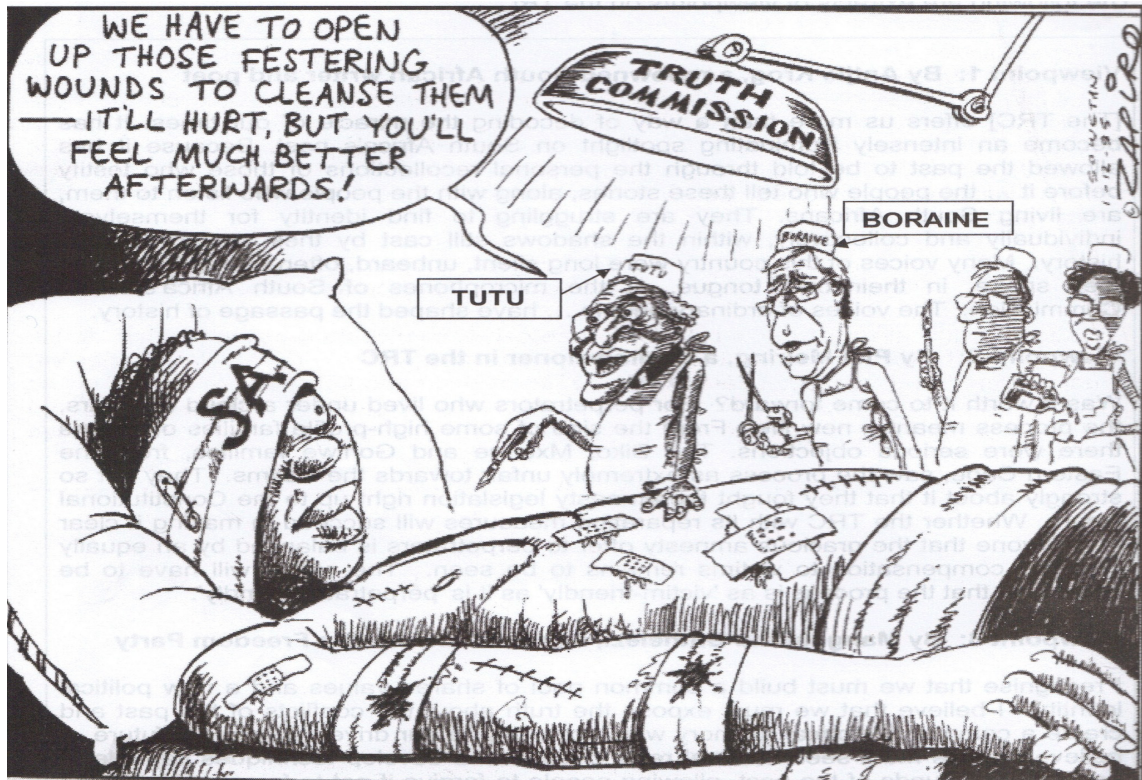
The TRC offers us more than a way of decoding the miracle of our times. It has become an intensely illuminating spotlight on South Africa's past. Because it has allowed the past to be told through the personal recollections of those who testify before it. The people who tell these stories, along with the people who listen to them, are living South Africans. They are struggling to find identity for themselves, individually and collectively, within the shadows still cast by their country's brutal history. Many voices of this country were long silent, unheard, often unheeded before they spoke, in their own tongue, at the microphones of South Africa's Truth Commission. The voices of ordinary people ... have shaped the passage of history.

Viewpoint 2: By Piet Meiring, a commissioner in the TRC.

Was it worth to come forward? For the perpetrators who lived under a cloud for years, the process meant a new life! From the side of some high profile families of victims there were serious objections. The Biko, Mxenge and Goniwe families from the Eastern Cape saw the process as extremely unfair towards the victims. They felt so strongly about it that they fought the amnesty legislation right up to the Constitutional Court. Whether the TRC with its reparation measures will succeed in making it clear to everyone that the gracious amnesty offer to perpetrators is balanced by an equally gracious compensation to victims remain to be seen. The nation will have to be convinced that the process is as "victim-friendly" as it is "perpetrator-friendly".

SOURCE 4C:

This cartoon by Zapiro, which appeared in the *Sowetan*, shows Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Alex Boraine who started the proceedings of the TRC.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

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

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