



# education

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Department:  
Education  
**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

## **NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

**GRADE 12**

**HISTORY P2**

**EXEMPLAR 2008**

**ADDENDUM**

**This addendum consists of 13 pages.**

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

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 'restructuring' 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.

**SOURCE 1B**

Bettina Luscher's reaction to the fall of the Berlin Wall. She was the CNN (Cable News Network) Berlin news reader at the time.

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 that the black struggle 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 investments 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!'

**SOURCE 1C**

President FW de Klerk's comment on the collapse of the communist ideology in Russia. Taken from the *Quiet Diplomacy of Liberation* by Christopher Landsberg.

The decline and collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and Russia created a new situation. Prior to this the ANC was an instrument of expansion of Russia in Southern Africa. When this fell away, the carpet was also pulled from under the ANC. The basis of their finances, their advice and moral support had caved in. It is as if the Lord has brought a new dispensation – a turning point in world history. We had to seize the opportunity ... The risk that they could be the Trojan horse of world power, has decreased drastically.

**SOURCE 1D**

The following is an extract from *Turning Points In History, Book 6*, explaining the significance of 2 February 1990.

On 2 February 1990 De Klerk announced major reforms. He announced the unbanning of the ANC, CPSA and the PAC, the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, the lifting of the emergency media regulations and a moratorium on the death penalty. Most sensational of all, he announced that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners would be released soon with no preconditions. Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert asked FW de Klerk what had moved him to make the announcement. FW de Klerk answered that he had experienced a 'spiritual leap away from apartheid' and that he would have been a fool not to take advantage of the gap that the fall of communism in Eastern Europe had provided.

A question that has often been debated since 1990 was whether FW de Klerk had any other option but to take the steps he did. In theory, De Klerk could have stayed on PW Botha's course and continued with piecemeal reforms. However, that would almost certainly have destroyed the South African economy and with it white wealth. It would probably also have ensured that the low-intensity civil war would have escalated considerably.

Slabbert was of the opinion that FW de Klerk did not fully understand the magnitude of what he had unleashed and that he (FW de Klerk) thought he could control the process to the end. Mandela wrote in his autobiography that FW de Klerk was 'by no means the great emancipator'. Mandela believed that FW de Klerk's goal was to create a system of power-sharing based on group rights, which would preserve a modified form of minority power in South Africa.

On the other hand, some analysts argue, the fact that FW de Klerk did not back down when PW Botha publicly distanced himself from talks with the ANC and resigned from the party, or when the AWB threatened a white counter-revolution, strengthens his credentials as a reformer.

**QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION IMPACT ON THE AFRICAN STATES LIKE ZAIRE (NOW THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO)?**

**SOURCE 2A**

The following extract is from *The African States of the Congo War* by JF Clark. It outlines the impact of the end of the Cold War on African states.

Poverty and debt increased in most African states in the years since 1990. By 1998, Africa had 10 percent of the world's population but less than 1 percent of its industrial production. The collapse of the USSR and the end of the Cold War meant that Africa's importance in international affairs lessened, in other words like in Zaire now DRC (Democratic Republic of the Congo). It also meant that Western donors changed their priorities in giving loans. Previously, donor countries had been most concerned that they would be supported in the Cold War.

Today most states that offer aid promote **democracy** and the **free market**. These systems dominate the thinking of western governments, international institutions and non-governmental organisations. During the Cold War democracy mattered little to the people who so strongly promote it today. What mattered then was which side you were on in the Cold War: whether you were aligned with the East (the Soviet Union, Cuba and Soviet-style ideology) or whether you aligned with the West.

In the early 1990s, US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, argued that promoting democracy and human rights is a pillar of American foreign policy and the basis for a largely new relationship with Africa. Douglas Hurd, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, echoed Warren Christopher in the speech in the British House of Commons: 'economic success depends to a large degree on effective and honest government, political pluralism and observance of the rule of law, as well as freer, more open economies'.

**SOURCE 2B**

The following source is adapted from *Understanding Central Africa's Crisis*. It shows the involvement of superpowers in the Belgian Congo and how the Cold War played itself out there.

Belgium gave independence to its colony of Congo very fast. This was a factor that led to many of its problems. Its first Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, asked the United Nations Organisation for help in upholding his country's unity. The UNO was biased, and was determined to prevent the expansion of Soviet influence in Africa. Lumumba was murdered, possibly with UNO compliance, and after five years of civil war Joseph Mobutu was brought to power in a coup on 24 November 1965. He changed the name of the country to Zaire. Mobutu was backed by the USA as they wanted a base from which to promote their interests in Africa. This support lasted until the end of the Cold War and allowed Mobutu to ignore demands for political reform.

The end of the Cold War meant that there was no longer a need to support regimes like that of Mobutu, who was anti-communist but corrupt. The issue of corruption could now be seen as part of the West's campaign for 'good governance'. Mobutu was forced to replace his personal dictatorship with a multi-party democracy. In 1992, the planned change to democracy under Etienne Tshisekedi did not happen, as he lacked the support to achieve anything ...

In 1997, Laurent Kabila became the new leader. He renamed the country Democratic Republic of Congo on 17 May 1997 but was not able to solve the problems of the state. Mobutu fled into exile and died in Morocco in September 1997.

**SOURCE 2C**

The following extract is adapted from *The African States of the Congo War*. It shows the involvement of African states and the superpowers in the Belgian Congo and how the Cold War played itself out.

Conflict continued and Congo's neighbours joined the war. Angola was interested in its oil, Zimbabwe in its cobalt and copper, Namibia in its diamonds, and Uganda in its gold. In 1999, the OAU tried to negotiate a peace settlement but did not manage to achieve peace despite involvement of both the UNO and the European Union. On 16 January 2001, Kabila was assassinated and succeeded by his son Joseph Kabila. He proved to be more open to negotiations, and an agreement was signed on 3 April 2003 at Sun City, South Africa.

In all this, the world powers most concerned with Africa – USA, Britain and France – did little or nothing to uphold human rights, peace and democracy. Even as members of the UNO, they did little to end what has been called Africa's Great War.

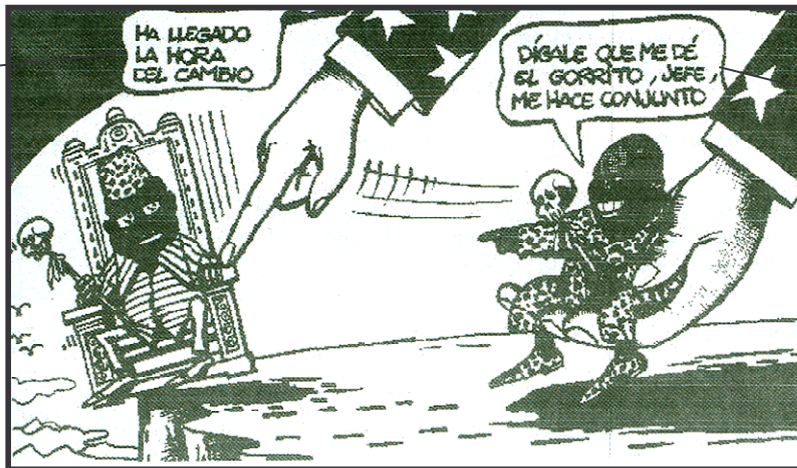
**SOURCE 2 D**

The following are two visual sources which relate to the removal of President Mobutu from power and the death of President Laurent Kabila.

**FIGURE 1**

The following is a Cuban cartoon showing American arms pushing Mobutu over the cliff with the words 'the time for change has arrived' and putting Laurent Kabila in his place. Kabila and Mobutu both hold skulls as sceptres [symbol of a ruler].

The time for change has arrived.



Tell him to give me the headdress, boss, I want it too.

**FIGURE 2**

The following photograph shows the queues of people in Kinshasa who paid tribute to Laurent Kabila's death in 2001. The words on the banner mean, 'Laurent Desire Kabila, soldier of the people, we will never forget you ...'





**QUESTION 3: DID THE ASSASSINATION OF CHRIS HANI, INFLUENCE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA?****SOURCE 3A**

The following is an extract on Chris Hani, adapted from Rich Mkhondo's book *Reporting South Africa*.

On the few occasions when I had met Hani face to face, I had found him to be an ardent advocate of peace, a man who oozed warmth, zest for life, tenderness and boundless optimism. Then a Polish immigrant put an end to Hani's life in a short, sharp burst of gunfire. The alleged assassin, Janusz Waluz, who was arrested soon after the shooting, turned out to have been a member of the neo-Nazi AWB since 1986. Police said the murder weapon found in Waluz's possession, a 9mm Z88 pistol fitted with a silencer, was part of a consignment of weapons stolen from an Air Force armoury in 1990. The man who stole the weapons, Piet Rudolph – leader of another right-wing organisation, the Order of the Boerevolk – was freed under a 1991 amnesty agreement between the ANC and the government ...

When police searched Waluz's house they found a hit list which included Mandela, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Joe Slovo, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj and Judge Richard Goldstone. A few days after Waluz's arrest, two Conservative Party parliamentarians Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye were charged with murder along with Janusz Waluz.

Hani's murder showed the power which white extremists have to cause havoc. Often dismissed as a small and inconsequential, hopelessly divided bunch of lunatics, with this assassination they demonstrated the destructive force conferred by their ready access to weaponry and training, and their freedom to move and act without hindrance from the police. Hani's death left a gaping hole in the leadership of the ANC. A generation younger than Mandela, his unique importance lay in his strong appeal to young township militants attracted partly by his communist beliefs and partly by his defiant style as chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. His killers knew that Hani was loved by ordinary people throughout the country. His popularity would have made him a key leader during the election campaign, when the ANC would have looked to him to discipline the radicalism of its younger supporters – a role he had already begun to assume. In a short autobiography simply called *My Life* and distributed in pamphlet form at his funeral, Hani wrote: *The racist regime has reluctantly recognised the legitimacy of our struggle by agreeing to sit down with us to discuss how to begin the negotiation process. In the current political situation, the decision by our organisation to suspend the armed action is correct and is an important contribution in maintaining the momentum of negotiations.*

## SOURCE 3B

This is a front-page newspaper report on how Chris Hani died. This appeared in the *Sunday Times*, 11 April 1993 edition.

**WEEKEND WINNERS**  
**ALL THE LUCKY**  
**NUMBERS: PAGE 12**

**CAPE EDITION**  

# Sunday Times

  
THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE   APRIL 11 1993   PRICE R3 incl VAT   A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

**REJECTED**  
**SURGICAL GLOVES**  
**WITH SABS MARK**  
PAGE 2

## Four shots kill SACP chief after lone drive



## Tragedy strikes two days after peace call

# HOW HANI DIED

**By CHARMAIN NAIDOO, CHARLES LEONARD and CHARLENE SMITH**

AS CHRIS HANI drove into his driveway just after 10am yesterday, a red Ford Laser pulled in close behind. The driver, a white man, followed Hani to his front door.

Four shots rang out. Hani was hit at point-blank range in the chin, behind the ear and in his chest.

Mr Hani, 50-year-old revolutionary turned peacemaker, lay dead, clutching a newspaper to his chest.

The assassin sprinted back to his car, reversed out of the driveway and drove around the corner.

Alerted by the sound of the gunshots, Mr Hani's daughter, Nomakweni, 13, the only member of his family at home at the time, opened the front door to be confronted by the sight of her father's bloodied body in his blue track suit and running shoes.

Her screams alerted a neighbour, who ran to the Hani house from next door and found the hysterical girl bent over her father's body.

"It was painful. The child was waiting. I quickly took her away from the sight of her dead father, bleeding all over the patio," said the neighbour, who did not want to be named for fear of reprisals.

**Cordon**

She took Nomakweni to the nearby home of the ANC's PWV chairman Tokyo Secake.

As the killer drove away, a woman who lives nearby took down the registration number of his car and reported the killing to the police.

By 10.30am, police, SADF personnel and traffic police had cordoned off the entire block bordering Bakula Street.

Mr Hani's body was removed in a police mortuary van at 11.00pm.

ANC members formed a cordon on either side of the van and broke into an emotional rendition of the farewell song for fallen comrades, *Hamba Kholo Mandela*.

As the van slowly drove through the large crowd, ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, his wife Adelaide and son Dali arrived. With them was the Mandela lawyer, Dintilo Ayob.

Mr Tambo, in obvious pain and leaning heavily on his walking stick, insisted on saying a personal farewell to his friend.

**Alone**

Soon afterwards, white-haired Walter Sisulu arrived alone, with a driver.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, who arrived with a three-car entourage, also paid her last respects.

This was to have been a rare weekend off for Mr Hani, who broke his usual security routine to drive alone to the shops. His driver, who doubles as his bodyguard, was not at the house when the assassination took place.

He arrived after the cordon had been erected and broke down after a newspaper reporter told him Mr Hani was dead.

Mr Hani, who often addressed three to four rallies a day, decided to take some time off over Easter.

He returned from Pretoria after a day-long visit with ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma to see General Bantjo Holomisa in various ways of reducing tension between Transkei and the SA government.

On Thursday night he appeared on SABC TV's *Isidwe* with PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander.

On Friday his wife, Limpho, a Lesotho



**ANC calls for calm**

**By EDITH BULBRING**

THE ANC and the South African Communist Party yesterday appealed to their supporters to remain calm and restrained following the assassination of Chris Hani.

The ANC asked its members not to be provoked by those intent on wrecking the peace process.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said Mr Hani, the leader of the SA Communist Party, was a martyr to the cause of justice and peace.

"His death demands of us that we pursue that cause with even greater vigour and determination," said Mr Mandela.

With all the authority at my command, I therefore appeal to all our people to remain calm and to honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace.

Their call for calm was reiterated by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. "I want to make a call to our people. Please, don't let them manipulate us. Don't let this tragic event trigger reprisals. It is what somebody wants to see happen."

**Police hold 'right-wing' immigrant**

**By DE WET POTGIETER and EDITH BULBRING**

A FORTY-ONE-YEAR-OLD man of Polish extraction, allegedly with right-wing sympathies, has been arrested in connection with the killing of ANC Communist Party boss Chris Hani.

Police sources yesterday identified the man as Mr Jan Wallus, a Polish immigrant with violently anti-communist sentiments and close links to the most militant wing of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

They said Mr Wallus fled Poland 10 years ago to "get away from the communists".

Meanwhile, a right-wing source said Mr Wallus was unmarried and stayed on a farm outside Pretoria.

He is self-employed, selling glass and pottery.

He was described as a "terraced, active and registered" member of the AWB and the CP.

**Extreme**

Three weeks ago, in the wake of the shootings of white civilians at Ekurhuleni south of Johannesburg, AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche announced that an extremist white group, unconnected with his organisation, was setting itself up in wage civil war.

It is not clear whether the man being held by the police is connected with this extremist group.

An official confirmation of the man's identity was available yesterday.

The man was arrested by police half an hour after his car was spotted leaving the murder scene. Police responding to an all-points



**London's famous**  
**Consulate cigarettes**  
**IN TINS**





**SOURCE 3C**

This is part of an address that Nelson Mandela delivered to the South African nation on national television after the death of Chris Hani.

With all the authority at my command, to all people: remain calm and honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace. Chris Hani is irreplaceable in the heart of our nation and people. To the youth of South Africa, we have a special message for you. You lost a hero. You have repeatedly shown that your freedom is greater than the most precious gift, life itself. But you are the leaders of tomorrow. Your country, your people, your organisation want you to act with wisdom so that our hard-won democracy can be protected and preserved for the future generation. A particular responsibility rests on your shoulders. We must not let the men who worship war and who lust after blood precipitate actions that will plunge our country into another Angola.

**QUESTION 4: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) ATTEMPT TO HEAL SOUTH AFRICA FROM ITS DIVIDED PAST?****SOURCE 4A**

The following are 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 it to come forward? For 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 remains to be seen. The nation will have to be convinced that the process is as 'victim-friendly' as it is 'perpetrator-friendly'.

**Viewpoint 3: By Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party**

I recognise that we must build a common pool of shared values and a new political identity. I believe that we must expose the truth about the conflicts of the past and create a common historical memory which can inspire our drive towards the future. I believe that we must seek national reconciliation and develop techniques capable of healing the wounds of the past, allowing people to forgive if not to forget. However, I have always expressed my strong reservations that the TRC was the adequate tool to achieve any of such meritorious [praiseworthy] goals.

**SOURCE 4B**

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



**SOURCE 4C**

The following are two sets of notes that were submitted by Adriaan Vlok, former Minister of Law and Order, and PW Botha, former President of the Republic of South Africa.

**Extract 1: TRC notes that were submitted by Adriaan Vlok during his amnesty application**

The applicant, Mr Adriaan Johannes Vlok, states that he was involved in the bombing of Khotso House in Johannesburg after receiving orders from PW Botha to destroy the building ... It was felt that Khotso House was being used as a meeting point for the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations. PW Botha thus ordered Adriaan Vlok to render the building unusable ... Mr Vlok investigated and reported back to Mr Botha that Khotso House was being used as an ANC safe house ... Mr Vlok claims that after the building was damaged, Mr Botha congratulated the SAP and Mr Vlok for the operation's success.

**Extract 2: This is part of the personal correspondence from former President PW Botha to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, head of the TRC**

Regarding the allegations concerning my so-called involvement in the Khotso House explosion, I wish to state the following: the allegations are to date untested, unconfirmed and unsubstantiated hearsay [unproven rumours] ... there should be no doubt about my position regarding the following: I am not guilty of any deed for which I should apologise or ask for amnesty. I therefore have no intention of doing this. I have nothing to hide.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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