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SOUTH AFRICAN COMPREHENSIVE ASSESSMENT INSTITUTE  
 SUID-AFRIKAANSE KOMPREENSIEWE ASSESSERINGSINSTITUUT



## SECTION A

### QUESTION 1: WHAT CHALLENGES DID THE APARTHEID REGIME FACE IN THE 1980s?

#### SOURCE 1A

The source below is part of a speech delivered by Rev. Frank Chikane at the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, Cape Town on 20 August 1983. It explains the importance of forming a united front against the 1983 apartheid reforms.

Comrades, friends, this day, today, is the culmination (conclusion) of seven months' work to see the launching of the United Democratic Front. We are sure going to go into the record of history as an important event, bolstering (strengthening) the tide (rush) of the struggle, picking up that day when the people shall say, we are free and justice is here, when the people shall live together as brothers and sisters without the exploitation and oppression of the other. However, although this is a unique (special) day, it falls within the spectrum (range) of the history of struggle in South Africa.

... The idea of a front is a new concept in the struggle of the people for about the last twenty years, and it was understood to be standing for unity-in-action accepting the fact that all the organisations coming together have got differences. There are also differences of class, differences of ideology, differences of intent, but all of them agree that they reject the reform proposals that are proposed by the Botha regime, and as a result they need a broad front to do this.

That necessitates, therefore, the formation of this group, not necessarily as a national political organisation, but as a united front for the sole purpose of opposing the Koornhof Bills\* ...

... And I want to call on you, all peace-loving people of South Africa, to put hands together, to walk side by side to fight against the implementation of these reform proposals so that we can then destroy the system, so that we can put up a government by the people where the people shall govern according to their will.

*[From: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983–1991 by J Seekings]*

#### **Explanation of the Koornhof Bills\***

Refers to legislation named after Piet Koornhof, the National Party's Minister of Cooperation and Development in the 1980s scene. It hoped to develop black local governance, to strengthen immigration control, and to divide the African people into rural and urban dwellers (also used for control).



## SOURCE 1B

The source below is an extract from the South African History Online webpage titled: 'The 1980s and the crisis of Apartheid'. It deals with the affect of Botha's Tricameral Parliament.

Civil society protest against the Tricameral Parliament showed that the majority of South Africans were opposed to the new structure. Coloured and Indian voter turnout was extremely low, but in early 1985 the inauguration of the new Parliament went ahead regardless. Those who participated in the Tricameral system were called 'sell-outs', collaborators and 'puppets'.

The position of Prime Minister was abolished and replaced with an Executive President, a very powerful position for one person. P.W. Botha therefore became Head of Government and Head of State.

In reaction to these political developments, mass action campaigns swept through the country. These included strikes, mass protests and school, rent and consumer boycotts. Violence erupted on many occasions, and the Government responded by declaring a State of Emergency that lasted for much of the 1980s. Emergency regulations were used to severely restrict extra-parliamentary activities.

The homes of 'sell-outs', government buildings and beer halls were attacked. The apartheid government spoke of a 'total onslaught' by 'terrorists' and 'communists'. The army was sent into the townships in 1984, but the apartheid regime never recovered.

As one historian summed up the decade:

"The resistance of the mid-1980s destroyed utterly the 'total strategy' tactics of the Botha government. Tricameralism and African urban councils had been firmly rejected by the demand for 'People's Power'. The campaign to win hearts and minds was in tatters, with thousands in detention and an occupying army in the townships ... with the collapse of total strategy, the government seemed bankrupted of ideas, relying on internal repression and international bravado."

*[From: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/1980s-and-crisis-apartheid>. Accessed on 22 February 2022]*



## SOURCE 1C

The source below is an extract from a book written by a historian, A Jeffery. It explains the events that took place during the peace march to the Cape Town City Hall that was organised by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) against police brutality on 13 September 1989.

In the aftermath (outcome) of the election, the MDM pledged (promised) to intensify the defiance campaign. Tutu and Boesak said they would lead a march on parliament when it reconvened (restarted) on 13 September 1989 to express outrage (anger) against police killings on election day. The day before the protest Tutu announced that the march would go to Cape Town's City Hall, rather than to parliament. He added that the march would be peaceful and disciplined but stressed that there could be no question of the protest being abandoned (stopped). 'They have killed our people,' he said. It did not matter whether the death toll was 23, as he had first stated, or 15 as the police said. 'Fifteen is a massacre ... Even if we deal only with their figures, it is a scandal (shame).'

Encouraged by assurances from the Rev. Johan Heyns, moderator (negotiator) of the Dutch Reformed Church, that the march would be non-violent, De Klerk allowed it to proceed, saying: 'We cannot have a democracy without protest marches.' De Klerk added that there was no reason for people to give vent (outlet) to their political aspirations (ambitions) through disorderly protest or rioting. 'The door to a new South Africa is open. It is not necessary to batter (hit) it down,' he said.

The march passed peacefully and signalled the de facto (actual) unbanning of the ANC. ANC flags and banners were prominently flown.

Placards with ANC slogans were openly displayed, ANC freedom songs were sung, and ANC leaders were praised. Tutu and Boesak addressed the crowd from the balcony of the City Hall, which was adorned (decorated) with the flags of the ANC and the UDF. 'Walk Cape Town Open' the posters declared. The police kept a low profile, and no action was taken to enforce the ban on the ANC or the restrictions on the UDF.

*[From: People's War – New Light On The Struggle For South Africa by A Jeffery.]*



## SOURCE 1D

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu (in the centre) jogs along a white only beach at the Strand, Saturday 30 September 1989, with a crowd of supporters near Cape Town, as church organizations continued their campaign of defiance against Apartheid laws.



[From: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-12-10/life-in-apartheid-era-south-africa>. Accessed on 3 June 2023]



## QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS?

### SOURCE 2A

The two testimonies below were presented at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in Johannesburg on 29 April 1996.

**Testimony 1: The following is the testimony of Rokaya Saloojee, wife of slain activist Suluman Saloojee. He was killed by the police force in Johannesburg on 9 September 1964.**

The widow of Suluman Saloojee, who died in police custody in 1964, said his death had left her with a lingering (lasting) hatred for some whites. 'If I see a white policeman I hate him, I am sorry to say,' Rokaya Saloojee told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the second day of its hearings in Johannesburg.

Suluman Saloojee, a 32-year-old solicitor's (lawyer's) clerk, was active in the Transvaal Indian Congress and the ANC. He was detained by the police on 6 July 1964 and on 9 September allegedly fell to his death from the seventh floor of the police headquarters. The inquest (investigation) into Saloojee's death lasted about five minutes, Rokaya said. The magistrates had not allowed her to ask questions and said 'That is all' when she asked why her husband's clothes were full of blood.

**Testimony 2: The following testimony was presented by James Simpson, a survivor of the Church Street bomb in Pretoria on 20 May 1983.**

On 20 May 1983 James Simpson was injured by a car bomb in Church Street, Pretoria. The bomb, probably planted by the ANC, killed 19 people. Simpson told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that he had been working in his office when the car bomb went off. Shards (pieces) of window glass had sprayed across the room, cutting his face and leaving splinters in his eyes. 'When I got to the street, I saw cars burning and injured people lying around. My sympathies are with the injured who have never fully recovered.' In order to forgive the bombers, Simpson said, he needed to know who they were. The two men who planted the bomb were killed in the explosion.

Asked by the Commission chairman, Archbishop Tutu, what he wanted for the people who ordered the bombing, Simpson said, 'Simply that they would admit that they gave the orders.'

*[From: The South African Press Association Report on the TRC, 30 April 1996.*

*Quoted in C Culpin, South Africa since 1948.]*



## SOURCE 2B

The extract from *Ubu and the Truth Commission* below highlights the criticisms of the TRC. *Ubu and the TRC* is a South African play by Jane Taylor. It was first produced on 26 May 1997.

Although it was intended to salve (ease) the wounds embedded (rooted) within the country's history and bring voices to the injuries suffered, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission received a great deal of criticism. Critics questioned whether the commission efficaciously (effectively) exposed or merely bandaged previous injustices. Some resented the commission's exploitation (abuse) of individual trauma; the commission often made painful, personal accounts of loss and struggle into public examples in order to legitimise a collective claim, which stirred emotion but did little to mobilise (activate) change. Due to the inherent discrepancy (differences) between the emotions of the witnesses and translations of their accounts, much of the impassioned (emotional) impact was lost in translation; witnesses were eventually inured (hardened) to the harrowing (disturbing) testimonies of tragedy. In addition, the pardoning of the apartheid government's human rights abuses angered many black South Africans who believed prosecution and conviction were the only ways justice would prevail. Most notably, the family of anti-Apartheid activist Steve Biko opposed amnesty for his killers, arguing the commission to be unconstitutional. Despite structural flaws and shortcomings, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission proved essential to the reconciliation of both nation and state.

[From: *Ubu and the Truth Commission* by J Taylor]



## SOURCE 2C

The source below, taken from a book written by O Bubenzer, a Doctor of Law, outlines the findings of the TRC hearings on amnesty applications for the murders of the PEBCO Three.

In 1996 the Amnesty Committee of the TRC received the amnesty applications of Gideon Nieuwoudt, Harold Snyman, Barend du Plessis, Johannes van Zyl and Gerhardus Lotz of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch. Snyman and Du Plessis were not physically involved in the abduction and murder of the PEBCO Three, but the two had authorised the abduction and murder. Snyman, the commanding officer of the then Eastern Cape Security Police had been approached by Du Plessis who suggested that the three activists be killed.

In the amnesty hearings, contradictory (opposing) evidence was given. The application of the Port Elizabeth Security Police stated that no torture had taken place during the interrogation, which had been conducted by Van Zyl, Lotz and Nieuwoudt. This evidence was contradicted by the Vlakplaas *askaris* (members of the ANC who changed sides and joined the apartheid government's police force), Mogoai, Koole and Mamasela, who claimed to have been present in the interrogation during which the three victims, allegedly, were severely assaulted.

The Amnesty Committee of the TRC declared the following:

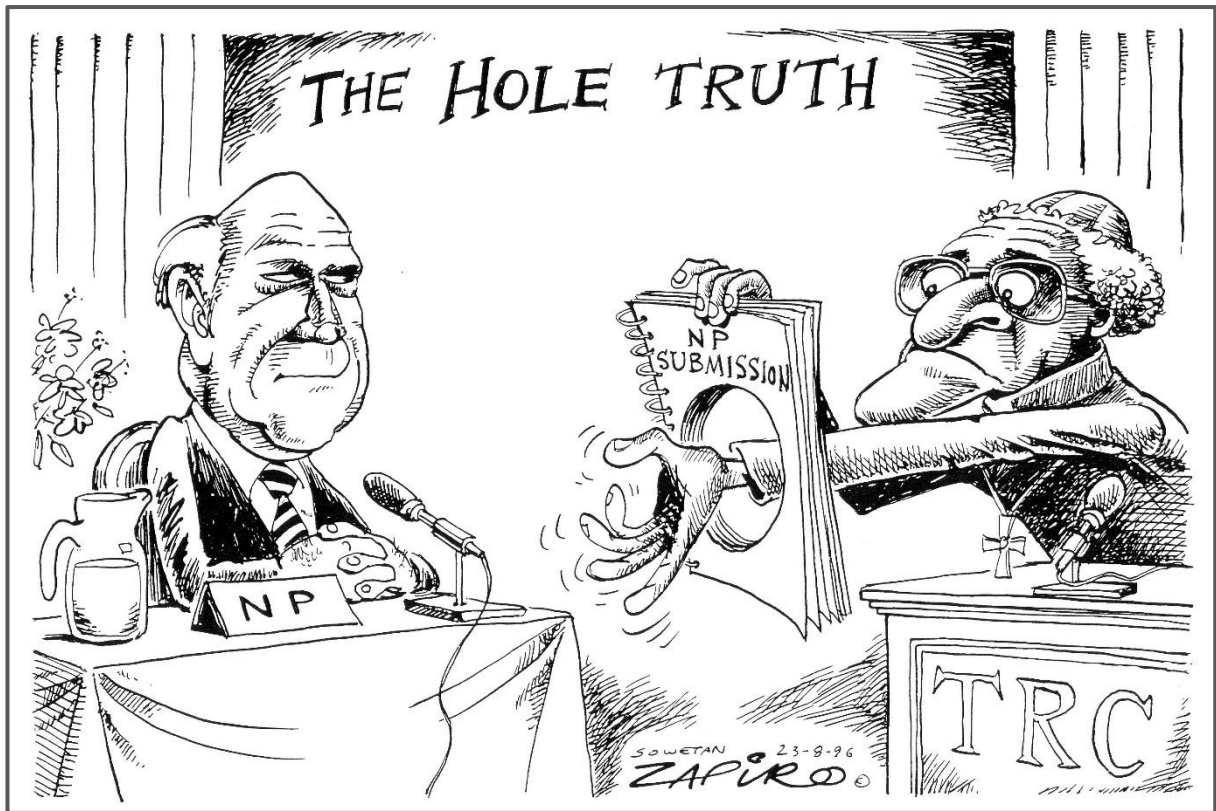
- (1) Harold Snyman was granted amnesty for conspiring (plotting) and ordering the abduction and murder of Hashe, Godolozi and Galela.
- (2) Amnesty was refused to Hermanus Barend du Plessis, Gideon Nieuwoudt, Johannes van Zyl and Gerhardus Lotz for the conspiring and ordering the abduction and murder of the three deceased.
- (3) Amnesty was granted to Mogoai for the abduction and assault of the PEBCO Three.

[From: *Post-TRC Prosecutions in South Africa* by O Bubenzer]



### SOURCE 2D

This cartoon by Zapiro, depicts the National Party's submission to the TRC chaired by Desmond Tutu. It was published in the Sowetan on 23rd of September 1996 under the heading 'The Hole Truth'.



[From: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-12-26-the-archs-life-in-zapiros-cartoons/>. Accessed on 7 May 2023]

**QUESTION 3: HOW DOES SOUTH AFRICA MAINTAIN ITSELF IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD?****SOURCE 3A**

The source is from an article ‘*A Russian love affair*’: *Why South Africa stays ‘neutral’ on war* written by Crystal Orderson, (currently a Duty Editor at South Africa’s 24 hour news channel, eNCA News) published on 2 Jun 2023 for Al Jazeera, an independent news channel in the Qatari capital, Doha.

**Cape Town, South Africa** – In April, a delegation of senior officials of South Africa’s ruling African National Congress (ANC) undertook what the party said was an invitation from “a long-standing ally”, Russia’s ruling party. It travelled to Moscow to discuss what the ANC said was the “recalibration (change) of the global order”. Among the delegation was Deputy Foreign Minister Alvin Botes.

This month, army chief Lawrence Mbatha was also in Moscow on the invitation of Oleg Salyukov, commander-in-chief of Russia’s ground forces, who described it as a “goodwill visit”. State security minister Khumbudzo Ntshavheni is also to visit Russia in a few days, ahead of President Cyril Ramaphosa as part of an African leaders’ peace mission to Russia and Ukraine.

The flurry of high-profile visits has come even as South Africa insists publicly that it is neutral in the war between Russia and Ukraine despite longstanding ties with Moscow.

And now, ahead of the BRICS summit of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa in August, the extent of that neutrality will be put to the test.

In March, the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued a warrant for the arrest of Russian President Vladimir Putin for forced deportations of children from Ukraine to Russia.

South Africa, a signatory to the ICC, is mandated to execute the warrant if Putin sets foot in the country. The Russian leader has indicated that he will indeed attend, laying the scene for a dramatic diplomatic dilemma.

Indeed, Pretoria has said it is assessing its legal options, including immunity for visiting officials ...

[From: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/6/2/a-russian-love-affair-why-south-africa-stays-neutral-on-war>. Accessed on 17 June 2023.]



### SOURCE 3B

The source below focuses on the role that South Africa played in hosting the 10th BRICS Summit that was held in Sandton, Johannesburg in July 2018. This article was published on the South African government's website (SAnews.gov.za) on 29 January 2018.

South Africa, which took over the rotational chairmanship of the emerging economic grouping Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), is set to host the 10th summit in July 2018.

The summit, which is scheduled at the Sandton Convention Centre in (enter to the next line and take out the dash) Johannesburg from 25 to 27 July, will see South Africa building on the programme of development and prosperity for partner countries.

South Africa's BRICS Sherpa (leader) during the BRICS stakeholder roundtable, Ambassador Anil Sooklal said that 'BRICS is an important global formation and South Africa is privileged to host the summit the second time around, as we enter the second decade of cooperation. We have been meeting in a summit form for nine years now and this will be the 10th session. The first summit we hosted in 2013 was very successful with very tangible (real) outcomes and the results of that summit are visible in the work of the BRICS and the global community and we are confident that this summit will also follow suit'.

Sooklal said the summit will showcase the cooperation that BRICS members enjoy, as well as its impact globally as they address key challenges faced by emerging countries, such as developmental challenges, growing their economies, and addressing poverty and unemployment.

According to Sooklal, within the BRICS context, South Africa has three primary goals which are to see development and inclusive economic growth, to promote value-added trade among BRICS countries and to promote investment.

*[From: <https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/sa-host-10th-brics-summit-july>.  
Accessed on 15 March 2019.]*



### SOURCE 3C

This source below is an extract from a report: 'Russia, South Africa and a 'redesigned global order': The Kremlin's hearts and minds machine is steaming ahead'. It was written on the 26th of January 2023 by Elliot Smith, a correspondent for CNBC International in London.

On Feb. 24 2022, shortly after the Ukraine invasion, South Africa urged Russia to immediately withdraw its forces from Ukraine. Since then, however, the tone has changed. South Africa was one of 15 African nations to abstain (declined to vote) from the subsequent UN vote in March to condemn Russia's war of aggression.

In a joint press conference alongside Lavrov on Monday, South African Foreign Minister Naledi Pandor said it would have been "simplistic and infantile (childish)" to demand Russia's withdrawal during their meeting and alluded to the "massive transfer of arms" that has since occurred from Western powers to support Ukraine's military efforts.

Pandor also lauded (praised) the "growing economic bilateral relationship" between Pretoria and Moscow, along with "political, economic, social, defence and security cooperation".

She emphasized the multilateral responsibilities of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) bloc of leading emerging economies in a changing global landscape.

South Africa will host the BRICS this year, and its ruling African National Congress (ANC) has suggested Pretoria could use the chairmanship to push for the admission of new members to expand the bloc's presence, challenging the dominance of global superpowers.

"The current global geopolitical tensions clearly signal the need to create institutional mechanisms that will have the stature form and global trust to promote and support global peace and security — BRICS should play a proactive role in emerging processes and ensure it is part of a redesigned global order," Pandor said.

Although she called for the war to be "brought to a peaceful end through diplomacy and negotiations," there was no direct condemnation of the invasion.

South Africa will host a joint naval exercise with Russia and China between Feb. 17 and Feb. 27, and Pandor hit back at concerns by arguing that hosting such operations with "friends" was part of the "natural course of relations," criticizing the notion that only certain countries are acceptable partners.

*[From <https://www.cnb.com/2023/01/26/russia-south-africa-and-a-redesigned-global-order.html>. Accessed on 23 March 2023]*



**SOURCE 3D**

The cartoon below was published on 14 October 2016 in *The Times of India*, a newspaper based in Delhi.



[From <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/cartoons/ninans-world/brics-summit/cartoonshow/54851552.cms>  
[Accessed on 25 March 2023]



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/1980s-and-crisis-apartheid>. Accessed on 22 February 2022

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*The South African Press Association Report on the TRC, 30 April 1996.*  
Quoted in C Culpin, *South Africa since 1948*.