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SOUTH AFRICAN COMPREHENSIVE ASSESSMENT INSTITUTE
SUID-AFRIKAANSE KOMPREENSIEWE ASSESSERINGSINSTITUUT

SECTION A

QUESTION 1: HOW DID BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS REACT TO PW BOTHA'S REFORMS IN THE 1980s?

SOURCE 1A

The source below is an extract from a book titled *People's War: New light on the Struggle for SA* by A. Jeffrey. It discusses the apartheid government's action against the PEBCO activists in the 1980s.

Soon after the start of the people's war, the police began detaining activists and holding them incommunicado (not allowed to talk to anyone outside the place you are in). However, this made little difference to the ferment or the violence. If some UDF leaders were neutralized in some way, other activists sprang into action and began launching school, bus and consumer boycotts to protest against the detentions and increase the pressure on the government. Soon the police resorted to extrajudicial (not legally authorized) executions instead. In May 1985 three PEBCO activists were abducted by the security police and ... interrogated, tortured and killed ... The killing of activists increased in Pretoria ... for these deaths were invariably followed by politicized funerals, which help spark further unrest, boycotts and stayaways.

... The UDF was weakened by emergency restrictions and the detention of many of its activists. However, the UDF also made major gains at the expense of the government ... though emergency restrictions helped in the vital battle for legitimacy, the declaration of a partial State of Emergency harmed the government, and harmed the revolutionary alliance ... Though there was little prospect of the ANC being able to mount a successful insurrection, the level of violence was rising steadily.

[Source: *People's War: New light on the Struggle for SA* by Anthea Jeffrey]

SOURCE 1B

The extract is taken from a letter written by Dennis Goldberg, a white anti-apartheid activist who was sentenced to life-imprisonment in the 1964 Rivonia trial alongside Nelson Mandela and NINE others, to PW Botha, State President in the 1980s.

D.T. Goldberg (2/82)

Pretoria Security Prison

13 February 1985

The State President

Mr. P.W. Botha

... I notice that in your address of 31 January, you did not refer to political rights for blacks, while in your address on the opening of parliament you did so ... I, suspect, however, that your proposition was profoundly undemocratic in that you were denying to black people the democratic rights which constitute the notion of citizenship.

Mr. Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Development) has recently said (again from memory) that your Cabinet constitutional committee has come to the conclusion that the exercise of political rights, but what you call "Urban blacks" through the euphemistically (indirectly) termed "homelands" is unacceptable to them. "Urban Blacks" have no connection with the "homelands". Mr. Heunis went on to say that your government accepted this conclusion, but nevertheless insisted that the political link to the 'Homelands' be retained. (This despite clear rejection of the whole concept of the "homelands" as pseudo-independent State / false independent state by the black people.)

This gets to the heart of the matter. In your perpetual quest for cast-iron guarantees for the protection of the whites, and especially of Afrikaners, you are defeating your own purposes by denying political rights to blacks.

The ever-lengthening delays in the implementation of a truly democratic system in our country (a State which will nevertheless come into being) results in growing frustration and anger. I fear these feelings may lead to the very dangers for whites which you are concerned to avoid.

I fear that if continued any longer the precedents (examples) you are setting in the treatment of whole groups of people, of black people in particular, and of individuals are dangerous. Your precedents will make it more difficult for us who want to build our country for all our people, to prevent some people from invoking your precedents.

It is my firm conviction that the only guarantee you have for the secure future of whites in South Africa in which everyone will have democratic rights backed by the long-held commitment of the African National Congress to uphold those rights.

Yours faithfully Signed: D. T. Goldberg

[Source: <https://denisgoldberg.org/letter-p-w-botha-apartheid-president/> Accessed 12 January 2024.]

SOURCE 1C

The source below focuses on the reaction to Botha's speech "Crossing the Rubicon", which was delivered on 15 August 1985 in Durban, South Africa. The world was expecting State President PW Botha to announce major reforms in his apartheid government. The speech at the time did nothing of this.

The urban black population erupted, especially the young, as the reforms came into force in 1984 when Botha elevated himself to Executive President. Only after tens of thousands had been arrested and 2 500 killed in confrontation with trigger-happy police under a permanent state of emergency was the lid forced back on the simmering townships.

The outside world lost patience as the domestic concessions backfired and the customarily apoplectic (furious) Botha took the view that the West was moving the goalposts on the urging of communistic liberals and black opinion. He decided on one more try, in a televised speech heavily telegraphed as all but revolutionary, on August 15, 1985. He announced in a live worldwide broadcast that he was crossing the "Rubicon".

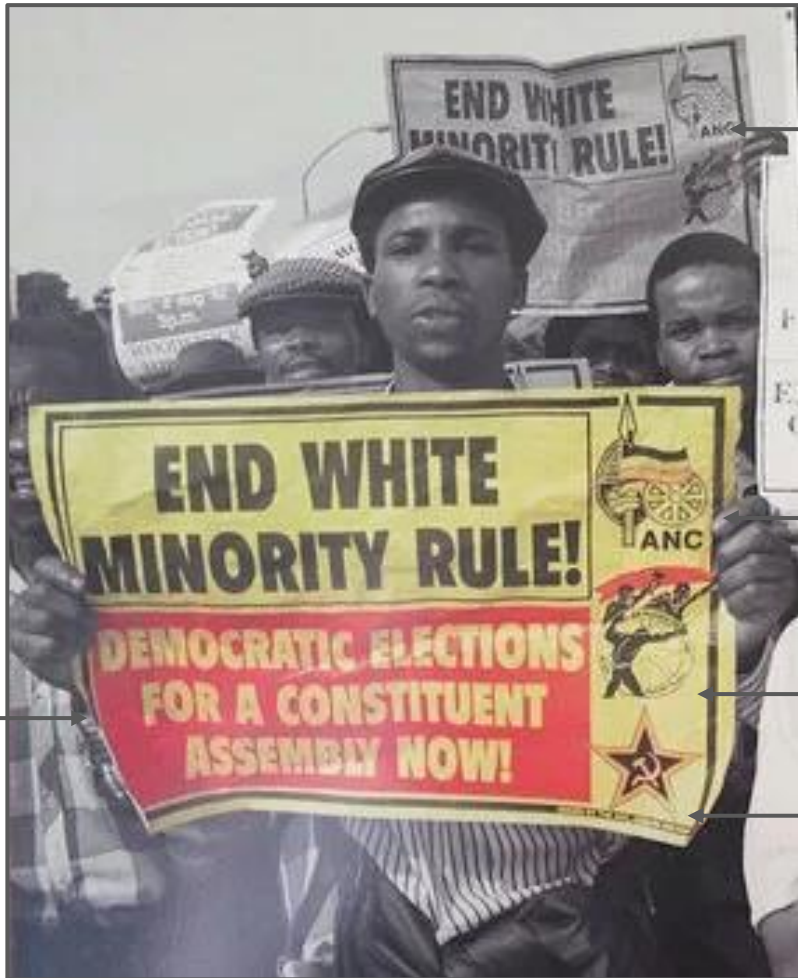
In fact, after a short attempt at walking on water, he returned to where he started. Even the assiduously (persevering) sympathetic Margaret Thatcher now gave up on Botha, the rest of whose time in office was marked by inertia (inactivity). Nothing more could be expected from an authoritarian politician with a violent temper whom nobody dared to cross. Even a secret meeting with Nelson Mandela, still the inspiration of the ANC after 25 years in jail, bore no fruit through Botha's intransigence (stubbornness).

Urged on by astutely (perceptive) mobilised black American opinion, US banks and corporations began to divest themselves of holdings in South Africa. This commercially motivated boycott was the undoing of Apartheid: the rand value collapsed, Botha was forced under US pressure to concede independence to Namibia amid setbacks in Angola and growing economic problems.

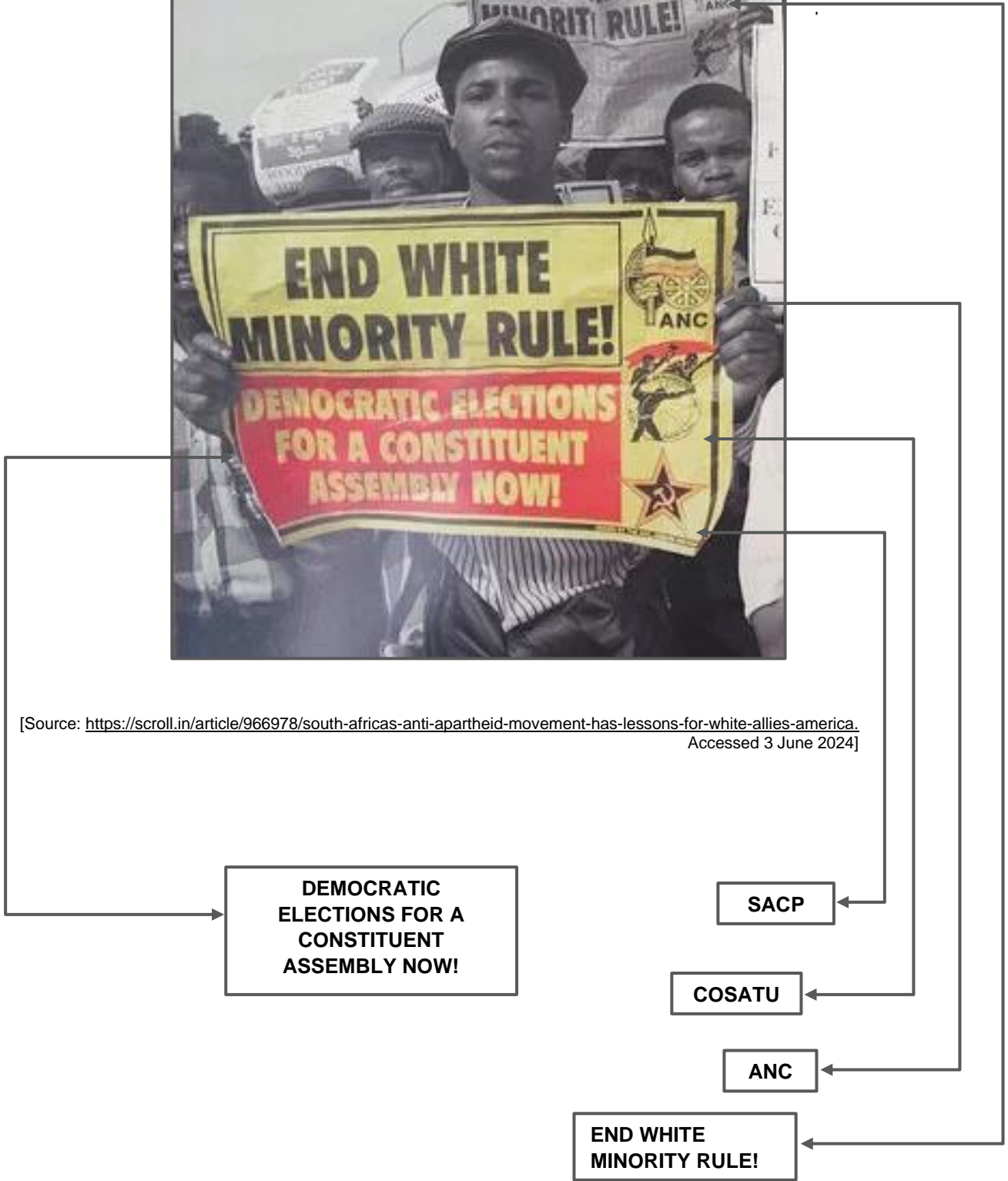
[Source: <https://www.the-guardian.com/nwes/2006/nov/guardianobituaries.southafrica>. Verkry op 12 January 2024]

SOURCE 1D

The source below is a photograph of unidentified protester, protesting State President Botha's reforms of the 1980s to make apartheid acceptable to all. The photographer is unknown.



[Source: <https://scroll.in/article/966978/south-africas-anti-apartheid-movement-has-lessons-for-white-allies-america>. Accessed 3 June 2024]



QUESTION 2: WAS THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCESSFUL IN DEALING WITH THE DEATH OF CHRIS HANI?

SOURCE 2A

This extract below is from the *Sunday Times Newspaper*. It was published on the 25th anniversary of Chris Hani's assassination at the hands of Janusz Walus, where the *Sunday Times* looks back at their original coverage of the death of the South African Communist Party leader in April 1993.

Almost six years to the day after Janusz Walus gunned down Chris Hani in the driveway of his Boksburg home, the world finally learnt that Walus and Clive Derby-Lewis will never be forgiven for their crime.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Wednesday rejected the pair's application for amnesty for the murder – the main finding that they had failed to prove the killing was politically motivated.

The TRC's amnesty committee also found that the men had failed to make a full disclosure, another prerequisite for amnesty.

Political parties on the right of the political spectrum slammed the ruling.

Polish immigrant Walus and former Conservative Party parliamentarian Derby-Lewis had tried to prove to the TRC's amnesty committee that they had taken their cue from the CP in killing the general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

But the committee said it was "common cause that the applicants were not acting on their express authority or orders from the Conservative Party which they purport to represent in assassinating Mr Hani".

Evidence by current CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg that violence was not part of the CP's policy "negated (make ineffective) any claim that the public utterances of the CP leadership constituted implied authority for the assassination".

The committee also rejected Walus' claim that he had acted on Derby-Lewis' orders.

"Walus was under no duress or coercion and executed the plan as he deemed fit," the committee said.

"He (Walus) had a clear understanding of the political situation and was active in rightwing politics. He participated fully in political discussions and hatching the plot to assassinate Mr Hani."

[Source: <https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/1999/s990407f.htm>. Accessed on 9 January 2024]

SOURCE 2B

The source below is taken from the transcripts of the TRC hearing of the 17th of August 1997. Advocate George Bizos is cross-examining Derby-Lewis, who applied for amnesty for the April 1993 murder of Chris Hani.

- Bizos: Mr Derby-Lewis, you made an attempt to apologize, firstly in your statement where you actually apologize to the people of your side and the trouble you gave for your arrest, correct?
- Derby-Lewis: That is correct.
- Bizos: No apology for the killing of Mr Hani?
- Derby-Lewis: No, Mr Chairman.
- Bizos: Have you apologized about wasting a valuable life that may have made a valuable contribution to the people of South Africa, Mr Derby-Lewis?
- Derby-Lewis: With respect Mr Chair, may I ask is this a condition and is this something over which the commission should then be subjected to evidence? My impression was that an apology was not necessary and not part of the whole function of this committee.
- Chairman: Mr Bizos, the Act does not require the applicant to apologise for what he did. It requires a full disclosure of what he did.
- Bizos: I'm not asking as a question of law, I am asking whether this person who is before you have ever expressed regret for killing a person who could have made a valuable contribution to the political life of this country, or not.
- Derby-Lewis: Mr Chairman, no, how can I ever apologize for an act of war, war is war. I haven't heard the ANC apologizing, the perpetrators of these deeds apologising for killing people in pubs, blowing them up in Wimpy Bars, I have heard no apology, Mr Chairman. Those people were as important as Mr Hani was.

[Source: TRC Special Report Transcripts, 19 August 1997]

SOURCE 2C

This source below was taken from an article that was written by Suzan Daley and appeared in the *New York Times* on 8 April 1999. It reported on reasons for the TRC rejection of amnesty for Chris Hani's killers.

Ruling in one of its emotionally charged cases, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission today denied amnesty to the two men who had assassinated a popular black leader on the eve of South Africa's first post-apartheid elections.

The shooting of Chris Hani, the leader of the country's Communist Party and the likely successor to President Nelson Mandela, sent shock waves through the country and threatened to derail the carefully negotiated transition from white supremacy.

In its ruling, the commission found that the two right-wing extremists convicted of gunning down Mr Hani in his driveway had not met the criteria for amnesty. The commission found out that they have failed to tell the whole truth about the event. And the commission ruled, the men had acted without the authority of the political party they belonged to, therefore they did not have the political 'mandate'.

The Hani case has been one of the most watched cases before the Truth Commission, drawing hundreds of spectators during weeks of hearings in Pretoria. The Hani family, the Communist Party and the ruling African National Congress fiercely opposed the granting of amnesty. Janusz Walus, who fired the shots that killed Mr Hani at his Johannesburg home on Easter morning in 1993, and Clive Derby-Lewis, who planned the killing and supplied the gun, were both sentenced to death in 1993. But their sentences were commuted when the death penalty was abolished by Mr Mandela's government.

In applying for amnesty, Mr Derby-Lewis, a former Conservative Party member of Parliament, said he had plotted the killing to create chaos and spark a right-wing coup. Mr Walus, a Polish immigrant who fled to South Africa in 1981 to escape the communism in his homeland, said he had killed Mr Hani to try to stop communists taking power in his new home.

[Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/04/08/world/no-amnestt-foe2-men-who-killed-black-leader-in-south-africa.html>.
Accessed on 2 June 2024]

SOURCE 2D

The source below is a photograph released by Oryx Media Archive / Gallo Images / Getty Images. It was taken during the TRC inquest into the assassination of South African Communist Party leader, Chris Hani. His killers, Janusz Walus and Clive Derby-Lewis were not granted amnesty.



[Source: <https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/detail/news-photo/the-trc-inquest-into-the-assassination-of-african-news-photo/107145373>. Accessed 30 July 2024]

QUESTION 3: WHAT IMPACT DID THE 2023 BRICS SUMMIT HAVE ON BOTH NEW AND OLD MEMBERS OF BRICS?

SOURCE 3A

The article below is taken from *Reuters Newspaper Agency*, published on 18 August 2023. It focuses on the dates, leaders to attend and the agenda of the Summit of BRICS of 2023 in South Africa.

The BRICS group of major emerging economies – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa – will hold its 15th heads of state and government summit in Johannesburg this month.

Here are some key facts about the summit.

WHERE AND WHEN IS THE SUMMIT?

South Africa will host the summit from August 22 – 24 at the city's Sandton Convention Center, after the country took up the one-year rotating chairmanship of the BRICS group in January. It will be the first in-person BRICS summit since the COVID-19 pandemic.

WHO WILL ATTEND?

South African President Cyril Ramaphosa, President Xi Jinping of China, Brazil's President Luiz Lula Da Silva and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi are expected to attend the summit.

Russian President Vladimir Putin will not attend in person due to the warrant of arrest issued by the International Criminal Court for alleged war crimes in Ukraine, something Moscow denies. Putin, who will be a virtual participant, will be represented in Johannesburg by Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov.

Invitations to attend the summit were also extended to 67 leaders across Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean, South African Foreign Minister Naledi Pandor said.

Twenty dignitaries including the secretary-general of the United Nations, the chairperson of the African Union Commission and the president of the New Development Bank have also been invited.

Business leaders are also expected to be in attendance.

WHAT IS THE KEY ISSUE TO BE DISCUSSED?

Perhaps the most important and controversial issue the leaders are expected to discuss is BRICS expansion by adding new members, including the admission criteria and guiding principles.

But divisions among BRICS members may preclude any major announcement of the summit, as the block operates by consensus.

China, seeking to boost its geo-political might at a time of tensions with the United States, is the main driver of expansion. Russia is also embracing it as a way of overcoming isolation over the Ukraine war, and India is also coming around to the idea. Brazil is the most sceptical of enlargement.

[Source: <https://www.reuters.com/world/key-facts-about-brics-2023>. Accessed 28 May 2024]

SOURCE 3B

The article below focuses on major outcomes and relevance of the BRICS Summit 2023. It is titled *BRICS 2023: Major outcomes and relevance* – from an Australian outlook by Pramod Kumar of Fresh Perspective published on 12 October 2023.

... At least six outcomes stand out from the BRICS summit of 2023.

First is the decision on the BRICS expansion. This summit has unanimously agreed to invite six countries to become full members, and include Argentina, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates. These countries will join BRICS from 1 January 2024. The expansion hints at what looks like a strong Russia-China imprint to build a duo-political counterweight to the USA. However, India, Egypt UAE, Iran, and Saudi Arabia also have strong relationships. On June 2023 India and Egypt elevated their ties to the strategic partnership level in the field of defense, security, trade, renewable energies and cultural ties. India and the UAE are the largest trade partner with US\$60 billion dollars in current estimated two-way trade ...

Second, leaders of the BRICS members at the summit declared their intention to reduce dependency on the US dollar and to increase the pace of de-dollarization in global commerce. They also discussed currency alternatives such as including the potential development of a shared currency. The BRICS New Development Bank, for instance, was proffered as a concrete step away from the dollar ...

Third, leaders at the summit also strongly expressed that inclusive multilateralism and global governance could be achieved by the promotion of efficient representation, effective democracy, and reform of international organizations. The summit supported comprehensive reform of the United Nations (UN) system, including the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), to strengthen the representation of developing countries in the UN councils ...

Fourth, the BRICS summit members agreed to extend the support for an African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AFCFTA). The summit stressed the value of the political stability of the African continent in building market certainty ...

Fifth, the summit saw a stronger focus on investing in agriculture and green economy with an aim to promote eco-friendly jobs, fostering low-carbon and sustainable practices ... BRICS leaders favored the role of modern technology in advancing agriculture. They also hoped to make Africa a global food basket.

Last, a major development occurred during the summit where both India and China agreed to set up efforts to reduce tensions at the dispute border. This is likely to be seen as a step toward peace, stability, and prosperity in the region and the world ...

[Source: <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au>. Accessed on 28 May 2024]



SOURCE 3C

The source below is a cartoon by the South African cartoonist Zapiro on the BRICS summit of 2023, depicting China's influence in BRICS and the attitude of South Africa and other European countries towards the Big Western Powers.



[Source: <https://x.com/jaans-kepaans/status/1695758453388501468>
Accessed on 3 June 2024]

SOURCE 3D

This article, *The 2023 BRICS Summit: A mixed bag for China*, was originally published by Brian Hart by Oxford University Press. It has been re-published on the 5th of September 2023. It explains how Beijing is seeing BRICS as the key to engaging the Global South and countering the West.

... Chinese experts acknowledge BRICS' shortcomings compared to the G7. A Chinese economist recently noted that the G7's influence stems from its ability to "speak with one voice," which enables the group to significantly shape global discourse. Key to the G7's success is the fact that the group is made up entirely of liberal democratic states that see eye-to-eye on many fundamental issues. By contrast, the BRICS countries have different political systems, with China and Russia being authoritarian while the others are democracies.

India is the biggest obstacle for China within the BRICS. Sino-Indian relations have been tense in recent years, marked by dangerous standoffs on their contested border and India's pushback against China across several vectors, including the blocking of hundreds of Chinese mobile apps. Most significantly, India has responded to China's growing assertiveness by strengthening ties with the United States, Japan, and Australia through the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (or the Quad).

... Enlargement could indeed increase the influence of BRICS on the global stage. The six new members will expand the grouping's total GDP by around 13 percent, from \$25.9 trillion to nearly \$29.2 trillion (based on 2022 levels). This will bring the group closer to closing the gap with the G7, which in 2022 had a collective GDP of \$43.8 trillion. Notably, the addition of new countries will benefit China more than it will the other original members. While the other members will see their already-slim share of the group's economic size further diluted, China will still account for over 60 percent of the group's total GDP.

... There will be other benefits as well. The addition of Saudi Arabia and the UAE will be particularly significant in terms of BRICS' influence over global energy supplies. The original five countries already account for a sizable share of the world's energy supplies – especially coal. Once new members officially join, the expanded group will produce over 42 percent of global oil supplies and 37 percent of the world's gas.

[Source: <https://chinapower.csis.org/analysis/the/the-2023-brics-summit-a-mixed-bag-for-china>. Accessed on 2 June 2023]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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