

# SENIOR SECONDARY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMME 2013



**education**

Department: Education

**GAUTENG PROVINCE**

## GRADE 12

## HISTORY

## LEARNER NOTES

The SSIP is supported by



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## LEARNER NOTES

<b>SESSION</b>	<b>TOPIC</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
3	Civil Society Protest – Black Consciousness Movement of the 1970s	3
4	South Africa emerging as a democracy – the 1980s	18
5	South Africa Emerging as a Democracy – 1990-1994	32

**SESSION 3****TOPIC: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTEST – BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT OF THE 1970s****SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS**

**KEY QUESTION:** *(Taken from: DOE Preliminary Exam 2008 Paper 1)*

**WHAT WAS STEVE BIKO'S AND THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE 1970s?**



**Learner Note:** The Key Question will appear at the beginning of every section in the exam paper. This question tells you what the OVERALL content to be tested will be. In this case, the Key Question tells us the section will test what contribution Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement made to the struggle in South Africa in the 1970s. NB: You DO NOT answer this question!

Remember to answer all questions in FULL SENTENCES, as bullet points are not acceptable in an exam situation. Also, you must be specific as to which source and which part of the source they are referring to.

**QUESTION 1: 15 minutes**

**SOURCE A**

The following is an extract from one of Steve Biko's articles taken from '*I Write What I Like*' and signed Frank Talk, in which he writes about the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

All in all the black man became a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke [burden] of oppression with sheepish timidity. This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme to change the status quo. It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first, therefore, is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity; to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and, therefore, letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is what we mean by an inward-looking process. This is the definition of 'Black Consciousness'.

1. Study Source 1A and answer the following questions:
- 1.1 Explain the following historical concepts: (2 x 2) (4)  
 a) Black Consciousness Movement  
 b) Liberation
- 1.2 Explain how Steve Biko justifies the need for Black Consciousness. (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.3 Find proof in the text where Biko suggests that Black people are to a certain degree responsible for their own misuse? (1 x 3) (3)
- 1.4 What, according to Steve Biko, needs to happen to address the oppression of black people in South Africa? (2 x 2) (4)  
 [15]

**Learner Note:** When asked to find proof in the text you must find the relevant phrase or sentence and use quotation marks.

**QUESTION 2: 20 minutes**

**SOURCE B**

The following extract is from Donald Woods 10 August 1971, the editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, a liberal English newspaper in East London. Woods changed his views and became an ardent defender of Black Consciousness and close confidante of Steve Biko.

The emergence of SASO is one of the sad manifestations of racist policy at government level. The cornerstone of apartheid is the Bantustan policy, through which blacks are compelled to regard themselves as separate people – a people set apart – who can aspire to progress only on the basis of exclusivity. The result is the emergence of a 'blacks only' mentality among blacks. The promoters of SASO are wrong in what they are doing. They are promoting apartheid. They are entrenching the idea of racial exclusivity and, therefore, doing the government's work.

- 2.1 The source 2B refers to SASO. What was SASO? (1 x 1) (1)
- 2.2 In what way does Donald Woods believe that The Bantustan Policy and SASO's objectives are similar? (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.2 Using your knowledge of SASO, argue whether or not you agree with the above belief? (3 x 2) (6)
- 2.3 Using Source B and your own knowledge, explain how apartheid affected black people. (2 x 2) (4)

[15]

**Learner Note:** Question 2.3 is **dangerous** in that it's easy to answer it emotionally, instead of analysing the source and answering the question objectively. Avoid the use of strong emotive language and try not to make unnecessary assumptions.

**QUESTION 3: 15 minutes****SOURCE C**

This is an extract from Steve Biko's writings *I Write What I Like*, published after Biko died in 1978 in which he answers a journalist's questions on the reasons for the Soweto Uprising.

The primary reason behind the unrest is simple lack of patience by the young folk with the government which is refusing to change, refusing the change in the educational sphere, which is where they (the students) are directing themselves, and also refusing to change in a broader political situation.

Now when these youngsters started with their protest, they were talking about (exclusive use of) Afrikaans (in black schools), they were talking about Bantu education, and they meant that. But the government responded in a high-handed fashion, assuming as they had always done, that they were in a situation of total power. But here for once they met a student group which was not prepared to be thrown around all the time. They decided to flex their muscles, and of course, the whole country responded...

There are lessons to be gleaned from this whole unrest situation of last year. In the first instance, I think blacks have flexed their muscles a bit – and they now know the degree of dedication they can find among their own members when they are called to action. And they now know the kind of responses they will get from the various segments of the population – the youth, the older ones and so on.

**SOURCE D**

In the 1960s, after the Rivonia Trial and Sobukwe's arrest, organised resistance to apartheid within South Africa slowed down. Many anti-Apartheid leaders and supporters were in jail or had gone into exile. However, in the 1970s, a new movement called Black Consciousness or BC led to renewed resistance.

The movement was led by a man called Steve Biko. BC encouraged all black South Africans to recognise their inherent dignity and self-worth. In the 1970s, the Black Consciousness Movement spread from university campuses into urban black communities throughout South Africa.

Biko was banned in 1973. This meant that he was not allowed to speak to more than one person at a time, was restricted to certain areas, and could not make speeches in public. It was also forbidden to quote anything he said, including speeches or simple conversations, or otherwise to mention him.

In spite of the repression of the apartheid government, Biko and the BCM played a large role in inspiring protests, which led to the Soweto Uprising on 16 June 1976.

[http://www.sahistory.org.za/classroom/grade12/3\\_2\\_2.htm](http://www.sahistory.org.za/classroom/grade12/3_2_2.htm)

3. Refer to Source 3C:
- 3.1 What reasons does Steve Biko give for the Soweto Uprising? (3 x 2) (6)
- 3.2 What government reactions explain Steve Biko's description of their response to the Soweto Uprising as "high-handed"? Consult Source 3D. (3 x 1) (3)
- 3.3 What two reasons does Source D give for the fact that, before 1976, "organised resistance to apartheid within South Africa slowed down?" (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.4 What, according to Source D, had the government done to try to repress Steve Biko's ideas? List 4 things. (4 x 1) (4)
- [15]

**QUESTION 4: 30 minutes**

EXTENDED WRITING (The length of your response should be about TWO pages.)

- 4.1 "The Soweto Uprising was partially caused by the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa."  
Discuss the validity of this statement.



**Learner Note:** The essay question counts 40% of the exam. You need to learn the format and how to refer to sources. No bullet points allowed!

Always remember to provide evidence to prove your argument and always explain why certain evidence is used.

Marks are awarded for structure, style, content and argument.

**SECTION B: ADDITIONAL CONTENT NOTES****BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT OF THE 1970s**

The emergence of the Black Consciousness movement that swept across the country in the 1970s can best be explained in the context of the events from 1960 onwards. After the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the National Party (NP) government, which was formed in 1947, intensified its repression to curb widespread civil unrest. It did this by passing harsher laws, extending its use of torture, imprisonment and detentions without trial.

By the late 1960s, the government had jailed, banned or exiled the majority of the Liberation Movement's leaders. In response to this, an intensified wave of tyranny, and a new set of organisations emerged. These organisations filled the vacuum created by the government's suppression of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. United loosely around a set of ideas described as "Black Consciousness," these organisations helped to educate and organise Black people, particularly the youth. In fact, the eruption of the Black Consciousness Movement signalled an end to the stillness that followed the banning of the black political movements.

The BCM urged a defiant rejection of apartheid, especially among Black workers and the youth. The South African Students Organisation (SASO) - an arm of the movement - was founded by Black students who refused to join NUSAS, another student led organisation. In the following year, boycotts and unrest among students and teachers grew after Steve Biko, a leader of SASO, died in a Pretoria detention cell. Within a month of Biko's death, the government had detained scores of people and banned 18 Black Consciousness organisations, as well as two newspapers with a wide Black readership.

The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa is synonymous with its founder, Biko. From the beginning of Biko's political life until his death, he remains one of the indisputable icons of the Black struggle against apartheid. Defining Black Consciousness is no mean task.

**Defining Black Consciousness**

The ideology of Black Consciousness, which informed Biko and his colleagues' approach, represented a deeper strand of Africanism within African nationalism. Biko believed that the Black people had been living in psychological chains, believing themselves to be inferior to the white people.

Black Americans offered the idea of non-white unity against their oppressors. However, the phrase "non-white" defined Blacks in negative terms.

Ideas about Black unity and emancipation are deeply rooted in the struggle Biko launched against apartheid since the 1960s. It should be emphasised that in South Africa, both the rhetoric and philosophy of Black Consciousness contradicted the fundamental principles of grand apartheid. In short, apartheid was designed not only to separate Whites from Blacks but also to foster black narrow-mindedness by segregating Blacks into ethnic and linguistic groups.

Black Consciousness has, therefore, been defined by Biko as *“the realisation by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the normal which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realisation that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black consciousness therefore takes cognisance of the deliberateness of God’s plan in creating black people black. It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life.”*

Black Consciousness instilled in Africans a culture of revolt that was based on a number of fundamental ideas. Steve Biko diagnosed the problem of oppression in South Africa as a problem of culture. This relentless denigration of black African culture created a sense of inferiority that rendered Black South Africans incapable of action and revolt. Biko wrote that:

*“Black Consciousness seeks to show the black people the value of their own standards and outlook. It urges black people to judge themselves according to these standards and not to be fooled by white society who [sic] have white-washed themselves and made white standards the yardstick by which even black people judge each other.”*

Therefore, to put it briefly, Black Consciousness refers to the ideas and action which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with the aim of uniting Black people to oppose apartheid and white supremacy.

### **The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa**

The apartheid government had banished the Black resistance movements, in particular the ANC and the PAC. Black leaders, who were not imprisoned by the state, fled into exile. South Africa's economy grew and benefited White South Africans. For Black South Africans, however, the suffering continued.

This marked the beginning of Biko’s resentment against white authority. Biko and his student colleagues had been receptive to the political ideas expressed by many Black intellectuals, and learned to use the emotional power of the message of Black Consciousness.

As a result, these ideas and slogans filtered down to a much broader group of socially underprivileged people, who were angry and impatient for meaningful action. This restructured consciousness emerged among students, beginning with those at Fort Hare and later the Durban Medical School (Natal University). These students constituted the new African petty bourgeoisie class.

### **The formation of SASO and the Black People's Convention**

Black university students had tried for many years to make progress through the multiracial and liberal National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Several young liberal white leaders of the organisation empathised with the Black cause, and tried to protect politically active Black students from government counter-action by speaking out for them.

However, Biko felt that even within anti-government politics, Blacks still did not play as prominent a role as Whites. In the period 1967-68, Biko, now a medical student at Natal University, was one of the students who began to analyse and criticise the unhealthy political situation in the country. At Wentworth, Natal University's medical school for Blacks, Biko was elected to the Student's Representative Council (SRC), and in 1967, attended a conference of students which was critical of the government. The BCM that Biko founded rejected the notion that whites could play a role in the liberation of Blacks. "The main thing was to get black people to articulate their own struggle and reject the white liberal establishment from prescribing to people," said Barney Pityana (Biko's friend). Biko and his colleagues felt Blacks needed to learn to speak for themselves.

For Biko and other black students, NUSAS was not militant enough. Other liberal organisations, like some churches, were not open to blacks either. For example, at a non-racial church conference, which Biko attended, white participants discouraged blacks from defying restrictions of the Group Areas Act, which limited Blacks to 72 hours in a white area. This discouragement underlined the extent to which Black South Africans were isolated, even from the church.

At the University Christian Movement (UCM) meeting held in Stutterheim in 1968, young people were enthusiastically supportive of Biko's idea for an exclusively all-Black movement. In 1969, African students launched a Blacks-only student union, the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) to which Biko was elected president. SASO made clear its common allegiance to the philosophy of Black Consciousness. South Africa's Black communities received these ideas with mixed feelings. The idea that Black people might determine their own destiny, as well as develop a new Africanism with deep roots in the Black Consciousness Movement, swept across Black campuses. In a short time, SASO became identified with Black Power and African humanism. This was reinforced by ideas emanating from Black America and Africa.

### **The Black Face of Apartheid**

Biko was critical of the homeland (Bantustan) policy. An increasing number of Biko's supporters agreed. In 1978 in Graaff Reinet, at PAC leader Robert Sobukwe's funeral, Buthelezi (leader of the KwaZulu homeland) was jeered at and stoned by young Black Consciousness followers. Buthelezi fell into further conflict with his former allies in the Congress movement after clashes between his Inkatha supporters and Black students. In May 1980, secondary-school students boycotting classes in KwaZulu were attacked by a mob armed with spears and assegais. At the University of Zululand at Ngoye, the national student organisation, AZASO, was banned from the campus, not by the Pretoria government, but by the KwaZulu homeland government.

In October 1983, students denounced a visit to the campus by Buthelezi. As a result, Inkatha impis – soldiers wielding spears and clubs – were bussed in from all over the province. Students entering the campus were searched, but the impis were permitted to pass through the checkpoints with their weapons. The impis then attacked the students. Four students were killed and more than 100 others stabbed. Buthelezi later justified the incident by saying the Inkatha followers were provoked and said they "did no more than defend my honour and the honour of His Majesty the King." The gulf between Buthelezi and other Black leaders increased.

Despite the fact that some of the incidents took place after Biko's death, his supporters upheld his philosophy and continued to denounce the homeland policy for its negativity and its failure to recognise the growing stature of Black Consciousness. In fact, Biko saw all moderates working within the system as collaborators with the apartheid government.

With the expulsion of the moderate and pragmatic Themba Sono, this radical ideology was entrenched. Sono's message and expulsion came at a time when SASO was beginning to take a more radical approach against apartheid. SASO then became overtly confrontational with the state. Older and more cautious political leaders feared that open militancy would undermine the youth's future education.

Biko and the young leaders stressed that the liberation of Black people was first a psychological struggle against the portrayal of a Black man as an inferior person, lacking the good qualities that made a White person superior. Biko taught Black people to be proud of their culture and personal appearance. As a result the Black People's Convention was launched in 1971. Eight Black consciousness leaders were banned in 1973, and publication of BPC material became difficult.

Black churchmen were becoming increasingly politicised, and Black Consciousness became more outspoken and defiant of white authority. Schools also became politicised and this resulted in expulsions and attacks on Black education. At Black schools, Biko and his student leaders became heroes, and high school youth organisations became the nurseries for revolt.

### **Black Consciousness and 16 June – The birth of a new generation**

The Black Consciousness philosophy gained most of its support in the secondary schools and universities. The Africanist revival of African history that centred around themes like African 'civilisations' and Black people's 'heroic achievements', made a deep impression on many university and high school students.

The imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction came at an unstable time, as the 'centre of gravity' in black student politics had shifted dramatically in the mid-1970s. The emerging Black Consciousness philosophy was transforming the way young Black people thought, and it boosted their self esteem. The introduction of Afrikaans frustrated this change. According to Biko, the difficulty of coping with a foreign language in schools caused 'an inferiority complex.' He added that, the language problem "inculcates in many black students a sense of inadequacy. You tend to think that it is not just a matter of language. You tend to tie it up with intelligence."

"The kids were failing exams in thousands," recalled a black journalist. The impact of SASO on schools led to the formation of the South African Students Movement (SASM).

According to Mono Badela (interviewed by Mufson in January 1988), "...[the students] saw Afrikaans as a means of suppression...suppressing them from advancing educationally." It was due to these problems that, at the end of May 1976, student leaders in Soweto travelled secretly from school to school to rally fellow students to protest against Afrikaans. Student grievances against the use of an unfamiliar language eventually culminated in the Soweto riots of 16 June 1976.

### **Biko's imprisonment, death and the aftermath**

In the wake of the urban revolt of 1976, with prospects of a national revolution becoming apparent, security police detained Biko, the outspoken student leader, on August 18th. He was thirty years old and was reportedly extremely fit when arrested. He was detained in Port Elizabeth and on 11 September 1977, he was moved to Pretoria Central Prison, Transvaal (now Gauteng). On 12 September, he died in detention - the 20th person to have died in detention in the preceding eighteen months.

A post-mortem was conducted the day after Biko's death, at which his family was present. The explanation given by the Minister of Justice and Police, Jimmy Kruger, was that Biko died while on a hunger strike. This explanation was not sufficient for observers and people close to Biko. The medical reports received by Minister Kruger were not made public.

Biko's brutal death made him a martyr in the history of Black resistance to white hegemony. It inflamed Black anger and inspired a rededication to the struggle for freedom. Progressive Federal Party parliamentarian, Helen Suzman, warned Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, that "The world was not going to forget the Biko affair," adding, "We will not forget it either."

Kruger's reply that Biko's death "left him cold," echoed around the world. A widespread crackdown on Black student organisations and political movements followed. Just before the Biko and deaths in detention inquest, police honed in on the remaining Black Consciousness resistance organisations.

The United States Congress also called for a probe into Biko's death. The letter's demands were not limited to Biko's death, as it also requested an investigation of South Africa's detention practices. Moreover, the letter stated that the death of Biko highlighted South Africa's human rights record and would add to the country's further isolation.

Although many people were still nervous about political activity following the 1977 crackdown on BC organisations, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (AZAPO) was formed in 1978 as a successor to the proscribed Black Consciousness structures. It was an attempt at further espousing and re-inventing the Black Consciousness philosophy, which Biko bequeathed to South Africa. It launched a student wing, the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), made up of university students. AZAPO and AZASO therefore filled the organisational vacuum in the townships created by the banning of the ANC, PAC and the BCM. At this stage, no obvious conflict between the new groups and the ANC tradition existed.

### **The Inquest into Biko's Death and his funeral**

At the inquest into Biko's death, no government official was prepared to condemn his treatment. The circumstances of his death were said to be inconclusive, and death was attributed to a 'prison accident.' However, evidence presented during the 15-day inquest into Biko's death revealed otherwise.

During his detention in a Port Elizabeth prison cell he had been chained to a grill at night and left to lie in urine-soaked blankets. He had been stripped naked and kept in leg-irons for 48 hours in his cell. A scuffle with security police caused brain damage. He was then driven, naked and manacled in the back of a police van, to Pretoria. He died there on 12 September 1977.

Biko's funeral was the first big political funeral in South Africa. Prominent white liberals, such as the parliamentarian, Helen Suzman, attended. So did the black American diplomat, Donald McHenry and other international dignitaries. For five hours, speakers eulogised Biko. The South African government mobilised its riot police to break groups of mourners in anticipation of the protest, and people who were involved in the organisation of Biko's funeral were arrested, detained, or banned. Biko's death caught the attention of the international community, which increased the pressure on the South African government to abolish its detention policies and called for an international probe on the causes of Biko's death. Even close allies of South Africa, Britain and the United States of America, expressed deep concern over Biko's death.

In 1997, Biko's killers appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to request amnesty for the death of the student leader.

The role played by Biko and his colleagues in the BCM, as well as in the fight for South Africa's freedom cannot be under-estimated. Steve Biko's life reflected the aspirations of many frustrated young Black intellectuals. Therefore, when he died, he became a martyr and symbol of Black Nationalism, and his struggle focused critical world attention on South Africa more than ever before.

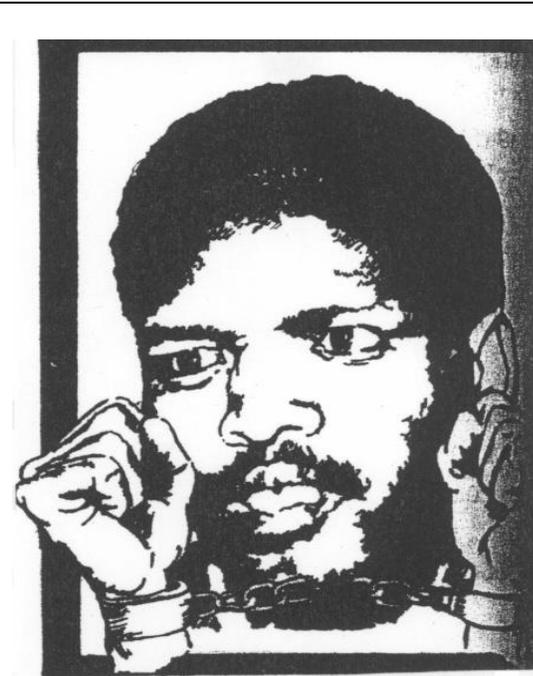
*Adapted from: South African History online,  
<http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/governance-projects/black-consciousness/biko/history.htm>*

**SECTION C: HOMEWORK**

**Learner Note:** If you have difficulty with the homework questions, you should refer to the content notes or to your class teacher for assistance.

**QUESTION 1****SOURCE C**

Many leaders were detained and imprisoned, among them the Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, who died in prison after being beaten and tortured in 1977. The news of his death caused anger and shock both locally and overseas. He was regarded by many as a remarkable man who would have played an important role in South Africa's future.



**Poster of the BCP with Steve Biko symbolically breaking his chains**

- |     |   |         |     |
|-----|---|---------|-----|
| 1.1 | Using Source C and your own knowledge, explain why Steve Biko was imprisoned.   | (2 x 1) | (2) |
| 1.2 | What was the impact of this photograph in the struggle for liberation?  | (3 x 1) | (3) |
| 1.3 | According to the source and your own knowledge, what was the response of the government to Steve Biko's ideology?     | (2 x 2) | (4) |
| 1.4 | Comment on the usefulness of this photograph to a historian studying the history of the Black Consciousness Movement. | (2 x 2) | (4) |

[13]

<b>SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A</b>
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**Learner Note:** Mark allocation works as follows:

$$(Number\ of\ correct\ facts \times Number\ of\ marks) = (TOTAL\ MARKS)$$

**QUESTION 1**

1. Study Source1A and answer the following questions:

- 1.1 a) • Philosophy that instilled pride and dignity in the black man  
 • Philosophy that empowered blacks mentally.  
 • Philosophy which sought to free the minds of black people  
 b) • Freedom  
 • Equality  
 • Independence  
 • Uhuru  
 • Any other relevant response (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.2 • To receive the acknowledgement of a black man.  
 • To rebuild blacks lost personality.  
 • To go back to his roots.  
 • Any other relevant answer (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.3 • 'To remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused.....letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth.'  
 . (1 x 3) (3)
- 1.4 • It's for a black person to stand up for himself.  
 • It's to rebuild his dented personality.  
 • It's to stand on his toes and defend himself.  
 • It's to wake up and look the other way. (2 x 2) (4)
- [15]**

**QUESTION 2**

2. Study Source 2B and answer the following questions:

- 2.1 • South African Student Organisation  
 • Founded by Steve Biko (1 x 1) (1)
- 2.2 • Both systems seek to segregate. They do not seek to assimilate cultures or races but put one race above the other. The Bantustans created black only states and BC is seeking to promote a fight against Apartheid that promotes that blackness and thus once again reiterates segregation. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 **Answer can agree or disagree.**

- Agreement can include: BC is nationalistic, SASO is created as it sought to escape white dominated movements, is exclusively black and suspicious of white inference. (3 x 2) (6)
- Disagreement can include: Pride in being black does not necessarily mean superiority or exclusivity, black exclusiveness comes from necessity. Black people are responsible for themselves and thus need to take responsibility for their freedom.

- 2.4 • The answer must seek to demonstrate empathy. The answer is open ended but can include emotions such as shame, humiliation, bitterness, anger etc. The marking must be done at the markers discretion. (2 x 2) (4) [15]

**QUESTION 3**3.1 **Any three:**

- Biko states that the Soweto Uprising took place because of a lack of patience by the youth
- The government's unwillingness to change the education system
- Or to change Apartheid
- Afrikaans as medium of instruction
- Bantu Education (3 x 2) (6)

3.2 **Any three:**

- The police responded unnecessarily harshly and violently
- The police used tear gas and shot at the protesting pupils with live ammunition
- Two pupils died immediately and many were injured. (3 x 1) (3)

- 3.3 Leaders in jail/in exile after the Rivonia trial (1 x 2) (2)

3.2 **Any four:**

- Biko was banned in 1973
- Not allowed to speak to more than one person at a time
- Restricted to certain areas
- Could not make speeches in public
- Forbidden to quote anything he said
- Forbidden to mention him (4 x 1) (4) [15]

**QUESTION 4**

4.1 Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

**SYNOPSIS**

The essay should focus on the role Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement played in the Soweto Uprising, but should argue that there were many other reasons for the Uprising.

**MAIN ASPECTS****INTRODUCTION**

Suggest that the BCM was just one factor in the Soweto Uprising.

**ELABORATION**

- Black Consciousness inspired pride and self-confidence in black students
- BC ideas grew in black universities and spread to high schools
- BC inspired students to fight against Bantu Education
- BC filled a vacuum in resistance left by the banning of the ANC and PAC
- Students responded to BC ideas because it posed an alternative to Apartheid – liberation from psychological inferiority
- Dedication and lack of patience of black youth
- No opposition to Apartheid allowed – government had banned ANC and PAC (1960)
- Bantu Education
- Increased numbers of pupils in schools
- New “collective identity”
- Poor facilities in black schools
- Lack of qualified teachers
- Large classes
- Unequal distribution of resources in white and black schools
- Independence of Mozambique and Angola gave hope and inspiration
- Ideas of ANC through Radio Freedom
- PAC underground involvement in Soweto
- Afrikaans as a medium of instruction
- Any other relevant response

**CONCLUSION**

Candidates should tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion stating that BCM was just one of the factors which led to the Soweto Uprising.

**[30]**

**Use the first matrix on the next page to assess this extended writing.**

**GRADE 12 HOLISTIC RUBRIC TO ASSESS EXTENDED WRITING (SUCH AS AN ESSAY USING SOURCES, REPORT, NEWSPAPER ARTICLE, ETC.) TOTAL MARKS: 30**

LEVEL	If the candidate has demonstrated <b>all or most of the skills listed in a particular level, she/he will be awarded a mark relevant to the category.</b>
<b>7</b> <b>Outstanding</b> <b>80 – 100%</b> <b>24 – 30</b>  <b>[Excellent]</b>	Consistently focuses on topic – demonstrates a logical and coherent progress towards a conclusion Clearly comprehends the sources Uses all or most of the sources Selects relevant sources Quotes selectively Groups sources (not essential but should not merely list sources) Demonstrates a setting of sources in background understanding If appropriate, deals fully with counter-argument Refers appropriately to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Expresses him/herself clearly Concludes essay with clear focus on topic – takes a stand (i.e. reaches an independent conclusion)
<b>6</b> <b>Meritorious</b> <b>70 – 79%</b> <b>21 – 23</b>  <b>[Very Good]</b>	Makes a good effort to focus consistently on the topic but, at times, argument loses some focus Clearly comprehends the sources Uses all or most of the sources Selects relevant sources Quotes selectively Good use of relevant evidence from the sources. Good attempt to consider counter-argument Good attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of source Expression good Concludes essay with clear focus on topic – takes a stand (i.e. reaches an independent conclusion)
<b>5</b> <b>Substantial</b> <b>60 – 69%</b> <b>18 – 20</b>  <b>[Good]</b>	Makes an effort to focus on the topic but argument has lapses in focus Comprehends most of the sources Uses most of the sources Selects relevant sources Expression good but with lapses Perhaps, lacking some depth of overall-focus, or does not make reference to one or more relevant sources If appropriate, makes an attempt to consider counter-argument Rather superficial or no attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Makes an attempt to take a stand (focuses on limitations, etc.) in reaching an independent conclusion
<b>4</b> <b>Moderate</b> <b>50 – 59%</b> <b>15 – 17</b>  <b>[Satisfactory]</b>	Makes some effort to focus on the topic but argument has many lapses in focus Moderate comprehension of most of the sources Moderate use of relevant evidence from the sources Moderate attempt to consider counter-argument Moderate attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Expression is satisfactory Makes an attempt to take a stand but there are serious inconsistencies with making links with the rest of the essay Essay might have a tendency to list sources and “tag” on focus
<b>3</b> <b>Adequate</b> <b>40 – 49%</b> <b>12 – 14</b>  <b>[Fair]</b>	Little attempt to focus on the topic Little comprehension of the sources Struggles to select relevant information from the sources No quotes – or generally irrelevant Makes little effort to consider counter-arguments Mainly characterised by listing of sources No attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy of sources Expression poor Makes a poor attempt to take a stand. (i.e. battles to reach an independent conclusion)
<b>2</b> <b>Elementary</b> <b>30 – 39%</b> <b>09 – 11</b>  <b>[Weak]</b>	Unable to focus on the topic Unable to identify relevant sources No quotes – or generally irrelevant Makes no effort to consider counter-argument Essay characterised by listing of sources No attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy of sources Expression very poor Makes a very poor attempt to take a stand – if at all
<b>1</b> <b>Not Achieved</b> <b>0 – 29%</b> <b>0 – 8</b>  <b>[Poor]</b>	No attempt to focus on the topic Uses no sources Completely irrelevant Copies directly from the sources Answer extremely poor

## SESSION 4

## TOPIC: SOUTH AFRICA EMERGING AS A DEMOCRACY – THE 1980s

## SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

## KEY QUESTION:

**HOW DID PW BOTHA'S TOTAL STRATEGY CONTRIBUTE TO THE CRISIS OF THE 1980s?**

**Learner Note:** The Key Question will appear at the beginning of every section in the exam paper. This question tells you what the OVERALL content to be tested will be. In this case, the Key Question tells us the section will test PW Botha's Total Strategy contributed to the crisis of the 1980s. NB: You DO NOT answer this question! Remember to answer all questions in FULL SENTENCES, as bullet points are not acceptable in an exam situation. Also, you must be specific as to which source and which part of the source you are speaking of.

**Learner Note: How to analyse a cartoon**

Cartoons will give the artist's point of view on a particular topic. They are useful in reflecting the attitudes of the time. When studying a cartoon ask the following questions:

1. How are the people drawn? Are they realistic? What size are they? Are some of their features exaggerated? How are they dressed?
2. What view of the people does the cartoon give?
3. What else is included in the cartoon? Is there any writing on the cartoon itself?
4. What symbols are used to get the message across?
5. What information do the date and caption contribute?
6. Where was the cartoon published?
7. What is the artist's intention?
8. Does the cartoon offer a positive or negative perspective on the topic?
9. What do you know of the period that might support your view of the cartoon?
10. What does the interpretation of the topic tell you about the artist? Can you find bias? Can you work out what issue or whom the cartoonist supports?

-  
Taken from Oxford *In Search of History*, p 52

## QUESTION 1:

17 minutes

(Taken from DOE 2008 Prelim Paper 2)

## SOURCE A



1. Study Source A and answer the following questions:
- 1.1 Explain the following historical concepts in terms of NP policy:
  - (a) Reform (2 x 1)
  - (b) Repression (2)
- 1.2 Describe two elements of the Reform policy. (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.3 According to the cartoonist, what groups were targeted by Botha's repression measures? (name three) (3 x 1) (3)
- 1.4 Name two ways in which the cartoonist has demonstrated that the Patient in the cartoon is a South African. (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.5 Using details from the cartoon explain how the cartoonist is criticising PW Botha's measures of reform and repression. (4 x 1) (4)

[15]

**QUESTION 2:****17 minutes****SOURCE B**

This cartoon is taken from *Shuters History* depicting a cartoonist's fun impression of the Tricameral Parliament.



2. Study Source B and answer the following questions:

- 2.1 Explain what the tricameral government was. (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.2 Identify THREE races that were part of the tricameral parliament. (3 x 1) (3)
- 2.3 With reference to the "Dwelling", what comment is the cartoonist making about the legitimacy of the parliament? (2 x 1) (2)
- 2.4 Using your knowledge, do you think this is an accurate assessment of the tri-cameral parliament? (2 x 1) (2)
- 2.5 How useful is this source to a historian studying the history of South Africa in the 1980's? (2 x 2) (4)

[15]

**Learner Note:** Usefulness of a source is generally determined by answering the question “What can a historian use this source to prove?” Sources are generally useful in some way or another –even if the source only shows what propaganda the ruling government was using at the time and it doesn’t add any other additional facts to the time period – this is still useful, maybe not reliable, but definitely useful.

**QUESTION 3: 16 minutes**

**SOURCE C**

The following extract is from *In Search of History* by J Bottaro, P Visser, et al. The government supported neighbouring movements which were fighting SA liberation movements.

The Government tried to prevent neighbouring countries from supporting South African liberation movements by launching cross border raids on suspected ANC bases, South African political leaders in exile were targeted, and several were killed or injured. The South African Defence Force (SADF) also supported opposition guerrilla groups, such as RENAMO in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola, in an attempt to ‘destabilise’ the socialist governments in these countries.

3. Study Source C and answer the following questions:
- |     |  |         |     |
|-----|--|---------|-----|
| 3.1 | What type of source is Source C?   | (1 x 1) | (1) |
| 3.2 | Name two foreign movements that were supported by the South African government?                      | (2 x 2) | (4) |
| 3.3 | Using your own knowledge and Source C, explain why South Africa supported these guerrilla campaigns? | (3 x 2) | (6) |
| 3.4 | How useful is the source to a historian studying PW Botha’s reform policies in the 1980’s?           | (2 x 2) | (4) |
- [15]

**QUESTION 4: 30 minutes**

EXTENDED WRITING (The length of your response should be about TWO pages.)

Using the information from the sources and your own knowledge, write a letter to your friend who left South Africa in the late 1970s and explain to him/her how the NP government reached a point of negotiation. [30]

**Learner Note:** The essay question counts 40% of the exam. You need to learn the format and how to refer to sources. No bullet points allowed!

**SECTION B: ADDITIONAL CONTENT NOTES****Introduction**

During the 1980s, the apartheid government came under increasing internal pressure. The National Party attempted a political solution to the crisis it faced by creating the cosmetic Tricameral Parliament. This system of governance tampered with, but did not challenge apartheid.

The reforms had the opposite effect to what the apartheid regime intended. Reforms provided renewed impetus for the resistance movements, and the 1980s was a decade which became a turning point in South African history.

Popular protest by masses of ordinary South Africans against the apartheid regime reached its height in the 1980s, and the government responded with extreme brutality and repression.

**The trigger of mass civil society protests in the 1980s:****1983 Tricameral Parliament**

Under P.W. Botha, a tricameral (three chamber) parliament was created which included limited representation of South Africans classified 'Coloured' and 'Indian' but excluded Africans. Africans were seen to have political rights in the so-called 'homelands' or 'Independent Bantustans' and in local township councils.

Coloureds and Indians were to be given a greater (but still powerless) level of participation in the South African political system. Real political power would remain concentrated in the House of Assembly, the representatives of the 'White' minority.

Voters on separate ethnic voter's roles would elect the members of each chamber of parliament:

- The House of Assembly (White representatives)
- The House of Representatives (Coloured representatives)
- The House of Delegates (Indian representatives)

The Conservative Party had a few seats in the whites-only Parliament. As the name implies, they were even more reactionary than the National Party. The Conservative Party said that the National Party did not have a mandate to implement the Tricameral reforms. Botha proposed a Referendum through which white people could vote for their preference regarding the Tricameral Parliament. In November 1983, about 70 percent of white people voted in favour of the reforms.

The newly formed Liberation movement, the United Democratic Front (UDF), launched a massive nationwide campaign to dissuade Coloured and Indian voters from participating in the elections for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

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.

## UDF

The United Democratic Front was a non-racial alliance of about 400 national, regional and local organisations. It was launched in Cape Town in 1983, and based its ideology on the Freedom Charter. The UDF was supported by the African National Congress (ANC) in exile.

## The End Conscription Campaign

The South African Defence Force (SADF) claimed to be 'the protector of peace-loving people', but they were used to enforce the National Party government's racist policies. They were used:

- To act against the banned liberation movements within South Africa, as well as in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Angola, South West Africa (Namibia) and Mozambique
- To destabilise the majority governments in the southern African region
- Against fellow South Africans to quell civil war in the black townships
- To repress anti-apartheid activities

Under the apartheid government, all white South African men were conscripted into military service in the SADF when they completed their school or tertiary education. This was referred to as "National Service" by the apartheid regime. In 1983, the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was formed. It was an anti-apartheid organisation allied to the United Democratic Front (UDF). Conscientious objectors and their supporters joined the ECC to oppose the conscription of all white South African men into military service in the SADF.

By 1985, the number of conscripts who failed to report for so-called National Service was increasing rapidly. By 1988, the ECC was undermining the apartheid state to such an extent that the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, banned the organisation.

## Civic Organisations

Community or civic organisations were formed at a local level to oppose the control of the apartheid state, and to promote the interests of local communities. A national, broad structure for civics only emerged in 1992, which was called the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO).

Civics tackled 'bread and butter issues' such as rent, municipal services, public transport and poor recreational and child-care facilities. The government had established

Community Councils served by black councillors who were responsible for township administration. Councillors were regarded as collaborators or 'sell-outs', and councils were rejected by communities as they imposed apartheid structures. Councillors and black police officers were forced to flee the townships, forced to resign, or faced violent deaths. Civic organisations in street and area committees attempted to form alternative institutions of administration and justice, in an attempt to establish 'people's power' against white minority rule.

Protest against poor services took the form of boycotts, in which residents refused to pay rent or service fees to the municipality. State orchestrated violence and human rights abuse escalated in the 1980s. Police informants (both black and white), murder squads and even government sponsored biological warfare led to widespread torture, the disappearance of activists, deaths in police detention, and murder.

Necklacing refers to the practice of summary execution carried out by forcing a rubber tire, filled with gasoline, around a victim's chest and arms, and setting it on fire.

Suspected collaborators or suspected police informers were 'necklaced' and in some cases burnt to death. 'Necklacing' is a difficult legacy to deal with in the struggle for justice, freedom and democracy.

### **Trade Unions**

A Trade Union or Labour Union is an organisation of workers. Trade union leadership bargains with the employer on behalf of its members to improve employment conditions. However, many trade unions also engage in political activities to have laws changed to benefit the workers.

The modern trade union movement in South Africa was formed in the 1970's when trade unions for black workers were illegal. A turning point in trade union history came about with the Durban strikes in 1973. Even though unions remained illegal and unofficial, black workers began to form trade unions. After the 1976 Soweto Uprising, trade unions and their workers began to play a major role in the anti-apartheid struggle. Members of trade unions grew in numbers. They campaigned for the rights of black workers and played a political role as they put pressure on the government to make changes to its apartheid policies. Links between work issues and broader community grievances in the apartheid state became inseparable.

Continuing strikes became a headache for the apartheid government, and they set up a commission, headed by Professor Nic Wiehahn, to study labour issues. The apartheid government changed the laws accordingly. Although the legalisation of black trade unions gave workers the legal right to strike, it also gave the government a degree of control over them, as trade unions had to be registered and hand in their membership records to the government. By law, unions were not allowed to support political parties, but some trade unions did not comply.

Later in 1979, the first federation of trade unions called the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) was formed. FOSATU aimed to be a national, non-racial umbrella organisation to co-ordinate Black trade unions. In 1980, another trade union federation was formed called the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA). It was influenced strongly by the ideas of Black Consciousness and wanted to work to ensure black leadership of unions. CUSA objected to the number of Whites in leadership positions in FOSATU, and wanted to maintain Black working class leadership.

The establishment of the trade-union federations led to greater unity amongst the workers. Outside of the federations, there were a number of independent anti-apartheid unions. In 1985, a new federation called the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was formed, which followed the non-racial policies of the (banned) ANC.

In 1986, CUSA and other unions formed the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). Not all trade unions joined the federations.

In 1981, 342 strikes took place in South Africa. As the mass movement against apartheid grew, worker action focused on the overthrow of the apartheid system.

At times, strikes were part of national stay-aways. Resistance during the 1980s, which included school boycotts, strikes and guerrilla action of MK, made South Africa increasingly ungovernable and was one of the forces that led to the collapse of the apartheid government.

### **COSAS AND AZASO**

In the aftermath of the 1976 Uprising, a national high school education student organisation called the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed in 1979. The Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO) was also established in 1979 by students from five Black universities and one college of education. AZASO adopted ANC policies and the Freedom Charter. AZASO advocated a non-racial policy and worked with White anti-apartheid university student structures, like NUSAS.

AZASO and COSAS did not separate the education struggle from the broader socio-political struggle. AZASO and COSAS were therefore part of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The White anti-apartheid student organisation, NUSAS, also worked on the Education Charter. In many areas, the youth became the leading organisers of protests and mass mobilisation such as school boycotts, stay-aways, consumer boycotts, and self defence structures against the apartheid security forces.

School boycotts became a central strategy for youth organisations. Many young people sacrificed education and employment opportunities in order to participate in the struggle against apartheid. At one point they coined the slogan "liberation first, education later."

COSAS and AZASO became linked to a broader movement called the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) which was formed in 1986. The NECC united students, parents and teacher structures in an effort to build democracy in schools and eliminate the Bantu Education curriculum. Parents became increasingly concerned with intimidating tactics used by youth organisations. COSAS opposed the move as collaboration with the government.

In 1986, AZASO changed its name to the South African National Students Congress (SANSCO). Some analysts have criticised People's Education for its 'anti-intellectualism' and 'conceptual sloppiness'.

### **South African Council of Churches (SACC)**

The apartheid government claimed to be Christian, and justified racism by the misuse of biblical texts. The three white Dutch Reformed churches continued to support government policy, while the Baptists, Pentecostals and the Charismatic groups, as well as the black Zionist Christian Churches maintained "non-political" stances, refusing to become involved in the issue of social justice.

On the other hand, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), an interdenominational forum of churches, was prominent in fighting for social justice, and challenged the apartheid laws during the years of struggle in South Africa. Its leaders have included Desmond Tutu, Beyers Naudé and Frank Chikane.

In 1985, SACC theologians issued the Kairos (Moment of Truth) Document. It also supported civil disobedience.

The SACC headquarters at Khotso House in Johannesburg was destroyed by a bomb in 1988. The apartheid regime believed the ANC had secret meetings there. Other prominent church leaders and political activists during the 1980s were Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, a Catholic priest and Allan Boesak, a minister in the 'coloured' wing of the Dutch Reformed Church.

### **Mass Democratic Movement**

Another State of Emergency was declared by the apartheid government in 1988. The emergency restrictions effectively banned the UDF. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) was then established to replace the UDF.

The MDM was a loose coalition of anti-apartheid organisations which adhered to the ANC's Freedom Charter. In 1989, the MDM organized a campaign of civil disobedience to defy the State of Emergency. People of all races marched peacefully in several cities to protest against police brutality and repressive laws. When the UDF was unbanned in February 1990, most MDM leaders and many members rejoined their former organisations.

### **Coming together of Internal and external pressures**

In 1989, the National Party elected a new leader named F.W. de Klerk. 1989 was also the year in which the Cold War came to an end. The Berlin Wall fell in 1989, and the Soviet Union entered a period of glasnost, with the USA remaining the world's only Superpower. The 'communist threat' which the National Party had said it was fighting, no longer existed. The South African government was deprived of the main reason for its internal repression and its aggressive foreign policy. The will of the Apartheid regime to maintain its system began to flag.

So, apart from all the internal and external pressure which forced Apartheid into crisis in the 1980s, by the end of the decade world politics had changed. The ANC could no longer rely on the Soviet Union for support. De Klerk argued that the time had come to negotiate with the mass-based opposition parties.

Some Rivonia trial prisoners were released in 1989 after 26 years in prison. On 2 February 1990, De Klerk announced the release of Nelson Mandela. He also unbanned the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and all other banned organisations. On 11 February 1990 Mandela was released. Locally and internationally, millions of people watched television broadcasts of him walk out of prison. A new period in South African history had begun.

*Taken from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-1980s-grade-12>*

## SECTION C: HOMEWORK

**Learner Note:** If you have difficulty with the homework questions, you should refer to the content notes or to your class teacher for assistance.

### QUESTION 1:

(Taken from DOE Preliminary Examination Paper 2 2008)

#### SOURCE D

This is an extract from *Making History* by H Claire, et al. In which the reaction of blacks towards the Tricameral Parliament is described.

The UDF's campaign to boycott the tricameral elections started in July 1984. UDF leaders travelled throughout the country mobilising people and addressing meeting. Speakers from different religious and racial groups shared the platform and spoke with one voice, denouncing the Tricameral Parliament. In July 1984, in Kimberley, Albertina Sisulu, one of the presidents of the UDF, addressed a conference and criticised the government's policy of reforms and demanded the release of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. She also stressed the multiracial nature of the UDF and criticised the government's policy of divide and rule. The UDF changed the political landscape in South Africa and captured the imagination of thousands of people. It instilled a passion for resistance and rekindled the struggle of the 1970's. The UDF planned programmed of action against the tricameral system and pass laws took the lead in the anti-apartheid struggle within the country.

- |     |   |         |     |
|-----|---|---------|-----|
| 1.1 | What evidence in the source suggests that Albertina Sisulu was a UDF activist?  | (3 x 2) | (6) |
| 1.2 | Why was Albertina Sisulu so concerned about the release of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu?  | (2 x 2) | (4) |
| 1.3 | What was Albertina Sisulu's view on the government issue of a tricameral parliament?  | (1 x 2) | (2) |
| 1.4 | Using all the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about TWELVE lines in which you explain the success/failure of the total strategy. |         | (6) |

[18]

<b>SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A</b>
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**Learner Note:** Mark allocation works as follows:

$$(Number\ of\ correct\ facts \times Number\ of\ marks) = (TOTAL\ MARKS)$$

**QUESTION 1**

- 1.1 *[Explanation of historical concepts L1&L2 AS'S 1&2]* (2 x 1) (2)
- (a)
- Social changes to improve living conditions / change.
  - creation of tricameral parliament.
- The idea was to make Apartheid more socially acceptable.
- (b)
- Increased government repression of any *government* threat. This would include increased military presence, state of emergency etc. The idea is to remove any threat to the Apartheid government.
- 1.2 *[Extraction of information from the Source L1– Lo1AS3]* (2 x 2) (4)
- Any two of the following: Black trade unions legalised, mixed marriages law repealed, strict segregation of public amenities repealed, multi-racial private schools officially permitted for first time, pass system abolished in 1986.
- 1.3 *[Interpretation of the information – a Source L3 – Lo1 AS3]* (3 x 1) (3)
- ANC and UDF
  - COSATU
  - English Press
  - Communists
  - Hippies etc.
- 1.4 -Map of SA on face (2 x 1) (2)  
-South Africa on the label.
- 1.5 The cartoonist is showing that Botha is duplicitous (double-dealing). On the one hand he is the kind doctor, while simultaneously the bully. He is suggesting that the whole of South Africa will suffer as a result of these policies, not just the targeted groups. Botha is also suggesting that the aim of the repression measures is to weaken the opposition so that they can manipulate them with so called reform measures. It is essential to the Apartheid government that they repress the opposition through any means necessary. Reform is secondary to the repression. (4 x 1) (4)  
(can also refer to the irony in that Botha is represented as a doctor.

**[15]**

- 2.1 *[Analysing historical concepts evidence from the Source L1–Lo1 AS 3: Lo 2 AS 2]* (2 x 2) (4)
- Form of Parliament created after a new Constitution in 1983.
  - Three chamber parliament.
  - Separate Parliament for White, Coloured and Indian representatives.
  - Parliament that excluded Blacks.
  - Constitution which ensured that power remained in the hands of white parliament
  - Any other relevant response.
- 2.2 *[Extraction of information from the Source B L1-Lo1 AS1]* (3 x 1) (3)
- Whites
  - Coloureds
  - Indians
- 2.3 *[Evaluate the usefulness of the Source B L2-Lo1 AS4]* (2 x 1) (2)
- He is suggesting that the parliament is illegitimate. The white room is spacious whilst the Coloureds and Indians are cramped and unable to move. They, in other words, do not have a legitimate dwelling.
- 2.4 This is an accurate assessment. The Indians and Coloureds were greatly disadvantaged with this parliament. They sat in separate chambers and decisions could be vetoed by the white-only Presidents Council. This effectively made their decisions and power null and void. (2 x 1) (2)
- 2.5 It is useful as it gives us a glimpse of how some people were critical of and against the Tricameral Parliament. Cartoons like this show us a glimpse of opposition politics and suggest that not everyone was blinded; this publication appeared in a white newspaper. (2 x 2) (4)

**[15]****QUESTION 3**

- 3.1 *[Extraction of relevant data l1 lo1 as3]* (1 x 1) (1)
- Primary
- 3.2 (2 x 2) (4)
- RENAMO
  - UNITA
- 3.3 (3 x 2) (6)
- Wanted to destabilise these socialist countries
  - Wanted the west as an ally. Could use them for economic and arms investment during the cold war.
  - Stop the “rooi gevaar”.
- 3.4 (2 x 2) (4)
- Secondary sources can be very objective and just give us the clear facts.
  - This source allows us to see that the SADF were active in eliminating opponents and in socialist struggles on the continent. **[15]**
  - This evidence points to an aggressive and militaristic NP.

**QUESTION 4 EXTENDED WRITING**

[Comparison and contrasting interpretations and perspectives of people's actions to draw independent conclusions L1-3 L02 (AS3) L03 (AS1)]

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response.

**SYNOPSIS**

Candidates should outline the process that led to the negotiation process starting in 1990.

**MAIN ASPECT:**

Introduction: Candidate should introduce a friend to the political situation in South Africa in the 1980s.

**ELABORATION:**

- Internal Violence and resistance in SA since the 1976 riots
- Increased international Sanctions
- PW Botha's reforms and Tricameral Parliament
- UDF response with mass demonstration and making SA "ungovernable"
- PW Botha's Rubicon speech – Total Onslaught/Total Strategy
- State of Emergency
- USA disinvestments
- Cross-border raids
- PW Botha step down – replaced by FW de Klerk
- 2 February Opening of Parliament speech
- *Any relevant information.*

CONCLUSION: Candidates should tie up their argument with relevant conclusion.

**[30]**

**Use the Matrix on the next page to mark the essay.**

**GRADE 12 HOLISTIC RUBRIC TO ASSESS EXTENDED WRITING (SUCH AS AN ESSAY USING SOURCES, REPORT, NEWSPAPER ARTICLE, ETC.) TOTAL MARKS: 30**

LEVEL	If the candidate has demonstrated all or most of the skills listed in a particular level, she/he will be awarded a mark relevant to the category.
<b>7</b> <b>Outstanding</b> <b>80 – 100%</b> <b>24 – 30</b>  <b>[Excellent]</b>	Consistently focuses on topic – demonstrates a logical and coherent progress towards a conclusion Clearly comprehends the sources Uses all or most of the sources Selects relevant sources Quotes selectively Groups sources (not essential but should not merely list sources) Demonstrates a setting of sources in background understanding If appropriate, deals fully with counter-argument Refers appropriately to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Expresses him/herself clearly Concludes essay with clear focus on topic – takes a stand (i.e. reaches an independent conclusion)
<b>6</b> <b>Meritorious</b> <b>70 – 79%</b> <b>21 – 23</b>  <b>[Very Good]</b>	Makes a good effort to focus consistently on the topic but, at times, argument loses some focus Clearly comprehends the sources Uses all or most of the sources Selects relevant sources Quotes selectively Good use of relevant evidence from the sources. Good attempt to consider counter-argument Good attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of source Expression good Concludes essay with clear focus on topic – takes a stand (i.e. reaches an independent conclusion)
<b>5</b> <b>Substantial</b> <b>60 – 69%</b> <b>18 – 20</b>  <b>[Good]</b>	Makes an effort to focus on the topic but argument has lapses in focus Comprehends most of the sources Uses most of the sources Selects relevant sources Expression good but with lapses Perhaps, lacking some depth of overall-focus, or does not make reference to one or more relevant sources If appropriate, makes an attempt to consider counter-argument Rather superficial or no attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Makes an attempt to take a stand (focuses on limitations, etc.) in reaching an independent conclusion
<b>4</b> <b>Moderate</b> <b>50 – 59%</b> <b>15 – 17</b>  <b>[Satisfactory]</b>	Makes some effort to focus on the topic but argument has many lapses in focus Moderate comprehension of most of the sources Moderate use of relevant evidence from the sources Moderate attempt to consider counter-argument Moderate attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Expression is satisfactory Makes an attempt to take a stand but there are serious inconsistencies with making links with the rest of the essay Essay might have a tendency to list sources and “tag” on focus
<b>3</b> <b>Adequate</b> <b>40 – 49%</b> <b>12 – 14</b>  <b>[Fair]</b>	Little attempt to focus on the topic Little comprehension of the sources Struggles to select relevant information from the sources No quotes – or generally irrelevant Makes little effort to consider counter-arguments Mainly characterised by listing of sources No attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy of sources Expression poor Makes a poor attempt to take a stand. (i.e. battles to reach an independent conclusion)
<b>2</b> <b>Elementary</b> <b>30 – 39%</b> <b>09 – 11</b>  <b>[Weak]</b>	Unable to focus on the topic Unable to identify relevant sources No quotes – or generally irrelevant Makes no effort to consider counter-argument Essay characterised by listing of sources No attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy of sources Expression very poor Makes a very poor attempt to take a stand – if at all
<b>1</b> <b>Not Achieved</b> <b>0 – 29%</b> <b>0 – 8</b>  <b>[Poor]</b>	No attempt to focus on the topic Uses no sources Completely irrelevant Copies directly from the sources Answer extremely poor

## SESSION 5

## TOPIC: SOUTH AFRICA EMERGING AS A DEMOCRACY – 1990-1994

## SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

## KEY QUESTION:

**WHY WAS THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA FRAUGHT (FILLED) WITH UNCERTAINTY, FEAR AND ANXIETY?**

**Learner Note:** The Key Question will appear at the beginning of every section in the exam paper. This question tells you what the OVERALL content to be tested will be. In this case, the Key Question tells us the section will test why the road to democracy in South Africa was filled with uncertainty, fear and anxiety. NB: You DO NOT answer this question!

Remember to answer all questions in FULL SENTENCES, as bullet points are not acceptable in an exam situation. Also, you must be specific as to which source and which part of the source you are speaking of.

**QUESTION 1:**      **15 minutes** (Taken from DOE November Examination 2009 Paper 2)

**SOURCE A**

The following extract is taken from a South African History school textbook, *Making History*.

Mandela was allowed to hold a meeting with his ANC [African National Congress], UDF [United Democratic Front] and MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] comrades in preparation for the meeting with De Klerk. This included Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Mineworkers' Union, as well as his comrades from Robben Island, such as Tokyo Sexwale and Patrick 'Terror' Lekota. Together they drafted a letter to FW de Klerk in which they proposed negotiations and rejected preconditions for talks, requested the dismantling of apartheid and the paving of the roads to reconciliation ...

On 13 December 1989, De Klerk invited Mandela to Tuinhuys, to the same room where he had tea with PW Botha. Mandela congratulated De Klerk on his appointment as State President and expressed his hope that they would work well together in shaping a new South Africa.

1. Use Source A:
  - 1.1 Why is it significant that Mandela met with various political groups before his meeting with De Klerk? (2 x 2) (4)
  - 1.2 Name TWO of the comrades who met with him before the meeting. (2 x 1) (2)
  - 1.3 What do the proposals drafted in the letter suggest about the attitude of the liberation movements? (2 x 1) (2)

- 1.4 What qualities displayed by Mandela at the meeting with De Klerk defined him as a leader of high standing? (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.5 Explain the value of Source A to a historian studying the negotiation process in South Africa in the 1990s. (2 x 1) (2)
- [12]



**Learner Note:** When looking at leadership qualities (Question 1.4), it is important that you understand what qualities makes a good leader. You should be able to pick this up from leaders that you have studied through the History syllabus, but here are some qualities that make a good leader:

- **Integrity** (strength of character; honesty; trustworthiness; keeping one's word)
- **Dedication** (being 100% committed to their cause)
- **Magnanimity** (giving credit where credit is due; being prepared to congratulate someone no matter what)
- **Humility** (A humble leader can relate to his followers; a conceited leader will bully his followers)
- **Openness** (Considers others' opinions; shows respect for other people's ideas; shares their own thoughts openly; not secretive)
- **Creativity** (the ability to think out of the box)
- **Fairness** (being consistent and just)
- **Assertiveness** (Once a decision is made, the ability to run with that decision and push their followers in the right direction, no matter what)

## QUESTION 2: 20 minutes

### SOURCE B

This source is an extract of a televised speech by Nelson Mandela on 10 April 1993 after the death of Chris Hani.

Today, an unforgivable crime has been committed. The calculated, cold-blooded murder of Chris Hani is not just a crime against a dearly beloved son of our soil. It is a crime against all the people of our country. A man of passion, of unsurpassed courage, has been cut down in the prime of his life. During that time he served the cause of liberation with distinction, earning the respect and love of millions in the country. His death demands that we pursue that cause with even greater determination. We appeal to every religious service over the Easter Holidays to commemorate Chris Hani's life and what he stood for. This killing must stop.

Tonight I am reaching out to every South African, black and white, from the very depths

of my being. A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters on the brink of disaster. A white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice, this assassin. ... Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for – the freedom of all of us.

2. Refer to Source B:
- 2.1 Explain why it became necessary for Mandela to make this televised speech. (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.2 Why did Mandela refer to Chris Hani's assassination as a crime against all the people of our country? (2 x 1) (2)
- 2.3 What, do you think, were the motives for assassinating Chris Hani? (2 x 1) (2)
- 2.4 Quote from the source to show that Chris Hani was a popular struggle hero. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.5 Who is the “white man, full of prejudice and hate..”? (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.6 What point is Mandela making when he mentions the “white man” and then the Afrikaner woman? (2 x 2) (4)
- [18]

**QUESTION 3:****5 minutes**

3. Using all the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about TEN lines explaining how Chris Hani's assassination failed to derail political progress in South Africa. [5]



**Learner Note:** The guideline of 10 lines is just a SUGGESTION, not a set parameter. You also do not have to count your words. The format for the paragraph is as follows: 1 sentence introduction. 3-4 sentences elaborating answer. 1 sentence conclusion.

**QUESTION 4:  
SOURCE C****10 minutes**

*Magnum photos.com  
Photographer: Ian Barry*

*Just prior to the elections bringing the ANC to power, with Johannesburg's streets alive with soldiers and barbed wire, an African draws attention to the "Use the Ballot" poster.*

4. Refer to Source C:
- 4.1 What type of source is source C? (1 x 1) (1)
- 4.2 What does the presence of the soldier and barbed wire suggest about the situation in the country before the elections in 1994? (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.3 What does "use the ballot" mean? (1 x 1) (1)
- 4.4 What message is the photographer trying to convey through this picture? (2 x 2) (4)

[10]

**QUESTION 5:**

EXTENDED WRITING (The length of your response should be about TWO pages.)

Using all the sources and your own knowledge, write an article for the *International Daily* on the following statement:

*'South Africa can never pay back Mandela for the role he played in transforming the country into a democracy.'*

[30]

**Learner Note:** This essay question can often trap you into singing Mandela's praises as a leader and as a human being; instead of focusing on the role he actually played and the things he actually did. You have to focus on Mandela's HISTORICAL value in South Africa; not on the hope and peace and love he brought to the country.

The essay question counts 40% of the exam. You need to learn the format and how to refer to sources. No bullet points allowed!

**SECTION B: ADDITIONAL CONTENT NOTES****SOUTH AFRICA EMERGING AS A DEMOCRACY – 1990-1994**

After Mandela was released and political parties were unbanned, the National Party was still in control of the country. In the first weeks after Mandela's release, many predicted that there would be a new non-racial constitution and a new democratic government by the end of 1990.

The scale and scope of the transformation was an extremely complex task. A political analyst, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, aptly said that trying to move from apartheid to democracy was *"like changing the engines of a Boeing 747 in mid-air!"*

With the benefit of hindsight, the transition from apartheid to democracy appears smooth. However, the new democracy was bitterly negotiated with many compromises on both sides. The period 1990 to 1994 was marked by appalling, unforeseen violence. The atmosphere in the country was tense. Many people predicted a civil war.

A settlement was finally reached and the first democratic election eventually took place in April 1994.

Many lives were lost during the process, and from the start of negotiations in mid 1990 to elections in April 1994, 14 000 died and 22 000 were injured

**NEGOTIATIONS****CODESA I: December 1991**

Formal negotiations began at The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). CODESA I was preceded by three key meetings between the South African government and the ANC to prepare the way:

- 4 May 1990: Groote Schuur Minute
- 6 August 1990: The Pretoria Minute
- 14 September 1991: The National Peace Accord was signed by representatives of twenty-seven political organisations and national and homeland governments. They pledged themselves to greater tolerance towards each other. The police were reminded of their duty to protect the people of South Africa irrespective of race, religion, political affiliation and gender

CODESA I was the first **plenary** session of the formal negotiations.

**Plenary:** An assembly attended by all members who form part of a forum or discussion.

CODESA I began on 20 December 1991 at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. Nineteen groups were represented at CODESA, including:

- South African government
- National Party
- African National Congress
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not personally participate, as his demands for additional delegations of the KwaZulu Bantustan and the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini were declined. The IFP was, therefore, represented by Frank Mdlalose).
- Democratic Party
- South African Communist Party
- South African Indian Congress
- Coloured Labour Party
- Indian National People's Party
- Solidarity Party
- Leaders of the 'independent' Bantustans of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.

The right-wing white Conservative Party and the left-wing Pan Africanist Congress boycotted CODESA.

### **Whites only referendum: March 1992**

The credibility of De Klerk's government among whites was uncertain. Ventersdorp was a white right wing stronghold, and the home town of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre'Blanche. The AWB was an armed paramilitary group. In 1991 President F.W. de Klerk was scheduled to speak at the Ventersdorp Town Hall.

AWB supporters showed up at the meeting with weapons. In the confrontation which ensued, three AWB members and one passer-by were killed. Six policemen, thirteen AWB members, and twenty-nine civilians were injured. It was the first time in the 43 years of apartheid that white police officers killed white protesters.

In the period between CODESA I and CODESA II in early 1992, the National Party lost three **by-elections** to the Conservative Party. (A by-election is a special election held to elect a Member of Parliament in a seat that has become vacant between general elections.)

If his position was not supported by his own white constituency, the negotiations could not work. De Klerk announced a 'whites only' **referendum** to test white opinion on reform and negotiations. (A **referendum** or plebiscite is a direct vote in which the electorate is asked to either accept or reject a particular proposal.)

The National Party warned the white voters that a 'no' vote would mean continued tough international sanctions, and civil war. Big business leaders collected funds to promote a 'yes' vote. White sports enthusiasts, who were normally conservative, desperately wanted to re-enter international competitive sport arena. They too encouraged a 'yes' vote. The ANC recognised the need for a 'whites only' referendum. It was clear that a 'no' vote would be fatal to the negotiating process and the ANC actively campaigned for a 'yes' vote. On

the other hand, the Conservative Party played on white racial prejudices, and tried to scare white voters to vote 'no' with old 'swart gevaar' (black danger) propaganda.

The result of the referendum was a landslide 'yes'. De Klerk had the mandate he needed. Whites had indicated their willingness to give up their monopoly on political power. De Klerk could no longer use the excuse of white conservative opinion to procrastinate in moving towards a non-racial election.

### **CODESA II: May 1992**

Formal negotiations were renewed at CODESA II (the second plenary session). CODESA II took place in May 1992, but did not last long.

In June 1992, violence erupted in Boipatong, a township near Vanderbijlpark, Gauteng. The township had been established in 1955 to house black residents who worked in Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging. Trouble had been brewing for months. Evidence suggested that a military style operation was being conducted from the Kwa Madala Hostel. Urgent appeals were made to the authorities about threatening violence in Boipatong, but no action was taken. Armed members of the Inkatha Freedom Party residing at Kwa Madala hostel (situated in the ISCOR Compound) with the assistance of the police, attacked the residents of Boipatong killing about 46 people in what became known as the Boipatong Massacre.

Mandela accused De Klerk's government of complicity in the attack and withdrew the ANC from the negotiations, leading to the end of CODESA II. After the Boipatong Massacre and the breakdown of negotiations at CODESA II, the ANC took to the streets with a programme of "rolling mass action".

In September 1992, a crowd of about 80 000 people gathered in Bisho to protest against the Ciskei "homeland" government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Ciskei troops and the South African Defence Force opened fire on the protesters, killing 28 people.

After massacres at Boipatong and Bisho, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate the violence. The Goldstone Commission found that the clashes were not only between the ANC and the IFP but that the government had played a role in the form of the covert operation of the Third Force, which consisted of apartheid power stakeholders who actively opposed a non-racial democracy in South Africa. This violence in the country brought new urgency to the search for a political settlement. Another risk to negotiations was right wing resistance.

The right-wing was demanding an independent Afrikaner province or Volkstaat and the recognition of Afrikaans as the main official language. An impending change of Government raised fears that the minority Afrikaner identity, social standing and way of life would be lost within a racially integrated state. The AWB, the CP and the VF launched a number of protests and threatened war.

### The Record of Understanding: September 1992

Following the collapse of CODESA II, behind the scenes talks between the ANC and the NP became the main negotiation channel. Two key negotiators were Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC, and Roelf Meyer of the National Party.

After meeting several times, the government and the ANC agreed on a Record of Understanding on 26 September 1992. Both the government and the ANC made compromises.

The government agreed to:

- Release more political prisoners
- Erect fences around migrant worker's hostels
- Ban the carrying of 'traditional' weapons.

In previous negotiations, De Klerk's government had been pushing for a two-phase transition, with an appointed transitional government with a rotating presidency. The ANC pushed instead for a transition in a single stage to majority rule. The ANC compromised with the National Party's demands by agreeing to:

- The GNU (Government of National Unity) would include all parties which obtained over 5% of the vote in democratic elections for the first five years. This meant that the National Party was sure to be included.
- The term '**sunset clause**' was used for this compromise. It allowed the gradual phasing out of white rule rather than one dramatic handover of power.

A **sunset clause** is a provision that terminates portions of the law after a specific date, unless further laws are made to extend it. Most laws do not have sunset clauses - the law usually goes on indefinitely.

### Multi Party Negotiation Forum: April 1993

On 2 April 1993, the Multi-Party Negotiation Forum (MPNF) began at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. The structure and process was very different to CODESA. Non-partisan specialists were included, and they helped speed up proceedings and resolve areas of difference. In contrast to CODESA, the white right (the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie), the Pan Africanist Congress, the KwaZulu Bantustan government and delegations of "traditional leaders" initially participated in the Multi-party Negotiating Forum.

The structure of the MPNF was comprehensive and more efficient than the five working groups of CODESA. Working groups were replaced by the negotiating council, which reported to a negotiating forum. The negotiating forum was responsible for finalising all decisions made. All agreements were sent to the plenary for endorsement. Technical committees comprising non-party experts were established to deal with written submissions from the various political players. This committee was effective in breaking deadlocks.

The two main negotiating parties, the ANC and the NP, agreed to reach bilateral consensus on issues before taking them to the other parties in the forum. This put considerable pressure on the other parties to agree with the consensus or be left behind.

In protest at the perceived sidelining of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mangosuthu Buthelezi took the IFP out of the MPNF and formed the *Concerned South Africans Group* (COSAG; later renamed the "Freedom Alliance") together with traditional leaders, homeland leaders and white right-wing groups. A period of brinkmanship followed, with the IFP remaining out of the negotiations until within days of the election on 27 April 1994.

### **Assassination of Chris Hani and Right Wing Threats**

On Saturday morning, 10 April 1993, during the Easter weekend, Chris Hani was shot and killed in the driveway of his home in Boksburg, by right-winger Janusz Walus - a Polish immigrant. Walus had been watching the Hani home for some time prior to the incident with a view to executing the plot to assassinate Hani, which was devised by him and Clive Derby-Lewis, a prominent member of the Conservative Party.

The murder of Chris Hani threatened to derail the negotiation process. Hani was a popular leader of the South African Communist Party and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Nelson Mandela went on national television and called upon South Africans to act with restraint to prevent the country from being engulfed in civil war.

Walus and Derby-Lewis were arrested and went on trial. They received the death penalty and were awaiting execution when the death penalty was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court. They applied to the TRC for amnesty in 1999. This was refused.

Hani's assassination was a serious threat to negotiations. The ANC called for the immediate announcement of the date for general elections and a Transitional Executive Council.

Right wing opposition took another turn when retired Chief Director of the SADF, General Groenewald and General Constand Viljoen, together with other ex-military leaders, formed a Committee of Generals. This committee formed the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF). General Groenewald warned of a right wing backlash from the ranks of the army in support of his demands for a separate white homeland (*Volkstaat*).

The extremist right wing AWB interrupted the negotiations on 15 June 1993, when they stormed the World Trade Centre in an armoured vehicle, breaking the glass front of the building. They entered the building with guns in a bid to wreck the negotiations.

### **Other violent threats to negotiations and settlement**

#### **a. King Williamstown Golf Club: November 1992**

An attack on King William's Town Golf Club took place in November 1992 in which four people were killed. Azanian People's Liberation Army members claimed responsibility.

#### **b. St James Massacre: July 1993**

During the Sunday evening service on 25 July 1993, a group of APLA cadres attacked the St. James Church in Kenilworth. Using grenades and AK-47s, they killed 11 members of the congregation and wounded 58.

**c. Amy Biehl: August, 1993**

Amy Biehl, a 26 year old American student, was stoned and stabbed to death by a mob in the township shouting anti-white slogans. She was driving three black colleagues back to Cape Town's Gugulethu Township when a group of youths threw stones at her car and forced it to stop. Dozens of young men surrounded the car repeating the chant, "*One settler [white person], one bullet!*" Amy was then pulled from the car, struck in the head with a brick, beaten and stabbed in the heart while she lay on the ground. During the attack, Amy's black friends yelled that she was a "comrade" and friend of black South Africans.

Amy's killers were convicted, but were given amnesty by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1998. Her family supported their release.

**d. Heidelberg Tavern: December 1993**

An attack on the Heidelberg Tavern took place in Observatory, Cape Town in December 1993. In an interview in 1997, Letlapa Mphahlele, who was APLA's Director of Operations, said that APLA would accept responsibility for the attack. APLA was a publicly known political organisation and liberation movement which was engaged in political struggle against the State at that time.

**The Settlement of November 1993**

The assassination of Chris Hani, leader of the SACP and a senior ANC leader, by white right-wingers brought the country to the brink of disaster. However, his death ultimately proved a turning point, after which the main parties pushed for a settlement with increased determination. The MPNF ratified the interim Constitution in the early hours of the morning of 18 November 1993. Thereafter, a *Transitional Executive Council* oversaw the run-up to a democratic election.

**Threats to elections**

The first election happened on the brink of a low-scale civil war. Just a week before the elections, the Inkatha Freedom Party, representing part of South Africa's isiZulu-speaking people, had not yet found its way into the election. On 28 March 1994, thousands of Inkatha demonstrators marched past Shell House, Johannesburg, the former oil company headquarters that served as headquarters for the ANC after it was unbanned.

ANC security guards at Shell House killed nineteen IFP members following a tip-off that IFP marchers were planning to attack the building. The Nugent Commission of Inquiry on what actually caused the shooting rejected this explanation. The commission's conclusion was that the shooting by ANC guards was unjustified.

Just two days before the election, Central Johannesburg suffered a bombing carried out by the white right-wing. The bomb went off outside the African National Congress regional and national headquarters. Nine people were killed (including ANC Johannesburg secretary-general Susan Keane, who was the 41st candidate on the ANC's regional election list) and 92 people were injured.

On 26 April, a day before the election, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, a bomb blast rocked a taxi rank, and an explosive device was thrown at minibus taxis parked under a bridge. Nobody was injured in either incident. On Election Day, a car bomb at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport injured 16 people and caused massive structural damage to the north face of the building.

These serious incidents of political violence were carried out by Members of the AWB in support of the organisation's struggle to prevent majority rule.

### **South Africans vote: April 1994**

The election took place over three days (27-29 April) in 1994. The election was conducted under the direction of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

It was a cathartic and historic turning point in South African history. It paved the way towards a new democratic dispensation and a new constitution for South Africa. For the first time, all South African adults in the country went to the polls.

There were reports of the stockpiling of food by some whites and the British embassy indicated that it had received an unprecedented number of applications for immigration.

Nineteen political parties participated and twenty-two million people voted in a hugely successful election.

- The African National Congress (ANC) won the election with 62.65 % of the vote.
- The National Party (NP) received 20.39 %
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) 10.54 %
- Freedom Front (FF) 2.2 % (The Conservative Party decision not to participate in the first multi-racial parliamentary elections in 1994. Much of its support base defecting to the newly-formed Freedom Front).
- Democratic Party (DP) 1.7 %
- Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) 1.2 %
- African Christian Democratic Party 0.5 %

Altogether 19,726,579 votes were counted and 193,081 were rejected as invalid. The African National Congress, in alliance with the labour confederation COSATU and the South African Communist Party, fell slightly short of a two-thirds majority.

The ANC-led Government of National Unity, headed by Nelson Mandela, included members of the NP and IFP. The Government of National Unity was to oversee a new South African constitution.

The new South African Constitution was adopted on 8 May 1996. The Constitution is considered by many as one of the most advanced in the world, with a Bill of Rights second to none. South Africa's Constitution was drafted by an all-inclusive constitutive assembly, which had representatives from all the major political parties and liberation organisations.

*Taken from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/negotiations-toward-new-south-africa-grade-12>*

## SECTION C: HOMEWORK

**Learner Note:** If you have difficulty with the homework questions, you should refer to the content notes or to your class teacher for assistance.

### QUESTION 1:

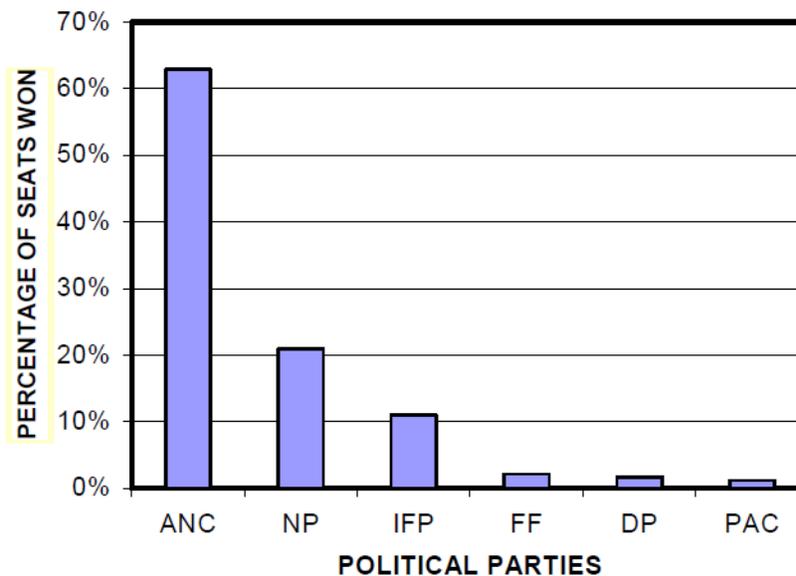
*(Taken from DOE November Examination 2009 Paper 2)*

### SOURCE C

The source on the following page is an extract and a graph showing the percentage of seats won in the general elections of 1994. Details provided by the Independent Electoral Commission.

On 6 May the Independent Electoral Commission declared the election 'free and fair'. The ANC obtained just short of the two-thirds majority that would have enabled it to write the final constitution on its own. The NP won 20,4% of the votes, enough to give it a Deputy President, and control of the Western Cape, one of the nine new provinces. The IFP won 10,5% of the vote and control of KwaZulu-Natal; the Freedom Front of General Viljoen won 2,2% of the vote, the Democratic Party 1,7%, and the Pan-Africanist Congress 1,2%. The ANC won control of the other provinces, and the former nominally independent Bantustans were reincorporated into a united South Africa of the nine new provinces.

**RESULTS OF THE 1994 ELECTIONS**



- |     |  |                    |                    |
|-----|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1.1 | Explain why the 1994 elections can be described as being Democratic.   | (1 x 2)            | (2)                |
| 1.2 | What, do you think, would the implications have been of the ANC winning a two-thirds majority?   | (1 x 2)            | (2)                |
| 1.3 | Using the source and your own knowledge, explain why the participation of the IFP in the 1994 elections was very significant.                  | (2 x 2)            | (4)                |
| 1.4 | (a) Explain the reference to 'independent Bantustans'.<br>(b) How were the 'independent Bantustans' catered for in the 1994 general elections? | (1 x 2)<br>(1 x 2) | (2)<br>(2)<br>[12] |

**Learner Note:** Reading a graph should be an easy skill for you to understand. This graph clearly shows the percentage of the vote that each political party received. This was explained even further in the written section of the source.

### SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

**Learner Note:** Mark allocation works as follows:

$$(Number\ of\ correct\ facts \times Number\ of\ marks) = (TOTAL\ MARKS)$$

#### QUESTION 1

- |     |   |         |     |
|-----|---|---------|-----|
| 1.1 | [Interpretation of evidence from Source A – L2 – LO1 (AS3)]<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It shows that he wants to legitimise the whole negotiation by getting all opposition on board</li> <li>• It demonstrates that Mandela was committed to multi-party democracy.</li> <li>• Any other relevant response</li> </ul> | (2 x 2) | (4) |
| 1.2 | [Extraction from Source A – L1 – LO1 (AS3); LO3 (AS2)]<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Terror Lekota</li> <li>• Cyril Ramaphosa</li> <li>• Tokyo Sexwale</li> </ul>   | (2 x 1) | (2) |
| 1.3 | [Extraction using Source A – L1 – LO1 (AS3); LO3 (AS3)]<br><ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It demonstrates their willingness to co-operate and not dictate conditions.</li> <li>• Demonstrates willingness for reconciliation.</li> <li>• Any other relevant response.</li> </ul>  | (2 x 1) | (2) |

- 1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source A – L2 – LO1 (AS3)]* (2 x 1) (2)
- He congratulated de Klerk, sign of respect and integrity; magnanimous
  - Humility in victory, no pomp and entitlement
  - Very open, understanding, mature leadership
  - Hope they will work together in a new South Africa
  - Any other relevant response
- 1.5 *[Interpretation and analysis of evidence from Sources A – L3 – LO3 (AS2&3)]* (2 x 1) (2)
- The source is valuable because:**
- RELIABILITY**
- Textbook is a secondary source – information is less bias than primary. More reflective of the period.
  - It shows the commitment of Mandela and his comrades for reconciliation and peace.
  - Demonstrates that the ANC wanted multi-party democracy.
  - Any other relevant information.

**[12]****QUESTION 2:**

- 2.1 *[Interpretation of evidence – L3 – LO2 (AS1&2)]* (2 x 2) (4)
- To calm both black and white citizens of the country
  - To give direction to negotiation process/to bring the negotiation process back on track
  - To strengthen the process of negotiations
  - To prevent civil war/bloodshed
  - To stand as one
  - Any other relevant response
- 2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence using Source B – L2&3 – LO1 (AS3); LO2 (AS2&3); LO3 (AS2)]* (2 x 1) (2)
- The whole nation lost a son/leader of the masses
  - Hani was a fighter during the war and soldier of peace during peaceful times
  - Assassination was intended to derail negotiations
  - Any other relevant response

- 2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence using Source B – L2&3 – LO1 (AS3); LO2 (AS2&3); LO3 (AS2)]* (2 x 1) (2)
- To destabilise the country
  - To derail negotiations
  - To halt talks of the elections
  - He was a Communist
  - He showed great leadership qualities
  - He was a man of passion/served the nation
  - Any other relevant response
- 2.4 *[Interpretation of evidence using Source B – L2&3 – LO1 (AS3); LO3 (AS2)]* (1 x 2) (2)
- He served the cause of liberation with distinction, earning the respect and love of millions in the country
  - Beloved son of the soil
  - Any other relevant quote
- 2.5 *Interpretation and analysis of evidence from Source B – L3 – LO3 (AS2&3)]* (2 x 2) (4)
- Clive Derby Lewis, the man behind the assassination of Chris Hani
- 2.6 Mandela is trying to show South Africa that even though a white man murdered Chris Hani, another white Afrikaner got justice for him. This is trying to demonstrate that we must not hate white people as everyone must be judged individually. This is fitting his aims of reconciliation. He is suggesting that any violence in retaliation will go against everything Chris Hani stood for. (2 x 2) (4)

**[18]****QUESTION 3**

3. *[Interpretation, analysis and synthesis of evidence from all sources- L1-3 – LO1 (AS1); LO2 (AS1, 2 &3); LO3 (AS1, 2, 3 &4)]*

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

- Mandela used his stature to contain the situation
- Mandela appealed to both black and white for calm
- Used the colour of the perpetrator as well as witness to demonstrate the willingness of the people to move forward with negotiations
- Disastrous situation averted
- Country was well ahead in the process of negotiated settlement
- Realisation by all concerned parties that a settlement was essential for peace in the country
- The Transitional Executive Council and IEC was created
- Any relevant response

Use the rubric on the following page to allocate a mark:

**[5]**

<b>LEVEL 1</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. <b>Shows no or little understanding of how Hani's assassination failed to forestall political progress in South Africa</b></li> <li>• Uses evidence partially to report on topic or cannot report on topic</li> </ul>	<b>Marks: 0 – 2</b>
<b>LEVEL 2</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent to the topic, e.g. <b>Shows an understanding of how Hani's assassination failed to forestall political progress in South Africa</b></li> <li>• Uses evidence in a very basic manner</li> </ul>	<b>Marks: 3 – 4</b>
<b>LEVEL 3</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. <b>Demonstrates a thorough understanding and knowledge of how Hani's assassination failed to forestall political progress in South Africa</b></li> <li>• Evidence relates well to the topic</li> <li>• Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic</li> </ul>	<b>Marks: 5 – 6</b>

**QUESTION 4**

- 4.1 Primary Source (1 x 1) (1)
- 4.2 Things were very tense. There was increasing violence in the townships between ANC and Inkhata and the Right wing was also creating tension. Many believed that civil war was imminent. Any other relevant answer. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.3 Means to vote. (1 x 1) (1)
- 1.3 The photographer is trying to say that there is no need for violence. He is suggesting that a difference can be made with the power of voting. It is also a commentary about the contradiction of the times: violence yet hope. Any motivated answer. This question is very much open to interpretation. (2 x 2) (4)

**[10]**

## EXTENDED WRITING

*[Synthesise information to construct an original argument using evidence from the sources and own knowledge to support the argument - L2 – LO1 (AS3&4); LO2 (AS1, 2 &3); LO3 (AS1, 2, 3 &4)]*

## SYNOPSIS

Candidates may take a specific line of argument in writing the article. It must be accurate and to the point and demonstrate his/her support of the transition and transformation to democracy. Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

## MAIN ASPECTS

Introduction: Candidates should take a line of argument. In agreeing with the statement candidates should foreground the role of Mandela, but some may bring issues of collective leadership and the processes.

## ELABORATION

- Early years – 27 years in prison; international icon; leadership – great qualities of humility, integrity and selflessness; sacrifices made by him loom larger than life
- Mandela's age at the time of negotiations
- Mandela's stature
- Willingness to compromise
  - Groote Schuur Minute
  - Pretoria Minute
  - Record of Understanding
- Reaching out to all the people
- Forsaking his personal interest for the benefit of the country
- Persuading foreign countries to assist South Africa
- Talking to opposition parties
  - CODESA 1 and 2
  - Multi-Party Negotiating Forum
- Reassuring the National Party of his commitments to peace
- Any other relevant point

CONCLUSION: Candidates should tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion.

**Use the matrix on the next page to assess this extended writing question. [30]**

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**GRADE 12 HOLISTIC RUBRIC TO ASSESS EXTENDED WRITING (SUCH AS AN ESSAY USING SOURCES, REPORT, NEWSPAPER ARTICLE, ETC.) TOTAL MARKS: 30**

LEVEL	If the candidate has demonstrated all or most of the skills listed in a particular level, she/he will be awarded a mark relevant to the category.
<b>7</b> <b>Outstanding</b> <b>80 – 100%</b> <b>24 – 30</b>  <b>[Excellent]</b>	Consistently focuses on topic – demonstrates a logical and coherent progress towards a conclusion Clearly comprehends the sources Uses all or most of the sources Selects relevant sources Quotes selectively Groups sources (not essential but should not merely list sources) Demonstrates a setting of sources in background understanding If appropriate, deals fully with counter-argument Refers appropriately to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Expresses him/herself clearly Concludes essay with clear focus on topic – takes a stand (i.e. reaches an independent conclusion)
<b>6</b> <b>Meritorious</b> <b>70 – 79%</b> <b>21 – 23</b>  <b>[Very Good]</b>	Makes a good effort to focus consistently on the topic but, at times, argument loses some focus Clearly comprehends the sources Uses all or most of the sources Selects relevant sources Quotes selectively Good use of relevant evidence from the sources. Good attempt to consider counter-argument Good attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of source Expression good Concludes essay with clear focus on topic – takes a stand (i.e. reaches an independent conclusion)
<b>5</b> <b>Substantial</b> <b>60 – 69%</b> <b>18 – 20</b>  <b>[Good]</b>	Makes an effort to focus on the topic but argument has lapses in focus Comprehends most of the sources Uses most of the sources Selects relevant sources Expression good but with lapses Perhaps, lacking some depth of overall-focus, or does not make reference to one or more relevant sources If appropriate, makes an attempt to consider counter-argument Rather superficial or no attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Makes an attempt to take a stand (focuses on limitations, etc.) in reaching an independent conclusion
<b>4</b> <b>Moderate</b> <b>50 – 59%</b> <b>15 – 17</b>  <b>[Satisfactory]</b>	Makes some effort to focus on the topic but argument has many lapses in focus Moderate comprehension of most of the sources Moderate use of relevant evidence from the sources Moderate attempt to consider counter-argument Moderate attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy, limitation of sources Expression is satisfactory Makes an attempt to take a stand but there are serious inconsistencies with making links with the rest of the essay Essay might have a tendency to list sources and “tag” on focus
<b>3</b> <b>Adequate</b> <b>40 – 49%</b> <b>12 – 14</b>  <b>[Fair]</b>	Little attempt to focus on the topic Little comprehension of the sources Struggles to select relevant information from the sources No quotes – or generally irrelevant Makes little effort to consider counter-arguments Mainly characterised by listing of sources No attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy of sources Expression poor Makes a poor attempt to take a stand. (i.e. battles to reach an independent conclusion)
<b>2</b> <b>Elementary</b> <b>30 – 39%</b> <b>09 – 11</b>  <b>[Weak]</b>	Unable to focus on the topic Unable to identify relevant sources No quotes – or generally irrelevant Makes no effort to consider counter-argument Essay characterised by listing of sources No attempt to refer to relevancy, bias, accuracy of sources Expression very poor Makes a very poor attempt to take a stand – if at all
<b>1</b> <b>Not Achieved</b> <b>0 – 29%</b> <b>0 – 8</b>  <b>[Poor]</b>	No attempt to focus on the topic Uses no sources Completely irrelevant Copies directly from the sources Answer extremely poor