GRADE 12

HISTORY

LEARNER NOTES
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## LEARNER NOTES

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SESSION 6

TOPIC: SOUTH AFRICA EMERGING AS A DEMOCRACY – 1994 ONWARDS

SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

KEY QUESTION:
DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCEED IN UNCOVERING THE TRUTH OF SOUTH AFRICA’S PAINFUL PAST?

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 if the TRC succeeded in revealing the truth in South Africa’s past. 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: 33 minutes (Taken from DOE Feb-Mar Examination 2010 Paper 2)

1. Use Source A.
1.1 Why did Phila leave South Africa illegally? (1 x 2) (2)
1.2 What was Umkhonto weSizwe and why was it created? (2 x 2) (4)
1.3 Quote evidence from the source to show that Phila was a success in MK. (2 x 1) (2)
1.4 Account for the sudden disappearance of Phila in October 1988. (Viewpoint 1) (1 x 2) (2)
1.5 Explain how the police decided to 'neutralise her'. (2 x 2) (4)
1.6 Who were the Askaris? (1 x 2) (2)
1.7 Why did the police decide to kill Phila? (2 x 2) (4)
1.8 Explain whether the police were justified in applying for amnesty. (2 x 2) (4)
1.9 By examining both viewpoints, what conclusions can a historian draw about MK operatives and police responses to MK? (3 x 2) (6)

Learner Note: “Account for” (Question 1.4) is just another way of saying “Give reasons for”.

When asked to quote evidence from the source, you must put the selected phrase or sentence in quotation marks.
SOURCE A
The following extract is taken from *Truth Justice Memory* and comprises two viewpoints.

**VIEWPOINT 1: Experiences of MK recruits and experiences told at the TRC hearing.**

Phila Portia Ndwandwe left South Africa illegally to join Umkhonto weSizwe after she left school and did her basic military training in Angola in 1985. The name given to her by MK was Zandi or Zandile. Her commanders at the time remember her as exemplary, highly intelligent, committed and hard-working. After her training, she was sent to Swaziland, from where MK's operations in KwaZulu-Natal were run. Her dedication impressed her seniors so much that she was promoted to MK commander for the Natal operations. Richard Jones, a member of Phila's unit, remembers her as a 'strong person, with a powerful personality, and she had a strong and powerful body too'. Her unit was very successful and Phila was growing in stature in MK. Phila and her MK comrade Bheki Mabuza started living together in Manning and had a baby in June 1988. They called him Thabang.

**VIEWPOINT 2: Testimony given by the police in an application for amnesty at the TRC hearing.**

The police were worried about the effectiveness of Phila's unit, and decided to neutralise her. They decided to abduct her from Swaziland and then to persuade her to switch sides and work against MK. In October 1988, the men went into Swaziland using false passports, accompanied by two Askaris, former MK operatives who had switched sides. The Askaris set up a meeting with Phila in Manzini. Her colleague Richard Jones drove her to the meeting. She told him she would see him later, and then got into the bakkie with the Askaris. According to the policemen, Phila's hands were then tied and driven to the border, where she was forced to creep through the border fence with them. Back in South Africa, Phila's interrogation started. Major Hendrik Botha testified that he had asked her to cooperate with them as a police informer, but she refused and never showed any sign that she would consider it. Botha and Wasserman denied all suggestions by the TRC that they had tortured Phila, although she was forced to undress. They admitted that they never had any intention of prosecuting her.

Phila was also interrogated by security policemen of the then Eastern Transvaal branch, and then by Colonel Johannes Steyn. Phila told him she would never cooperate with him, no matter what they did to her, and would continue with her MK activities should she be released. The policemen concluded that Phila was 'too tough a nut to crack', that she was very brave and would never betray her comrades. Steyn then ordered Phila to be killed.
QUESTION 2: 17 minutes

SOURCE B
The following is an extract from the submission to the TRC delivered by the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

My own deep conviction is that violence is evil and must not be used for political purposes. And despite the IFP's constant vigil to keep violence out of the IFP's politics, I know that members and supporters have been drawn into violence. I say I'm sorry to SA for this, for although I've not orchestrated one single act of violence against one single victim of this violence that has cost us many lives, as the leader of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] I know that the buck stops right in front of me. From my side I wish to say I'm sorry for any hurt that I've caused the ANC leadership. I sincerely hope that the apology to Mr Mandela and others that I carry in my heart will be as simply and publicly made by him and others as I have now myself again done. I know, because we are human beings and, therefore, sinners, that we shall still hurt each other tomorrow. I nevertheless apologise for the past hurts and I do so on behalf of my followers.

2. Refer to Source B.
2.1 Using your own knowledge, explain what violence the IFP were involved in with the ANC? (2 x 2) (4)
2.2 Why do you think Buthelezi felt it necessary to apologise to the ANC? (2 x 2) (4)
2.3 What role would Buthelezi have in the new democracy? (2 x 1) (2)
2.4 How would you describe the tone of this submission? (1 x 1) (1)
2.5 In what way does this apology contribute towards reconciliation and nation-building? (2 x 1) (2)
2.6 Explain how this source reflects the aims of the TRC? (2 x 1) (2)

QUESTION 3: 36 minutes

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

The TRC's attempt to uncover the truth and bring reconciliation was a success. Do you agree? Discuss. [30]

Learner Note: This essay requires you to DISCUSS the TRC's attempt to uncover the truth. This means that you must write about the successes, the failures and the limitations of the TRC, and then you must decide if you agree with the statement or not. The essay question counts 40% of the exam. You need to learn the format and how to refer to sources. No bullet points allowed!
SOUTH AFRICA EMERGING AS A DEMOCRACY – 1994 ONWARDS

After the elections of 1994, South Africa was led by the Government of National Unity. This was a coalition government, led by the ANC, headed by Nelson Mandela, including 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.

The constitutional assembly sat between May 1994 and October 1996 drafting and completing the new constitution. The new Constitution was the embodiment of the vision of generations of anti-apartheid freedom fighters and democrats. These people had fought for a South Africa that belonged to all, and for non-racialism and human rights.

The guiding principles of the new constitution were first articulated in the ANC's African Claims document of 1943, the Non-European Unity Movements 10 point program of 1943, and the 1955 Congress Alliance Freedom Charter. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, against which all other laws are judged.

The constitution made provision for the establishment of a constitutional court which is the final arbitrator of the inter-operation of the constitution. The constitution makes provisions for the way the country is governed, the establishment of parliament, the election of the president, the creation and government of provinces and local authorities.
Do you know the Pre-amble to the constitution?

We, the people of South Africa, Recognise the injustices of our past;
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.

We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to:
Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;
Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and
Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

May God protect our people.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso.

God seeën Suid-Afrika.

God bless South Africa.

Mudzimu fhatutshedza Afurika.

Hosi katekisa Afrika.

**Pre-amble** means 'attached to the beginning'.

**Post-amble** means 'attached to the end'.

In an interview, Nelson Mandela said:

"With the exception of the atrocities against the Jews during the Second World War, there is no evil that has been as condemned by the entire world as Apartheid."


The apartheid government in South Africa came to an end in 1994, but the new government in South Africa had to work through the question of dealing with the past in order to move forward. The critical question was: Should crimes against the victims of apartheid be punished?
At the end of the Second World War, the Allies who defeated Nazi Germany chose to punish the perpetrators of genocide. Perpetrators were put on trial in the city of Nuremberg and punished. South Africa chose not to go the route of the Nuremberg trials. The new democratic government in South Africa after apartheid chose instead to focus on the victims. Therefore, it was decided that the way to heal the apartheid past was to hold a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The TRC planned to give a voice to the victims of apartheid who had suffered gross human rights violations. They were encouraged to come forward and tell their stories. The terms of a commission were spelled out in a post-amble to the Constitution:

"... there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance; need for reparation but not for retaliation; a need for ubuntu but not for victimisation." •

Archbishop Desmond Tutu was the Chairperson of the TRC. He explained:

"Forgiveness will follow confession and healing will happen, and so contribute to national unity and reconciliation." •

**Amnesty**: a warrant granting release from punishment for an offence

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was not a court as such, but a different kind of forum set up to deal with political crimes committed during apartheid. The Amnesty Committee had the power to grant amnesty for politically motivated crimes that were fully and truthfully confessed, under certain conditions. Amnesty is the act of government by which pardon is granted to a large group of individuals.

The TRC's approach is widely considered to be one of restorative justice, as opposed to retributive justice.

The Human Rights Violation Committee decided on acts that constituted violations of human rights based on statements made to the TRC. Once victims of gross human rights violations were identified, they were referred to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, which decided on how to compensate victims. Those who were not granted amnesty by the TRC for crimes committed during apartheid, could be prosecuted.

The emphasis of the TRC was on truth telling, forgiveness and reconciliation. The TRC was based on the belief that if the truth were known about the South African past, healing would take place. Perpetrators who committed gross human violations were promised amnesty if they came forward and made a full disclosure of the crimes they had committed. This meant they would not be punished for their crimes if they told the whole truth.

Victims told horrifying but often-poignant stories, and perpetrators admitted to committing horrendous crimes. There were moving scenes of reconciliation, but at many times anger and hostility erupted. Friends and families of victims and perpetrators alike came to listen to evidence and offer support.

For many victims of apartheid crimes, this process promoted reconciliation and healing; for others it did not.
New identities: Human Rights for all
The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1948. It is the basis for human rights protection and promotion around the world.

In the same year that the UDHR was accepted at the UNO in 1948, the National Party came to power in South Africa. They put into practice the racist policy of apartheid, under which black South Africans were denied basic human rights. The system of apartheid clearly did not meet the standards set by the UDHR. The apartheid government did not sign the UDHR, and apartheid was later declared a Crime against Humanity by the UNO.

In South Africa under apartheid, people who lived within South Africa's borders were taught that they were different because they had different skin colours. Laws were applied which benefited whites, and oppressed blacks. There was no common sense of national unity.

After the 1994 democratic election in South Africa, a new non-racial constitution was drawn up. It includes a Bill of Rights, and is based on the UDHR.

A challenge for the democratic government is to create a new national identity from a divided legacy of division and discrimination.

However, we continue to be divided by our blackness and our whiteness. The Chairman of the SA Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), Jody Kollapen said as recently as March, 2008:

"I think the challenge is to transcend the sense that we have over our blackness and our whiteness...I think it requires hard work and I think it requires ordinary people to speak to each other."

The construction of heritage: new symbols of unity
These are some of the things that were used to construct a new South African identity, and a new heritage for a democratic nation of South Africans:

National Symbols were changed
National Anthem: South Africa adopted a new National Anthem in the spirit of reconciliation, a combination of "Nkosi Sikelel" and "Die Stem"

Flag: The new national flag of the Republic of South Africa was first used on 27 April 1994.

Coat of Arms: A new National Coat of Arms was adopted. The motto is: !ke e: /xarra /ke, written in the Khoisan language of the /Xam people, literally meaning: diverse people unite. It calls for the nation to unite in a common sense of belonging and national pride - Unity in Diversity.

National sports teams were created
Under apartheid, national sports teams were made up of whites only. South Africa was boycotted from participating in international sport during the apartheid years. South African teams now compete against people from all over the world.
However, racism in sport is still prevalent in South Africa despite the country declaring all forms of racism illegal. Merit selection of teams is often dubiously used to exclude disadvantaged individuals from being selected into elite teams.

South African joined international organisations

During apartheid, South Africa was excluded from international bodies. Since 1994, South Africa has been welcomed into the international community, and belongs to, for example, Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union, the Commonwealth and the United Nations Organisation.

South Africa officially assumed its seat as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in January 2007, the first time the country has sat on the UN's most powerful organ.

New heritage sites were created

Since 1994, many new heritage sites and museums have been opened to contribute to forging a new South African identity. These include:

The Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg: This pre-eminent museum deals with 20th century South Africa, at the heart of which is the apartheid story.

Freedom Park in Tshwane: This memorial aims to mobilise for reconciliation and nation building in our country; to reflect upon our past, to improve our present and build our future as a united nation; to contribute continentally and internationally to the formation of better human understanding among nations and peoples.

Robben Island Museum (RIM) near Cape Town: This museum aims to develop the island as a national and international heritage and conservation site. RIM strives to maintain the unique symbolism of the island, nurture creativity and innovation. This museum also aims to contribute to socio-economic development, the transformation of South African society and the enrichment of humanity.

Museums Online South Africa: This online heritage portal gives access to most South African museums.

New provinces were created

South Africa under Apartheid had four provinces - Cape Province, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Natal. The new South Africa has nine provinces - Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, the Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northwest Province, and Limpopo Province (initially Northern Province).

Some towns and streets were renamed

The renaming process is part of a national drive to make South African cities and street names sound more inclusive and less reflective of the colonial and apartheid past. For example, the cities of Pietersburg, Louis Trichardt, and Potgietersrust were named after Afrikaner leaders. They became, Polokwane, Makhoda, and Mokopane.

Within South Africa, the process remains controversial, and renaming is likely to continue for a long time as South Africa continues to redefine itself.
Airport names were changed

The names of all South African airports were first changed from Apartheid politician's names to the city or town where they are located. Later, Johannesburg International Airport was changed to OR Tambo International Airport after the great ANC leader.


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**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 Feb-Mar Examination 2010 Paper 2)

**SOURCE C**

The following cartoon by Zapiro appeared in the *Sowetan* of 25 July 1999.
1.1 Why, in the opinion of the cartoonist, is the carpet marked NP appropriate? (3 x 1) (3)

1.2 What do the figures in the cartoon symbolise? (2 x 1) (2)

1.3 What is implied by: 'The trick is to shout so loudly that we start to look like victims'? (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Explain how this cartoon adds value to the work of the TRC and explain how some could argue that it devalues the TRC. (4 x 1) (4)

1.5 Explain the reference to:
   (a) Detainees murdered
   (b) Hit squads (2 x 1) (2)

[15]

SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

Learner Note: Mark allocation works as follows:
(Number of correct facts x Number of marks) = (TOTAL MARKS)

QUESTION 1

1.1 [Extraction from Source A – L1 – LO1 (AS3); LO3 (AS2)] (1 x 2) (2)
   • To join Umkhonto weSizwe

1.2 [Interpretation and evaluation of evidence from Source A – L3 – LO1 (AS3); LO3 (AS2)] (2 x 2) (4)
   • The armed military wing of the ANC created by the youth league leaders.
   • Created in response to Sharpeville and increased police repression.

1.3 [Extraction of evidence from Source A – L1 – LO1 (AS3)] (2 x 1) (2)
   • Exemplary, highly intelligent, committed and hard working
   • Promoted to MK commander for Natal operations

1.4 [Extraction of evidence from Source A – L1 – LO1 (AS3)] (1 x 2) (2)
   • Phila was abducted by her former comrades from Swaziland
   • Any other relevant response

1.5 [Interpretation and evaluation of evidence from Source A – L3- LO1 (AS3); LO2 (AS2)] (2 x 2) (4)
   If they could not get her to change sides and turn on her comrades they would kill her as she was too big a risk.
1.6  [Analysis and interpretation of evidence from Source A - L3- LO1 (AS3); LO3 (AS3)]

• Former MK soldiers who became police informers
• Any other relevant response

1.7  [Interpretation and analysis of evidence using Source A - L3- LO3 (AS2,3)]

• She refused to cooperate with the police and betray the struggle
• Try to send a message to other MK operatives

Any other relevant response.

1.8  [Interpretation of evidence from Source 4A – L3 – LO1 (AS3); LO2 (AS2); LO3 (AS2)]

JUSTIFIED
• TRC was a mechanism established by law for people to come forward with information
• The police were exercising their right to amnesty
• They were safeguarding themselves against prosecution should someone decide to talk

NOT JUSTIFIED
• Their act was not politically motivated
• They acted outside of the law
• They testified that they were not prepared to prosecute her

1.9  MK OPERATIVES
• Highly committed
• Passionate
• Serious
• Brave
• POLICE
• Bullying
• Violent
• Cowardly
• Merciless

QUESTION 2

2.1  [Interpretation and explanation of evidence from Source B – L3 – LC (2 x 2) (AS3); LO3 (AS2)]

• In the dying years of Apartheid violence escalated between the IFP and ANC as each jockeyed for power. Many believed the IFP were aided by the NP in order to destabilise ANC.
• Boipatong massacre.

2.2  [Interpretation and explanation of evidence from Source B – L3 – LC (2 x 2) (AS3); LO3 (AS2)]

• Many people were killed in the political violence
• He was morally responsible as some people were killing in his organisation and others killed for belonging to his organisation
• As Christian he understood forgiveness was important
• Knows that it will protect his party in a dominated ANC government
• He believes in reconciliation
• Any well-argued opinion.

2.3 Deputy President in the GNU

2.4 [Interpretation of evidence from Source B – L3 – LO1 (AS3); LO2 (AS2); LO3 (AS2)]
• Reconciliatory
• Sincere
• Remorse
• Any other relevant response

2.5 [Interpretation and evaluation of evidence from Source B – L2 – LO1 (AS3); LO2 (AS2); LO3 (AS2)]
• One of the leading ANC opposition parties has a leader willing to apologise and face the truth. This sets an example for all leaders in society and society as a whole to seek forgiveness so that we can move on. The apology suggests acceptance by the IFP and a willingness to work together to move on.

Any well-argued and relevant response.

2.6 This admission of guilt, apology and taking responsibility for the increased violence is what Tutu wanted from the TRC. He wanted players to come forward with their own story and to tell the truth. In that way people can move forward through forgiveness and honesty.

[15]

QUESTION 3

EXTENDED WRITING

[Plan and construct an argument based on evidence using analytical and interpretative skills - L1 – LO1 (AS3&4); LO2 (AS1, 2 &3); LO3 (AS1, 2, 3 &4)]
Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

SYNOPSIS
Candidates should discuss whether they agree or disagree that the TRC was a success.

MAIN ASPECTS
Introduction: Candidates should introduce their essay with a relevant introduction and state whether they agree or disagree.
ELABORATION

AGREE

• In some cases there was genuine commitment to reconciliation
• In some cases victims were prepared to forgive
• People came forward to narrate about what they knew
• Perpetrators came forward with evidence which could have been difficult in a court of law
• Other victims decided to challenge the TRC
• TRC managed to uncover what could not be uncovered in a normal court of law
• Reconciliation was achieved
• Catastrophe was avoided
• Country was given a new lease of life

DISAGREE

• Many high ranking government officials did not come forward to testify
• Many atrocities left uncovered
• Many victims felt short changed by TRC hearings and instituted criminal charges
• P.W.Botha indifferent to the desire for peace, reconciliation and nation building
• Many people still not accounted for
• Any other relevant response

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]
### Grade 12 Extended Writing Matrix: Total Marks: 30

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<th>LEVEL 6</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
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<th>LEVEL 3</th>
<th>LEVEL 2</th>
<th>LEVEL 1</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very well planned and structured. Good synthesis of information. Constructed an argument. Well balanced argument. Sustained and defended the argument throughout.</td>
<td>Level 7</td>
<td>Well planned and structured. Constructed a clear argument. Conclusions drawn from evidence. Evidence used to support argument. Reached independent conclusion. Evidence used to support conclusion.</td>
<td>Level 5</td>
<td>Planned and constructed an argument. Evidence used to support argument. Conclusion reached based on evidence. Writing structured.</td>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>Learns some evidence of a planned and constructed argument. Some evidence used to support argument. Conclusion not clearly supported by evidence.</td>
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<td>CONTENT</td>
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<td>18-19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Question has been fully answered. Content selection fully relevant to line of argument.</td>
<td>Question has been answered. Content selection relevant to a line of argument.</td>
<td>Question answered to a great extent. Content adequately covered and relevant.</td>
<td>Question recognisable in answer. Some omissions/irrelevant content selection.</td>
<td>Content selection does not always relate. Omissions in coverage.</td>
<td>Sparse content. Question inadequately addressed.</td>
<td>Question not answered. Inadequate content. Totally irrelevant.</td>
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SESSION 7

TOPIC: COLD WAR – AREAS & FORMS OF CONFLICT: ANGOLA

SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

KEY QUESTION:

HOW DID THE COLD WAR AFFECT INDEPENDENCE IN ANGOLA?

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 how The Cold War affected Angola. NB: You DO NOT answer this question!

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:  15 minutes

Study the sources and use your own knowledge to answer the following questions.

Learner Note: In respect of the Cold War, the focus for the exams is on Angola. Angola becomes the pawn in the balance of power between the Soviet Union and the United States. One must note that in Angola civil conflict is manipulated by the Cold War powers to increase their prestige.

SOURCE A

Angola is potentially one of the richest countries in sub-Saharan Africa with extensive petroleum reserves, rich agricultural land and valuable mineral resources. Few countries in the world have experienced as well as sustained the degree of violent conflict seen in Angola.

Intervention has diminished but has not disappeared. Angola’s abundant natural resources continue to attract outside interests from industrialised nations globally. In the competition for oil, diamonds and other precious resources in Angola, interests external to Angola continue to play a large and decisive role, both in suppressing conflict and in sustaining it.

The end of the Cold War changed the political landscape of Africa since the 1990’s and opened new vistas for the continent, it helped in reshaping international relations as well as the emergence of new concepts of security and self interest. It eliminated the division of Africa into two ideological camps and eliminated a source of external support that was taken for granted.

*Cold War diplomacy in Angola: The emergence of New Foci of Power* by Dr. Skyne Uku-Wertimer.

Learner Note: 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 about in your answer. When asked to quote make sure your answer has quotation marks and that the quotation includes only the relevant phrase or sentence.
1.1 The source refers to violent conflict in Angola. This violent conflict began with Angola’s independence in 1975. Briefly explain why independence sparked violence in Angola. (2)

1.2 According to the source why is Angola continually an arena for external intervention? Quote from the source to support your answer? (2)

1.3 The source refers to two ideological camps during the Cold War. What were these two ideological camps? (2)

1.4 The MPLA and UNITA were the two main opponents in the Angolan Civil War. Name which ideological camp supported the MPLA and which camp supported UNITA. (2)

1.5 Briefly explain how the involvement of the above camps would accelerate and prolong the conflict. (4)

QUESTION 2: 15 minutes

SOURCE B

Worried about the possibility of an MPLA victory, the administration of President Gerald Ford authorised the CIA to spend $32 million in support of the two other groups. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, insisted that absolute secrecy be maintained, since there were legal obstacles to providing military assistance to rebels, and overt aid would lead to “unimaginable and overt confrontation with the Soviet Union.” .. Almost half the total sum was reportedly spent on providing arms and equipment. Support for UNITA in the south was largely left to the South Africans, with the encouragement of the CIA.

Source unknown.

2.1 Why was the US administration concerned about an MPLA victory? (2)

2.2 According to the source how did the USA support the rebel factions against the MPLA? (2)

2.3 In your own words explain why the USA chose the above line of support? (2)

2.4 Using your own knowledge explain in a short paragraph why South Africa would be willing to fight with UNITA against the MPLA (3 x 2) (6)
QUESTIONS 3: 10 minutes

SOURCE C


Angola is a territory rich in natural resources. Cabinda, one of Angola’s provinces, has large oil deposits. This country has great mineral wealth – diamonds, copper, iron. This is one of the reasons why the imperialists want to take hold of Angola.

SOURCE D

A Cartoon drawn by a South African, Fred Mouton, and published in Die Burger, 1976. It shows a large soviet hand dropping ash from a cigar for which Cuba is famous) into the ashtray of Africa.

Learner Note: When asked to compare sources be aware that they may be similar or opposite. They may entrench a viewpoint or be in opposition to each other. You need to examine the origin of the source (whose view is this, secondary or primary etc.) and then examine the content itself. You can then decide whether they compliment or oppose each other, and give a detailed explanation as to why you came to this conclusion.

3.1 Explain in detail how Source C and source D compare. In your answer, refer to both content and origin. [6]
QUESTION 4: 10 minutes

SOURCE E

Source: www.hardraiproject.com
Photographer: B. Paton

Learner Note: When asked to evaluate the value of a source, you are examining whether or not the source enhances your study. Ask yourself the following questions: Does the source display bias or not? If so what can that bias teach us? What element and knowledge does this source impart and why does this help us understand the topic more clearly? The type of source is also relevant.
4.1 Is Source E a primary or secondary source? (1 x 2)(2)

4.2 What is the value of Source E in our study of the Angolan civil war? (3)

4.3 What impact would the image in Source E have on the Angolan economy in post-civil war days? (3)

QUESTION 5: 10 minutes

SOURCE F

Taken from http://africanelections.tripod.com/ao.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1992 National Assembly Election PARTY</th>
<th>Number of Votes</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
<th>Number of Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)</td>
<td>2 124 126</td>
<td>53, 74%</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Union for the Total independence of Angola (UNITA)</td>
<td>1 347 636</td>
<td>34, 10%</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Front for the liberation of Angola(FNLA)</td>
<td>94 742</td>
<td>2, 40%</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party (PLD)</td>
<td>94 267</td>
<td>2,39%</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Renewal Party (PRS)</td>
<td>89 875</td>
<td>2,27%</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Renewal Party(PRD)</td>
<td>35 293</td>
<td>0,89%</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Alliance of Angola(AD)</td>
<td>34 166</td>
<td>0,86%</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Democratic Party(PSD)</td>
<td>33 088</td>
<td>0,84%</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of the alliance of Youth, workers and Peasants (PAJOCA)</td>
<td>13 924</td>
<td>0,35%</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angolan Democratic Forum (FDA)</td>
<td>12 038</td>
<td>0,30%</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party for Progress- Angolan National Alliance (PDP-ANA)</td>
<td>10 620</td>
<td>0,27%</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angolan National Democratic Party(PNDA)</td>
<td>10 281</td>
<td>0,26%</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>52 209</td>
<td>1, 32%</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1 What does the democratic election represented in the table suggest about the Civil War by 1992? (1)

5.2 In what way had the end of the Cold War contributed towards the above status? (2)

5.3 What percentage of the votes did UNITA get? (1)

5.4 Which political party won the most number of seats? (1)

5.5 Explain the usefulness of Source 2C to a historian studying the 1992 elections. (2)

[7]
QUESTION 6: 30 minutes

Describe why Angola became an arena for Cold War ideologies and examine how this developed into a Proxy War with Cuban and South African involvement. Your answer must include your own knowledge and you can use the sources provided in the short questions.

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

ANGOLA

Angola was first acknowledged by Europe in 1482 with Portugal visiting the area looking for treasures and trade routes to India and China. The Portuguese remained to rule the people of Angola because of the profits made from the new slave trade. In 1885, the Berlin Conference divided up Africa and served it to the European Nations as colonies. The African nations were soon designed to be beneficial to the colonial powers first, the puppet leaders second, and the people last. The colonial powers created strong markets that drew the wealth from the counties, and took the people away from their old way of living, and created an unhealthy co-dependency.

As time passed and the slave market began shrinking, a world movement began to end slavery and colonial rule. The Portuguese granted independence to colonial Angola because of global pressure, and Angola’s request for their own freedom in 1975. The Portuguese turned over rule to the people and because of the co-dependent state that they were left in, new found freedom created a brutal environment with civil unrest that has since lasted for 30 years. The fight for control of the government came from all different sides, Cuba vs. South Africa, Soviet Union vs. United States and the MPLA vs. UNITA.

MPLA (The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) was a political party supported by Cuba and Russia. UNITA (The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) received backing from South Africa and the United States. America also threw in support with China to back another group called the FNLA (National Front the Liberation of Angola). The MPLA and UNITA battled for control of the government and this placed an unstable and explosive element that prevented ascendancy and sparked a civil war in this deeply divided nation. The civil unrest brought with it displaced refugees, food shortages, and high death rates that were not being addressed by the United Nations (U.N.) Angola, the fourth largest oil producer of Africa also carried the
highest mortality rate in the continent. As a result Angola was pushed to the limit in this period of new government rule and reached out to the international community.

In 1987, Cuba backed MPLA and South Africa backed UNITA with troops and weapons in the fight for Angola. Cuba and South Africa’s involvement meant that covertly the Soviet Union and the United States were both supplying the weapons and mercenaries for the civil war. The United States and the Soviet Union quickly replied that the weapons that they were supplying to their Allies “were not meant” to be used for the war cause. International negotiations were finally set in place and the Cuban and South African troops were removed from Angolan soil in 1989. The MPLA and the UNITA forces continued to battle up to 1992 when they had another official election for control of the Angolan government. The United States poured money into the UNITA backed forces while the Soviet Union flooded support to the MPLA.

The MPLA won the election and it seemed that order would be restored in Angola, but the UNITA group claimed that the election was a fraud and began full-scale civil war again. The stage had been set for the continued turmoil with the civil war destroying the very structure of normal life. Whole tribes of people were displaced and, without any means of support, had to depend solely on aid from the international community.

Angola’s weakness was quickly exploited again with the infuriation and exploitation of their oil and diamond trade. The United States, Soviet Union, Cuba, China, and South Africa all were now deeply involved in the decay of the government of Angola.

Eventually, the United Nations became involved and they began the task of restoring order within Angola. The UN quickly negotiated a cease fire between the UNITA and the MPLA parties. Food and medical relief poured into the country to feed over millions and there was an opportunity to rebuild the government.

In 1994, the UN and other nations negotiated the Lusaka Protocol peace accord that called for a coalition government. Sanctions were placed on UNITA, no food, medical aid and international peacekeeping troops entered Angola to restore order. The peace accord cost the UN $1.6 billion and ended in 1998 because of the UNITA’s leader’s refusal to surrender as he controlled 80% of the country’s diamond trade and could finance his forces. The MPLA government controlled majority of the nation by gaining the citizens’ trust and finally in 2002, a ceasefire was negotiated when the leader of UNITA (Savimbi) died. However, there is still hope that African leadership can ultimately repair the ravages of oppression and the Cold War.

The players of the Cold War have now allowed the country to choose their own destination with limited outside interference. Angola has began its recovery from the 1482 Portuguese slave trade, colonisation, unregulated diamond trade, and the four billion dollar oil scandal that nearly destroyed this country. The nation of Angola has control of its country again and she intends to keep the wheels of progress at full speed.
The first glimpse of peace in Angola's interminable (never-ending) civil war came in 1990 as the Cold War drew to a close. Throughout the 1980's Angola had remained a pawn in the Cold War, a theatre in which the US and the Soviet Union used proxy (outside representative) forces to compete for ascendancy power and control. While the Russians and the Cubans continued to prop up the MPLA's (Popular Movement for the liberation of Angola) Marxist regime in Luanda, the Americans, along with the South Africans, sustained Jonas Savimbi's rebel UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) movement.

In 1990, after the Russians had lost interest in Angola, the MPLA formally abandoned Marxism-Leninism and pronounced itself in favour of economic reform. The MPLA followed with the decision at its congress in December 1990 to adopt a multiparty system and moved, albeit haltingly, towards market-orientated economic policies, after finally obtaining membership of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The reforms it instituted, however, provided yet more business opportunities for the elite, notably the privatisation of state assets.

An extract from: Conflict in Africa: Angola- Ending the Cold War in Southern Africa

1.1 Using the source and your own knowledge, explain why and who Russia used to fight their Proxy War in Angola? (3 x 2) (6)

1.2 Using your own knowledge, why did the Soviet Union support the MPLA? (3 x 1) (3)

1.3 According to the source and your own knowledge, why did the MPLA abandon Marxism in favour of market-orientated economic policies? (3 x 2) (6)
SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

**Learner Note:** Mark allocation works as follows:
*(Number of correct facts x Number of marks) = (TOTAL MARKS)*

**QUESTION 1**

1.1 • Portugal left a vacuum of power due to the co-dependent state that they were left in. ✓Power struggle emerged between the MPLA and UNITA that turned into a 30 year civil war. Both aligned themselves with opposite sides of the Cold War powers. This fuelled further confrontation as a Proxy War emerged. ✓ and Kennedy (USA or America) ✓

1.2 • Angola is rich in natural resources and is potentially the richest country in Africa. ✓“Angola’s abundant natural resources continue to attract outside interests from industrialised nations globally.” ✓ Or “…interests external to Angola continue to play a large and decisive role, both in suppressing conflict and sustaining it.” ✓

1.3 • Communist Soviet Union ✓ and Capitalist USA (WEST) ✓

1.4 • MPLA- Soviet Union (Cuban forces) ✓

• UNITA-USA (South African forces) ✓

1.5 • The Russians and USA supplied weapons and mercenaries for war. ✓ Their involvement brought in Cuban and South African forces. ✓ A civil conflict had turned into a global conflict with the capital, ammunition and will of the Cold War super powers to fuel the conflict without regard for the country involved. ✓ With this international backing, refusing to surrender for fear of losing strategic and ideological face in the Cold War conflict, the war would last unnecessarily longer with more loss of life. ✓

[12]

**QUESTION 2**

2.1 The MPLA had socialist sympathies and leanings ✓. They had previously fostered a relationship with communist China and were on good terms with Russia, The USA’s policy of containment compelled her to put an end to any socialist leanings in strategically important Southern Africa. ✓ (the learner can also mention that the USA were fearful of Russia gaining mineral and oil wealth)

2.2 • Arms and ammunition. ✓

• Proxy forces to help UNITA forces in the South.
2.3 • Involvement in Angola needed to be kept a secret and not overt as the USA realised that full force from America would antagonise their Russian enemy and could lead to full scale war which could be seen as overt aggression on Russia and thus war. “✓✓”

2.4 • This answer must be done in a paragraph format. These are the most important points and the paragraph can is marked according to the rubric provided below:

- SA was committed to preventing the “Rooi gevaar”. Afraid of ANC leanings toward the communist party they were prepared to commit to stopping any socialist threat in southern Africa.
- Gave them leverage and the excuse to go after SWAPO threatening SA control of South West Africa.
- Insures a lenient western attitude toward SA in the face of growing international hostility against Apartheid.
- Arms and funds SADF, key to fighting growing black militarism.

Use the following matrix to mark the paragraph

| LEVEL 1 | Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. Shows no or little understanding of what tactics America used and how a nuclear war averted. Uses evidence partially to report on topic or cannot report on topic | Mark: 0-2 |
| LEVEL 2 | Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. Shows an understanding of what tactics America used and how a nuclear war was averted. Uses evidence in a very basic manner | Mark 3-4 |
| LEVEL 3 | Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. Demonstrates a thorough understanding of what tactics America used and how a nuclear war was averted. Evidence relates well to the topic. Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic | Mark: 5-6 |
QUESTION 3

3. The following answer must be done in a paragraph format. The following points must be included:

- Source C is written from the Soviet perspective and Source D from South African, thus, pro-Western perspective.
- Source C blames Western imperialism as the cause of civil war in Angola. Source D is suggesting that Russia is using Africa as an ashtray of their ideological ambitions. Angola is just another example of this.
- Comparing the sources demonstrates the bias of the two sides and the excuses each use for their involvement in Angola.

Use the following matrix to mark the paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL 1</th>
<th>Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. <strong>Shows no or little understanding of what tactics America used and how a nuclear war averted.</strong> Uses evidence partially to report on topic or cannot report on topic</th>
<th>Mark: 0-2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 2</td>
<td>Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. <strong>Shows an understanding of what tactics America used and how a nuclear war was averted.</strong> Uses evidence in a very basic manner</td>
<td>Mark 3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 3</td>
<td>Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. <strong>Demonstrates a thorough understanding of what tactics America used and how a nuclear war was averted.</strong> Evidence relates well to the topic. Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic</td>
<td>Mark: 5-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
QUESTION 4

4.1 • The source is a primary source. ✓ ✓ (1 x 2) (2)

4.2 • This source is a primary source, a photograph that allows one to see and feel empathy for the human cost in war ✓.
  • This picture demonstrates very clearly how cruel and destructive this war was. It proved that the conflict was violent and that landmines were used to devastating effect. ✓
  • It brings a human face to war rather than the logistics and facts it evokes empathy and reminds one of the reality of warfare. The innocent suffer in the name of political manoeuvring and power games. ✓

4.3 Any three:
  • Land mines would have to be cleaned up and this costs manpower and money. ✓
  • Despite the war being over, lives continue to be lost and impaired. ✓
  • Loss of limbs from landmines means a large number of the workforce is unable to work. This means families are devastated, unemployment is high and the country is unable to develop industry. ✓
  • High unemployment and infirm people puts pressure on government. ✓
  • Foreign investment is deterred. ✓

[8]

QUESTION 5

1.1 The war was over and an agreement had been made to pave the way for a democratic election. ✓ (1)

1.2 With Russia reforming toward a capitalist economy, they lost interest in pushing socialist ideals with the MPLA. ✓ The west too lost interest because the socialist threat had been removed. No more socialist threat in Southern Africa means no need for Proxy War. ✓ (2)

1.3 • 34.10% ✓ (1)

1.4 • MPLA ✓ (1)
1.5 The answer can include two points along the following lines: (2)

- The source allows one to see that there were a number of competing parties. It demonstrates that the MPLA were the majority party and that UNITA was the second largest party, this explains the power conflict between the two powers.

- It gives one scientific insight into the status of pre-war Angola. This can add to our understanding of the political dynamics of Angola. With this international backing, refusing to surrender for fear of losing strategic and ideological face in the Cold War conflict, the war would last unnecessarily longer with more loss of life.

QUESTION 6:

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

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

SYNOPSIS
Candidates must analyse the statement and then describe why Angola is the arena of a major Proxy War in the Cold War era. Their answer must include an explanation for Cuba’s and South Africa’s involvement.

MAIN ASPECTS

Introduction:
Candidates should analyse the statement and outline how they’re going to draw out their argument. Marks are awarded for providing context, stating their argument and providing intent.

ELABORATION

- Angola is resource rich and thus potentially an asset to external investors. Oil a huge motivating factor.

- Withdrawal of Portugal meant that Angola was left with internal competition and rivalry for power. Unita and others refused to accept the MPLA and thus chose to fight their rise to power.

- MPLA had used China for arms and were on good term with Russia.

- West (USA) felt threatened by MPLA’s socialist leanings and due to the Truman doctrine decided to try stop the rise of a socialist power in Angola. (foreign policy of Containment)

- US commitment is not active involvement. They fear Russian reprisal against a background of an ongoing arms race thus potential war with Russia.

- Vietnam War error fresh in American publics mind. Political and monetary cost too great.
- Decide to invest money and arms.
- Use SADF as their pawn army.
- SADF willing to get involved. They are also afraid of socialism spreading in southern Africa. This is due to ANC leanings toward the communist Party. PW Botha talks about the Rooi Gevaar as much as the Swart Gevaar.
- SWAPO guerrillas were being supplied by MPLA in their fight against the SA in South West Africa. This gives the SADF more reason to get involved to prevent this supply link on the border of Angola and South West Africa.
- In the face of growing world sanctions against SA, assisting the US protect their Cold War interests means that SA avoids too much loss of US investment.
- SADF is heavily funded with arms and military hardware. This assists Botha’s internal policy of Total Onslaught against the opponents to Apartheid.
- Cuba’s only world partner is Russia due to US banning of Cuban trade with herself and all US economic partners (namely in South America). They are not in a position to offend or refuse to support the Soviet Union. They need to protect their economic and political partnership with Russia.

CONCLUSION

Candidates should tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion. [30]

Use the matrix on the next page in this document to assess this extended writing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRESENTATION</th>
<th>LEVEL 7</th>
<th>LEVEL 6</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
<th>LEVEL 4</th>
<th>LEVEL 3</th>
<th>LEVEL 2</th>
<th>LEVEL 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Grade 12 Extended Writing Matrix: Total Marks: 30**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL 7</th>
<th>LEVEL 6</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
<th>LEVEL 4</th>
<th>LEVEL 3</th>
<th>LEVEL 2</th>
<th>LEVEL 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question has been fully answered. Content selection fully relevant to line of argument.</td>
<td>27-30</td>
<td>24-26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question has been answered. Content selection relevant to a line of argument.</td>
<td>24-26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21-22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question answered to a great extent. Content adequately covered and relevant.</td>
<td>21-22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18-19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question recognisable in answer. Some omissions/irrelevant content selection.</td>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15-16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content selection does not always relate. Omissions in coverage.</td>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12-13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparse content. Question inadequately addressed.</td>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question not answered. Inadequate content. Totally irrelevant.</td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td></td>
<td>0-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>