

HILLCREST HIGH SCHOOL

HISTORY  
PAPER 2

TRIALS 2013

MARKS 150

TIME 3 HOURS

Candidates are required to answer TWO QUESTIONS.  
Each question consists of both the source-based  
questions which count 45 marks and the extended  
writing which counts 30 marks

**QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION INFLUENCE THE ENDING OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

Study sources 1A, 1B and 1C to answer the following questions.

1.1 Refer to Source 1A.

- 1.1.1 Using information from the source and your own knowledge, define the term:

*Perestroika* (1 x 2) (2)

- 1.1.2 What do you think was the impact of De Klerk's speech to South Africans? (2 x 1) (2)

- 1.1.3 What suggests that De Klerk and Gorbachev were unaware of the consequences of their actions? (2 x 1) (2)

- 1.1.4 Explain why you think this source can be useful to a historian researching about the collapse of the Soviet Union and its influence in South Africa? (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Study Source 1B.

- 1.2.1 What prompted the talks between De Klerk and his brother Willem? (1 x 2) (2)

- 1.2.2 Why do you think the ANC received assistance from the USSR? (1 x 2) (2)

- 1.2.3 What setback did the ANC suffer with the collapse of the USSR? (1 x 2) (2)

- 1.2.4 Explain what you think De Klerk meant with the following phrase "The ANC was the instrument of expansionism of Russia in Southern Africa." (2 x 2) (4)

- 1.2.5 With reference to this source and your own knowledge, explain how De Klerk reacted to collapse of USSR? (2 x 2) (4)

## 1.3 Use Source 1C.

- 1.3.1 Explain why you think Nelson Mandela wrote a letter to De Klerk. (Written Source) (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.3.2 What evidence is there in this source to suggest that De Klerk was keen to bring about changes in South Africa? (Written source) (4 x 1) (4)
- 1.3.3 According to this source, what type of government did De Klerk envisage? (Written source) (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.4 What message does the photographer wish to convey with this photograph? (Visual source) (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.5 Explain why you think the welcome rally was held in Soweto. (Visual source) (1 x 3) (3)

- 1.4 Using the information in the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how De Klerk was forced to change the policy of apartheid in South Africa in 1989? (8)

## 1.5 EXTENDED WRITING (Your response should be about 2 pages in length.)

Answer ONE of the following questions: QUESTION 1.5.1 OR 1.5.2

- 1.5.1 Discuss how the collapse of the Soviet Union influenced the ending of apartheid in South Africa in 1989. (30)

OR

- 1.5.2 The collapse of USSR contributed tremendously to South Africa's freedom.

Do you agree with the statement? Substantiate your argument by using ALL the sources and your own knowledge.

(30)  
[75]

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

The following extract describes the impact of De Klerk's speech on South African politics.

At home, there was a mixture of trauma, exhilaration (excitement) and disbelief as different groups struggled to come to terms with a change so profound. Abroad, there was a sense of wonderment and relief. Here, soon after Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika 'restructuring' revolution was another miracle of reform: at a stroke South Africa and all it symbolized was transformed. The 2 February speech was to race relations everywhere what the collapse of the Berlin Wall was to communism. It signaled the end of the world's last racial oligarchy (government).

Just as Gorbachev could not have known that his restructuring of the Soviet Union system would lead to the loss of his Eastern European empire, the collapse and dismemberment of the Soviet Union itself, so too, De Klerk did not expect reforms to lead to black majority rule and the end of Afrikaner nationalism before the end of the decade.

*Tomorrow is Another Country* by A. Spark

**SOURCE 1B**

This extract explains De Klerk's motive for his reforms.

President FW De Klerk remarked to his brother Willem that the collapse of the communist ideology in Russia made it easier for him to negotiate with the ANC. The decline and collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and Russia created a new situation. Prior to this the ANC was an instrument of the expansionism of Russia in Southern Africa. When this fell away the carpet was also pulled out from under the ANC. The basis of their finances, their advice and moral support had caved in. It is as if the Lord has brought dispensation a turning point in world history.

We had to seize the opportunity ... The risk that they could be the Trojan horse of world power has decreased drastically.

*The Quiet Diplomacy of Liberation* by C. Landsberg

**SOURCE 1C**

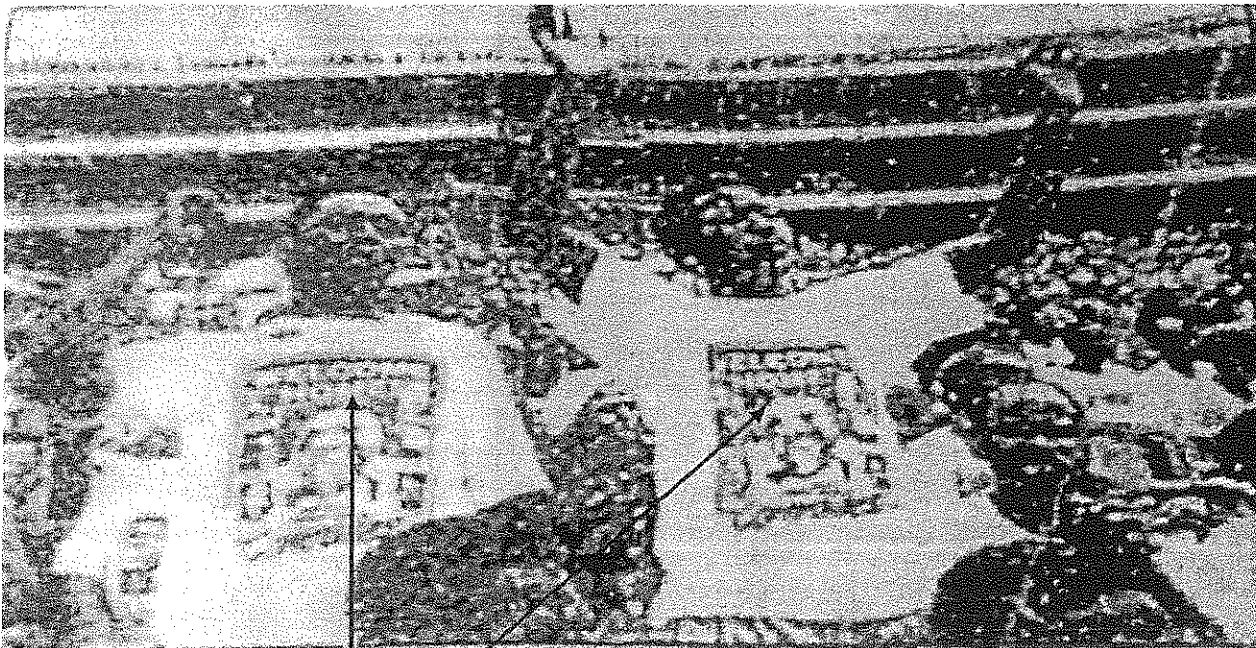
The source below comprises two parts regarding the release of political prisoners in 1989.

**Written Source:** The following is part of a letter that Nelson Mandela wrote to FW de Klerk on the release of political prisoners.

Mr. President

I hope that Ministers Kobie Coetsee and Gerrit Viljoen have informed you that I deeply appreciate your decision in terms of which seven fellow prisoners were freed on 15 October 1989, and for advising me of the fact in advance. The release was clearly a major development which rightly evoked praise here and abroad ... In your inaugural (first) address on 20 September 1989, you made an important statement which must have had a formidable impact inside and outside the country. You said: There is but one way to 'peace, to justice for all, that is the way of reconciliation, of together seeking mutually acceptable solutions, of together discussing what the new South Africa should look like, of constitutional negotiation with a view to a permanent understanding.

**Visual Source:** This photograph shows political activists at the 'Welcome Home' rally that was held in Soweto for the freed leaders of the ANC in 1989.



*South Africa 1948-94 by M. Roberts*

**WELCOME  
HOME**

**QUESTION 2: HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS ANGOLA IN RE-IMAGINING ITSELF AS A RESULT OF THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM IN 1989?**

Study Sources 2A, 2B and 2C and answer the following questions.

2.1 Refer to Source 2A.

2.1.1 Using the information from the source and your knowledge define the following terms in your own words:

(a) Cold War

(b) Marxist-Leninism

(2 x 2) (4)

2.1.2 Explain whether you agree that the Angolan civil war was 'an extension of the Cold War'.

(2 x 2) (4)

2.1.3 Why, do you think, America supported UNITA?

(1 x 2) (2)

2.2 Study Source 2B.

2.2.1 Which political party according to the graph won the election?

(1 x 1) (1)

2.2.2 Who was the leader of the political party that had the second highest vote in the elections?

(1 x 1) (1)

2.2.3 What conclusions can you draw regarding the number of parties that contested 1992 elections?

(2 x 2) (4)

2.2.4 Explain the usefulness of this source to a historian studying the 1992 elections.

(2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Refer to Sources 2A and 2B. Explain in what way both sources support each other regarding Angola's political history.

(2 x 2) (4)

2.4 Read through Source 2C.

2.4.1 Using the source and your own knowledge, how in your opinion did the 1991 Bicesse peace agreement bring about hope in Angola? (2 x 2) (4)

2.4.2 Explain whether you think the 1991 Bicesse peace agreement was successful. (2 x 1) (2)

2.4.3 How did the civil war affect the people of Angola? (3 x 1) (3)

2.4.4 Explain whether you think President dos Santos was justified in resuming the civil war. (2 x 2) (4)

2.5 Using all the Sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of EIGHT LINES (80 words) explaining how the USA and USSR became involved in Angola. (8)

2.6 EXTENDED WRITING (Your response should be about 2 pages in length.)

Answer ONE of the following questions: QUESTION 2.6.1 OR 2.6.2.

2.6.1 Discuss whether Angola was successful in re-imagining itself after the collapse of communism in 1989. (30)

OR

2.6.2 Attempts by Angola to re-imagine itself from the Cold War effects were to a great extent unsuccessful.

Using all the sources and your own knowledge, indicate whether you agree with the above statement. (30)  
[75]

**QUESTION 2: HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS ANGOLA IN RE-IMAGINING ITSELF AS A RESULT OF THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM IN 1989?**

**SOURCE 2A**

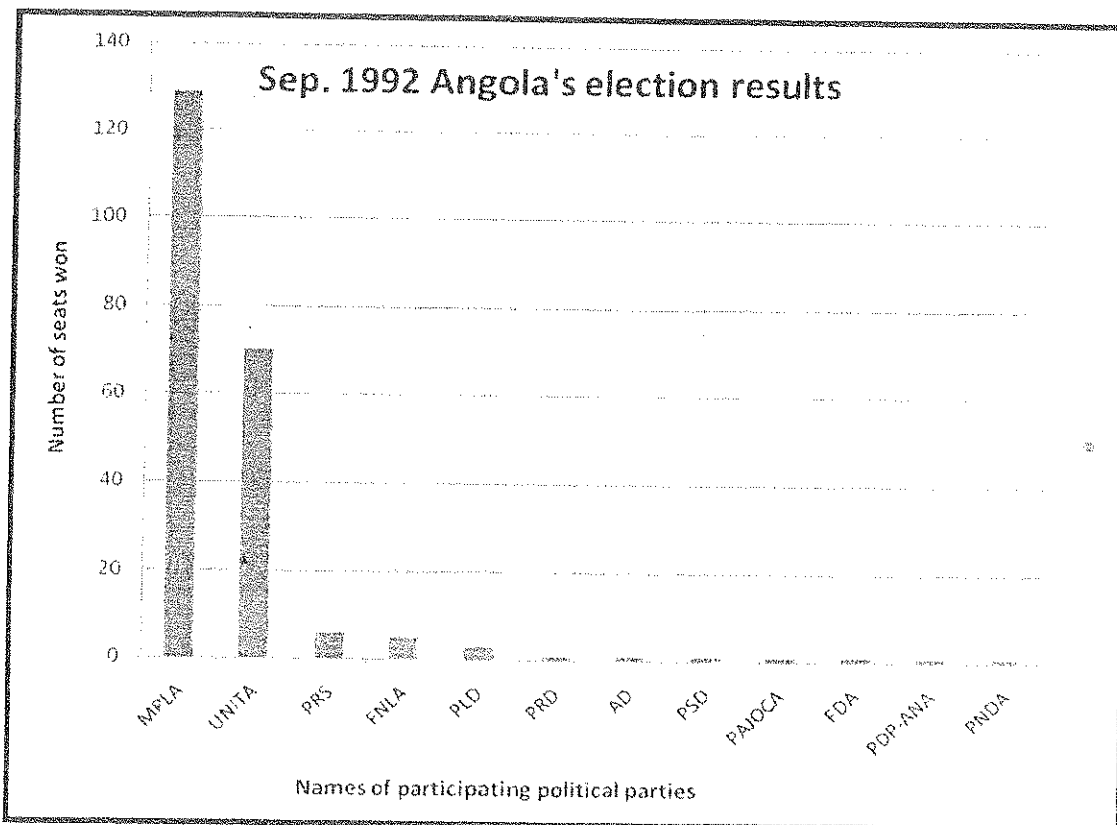
The following source explains the USA's role in Angola.

In Angola, as soon as the Cold war ended the Americans began to organise a peace agreement as if the Angolan civil war had simply been an extension of the Cold War. The MPLA dropped the facade (smokescreen) of Marxist-Leninism, allowed other parties to form and called an election. It was held in September 1992 and America backed UNITA to win. Even at this stage they got it wrong. The MPLA was declared the winner, Savimbi rejected the result and a huge bomb went off outside his headquarters in Luanda. UNITA supporters were rounded up and executed. The war restarted. Did the Americans encourage Savimbi to return to the bush and continue fighting? Having confidently said that he would easily win a free and fair election, the Americans must bear some responsibility for what their man did next but realising that he could not win, they switched sides and began to help the MPLA win the war.

*Africa – Altered States, Ordinary Miracles by R. Dowden*

**SOURCE 2B**

The following source shows the results of the 1992 elections in Angola. The election results have been converted into a graph.



<http://www.africanelections.tripod.com/ao>. Accessed 20 April 2012

**SOURCE 2 C**

This is an extract on the conflict between E dos Santos, leader of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and J Savimbi, leader of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and its consequences.

Beyond the dividing context of the Cold War, a deep distrust between MPLA and UNITA leaders undermined two peace processes based more on consensus and accommodation than international constraints. The hopes brought by the 1991 Bicesse peace agreement were dashed when Savimbi's UNITA resumed the war after refusing to acknowledge his electoral defeat in 1992 by President dos Santos's MPLA, and the latter retaliated by indiscriminate killings of UNITA supporters. The ensuing two years of warfare led to more devastation than had occurred throughout three decades of the independence struggle and Cold War conflict.

As President dos Santos decided in 1998 to resume the war, Angola became one of the worst conflict resolution failures of the 1990s. About two-thirds of the half million war victims have died since resumption of the conflict in 1992, the majority due to the collapse of food security and health services, and an estimated 1.5 million people are internally displaced, while 330,000 have fled the country.

*Angola's political economy of war: The role of Oil and Diamond, 1975 – 2000* by P. le Billon

**QUESTION 3: HOW DID THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS PAVE THE WAY FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S ROAD TO DEMOCRACY IN 1994?**

## 3.1 Study Source 3A.

3.1.1 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, define the following concepts:

- (a) Democracy (1 x 2) (2)  
(b) Apartheid (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.2 What evidence is there in Mandela's opening remarks to suggest that he desired peaceful negotiations? (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.3 Explain why you think Mandela revealed that the ANC would continue with the armed struggle? (2 x 2) (4)

## 3.2 Refer to Source 3B.

3.2.1 Why were the talks suspended in mid 1992? (Written source) (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.2 Using information in this source and your own knowledge, explain why CODESA was created? (Written source) (2 x 2) (4)

3.2.3 How does the cartoonist represent De Klerk and Mandela in this source? (Visual source) (2 x 1) (2)

3.2.4 What points from this source suggest that De Klerk failed to meet the 14 conditions for the resumption of negotiations? (Visual source) (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.5 Explain why you think the cartoonist depicted De Klerk and Nelson Mandela in that manner. (Visual source) (2 x 2) (4)

## 3.3 Consult Source 3C:

- 3.3.1 Explain what you think urged Nelson Mandela to cast his vote at Ohlange High School in Inanda. (1 x 3) (3)
- 3.3.2 Explain how the following leaders pronounced their voting experiences:
- (a) Nelson Mandela
  - (b) FW de Klerk
  - (c) Mangosuthu Buthelezi (3 x 1) (3)
- 3.3.3 What was the significance of the 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1994? (2 x 2) (4)
- 3.3.4 Explain the usefulness of this source to a historian researching South Africa's first democratic elections. (1 x 3) (3)

- 3.4 Using the information from all the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining the role played by CODESA in paving the way for South Africa's first elections. (8)

## 3.5 EXTENDED WRITING (Your response should be about 2 pages in length.)

Answer ONE of the following questions: QUESTION 3.5.1 OR 3.5.2.

- 3.5.1 Explain how the release of political prisoners paved the way for negotiated settlement and South Africa's road to democracy (30)

OR

- 3.5.2 "It is a realisation of hopes and dreams that we have cherished"  
Nelson Mandela.

By using ALL the sources and your own knowledge, critically analyse this statement in the light of South Africa's bumpy road to democracy.

(30)  
[75]

**QUESTION 3: HOW DID THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS PAVE THE WAY FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S ROAD TO DEMOCRACY IN 1994?****SOURCE 3A**

Nelson Mandela's speech on the day he was released from jail, 11 February 1990.

He began as follows: 'Friends, Comrades and fellow South Africans. I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all...' After saluting those who had supported the ANC and others who had worked against apartheid, he defended the continuance of the armed struggle: 'Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. But he immediately added: 'We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle ...I myself have at no time entered into negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government'.

Mr. de Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalize the situation. However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin. I reiterate our call for, inter alia, the immediate ending of the State of Emergency and the freeing of all and not only some political prisoners..."

Towards the end of his speech, Mandela said: 'The future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis...Universal suffrage on a common voters' roll in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.'

[www.anc.org.za](http://www.anc.org.za). Accessed 2 May 2012

**SOURCE 3B**

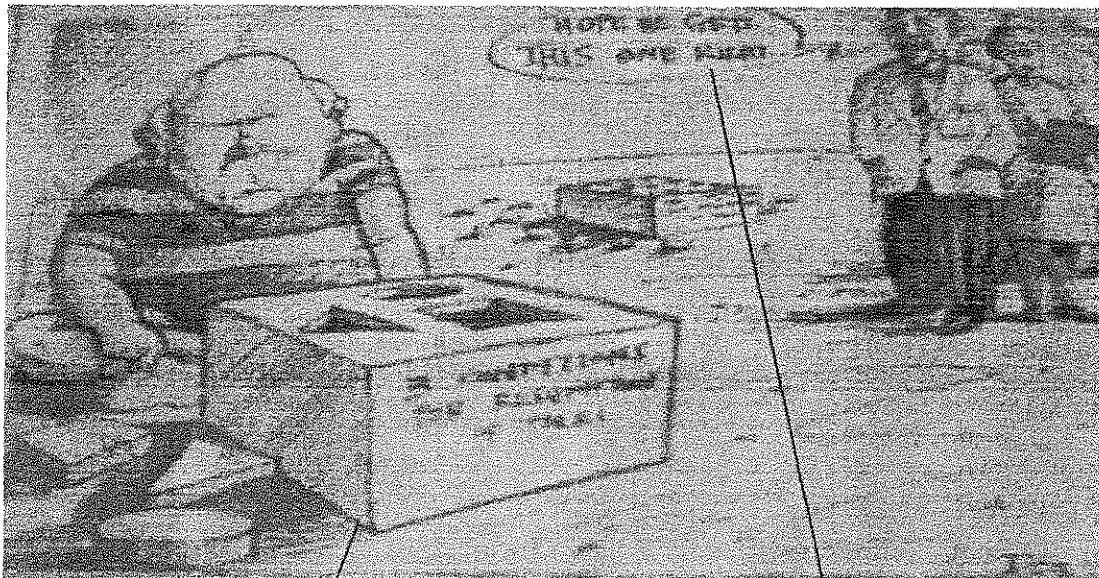
This source highlights the rise of political violence in South Africa from 1980s to 1990s.

**Written Source:** The following source explains why CODESA 2 failed.

CODESA 2 met in May 1992 at the world trade centre in Kempton Park. Negotiations stopped when 200 IFP supporters from Kwa Madala hostel in Vanderbijlpark attacked the residents of a squatter camp in Boipatong on 17 June 1992. Mandela remarked: "we will not forget what Mr De Klerk, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party have done to our people. I have never seen such cruelty". The ANC listed 14 conditions for negotiations to be resumed. Tension grew as the Tripartite Alliance began a 'rolling mass action' campaign, and a peaceful resolution to the conflict seemed unlikely.

*History for All by E. Brink et al.*

**Visual Source:** A graph showing the deaths in political violence in South Africa from 1985 to 1993. Taken from.



3 CONDITIONS FOR RESUMPTION  
OF TALKS

HOPE HE GETS  
THIS ONE RIGHT

*Nelson Mandela: A Life in Cartoons: C. Snaddon (formally Don)*

## SOURCE 3C

The article below appeared on the front page of the Daily News newspaper. It had the caption 'One Nation At Last'.

Nelson Mandela today cast his vote near Durban, describing it as an unforgettable moment, declaring South Africa one nation, and reassuring minorities about their concerns ...

Mr. Mandela voted at Ohlange High School in rural Inanda. Ringed by security guards, the beaming ANC leader arrived just before 7 am to face a barrage of cameras as the world's media tried to capture the historic picture. 'It is an unforgettable moment,' he said after visiting the gravesite of the school's founder and first ANC president, Dr John L Dube. This is a historic day. It is a day for which our people have struggled,' he said.

Asked who he would be voting for and whether his vote was a secret, Mr. Mandela joked: 'I have been agonising over that question. When I decide, it will be a secret...' Mr. Mandela said: 'As you might expect, this is for all South Africans an unforgettable occasion. It is a realisation of the hopes and dreams that we have cherished. It is the beginning of a new era. We are moving from an era of resistance, division, oppression, turmoil and conflict and starting a new era of hope, reconciliation and nation-building ...'

'It makes us all realise that this is our country. We are one nation.'... President FW de Klerk, voting at Arcadia in Pretoria, said: This is a great day for South Africa. It is a day we have been working for more than five years ... I am glad there is such enthusiasm. It augurs well for the future.'

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cast his vote, also watched by a battery of journalists, at King Zwelithini Stadium, Umlazi. Beaming too, he said as a peace-loving person he felt good after voting for the first time. He believed today to be the birth of the new nation.

*Daily News, 27 April 1994*

**QUESTION 4: WHAT ROLE DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) PLAY IN HEALING SOUTH AFRICANS FROM THE WOUNDS OF APARTHEID?**

Study Sources 4A, 4B and 4C to answer the following questions.

4.1 Refer to Source 4A.

- 4.1.1 What was the main reason for the establishment of the TRC? (1 x 2) (2)
- 4.1.2 According to Borraine, what were the expectations of the ANC regarding the TRC? (2 x 1) (2)
- 4.1.3 How did the opinion of Borraine differ from that of the ANC? (1 x 3) (3)
- 4.1.4 What do the words 'reflect the complete picture' tell you about the work of the TRC? (1 x 2) (2)
- 4.1.5 Explain why a historian would consider this a reliable source to use in order to find out about the work of the TRC. (2 x 2) (4)

4.2 Study Source 4B.

- 4.2.1 Using the information from the source and your own knowledge, explain why is South Africa depicted as a patient with so many injuries and scars? (1 x 2) (2)
- 4.2.2 What, according to the cartoon, could have caused the bruises and scars depicted on the body of the patient? (2 x 1) (2)
- 4.2.3 Explain why you think the TRC could have had a healing effect for many of the victims. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.2.4 What does the size of the patient as compared to other people in the cartoon tell you about the task faced by the TRC? (1 x 2) (2)
- 4.2.5 Do you think Zapiro is portraying the TRC process positively? Provide a reason for your answer. (1 x 2) (2)

- 4.3 Refer to Source 4C.
- 4.3.1 According to the source and own knowledge, explain why you think Ma Mtimkulu's story was unusual. (1 x 2) (2)
- 4.3.2 What, according to your opinion, did Ma Mtimkulu hope to achieve from the TRC? (1 x 2) (2)
- 4.3.3 Explain whether you think Hlapo was remorseful in his actions. (Extract 2) (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.3.4 In considering Source 4C, explain whether you think there was justification for the work of the TRC. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.4 Using the information from all the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining the objectives of the TRC. (8)
- 4.5 EXTENDED WRITING (Your response should be about TWO pages in length.)

Answer ONE of the following questions: Question 4.5.1 OR 4.5.2

- 4.5.1 Was the TRC successful in healing the wounds of a divided South Africa? Discuss. (30)

OR

- 4.5.2 The TRC was the only way South Africa could have dealt with its painful past.

Using ALL the sources and your own knowledge, critically discuss this statement.

(30)  
[75]

**QUESTION 4: WHAT ROLE DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) PLAY IN HEALING SOUTH AFRICANS FROM THE WOUNDS OF APARTHEID?**

**SOURCE 4A**

Comment by Dr Alex Borrairie, vice-chairperson of the TRC, on the process of the TRC.

It has become clear that the expectations of some in the ANC were that the TRC would condemn the National Party and its many allies for their inhuman policies and that the ANC will emerge as the hero that had stopped the wrongdoer in its tracks and ushered in a new democracy with a human face. Such expectations are understandable, and I have strong sympathy with them. But the goal of the TRC was to hold up a mirror to reflect the complete picture ... South Africans of all persuasions (beliefs) owe a huge debt of gratitude (thanks) to those who fought for so long at such great cost against a tyrannical regime. But if the truly astonishing beginning is to flower into a human rights culture and a consolidated democracy, it must be accompanied by an acknowledgement of mistakes made ... and a determination that these mistakes will never be repeated ... In our efforts to develop a culture of human rights, South Africa cannot afford double standards. It is correct to condemn violence and human rights violations when they come from the state. It is as important to condemn violation of human rights when they come from those who fought for the liberation of our country.

*Every Step of the Way, HRSC Report 2004*

**SOURCE 4B**

This cartoon by Zapiro shows Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Alex Borrairie at the beginning of the work of the TRC.



*Sowetan, 01 November 1995*

**SOURCE 4C**

Comment by individuals who were affected by the Truth and Reconciliation process.

**Extract 1: Ma Mtimkulu's experience of the TRC process**

All she had was some of his hair - a fistful of it, but just hair. Joyce Mtimkulu had kept this human remnant for more than 20 years. It was all that was left of her son, Sphiwo, in the physical sense. What was hard for Mrs Mtimkulu was that after all these years, after all the pain and anguish and unanswered questions, the truth about her son's fate required her to confront, to be with, the man who had sealed it. And know the truth will set him free.

It was a harrowing experience that was repeated for many thousands of other South Africans in the course of the months of hearings by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) into abuses - killings, torture, abductions, poisoning. It was hard. But for Mrs Mtimkulu, never again would anyone be able to say that Gideon Niewoudt, policeman and killer, was justified in taking Sphiwo's life, and never again would anyone be able to say they did not know. The TRC story is a story of the extremes of humanness.

**Extract 2: Afrika Hlapo's testimony**

Among those granted amnesty for acts committed in the name of the liberation struggle was Afrika Hlapo, who was one in a crowd that stoned two men to death in Cape Town on 11 August 1980. One of the victims was 46-year-old contractor Frederick Jansen, who often worked in the township. As he drove down Klipfontein road, he spotted the barricades ahead, but too late. As stones thrown by the crowd rained down, he tried to turn, but his bakkie stalled (stopped). The crowd set on him.

Hlapo acknowledged at his amnesty hearing in 1999 that the mere fact of being white made Jansen a target. In his plea for forgiveness, Hlapo said his wish was to underline his belief that all South Africans must now come together and reconcile as best they could, for the future's sake.

*Every Step of the Way, HRSC Report 2004*