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**HISTORY P2
ADDENDUM**

This addendum consists of 12 pages.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID GORBACHEV'S DECISION NOT ONLY BRING CHANGES TO THE SOVIET UNION, BUT ALSO INFLUENCED THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA?

SOURCE 1A

The following extract was taken from *Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe* by M. Rady. It deals with Gorbachev's decision to change the economic and political situation in the Soviet Union.

WRITTEN SOURCE

Michail Gorbachev, who became Soviet leader in 1985, seemed little different from his predecessors, but still committed to communism. The economy of the Soviet Union was in deep crisis. By the end of 1986, Gorbachev launched a full-scale reform program. He realised that the economy of the Soviet Union could only be saved by a process of perestroika and by reorganising it entirely. Gorbachev's reform not just affected the economy, but politics as well, under the slogan of glasnost. Gorbachev's policy alarmed a number of other communist leaders in the Soviet Union. They reckoned that Gorbachev's policies threatened the survival of not only communism, but of the Soviet Union also. Coup attempts by hard lined communist failed... The Communist Party, the USSR was decomposed and Russian satellite states became independent.

VISUAL SOURCE

This photo was taken from *Russia: A Concise History* by R. Hingley and shows for the first time in year's people could openly show their feeling about crimes committed by previous regimes.



SOURCE 1B

The following extract is taken from *New History of South Africa* by H. Giliomee *et al* and deals with the international pressure on South Africa to change her apartheid policy.

In the 1980s friendly governments, like that of Margaret Thatcher in Britain, started to put pressure on President Botha to release Mandela and his comrades and to find a settlement with the ANC and other parties excluded from regular politics in South Africa. The problem was that the National Party leadership, Botha included, had long told their followers that the ANC was dominated by communist and resolutely committed to the armed struggle. "We have painted ourselves into a corner," Botha told his Minister of Justice and added: "Is there a way out"? The USSR was no longer inclined to support the armed struggle, but urged negotiations with Pretoria. The Bush administration in the United States in particular, indicated that further sanctions might be imposed on the already crippled South African economy.

SOURCE 1C

The following source consists of both a written and visual source. The written source is taken from *History of Southern Africa* by J. D. Omar-Cooper. It focuses on how initial negotiations between the ANC and NP failed, but then there was change in the leadership of the NP that made negotiation possible.

WRITTEN SOURCE

Both the ANC and the apartheid government were at a deadlock. Mandela wrote to President Botha, suggesting they should meet. He met Mandela in prison and thereby finally acknowledging his crucial importance to South Africa's political future, though he still rejected negotiations with the ANC. In January 1989 because of ill health Botha was forced to withdraw from his office duties... eventually De Klerk became state president. He was generally regarded as one of the most conservative of Botha's possible successors, although his brother was a prominent liberal involved in informal negotiations with the ANC. His first pronouncements indicated a determination to maintain the basic apartheid principle of group rights. By this time, internal and external pressures to scrap the entire system were becoming overwhelming.

On 2 February 1990 in a presidential address on the opening of parliament, De Klerk astonished the nation and the world by announcing that Nelson Mandela was to be released, the ANC, PAC SACP and the UDF would be unbanned and that government intended to enter into negotiations with a view to develop and introducing of a new constitution.

VISUAL SOURCE

This source shows Nelson Mandela and delegates at the Soweto stadium after his release to speak on the future of South Africa.



QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR CONTRIBUTE TO ANGOLA TO RE-IMAGINE ITSELF IN THE 1990s?

SOURCE 2A(i) and 2A(ii)

SOURCE 2A(i)

This source has two sections that deal with the influence of the superpowers on the political situation in Angola and the changes that took place. The cartoon was taken from *History for All* by E. Brink *et al.*



SOURCE 2A(ii)

The following extract deals with the political challenges and changes faced by Angola during and after the ending of the Cold War and was taken from *The World Book Encyclopedia*:

The Republic of Angola has been at war for over 35 years, first against the Portuguese and after 1975 with outside help, between themselves. The 20 year war between the Marxist-Leninist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) headed and aided by the Soviet Union and Cuba and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) aided by the USA and South Africa has left the country covered with 10 to 20 million landmines. South Africa and the USA became involved in Angola as they feared the spread of communism. South Africa was further more worried that Angola will help the exiled ANC movement and also wanted to protect South-West Africa (now Namibia) from communism.

In 1990, the MPLA government renounced Marxism and in 1991 legalised all political parties. Multi-party elections were held in September 1992. A president is the most powerful official in Angola's government. The National Assembly, the country's legislature, consists of 220 members. The people of Angola elect both the president and National Assembly. The MPLA leader Dos Santos became president. The UN declared the elections free and fair. UNITA protested that the elections were fraudulent and the civil war erupted again. The 1994 Lusaka Peace Protocol signed by both the MPLA and UNITA leadership called for a cease-fire.

SOURCE 2B

This extract was taken from *In Search of History* by J. Bottaro *et al* and *Peoples of Africa* by M. Cavendish *et al* and deals with the economics challenges and changes in Angola.

The on-going war destroyed the economy of Angola. The country's resources, which could have been used to raise money for much needed reforms in education and health care, went instead on arms. The on-going war made foreign businesses reluctant to invest in the potentially rich country. Angola has the potential to be a wealthy developed African nation since it possesses large petroleum, iron ore and diamond reserves, but due to nearly 4 decades of war, remains to be seriously under developed.

However the economy of Angola is largely based on agriculture. Most Angolans live in the country side, most of them working as cattle herders or subsistence farming, just producing enough for themselves or the local market. Another problem experienced was that the diamond fields were controlled by UNITA who used it to finance its guerrilla war against the MPLA. When the civil war broke out many Europeans left and the country experienced a shortage of executives, professionals and technicians. Today, however training programmes started by the government have enabled blacks to take over these jobs. About one-quarter of Angola's population still depend on overseas aid. The pace of state reform is however slow.

SOURCE 2C

The following extract was taken from *Angola: Promises and Lies* by K. Maier and deals with the social challenges and changes experienced by Angolans.

Welcome to Angola, home of the worst war in the world, diamond smuggling, arms dealing and a record number of amputations, which meant that the most people without limbs in Africa were found here, and were all nasty stains left by the Cold War. Over a million Angolans died, and many were injured by landmines. Once hundreds of people are killed because they belong to a certain political party, come from a specific region or speak a specific language, than it is time to face facts. "Angola's democracy, like its independence seventeen years before, was born in blood." To alleviate the suffering the World Food Programme has provided much needed food and the government in 2001 implemented humanitarian programs to improve the educational and health situation.

QUESTION 3: HOW DID THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS EVENTUALLY LEAD TO THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN 1994?**SOURCE 3A**

This source was taken from *Nelson Mandela: From freedom to the future* by F. Van Zyl Slabbert and deals with the Codesa gathering where differences between the ANC and other political parties stood out.

WRITTEN SOURCE

Nearly two years after De Klerk's speech on 2 February 1990, formal constitutional talks started at Codesa. Codesa opened on 20 December 1991 at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. The two major political parties had different ideas of what purpose it should serve. The ANC insisted that only an elected constituent assembly could draw up an interim constitution. The National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party opposed this, fearing that an elected body, with a probable ANC majority, would be a blank cheque for the ANC to draft a constitution that suited ANC political needs. De Klerk also criticised the ANC for not disbanding *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. Mandela reacted vehemently, saying that the ANC would not do so until an interim government, of which it was part, was installed and there was multi party control of the security forces... De Klerk now needed to determine whether his initiatives carried the support of the white electorate, so he called a referendum.

VISUAL SOURCE

This photo refers to the Codesa - Convention for democratic South Africa negotiations opened at Kempton Park and is taken from *New History of South Africa* by H. Giliomee *et al.*



SOURCE 3B

This extract was taken from *Tree Shaker* by B. Keller. It focuses on the agreement reached at Codesa and the election campaign.

Agreement was finally reached on a date for the first democratic elections, the size of the new parliament and the draft of an interim constitution which gave equal rights to all citizens of the country. The next few months were taken up with getting ready for the elections and election campaigns. One of the strongest signs was watching De Klerk and other white candidates from the National Party – the inventors of apartheid – campaigning for black votes. He proclaimed that the National Party is entirely new. It had ended apartheid. He also further stated that the ANC is a party of amateurs, who will bring nothing but chaos. Everybody is promised houses and jobs, but only the NP has the business magic to deliver them. As the elections grew closer, the episodes of sabotage and terrorism increased. A bomb exploded at a black taxi terminal. A car bomb in downtown Johannesburg and a grenade tossed into a black restaurant.

SOURCE 3C

The following extract was taken from *They fought for Freedom: Nelson Mandela* by K. Pampallis and deals with the Election Day itself on which millions waited.

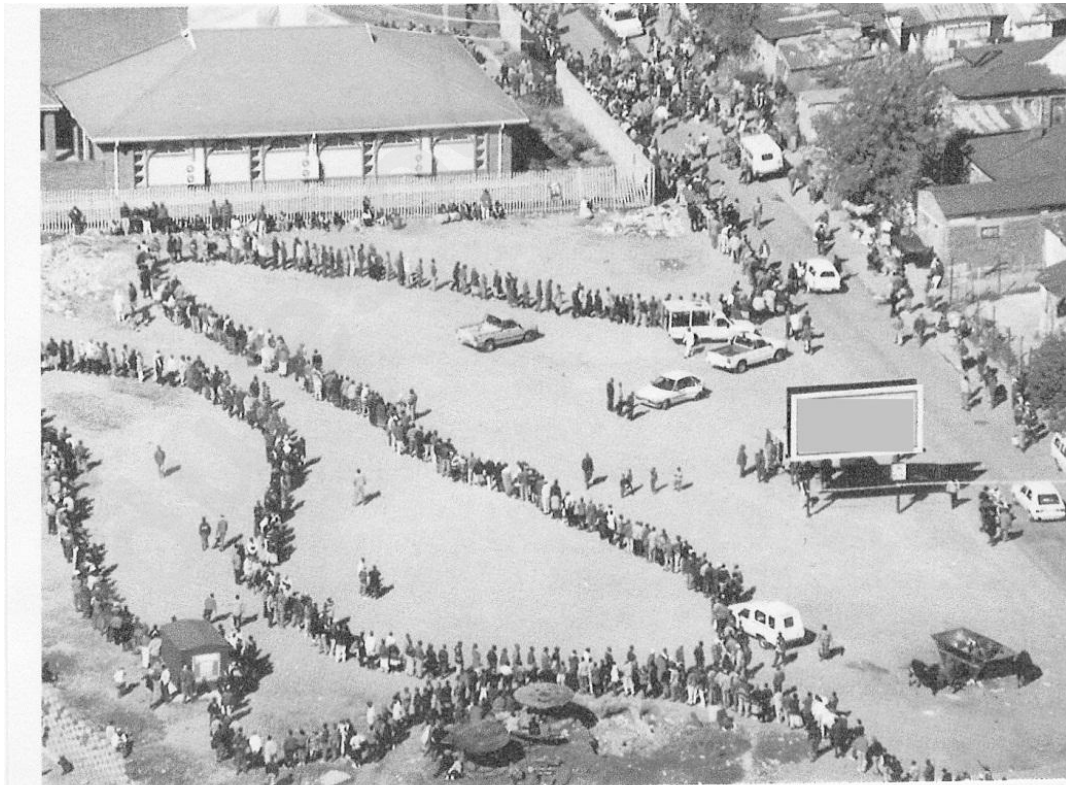
WRITTEN SOURCE

Finally the great day came - 27 April 1994. Long lines of people waited for hours to vote, many of them for the first time in their lives. "As soon as we have voted him in power, then we will be free," said Jim Sondlana, a sixty seven year old, retired gold mine worker of Qunu. After depositing his ballot he announced, "my heart is relieved."

The election itself was peaceful in the light of horrific violence that had occurred before. The IEC declared free and fair and most international observers agreed. The ANC had won 62,5% of the votes. It had been agreed during discussions about the interim constitution, that the leader of the party that got the most votes would become the president of the country. Nelson Mandela, the former jailbird, became president of South Africa.

VISUAL SOURCE

This photo shows people waiting in long queues to cast their vote and was taken from *New Africa: History* by J. Spencer *et al.*



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

SOURCE 4A

The following extract was taken from *South Africa at 10* by W. Esterhuizen. The source deals with the report on the TRC as Mandela explained in parliament.

How to deal with the past in order to recover the soul of the South African nation was of moral and strategic importance for the new government. The TRC was instrumental in this process, giving flesh and blood to confessions of gross violations of human rights, to acknowledging responsibility, making some form of reparation and fostering reconciliation. South Africa opted for restorative justice that is a process whereby all parties with a stake in a particular offence come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future.

South Africa is committed to restorative instead of retributive (revenge) justice. Reconciliation is essentially “a call to action” as Mandela – the father of South African reconciliation stated in parliament. Reconciliation is not a once off event, a moment of remorse, a minute or two reserved for saying sorry. It’s a process – the restoration of destroyed trust, the development of a new relationship of trust, the establishment of visible deeds of trust, the removal of conditions undermining relationships of trust.

SOURCE 4B

The following extract was taken from *Apartheid in South Africa* by S. Connolly and deals with the reasons for the formation of the TRC.

Soon after being elected as president in 1994, Nelson Mandela set about one of the most important tasks he had ever faced - trying to change the attitudes of hatred, bitterness and racism and to begin a time of healing in the country. In May 1994, the TRC were established, with the well-respected anti-apartheid activist, Archbishop Desmond Tutu as its head. The TRC would not only listen to confessions of those who committed crimes during the apartheid era, but also of those who suffered. The violence and brutality under the searchlight would not only concentrate on crimes of the previous regime, but also on black rival groups that terrorised black townships (especially ANC members) in the late 1970s and 1980s. Although many believed that the TRC helped “to clean the air” it was also the subject of some disagreement. In spite of different views Archbishop Tutu declared “we must face the ghastly (unpleasant) past and not pretend it never happened, and face up to the beast.”

SOURCE 4C

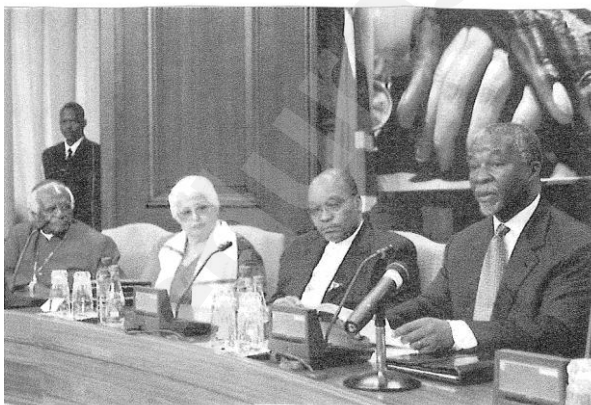
The following sources were taken from *New History of South Africa* by H. Giliomee *et al.* and deals with the criticism that was launched against the work and combination of the TRC.

WRITTEN SOURCE

The TRC's mandate charged it with the responsibility to be even-handed, but its combination was hardly balanced. An analysis published by the South African Race Institution argued that the commission's staff were overwhelming sympathetic to the ANC or connected to it. It tended to seek out victims that suffered at the hands of the previous government and IFP. It was also found in many cases the level of corroboration (to say something) of the victims evidence was not high. Instead of concentrating on the context of a deed, the commission focused on the perpetrator or victim, with the result that the context of the deed was only scantily sketched. For this reason many high ranking officials refused to testify. Cross-examination of victims was not allowed, but hearsay evidence was. Dissatisfaction over the issue of amnesty was raised by Churchill Mxenge (whose brother and sister-in-law were killed by the security police). He declared "as it is now, they are simply forcing it (the TRC system of amnesty for those who confess) down our throats, and that is what we're objecting to." In spite of criticism some were willing to forgive.

VISUAL SOURCE

This photo shows the combination of the TRC that caused criticism.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Visual sources and other historical evidence taken from the following:

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