



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
NOVEMBER 2014

HISTORY: PAPER I

<p>SOURCE MATERIAL FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C</p>

SOURCE A **An extract from a book written by the South African journalist and historian Michael Morris**

Two months earlier (in June 1990) De Klerk had lifted the state of emergency everywhere except in Natal where violence was worsening. Bloodshed though would continue to strain the process to the very end. Talks were constantly interrupted by outbreaks of violence that claimed an average of more than ten lives a day, a higher death rate than in the 1980s ... Whenever there was a crisis, De Klerk and Mandela would routinely be the ones to meet and resolve it. But their relationship became increasingly strained, chiefly over violence, with each leader doubting whether the other was doing enough to curb it.

ANC suspicions mounted over what soon came to be called 'third force' activity: underhand conduct by rogue* elements in the army and police who were dead set on sabotaging negotiations, or, at the very least, channeling arms to, and encouraging, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in its vicious contest with the ANC in Natal and on the Witwatersrand.

[Morris, Michael, *Apartheid: An Illustrated History*, 2012, page 165]

* rogue – undisciplined

SOURCE B **An extract from a book written by the former newspaper editor Allister Sparks shortly after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990**

It is a unique relationship of two political opposites, sworn enemies for most of their lives, who have become political partners in a quest to end apartheid and lay the foundations for a new South Africa. It is a quest in which each is totally dependent on the other, for neither has a viable fall-back position. De Klerk cannot outlaw the ANC again, send Mandela back to prison and revert to apartheid. Having raised internal and international expectations of change, he dare not even stand still; to survive he has to keep moving forward, and he can only move if Mandela moves with him. Likewise the ANC leader cannot revert to a revolutionary war he now knows he cannot win, especially with the Soviet Union no longer interested in sponsoring it. He, too, must move to survive, and he can only move in tandem* with De Klerk.

[Sparks, Allister, *The Mind of South Africa: The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, 1990, page 406]

* in tandem – together

SOURCE C **A table showing the figures for deaths in political violence in KwaZulu-Natal province alone (Column 1) and the total number of deaths in political violence involving mainly supporters of Inkatha and the ANC for the whole country (Column 2)**

YEAR	COLUMN 1: Political Deaths in KwaZulu-Natal province	COLUMN 2: Political Deaths in South Africa
1991	1684	2706
1992	1427	3347
1993	1489	3794
1994	1464	2434

[Welsh, David, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, 2009, page 401]

SOURCE D

A photograph of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (left), FW de Klerk (centre) and Nelson Mandela (right) at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in December 1991. The photographer is unknown.



[<www.dailysun.co.uk> Accessed 14 January 2014]

SOURCE E

An extract from a British schools' history textbook

For a while it looked as if the country might collapse into anarchy*, but Mandela and De Klerk recognised that the problems could only be solved if they worked together. They began to look for a way out. Joe Slovo, who had been the leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP) for many years, suggested that the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party (NP or Nationalist Party) share power for five years. In September 1992 the parties signed the Record of Understanding in which they agreed to renew negotiations. Buthelezi pulled his Inkatha out of the process. Disturbing talk of civil war became widespread.

[Mulholland, Rosemary, *South Africa 1948 – 1994*, 1997, page 62]

* anarchy – chaos, breakdown of law and order

SOURCE F An extract from a book written by an American historian

Amy Biehl was an American anti-Apartheid activist who was living in South Africa in the 1990s. She was murdered outside Guguletu, Cape Town, on 25 August 1993 by a group of men who dragged her from her car shouting racial slurs. Four of Amy Biehl's murderers were convicted for her murder. In 1998 the T.R.C pardoned all of them. Biehl's family was supportive of the decision and her father, Peter, shook the murderers' hands stating that: 'the most important vehicle of reconciliation is open and honest dialogue ... we are here to reconcile a human life which was taken without an opportunity for dialogue. When we are finished with this process we must move forward with linked arms.'

[Eglash-Kosoff, C., *The Human Spirit: Apartheid's Unheralded Heroes*, 2010, page 202]

SOURCE G An extract from Nelson Mandela's television address on SABC TV on the evening of the assassination of Chris Hani, 10 April 1993. Shortly thereafter the ANC announced that negotiations would continue.

A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters* on the brink of disaster ... But a white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we might know, and bring to justice, the assassin ... Tonight I am reaching out to every single South African, black and white, from the very depths of my being. Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for – the freedom of all of us ... This is a watershed* moment for all of us. Our decisions and actions will determine whether we use our pain, our grief and our outrage to move forward to what is the only lasting solution for our country – an elected government of the people, by the people and for the people.

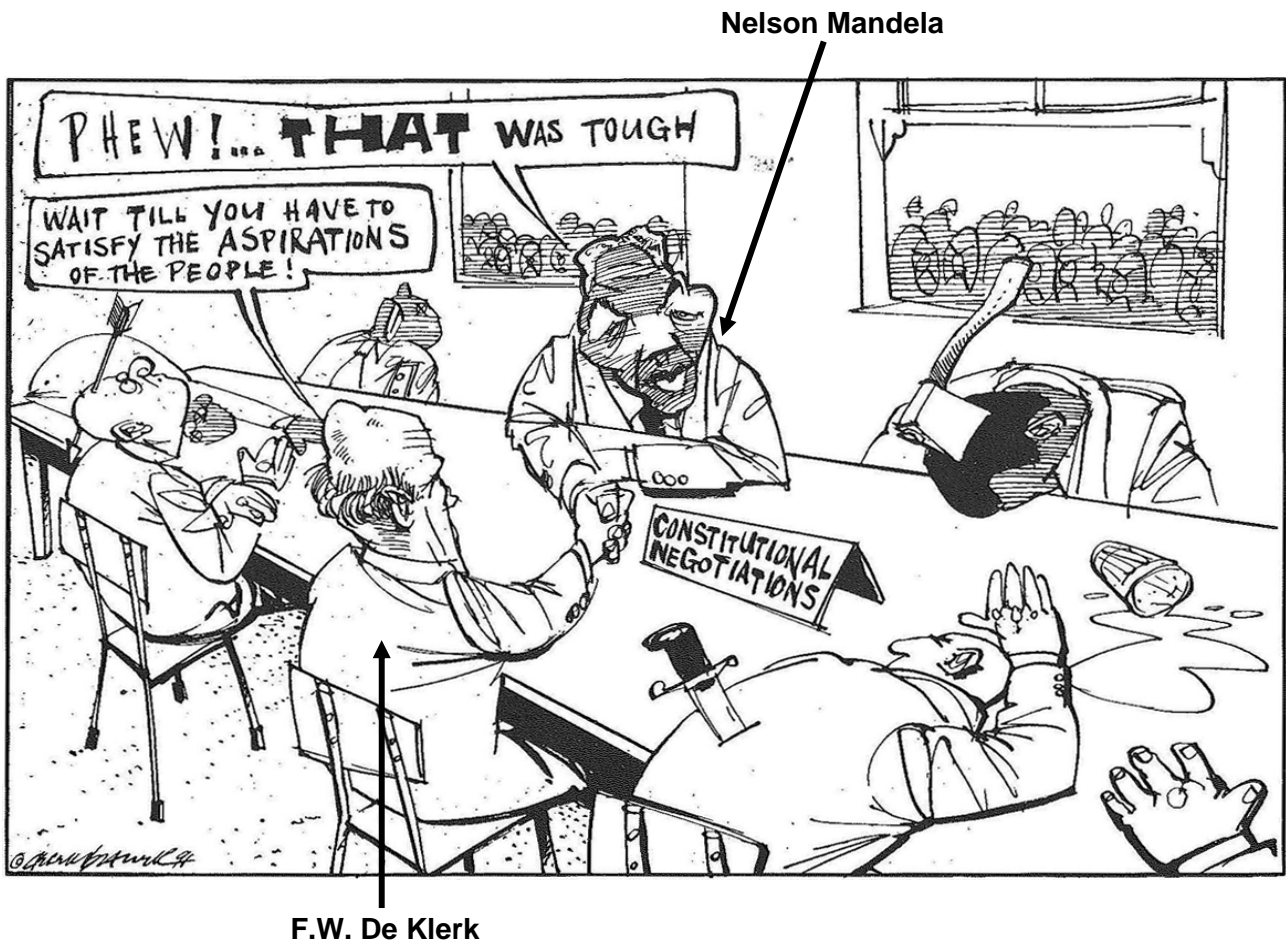
[Mandela, Nelson, *Conversations with Myself*, 2010, page 337]

* teeters – balances unsteadily; sways back and forth

* watershed – turning point

SOURCE H

A cartoon by the South African cartoonist Derek Bauer that focuses on the conclusion of the negotiation process on 18 November 1993 after many months of tough negotiations that were also interrupted by various violent events.



[Dugmore, Harry, *Nelson Mandela: a life in cartoons*, 1999, page 106]