



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
NOVEMBER 2023

HISTORY: PAPER II

**SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET
FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C**

SOURCE A

This is an extract about South Africa's transition to democracy, from a website produced by Michigan State University and other institutions in the United States, that are interested in African and South African history in particular. The website is called: *Overcoming apartheid*.

... Democracy did not emerge spontaneously; it had to be built laboriously*, brick by brick. This was a complex process, following years of multifaceted* struggle and accompanied in the 1990-1994 period by ... violence as vested interests* resisted change...At the heart of the success of negotiations were the compromises made on all sides to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy. ... The main political parties made fundamental compromises that provided stability during the transitional period: ... The specter* of escalating violence and the danger of economic chaos probably drove negotiators to reach consensus. Internal factors were crucially important in bringing about apartheid's fall. Decades of multifaceted popular* resistance had undermined South Africa's political and economic viability*... If the economy were to survive, the working class and the rising black middle class required full political rights... **(Paragraph 1)**

...The role of individuals in making this history was extremely significant. Nelson Mandela had extraordinary abilities of statesmanship, as well as a democratic vision based on reconciliation and inclusiveness ... Those who forged the peace process include a diverse group of remarkable personalities: Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders like Beyers Naudé; ANC and NP negotiators Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer; credible ANC figures like Thabo Mbeki; the Communist Party's Joe Slovo; and leaders of industry, among others. Each side had to have trusted leaders who could 'deliver' their constituencies* into the agreement. In addition, ordinary South Africans ... Through their attendance at countless rallies and at the election they 'voted with their feet' for freedom and democracy... **(Paragraph 2)**

[Available at: ONLINE: <https://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/unit.php?id=65-24E-6> (Accessed 15 February 2023)]

*laboriously – something done in a way that takes great time and effort

*multifaceted – having many different aspects to it

*vested interests – those who had a reason to try to prevent change

*specter – something which is feared to be unpleasant or dangerous

*popular – by the people

*viability – ability to work successfully

*constituencies – groups of people in which each group has shared interests

SOURCE B

This is a photograph taken on the 10th of December 1993 of De Klerk and Mandela receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo. It appeared in a 2021 article by Andrew Meldrum and Cara Anna online, on the Associated Press website, in 2021.



[Available at: ONLINE: <<https://apnews.com/article/nobel-prizes-africa-south-africa-cape-town-nelson-mandela-053369ff45d22ab9a1011eebac4ca24a>> (Accessed 20 February 2023)]

SOURCE C

This is an extract from an article published online by *Time Magazine* online and written by Richard Stengel, on the 12th of November 2021.

... There was nothing in De Klerk's history that would lead you to think he would become a reformer. He was born into a very strict sect of the Dutch Reformed Church. His father had been a cabinet member in the first apartheid government in 1948. ... But somewhere along the line, this dour* and lawyerly Afrikaner politician had realized that his white supremacist ideology was on the wrong side of history... But at the time, I don't believe he thought that what he was doing would lead to one-man, one-vote black majority rule... **(Paragraph 1)**

De Klerk had an extremely difficult balancing act. He faced a near mutiny* in his own party, many of whom thought he was going too far. He had a challenge from an increasingly popular Conservative party, which was to his right. He also had to deal with a violent extremist wing that believed that white militias* should attack the Black masses ... Mandela understood this ... Mandela needed De Klerk to stay in power and he needed De Klerk to try to placate his own right wing ... **(Paragraph 2)**

[Adapted and available ONLINE at: <<https://time.com/6116963/nelson-mandela-F.W.-de-klerk/>> (Accessed on 13 February 2023)]

*dour – severe and gloomy in your manner or appearance

*mutiny – open rebellion against the proper authority

*militias – military forces that are made up of ordinary people

SOURCE D

This is an extract from a website on South African History

The collapse of the USSR in 1989 meant that the National Party could no longer use communism as a justification for their oppression. The ANC could also no longer rely on the Soviet Union for economic and military support. By the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Union was in political and economic crisis ... In 1989, President F.W. de Klerk, ... states that the collapse of the Soviet Union was decisive in persuading him to take this step: **(Paragraph 1)**

"The collapse of the Soviet Union helped to remove our long-standing concern regarding the influence of the South African Communist Party within the ANC Alliance [...]" **(Paragraph 2)**

At about the same time, the ANC was reaching a similar conclusion that it could not achieve a revolutionary victory within the foreseeable future [...] the collapse of the Soviet Union – which had traditionally been one of the ANC's main allies and suppliers – led the organisation to adopt a more realistic view of the balance of forces. It concluded that its interests could be best secured by accepting negotiations [...]" **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted and available ONLINE at: <<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/grade-12-topic-4-end-cold-war-and-new-global-world-order-1989-present>> (accessed on 10th February 2023)]

SOURCE E

An extract from an interview by Jeff Cunningham (Thunderbird School Of Global Management Arizona State University) with F.W. de Klerk on the 5th of July 2017.

Frederik Willem (F.W.) de Klerk was a highly successful South African ... but when his country was perched on the brink of anarchy*, he answered the call. In 1989, De Klerk was elected president of South Africa ... **(Paragraph 1)**

The ruling white majority had held power for decades. Convincing them to turn over the reins to a constitutional majority in which they would emerge as a minority was a formidable* challenge. That he was able to convince his electorate after only a short time in the highest office is just one astounding chapter of his story. **(Paragraph 2)**

How De Klerk managed that process, and ... freed Nelson Mandela from 27 years imprisonment and transformed South Africa into a constitutional democracy, is his legacy. In our interview, he would only acknowledge, "I didn't do it myself. I just played a role." His successor as President, Nelson Mandela, made it clear that without De Klerk it could not have happened ...**(Paragraph 3)**

[<Adapted and available ONLINE at: <https://thunderbird.asu.edu/thought-leadership/insights/fw-de-klerk-man-who-ended-apartheid-freed-mandela-and-honored-his>(Accessed 10th February 2023)>]

*anarchy – a state of severe disorder and lawlessness in society caused by a rejection of authority

*formidable – large and powerful

SOURCE F

This extract is from an article posted in the *Wall Street Journal* by Jackie Bischof, on the 11th of November 2021.

... Mr. De Klerk, who served as president of South Africa from 1989 to 1994, is credited with convincing members of his government that apartheid was no longer a viable* government policy. In his first opening speech to Parliament in February 1990, he lifted a ban on opposition parties and announced the release of political prisoners, including Mr. Mandela. Talks began between his Afrikaner-led government and opposition parties, including Mr. Mandela's African National Congress. 'The season of violence is over,' he said at the time. 'The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.' **(Paragraph 1)**

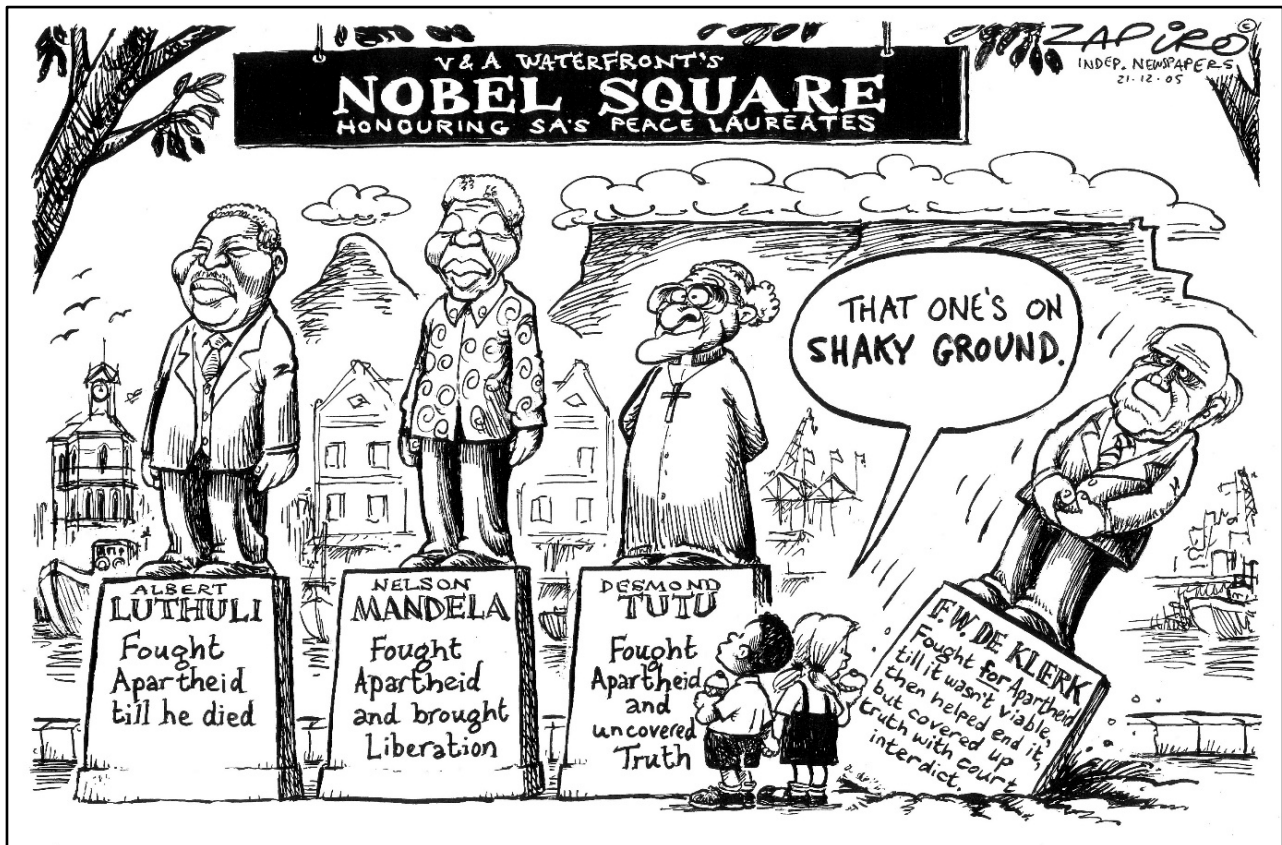
Mr. De Klerk's conversion came late in his political career. He had supported apartheid's 'separate development' policies, even advocating racial segregation in universities during his time as minister of education. Mr. Mandela had also expressed frustration at times with Mr. De Klerk and with his government's failure to protect Blacks protesting apartheid ... South Africa's white-led government faced a grim situation when Mr. De Klerk came to power in 1989. The nation was nearly broke after years of international sanctions. ... Some observers were predicting an imminent war between the races ... **(Paragraph 2)**

[Adapted and available ONLINE at: <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/f-w-de-klerk-south-african-president-who-helped-end-apartheid-dies-at-85-11636628616>> (Accessed on 12 February 2023)]

*viable – capable of working successfully

SOURCE G

This is a cartoon drawn in 2005 by the South African cartoonist Zapiro. It compares the legacy of F.W. de Klerk to that of Desmond Tutu, Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli (ANC president 1952–1967). All four were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their contributions to South Africa.



[Available ONLINE at: <<https://mg.co.za/cartoons/2005-12-20-zapiro-1345/>> (Accessed 12 February 2023)>]

SOURCE H

This is an extract from *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, a book by historian David Welsh.

... By the early 1980s it was obvious to De Klerk that apartheid was failing catastrophically* and, moreover, that its human costs were immense ... No lasting solution, he believed, could be based on injustice ... De Klerk told his brother: 'I took a leap in my own mind, more decisively than many other National Party politicians, that power-sharing with blacks was the right course for a new political dispensation* ... During 1989 De Klerk clarified his views ... [One option was to] confront the necessity for fundamental constitutional change, recognizing democratic principles, but negotiating to prevent the domination or subordination of any group ... De Klerk had no option but to stress proposed safeguards* for minorities if his programme of reform were to be saleable to a white electorate ...'

[Adapted from: David Welsh, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. 2009. Jonathan Ball Publishers. Pages 355–357]

*catastrophically – hugely, involving great damage to it

*dispensation – a political system operating at a particular moment in time

*safeguards – measures taken to prevent something undesirable from happening