

education

Department:
Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION - 2006

HISTORY PAPER 1 : SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

HIGHER GRADE

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 2006

503-1/1E

**HISTORY HG: Paper 1
Question Paper & Addendum**

MARKS: 200



503 1 1E

HG

TIME: 3 hours

This question paper consists of 10 pages and an addendum of 14 pages.



INSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION

Read the following instructions carefully before deciding on which questions to answer.

1. This question paper consists of SECTION A and SECTION B.
2. SECTION A consists of SIX essay questions.
3. SECTION B consists of THREE source-based questions. Source material to be used to answer these questions is in the ADDENDUM.
4. You are allowed to answer ONE essay question and ONE source-based question from the same theme.
5. Do NOT answer TWO essay questions from the same theme.
6. Answer FOUR questions.
 - 6.1 At least ONE must be an essay question and at least ONE must be a source-based question.
 - 6.2 **YOU MUST ANSWER AT LEAST ONE QUESTION FROM THE COMPULSORY THEME: *THE PERIOD SOUTH AFRICA (1948 TO 1976)* (EITHER AN ESSAY OR A SOURCE-BASED QUESTION).**
7. Questions and subsections of questions must be numbered clearly and correctly.
8. Time allocated for the paper should be utilised wisely in the answering of questions, preferably about 45 minutes per question.
9. The mere rewriting of sources in the answering of questions will disadvantage candidates.
10. Write clearly and legibly.

SECTION A: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question and not more than THREE questions from this section.

QUESTION 1: THE PERIOD 1924 TO 1948

Answer either QUESTION 1A or QUESTION 1B. Do NOT answer both questions.

QUESTION 1A

Coalition (1933) and fusion (1934) were based upon the desire to bring about a broader white unity in South Africa rather than an exclusive Afrikaner Nationalism.

Do you agree with this assessment? Substantiate your argument with reference to the period 1933 to 1939.

[50]

OR

QUESTION 1B

The 1943 general election, though viewed as a triumph by a jubilant United Party, was in fact the beginning of defeat to come in the 1948 general election.

Evaluate this statement with specific reference to the period 1943 to 1948.

[50]

QUESTION 2: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976

Answer either QUESTION 2A or QUESTION 2B. Do NOT answer both questions.

QUESTION 2A

The defiance campaigns of the 1950s as a form of protest against the formidable apartheid government were not successful, but very significant.

Do you agree? Discuss critically.

[50]

OR

QUESTION 2B

'The apartheid regime in the 1960s could have been forgiven for thinking it had succeeded absolutely in smashing opposition forces.'

(Statement by Jeremy Cronin – National Executive member of the South African Communist Party, 1986)

Consider this statement with reference to the period of repression from 1960 to 1976, and critically explain whether the apartheid regime believed that it had succeeded in absolutely smashing the extra-parliamentary opposition.

[50]**QUESTION 3: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994**

Answer either QUESTION 3A or QUESTION 3B. Do NOT answer both questions.

QUESTION 3A

We, the freedom loving people of South Africa, say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of the people.

[Declaration by the United Democratic Front [UDF], 20 August 1983]

In the light of the above explain how the declaration by the UDF contributed to the struggle to bring down the apartheid government in the 1980s.

[50]**OR****QUESTION 3B**

While South Africa stood poised at the crossroads of doom and hope in February 1990, it was through the mastery of leadership and negotiation that South Africa was saved from impending doom.

Do you agree? Support your point of view with relevant evidence by referring to the period 1990 to 1994.

[50]

SECTION B: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question from this section. Source material to be used to answer these questions is in the ADDENDUM.

QUESTION 4: THE PERIOD 1924 TO 1948**4.1 HOW DID TRADE UNIONISM IN SOUTH AFRICA INFLUENCE THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE IN THE 1940s?**

Use Sources 4A, 4B, 4C and 4D to answer the following questions:

4.1.1 Study Source 4A.

- (a) Why were black South Africans not allowed to form worker unions? (2 x 1) (2)
- (b) What methods did workers use to challenge the authority of industry owners? (2 x 1) (2)
- (c) Using the information from Source 4A and your own knowledge, explain why the owners of industries reacted negatively to worker unity in the 1940s. (2 x 2) (4)

4.1.2 Compare Viewpoints 1 and 2 in Source 4B and explain the reasons for the differing viewpoints. (2 x 2) (4)

4.1.3 Refer to Source 4C.

- (a) Explain how the photograph in Source 4C complements the evidence in Source 4B (Viewpoint 1). (2 x 2) (4)
- (b) What do you think the purpose was of the slogan 'WE MAKE THE PROFITS FOR THE O.K.' in Source 4C? (1 x 2) (2)

- 4.1.4 Use Source 4D.
- (a) Why were Coloured workers forced to form their own branch of a union? (1 x 2) (2)
 - (b) Why did white workers feel threatened by the employment of Coloured women? (1 x 2) (2)
 - (c) Explain whether there was justification for the action taken against Coloured workers. (2 x 2) (4)
 - (d) How did newspapers and the public at large respond to racial tension in the workplace? (1 x 2) (2)
 - (e) Why was Solly Sachs successful in having the pamphlets banned? (2 x 1) (2)
- 4.1.5 Refer to Sources 4A and 4D. Explain how these sources contradict each other with regard to worker unity and racial harmony in the workplace. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.1.6 Refer to ALL the sources. Explain why you think the need for unity between black and white workers became necessary in the 1940s. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.1.7 Using the information in Sources 4A, 4B and 4C and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about 12 lines (about 120 words) on the role trade unions played in the struggle of workers in the 1940s. (12)
[50]

QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976**5.1 WHY WAS THE 1956 WOMEN'S MARCH TO THE UNION BUILDINGS SIGNIFICANT IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE?**

Use Sources 5A, 5B, 5C and 5D to answer the following questions:

5.1.1 Study Source 5A.

- (a) Why did women plan to go on a march to the Union Buildings? (2 x 1) (2)
- (b) Explain, in your own words, how women went about organising the march. (1 x 2) (2)
- (c) Why was the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC not supportive of the march? (2 x 2) (4)
- (d) What do you conclude about Walter Sisulu from his attitude to the women's march? (2 x 2) (4)
- (e) How did this march change the traditional belief that women were generally passive, subordinate and politically inactive? (2 x 2) (4)
- (f) What sacrifices did women make in order to go on the march? (2 x 1) (2)

5.1.2 Use Source 5B.

- (a) What evidence is there in the source to suggest that women of all races participated in the 1956 march? (1 x 2) (2)
- (b) Refer to Statements 1 and 2. Explain how reliable this source is in reflecting the solidarity and mood of the women who were involved in this march. (2 x 2) (4)
- (c) Use the information from the source and your own knowledge and explain whether the women's march of 1956 was successful. (2 x 2) (4)

5.1.3 According to Source 5C, why were women forced to draw up this petition? (2 x 1) (2)

5.1.4 Using Sources 5B and 5C, explain whether this petition made the desired impact on Strijdom. (2 x 2) (4)

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- 5.1.5 Refer to Source 5D. Comment on the limitations of this source to an historian studying the period and the role of women in the struggle. (3 x 2) (6)
- 5.1.6 2006 marks the 50th anniversary of the 1956 women's march to the Union Buildings. Using ALL the sources and your own knowledge write a paragraph of about 10 lines (about 100 words) on the significance of the women's march in the struggle for freedom in South Africa. (10)
[50]

QUESTION 6: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994**6.1 WHAT WERE THE CHALLENGES FROM 1990 THAT FACED SOUTH AFRICA ON ITS WAY TO THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTION IN 1994?**

Use Sources 6A, 6B, 6C and 6D to answer the following questions:

6.1.1 Refer to Source 6A.

- (a) Why was there a need to resume talks in March 1993? (2 x 1) (2)
- (b) Explain whether you regard the proposals made by Joe Slovo as being practical and judicious (wise). (2 x 2) (4)
- (c) In what ways do you think the ANC made a shift in its position regarding power? (4 x 1) (4)
- (d) Comment on the significance of the following statement issued by the ANC to its 14 regions: 'In the interests of reconstruction and peace and the need to minimise the potential threat to democratic advance ... we declare our support for ... the adoption of a new constitution ...'. (2 x 2) (4)

6.1.2 Study Source 6B. Explain why you think Winnie Mandela was sceptical (unsure) about compromise and power-sharing. (2 x 2) (4)

6.1.3 Compare Sources 6A and 6B. Explain why you think Joe Slovo and Winnie Mandela expressed differing views on the question of power. (2 x 2) (4)

6.1.4 Using the information in Source 6B and your own knowledge, explain whether Winnie Mandela's concern that 'the new government' will be 'representing the same class interests as the National Party ...' is being perceived as a reality. (2 x 2) (4)

6.1.5 Refer to Source 6C.

- (a) According to Mandela, why was this first ballot so significant for South Africa? (2 x 1) (2)
- (b) Comment on the significance of Mandela's statement: 'We are one nation.' (1 x 2) (2)
- (c) Using your own knowledge and the information in Source 6C, explain why Nelson Mandela cast his first ballot at Ohlange High School in KwaZulu-Natal. (1 x 2) (2)

- 6.1.6 Explain how Sources 6C and 6D complement each other with regard to the casting of the first ballot. (2 x 2) (4)
- 6.1.7 Explain the reliability of Source 6D as evidence that most South Africans were feeling the same way about the election. (2 x 2) (4)
- 6.1.8 Using the information from all the sources and your own knowledge write a paragraph of about 10 lines (about 100 words) for your school's History magazine on why the 1994 democratic election was a significant turning point in South Africa's history. (10)
[50]

GRAND TOTAL: 200

HISTORY PAPER 1 : SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

ADDENDUM

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QUESTION 4: THE PERIOD 1924 TO 1948**4.1 HOW DID TRADE UNIONISM IN SOUTH AFRICA INFLUENCE THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE IN THE 1940s?****SOURCE 4A**

The following extract is taken from *A Place in the City* by Luli Callinicos (1993). It demonstrates the solidarity that prevailed between black and white worker unions in the 1940s.

In 1942, shop assistants were divided into two unions – one for African workers, one for the others. Every day racism flourished in the workplace, but the direct reason for the racial division of the unions at the time lay in the government's 1924 Industrial Conciliation Act itself. As we have seen, the law led many black unions to form tactical alliances with registered unions. In 1942, for example, the sweet workers' strike was strengthened by solidarity between the black and white unions, and the workers won their demands. Other unions also gave their support – the Commercial Travellers Union and the shop assistants of the NUDW (National Union of Distributive Workers) refused to sell the sweets of the factories concerned in the dispute. As consumers too, workers refused to buy the sweets.

Aside from the sweet workers' campaign, the African Commercial and Distributive Workers Union (ACDWU), ably led by Daniel Koza (and Naboth Mokgatle in Pretoria), also formed an alliance with the white shop assistants' union, the NUDW. One of the biggest chain stores at the time was the OK Bazaars. It employed several hundred black shop assistants on the Rand (Witwatersrand), who usually worked under the category of 'labourers', packers or, like Naboth Mokgatle, deliverymen. The NUDW's first victory came in 1942, when the OK Bazaars finally reached an official agreement with the union, which then, according to the law, represented the black workers in the ACDWU.

Instead of reporting for duty, a crowd of over 1 000 workers in Johannesburg marched from the main store to the City Hall. 'Bosses – Honour your agreement', 'Recognise our shop committee', 'Recruit, don't retrench' read their banners. At the City Hall steps, shop stewards and officials from ACWU, NUDW and other unions addressed the crowd. Management backed down. The lightning strike and protest had won a convincing victory. And, as an Indian worker commented in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 June 1942:

'The success of the strike was in no small measure due to the solidarity of the workers. Africans, Indians and Europeans stood shoulder to shoulder.'

SOURCE 4B

The first viewpoint is extracted from a pamphlet by the NUDW (National Union of Distributive Workers) which was published in May 1943 outlining reasons for strike action. The second viewpoint is a management circular that was released in June 1943 indicating its disapproval regarding strike action.

Viewpoint 1: National Union of Distributive Workers' Pamphlet, May 1943**Not at our Expense!**

'For years the shop assistants have been amongst the lowest paid workers in South Africa. Through their own trade union they struggled to improve their conditions. At last the government established a Conciliation Board, in order to decide on higher wages by peaceful negotiations.

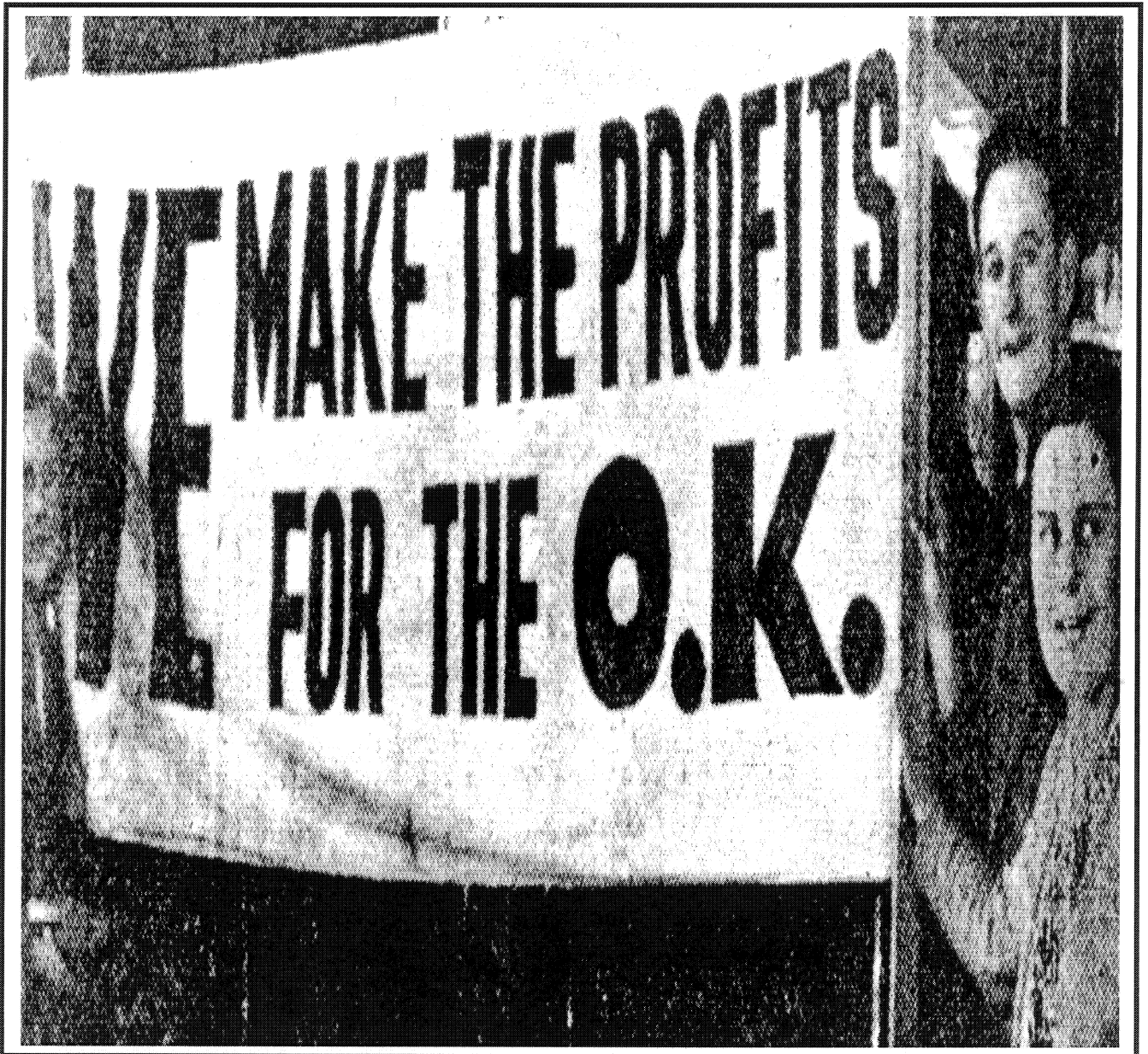
THE EMPLOYERS BROKE DOWN THE BOARD by refusing to give the workers a penny more out of their fabulous profits. This war is being fought for DEMOCRACY and we who are 100% behind the WAR EFFORT will not allow them to get richer at our expense.'

Viewpoint 2: Management circular, June 1943**WE will not Tolerate This!**

'Some members of the staff have defamed and vilified (belittled) the management and heaped abuse on executive officials. We wish to make it clear that WE WILL NOT TOLERATE THIS CONDUCT on the part of anyone in our employment. We want a loyal and happy staff. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES will we permit disloyal members of the staff to abuse and insult the management. If any such cases come to our notice we shall not hesitate to immediately dismiss the culprits, so that once and for all we can get rid of the unruly and discontented elements.'

SOURCE 4C

This photograph shows white women workers carrying a banner with the words 'WE MAKE THE PROFITS FOR THE O.K.' during the 1942 strike.



SOURCE 4D

The following extract is from *A Place in the City* by Luli Callinicos. It focuses on the impact of the Second World War on industrial production.

As industry expanded after the Depression, the owners of clothing factories in Pretoria began to employ Coloured women as seamstresses, at lower wages. The Garment Workers Union saw the danger of race being used to undercut existing wages and immediately recruited these new workers. As members, they were entitled to the same wages as the white workers, who readily saw the need to include Coloureds in the bargaining process (although a minority were not happy with the idea). But most of the white members voted for the Coloured workers to have a separate 'Branch No. 2'. The branches met separately, and so did their executives; each branch voted for its own officials. The union organisers admitted that this parallel arrangement amounted to racial discrimination, but felt that they would split and destroy the union if they ignored the vote of the majority of their members...

In February 1944, the manager [of a clothing factory] engaged nine Coloured women to help complete a large wartime order for uniforms. The manager's mistake was to sneak the new workers into a separate part of the factory without informing his white employees. A few days later, one of the white workers discovered the newcomers and immediately reported them to the other workers.

A 'wild-cat' strike followed. The workers switched off their machines and sent a deputation to the manager to demand that the Coloured workers be sacked. Two Nationalist supporters stood up on a table and began to attack the union for allowing Coloureds to work as garment workers. The Nationalist supporters threatened the 'scabs' (those who refused to take part in the strike) with violence. For three hours there was chaos on the shop-floor. Finally, the manager was compelled to dismiss the Coloured workers...

The following week the union held a disciplinary meeting at which the two ringleaders were charged for causing a breach in the union. The executive voted unanimously to expel them from the union (15 of the 15 executive members were Afrikaners).

The issue received much publicity. 'White Civilisation In Danger' rang the big headline in one Nationalist newspaper. The Garment Workers Union was attacked in parliament and the three Dutch Reformed Churches formed an 'Enlarged Church Committee' which organised public meetings to protest against racial mixing on the shop-floor. It issued a pamphlet, 'White South Africa, Save Yourself!', which was so hostile and inflammatory that the union's General Secretary, Solly Sachs, successfully applied to have it banned by the Supreme Court for defamation and inciting racial hostility. The pamphlet made great capital out of the fact that Sachs was a Jew and previously a member of the Communist Party.

QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976**5.1 WHY WAS THE 1956 WOMEN'S MARCH TO THE UNION BUILDINGS SIGNIFICANT IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE?****SOURCE 5A**

This is an extract from Walter Sisulu's autobiography *In our Lifetime* by Elinor Sisulu. It focuses on reasons for the women's march in August 1956.

At the end of 1955, the ANC Women's League held its first national conference in Johannesburg. Shortly thereafter, the ANC Women's League and FEDSAW [Federation of South African Women] set up a joint working committee to co-ordinate the women's anti-pass campaign. Over the next few months, women organised networks and held regular weekend meetings in the townships. The depth of popular resentment towards passes convinced the joint working committee that it could organise a gigantic protest at the Union Buildings involving tens of thousands of women from all over the country. ANC Women's League and FEDSAW member, Ruth Mompati, who was working in the offices of Mandela and Tambo at the time, recalled that some of the men in the ANC were not impressed by their plans:

'They thought we were being too ambitious and that it would be impossible to organise such a huge protest. Because we were part of the ANC we had to keep the NEC [National Executive Committee] informed about what we were planning. When it was discussed at the NEC we heard that there was resistance to the idea but Walter Sisulu said no, let us see what the women can do. I can tell you, that made him very popular with the women!'

Walter's faith in the women was vindicated (proved correct) and, in a feat (achievement) of remarkable organising, thousands of women from all over the country converged on Pretoria on 9 August 1956. Women made enormous sacrifices to make the trip, many of them travelling at their own expense. Seventy delegates from Port Elizabeth raised 700 pounds (currency used during this time) to charter an entire railway coach. It was reported that some women even sold their furniture to raise money for the journey ...

SOURCE 5B

The following are two statements by women activists Helen Joseph and Dorothy Zihlangu outlining the events as they unfolded on 9 August 1956.

Statement 1: Helen Joseph

When I reached the top [of the Union Building Stairs], I found [the women] there, sitting quietly in the amphitheatre, resting peacefully....

Four women had been chosen as leaders for the day, Lilian Ngoyi, the African, Rahima Moosa, the Indian, Sophie Williams, the Coloured and I, the white. We reflected the multiracial membership of the Federation of South African Women. We took those letters of protest into the Union Buildings, to the offices of the Prime Minister, Johannes Strijdom. He was not there. We flooded his office with them and returned to the thousands of women, waiting for us packed tightly together.... Lilian Ngoyi called on them to stand in silent protest. As she raised her right arm in the Congress salute, 20 000 arms went up and stayed up for those endless minutes.

At the end of that half hour, Lilian began to sing, softly, 'Nkosi Sikelele' (Lord, give strength to Africa!) ... Then I heard the new song, composed specially for the protest, 'Wathint' a bafazi, wa uthint' imbokodo uzo kufa' ('You have struck a rock, you have tampered with the women, you shall be destroyed!'). It was meant for Strijdom ...

Statement 2: Dorothy Zihlangu

We are so angry, very angry. We had written to him [Strijdom] for an audience. He was expecting us. But he was not there. Earlier a helicopter arrived at the back of the Union Buildings. We think he fled from us ... He had so much power, but he was scared of us, and all we had done was to come peacefully and tell him that we, the women of South Africa said 'NO' to passes. The women then stood in silence for 30 minutes as a sign of protest. The only noise in the whole amphitheatre was the cry of babies. Some of our sisters (workers) brought their white employers' children along with them. Then we went home and organised in our communities...

SOURCE 5C

This is an exemplar of the petition that was to be presented to Prime Minister JG Strijdom at the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956.

THE DEMAND OF THE WOMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF PASSES FOR WOMEN AND THE REPEAL OF THE PASS LAWS

We, the women of South Africa, have come here today. We represent and we speak on behalf of hundreds of thousands of women who could not be with us. But all over the country, at this moment, women are watching and thinking of us. Their hearts are with us.

We are women from every part of South Africa. We are women of every race, we come from cities and the towns, from the reserves and the villages. We come as women united in our purpose to save the African women from the degradation of passes.

For hundreds of years the African people have suffered under the most bitter law of all - the pass law that has brought untold suffering to every African family.

Raids, arrests, loss of pay, long hours at the pass office, weeks in the cells awaiting trial, forced farm labour - this is what the pass laws have brought African men. Punishment and misery - not for a crime, but for the lack of a pass.

We African women know too well the effect of this law upon our homes, our children. We, who are not African women, know how our sisters suffer.

Your government proclaims aloud and abroad that the pass laws have been abolished, but we women know this is not true, for our husbands, our brothers, our sons are still being arrested, thousands every day, under these very pass laws. It is only the name that has changed. The 'reference book' and the pass are one.

In March 1952, your Minister of Native Affairs denied in Parliament that a law would be introduced which would force African women to carry passes. But in 1956 your government is attempting to force passes upon the African women, and we are here today to protest against this insult to all women. For to us an insult to African woman is an insult to all women.

We want to tell you what the pass would mean to an African woman, and we want you to know that whether you call it a reference book, an identity book, or by any other disguising name, to us it is a **PASS**. And it means just this:

- That homes will be broken up when women are arrested under the pass laws.
- That children will be left uncared for, helpless, and mothers will be torn from their babies for failure to produce a pass.
- That women and young girls will be exposed to humiliation and degradation at the hands of pass-searching policemen
- That women will lose their right to move freely from one place to another.

In the name of women of South Africa, we say to you, each of us, African, European, Indian, Coloured, that we are opposed to the pass system.

We, voters and voteless, call upon your government not to issue passes to African women.

We shall not rest until ALL pass laws and all forms of permits restricting our freedom have been abolished.

We shall not rest until we have won for our children their fundamental rights of freedom, justice and security.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

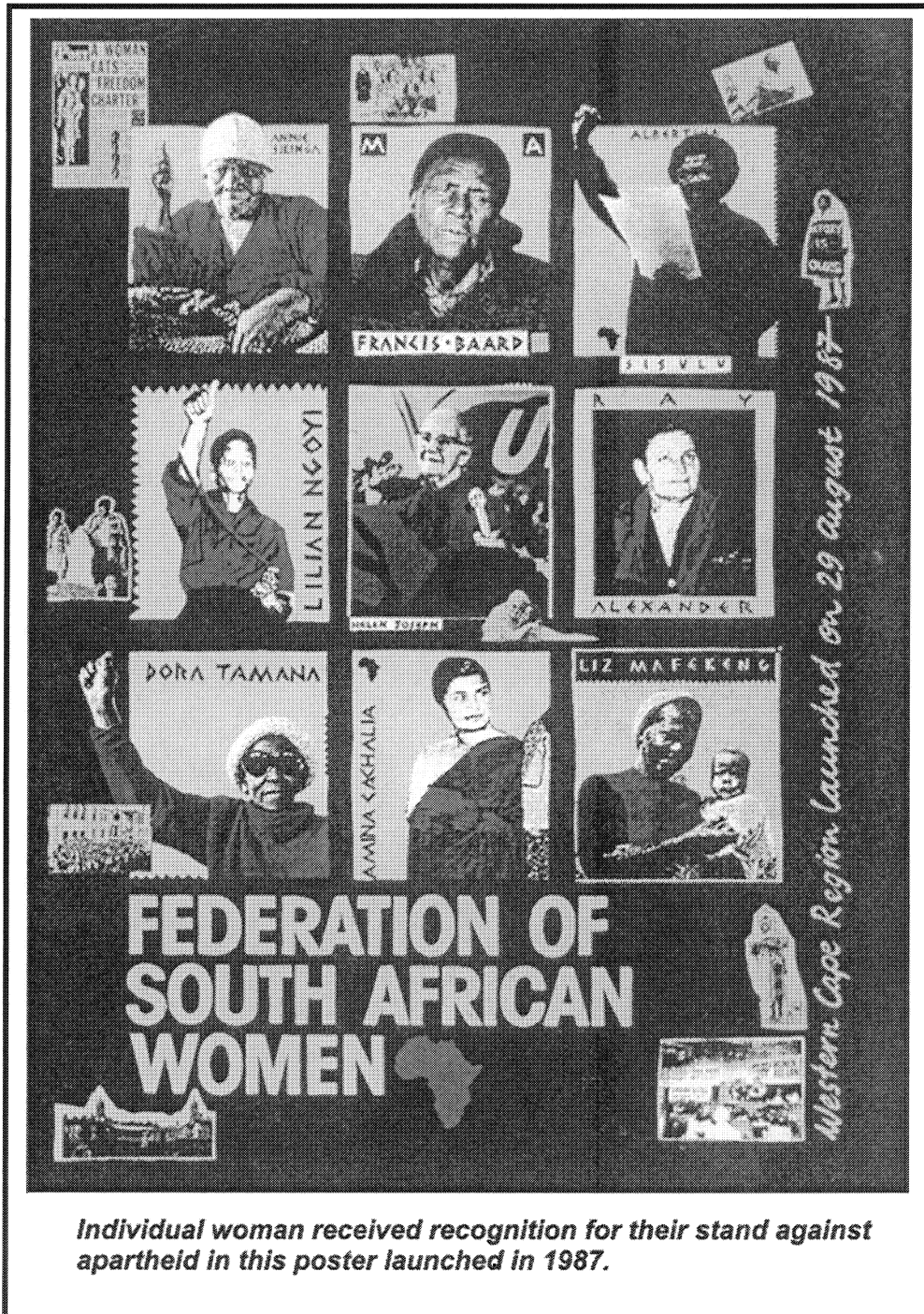
AREA _____

PRESENTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER
AUGUST 9th 1956.



SOURCE 5D

This poster was produced by the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) to commemorate women who were involved in the struggle for freedom.



QUESTION 6: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994**6.1 WHAT WERE THE CHALLENGES FROM 1990 THAT FACED SOUTH AFRICA ON ITS WAY TO THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTION IN 1994?****SOURCE 6A**

This is an extract from Rich Mkhondo's book, *Reporting South Africa*. It focuses on the discussions between the African National Congress and other political parties prior to the 1994 elections. Mkhondo was a journalist for Reuters (news and information service).

The beginning of 1993 found South Africa poised (on the brink) ... The talks had stalled, violence continued, and people grew disillusioned (disappointed) about the future. The official resumption of the talks in March, after a ten-month hiatus (break), followed a series of bilateral discussions between the government and the ANC, and later the government and Inkatha.

The ANC's National Working Committee, often referred to as South Africa's future cabinet, accepted a document drafted by Joe Slovo arguing that any future government could not run the risk of alienating (leaving out) the bureaucracy (government officials) and armed forces empowered by the present state. Slovo argued that there could be no total victory for either side – the government or the ANC – in negotiations. His premise was that major compromises were necessary because the ANC was 'not dealing with a defeated enemy'. He suggested an offer of amnesty to all those who were engaged in enforcing apartheid, and job guarantees and assured pension benefits to generals and civil servants to ensure their co-operation with the country's first democratically elected government. 'We are not engaged in armistice (settlement) talks. I wish we were. But the truth is neither side won the war. The National Party could not rule any longer, and we could not seize power by force. So that means both sides have to compromise (give and take). That is reality, Slovo said in a report prepared for discussion by the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee and later ratified by the shadow cabinet. The shift from earlier demands for a complete transfer of power to the concept of shared power was profound.

In a statement distributed to all its 14 regions, the ANC said:

'In the interests of reconstruction and peace and the need to minimise the potential threat to democratic advance from divisive forces in the period immediately following the adoption of a new constitution, we declare our support for an interim government of national unity which would exist up to the point of the adoption of a new constitution...'

SOURCE 6B

This is part of a speech delivered by Winnie Mandela (who had great support amongst ANC youth and militants) on the issue of power-sharing at the funeral of anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph in 1993.

The leadership ought to be aware that the masses fear being compromised. They fear that our organisation is about to enter into big compromises with the state ... That needs to be explained thoroughly to the people ... We have been fighting all along. We [the ANC and the government] regard each other as enemies. It is crucial to take the masses along with us on the question of power sharing. And it is the masses who must give a mandate to the leadership about their interpretation of power sharing. Because if we do not do that we are likely to find ourselves an elite group leading the masses while we are not in touch with them. We do not know their aspirations ...

The quick-fix solutions sought by our leaders can only benefit a few and will backfire massively on the country as a whole. The disillusion that will follow when the masses awaken to the fact that they have not been included in the new freedom and in the wealth enjoyed by their leaders will worsen implications than what we experienced in the 1970s and 1980s, and will plunge the country irrevocably (permanently) into yet another vortex (current) of mass violence and protest, this time not against the National Party but against the new government which the masses will have discovered to be representing the same class interests as the National Party it fought so bravely.

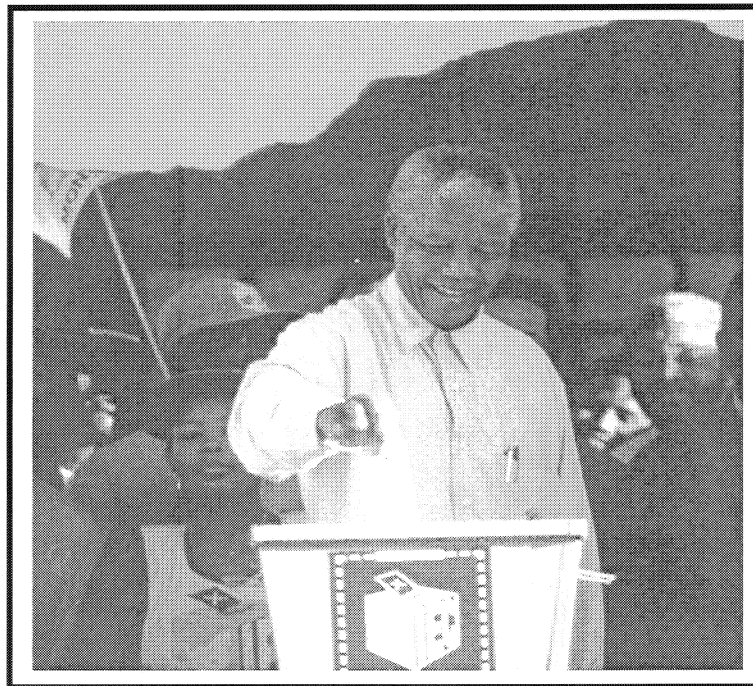


Winnie Mandela

SOURCE 6C

The following is part of a speech delivered by Nelson Mandela after he cast his first-ever ballot for a democratic South Africa on 27 April 1994 at Ohlange High School in Inanda, Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.

This is, for all South Africans, an unforgettable occasion. It is the realisation of our hopes and dreams that we have cherished over decades. The dreams of a South Africa which represents all South Africans. It is the end of an era of pessimism, division, limited opportunities, turmoil and conflict. We are starting a new era of hope, reconciliation and nation building. We hope by the mere casting of a vote the results will give hope to all South Africans and make all South Africans realise this is our country. We are one nation.



Nelson Mandela casting his vote on 27 April 1994

SOURCE 6D

This is an excerpt by Mondli waka Makhanya (presently editor of the *Sunday Times*) who recalls his experiences on 27th April 1994. The article appeared in the *Mail and Guardian*, April 29 to May 5 1994 edition.

I like to think I'm a tough guy, the type that only cries at family funerals. But on Wednesday, alone in my voting cubicle, tears clouded my eyes as I held that piece of paper in my hand.

This was not just a vote. It was a spiritual experience. Like the octogenarians (people who are over 80 years of age) who had cast their votes the day before, I felt my humanity had been restored.

I made my cross next to the picture of Nelson Mandela, a man who just a few years ago I could only sing about and whose photographs I used to hide at the bottom of the family deep-freeze. As I put my ballots in the boxes I almost suffocated with emotion as I realised the sanctity of the act I was performing. Together with millions of my black countrymen I was completing a journey that began more than three centuries ago when the white man landed in the Cape and proceeded to strip away my humanity ...

As I drove away from Guguletu's Uluntu Centre – where Archbishop Desmond Tutu had earlier cast off his chains - I recalled the emotions of the previous night, when I watched the death of the flag that symbolised all that was cruel and evil to me. In the privacy of my car, under cover of night, I wept ...

Those millions of people, from Babanango to Seshego, who put their votes in the same square as myself, did not do so flippantly (jokingly). They, like myself, have hopes and dreams they believe only the ANC can address ...

The challenge for the ANC is not to forget those people as its parliamentarians become the new elite, moving into parliamentary villages and white suburbia and enjoying the perks that come with the job ...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Extracts and visual sources used in this addendum were taken from the following publications:

- ANC (n.d.) *What Can I Do? – A Guide to Action Against Apartheid* ([Amsterdam]: World Assembly of Youth)
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