

education

Department:
Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION - 2006

HISTORY P1 : SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

HIGHER GRADE

FEBRUARY/MARCH 2006

503-1/1 E

Marks: 200

3 Hours

This question paper consists of 7 pages and an ADDENDUM of 11 pages.

HISTORY HG: Paper 1
Question Paper & Addendum



503 1 1E

HG

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INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

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 (6) essay questions.
3. SECTION B consists of THREE (3) source-based questions. Source material to be used to answer these questions is in the ADDENDUM.
4. You are allowed to answer ONE (1) essay question and ONE (1) source-based question from the same theme.
5. Do NOT answer TWO (2) essay questions from the same theme.
6. Answer FOUR (4) questions.
 - 6.1 At least ONE (1) must be an essay question and at least ONE (1) must be a source-based question.
 - 6.2 YOU MUST ANSWER AT LEAST ONE (1) QUESTION FROM THE COMPULSORY THEME: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976 (EITHER AN ESSAY OR A SOURCE-BASED QUESTION).**
7. Questions and subsections of questions must be numbered clearly and correctly.
8. Write clearly and legibly.

SECTION A: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE (1) question and not more than THREE (3) 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

The achievement of sovereign independence for South Africa was the pinnacle (height) of General JBM Hertzog's period of premiership.

Do you agree with this statement? Substantiate your viewpoint. **[50]**

OR

QUESTION 1B

The failure of the political marriage between the South African Party and the National Party was not unexpected.

Assess the validity of the statement by using relevant evidence from the period 1934 to 1939. **[50]**

QUESTION 2: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976

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

QUESTION 2A

The National Party succeeded in its desire to make South Africa a republic but failed in its attempt to keep South Africa as a member of the British Commonwealth.

Critically discuss this statement with reference to the period 1948 to 1961. **[50]**

OR

QUESTION 2B

It was not so much the pressure mounted by external forces but rather the resistance within South Africa which led to the destruction of apartheid.

Do you agree with this statement? Support your answer by using relevant evidence from the period 1960 to 1976. **[50]**

QUESTION 3: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994

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

QUESTION 3A

The introduction of the tricameral constitution in 1983 was a disguised attempt of the Nationalist government to perpetuate (continue) white domination.

Assess this statement critically by making reference to the period 1983 to 1989. **[50]**

OR

QUESTION 3B

With the release of Nelson Mandela from Robben Island and later Pollsmoor in 1990, South Africa stood at the threshold (entrance) of a new era in its history.

Is this a justifiable assessment? Substantiate your answer by critically referring to political events that unfolded in the period 1990 to 1994. **[50]**

SECTION B: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE (1) 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 THE WAR YEARS (1939 –1945) INFLUENCE AFRIKANER AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN THE 1940s?**

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

4.1.1 Refer to Source 4A.

a) Why did the cartoonist, Abe Berry, depict Malan standing at the crossroads of the Nazi Swastika? (2)

b) Using evidence from the source and your own knowledge explain the accuracy of this cartoon. (2 x 2)

4.1.2 Use Source 4B and your own knowledge.

a) What prompted the Jews to seek refuge in South Africa and elsewhere in the world? (2 x 2)

b) Explain, in your own words, the reception that the Jews received in South Africa. (2 x 2)

c) Explain why Hendrik Verwoerd and his followers adopted that stance towards the Jews. (2)

d) Explain, in your own words, the term anti-Semitism. (2 x 2)

e) What were the reasons for the Afrikaners siding with Germany during the Second World War? (2 x 2)

f) What were the motives for the formation of the Ossewa Brandwag? (2 x 2)

g) Explain why you would consider the Ossewa Brandwag either as a fascist organisation or a liberation force. (2 x 2)

4.1.3 Refer to Source 4C and your own knowledge.

a) Explain why more Africans were being employed during the war years. (2 x 1)

b) Explain why you would agree or disagree with this historian that the Communist Party, Non-European Unity League and ANC Youth League were radical organisations. (3 x 2)

- 4.1.4 Using all the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about 12 lines on how the Second World War influenced Afrikaner and African nationalism in the 1940s. (10)
[50]

QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976

5.1 WHAT MAKES THE FREEDOM CHARTER A PEOPLE'S DOCUMENT OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE?

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

- 5.1.1 Study Source 5A.
- a) According to the source, what proposal did ZK Matthews make at the ANC's annual conference? (2 x 1)
 - b) Why do you think ZK Matthews made such a proposal? (2 x 2)
 - c) How did members at the ANC's national conference respond to ZK Matthew's proposal? (2 x 2)
 - d) Explain why the formation of the Congress of the People was regarded as a turning point in the history of South Africa. (3 x 2)
 - e) How did the National Action Council plan to solicit (get) support from the general public for inclusion in the Freedom Charter? (3 x 2)
- 5.1.2 Read Statements 1, 2 and 3 in Source 5B. Explain the common approach used to get people involved in the volunteer campaign for the Freedom Charter. (3 x 2)
- 5.1.3 Refer to Source 5B (Statements 2 and 3). Explain the differences between these statements. (2 x 2)
- 5.1.4 Use the information in Source 5C and explain the purpose of the leaflet. (2 x 1)
- 5.1.5 Refer to Sources 5B and 5C. What impression do you get about the manner in which the Congress of the People conducted its campaign? (2 x 1)
- 5.1.6 Explain why you would regard the methods used by the Congress of the People to get people's demands and grievances as 'democracy in action'. (2 x 2)
- 5.1.7 Using evidence from Sources 5A, 5B, 5C and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about 12 lines on why the Freedom Charter can be regarded as a people's document of national importance. (10)
[50]

QUESTION 6: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994**6.1 HOW DID THE RIGHT WING REACT TO THE WHITES ONLY REFERENDUM OF MARCH 1992?**

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

- 6.1.1 Use Source 6A.
Why do you think the cartoonist depicts Mandela and De Klerk dancing a 'complicated tango'? (3 x 2)
- 6.1.2 Study Source 6A.
What does the cartoonist wish to convey about the relationship between Andries Treurnicht, Oupa Gqozo, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope? (4 x 2)
- 6.1.3 Refer to Source 6B.
What was Ken Owen's attitude towards the relationship between Treurnicht, Gqozo, Buthelezi and Mangope? (3 x 2)
- 6.1.4 Use Source 6B.
What choices, according to Owen, did the white electorate in the country have to consider? (1 x 2)
- 6.1.5 Study Source 6B.
What is implied by Ken Owen when he says that 'they are anti-intellectual'? (1 x 2)
- 6.1.6 According to Sources 6B and 6C, what were the differences in approach to the negotiation process between Treurnicht (in Source 6B) and that of Eugene Terre' Blanche (in Source 6C). (4 x 2)
- 6.1.7 Refer to Source 6C.
How, according to Terre' Blanche, will the AWB 'bring the country to a standstill'? (3 x 2)
- 6.1.8 Study Source 6C.
What did Terre' Blanche imply when he said 'Most of them [Ystergarde] have been trained in the SADF's [South African Defence Force] elite forces, but they are more committed to their cause ... than any member of the defence force'? (2 x 1)
- 6.1.9 As an adviser to De Klerk, explain to him in a paragraph of about 12 lines (using all sources and your own knowledge) on why the possible right wing take-over was a danger to the country. (10)

[50]**TOTAL: 200**

HISTORY P1 : SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

ADDENDUM

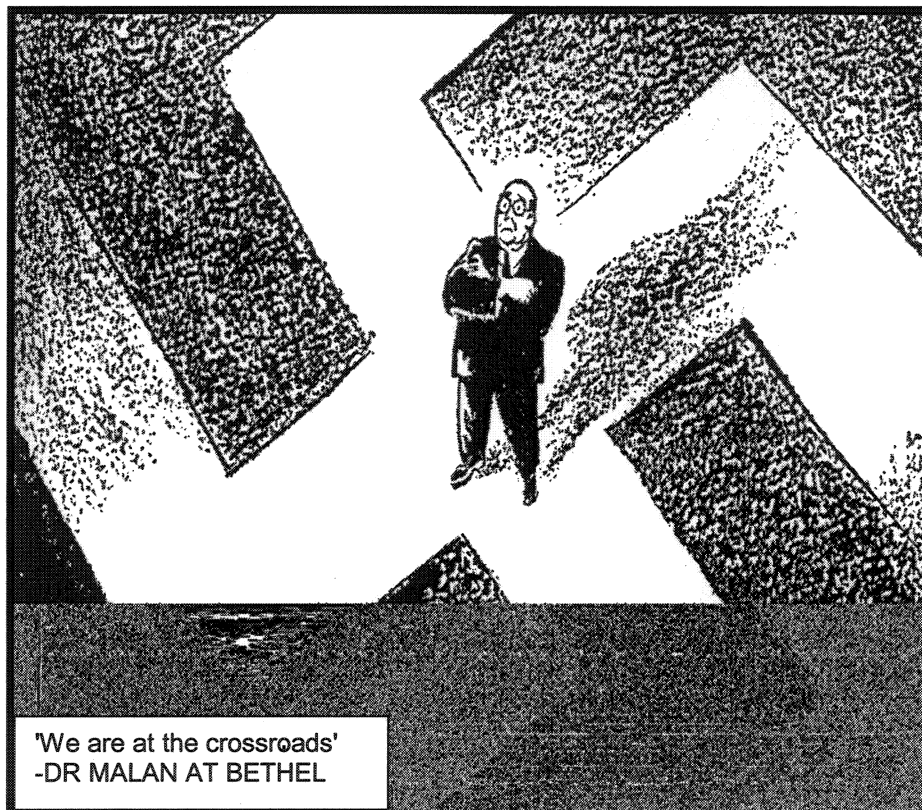
HIGHER GRADE

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QUESTION 4: THE PERIOD 1924 TO 1948**4.1 HOW DID THE WAR YEARS (1939 –1945) INFLUENCE AFRIKANER AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN THE 1940s?****SOURCE 4A**

This cartoon, by Abe Berry appeared in *The Star* newspaper. It depicts Malan standing at the crossroads of the Nazi Swastika. This emblem was a symbol of the German Nazi Party led by Adolf Hitler.



SOURCE 4B

This is an extract from *Every Step of the Way* which highlights the influence of Fascism and Nazism on Afrikaner nationalism. This Fascist nationalism (which became more prominent during the Second World War) was developed as a response to British imperialism.

Events in Europe in the 1930s had their echoes in South Africa. The rise of Nazism, and the spread of anti-Semitism under Adolf Hitler in Germany, prompted scores of Jews to seek refuge elsewhere in the World.

In South Africa, immigration laws were steadily tightened to restrict the influx of these desperate escapees from Hitler. The last vessel to bring refugees, the *Stuttgart*, beat a fresh ban by a few days when it docked (harbour) at Cape Town on 27 October 1936. On the quay (dockside), the 600 bewildered Jews were confronted by a mob of anti-Semitic protesters whose leader was a young Stellenbosch academic who made his mark, and paid for it, in time to come. His name was Hendrik Verwoerd.

With Hitler's invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939, Britain issued an ultimatum, and declared war on Germany two days later. What was South Africa to do? For the second time in less than three decades, white South Africa's divided sentiments over Britain threatened a political crisis.

Some South Africans had been openly admiring Hitler's economic programme, his infectious nationalism and his anti-Semitism. Even South Africa's Minister of Defence, Oswald Pirow, visited the Nazi demagogue (Hitler) in Berlin in the 1930s.

Half the South African cabinet was in favour of neutrality, including the prime minister Hertzog. But his deputy had no doubt that South Africa had to join Britain in standing up to fascism in Europe and, on 4 September, he put a motion to parliament in favour of entering the war. It was carried by 13 votes. Hertzog resigned, and Smuts became the new Prime minister, declaring war on Germany on 6 September.

On the home front, the war years threw up fresh challenges. Radical Afrikaners formed the pro-Nazi *Ossewa Brandwag* in 1939, organised terror groups and sabotage against army targets during the war, and whipped up nationalist sentiment. Among them was a young man named Balthazar John Vorster who, in 1941, was interned – detained without trial, as he would later see it – at Koffiefontein for the duration of the war. He later became a prominent Nationalist, a Minister of Justice and ultimately Prime Minister.

SOURCE 4C

This is an extract which outlines the emergence of radical black organisations such as the African National Congress Youth League, Non-European Unity Movement and African Mineworkers' Union in the 1940s.

When the government relaxed influx control regulations to make it easier for blacks to move to the cities and fill jobs left by whites who had gone off to fight [in the Second World War], the South African Communist Party and others became vigorously involved in unionising blacks.

New organisations emerged. One was the influential African National Congress Youth League under Africanist Anton Lembede in 1943. Prominent members were young Johannesburg lawyers, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, and a young unionist, Walter Sisulu. They soon exerted influence on the middle class and moderate ANC.

Another more radical organisation to emerge in 1943 was the Non-European Unity Movement, which urged 'non-collaboration' and boycott as strategies to block or disable structures of segregation, such as councils.

In August 1946 it was the turn of black miners to flex their muscle. The African Mineworkers' Union, which the communists had helped to establish during the war, launched what became the biggest strike since the Rand Revolt of 1922, involving more than 60 000 workers. It wakened white South Africans' sense of the political power of black labour. The police and the army were deployed, in some cases to drive miners back underground to work. Twelve miners died and more than a thousand were injured.

Strikes galvanised the unionists, Communists, and the ANC to rethink their strategies and to develop a broad-based movement to oppose segregation.

QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976**5.1 WHAT MAKES THE FREEDOM CHARTER A PEOPLE'S DOCUMENT OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE?****SOURCE 5A**

This is an extract about the reasons for the Freedom Charter from Nelson Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* published in 1994.

Several months after Chief Albert Luthuli was elected president of the ANC, Professor ZK Matthews returned to South Africa after a year as a visiting professor in the US, armed with an idea that would reshape the liberation struggle. In a speech at the ANC annual conference in the Cape, he said 'I wonder whether the time has not come for the African National Congress to consider the question of convening a national convention, a congress of the people, representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour, to draw up a Freedom Charter for the democratic South Africa of the future.'

Within months the ANC national conference accepted the proposal, and a Council of the Congress of the People was created, with Chief Luthuli as chairman and Walter Sisulu and Yusuf Cachalia as joint secretaries. The Congress of the People was to create a set of principles for the foundation of a new South Africa. Our dream for the Congress of the People was that it would be a landmark event in the history of the freedom struggle – a convention uniting all the oppressed and all the progressive forces of South Africa to create a clarion call for change.

We sought to attract the widest possible sponsorship and invited some two hundred organisations – white, black, Indian and Coloured – to send representatives to a planning conference at Tongaat, near Durban, in March 1954. The National Action Council created there was composed of eight members from each of the four sponsoring organisations. The chairman was Chief Luthuli, and the secretariat consisted of Walter Sisulu, Yusuf Cachalia of the SAIC, Stanley Lollan of the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) and Lionel Bernstein of the Congress of Democrats (COD).

The National Action Council invited all participating organisations and their followers to send suggestions for a freedom charter. Circulars were sent out to townships and villages all across the country.

The circulars contained the following message:

**WE CALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA BLACK AND WHITE – LET US
SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM! – LET THE VOICES OF ALL THE
PEOPLE BE HEARD AND THE DEMANDS OF ALL THE PEOPLE
FOR THE THINGS THAT WILL MAKE US FREE BE RECORDED.
LET THE DEMANDS BE GATHERED TOGETHER IN A GREAT CHARTER OF FREEDOM.**

SOURCE 5B

The following are excerpts from volunteers who participated in the Freedom Charter campaign. They collected grievances and demands from ordinary people, which were included in the Freedom Charter.

Statement 1: A veteran of the ANC from Kwazakele township (Port Elizabeth) had this to say about his participation in the campaign.

I was one of the first volunteers. Raymond Mhlaba, and I registered our names. The volunteers were the people who were prepared to sacrifice on behalf of the liberation movement. The volunteers registered their names, and they were to sacrifice without being paid. They were to suffer. Losing their jobs in some cases, because when you defy a law, you are due to be arrested. You must serve your prison term out no matter how long. Some of these volunteers lost their jobs through that.

The volunteers had a pledge of discipline which they had to swear that: 'I, so-and-so, am prepared to take up on my shoulders the risk of my life for my people, for the liberation struggle. I will do as my leaders tell me. I won't do anything which I have not been instructed to, no matter how the consequences may be.'

Statement 2: Reggie Vandeyar was living in Fordsburg at that time. He recalls the activities of volunteers from the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Most of the campaigning was done over weekends. At times individuals would say they've got time during the week. In residential areas like Fordsburg, Jeppe, Doornfontein, Vrededorp and Malay Camp – these areas could be covered during the weekdays as well. But we had very few activists in places like Pretoria, Benoni, Nigel and Springs. Activists in the Johannesburg central area would organise groups to go out into these areas. Weekends we would gather, say twenty activists in the Indian Congress offices, and we would split up in groups of say, five. Five to Pretoria, five here, five there. We would go out with African, coloured and white comrades.

Statement 3: Billy Nair was an active member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). He explains how the demands from workers for the Freedom Charter were collected.

First of all we distributed leaflets to the workers in factories especially in the greater Durban area, to explain to the workers as to what the Congress of People was about. This was done not only in SACTU factories but in all factories. The workers were encouraged to submit any demand, which they thought, was important – even if it was repeated by other workers. Among the most frequently made was the call for a fully paid 40-hour week. You will find that demand in the Freedom Charter today.

SOURCE 5C

This is a replica of the leaflet that was used to assist people in writing down their grievances and demands, which were to be included in the Freedom Charter.

The following preamble appeared on the leaflet:

**Now it is time for YOU to act!
We call YOU, citizens of South Africa!
It is time for YOU to say what you want written on the Freedom Charter!
It is for YOU to elect a delegate to speak for YOU at the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE!**

ONWARD to the CONGRESS of the PEOPLE

We the people of South Africa, both black and white have an urgent task to perform.

We are called upon to set down in writing those things which we would like to enjoy.

Yes let us now set up the goal posts which are our objectives:

Let us speak together of Freedom:

Hereunder are some of the demands that have been sent in for inclusion in the ...

FREEDOM CHARTER

We Demand ...

- Votes for all South Africans, both black and white.
- Higher wages and better working conditions.
- Land for the landless people.
- Free and compulsory education for all children irrespective of race, colour or creed.

What are your Demands ...

If you are a FARMER, what are your demands? _____

If you are a WORKER ON A FARM, what are your demands? _____

If you are a WORKER IN A FACTORY, what are your demands? _____

If you are a TEACHER what are your demands? _____

If you are a STUDENT, what are your demands? _____

If you are a PREACHER, what are your demands? _____

If you are a MOTHER, what are your demands? _____

If you are a BUS OWNER, what are your demands? _____

If you are a BUSINESSMAN, what are your demands? _____

QUESTION 6: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994**6.1 HOW DID THE RIGHT WING REACT TO THE WHITES ONLY REFERENDUM OF MARCH 1992?****SOURCE 6A**

This is a cartoon by DON, dated 8 October 1992, reflecting political realignment during the negotiation process. In this cartoon Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk are depicted as dancing a complicated tango, while the Afrikaner wing under Andries Treurnicht reached out to the homeland leaders such as Lucas Mangope (Bophuthatswana), Oupa Gqozo (Ciskei) and Mangosuthu Buthelezi (KwaZulu).



This is a type of dance that is referred to as the 'quick step'.

SOURCE 6B

This is an extract from an article by Ken Owen, in the *Sunday Times* of 8 March 1992, under the heading: *Face up to it: this will be the parting of the ways*. In this article Owen wants to convince the readers that negotiation will be the best for their future, therefore they must vote YES in the referendum.

The single question to be settled by the referendum is this: should we commit ourselves to creating a non-racial democracy by negotiation, or should we try to carve a white warrior-state from a hostile black continent, and defend it forever?

The choice is clear: either we expend our strength, and sacrifice sons and treasure, in one last, superhuman effort to tear ourselves out of the African embrace, or we settle down to negotiate and try to create a democracy, a land so free and secure that its diversity of peoples and cultures will be its glory, not its cross.

Either way, we face uncertainty. It takes no great imagination to perceive that democracy may well fail, ... it takes even less imagination to perceive that a 'white' mini-state could not stand for long against the whole world...

Unhappily, the campaign has not so far clarified the choice, nor even defined it. Instead of answering the questions of the voters, the politicians indulge in an orgy of doom saying, and they try to frighten people out of their wits.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, having refused to join CODESA, talks of negotiating with black people for a separate homeland for whites. He is talking expedient nonsense, and he knows it. From Verwoerd to Botha, Nationalist leaders have tried to engage blacks in such negotiations, and failed.

Neither police, nor army, nor passes, nor electric fences, nor fierce laws, nor brutality, nor murder in the police cells, nor nuclear technology, nor G-5's, nor SASOL, nor anything else has succeeded in keeping any corner of the land 'white'. As the latest census reminds us, the only way to escape the presence of black people is to emigrate...

We can negotiate now from strength; later we shall be weaker. The white population is dwindling, its schools running empty for lack of pupils, its policemen and soldiers stretched to patrol either the borders or the suburbs.

The old South Africa is dead. The white racial oligarchy is collapsing under the weight of its own follies, its corruption, its lies. The social problems which afflict us today – inflation, economic stagnation, squatting, crime, insecurity – are the results of so many years of wasting our strength and our wealth in the vain attempt to sustain an unsustainable 'way of life'.

Dr Treurnicht and his men deal with none of these questions. With the exception of the preposterous (unbelievable) Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who clings to the failed Verwoerdian formula, they will not even tell us where the new 'white' state will lie, nor how it will function, nor who will defend it. They are anti-intellectual, and they play on the ignorance of their followers who, they hope, are ready to be blindly led.

SOURCE 6C

This is an extract from a report by Charles Leonard of the *Sunday Times* under the heading: *Terror warning as masked Ystergarde come into the open* (2 February 1992). At this rally in Ventersdorp, Terre' Blanche was trying to, with a show of force, derail the CODESA talks and assure his followers that South Africa will stay in white hands.

The AWB staged a show of strength in Ventersdorp yesterday as a senior police source warned that a new wave of rightwing terror attacks was expected to precede the next round of CODESA (Conference for a Democratic South Africa).

In one of his most militant speeches to date, AWB leader Eugene Terre' Blanche claimed that the AWB could 'bring the country to a standstill'.

'We could tell shift bosses not to go underground and leave 300 blacks stranded there. We could also tell ESKOM controllers to switch off the lights to leave the night as dark as Africa,' he said.

Yesterday's parade was also the first public display of the AWB's armed wing, the Ystergarde, who marched through the town in black battledress and balaclavas.

Mr Terre' Blanche said: 'The Ystergarde is no circus. They are here to be used and the AWB will not be 'donnered' [pushed] around.'

Chief instructor Keith Conroy said the Ystergarde could be likened to Adolf Hitler's SS, and could be mobilised 'tomorrow' if necessary.

'Most of them have been trained in the SADF's (South African Defence Force) elite forces, but they are more committed to their cause – that of white self-determination – than any member of the defence force,' he said.

... Mr Terre' Blanche warned that the rightwing was uniting to destroy CODESA.

'We will form a joint offensive with the CP and the HNP to do so,' he told about

1 200 supporters.

The march through Ventersdorp was led by 36 members of the Ystergarde, followed by 400 Wenkommando members in khaki. Racial tension was high and AWB members in cars and bakkies chanted racist slogans and songs at black shoppers.

Earlier in the week an SAP officer investigating rightwing activity said the rightwing threat was being viewed 'in a serious light'.

'They tend to link their attacks to specific events, and CODESA 2 is likely to produce a new spate of bombings,' he said.

The officer said known rightwing cells were being closely monitored, and a breakthrough was expected soon in respect of two active terror cells – one in the Western Transvaal and the other in the Eastern Cape. ...

He said estimates placed between 9 000 and 10 000 members in the AWB's Wenkommando, with another 4 000 rightwingers in the Boerekommando.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, MK (ANC) could muster an estimated 7 000 trained soldiers, while the PAC's military wing, APLA, had far fewer members.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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HISTORY P1 : SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

ADDENDUM

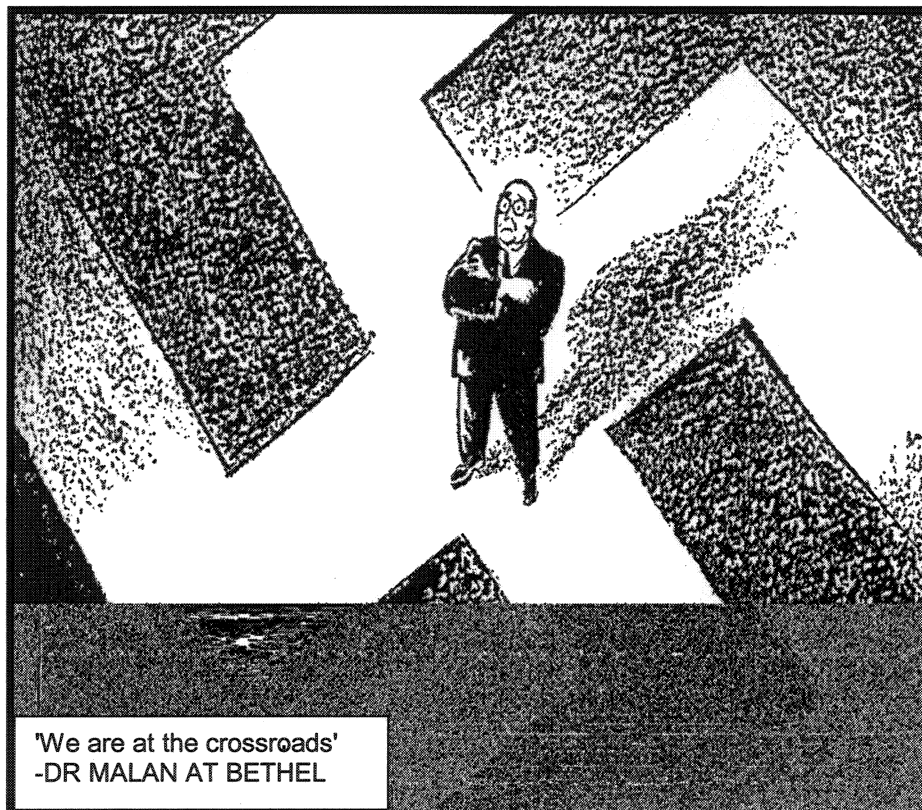
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SOURCE 4B

This is an extract from *Every Step of the Way* which highlights the influence of Fascism and Nazism on Afrikaner nationalism. This Fascist nationalism (which became more prominent during the Second World War) was developed as a response to British imperialism.

Events in Europe in the 1930s had their echoes in South Africa. The rise of Nazism, and the spread of anti-Semitism under Adolf Hitler in Germany, prompted scores of Jews to seek refuge elsewhere in the World.

In South Africa, immigration laws were steadily tightened to restrict the influx of these desperate escapees from Hitler. The last vessel to bring refugees, the *Stuttgart*, beat a fresh ban by a few days when it docked (harbour) at Cape Town on 27 October 1936. On the quay (dockside), the 600 bewildered Jews were confronted by a mob of anti-Semitic protesters whose leader was a young Stellenbosch academic who made his mark, and paid for it, in time to come. His name was Hendrik Verwoerd.

With Hitler's invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939, Britain issued an ultimatum, and declared war on Germany two days later. What was South Africa to do? For the second time in less than three decades, white South Africa's divided sentiments over Britain threatened a political crisis.

Some South Africans had been openly admiring Hitler's economic programme, his infectious nationalism and his anti-Semitism. Even South Africa's Minister of Defence, Oswald Pirow, visited the Nazi demagogue (Hitler) in Berlin in the 1930s.

Half the South African cabinet was in favour of neutrality, including the prime minister Hertzog. But his deputy had no doubt that South Africa had to join Britain in standing up to fascism in Europe and, on 4 September, he put a motion to parliament in favour of entering the war. It was carried by 13 votes. Hertzog resigned, and Smuts became the new Prime minister, declaring war on Germany on 6 September.

On the home front, the war years threw up fresh challenges. Radical Afrikaners formed the pro-Nazi *Ossewa Brandwag* in 1939, organised terror groups and sabotage against army targets during the war, and whipped up nationalist sentiment. Among them was a young man named Balthazar John Vorster who, in 1941, was interned – detained without trial, as he would later see it – at Koffiefontein for the duration of the war. He later became a prominent Nationalist, a Minister of Justice and ultimately Prime Minister.

SOURCE 4C

This is an extract which outlines the emergence of radical black organisations such as the African National Congress Youth League, Non-European Unity Movement and African Mineworkers' Union in the 1940s.

When the government relaxed influx control regulations to make it easier for blacks to move to the cities and fill jobs left by whites who had gone off to fight [in the Second World War], the South African Communist Party and others became vigorously involved in unionising blacks.

New organisations emerged. One was the influential African National Congress Youth League under Africanist Anton Lembede in 1943. Prominent members were young Johannesburg lawyers, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, and a young unionist, Walter Sisulu. They soon exerted influence on the middle class and moderate ANC.

Another more radical organisation to emerge in 1943 was the Non-European Unity Movement, which urged 'non-collaboration' and boycott as strategies to block or disable structures of segregation, such as councils.

In August 1946 it was the turn of black miners to flex their muscle. The African Mineworkers' Union, which the communists had helped to establish during the war, launched what became the biggest strike since the Rand Revolt of 1922, involving more than 60 000 workers. It wakened white South Africans' sense of the political power of black labour. The police and the army were deployed, in some cases to drive miners back underground to work. Twelve miners died and more than a thousand were injured.

Strikes galvanised the unionists, Communists, and the ANC to rethink their strategies and to develop a broad-based movement to oppose segregation.

QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976**5.1 WHAT MAKES THE FREEDOM CHARTER A PEOPLE'S DOCUMENT OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE?****SOURCE 5A**

This is an extract about the reasons for the Freedom Charter from Nelson Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* published in 1994.

Several months after Chief Albert Luthuli was elected president of the ANC, Professor ZK Matthews returned to South Africa after a year as a visiting professor in the US, armed with an idea that would reshape the liberation struggle. In a speech at the ANC annual conference in the Cape, he said 'I wonder whether the time has not come for the African National Congress to consider the question of convening a national convention, a congress of the people, representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour, to draw up a Freedom Charter for the democratic South Africa of the future.'

Within months the ANC national conference accepted the proposal, and a Council of the Congress of the People was created, with Chief Luthuli as chairman and Walter Sisulu and Yusuf Cachalia as joint secretaries. The Congress of the People was to create a set of principles for the foundation of a new South Africa. Our dream for the Congress of the People was that it would be a landmark event in the history of the freedom struggle – a convention uniting all the oppressed and all the progressive forces of South Africa to create a clarion call for change.

We sought to attract the widest possible sponsorship and invited some two hundred organisations – white, black, Indian and Coloured – to send representatives to a planning conference at Tongaat, near Durban, in March 1954. The National Action Council created there was composed of eight members from each of the four sponsoring organisations. The chairman was Chief Luthuli, and the secretariat consisted of Walter Sisulu, Yusuf Cachalia of the SAIC, Stanley Lollan of the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) and Lionel Bernstein of the Congress of Democrats (COD).

The National Action Council invited all participating organisations and their followers to send suggestions for a freedom charter. Circulars were sent out to townships and villages all across the country.

The circulars contained the following message:

**WE CALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA BLACK AND WHITE – LET US
SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM! – LET THE VOICES OF ALL THE
PEOPLE BE HEARD AND THE DEMANDS OF ALL THE PEOPLE
FOR THE THINGS THAT WILL MAKE US FREE BE RECORDED.
LET THE DEMANDS BE GATHERED TOGETHER IN A GREAT CHARTER OF FREEDOM.**

SOURCE 5B

The following are excerpts from volunteers who participated in the Freedom Charter campaign. They collected grievances and demands from ordinary people, which were included in the Freedom Charter.

Statement 1: A veteran of the ANC from Kwazakele township (Port Elizabeth) had this to say about his participation in the campaign.

I was one of the first volunteers. Raymond Mhlaba, and I registered our names. The volunteers were the people who were prepared to sacrifice on behalf of the liberation movement. The volunteers registered their names, and they were to sacrifice without being paid. They were to suffer. Losing their jobs in some cases, because when you defy a law, you are due to be arrested. You must serve your prison term out no matter how long. Some of these volunteers lost their jobs through that.

The volunteers had a pledge of discipline which they had to swear that: 'I, so-and-so, am prepared to take up on my shoulders the risk of my life for my people, for the liberation struggle. I will do as my leaders tell me. I won't do anything which I have not been instructed to, no matter how the consequences may be.'

Statement 2: Reggie Vandeyar was living in Fordsburg at that time. He recalls the activities of volunteers from the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Most of the campaigning was done over weekends. At times individuals would say they've got time during the week. In residential areas like Fordsburg, Jeppe, Doornfontein, Vrededorp and Malay Camp – these areas could be covered during the weekdays as well. But we had very few activists in places like Pretoria, Benoni, Nigel and Springs. Activists in the Johannesburg central area would organise groups to go out into these areas. Weekends we would gather, say twenty activists in the Indian Congress offices, and we would split up in groups of say, five. Five to Pretoria, five here, five there. We would go out with African, coloured and white comrades.

Statement 3: Billy Nair was an active member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). He explains how the demands from workers for the Freedom Charter were collected.

First of all we distributed leaflets to the workers in factories especially in the greater Durban area, to explain to the workers as to what the Congress of People was about. This was done not only in SACTU factories but in all factories. The workers were encouraged to submit any demand, which they thought, was important – even if it was repeated by other workers. Among the most frequently made was the call for a fully paid 40-hour week. You will find that demand in the Freedom Charter today.

SOURCE 5C

This is a replica of the leaflet that was used to assist people in writing down their grievances and demands, which were to be included in the Freedom Charter.

The following preamble appeared on the leaflet:

**Now it is time for YOU to act!
We call YOU, citizens of South Africa!
It is time for YOU to say what you want written on the Freedom Charter!
It is for YOU to elect a delegate to speak for YOU at the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE!**

ONWARD to the CONGRESS of the PEOPLE

We the people of South Africa, both black and white have an urgent task to perform.

We are called upon to set down in writing those things which we would like to enjoy.

Yes let us now set up the goal posts which are our objectives:

Let us speak together of Freedom:

Hereunder are some of the demands that have been sent in for inclusion in the ...

FREEDOM CHARTER

We Demand ...

- Votes for all South Africans, both black and white.
- Higher wages and better working conditions.
- Land for the landless people.
- Free and compulsory education for all children irrespective of race, colour or creed.

What are your Demands ...

If you are a FARMER, what are your demands? _____

If you are a WORKER ON A FARM, what are your demands? _____

If you are a WORKER IN A FACTORY, what are your demands? _____

If you are a TEACHER what are your demands? _____

If you are a STUDENT, what are your demands? _____

If you are a PREACHER, what are your demands? _____

If you are a MOTHER, what are your demands? _____

If you are a BUS OWNER, what are your demands? _____

If you are a BUSINESSMAN, what are your demands? _____

QUESTION 6: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994**6.1 HOW DID THE RIGHT WING REACT TO THE WHITES ONLY REFERENDUM OF MARCH 1992?****SOURCE 6A**

This is a cartoon by DON, dated 8 October 1992, reflecting political realignment during the negotiation process. In this cartoon Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk are depicted as dancing a complicated tango, while the Afrikaner wing under Andries Treurnicht reached out to the homeland leaders such as Lucas Mangope (Bophuthatswana), Oupa Gqozo (Ciskei) and Mangosuthu Buthelezi (KwaZulu).



This is a type of dance that is referred to as the 'quick step'.

SOURCE 6B

This is an extract from an article by Ken Owen, in the *Sunday Times* of 8 March 1992, under the heading: *Face up to it: this will be the parting of the ways*. In this article Owen wants to convince the readers that negotiation will be the best for their future, therefore they must vote YES in the referendum.

The single question to be settled by the referendum is this: should we commit ourselves to creating a non-racial democracy by negotiation, or should we try to carve a white warrior-state from a hostile black continent, and defend it forever?

The choice is clear: either we expend our strength, and sacrifice sons and treasure, in one last, superhuman effort to tear ourselves out of the African embrace, or we settle down to negotiate and try to create a democracy, a land so free and secure that its diversity of peoples and cultures will be its glory, not its cross.

Either way, we face uncertainty. It takes no great imagination to perceive that democracy may well fail, ... it takes even less imagination to perceive that a 'white' mini-state could not stand for long against the whole world...

Unhappily, the campaign has not so far clarified the choice, nor even defined it. Instead of answering the questions of the voters, the politicians indulge in an orgy of doom saying, and they try to frighten people out of their wits.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, having refused to join CODESA, talks of negotiating with black people for a separate homeland for whites. He is talking expedient nonsense, and he knows it. From Verwoerd to Botha, Nationalist leaders have tried to engage blacks in such negotiations, and failed.

Neither police, nor army, nor passes, nor electric fences, nor fierce laws, nor brutality, nor murder in the police cells, nor nuclear technology, nor G-5's, nor SASOL, nor anything else has succeeded in keeping any corner of the land 'white'. As the latest census reminds us, the only way to escape the presence of black people is to emigrate...

We can negotiate now from strength; later we shall be weaker. The white population is dwindling, its schools running empty for lack of pupils, its policemen and soldiers stretched to patrol either the borders or the suburbs.

The old South Africa is dead. The white racial oligarchy is collapsing under the weight of its own follies, its corruption, its lies. The social problems which afflict us today – inflation, economic stagnation, squatting, crime, insecurity – are the results of so many years of wasting our strength and our wealth in the vain attempt to sustain an unsustainable 'way of life'.

Dr Treurnicht and his men deal with none of these questions. With the exception of the preposterous (unbelievable) Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who clings to the failed Verwoerdian formula, they will not even tell us where the new 'white' state will lie, nor how it will function, nor who will defend it. They are anti-intellectual, and they play on the ignorance of their followers who, they hope, are ready to be blindly led.

SOURCE 6C

This is an extract from a report by Charles Leonard of the *Sunday Times* under the heading: *Terror warning as masked Ystergarde come into the open* (2 February 1992). At this rally in Ventersdorp, Terre' Blanche was trying to, with a show of force, derail the CODESA talks and assure his followers that South Africa will stay in white hands.

The AWB staged a show of strength in Ventersdorp yesterday as a senior police source warned that a new wave of rightwing terror attacks was expected to precede the next round of CODESA (Conference for a Democratic South Africa).

In one of his most militant speeches to date, AWB leader Eugene Terre' Blanche claimed that the AWB could 'bring the country to a standstill'.

'We could tell shift bosses not to go underground and leave 300 blacks stranded there. We could also tell ESKOM controllers to switch off the lights to leave the night as dark as Africa,' he said.

Yesterday's parade was also the first public display of the AWB's armed wing, the Ystergarde, who marched through the town in black battledress and balaclavas.

Mr Terre' Blanche said: 'The Ystergarde is no circus. They are here to be used and the AWB will not be 'donnered' [pushed] around.'

Chief instructor Keith Conroy said the Ystergarde could be likened to Adolf Hitler's SS, and could be mobilised 'tomorrow' if necessary.

'Most of them have been trained in the SADF's (South African Defence Force) elite forces, but they are more committed to their cause – that of white self-determination – than any member of the defence force,' he said.

... Mr Terre' Blanche warned that the rightwing was uniting to destroy CODESA.

'We will form a joint offensive with the CP and the HNP to do so,' he told about

1 200 supporters.

The march through Ventersdorp was led by 36 members of the Ystergarde, followed by 400 Wenkommando members in khaki. Racial tension was high and AWB members in cars and bakkies chanted racist slogans and songs at black shoppers.

Earlier in the week an SAP officer investigating rightwing activity said the rightwing threat was being viewed 'in a serious light'.

'They tend to link their attacks to specific events, and CODESA 2 is likely to produce a new spate of bombings,' he said.

The officer said known rightwing cells were being closely monitored, and a breakthrough was expected soon in respect of two active terror cells – one in the Western Transvaal and the other in the Eastern Cape. ...

He said estimates placed between 9 000 and 10 000 members in the AWB's Wenkommando, with another 4 000 rightwingers in the Boerekommando.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, MK (ANC) could muster an estimated 7 000 trained soldiers, while the PAC's military wing, APLA, had far fewer members.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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