



education

Department:
Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION - 2006

HISTORY P1 : SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

STANDARD GRADE

FEBRUARY/MARCH 2006

503-2/1 E

Marks: 150

2½ Hours

This question paper consists of 7 pages and an ADDENDUM of 13 pages.

HISTORY SG: Paper 1
Question Paper & Addendum



503 2 1E

SG

X05



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 THREE (3) 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 TWO (2) 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

Describe the role played by General JBM Hertzog in promoting South Africa's sovereign independence in the period 1924 to 1934.

[50]

OR

QUESTION 1B

Discuss the formation of the United Party in 1934 and the reasons for the split in the party in 1939.

[50]

QUESTION 2: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976

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

QUESTION 2A

Describe the various forms of resistance that were undertaken by liberation movements in the fight against the apartheid government from 1948 to 1958.

[50]

OR

QUESTION 2B

Explain the internal and external struggle that was waged between 1960 (Sharpeville) and 1976 (Soweto) which contributed to the collapse of apartheid.

[50]

QUESTION 3: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994

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

QUESTION 3A

Explain how mounting forces both within and outside South Africa in the period 1983 to 1989 brought the tricameral parliament to its knees (collapsed).

[50]

OR

QUESTION 3B

Discuss the process of negotiations among various political organisations between 1990 and 1994, which led to the establishment of a democratic South Africa.

[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 AFRICANS, COLOUREDS AND INDIANS VIEW NON-RACIALISM IN THE 1940s?**

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

4.1.1 Refer to Source 4A.

a) What were Dan Tloome's observations on the ANC when he first joined the organisation? (4 x 1)

b) What was Dan Tloome's concept (idea / understanding) of *non-racialism*? (2 x 2)

4.1.2 Study Source 4B.

a) Why does Graham Morodi regard Africanism as being similar to apartheid? (2 x 2)

b) What was Morodi's understanding of *non-racialism*? (3 x 1)

c) Why did Morodi favour the idea of working with communists? (3 x 1)

4.1.3 Study Source 4C. Explain why Dr Goonam felt that it was necessary to rid the Natal Indian Congress of the old guard. (3 x 2)

4.1.4 Refer to Source 4D.

a) Why did the zip factory workers decide to go on strike? (2 x 1)

b) Describe your feelings about an African leading a Coloured Workers' union. (3 x 2)

c) Explain how the government's attempt to separate workers of different races failed. (3 x 2)

4.1.5 The Declaration of Human Rights guarantees the freedom of association. Using the evidence from all the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about 15 lines on how non-racialism was viewed (understood) by Africans, Coloureds and Indians.

(12)
[50]

QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976**5.1 WAS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC 'PARLIAMENT' OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA?**

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

5.1.1 Refer to Source 5A.

- a) What were the demands made by the delegates in this source? (4 x 1)
- b) How useful is this source in helping a historian to reconstruct the events at Kliptown? (2 x 2)
- c) What do you think was the mood (feeling) of the people at this Congress? (2 x 2)

5.1.2 Refer to Source 5B.

- a) What is the similarity between Source 5A and Source 5B? (1 x 2)
- b) How were Congress delegates entertained by the ANC 'guys' and members of the ANC's Women's League? (3 x 1)

5.1.3 Use Source 5C.

- a) Why was Gert Sibande forced to wear a disguise? (2 x 1)
- b) Why did Muller give the order to the security forces not to detain Sibande? (2 x 2)
- c) Explain why the drafting of the Freedom Charter was seen as a democratic process. (2 x 1)

5.1.4 Refer to Source 5D.

- a) Why did the ANC think that it was necessary to co-operate with other organisations? (2 x 2)
- b) What were the TWO methods that delegates used to evade the police while on their way to Kliptown? (2 x 1)
- c) What actions did the police take when delegates arrived at Kliptown? (3 x 1)
- d) Explain why the principle 'that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white' was not supported by the government of the day. (2 x 2)
- e) Identify the aims of the Freedom Charter that highlighted the basic needs of the people. (2 x 1)

- 5.1.5 South Africa is commemorating 50 years of the Freedom Charter. Using all the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about 12 lines on why the Congress of the People (Freedom Charter) can be regarded as the first 'democratic parliament' of South Africa.

(10)
[50]

QUESTION 6: THE PERIOD 1976 TO 1994

6.1 WHAT WERE THE INITIAL VIEWS OF POLITICAL LEADERS ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1990 AND 1992?

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

- 6.1.1 Study Source 6A, paragraphs 1 and 2. Why, according to the Pan Africanist Congress leadership (President Zeph Mothopeng and Benny Alexander), was the organisation against a negotiated settlement for South Africa? (4 x 1)
- 6.1.2 Use Source 6A and explain why you would agree with the statement of Benny Alexander 'We have never said we are against negotiations'. (3 x 2)
- 6.1.3 Refer to Source 6B.
- a) Explain the difference between a 'non-racial democracy' and 'a white warrior state from a hostile black continent'. (2 x 3)
- b) Use Source 6B and state why you could agree with Ken Owen's assumption that Dr Andries Treurnicht's negotiations were bound to fail. (3 x 2)
- c) Why was Ken Owen so certain that 'We (whites) can negotiate now from a position of strength'? (2 x 2)
- d) What were the differences between Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Treurnicht on the issue of negotiations? (4 x 2)
- 6.1.4 Use Source 6C
- a) Explain the cartoonist's depiction of the relationship between Andries Treurnicht, Oupa Gqozo, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope. (3 x 2)
- b) Explain the differences in the attitude towards negotiations as depicted by DON (cartoonist). (1 x 2)
- 6.1.5 Using the information from all the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about 10 lines on how you would convince political leaders who were against negotiations to join the process. (8)

[50]

TOTAL: 150

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ADDENDUM

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QUESTION 4: THE PERIOD 1924 TO 1948**4.1 HOW DID AFRICANS, COLOUREDS AND INDIANS VIEW NON-RACIALISM IN THE 1940s?****SOURCE 4A**

An extract from a statement (adapted) made by Dan Tloome, a Trade Unionist, an African National Congress and Communist Party of South Africa member. He speaks about the changing nature of the ANC and its position regarding non-racialism.

I found that at the time I first joined, the ANC was an organisation of teachers, intellectuals, clergymen - all the elite of African society. Young people were not very much interested in the ANC. They felt it was an organisation of elderly people. As a result, the ANC never became progressive until it was joined by younger people: the Tambo's, Mandela's and so on. Those were members of the Youth League of the ANC. It was when those young people came into the ANC that there was transformation in so far as the ideology was concerned, because in the past the elderly people believed in demonstrations, reconciliation with the powers that be and so on. They weren't very much interested in action against the government. Yet it seems that while you supported the Youth League's militancy, you were also critical of their definition of the enemy.

My concept of non-racialism is quite different from what many people think about it being an issue between white and black. My approach is that this whole thing means a question of profits. It is the economic motive of it which one should take into account. People talk about racism, but I'm not so much bothered about it - I'm bothered about the motive of it.

SOURCE 4B

This is an extract from a pamphlet showing Graham Morodi's reluctance to support the Africanists.

... Because I felt their [Africanists] line was wrong - it supports apartheid. It's not a matter of removing a white person and replacing him/her with a black. I thought a non-racial society, where everybody lives together and enjoys the wealth of the country, is better because it ends hatred among people.

The Africanists within the ANC were rejecting any non-African racial group to be associated with the ANC. They were very much anti-communist. I'm not a communist but I don't hate communists. I think that at present we are fighting the same enemy against racialism and fascism, and I think we can be allies with the communists because they are prepared to fight. The idea is to push the fascists out with all forces that are interested.

I worked with IB Marks, I worked with Moses Kotane, I've worked with many, many other communist leaders. But Kotane always said, when he addressed the ANC cadres, 'Those who think they are communist here in the ANC, they should not discuss their communist politics with the ANC - they must discuss ANC politics, or else they must get out from the ANC.'

SOURCE 4C

This extract is an interview with Dr Goonam, one of the young militants within the Natal Indian Congress, about her intention to rid the organisation of the 'old guard'.

Hitherto we had only a group of capitalists, mostly people who could afford, really, to follow the leaders of that particular group - men who talked to the government and compromised and got a few concessions at the mercy, really, of the Indian people's name, because they sold us every time they went to see [Prime Ministers] Smuts and Hertzog those days. It did not suit us at all because we followed their antics and their manoeuvring and we felt that something must be done. So we challenged the old guard.

Were you aware that Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo were involved in the same kind of exercise of deposing the old guard in the ANC Youth League?

They were eliminating the old ones there and we were eliminating the old ones here. It was quite a nerve-racking job because wherever you went they said, 'You will probably want us to join forces with all sorts of people' - meaning Africans. And we had to sit and talk to them, explain to them. It meant hours of explaining to very old people whose views cannot be changed overnight. Talking to them in their own language helped a lot. Quite a lot of Indians said, 'Now you want us to marry the Africans, isn't that what it is?' I said, 'No, I don't think they want to marry you. We are living in one country - is this your country? Do you want to live here?' And I said, 'How are you going to live? In a little pocket, or are you wanting to live nicely, in a friendly way with Africans?' Then they said, 'Yes, but how? Because they won't trust us.'

SOURCE 4D

This is an interview with Zola Zembe, a trade unionist, about his experiences in organising Coloured and African workers into a single trade union.

The story that sticks in my mind is when we organised about 200 Coloured women in a zip factory. At the time we had applied for conciliation board, so the union could be registered and they could apply for a bargaining position. We went to these Coloured women and said, 'Listen, now, it's more than a month the government has not answered your letter of applying for a conciliation board and therefore you've got the right to strike. That thing was different to me: there were Coloureds and I was the only African leading them. I was there at lunchtime and the plan was that even if the bell goes at two o'clock, we continue the meeting. And we continued our meeting as if nothing's happening. Of course, the police were called, and then of course they rush to me when they see an African, saying, 'You are arrested!'

They took me to Maitland Police Station, but after an hour I was rushed back to where I was because those Coloured women were there demanding me: 'If that person is not back, that's the end of it, you might as well close this factory.' So you see what I mean: if workers are organised effectively, colour just disappears completely. Here I'm an African -and not even an articulate African at that time -but I was a symbol of unity to them and so they said, 'That chap must come back here.' I was brought back to them and then they went back to the factory and we won our strike -an African leading Coloureds. You know, to me, it was a great thing indeed, because South Africa is organised in a segmented form and people find it difficult to follow people of other racial groups, but in the trade union movement these Coloured women were prepared to follow an African person.

The trade union helps a great deal with this. For instance, people have been arrested - you see amongst the arrested people are whites. You know, once you organise for the people you will be arrested, whether you're white, pink or green. You understand that, you see it doesn't need a book, it's clear as A, B, C: when people in South Africa go on strike, the first thing they get is the police -they bash you. The government, it's just an organisation created by those who have got money to protect themselves, and nothing else.

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QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976

5.1 WAS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC
'PARLIAMENT' OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA?

SOURCE 5A

This is a photograph showing delegates at the Congress of the People in Kliptown carrying posters with demands ranging from basic needs to human rights in 1955.



SOURCE 5B

This is an interview with a volunteer who attended the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955. He describes the events as they unfolded.

Chetty: The Natal Midlands delegation sat right at the front, near the podium. From where we sat you could overlook the whole place. A sea of heads. The singing was going on. Eating. Distribution of pamphlets. Reading. People talking. It was such a massive crowd.

Then just after two, I think, they started the session. They had a band from Johannesburg, ANC guys, they played with a guitar, and they started singing. Hey, I tell you the way they were singing the whole crowd started joining in.

Then the conference went on proper. While the procedure was going on they interspersed (mixed) with a little bit of singing. You know, Lilian Ngoyi and Winnie Mandela and Albertina [Sisulu], and they had somebody from Cape, a SACPO and a COD group rendering their items.

Every time a session of the Charter took place, then straight away silence and seriousness. Item-by-item the Charter was read. The National Consultative Committee had already prepared a draft. Then it was thrown open for discussion.

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ADDENDUM**SOURCE 5C**

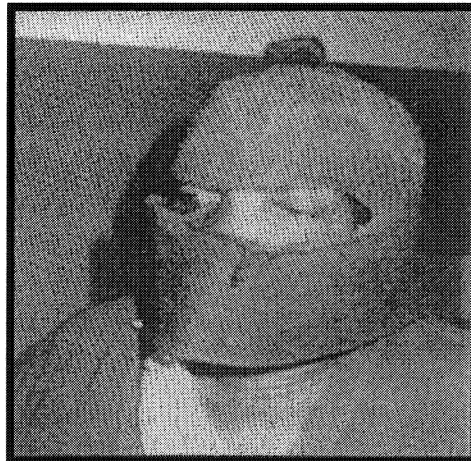
This is an interview with Gert Sibande about the proceedings of the Congress of the People. The legendary Sibande, who was banned, spoke at the Congress in 1955.

Gert Sibande: After I was banished to Evaton, I got a two-year banning order. It expired just before the Congress of the people. I knew that they would ban me again. But they couldn't find me. I was determined to go to Kliptown, because my name was down as a speaker.

I went to Kliptown wearing a disguise. I was wearing a balaclava and a jacket with the collar up around my neck. At Kliptown they were looking for me. I stood right next to Muller, head of the Special Branch. And then the chairman said: 'I now call the next speaker.' I walked up to the platform and a young man took off my disguise.

'It's Sibande, it's Sibande!' Muller shouted. The police rushed towards the platform and surrounded it. But Muller said to them: 'Go back to your cars.' He knew that I was powerful that time. If I would have said kill them (police), the people would have killed them. I took the platform for half an hour, spoke about politics. If there is something serious in my heart, I can take two to three hours before I am finished. I was very hard that day. I am very powerful when I address a meeting. I never used notes. I always spoke from the head.

This is a photograph of Gert Sibande, one of the speakers at the Congress of the People in 1955



SOURCE 5D

This is an extract about the 'challenges' faced by delegates on their way to Kliptown in 1955.

Leaders like the ANC's Albert Luthuli realised the need to rethink strategy and co-operate with other like-minded opponents of apartheid. The ANC linked itself with the new Congress of Democrats, Coloured Peoples' Organisation, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Indian Congress.

Meetings were held in various provinces and National Action Council was appointed. It called for a Congress of the People to be held in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, in June 1955.

Almost three thousand delegates of all races turned up on 25 and 26 June 1955 to consider a draft Freedom Charter. Those who attended faced many frustrations. The police stopped some who did not have 'transport permits'. Others had to pretend to be on their way to weddings. Some had to take devious routes to reach the meeting without being turned back. Armed police arrived at the scene. The chairman, Pieter Beylveld, was approached by the police commandant. He had to inform the crowd that the police would be coming among them to check passes and remove banners or posters. Notes were taken of the speeches and every white delegate was photographed.

The Freedom Charter was adopted. It began 'We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.

Its aims included: that the people should govern; all national groups should have equal rights; people should share the nation's wealth; the land should be shared among those who work it; all should be equal before the law; all should have Human Rights; there should be work and security; the doors of learning and culture should be opened; there should be houses, security and comfort; there should be peace and friendship.

QUESTION 6: SOUTH AFRICA 1976 TO 1994**6.1 WHAT WERE THE INITIAL VIEWS OF POLITICAL LEADERS ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1990 AND 1992?****SOURCE 6A**

The following are extracts from different articles on the initial view of the Pan Africanist Congress on negotiations.

[Zeph Mothopeng stated] 'Our liberation, the liberation of the African worker, cannot be negotiated, it will be attained. You cannot go to a negotiation table for your liberation. When you go to the negotiating table you must already have won your liberation.' (*Sowetan*, 20 November 1989).

'The PAC's abiding inability to understand real politics, as opposed to rhetorical politics, is clearly captured in this empty sloganeering. If you have already won liberation and smashed your opponent, why even bother to go to a negotiating table? Early in 1990, Benny Alexander, PAC secretary general, expressed the same rejectionist view of negotiations: There is no way negotiation can be regarded as a panacea (solution) for all our social malaise (needs). Therefore it is bound to fail.' (*Indicator SA*, vol. 7, no.3)

'Politics is the pursuit of the panacea; anything short of everything is a 'sell-out'. But, true to form, the PAC was all over the place. The very same Benny Alexander insisted, more or less at the same time, that: We have never said we are against negotiations. We have put our positions, but because it is assumed by the media that these are now easily agreeable by the government, the journalists therefore say we are against negotiations.' (*Work in Progress*, January, 1990)

'Realising that it might be side-lined, and under pressure from other African countries who still provided it some financial support the PAC convened a consultative conference in Harare in March 1990, and revised its line on negotiations. It moved towards a 'conditional acceptance' of negotiations. The PAC wrote a letter to the OAU, outlining its new position.' (see *Front File*, April 1990).

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.

The single question ... 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...

Dr Andries Treurnicht, having refused to join CODESA, talks of negotiating with black people for a separate homeland for whites. He is talking expedient (convenient) nonsense, and he knows it ...

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...

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 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 (Kwa-Zulu).



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

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ADDENDUM

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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- Beinart, W. 1994 *Twentieth Century South Africa* (Oxford: University Press)
- Berry, A. 1989 *Act by Act – 40 Years of Nationalist Rule in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Lowry)
- BOPG. 1953 *Agter Tralies en Doringdraad* (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia)
- Bottaro, J and P. Visser 1999 *In Search of History Grade 12* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press)
- Brickhill, J. 1991 *South Africa – The End of Apartheid?* (London: Aladdin)
- Callinicos, L. 1993 *A Place in the City – The Rand on the Eve of Apartheid*, (Cape Town: Ravan & Maskew Miller Longman)
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- New Nation Publication April 16 – April 22 1993
- Nuttal, T. et al *From Apartheid to Democracy* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter)
- O'Donoghue, C. June 16, 1976: The Day that Shaped a Nation (*Marie Claire*, June 1998)
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- Pike, H.R. 1985 *A History of Communism in South Africa* (Pretoria; Sigma)
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- Seleti, Y. (series ed.) *Looking into the Past Grade 12* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman)
- Suttner Raymond (n.d.) *The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties* (Paper delivered at the University of Cape Town)
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HISTORY P1 : SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

ADDENDUM

STANDARD GRADE

FEBRUARY/MARCH 2006

503-2/1 E

QUESTION 4: THE PERIOD 1924 TO 1948**4.1 HOW DID AFRICANS, COLOUREDS AND INDIANS VIEW NON-RACIALISM IN THE 1940s?****SOURCE 4A**

An extract from a statement (adapted) made by Dan Tloome, a Trade Unionist, an African National Congress and Communist Party of South Africa member. He speaks about the changing nature of the ANC and its position regarding non-racialism.

I found that at the time I first joined, the ANC was an organisation of teachers, intellectuals, clergymen - all the elite of African society. Young people were not very much interested in the ANC. They felt it was an organisation of elderly people. As a result, the ANC never became progressive until it was joined by younger people: the Tambo's, Mandela's and so on. Those were members of the Youth League of the ANC. It was when those young people came into the ANC that there was transformation in so far as the ideology was concerned, because in the past the elderly people believed in demonstrations, reconciliation with the powers that be and so on. They weren't very much interested in action against the government. Yet it seems that while you supported the Youth League's militancy, you were also critical of their definition of the enemy.

My concept of non-racialism is quite different from what many people think about it being an issue between white and black. My approach is that this whole thing means a question of profits. It is the economic motive of it which one should take into account. People talk about racism, but I'm not so much bothered about it - I'm bothered about the motive of it.

SOURCE 4B

This is an extract from a pamphlet showing Graham Morodi's reluctance to support the Africanists.

... Because I felt their [Africanists] line was wrong - it supports apartheid. It's not a matter of removing a white person and replacing him/her with a black. I thought a non-racial society, where everybody lives together and enjoys the wealth of the country, is better because it ends hatred among people.

The Africanists within the ANC were rejecting any non-African racial group to be associated with the ANC. They were very much anti-communist. I'm not a communist but I don't hate communists. I think that at present we are fighting the same enemy against racialism and fascism, and I think we can be allies with the communists because they are prepared to fight. The idea is to push the fascists out with all forces that are interested.

I worked with IB Marks, I worked with Moses Kotane, I've worked with many, many other communist leaders. But Kotane always said, when he addressed the ANC cadres, 'Those who think they are communist here in the ANC, they should not discuss their communist politics with the ANC - they must discuss ANC politics, or else they must get out from the ANC.'

SOURCE 4C

This extract is an interview with Dr Goonam, one of the young militants within the Natal Indian Congress, about her intention to rid the organisation of the 'old guard'.

Hitherto we had only a group of capitalists, mostly people who could afford, really, to follow the leaders of that particular group - men who talked to the government and compromised and got a few concessions at the mercy, really, of the Indian people's name, because they sold us every time they went to see [Prime Ministers] Smuts and Hertzog those days. It did not suit us at all because we followed their antics and their manoeuvring and we felt that something must be done. So we challenged the old guard.

Were you aware that Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo were involved in the same kind of exercise of deposing the old guard in the ANC Youth League?

They were eliminating the old ones there and we were eliminating the old ones here. It was quite a nerve-racking job because wherever you went they said, 'You will probably want us to join forces with all sorts of people' - meaning Africans. And we had to sit and talk to them, explain to them. It meant hours of explaining to very old people whose views cannot be changed overnight. Talking to them in their own language helped a lot. Quite a lot of Indians said, 'Now you want us to marry the Africans, isn't that what it is?' I said, 'No, I don't think they want to marry you. We are living in one country - is this your country? Do you want to live here?' And I said, 'How are you going to live? In a little pocket, or are you wanting to live nicely, in a friendly way with Africans?' Then they said, 'Yes, but how? Because they won't trust us.'

SOURCE 4D

This is an interview with Zola Zembe, a trade unionist, about his experiences in organising Coloured and African workers into a single trade union.

The story that sticks in my mind is when we organised about 200 Coloured women in a zip factory. At the time we had applied for conciliation board, so the union could be registered and they could apply for a bargaining position. We went to these Coloured women and said, 'Listen, now, it's more than a month the government has not answered your letter of applying for a conciliation board and therefore you've got the right to strike. That thing was different to me: there were Coloureds and I was the only African leading them. I was there at lunchtime and the plan was that even if the bell goes at two o'clock, we continue the meeting. And we continued our meeting as if nothing's happening. Of course, the police were called, and then of course they rush to me when they see an African, saying, 'You are arrested!'

They took me to Maitland Police Station, but after an hour I was rushed back to where I was because those Coloured women were there demanding me: 'If that person is not back, that's the end of it, you might as well close this factory.' So you see what I mean: if workers are organised effectively, colour just disappears completely. Here I'm an African -and not even an articulate African at that time -but I was a symbol of unity to them and so they said, 'That chap must come back here.' I was brought back to them and then they went back to the factory and we won our strike -an African leading Coloureds. You know, to me, it was a great thing indeed, because South Africa is organised in a segmented form and people find it difficult to follow people of other racial groups, but in the trade union movement these Coloured women were prepared to follow an African person.

The trade union helps a great deal with this. For instance, people have been arrested - you see amongst the arrested people are whites. You know, once you organise for the people you will be arrested, whether you're white, pink or green. You understand that, you see it doesn't need a book, it's clear as A, B, C: when people in South Africa go on strike, the first thing they get is the police -they bash you. The government, it's just an organisation created by those who have got money to protect themselves, and nothing else.

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QUESTION 5: THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1976

5.1 WAS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC
'PARLIAMENT' OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA?

SOURCE 5A

This is a photograph showing delegates at the Congress of the People in Kliptown carrying posters with demands ranging from basic needs to human rights in 1955.



SOURCE 5B

This is an interview with a volunteer who attended the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955. He describes the events as they unfolded.

Chetty: The Natal Midlands delegation sat right at the front, near the podium. From where we sat you could overlook the whole place. A sea of heads. The singing was going on. Eating. Distribution of pamphlets. Reading. People talking. It was such a massive crowd.

Then just after two, I think, they started the session. They had a band from Johannesburg, ANC guys, they played with a guitar, and they started singing. Hey, I tell you the way they were singing the whole crowd started joining in.

Then the conference went on proper. While the procedure was going on they interspersed (mixed) with a little bit of singing. You know, Lilian Ngoyi and Winnie Mandela and Albertina [Sisulu], and they had somebody from Cape, a SACPO and a COD group rendering their items.

Every time a session of the Charter took place, then straight away silence and seriousness. Item-by-item the Charter was read. The National Consultative Committee had already prepared a draft. Then it was thrown open for discussion.

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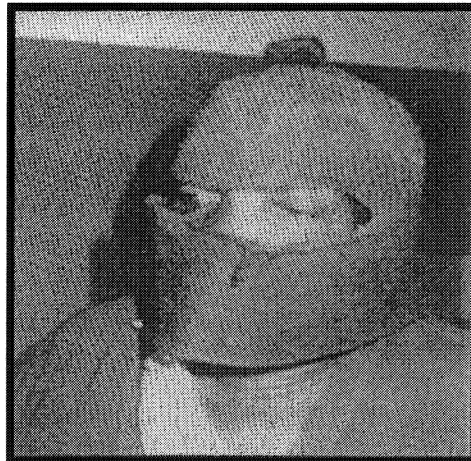
This is an interview with Gert Sibande about the proceedings of the Congress of the People. The legendary Sibande, who was banned, spoke at the Congress in 1955.

Gert Sibande: After I was banished to Evaton, I got a two-year banning order. It expired just before the Congress of the people. I knew that they would ban me again. But they couldn't find me. I was determined to go to Kliptown, because my name was down as a speaker.

I went to Kliptown wearing a disguise. I was wearing a balaclava and a jacket with the collar up around my neck. At Kliptown they were looking for me. I stood right next to Muller, head of the Special Branch. And then the chairman said: 'I now call the next speaker.' I walked up to the platform and a young man took off my disguise.

'It's Sibande, it's Sibande!' Muller shouted. The police rushed towards the platform and surrounded it. But Muller said to them: 'Go back to your cars.' He knew that I was powerful that time. If I would have said kill them (police), the people would have killed them. I took the platform for half an hour, spoke about politics. If there is something serious in my heart, I can take two to three hours before I am finished. I was very hard that day. I am very powerful when I address a meeting. I never used notes. I always spoke from the head.

This is a photograph of Gert Sibande, one of the speakers at the Congress of the People in 1955



SOURCE 5D

This is an extract about the 'challenges' faced by delegates on their way to Kliptown in 1955.

Leaders like the ANC's Albert Luthuli realised the need to rethink strategy and co-operate with other like-minded opponents of apartheid. The ANC linked itself with the new Congress of Democrats, Coloured Peoples' Organisation, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Indian Congress.

Meetings were held in various provinces and National Action Council was appointed. It called for a Congress of the People to be held in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, in June 1955.

Almost three thousand delegates of all races turned up on 25 and 26 June 1955 to consider a draft Freedom Charter. Those who attended faced many frustrations. The police stopped some who did not have 'transport permits'. Others had to pretend to be on their way to weddings. Some had to take devious routes to reach the meeting without being turned back. Armed police arrived at the scene. The chairman, Pieter Beylveld, was approached by the police commandant. He had to inform the crowd that the police would be coming among them to check passes and remove banners or posters. Notes were taken of the speeches and every white delegate was photographed.

The Freedom Charter was adopted. It began 'We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.'

Its aims included: that the people should govern; all national groups should have equal rights; people should share the nation's wealth; the land should be shared among those who work it; all should be equal before the law; all should have Human Rights; there should be work and security; the doors of learning and culture should be opened; there should be houses, security and comfort; there should be peace and friendship.

QUESTION 6: SOUTH AFRICA 1976 TO 1994**6.1 WHAT WERE THE INITIAL VIEWS OF POLITICAL LEADERS ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1990 AND 1992?****SOURCE 6A**

The following are extracts from different articles on the initial view of the Pan Africanist Congress on negotiations.

[Zeph Mothopeng stated] 'Our liberation, the liberation of the African worker, cannot be negotiated, it will be attained. You cannot go to a negotiation table for your liberation. When you go to the negotiating table you must already have won your liberation.' (*Sowetan*, 20 November 1989).

'The PAC's abiding inability to understand real politics, as opposed to rhetorical politics, is clearly captured in this empty sloganeering. If you have already won liberation and smashed your opponent, why even bother to go to a negotiating table? Early in 1990, Benny Alexander, PAC secretary general, expressed the same rejectionist view of negotiations: There is no way negotiation can be regarded as a panacea (solution) for all our social malaise (needs). Therefore it is bound to fail.' (*Indicator SA*, vol. 7, no.3)

'Politics is the pursuit of the panacea; anything short of everything is a 'sell-out'. But, true to form, the PAC was all over the place. The very same Benny Alexander insisted, more or less at the same time, that: We have never said we are against negotiations. We have put our positions, but because it is assumed by the media that these are now easily agreeable by the government, the journalists therefore say we are against negotiations.' (*Work in Progress*, January, 1990)

'Realising that it might be side-lined, and under pressure from other African countries who still provided it some financial support the PAC convened a consultative conference in Harare in March 1990, and revised its line on negotiations. It moved towards a 'conditional acceptance' of negotiations. The PAC wrote a letter to the OAU, outlining its new position.' (*see Front File*, April 1990).

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.

The single question ... 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...

Dr Andries Treurnicht, having refused to join CODESA, talks of negotiating with black people for a separate homeland for whites. He is talking expedient (convenient) nonsense, and he knows it ...

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...

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 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 (Kwa-Zulu).



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

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