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HISTORY P2

2023

ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (MDM) REACT TO PW BOTHA'S 'REFORMS' IN THE 1980s?**SOURCE 1A**

The source below was written by S Dubow, a historian. It explains conditions prevailing (taking place) in South Africa that led to the establishment of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in 1989.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) was a loose alliance of anti-apartheid groups that was formed in 1988 when the apartheid government placed restrictions on the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other activist organisations. The MDM, made up of UDF and African National Congress (ANC) supporters, then emerged as an even wider, more amorphous (unstructured) front to resist apartheid. It also had strong links with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The fact that the MDM had no permanent structure made it difficult for the government to place a ban on its activities.

In July 1989 COSATU took the lead and called for support from the MDM for a nationwide defiance campaign of protests against segregation in hospitals, beaches and public transport. The result was six weeks of defiant (disobedient) activity, with volunteers deliberately breaking offensive laws and filling prisons.

It was also decided to organise a massive worker stay-away to show contempt (dissatisfaction) for the tricameral elections due to take place on 6 September 1989; more than 3 million workers heeded (obeyed) the call. The campaign was halted in mid-September when the government, with De Klerk taking the lead, agreed to enter into a new era of constitutional negotiations with the ANC.

[From *Apartheid, 1948–1994* by S Dubow]

SOURCE 1B

The source below has been taken from a newspaper article titled 'South African Crackdown Defeating Apartheid Defiance Campaign' published in *The Washington Post* of 31 August 1989.

The nearly month-old campaign of civil disobedience and defiance of restrictions by South African blacks has lost some of its momentum in the face of an intensive nationwide police clampdown and a sharp increase in attacks on anti-apartheid activists by white vigilantes.

While leaders of the campaign vowed today to escalate their protests in the last week before next Wednesday's segregated elections for Parliament, police stepped up bannings of protest meetings and arrests of black nationalists and their liberal white supporters in what they said was an effort to prevent disruption of balloting.

Also arrested were Mary Burton, the white president of the Black Sash women's anti-apartheid group, and Dorothy Boesak, wife of the Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. The women had attempted to march to the British Embassy, which is situated on the grounds of South Africa's Parliament, to present an appeal to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to intercede (mediate) on behalf of black children detained for alleged security offenses.

An attempt by blacks to defy bus segregation laws in Pretoria has been mostly frustrated by the arrest of about a dozen protesters before they could board whites-only buses, and plans to launch an 'all schools for all people' campaign at which black parents were to have tried to enrol their children in whites-only schools have not materialised.

[From *The Washington Post*, 31 August 1989]

SOURCE 1C

The source below has been taken from a newspaper article published in *The Washington Post* on 14 September 1989. It outlines the events that unfolded during the peace march organised by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in Cape Town on 13 September 1989.

More than 20 000 anti-government protesters of all races filled Cape Town's main thoroughfare today in a 'march for peace' that civil rights leaders said demonstrated the needlessness (uselessness) of emergency decrees (laws) normally prohibiting such expressions of political dissent (conflict). The demonstration, which took place without incident, was one of the largest ever held in South Africa and the only one in recent years to receive an official government waiver (surrender) of more than a dozen emergency regulations under which it could have been banned in advance or forcibly broken up. The Rev. Allan Boesak, who with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu led the mile-long procession, vowed to cheering supporters at the City Hall to continue the anti-apartheid movement's six-week campaign of defiance 'as long as our people are not allowed to vote in a government of our choice'.

Today, a human tide of black, white and 'Colored', or mixed-race, protesters moved down the city's broad Adderley Street, singing 'We Shall Overcome' and other freedom songs in an outpouring (burst) reminiscent (famous) of the US Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Marchers carried the banner of the outlawed African National Congress and other emblems of revolution and openly called for the overthrow of the government and scoffed (mocked) at the myriad (many) laws against political dissent (disagreement) that, at any other time in the past three years, would almost certainly have invited harsh intervention by the police.

... Tutu, wearing lavender (purple) robes and beaming at the crowd, said, 'Today is a day on which we, the people, have scored a great victory for justice and peace.'

[From *The Washington Post*, 14 September 1989]

SOURCE 1D

The photograph below (photographer unknown) was taken on 13 September 1989. It depicts part of the crowd which attended the peace march that was organised by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), with Allan Boesak, one of its leaders visible.



[From *Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s*]

Allan Boesak

Peace in our city
Stop the killings

UDF

QUESTION 2: WAS THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCESSFUL IN ATTAINING ITS AIMS WITH ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU AS ITS CHAIRPERSON?**SOURCE 2A**

The source below has been taken from an online newspaper article titled 'World Leaders Mourn Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Acknowledgement of Services Rendered to Imperialism: Sanitising the Crimes of Apartheid', by Professor Jean Shaoul on 5 January 2022. It explains Tutu's contribution as chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

Nelson Mandela, the first democratic South African president, chose Archbishop Tutu to chair the commission. Set up in 1996, its purpose was to head off (prevent) popular demands for the trials of those responsible for the deaths and torture of tens of thousands of black workers and youth under apartheid.

Tutu called for reconciliation with the perpetrators of truly horrendous (horrific) crimes, with victims and perpetrators describing the cold-blooded details of torture and assassination (political murders). The Commission catalogued (recorded) atrocities (political killings) including the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, the killings in Soweto in 1976 and in Langa in 1985, and the death squads in the notorious (well-known) Vlakplaas camp. It concluded that the ruling National Party government and its security forces were responsible for the majority of human rights abuses, backed by big business and supported by the judiciary (judges), the media and the church.

The introduction to the TRC's five-volume report, published in 1998, confirmed that the increasingly brutal imposition (forcing) of apartheid was motivated primarily by fear of social revolution, dressed up as the 'communist threat' in Africa; that the decision to end apartheid and bring the ANC to power was aimed at staving (preventing) off mass revolution by South Africa's workers and youth; and that the path taken by the ANC was designed to prevent such a revolution. Tutu said, 'Had the miracle of the negotiated settlement not occurred, we would have been overwhelmed by the bloodbath that virtually everyone predicted as the inevitable ending for South Africa.'

[From 'World Leaders Mourn Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Acknowledgement of Services Rendered to Imperialism: Sanitising the Crimes of Apartheid' by J Shaoul]

SOURCE 2B

The cartoon below drawn by J Shapiro, 'Zapiro', depicts the handover of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission final report by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to Thabo Mbeki in Cape Town in 1998.



[From *Truths Drawn In Jest: Commentary on the TRC through Cartoons*, edited by Verwoerd and Mahlubi 'Chief' Mabizela]

SHREDDER – Machine that destroys incriminating documents with sensitive evidence

SHREDDER

SOURCE 2C

The extract below has been taken from a briefing paper titled, 'Truth and Justice: Unfinished Business in South Africa', by Amnesty International/Human Rights Watch. It highlighted how the recommendations of the TRC report were to be taken further by the judiciary (judges) and the post-1994 government.

Even before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) chairperson delivered its 1998 final report, there were a number of prosecutions of perpetrators responsible for human rights abuses in the pre-May 1994 period. These trial proceedings constituted a critical part of the context in which the TRC was working, and continue to have important consequences today. In particular, the failure of several trials has meant that some sectors of the former security forces have virtually escaped accountability for serious human rights abuses.

The TRC in its 1998 report made recommendations that information it collected in the course of its investigations should be used as the basis for the further investigation and prosecution of individuals responsible for gross human rights violations that had not been granted amnesty. In particular, the TRC urged the justice system to 'pay rigorous attention to the prosecution of members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) who are found to have assaulted, tortured and/or killed persons in their care'. The persistence of incidents of torture, assault with intent to inflict grievous (serious) bodily harm and execution-style killings of arrested suspects in police investigations highlight the urgency (speed) of this recommendation by the TRC.

Since 1998 progress in acting on this recommendation has been slow, although the government has established a unit in the office of the National Director for Public Prosecutions (NDPP) to pursue these cases. This 'special national projects' unit also deals with organised crime cases. Its small staff, under an experienced advocate and prosecutor, is still involved in identifying and preparing cases for possible prosecution. Limited resources and obstacles to recovering evidence will restrict its ability to prosecute many cases.

[From 'Truth and Justice: Unfinished Business in South Africa', 2003,
by Amnesty International/Human Rights Watch]

SOURCE 2D

The source below is based on a public debate on the legacy of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It was held in Cape Town and hosted by *Newzroom Afrika*, a South African television news channel. Anita Dywaba, a junior multimedia journalist, reviewed the debate on *Independent Online (IOL) News* on 27 December 2021.

Since the announcement of Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu's passing, social media has been abuzz (busy) with many praising the fallen hero for his activism work against the engineers of the apartheid regime, the National Party. As most of the world reminisce (recall) their personal encounters with the late Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, some have expressed despondency (hopelessness) with the news of his passing. The sadness seemingly stems from the perceived failure of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that Tutu chaired.

In response to this criticism, former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, said that the Archbishop should not bear the responsibility of the shortcomings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. 'No, the Archbishop cannot be blamed for whatever the shortcomings were. There might have been shortcomings in the design of the process, in which case we who designed it would then have to take responsibility for whatever blame,' said Mbeki.

Mbeki said the Archbishop and others who were part of the TRC did the best they could in the circumstances to help build the new South Africa. 'I do not think that the TRC fell short of what it was designed to achieve; there might have been wrong expectations out of it. The process of reconciliation is a remaining challenge for us, but that process of reconciliation could not be achieved merely through the TRC process,' Mbeki said. 'The eradication (ending) of the legacy of apartheid and colonialism was not the task of the TRC; that was the task of the government post-1994,' he said.

[From *Independent Online (IOL) News*, 27 December 2021]

QUESTION 3: WHAT CHALLENGES DID BRICS MEMBERS ENCOUNTER IN ADDRESSING PROBLEMS CREATED BY GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE 21st CENTURY?

SOURCE 3A

The source below has been taken from an article titled 'BRICS Countries Political and Legal Participation in the Global Climate Change Agenda' by E Gladun et al. and appeared in the *BRICS LAW JOURNAL* published in 2016. It suggests how problems created by climate change can be addressed.

One of the global objectives of sustainable development set forth by the international community is to improve the quality of life within the constraints (controls) of the natural environment. The primary way to achieve this is to mitigate (lessen) global climate change. The global problem of climate change is addressed in the plethora (surplus) of international documents which have formed the legal framework governing the activities of states to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, to create and implement the best technologies, and to cooperate in the area of protecting the ozone layer*.

By the mid-1980s, the accumulating observed evidence of actual ozone layer depletion (decline) was a key factor leading countries into the era of climate change. State, regional and multilateral efforts to address climate change differ in scope, focus and style. There is also great diversity (range) in the social and legal systems in the states that have undertaken to regulate (control) climate issues.

Some countries are more experienced in regulating efficiently matters related to the natural environment, while others have little experience in using regulatory (guiding) instruments in respect of this question. The problem of climate change, however, cannot be solved by the efforts of any one country acting alone. Successful climate change mitigation (reduction), firstly, will require global consensus (agreement) and efficient global environmental agreement on the appropriate response to climate change. The effectiveness of such an agreement depends on the participation of both developed and developing nations.

[From 'BRICS Countries Political and Legal Participation in the Global Climate Change Agenda' by E Gladun et al.]

***Ozone layer:** The part of the earth atmosphere that absorbs almost all of the sun's harmful ultraviolet light

SOURCE 3B

The source below has been extracted from an article titled 'The BRICS on Climate Change Global Governance'. It was published in the *Journal of Global Studies Meridiano 47* in 2016. It explains challenges BRICS countries have regarding responding to climate change.

Firstly, it is clear that there is no common position among them (BRICS members). Not only are the ambitions and proposal scopes different, but also the policies divert (draw away). For instance, while China and South Africa decided to define their goals acknowledging that there is going to be a peak (reach the top) in next decades, and then a very sharp decline from 2030 on, the Indians opted to reduce their greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions progressively (gradually). Brazil, in turn, chose to present an absolute contribution. Finally, the Russians opted for some kind of 'natural mechanism' to diminish (reduce) their emissions. That illustrates the difficulty to identify convergent (agreeable) measures over climate issues.

Although all of them recognise the necessity (need) and importance of acting on the same ground, in order to amplify (increase) the impacts of their actions, there is no synchronised (matched) behaviour. As the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi put it directly 'climate change is a concern which needs to be tackled in a framework of cooperation, rather than coercion (force)'. Secondly, the Russians present a jarring (uncomfortable) position among BRICS. In part, that is because they are ranked in Annexure I group*, so some commitments and obligations rest directly upon them in comparison with the others – which do not have any.

One of the greatest challenges is that there is an acknowledgment that, in the future, the costs to fight the effects of climate change will be higher if strict measures aren't taken now. Thus, the countries are presenting a short-medium view on foreign policy. Few of them (if any) are willing to sacrifice economic growth in the name of promoting 'global public good'. In the end, all want to 'free ride' and none wants to 'pay the check'.

[From *Journal of Global Studies Meridiano 47* by A L Rinaldi et al.]

***Annexure 1 group:** Classification according to the Kyoto Protocol of mostly developed countries that had legally binding targets on the reduction of their emissions

SOURCE 3C

This source is an extract from a speech by President HE Xi Jinping of China at the COP26 (the 26th session of the Conference of the Parties) summit held at Glasgow (Scotland) on 1 November 2021. It outlines measures that world leaders from developed and developing countries should take in order to address challenges posed by climate change.

Colleagues,

It gives me great pleasure to attend the World Leaders Summit and discuss ways to address the climate challenge. As we speak, the adverse impacts of climate change have become increasingly evident, presenting a growing urgency for global action. How to respond to climate change and revive the world economy are challenges of our times that we must meet.

First, we need to uphold multilateral (all party) consensus (compromise). When it comes to global challenges such as climate change, multilateralism is the right prescription. The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Paris Agreement provide the fundamental legal basis for international cooperation on climate. Parties need to build on existing consensus, increase mutual trust, step up cooperation and work together to deliver a successful COP26 in Glasgow.

Second, we need to focus on concrete actions. Visions will come true only when we act on them. Parties need to honour their commitments, set realistic targets and visions, and do their best according to national conditions to deliver their climate action measures. Developed countries should not only do more themselves, but should also provide support to help developing countries do better.

Third, we need to accelerate (fast track) the green transition. It is important to harness (encourage) innovations in science and technology to transform and upgrade our energy and resources sectors as well as the industrial structure and consumption pattern, promote a greener economy and society, and explore a new pathway forward that coordinates development with conservation.

Thank you.

[From *Chinadaily*, November 2021]

SOURCE 3D

The photograph below was taken in Glasgow, Scotland, on 13 November 2021 during the COP26 climate change conference. It shows climate change activists using posters/placards to voice their feelings regarding the effects of climate change in the world.



[From <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/cop26-climate-change-conference-leaders.html>.
Accessed on 24 July 2022.]

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Visual sources and other historical evidence were taken from the following:

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Chinadaily, November 2021

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The Washington Post, 14 September 1989