Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

Iphondo leMpuma Kapa: Isebe leMfundo
Provinsie van die Oos Kaap: Department van Onderwys
Porafensie Ya Kapa Botjahabela: Lefapha la Thuto

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

JUNE 2026

HISTORY P2 ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 10 pages.

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QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID REFORMS INTRODUCED BY PW BOTHA IN 1983?

SOURCE 1A

The source below is an extract written by A Sparks and MA Tutu that explains the reasons why PW Botha, President of the Republic of South Africa, introduced reforms in 1983.

… in early 1983, Botha attempted to ease the mounting pressures on the country by introducing some piecemeal (gradual) reforms to the apartheid policy without relinquishing (giving up) white minority control. He scrapped what he called 'outdated' and 'unnecessary' apartheid statutes (laws), such as the outlawing of mixed marriages and sex across colour line, to present a new image of reformism (change) to the world.

It almost succeeded. The Western powers, ever eager to read the South African situation optimistically (positively), were deceived for a time into believing that Botha was really dismantling apartheid. But, on a closer examination, when Botha unveiled constitutional changes he intended making, it became clear what he had in mind was not reform but rather a reformulation (restructuring) of apartheid. He set out his plan to establish a tricameral parliament in which the mixed-race 'Coloured' and Indian minorities would have separate chambers to legislate their 'own affairs', while the existing much larger, whites-only House of Assembly would deal with both 'whites issues' and the nation's 'general affairs'.

The huge black majority, meanwhile, would get nothing beyond the right to vote in their remote tribal Bantustans, and the municipal councils would run their separate black townships in so-called 'white' South Africa. But even these urban councils were not autonomous (free). The legislation enabled the white minister to remove members, appoint others, or dismiss the whole council and appoint a new one. It meant that the black councils had to implement government policy rather than be responsive to their electorates.

[From *Tutu – The Authorised Portrait* by A Sparks and MA Tutu]

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SOURCE 1B

The source below is part of a speech delivered by Rev. Frank Chikane at the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, Cape Town on 20 August 1983. It explains the importance of forming a united front against the 1983 apartheid reforms.

Comrades, friends, this day, today, is the culmination (conclusion) of seven months' work to see the launching of the United Democratic Front. We are sure going to go into the record of history as an important event, bolstering (strengthening) the tide (rush) of the struggle, picking up that day when the people shall say, we are free and justice is here, when the people shall live together as brothers and sisters without the exploitation and oppression of the other. However, although this is a unique (special) day, it falls within the spectrum (range) of the history of struggle in South Africa.

… The idea of a front is a new concept in the struggle of the people for about the last twenty years, and it was understood to be standing for unity-in-action accepting the fact that all the organisations coming together have got differences. There are also differences of class, differences of ideology, differences of intent, but all of them agree that they reject the reform proposals that are proposed by the Botha regime, and as a result they need a broad front to do this.

That necessitates, therefore, the formation of this group, not necessarily as a national political organisation, but as a united front for the sole purpose of opposing the Koornhof Bills* …

… And I want to call on you, all peace-loving people of South Africa, to put hands together, to walk side by side to fight against the implementation of these reform proposals so that we can then destroy the system, so that we can put up a government by the people where the people shall govern according to their will.

[From *A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983–1991* by J Seekings]

***Koornhof Bills:** Refers to a piece of legislation named after Piet Koornhof, the National Party Minister of Co-operation and Development in the early 1980s. It hoped to create black local government, tighten influx control and divide African people into rural and urban residents (also for control purposes).

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SOURCE 1C

The source below explains various forms of resistance initiated by the United Democratic Front (UDF) against apartheid reforms and the subsequent reaction by the state.

The UDF's opposition to apartheid manifested (showed) itself in a number of actions. Shortly after its formation, it launched a successful boycott action against the election of the (Coloured) House of Representatives and (Indian) House of Delegates. The UDF was involved in the organisation of a number of consumer boycotts and stayaways. In 1983 and 1984, it launched the 'one million signatures' campaigns, in which signatories were asked to voice their opposition to the so-called Koornhof legislation on black local government, as well as to the new constitution.

However, the UDF's greatest impact was at grassroots level where it created local structures that played a key role in the political education and mobilisation of the masses. At its second national congress, held in April 1985, it was decided to transform mass support into active participation, under the theme 'From Protest to Challenge: From Mobilisation to Organisation'. Four months later this theme was extended to include a new slogan, 'Forward to People's Power'. The UDF's strategy was to replace decision-making structures created by the government with a system of 'people's power'. It was equivalent to (the same as) the establishment of 'liberated areas' in South Africa.

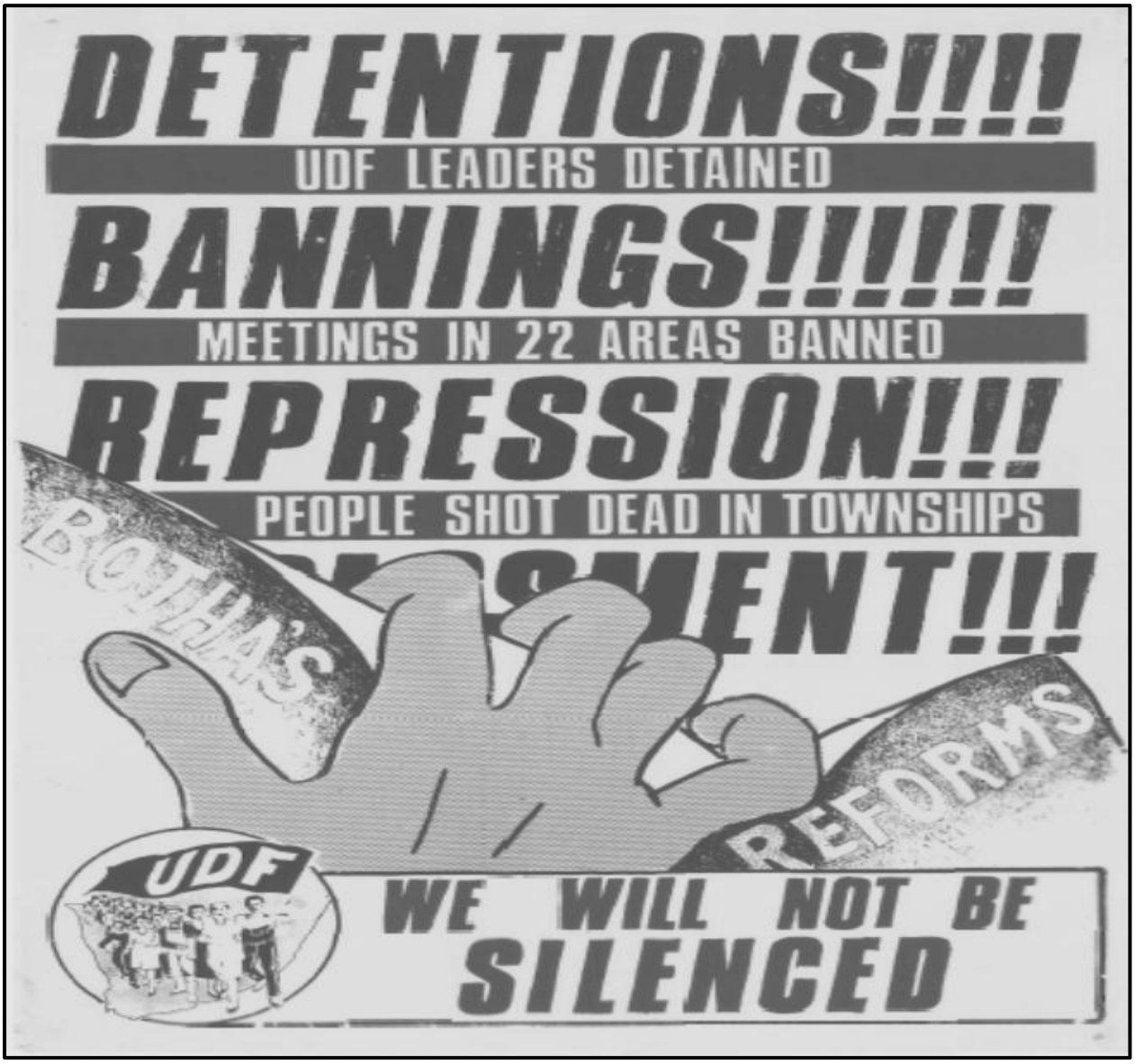
The state headed off this threat and suppressed the general unrest in the country, which reached a peak in 1985, by calling a series of states of emergency. A large number of people were arrested in terms of security legislation. The UDF, in particular, was badly affected. Several key members of the organisation were murdered, including Matthew Goniwe (UDF organiser in the Eastern Cape) and Victoria Mxenge (UDF treasurer in Natal). Almost the entire leadership corps (group) of the UDF was restricted in the period 1985 to 1987.

[From https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/ 05lv03188/06lv03222.htm Accessed on 2 January 2026.]

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SOURCE 1D

The poster below was published by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s. It depicts its commitment to resisting oppressive measures of the state.



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

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QUESTION 2: WHY DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) GRANT EUGENE DE KOCK AMNESTY?

SOURCE 2A

The extract below, from SAHO (South African History Online), examines the formation and functions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was a court-like body assembled in South Africa after the end of Apartheid. Anybody who felt they had been a victim of violence could come forward and be heard at the TRC. Perpetrators of violence could also give testimony and request amnesty from prosecution. The hearings made international news and many sessions were broadcast on national television. The TRC was a crucial component of the transition to full and free democracy in South Africa and, despite some flaws, is generally regarded as very successful.

The mandate of the commission was to bear witness to testimonies, record and in some cases grant amnesty to the perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violations, reparation and rehabilitation.

The work of the TRC was accomplished through three committees: Human Rights Violations (HRV) Committee investigated human rights abuses that took place between 1960 and 1994. The Reparation and Rehabilitation (R&R) Committee was charged with restoring victims' dignity and formulating proposals to assist with rehabilitation. The Amnesty Committee (AC) considered applications for amnesty that were requested in accordance with the provisions of the Act. In theory, the commission was empowered to grant amnesty to those charged with atrocities during Apartheid as long as two conditions were met: The crimes were politically motivated and the entire and whole truth was told by the person seeking amnesty. The commission brought forth many witnesses giving testimony about the secret and immoral acts committed by the apartheid government, the liberation forces including the ANC, and other forces for violence that many say would not have come out into the open otherwise. On 28 October 1998, the Commission presented its report which condemned both sides for committing atrocities.

[From www.sahistory.org.za /article/reconciliation-commission. Accessed on 26 December 2025.]

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SOURCE 2B

The source below is an article by the British Broadcasting Corporation. It focuses on the professional career of Eugene de Kock.

Like many young Afrikaner males, Eugene de Kock first tried the army but he was disqualified because of a stutter (speech defect). He became a policeman although his attempt to join the elite Special Task Force unit was turned down because of poor eyesight.

In 1983, the South African Police transferred de Kock to C10, a counter-insurgency unit based some 10 km (six miles) from the capital, Pretoria, on a remote farm known as Vlakplaas. De Kock rose through the ranks and became the commander of Vlakplaas under a new code name of C1. This unit became the number one death squad for killing largely black anti-apartheid activists. He was arrested after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 when Nelson Mandela became president.

He appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was set up by the democratic government and chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. At the TRC, de Kock confessed to crimes against humanity.

His revelations shocked South Africans and revealed the length and brutal techniques the apartheid regime was prepared to take to stay in power. He was granted amnesty for many of the crimes committed in defense of a racial segregation system. But he was sentenced to 212 years plus two life terms for the murders and crimes he committed which the commission felt went beyond the call of duty. While serving time in Pretoria's C-Max prison, De Kock conducted a radio interview in which he described the last apartheid leader FW de Klerk as man whose hands were 'soaked in blood'. Mr De Klerk, who shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Mr Mandela for ending apartheid, denied the allegations.

[From https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31056914. Accessed on 26 December 2025.]

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SOURCE 2C

The cartoon was taken from the *South African History Archive* and depicts Eugene de Kock revealing the truth about atrocities committed at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to confess his crimes and apply for amnesty.



[From www.Zapiro.com Accessed on 26 December 2025]

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SOURCE 2D

The source below is an extract from an article written by Antjie Krog published on 13 March 2015 in *The New York* Times, titled 'Can an evil man change?' It outlines how Eugene de Kock co-operated with the TRC regarding the atrocities committed by the apartheid apparatus.

After South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, Mr de Kock disclosed the full scope of his crimes as part of his testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as both an amnesty applicant and an expert witness. This commission was set up as an example of restorative justice — granting amnesty to perpetrators of violence after they confessed in public.

As a reporter covering the often heart-rending hearings in the 1990s, I watched Mr de Kock calmly correct facts, expose lies and name superiors who then quickly had to apply for amnesty themselves. He became the polygraph (lie detector) machine of the commission. Without him the "truth" part of the T.R.C. would have been sorely lacking.

With his intimate knowledge of apartheid-era security agencies, he began to assist victims in finding the remains of loved ones. He provided answers and pointed to places where bodies could be found. Mr de Kock openly confessed his regret directly to the victims and admitted that nothing could redeem him. This contrasted (differed) sharply with many of his commanders, who openly refused to apply for amnesty, or the politicians who denied that he had carried out their orders.

To show regret was not a requirement for amnesty, so most perpetrators simply gave their testimony and disappeared scot-free into anonymous lives. During the time of the T.R.C., an army general and 19 members of the top military brass appeared in court on charges of murder and creating hit squads to destabilize the country, but after a seven-month trial, all 20 were cleared, so Mr de Kock, as "Prime Evil," became one of only three white men after 1994 to be jailed for atrocities committed during apartheid.

[From https://khulumani.net. reconciliation/new-york-times. Accessed on 26 December 2025.]

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

https:// khulumani.net. reconciliation/new-york-times

https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/05lv 03188/06lv03222.htm

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31056914

Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s

Parks, A and Tutu, MA. 2011. *Tutu – The Authorised Portrait* (Macmillan, Johannesburg)

Seekings, J. 2000. *A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983□1991* (David Phillip Publishers, Cape Town)

www.zapiro.com

www.sahistory.org.za /article/reconciliation-commission

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