

TOPIC 5



THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

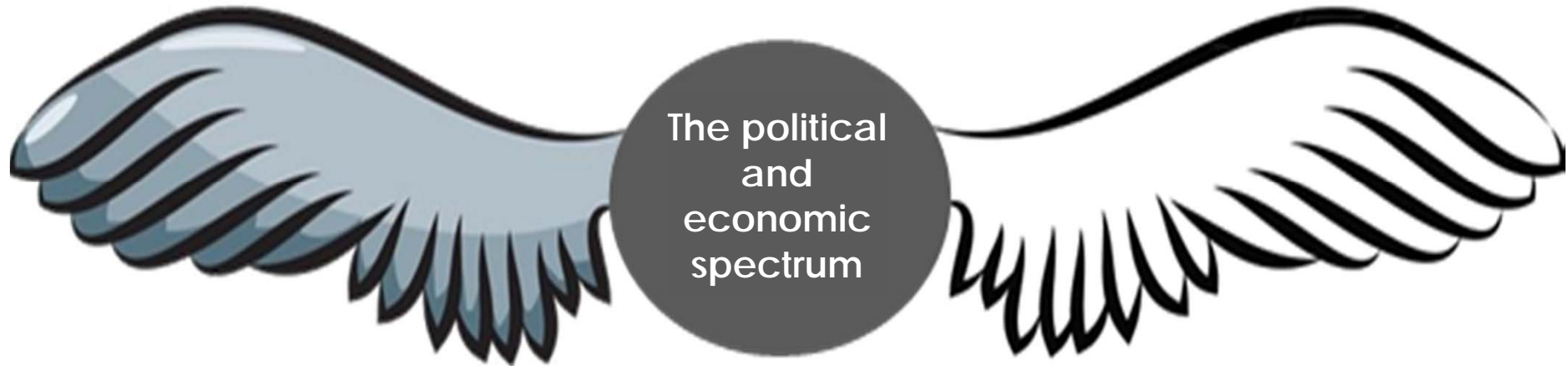
How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s, and how did South Africans come to terms with the apartheid past?

These slides give all the illustrations from Topic 5 of the Gr 12 History book, and they give them in colour whenever possible. However, the illustrations here are not given in exactly the same order as the illustrations in the book. The illustrations in the slides are ordered so that a teacher can follow a logical lecture format. The illustrations in the book are ordered to make an effective page layout, and often also so that the portraits accompany the first mention of a particular person.



LEFT-WING

RIGHT-WING



Left-wing ideologies emphasise the importance of sharing in an economy, while right-wing ideologies emphasise the importance of private ownership in an economy.





far left

centre left

centre right

far right

Communism	Socialism	Social liberalism	Classic liberalism	Autocracy
Chairperson of the communist party	Prime minister / president (the leader of the majority party or only party)	Prime minister / president (the leader of the majority party or the elected leader)	Prime minister / president (the leader of the majority party or the elected leader)	Emperor / empress / king / queen / chief / dictator
Equality (including racial and gender equality)	The end of poverty	Individual rights	Personal responsibility	Duty to serve the leader
Equal standard of living	High minimum standard of living	Equal opportunity	Freedom of opportunity	Ability to accumulate privileges



Communism	Socialism	Social liberalism	Classic liberalism	Autocracy
100% state ownership of everything, so no tax is paid	State ownership of key industries, and a high tax rate, but where the rich pay a higher ratio of their income in tax	Moderate state ownership of key industries, and a low tax rate, but where the rich pay a higher ratio of their income in tax	Little state ownership of key industries (particularly not the banks), and a low flat tax rate	Very little state ownership, and tax breaks for useful industries and powerful people
Very high ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare	High ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare	Moderate ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare	Low ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare	Very low and/or inconsistent ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare
Unemployed people and workers	Workers and professionals	Professionals and business people	Business people and major landowners	Major landowners and the official military



far left

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far right

Communism	Socialism	Social liberalism	Classic liberalism	Autocracy
Loyalty to the state (in the name of the people) demanded at the expense of loyalty to oneself, one's family, friends, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang	State officials expected to put needs of the state and/or people before loyalties to themselves and their 'in-group' (family, friends, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang)	Loyalties to oneself, one's family, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang not allowed to influence people as they undertake state work for the benefit of the people	Taken for granted that one's primary loyalty is to oneself, one's family, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang, which can lead to a reduced sense of loyalty to the people/state	The leader encourages loyalty to him/herself, family, friends, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang at the expense of the people and the state



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Communism	Socialism	Social liberalism	Classic liberalism	Autocracy
Ethnic nationalism discouraged. Bonds with anti-capitalist forces encouraged	Ethnic nationalism discouraged. Non-ethnic national unity encouraged	Ethnic identities respected but ethnic nationalism discouraged	Ethnic nationalism encouraged	Ethnic nationalism strongly encouraged
Against religion and religious institutions	Wary of religious institutions	Accepts people's rights to religion	Respects the established religion	Works with the established religious institution(s)



far left

centre left

centre right

far right

Communism	Socialism	Social liberalism	Classic liberalism	Autocracy
Intends to expand communism globally	Likes to support foreign socialist movements	Concentrates on fulfilling responsibilities in own state	Desires to expand influence and sometimes also territory	Desires to expand territory, often colonisation
Power is highly centralised	Sometimes power is centralised	Not centralised, normally pro-federalism	Sometimes power is centralised, but not always	Power is highly centralised



far left		centre left		centre right		far right
Communism	Socialism	Social liberalism	Classic liberalism	Autocracy		
No (suspended until everyone supports communism)	In some cases (but there is a reluctance by the majority party to allow other political parties)	Yes (all adults can vote)	In theory (but in reality the franchise is often restricted or unfairly weighted)	No		
No (only to the communist party)	To an extent (but limited by limited transparency)	Yes (helped by a respect for transparency)	To an extent (but limited by limited transparency)	No (as there are no voters)		

	far left	centre left	centre right	far right	
	Communism	Socialism	Social liberalism	Classic liberalism	Autocracy
Leader	Chairperson of the communist party	Prime minister / president (the leader of the majority party or only party)	Prime minister / president (the leader of the majority party or the elected leader)	Prime minister / president (the leader of the majority party or the elected leader)	Emperor /empress / king / queen / chief / dictator
Core value	Equality (including racial and gender equality)	The end of poverty	Individual rights	Personal responsibility	Duty to serve the leader
Core focus	Equal standard of living	High minimum standard of living	Equal opportunity	Freedom of opportunity	Ability to accumulate privileges
Approach to state ownership of assets, and to tax	100% state ownership of everything, so no tax is paid	State ownership of key industries, and a high tax rate, but where the rich pay a higher ratio of their income in tax	Moderate state ownership of key industries, and a low tax rate, but where the rich pay a higher ratio of their income in tax	Little state ownership of key industries (particularly not the banks), and a low flat tax rate	Very little state ownership, and tax breaks for useful industries and powerful people
Government expenditure on welfare	Very high ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare	High ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare	Moderate ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare	Low ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare	Very low and/or inconsistent ratio of government expenditure spent on welfare
Common source of support	Unemployed people and workers	Workers and professionals	Professionals and business people	Business people and major landowners	Major landowners and the official military
Balance between loyalty to the state and loyalty to oneself and one's 'in-groups'	Loyalty to the state (in the name of the people) demanded at the expense of loyalty to oneself, one's family, friends, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang	State officials expected to put needs of the state and/or people before loyalties to themselves and their 'in-group' (family, friends, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang)	Loyalties to oneself, one's family, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang not allowed to influence people as they undertake state work for the benefit of the people	Taken for granted that one's primary loyalty is to oneself, one's family, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang, which can lead to a reduced sense of loyalty to the people/state	The leader encourages loyalty to him/herself, family, friends, ethnic group, military comrades, business connections and/or gang at the expense of the people and the state
Position on nationalism	Ethnic nationalism discouraged. Bonds with anti-capitalist forces encouraged	Ethnic nationalism discouraged. Non-ethnic national unity encouraged	Ethnic identities respected but ethnic nationalism discouraged	Ethnic nationalism encouraged	Ethnic nationalism strongly encouraged
Position on religion	Against religion and religious institutions	Wary of religious institutions	Accepts people's rights to religion	Respects the established religion	Works with the established religious institution(s)
Position on expansionism	Intends to expand communism globally	Likes to support foreign socialist movements	Concentrates on fulfilling responsibilities in own state	Desires to expand influence and sometimes also territory	Desires to expand territory, often through colonisation
Position on centralisation	Power is highly centralised	Sometimes power is centralised	Not centralised, normally pro-federalism	Sometimes power is centralised, but not always	Power is highly centralised
Are multi-party democratic elections held?	No (suspended until everyone supports communism)	In some cases (but there is a reluctance by the majority party to allow other political parties)	Yes (all adults can vote)	In theory (but in reality the franchise is often restricted or unfairly weighted)	No
Is the leader accountable to the voters?	No (only to the communist party)	To an extent (but limited by limited transparency)	Yes (helped by a respect for transparency)	To an extent (but limited by limited transparency)	No (as there are no voters)
	one-party state	democracy		rule by an elite	

THE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY



Source: www.nelsonmandela.org. Wikimedia Commons.

Joe Slovo,
MK's Chief of Staff
 (1961–1987),
Chairman of the SACP
 (1991–1995)
and ANC Minister
of Housing
 (1994–1995)



Source: R. D. Ward. Wikimedia Commons.

Joe Modise,
Commander in Chief of
MK
 (1965–1990),
Minister of Defence
 (1994–1999)



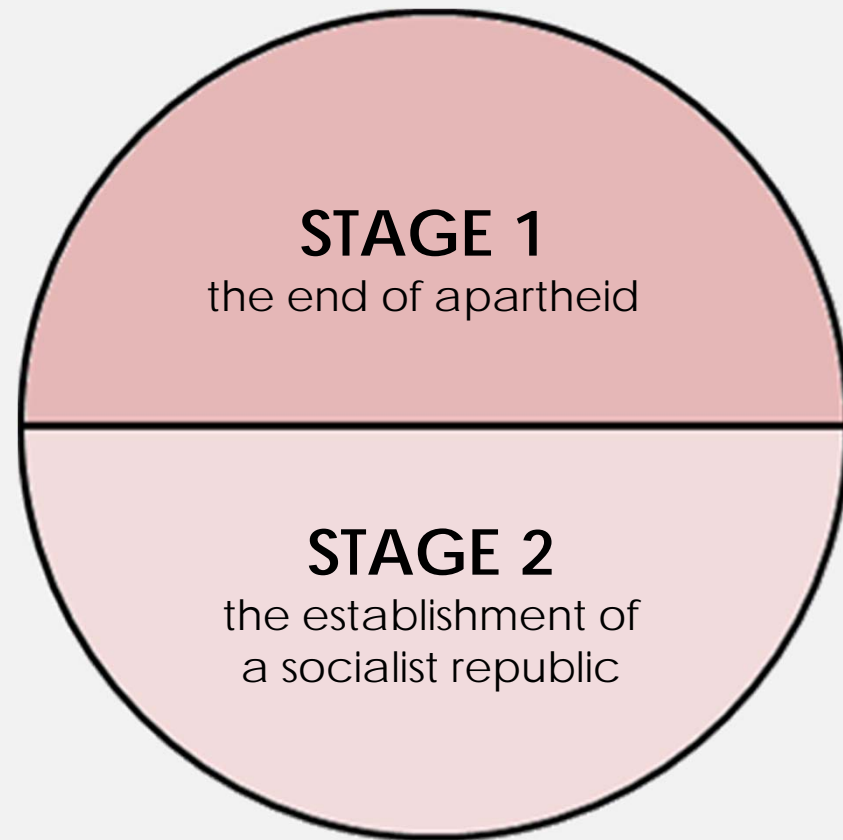
Source: Richter Frank-Jurgen. Wikimedia Commons.

Mac Maharaj,
member of the SACP
and MK,
a member of the ANC's
National Executive
Committee from 1985,
Minister of Transport
 (1994–1999),
non-executive director
of FirstRand Bank in the
early 2000s,
and spokesperson for
President Jacob Zuma
 (2011–2015)



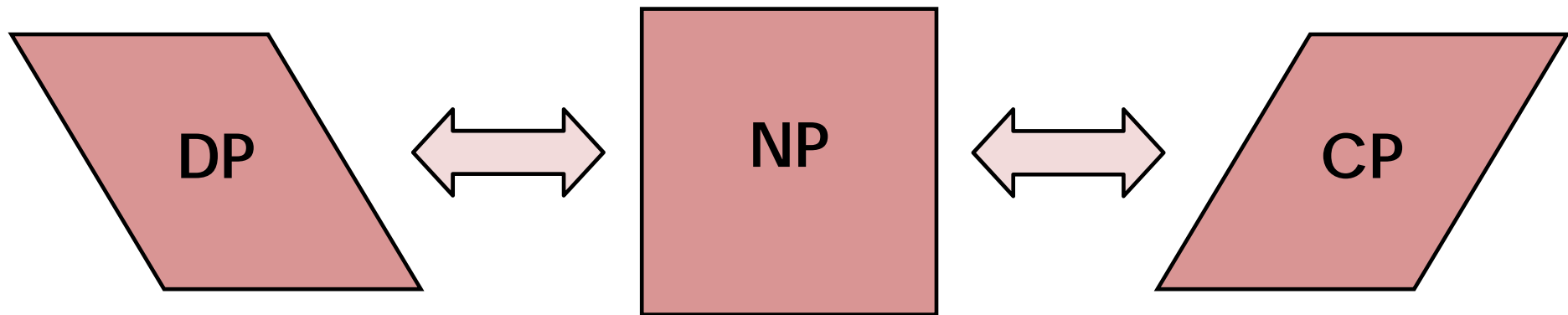
Source: <http://www.stellenbosch-writers.com/vanzyl/sl.html>

**Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of
the Progressive Federal Party
(1979–1986),
and co-founder of the
Institute for Democratic Alternative
for South Africa (IDASA)**

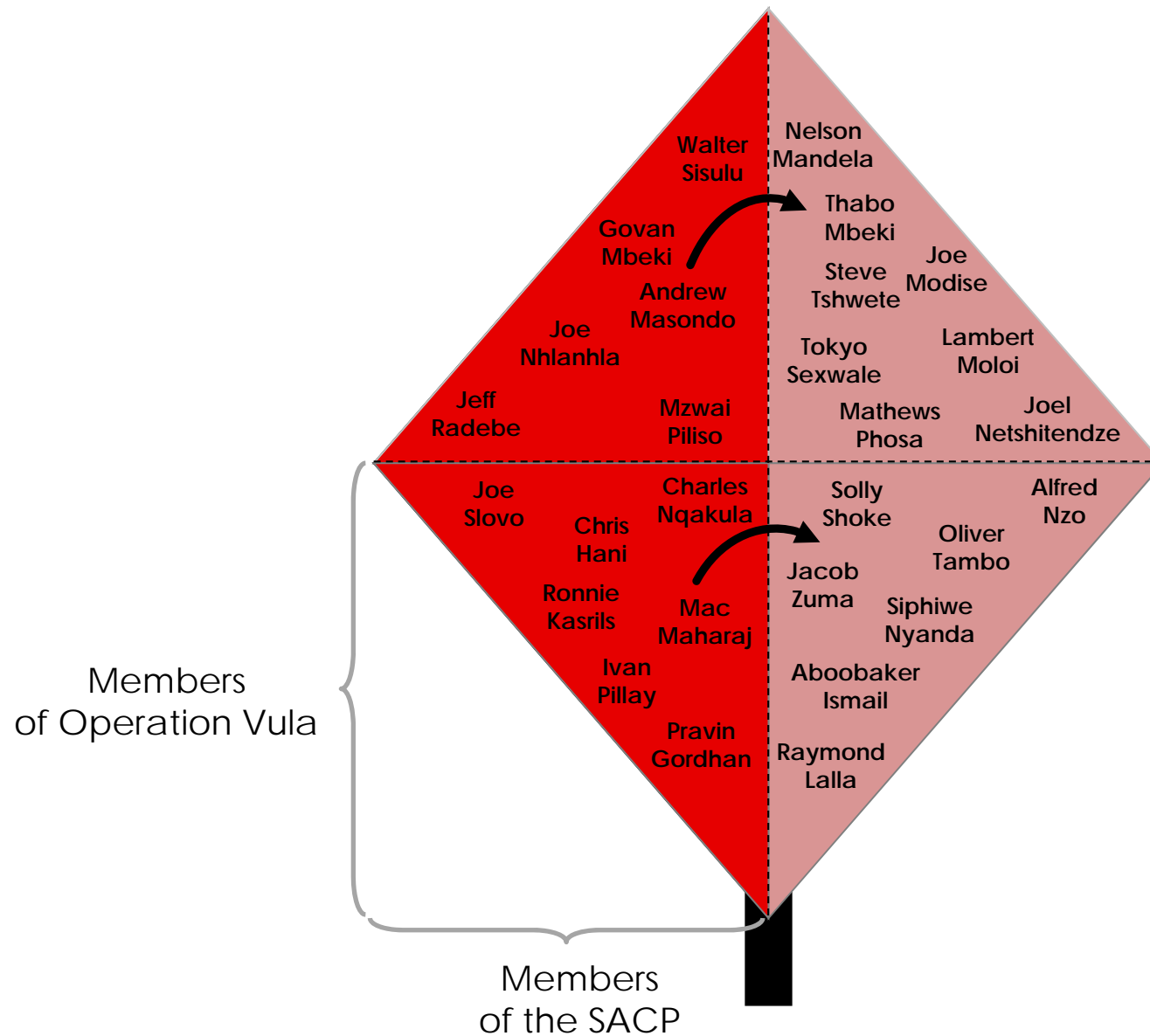


**Slovo's 1988 vision of a two-stage
national democratic revolution**

The three main parties in the White House of Assembly in 1985



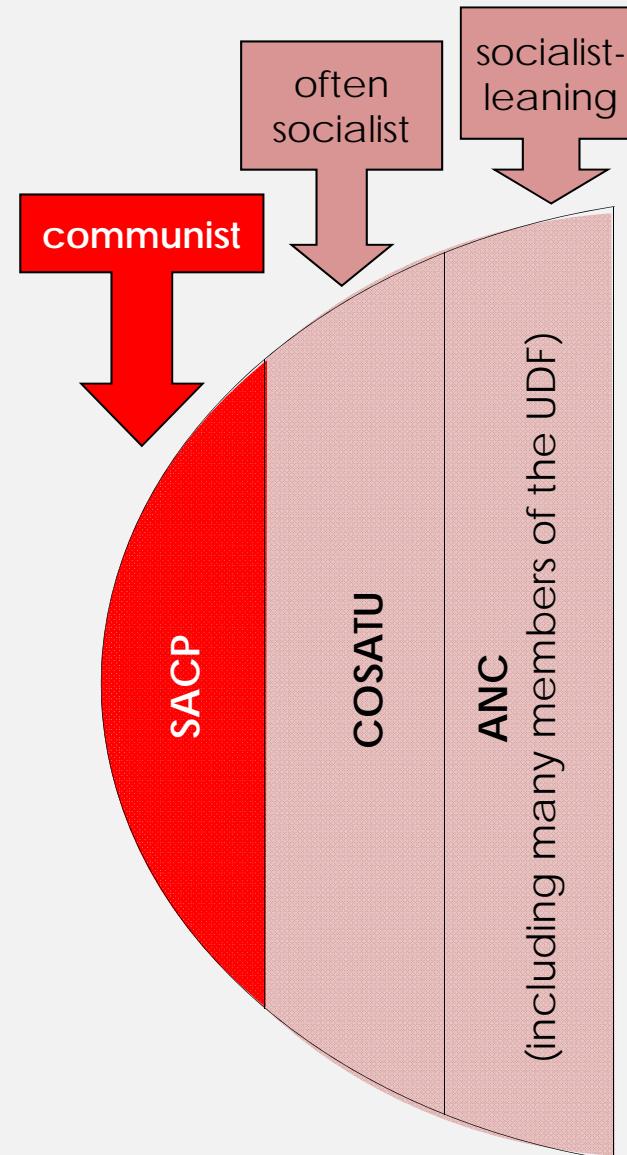
Key members of MK (and also the ANC) during 1990





Source: Richter Frank-Jurgen. Wikimedia Commons.

Pravin Gordhan,
an activist in the
Natal Indian Congress
and the SACP
(during the 1980s),
and the ANC's
Minister of Finance
(2009–2014, 2015–2017)



The Tripartite Alliance (1991 →)



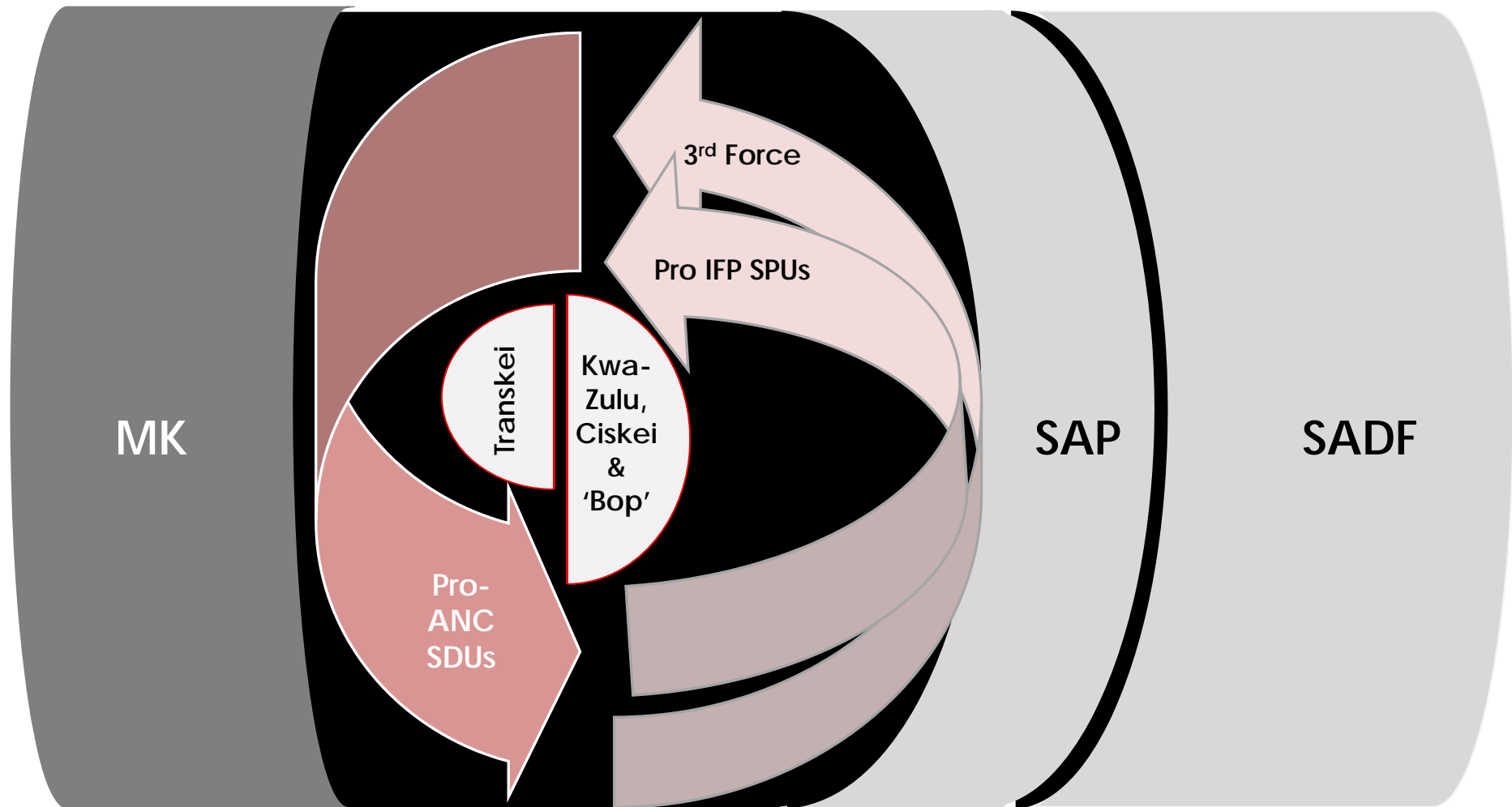
Source: Rob Bogaerts / Anefo. Wikimedia Commons.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
Chief of the Buthelezi tribe
 (1953→),
Chief Minister of KwaZulu
 (1970–1994),
the founder of the Inkatha National
Cultural Liberation Movement in 1975,
President of the IFP
 (1976→)
and South Africa's Minister
of Home Affairs
 (1994–2004)



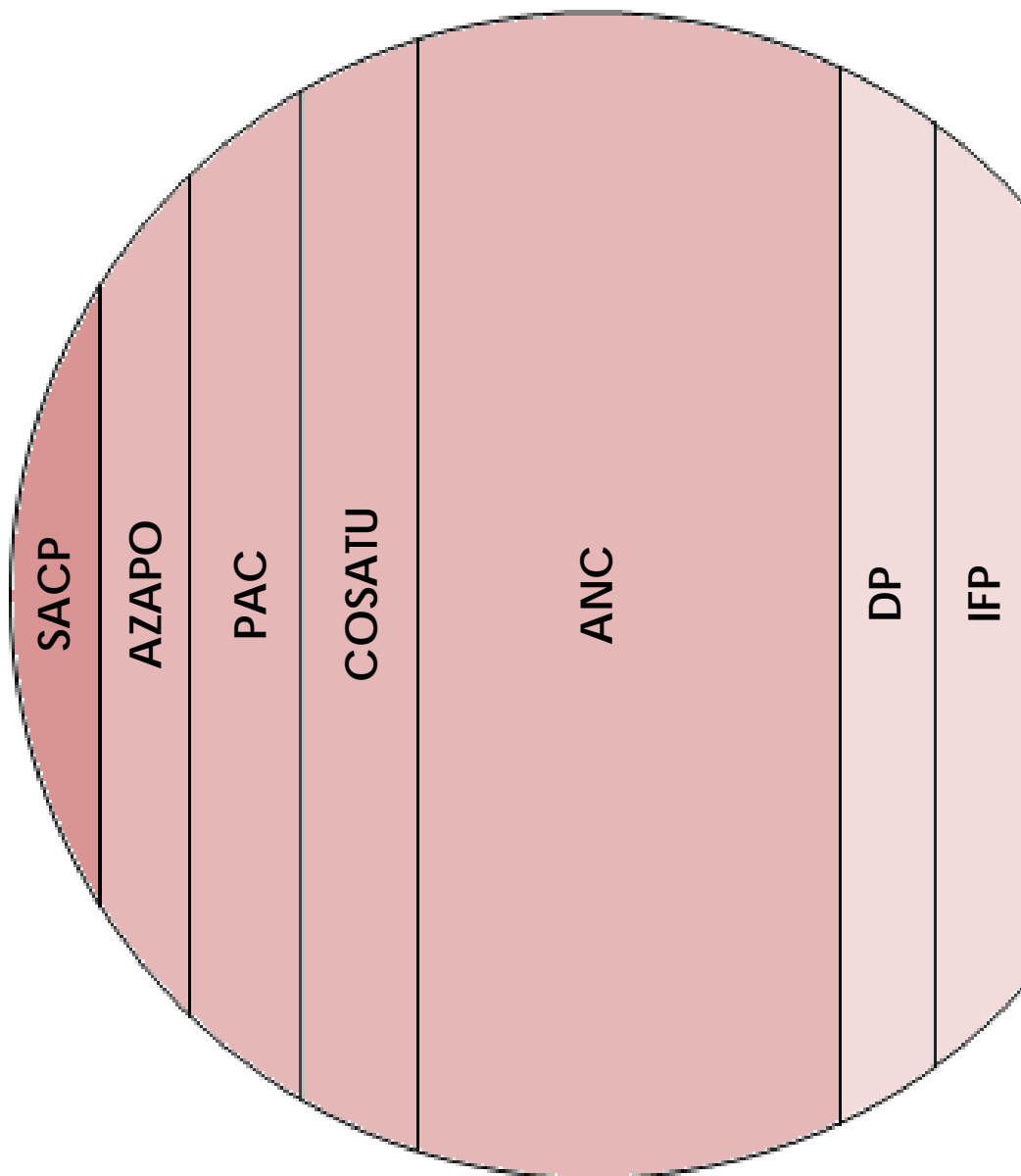
Source: White House photo by Paul Morse. Wikimedia Commons.

Thabo Mbeki,
the ANC's Head of Information,
the ANC's Head of
International Affairs,
Deputy President of the ANC
 (1997–2007),
Deputy President of South Africa
 (1994–1999),
President of the ANC
 (1997–2007)
and President of South Africa
 (1999–2008)



The three key elements in the continuing cycle of violence that occurred in South Africa between 1990 and 1994 (and the various forces that sympathised with them)

The Patriotic Front (1991–1994)





Source: <http://www.rdm.co.za>

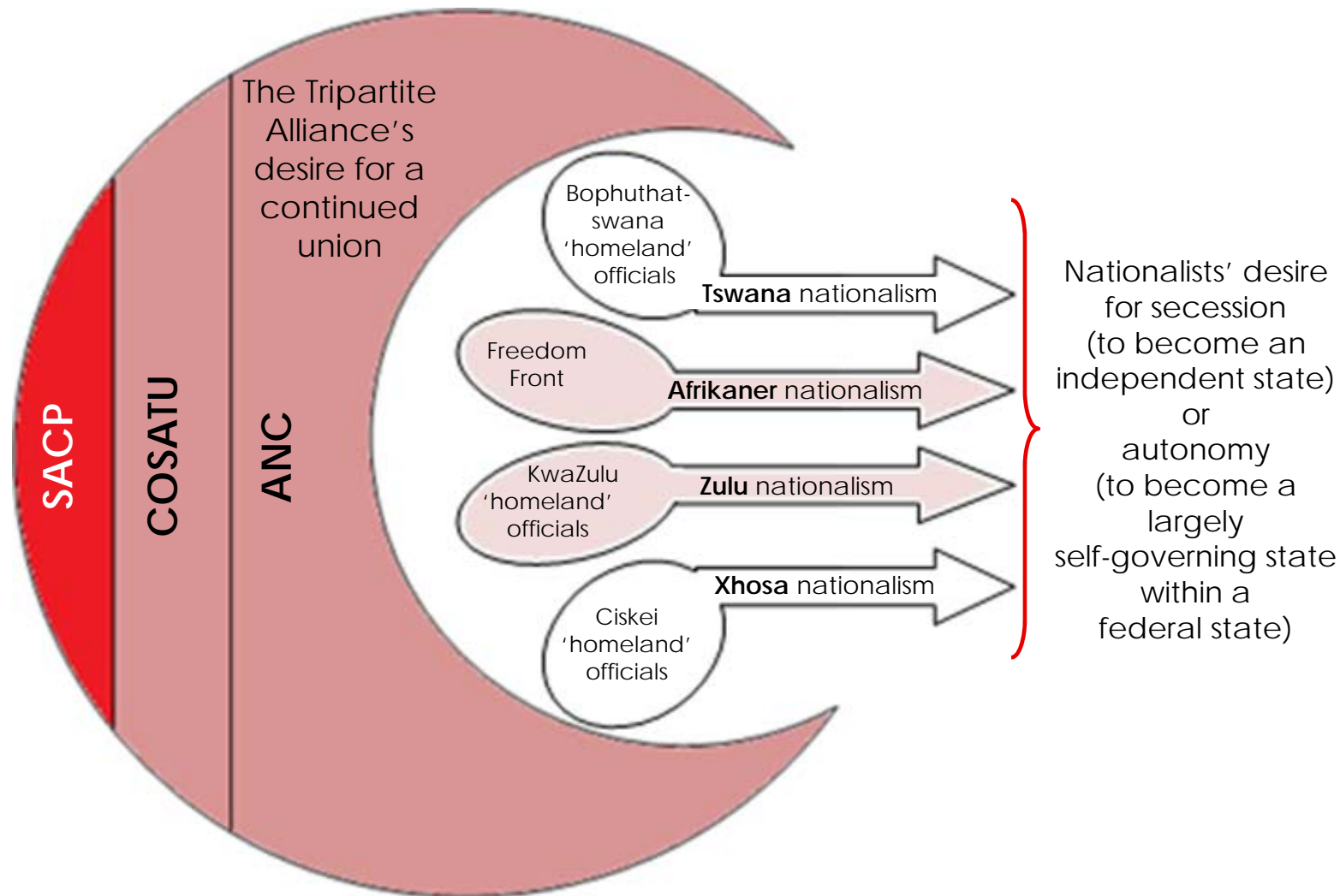
**Chris Hani,
the chief of staff of MK
(1987–1993)
and the secretary general of the SACP
(1987–1993),
as well as a member of the ANC**



Source: UDM.

**General Bantu Holomisa,
Head of the Transkei 'homeland'
(1987–1994),
ANC Member of Parliament
(1994–1996),
and President of the United
Democratic Movement
(1997→)**

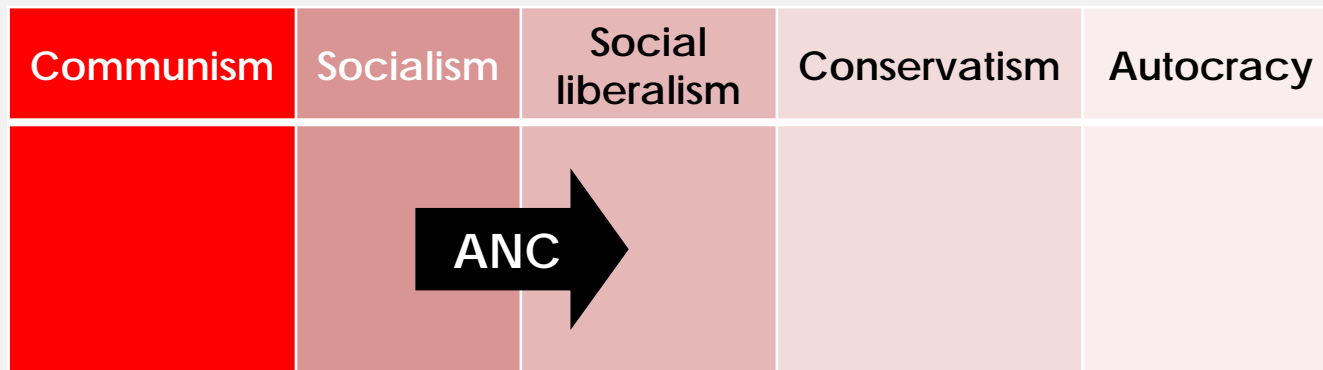
National unity versus ethnic nationalism in South Africa in the early 1990s





Source: World Economic Forum from Cologne, Switzerland. Wikimedia Commons.

Tito Mboweni,
Deputy Head of the ANC's
Department of Economic Policy
(early 1990s),
Minister of Labour
(1994–1998),
Governor of the South African
Reserve Bank
(1999–2009),
and International Adviser for
Goldman Sachs International
(2010→)



The rightwards shift of ANC economic policy in 1992



Source: World Economic Forum. Wikimedia Commons.

President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela at Davos in 1992



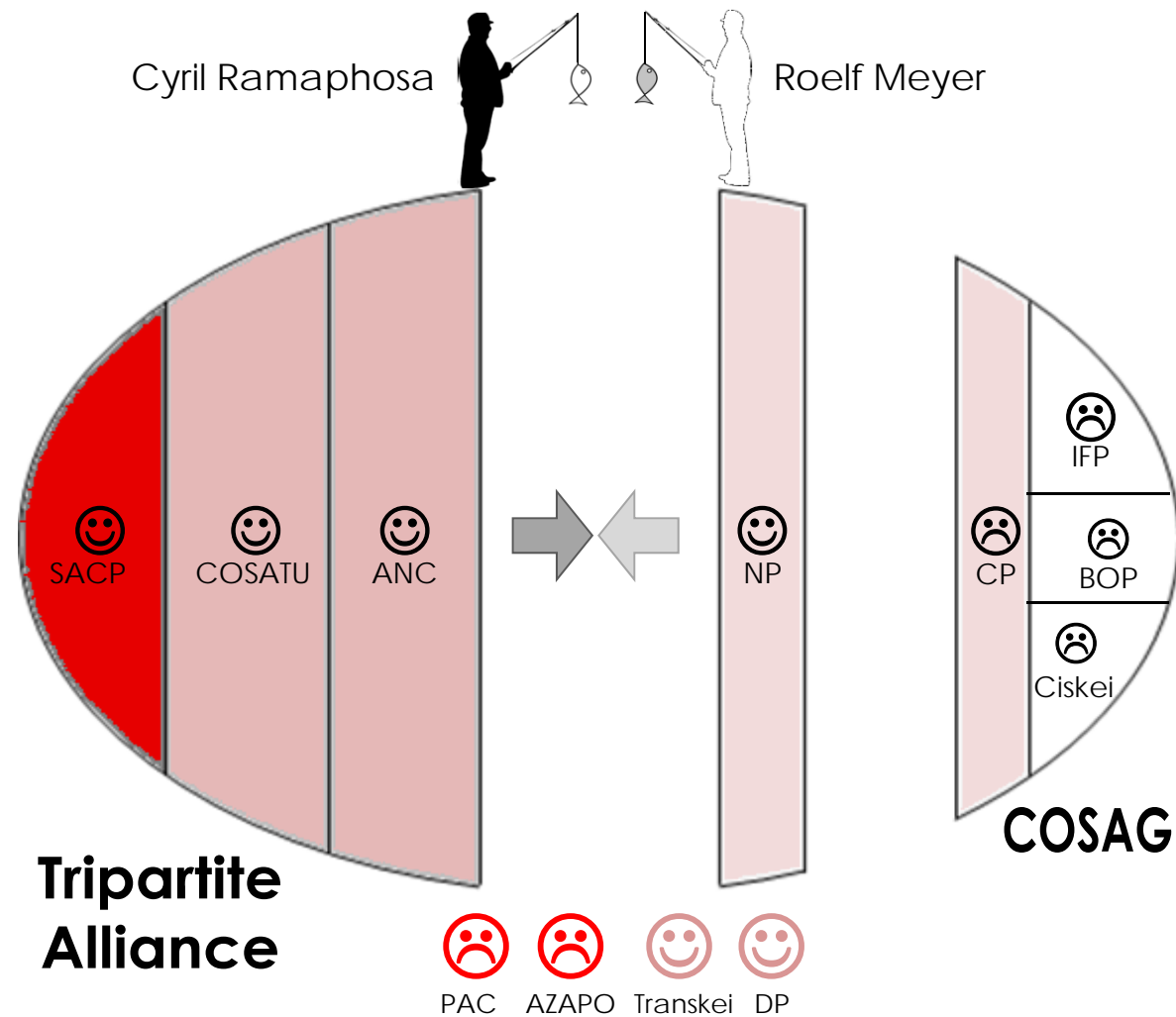
Source: Anton Raath from Leuven, Belgium. Wikimedia Commons.

An AWB Rally in Pretoria in 1990



Source: David Goldblatt. UCT digital collections.

**Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC and Roelf Meyer of the NP
during the negotiation process**



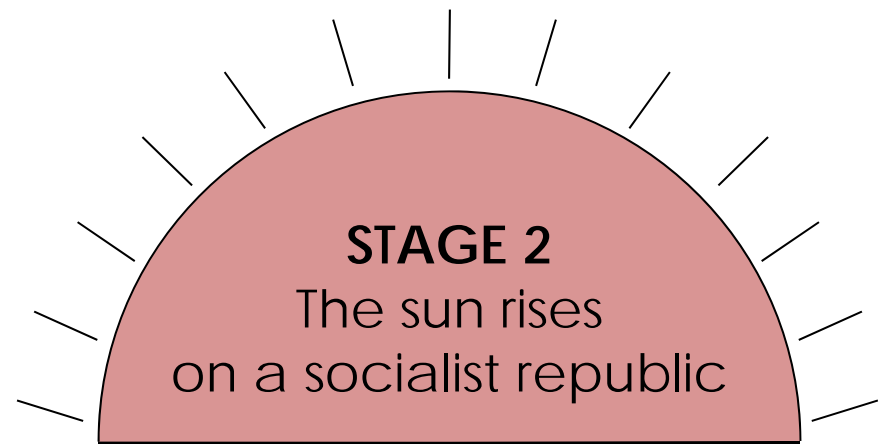
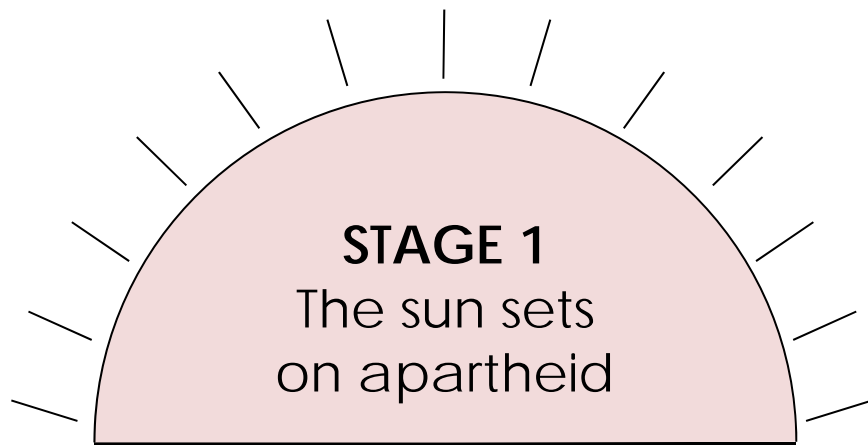
The changing political relationships near the end of 1992, when the ANC and the NP signed the Record of Understanding and started to streamline negotiations



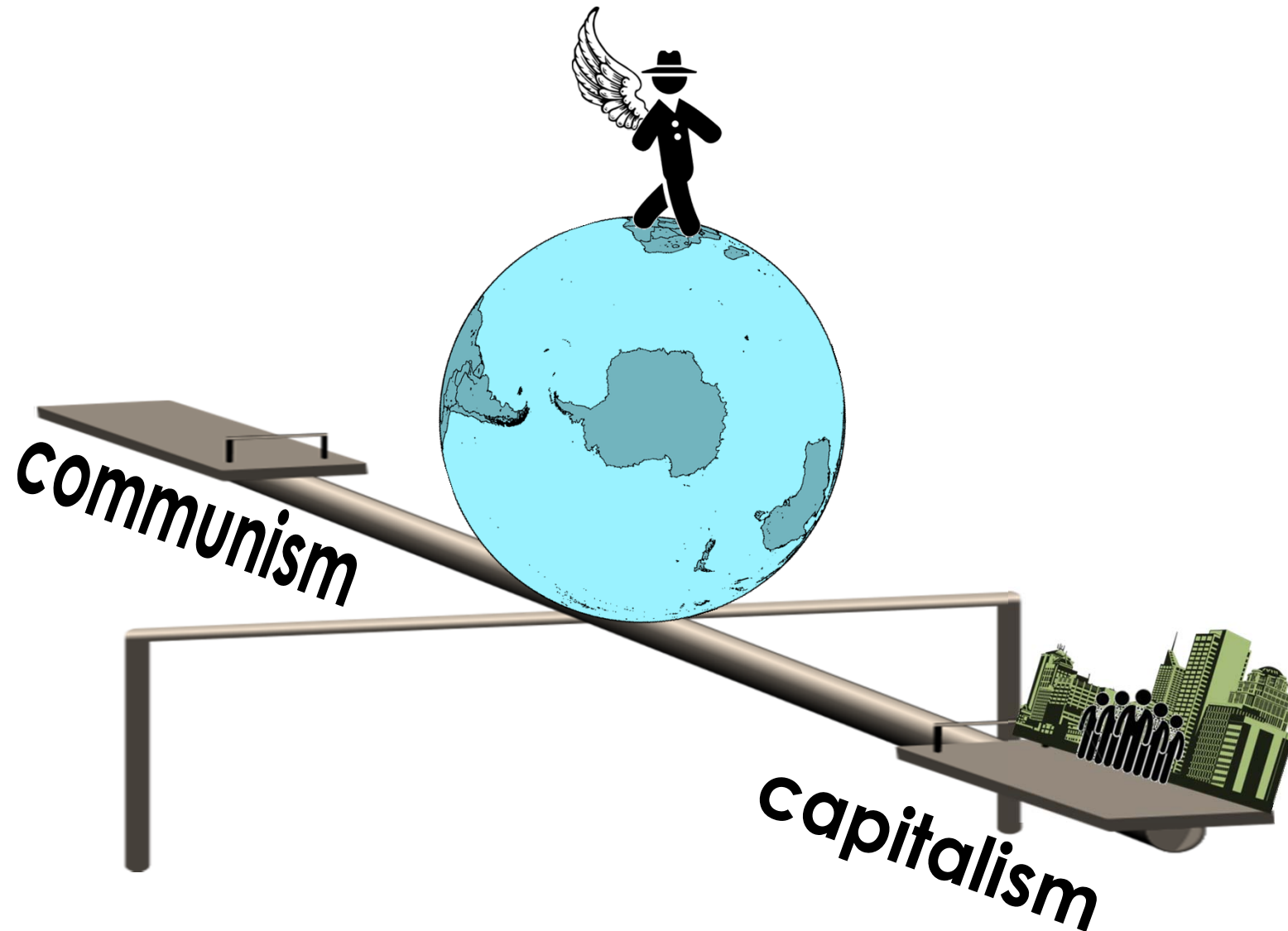
Source: SADF history. Wikimedia Commons.

General George Meiring,
Chief of the Army
(1990–1993),
Chief of the SADF
(1993–1994),
and the first Chief of the
South African
National Defence Force
(1994–1998)

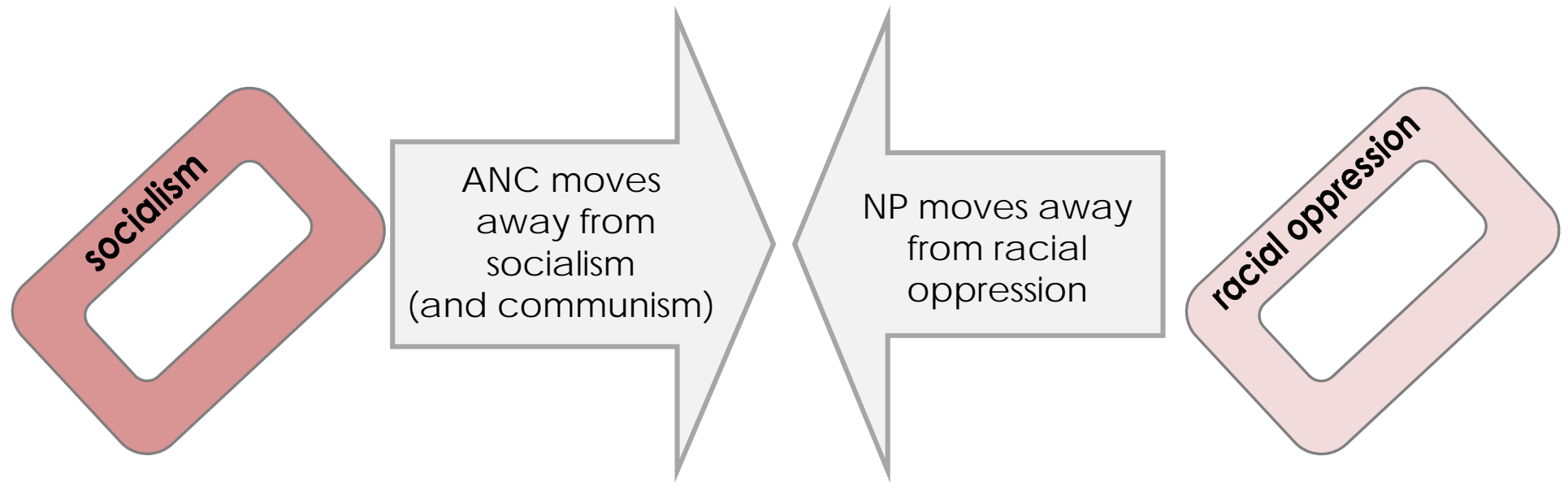
The planned two-stage national democratic revolution



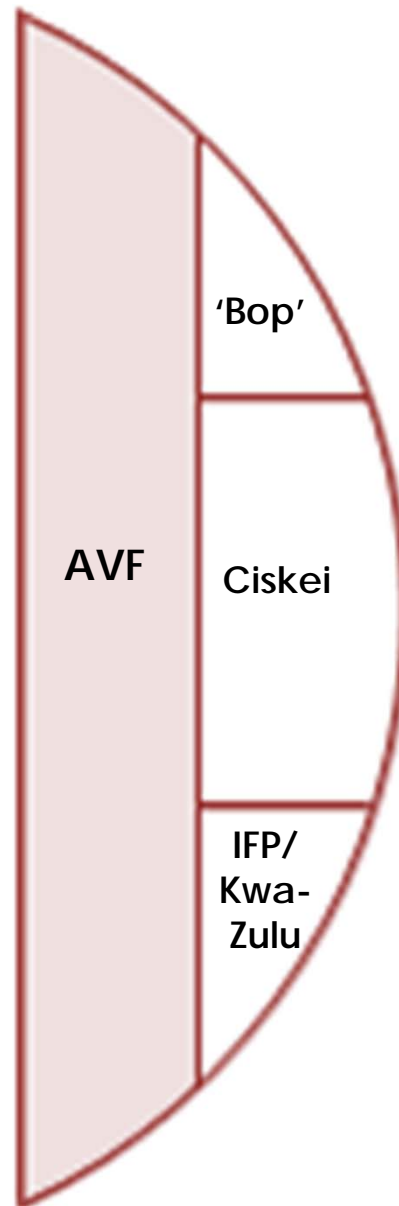
Mandela in the 1990s:
a left-wing leader in right-wing times



The shifts in ANC and NP policies during 1992 allowed improved co-operation between these parties during 1993.



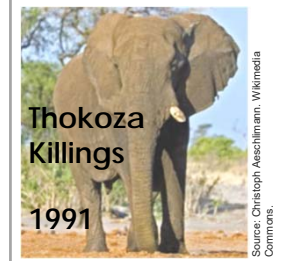
The Freedom Alliance (1993–1994)



Fatal instances of destabilising violence that occurred between the ANC's official suspension of the armed struggle in the 1990 Pretoria Minute and South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, which led to the establishment of the Government of National Unity (GNU)



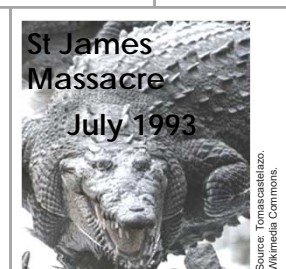
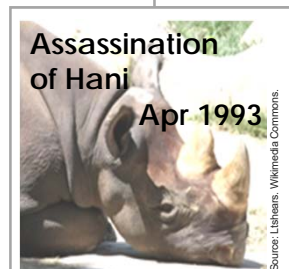
during
'talks about talks'



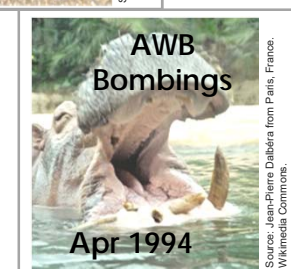
during
CODESA 1



during
CODESA 2



during
the
MPNF



during the
transitional
period under
the TEC



This was not a strong bridge.
It was just a tentative attempt
at co-operation by two parties
in order to avoid being swept
away by a civil war.



Source: [isafmedia](#). Wikimedia Commons.

Pretoria Minute August 1990



Source: Sengkang, Wikimedia Commons.

Declaration of Intent October 1991



This arrangement had a firmer foundation, but it did not show the structure that the final negotiated settlement would take.



This was a stronger commitment towards a negotiated settlement between the two main parties, and was based on finding common ground.



Source: Charles Hutchins. Wikimedia Commons.

Record of Understanding September 1992



This was a solid structure
supported by many parties.



Interim Constitution November 1993

Source: Rowland Shaw. Wikimedia Commons.



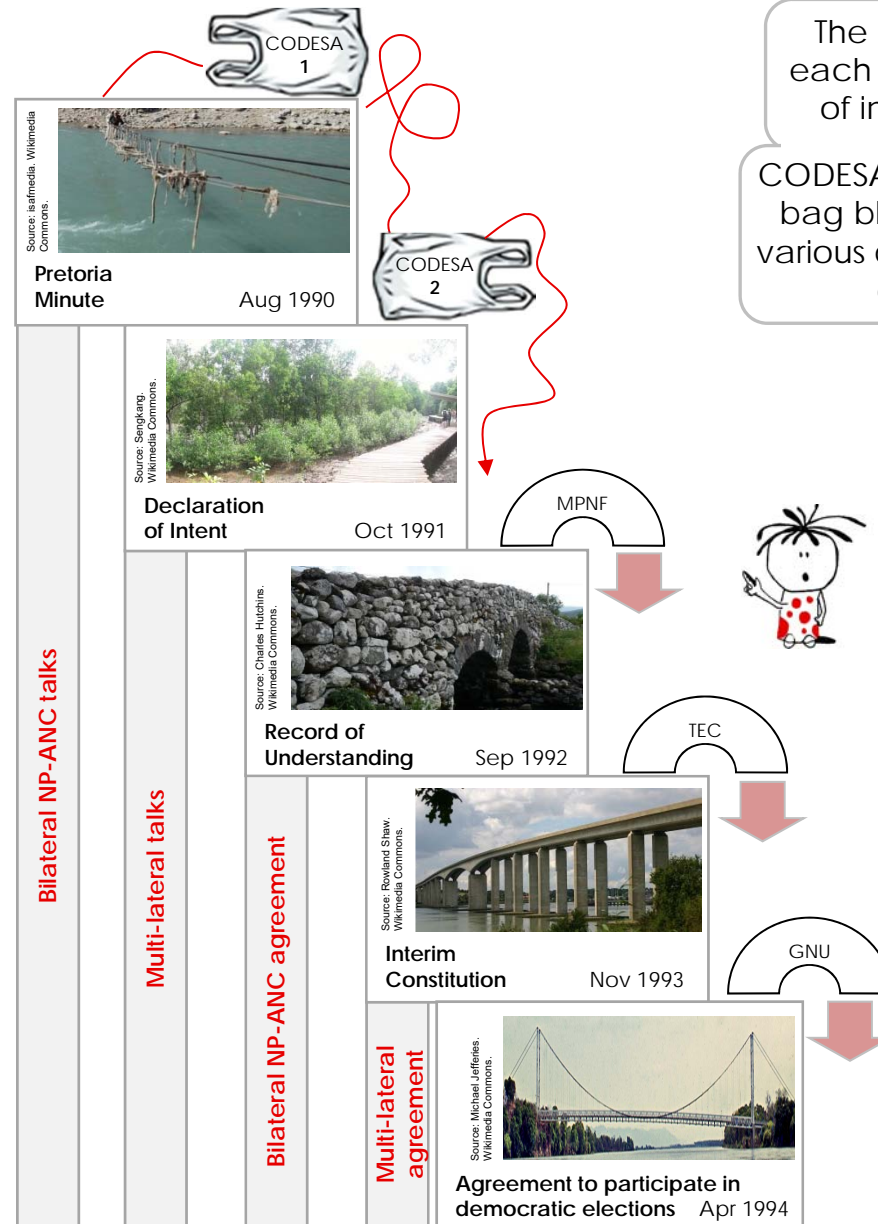
Source: Michael Jefferies. Wikimedia Commons.

Agreement to participate in democratic elections April 1994



This was an impressive bridging of past differences by almost all the political organisations, and it became an example to other countries regarding what could be achieved through co-operation.

The five most important documents that were signed during the negotiation process can be seen as bridges of increasing strength.



The bodies that were created after each document can be seen as items of increasing speed and direction.

CODESA 1 and 2 both moved like a plastic bag blown by many winds coming from various different directions, so that the bag goes nowhere in particular.

The Multi-Party Negotiating Forum, the Transitional Executive Committee and the Government of National Unity moved much more quickly, like a toy falling down a flight of stairs. This was because the new ANC-NP working relationship headed negotiations down a route that was neither very left-wing nor very right-wing.

(see www.youtube.com/watch?v=yNIOfDHyaXg).

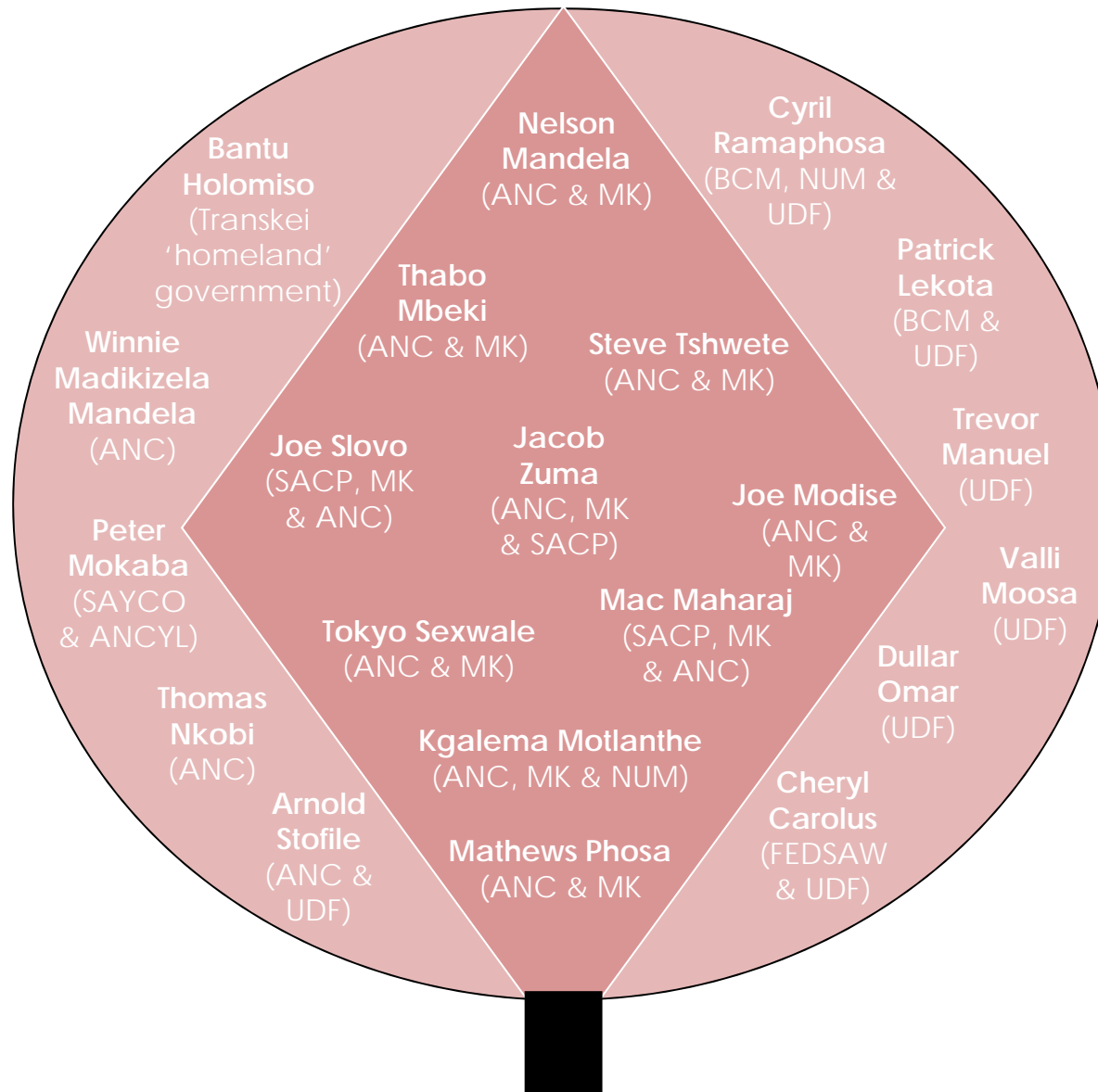
The five most important documents that were signed in the negotiation process that led to the Government of National Unity (GNU)



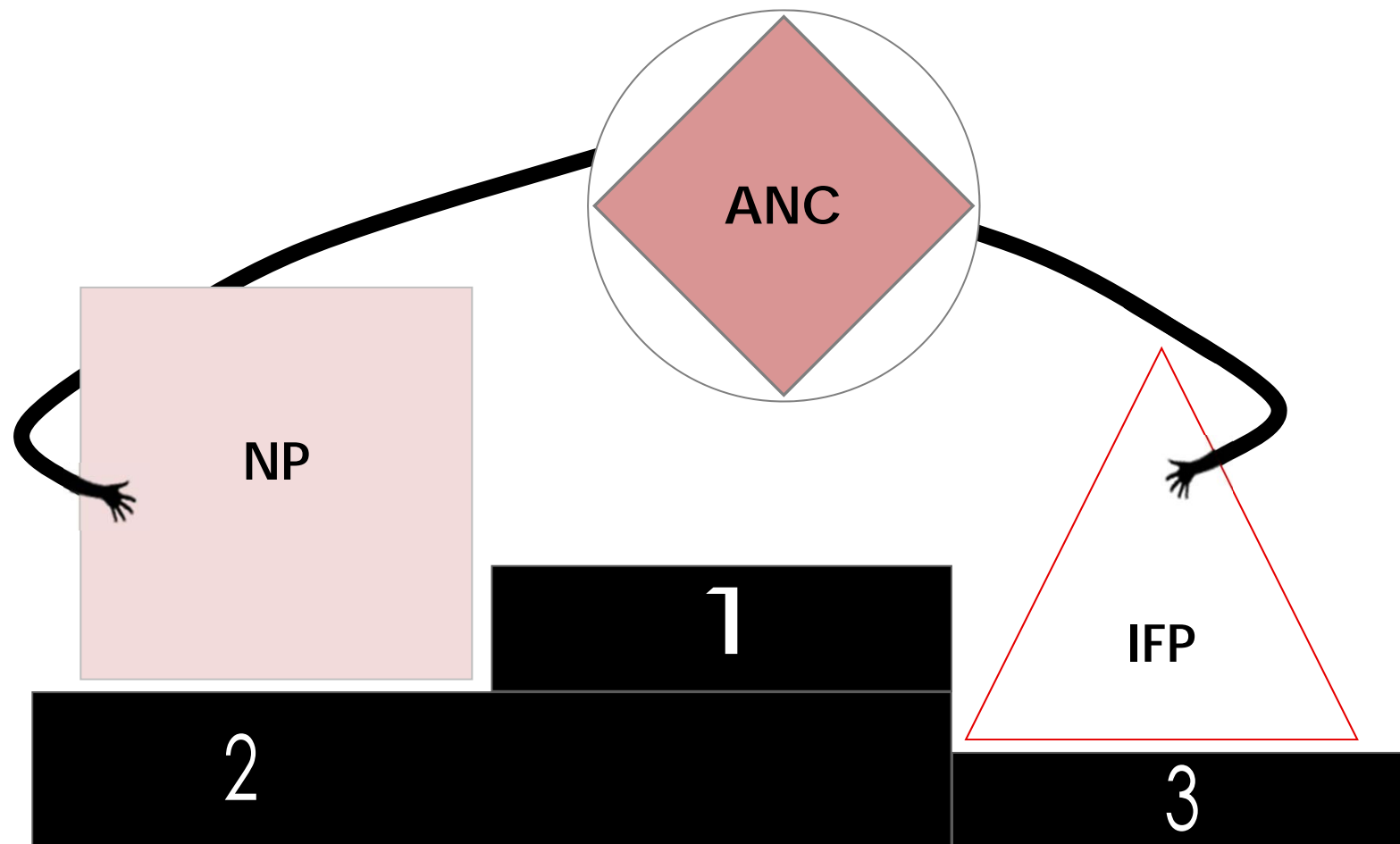
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces_of_South_Africa.

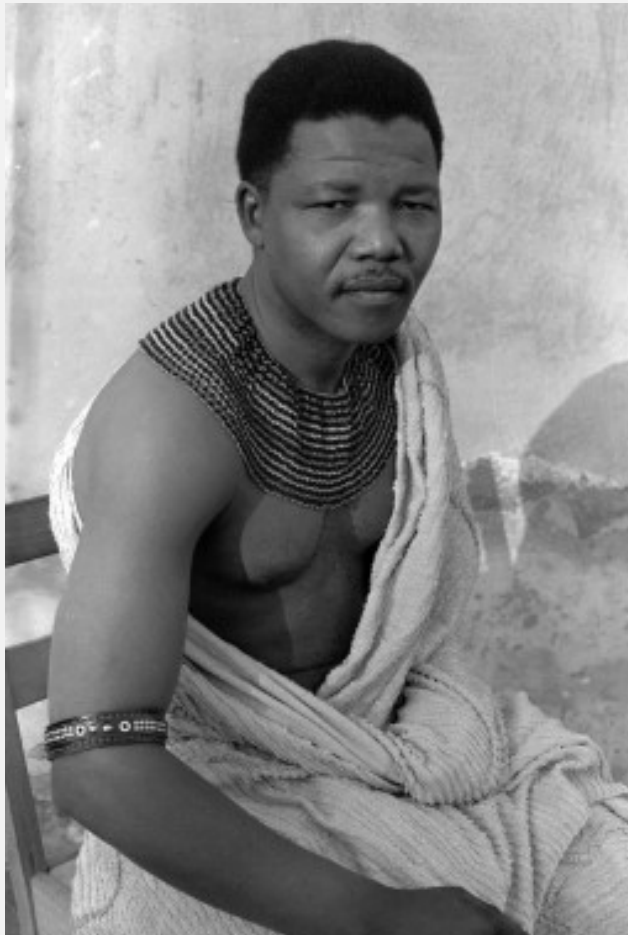
Key members of the ANC during the 1994 democratic elections

(showing the organisations of which they had previously been a part)



The three main members of the Government of National Unity (GNU)





Source: Eli Weinberg

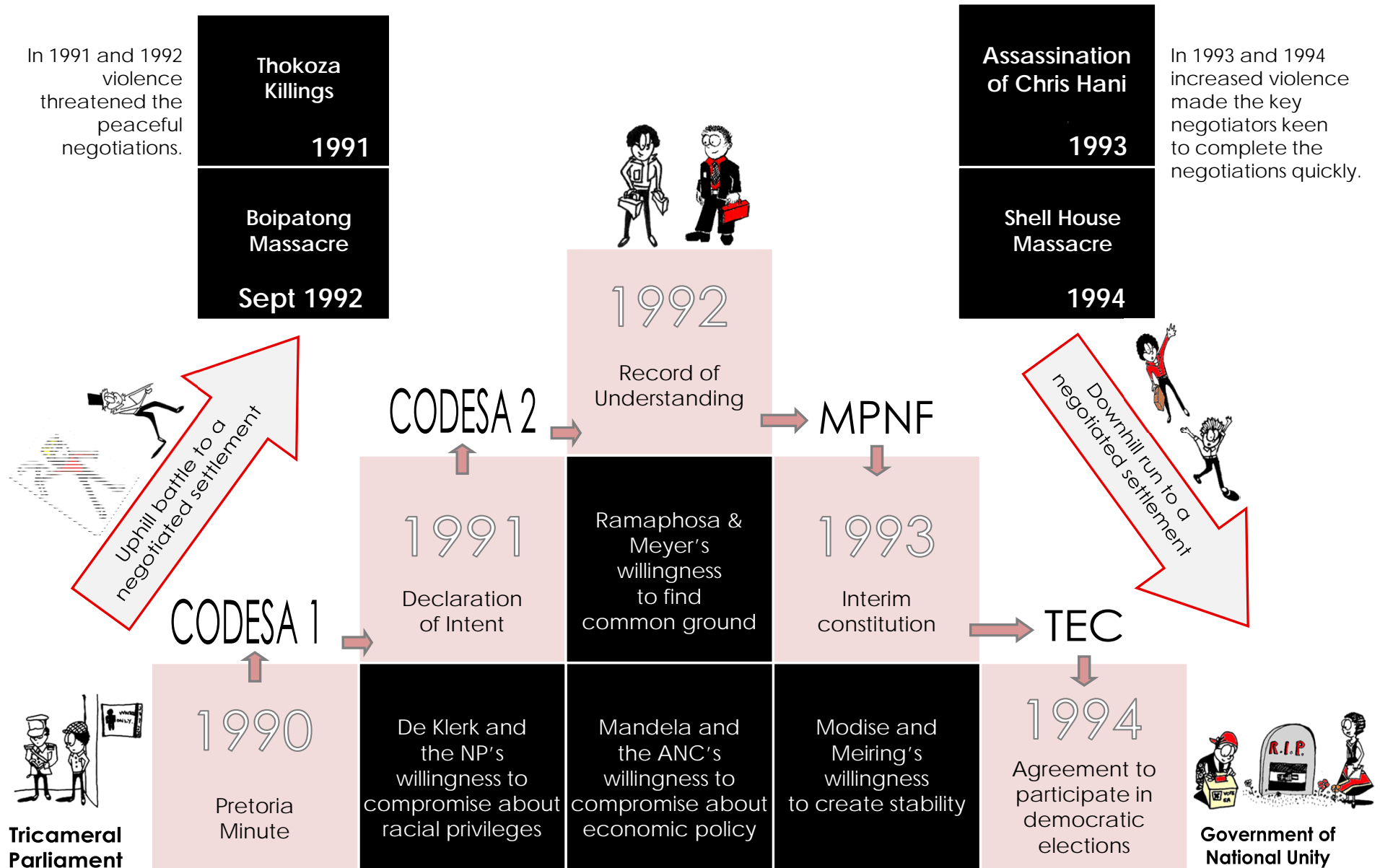
**Nelson Mandela,
an African nationalist**



Source: West Midlands Police. Wikimedia Commons.

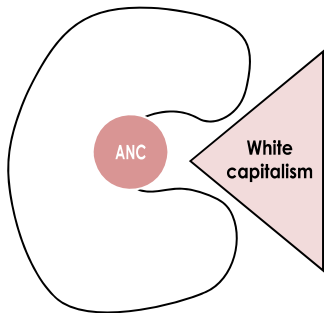
**Nelson Mandela building
a non-racial nation**

How the NP and the ANC built a unified democracy through compromise



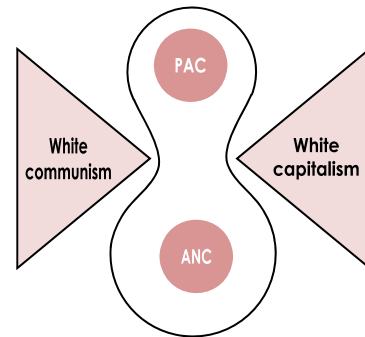
A visual summary of the temporary divisions and eventual victory of South Africa's Black liberation movement (despite one remaining 'thorn in its side')

1



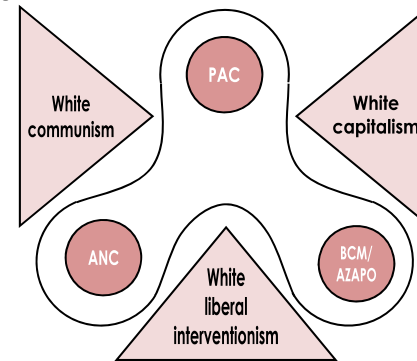
1920s
Through the Congress Movement Black South African nationalism emerges.

2



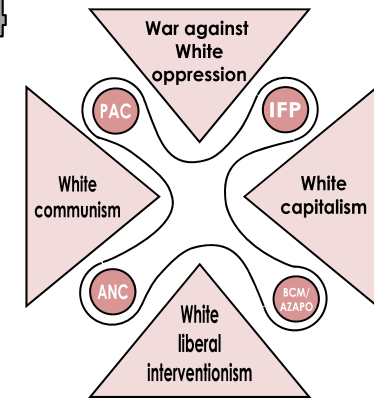
1959
The PAC is established because of the influence of White communists on the ANC.

3



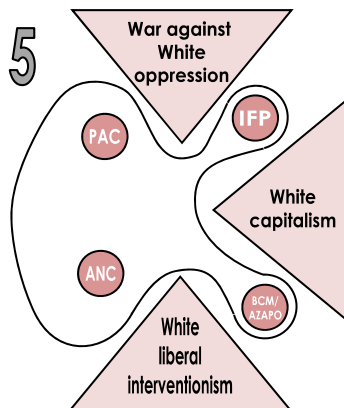
1968
Biko starts to chart a course for Black people to overcome the psychological domination of White patterns of thought.

4



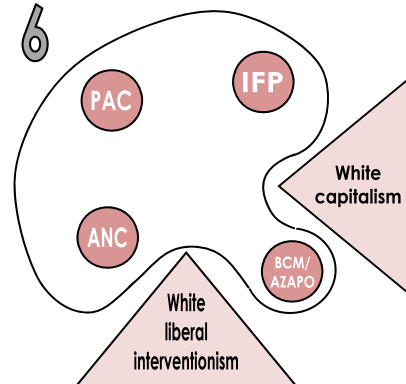
1979
Inkatha refuses to enter the armed struggle for liberation.

5



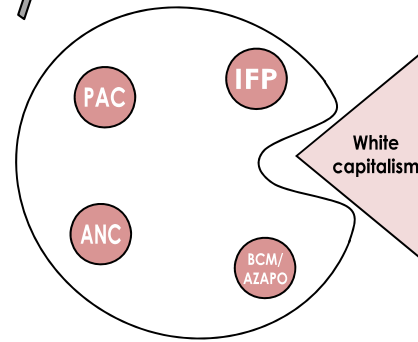
1991
The PAC convenes an anti-apartheid convention: the Patriotic Front.

6



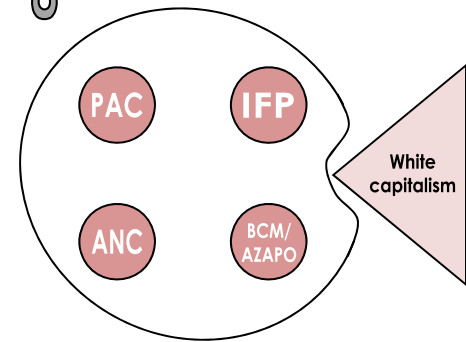
1993
The Interim constitution is signed and the armed struggle is suspended.

7

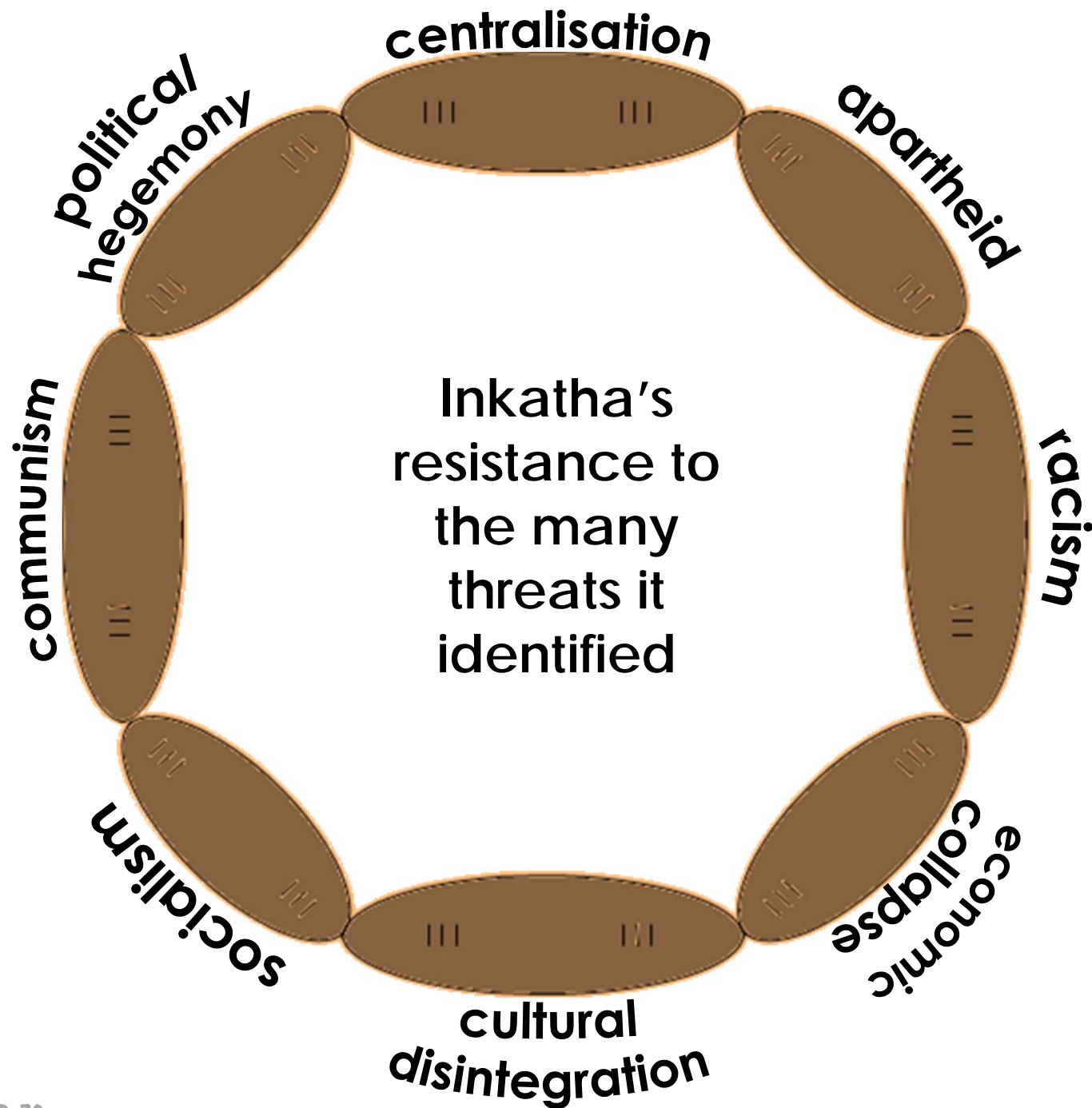


1994
South Africa's first democratic elections are held.

8

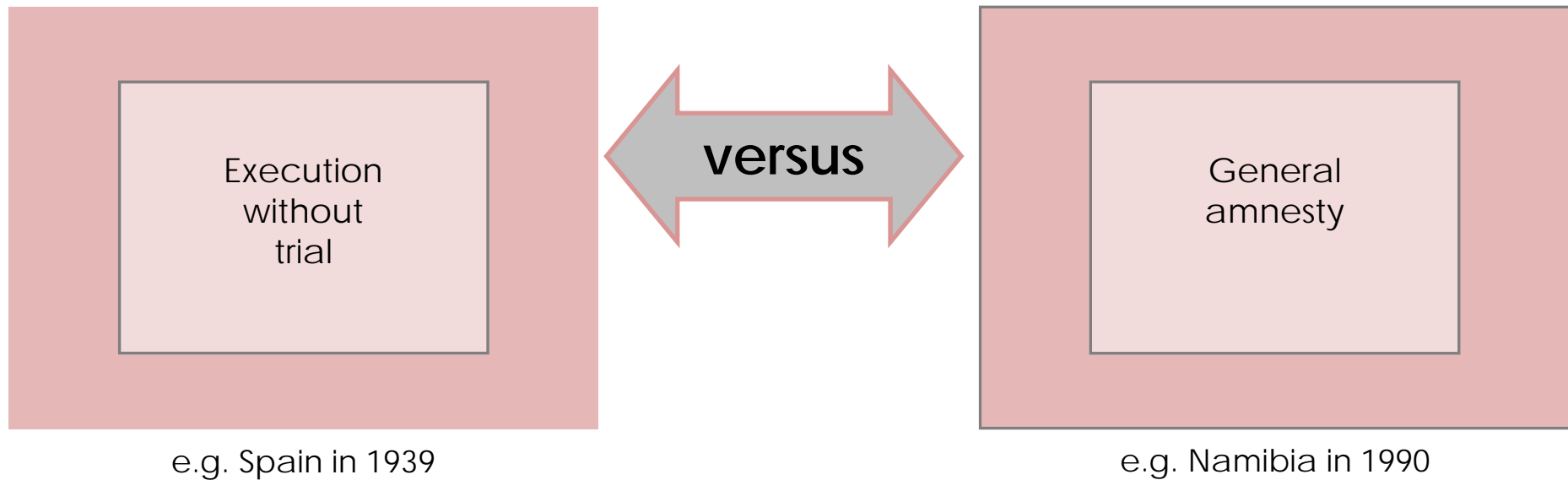


1996
The Reconstruction and Development Programme is launched.

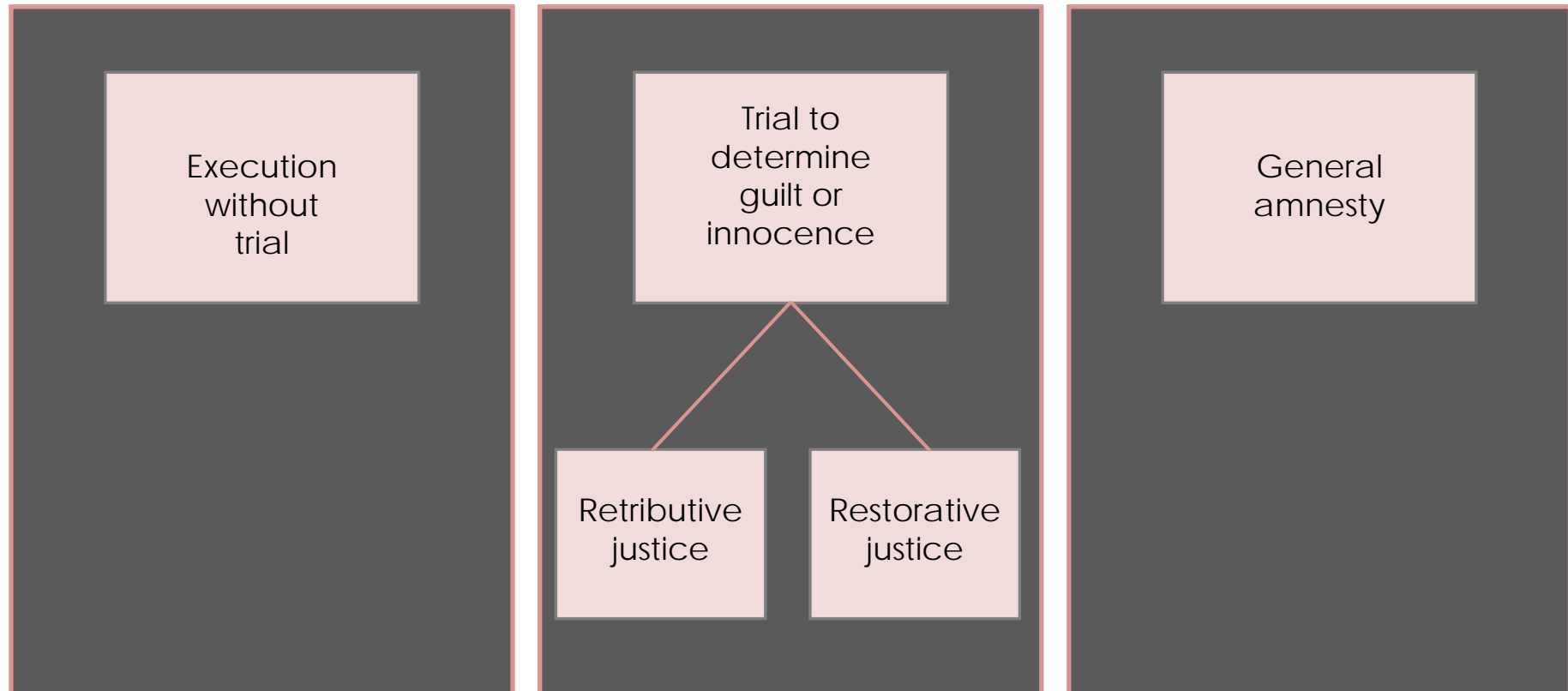


HOW HAS SOUTH AFRICA CHOSEN TO REMEMBER THE PAST?

Two extreme positions regarding how to deal with people accused of war crimes



Ways of dealing with people accused of war crimes, including two different types of justice





Source: USA. Wikimedia Commons.

Hermann Göring,
Vice Chancellor of Germany and Reichsmarschall
(1941–1945)



Source: En Todos Lados !!'s. Wikimedia Commons.

Augusto Pinochet's military funeral



Source: https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/mayor/Pages/Dullah_Omar.aspx.

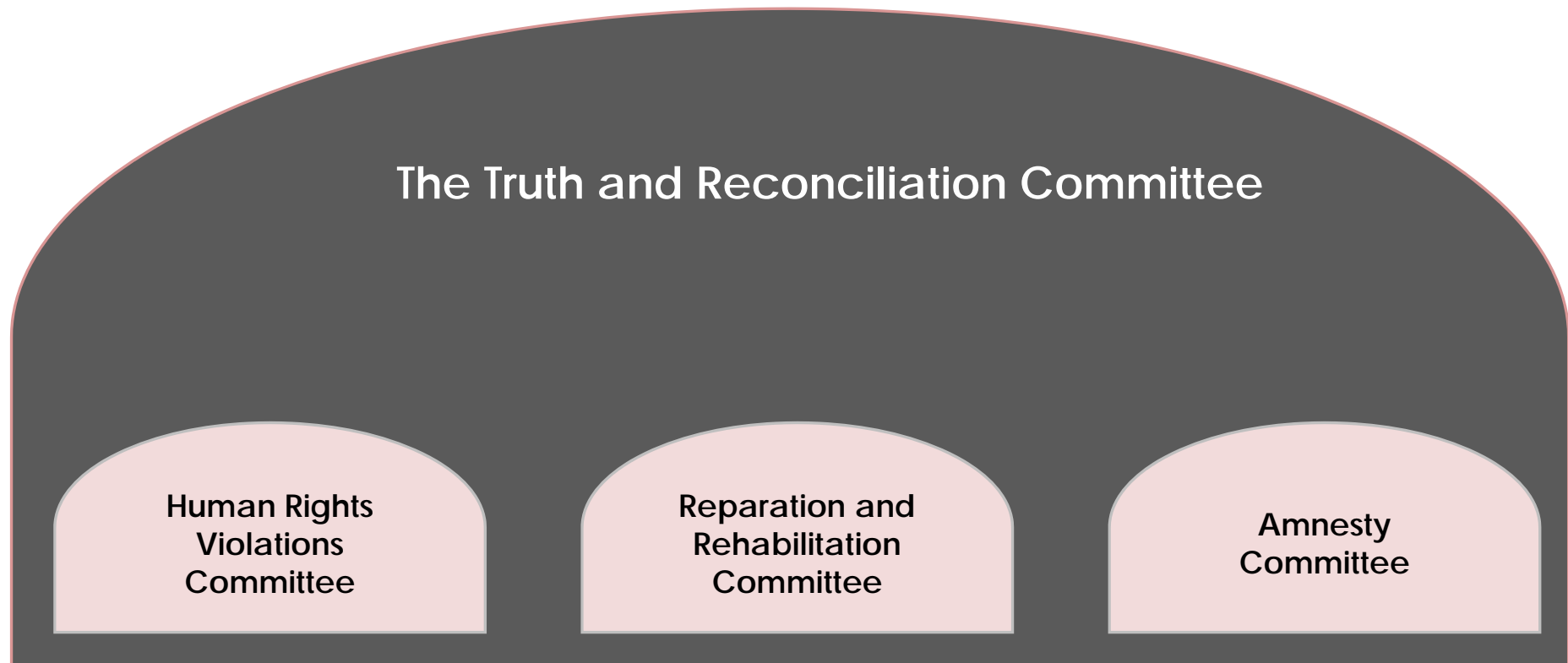
Dullah Omar,
Minister of Justice
(1994–1999)
and Minister of Transport
(1999–2004)



Source: English: Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

**Archbishop Desmond Tutu,
Chairperson of South Africa's
Truth and Reconciliation Commission**

The three committees of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission





Source: <http://www.sahistory.org.za>.

Adriaan Vlok,
Minister of Law and
Order
(1986–1991),
and founder of the
charity Feed a Child
(2015)



Source: <http://www.all4women.co.za>.

Eugene de Kock,
a South African Police
colonel, and recipient
of the Police Cross for
Bravery in 1989



Source: UCT Libraries Digital Collections

Craig Williamson,
apartheid spy within
NUSAS,
Chief of Intelligence for
the South African Police,
member of the State
Security Council, and
military intelligence
operative

REMEMBERING THE PAST: MEMORIALS



Source: Xufanc. Wikimedia Commons.

The Bhunga Building in Mthatha has been converted into one of the sites of the Nelson Mandela Museum



Source: ijswaan. Wikimedia Commons.

The eternal flame at Freedom Park

TOPIC 5 QUESTIONS

**THE TRUTH
HURTS
BUT SILENCE
KILLS**

LET'S SPEAK OUT TO
EACH OTHER.
BY TELLING THE TRUTH,
BY TELLING OUR
STORIES OF THE PAST,
SO THAT WE CAN
WALK THE ROAD TO
RECONCILIATION
TOGETHER.

truth & reconciliation

TRUTH. THE ROAD TO RECONCILIATION.

LET'S SPEAK OUT TO
EACH OTHER.
BY TELLING THE TRUTH,
BY TELLING OUR
STORIES OF THE PAST,
SO THAT WE CAN
WALK THE ROAD TO
RECONCILIATION
TOGETHER.

[From: <http://hemi.nyu.edu>. Accessed on 20 November 2013.]



[From: www.sahistory.org.za. Accessed on 20 November 2013.]