basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

HISTORY P2

NOVEMBER 2023

MARKS: 150

TIME: 3 hours

This question paper consists of 9 pages and an addendum of 14 pages.

Copyright reserved

INSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION

1. This question paper consists of SECTION A and SECTION B based on the prescribed content framework in the CAPS document.

   SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

   QUESTION 1: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA

   QUESTION 2: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

   QUESTION 3: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER, 1989 TO THE PRESENT

   SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

   QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

   QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

   QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

2. SECTION A consists of THREE source-based questions. Source material that is required to answer these questions can be found in the ADDENDUM.

3. SECTION B consists of THREE essay questions.

4. Answer THREE questions as follows:

   4.1 At least ONE must be a source-based question and at least ONE must be an essay question.

   4.2 The THIRD question can be either a source-based question or an essay question.

5. You are advised to spend at least ONE hour per question.

6. When answering questions, candidates should apply their knowledge, skills and insight.

7. You will be disadvantaged by merely rewriting the sources as answers.

8. Number the answers correctly according to the numbering system used in this question paper.

9. Write neatly and legibly.

Copyright reserved

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but not more than TWO questions, in this SECTION. Source material to be used to answer these questions is contained in the ADDENDUM.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT'S LABOUR REFORMS IN THE 1980s?

Study Sources 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D and answer the questions that follow.

1.1 Study Source 1A.

1.1.1 Why, according to the source, did the newly launched COSATU threaten to call a national strike? (1 x 1) (1)

1.1.2 Explain why you think COSATU supported the campaign for disinvestment against the apartheid government. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 Define the term *nationalisation* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 What is implied by the statement, 'that it [COSATU] was committed to one-person one-vote in a unitary South Africa', in the context of its role as a labour movement? (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Consult Source 1B.

1.2.1 Why do you think this poster was created? (2 x 2) (4)

1.2.2 Identify evidence in the source that indicates that this was a COSATU poster. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 Comment on the limitations of this source to a researcher studying COSATU's response to the Labour Relations Amendment Act. (2 x 2) (4)

1.3 Use Source 1C.

1.3.1 Quote evidence from the source suggesting that anti-apartheid groups were negatively affected by the state of emergency. (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.2 Name the TWO radical organisations that were of more concern to the police, according to Johan van der Merwe. (2 x 1) (2)

1.3.3 Why do you think the government prohibited COSATU from campaigning for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners? (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.4 Explain the concept *sanctions* in the context of COSATU's position in resisting the apartheid government. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4 Consult Source 1D.

1.4.1 What, according to the source, were the TWO challenges that the COSATU special congress had to respond to on 14 May 1988? (2 x 1) (2)

1.4.2 List THREE ways from the source which show how the Labour Relations Amendment Act would affect workers and their trade unions. (1 x 3) (3)

1.4.3 Explain the meaning of the statement, COSATU was denied the 'right to operate on the national political terrain', in the context of restrictions imposed by the apartheid government. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4.4 Comment on what is implied by the words, 'COSATU would not knuckle under (give in) without a struggle', in the context of the threat posed by the apartheid government. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Refer to Sources 1B and 1D. Explain how the information in Source 1B supports the evidence in Source 1D regarding COSATU's response to the Labour Relations Amendment Act. (2 x 2) (4)

1.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how COSATU responded to the apartheid government's labour reforms in the 1980s. (8)

[50]

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) EXPOSE LEADERS OF THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BETWEEN 1960 AND 1994?

Study Sources 2A, 2B, 2C and 2D and answer the questions that follow.

2.1 Use Source 2A.

2.1.1 According to the source, why did the National Party support the idea of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)? (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.2 Define the term *amnesty* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.3 Why do you think black South Africans demanded explanations from perpetrators, and not only disclosure by the National Party? (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.4 Explain the implication of the statement of the Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, about the TRC: '… to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past … to advance the cause of reconciliation'. (2 x 2) (4)

2.1.5 What, according to the source, were the opinions of the following regarding the granting of general amnesty by the TRC?

(a) De Klerk (1 x 1) (1)

(b) ANC (1 x 1) (1)

2.2 Study Source 2B.

2.2.1 Quote THREE pieces of evidence from the source suggesting that Botha's government entered the 'realm of criminal misconduct' in the late 1970s. (3 x 1) (3)

2.2.2 Explain the term *third force* in the context of the apartheid government's way of dealing with the ANC. (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.3 Comment on why you think De Klerk did not act on the allegations, made by General Steyn, of third force activities. (2 x 2) (4)

2.2.4 Who, according to the source, was involved in the bombing of Khotso House? (1 x 1) (1)

Copyright reserved

2.3 Read Source 2C.

2.3.1 Explain the significance of the phrase, 'FINALLY, A BIG ONE!', in the context of the amnesty process. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3.2 What is the implication of Tutu's words, 'YOU SHOULD HAVE SEEN THE ONES THAT GOT AWAY …', regarding the TRC process? (2 x 2) (4)

2.4 Consult Source 2D.

2.4.1 What, according to the source, was T Leon's view of how the National Party treated their foot soldiers? (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.2 Why, according to the source, did P Erasmus mention, '… I felt that old fury (anger) burning bright as ever inside me', regarding the meetings between ex-ministers, generals and the State Security Council on how to deal with the TRC? (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.3 Comment on why the foot soldiers felt thrown away by the leadership of the government that employed them. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.4 Why would a historian regard this source as reliable when researching the accountability of the National Party leadership to the TRC processes? (2 x 2) (4)

2.5 Refer to Sources 2C and 2D. Explain how the information in Source 2C supports the evidence in Source 2D regarding how the leadership of the apartheid government avoided accountability during the TRC hearings. (2 x 2) (4)

2.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) to explain how the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) exposed leaders of the apartheid government for gross violations of human rights committed between 1960 and 1994. (8)

[50]

QUESTION 3: HOW DID POWERFUL INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, NAMELY THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) AND THE WORLD BANK, SHAPE THE GLOBALISED ECONOMIES SINCE THE 1980s?

Study Sources 3A, 3B, 3C and 3D and answer the questions that follow.

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

3.1.1 Define the term *globalised economies* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.2 Give FOUR points of criticism of globalisation as stated in the source. (4 x 1) (4)

3.1.3 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, comment on how powerful nations and financial institutions benefitted from the implementation of globalisation 'from above'. (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain how experiencing globalisation 'from below' would be of advantage to Africa. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2 Consult Source 3B.

3.2.1 Quote FOUR pieces of evidence from the source to indicate that Africa's experience of the global crisis in the 1980s led to a dependency relationship with the West. (4 x 1) (4)

3.2.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank was reluctantly accepted by some African countries. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.3 What do you think is implied by the statement, '… not since the days of colonialism have external forces been so powerfully focused to shape Africa's economic structure', regarding the influence of the IMF and the World Bank? (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.4 Explain the term *structural adjustments* in the context of the policies of international financial institutions regarding African countries. (1 x 2) (2)

Copyright reserved

3.3 Read Source 3C.

3.3.1 Explain whether you consider the caption 'Dependence Theory' as appropppriate for this cartoon. (2 x 2) (4)

3.3.2 Why do you think the cartoonist portrays 'rich nations' as oversized? (1 x 2) (2)

3.4 Study Source 3D.

3.4.1 Identify TWO positions in the source that J Stiglitz held before he entered the world of policy making. (2 x 1) (2)

3.4.2 Comment on why globalisation is generally associated with development. (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.3 Give TWO examples of projects mentioned in the source that benefitted from foreign aid. (2 x 1) (2)

3.4.4 What is implied by the statement, 'But to many in the developing world, globalisation has not brought the promised economic benefits'? (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.5 Explain the usefulness of the source to a historian studying globalisation. (2 x 2) (4)

3.5 Use Source 3C and Source 3D. Explain how the information in Source 3C differs from the evidence in Source 3D regarding the impact of globalisation on the African countries. (2 x 2) (4)

3.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how powerful international financial institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, shaped the globalised economies since the 1980s. (8)

[50]

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but not more than TWO questions, in this section.

Your essay should be about THREE pages long.

QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA

The Black Consciousness Movement believed that black people should liberate themselves psychologically and be self-reliant in their struggle to challenge the apartheid government of the 1970s.

Do you agree with the statement? Use relevant evidence to substantiate your line of argument. **[50]**

QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

The road to democracy was characterised by the continuous emergence of violence and conflicts that failed to stop the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994.

Critically discuss this statement. Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument. **[50]**

QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

Explain to what extent Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s influenced FW de Klerk to introduce political reforms that paved the way for negotiations for a democratic South Africa.

Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument. **[50]**

TOTAL: 150

Copyright reserved

basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

HISTORY P2

NOVEMBER 2023

ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

Copyright reserved

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT'S LABOUR REFORMS IN THE 1980s?

SOURCE 1A

The article below was published in *The Namibian* newspaper on 6 December 1985. It explains events unfolding during the conference launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and also describes COSATU's role as a labour movement.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), launched at a rally attended by more than 10 000 workers in Durban last weekend, promises to present the toughest challenge to government and industry yet seen in the history of the South African labour movement. Leaders of the new super federation have already threatened to call a national strike if the government carries out its threat to repatriate (send back) migrant workers, and have pledged to organise workers in the homelands in defiance of any restrictions on unions in these regions. In policy guidelines adopted at the launching conference, the Congress also came out in support of disinvestment (withdrawal of investment), as well as the eventual nationalisation of South Africa's mines and other major industries.

Emphasising the political role the new federation intends to play, COSATU President Elijah Barayi said the Congress hoped to fill the vacuum (space) created by the banning of the African National Congress (ANC), and that it was committed to one-person one-vote in a unitary South Africa. The Congress also called for a national minimum wage, a 40-hour week at full pay, a ban on overtime and the establishment of a national unemployed workers' union as an affiliate of the federation. With a membership of half a million, including the 150 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the 100 000-strong Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), the formation of COSATU has been described as a triumph (victory) for trade unionism.

[From *The Namibian*, 6 December 1985]

SOURCE 1B

The poster below, designed by COSATU's media worker Patrick Cockayne, demonstrates COSATU's protest against the apartheid government's Labour Relations Amendment Act that was introduced in 1987.



[From *Red on Black: The Story of the South African Poster Movement* by J Seidman]

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Copyright reserved

SOURCE 1C

The extract below, taken from *The Washington Post,* was published on 25 February 1988. It explains the apartheid government's crackdown on COSATU and other anti-apartheid organisations.

The decree (law) announced by the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, says that the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other restricted anti-apartheid groups (including COSATU) may continue to exist and will not be prohibited from keeping financial records, performing administrative functions or complying with an obligation imposed by or under any law or court of law. But they will have to obtain the Law and Order Minister's permission to conduct any other activities. Vlok said that despite emergency regulations already in effect, some opposition groups had persisted in establishing, maintaining and promoting a revolutionary climate.

In November, Security Police Chief, Johan Van der Merwe, signalled the possibility of such a crackdown when he told reporters that legal radical organisations such as the UDF and COSATU are of more concern to the police than illegal groups such as the African National Congress (ANC).

COSATU, which had begun to fill the organisational vacuum (empty space) created by the detention of most of the UDF's national and regional leaders, is now prohibited (banned) from campaigning for the legalisation of outlawed organisations like the ANC, from urging for the release of detainees, from boycotts of local black elections and from calling for disinvestments or sanctions against South Africa (SA).

[From *The Washington Post*, 25 February 1988]

Copyright reserved

SOURCE 1D

The source below highlights measures adopted by COSATU during its special congress on 14 May 1988. It was in response to the threat posed by the apartheid government's restrictions and the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

The special congress was called in response to two specific challenges to COSATU:

The government's February 24 restrictions which legally limited COSATU to a narrow range of factory-floor trade unionism and effectively banned 17 other organisations, among them the United Democratic Front (UDF), a close and formal COSATU ally; and the Labour Relations Amendment Act, a bill intended, according to Manpower Minister, Pietie du Plessis, to 'restore the balance in industrial relations in favour of the employer'. Even after it had been slightly softened in the final draft presented to the Tricameral Parliament 24 hours after the special congress.

The bill will substantially (largely) limit workers' right to strike, open trade unions to civil action for losses incurred (experienced) by their members' actions and outlaw (ban) solidarity action in industrial disputes. Combined, the restrictions and the bill attempted to deny COSATU a right woven (merged) into the fabric of its existence: the right to operate on the national political terrain, both to achieve its members' factory-floor demands, and in their broader, political interests. 'Taken together, the entire bill and the restrictions effectively ban COSATU,' said General Secretary Jay Naidoo on 25 February.

The dual threat of the restrictions and the bill demanded several things of COSATU: An immediate and decisive response, both as a warning to employers and the government that COSATU would not knuckle under (give in) without a struggle, and to generate support for further resistance; on-going agitation and action to demonstrate to employers specifically that support of the bill might cost them more than it was worth.

[From *Work in Progress*, Issue No. 54, June–July 1988]

Copyright reserved

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) EXPOSE LEADERS OF THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BETWEEN 1960 AND 1994?

SOURCE 2A

The source below has been taken from a biography of FW de Klerk, the leader of the National Party, titled *A Question of Balance: A Biography of FW de Klerk* written by John Cameron-Dow.

… The National Party supported the idea of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in order to avoid responsibility. Their approach was built around the concept of amnesty. In their view, a disclosure of past misdeeds should be rewarded with exemption (exclusion) from prosecution. It wasn't that simple; black South Africans were entirely justified in their demand for explanations. Furthermore, the vehicle of their liberation, the African National Congress (ANC), was now in power. The scope and nature of the commission would be determined by Mandela and his government.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) followed the passing of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act in 1995. Three committees were set up to carry the commission's mandate, described by the Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, as 'a necessary exercise to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally accepted basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation'.

FW de Klerk maintains that he was of the opinion that a process was required in order to enable South Africans to come to terms with the conflict of the past in a spirit of reconciliation and to get on with the future without recriminations (accusations). He is known to have favoured a general amnesty for perpetrators of politically inspired violence. A general amnesty went very much against ANC thinking. It is now common knowledge that appalling (terrible) atrocities (crimes) were committed in the name of state security, particularly in the closing years of PW Botha's presidency. But how could FW de Klerk, a senior member of cabinet, not have been aware of the atrocities that were being committed; there was surely a collective complicity (involvement) at cabinet level.

[From *A Question of Balance: A Biography of FW de Klerk* by J Cameron-Dow]

SOURCE 2B

The source below is an extract from a book written by M Meredith, who worked as a correspondent for *The London Observer* and the *Sunday Times* newspapers in the 1990s. It focuses on how the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) exposed the atrocities committed by the National Party government from the late 1970s.

Having laid down its criteria on accountability, the TRC delivered its verdict on the principal protagonists (characters). It was Botha's government in the late 1970s, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) declared, that had entered the 'realm of criminal misconduct'. Previous governments had ruled by repression but Botha's government had adopted a policy of killing its opponents. It was also responsible for the widespread use of torture, abduction, arson and sabotage. At meetings of the State Security Council, leading members, including Botha, Malan, Vlok and the heads of the security forces, had used terminology like 'eliminate, take out and wipe out', knowing full well this would result in the killing of political opponents.

The 'realm (scope) of criminal misconduct' extended into FW de Klerk's period in office. The TRC was highly critical of FW de Klerk's failure to tackle the problem of the 'third force' – a network of security force members and right-wing groups seeking to wreck (ruin) any transition that would lead to an African National Congress (ANC) government. Though it acknowledged that FW de Klerk had taken steps to dismantle the national security management system he had inherited from Botha, the TRC said he had made 'little obvious attempts to curb (control) third force activities', and had ignored pleas from senior officers like General Steyn, the Defence Force Chief of Staff, to institute a thorough investigation. He had failed to take action, concluded the TRC 'either deliberately or by omission'.

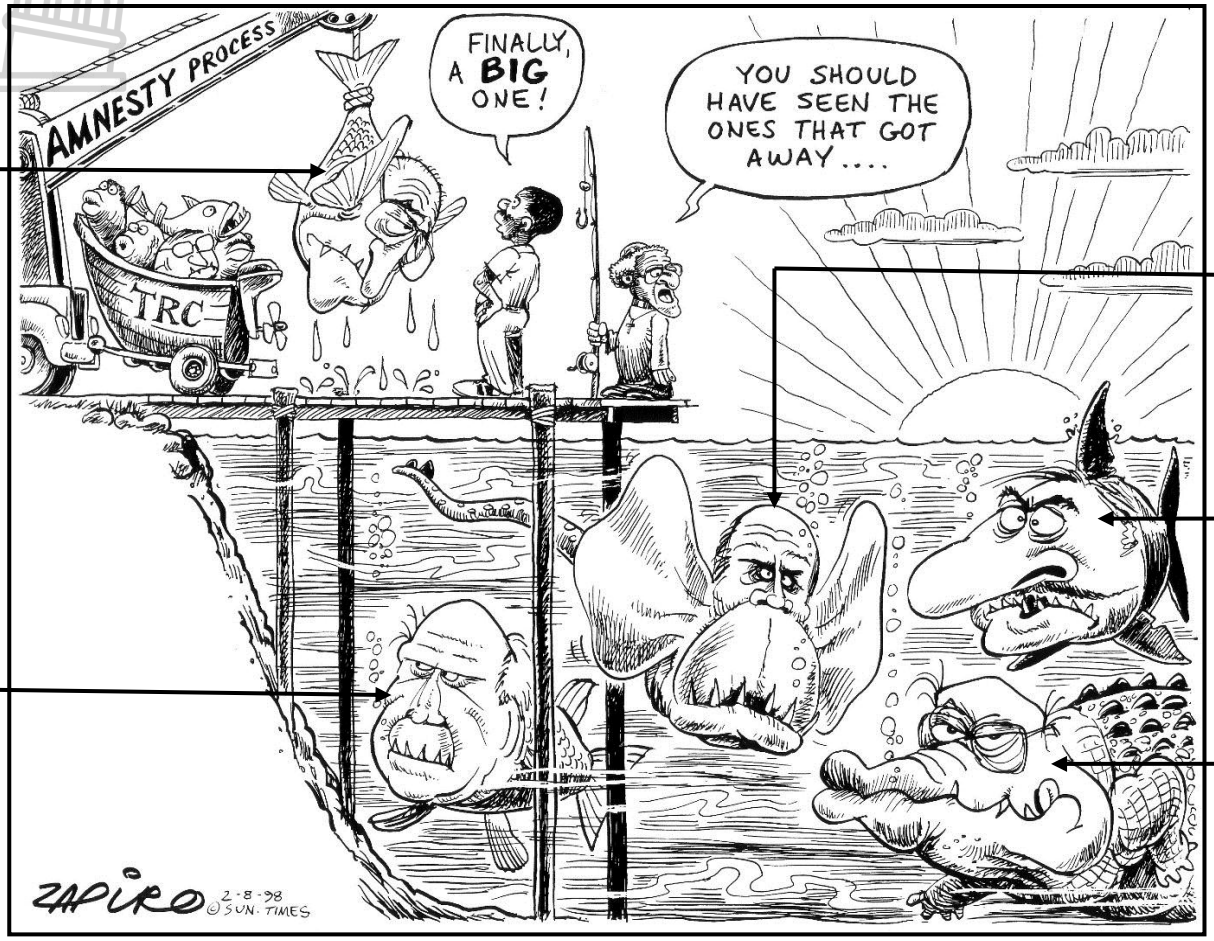
The TRC cited (mentioned) testimony it had heard that FW de Klerk was aware that his commissioner of police, Van der Merwe, had been involved in illegal activity regarding the bombing of Khotso House and yet continued to retain his position as the most senior policeman in the country.

[From *Coming to Terms – South Africa's Search for Truth* by M Meredith]

Copyright reserved

SOURCE 2C

The cartoon below was drawn by Zapiro and was first published in the *Sun. Times* on 2 August 1998. It depicts the apartheid government's cabinet ministers who evaded accountability for the violations of human rights committed between 1960 and 1994.



[From *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 Years on* by C Villa-Vicencio and F du Toit]

FW de Klerk

Adriaan Vlok

PW Botha

Pik Botha

Magnus Malan

SOURCE 2D

The extract below has been taken from the confessions made by P Erasmus, a member of the security branch of the South African Police. He exposes the dark secrets of the apartheid-era policing system ordered by the National Party cabinet and the State Security Council in the early 1980s.

The leader of the Democratic Party, Tony Leon, summed it up when he said that it seemed as though the National Party was turning its back on the foot soldiers who, encouraged by their political leaders, had committed acts of terror against the South African people.

Johan van der Merwe later turned on his former masters and admitted that FW de Klerk had, indeed, been briefed on all secret projects during the last four years of his government. Van der Merwe had, however, set himself up against former members of the South African Police (SAP) too, by putting his name on the indemnity (protection) list of 3 500 police officers whom FW de Klerk had approved just before being replaced by Mandela in the April 1994 election. As an expression of solidarity (unity) with the SAP of his era, FW de Klerk had placed his own name on that list too.

When it was reported that FW de Klerk, some ex-ministers and generals involved with the State Security Council had already met on three occasions and were planning the fourth meeting to prepare themselves for what must have felt like the coming onslaught of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), I felt that old fury (anger) burning bright as ever inside me. Surely the concept of a truth commission was that each individual goes before the commission and tells their story alone, because that is what they chose to do – for whatever reason.

We, the foot soldiers, were embattled (affected), not so much by our consciences, but by the fact that we had been disregarded and discarded (rejected), thrown away by those who represented a government that had employed us to kill, maim (cut into pieces) and torture. This is the truth. We simply could not get over it.

[From *Confessions of a Stratcom Hitman* by P Erasmus]

QUESTION 3: HOW DID POWERFUL INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, NAMELY THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) AND THE WORLD BANK, SHAPE THE GLOBALISED ECONOMIES SINCE THE 1980s?

SOURCE 3A

The extract below has been taken from a book by T Falola and B House-Soremekun. It explains how globalisation negatively affects the continent of Africa.

Globalisation presents Africa and black people as marginal (unimportant): globalising economies seek resources from every corner of the world, and globalised economies reap considerable benefits from their economics and political dominance. The *Wealth of Nations*, to borrow from Adam Smith's famous book, is used not only to develop the resources within the boundaries of nation-states, but also to tap into the resources of other countries. Africa has given to the outside world more than it received in return, creating the basis to talk about the poverty of nations, the ultimate peak of human progress. Globalisation's critics point to the devastation of the environment, climate change, depletion (reduction) of natural and mineral resources, labour exploitation …

Africa is the case study of both positions, providing examples of the benefits and problems of globalisation. Africa experiences globalisation 'from above', that is, a situation where powerful nations and companies with more resources are able to control the major actions and policies that determine the characteristics of global encounters. If Africa is part of the equation of globalisation 'from below', any discussion of its place in the global system will draw us into issues of nationalism and resistance – how Africans can mobilise themselves to win power and privileges, and how international institutions must be reformed. The actors who control globalisation from above call on African countries to practise democracy, but the same democratic principles do not apply to the United Nations Security Council, where a handful of countries have veto (to reject) power.

[From *Globalisation and Sustainable Development in Africa* by T Falola and B House-Soremekun]

Copyright reserved

SOURCE 3B

The source below is an extract from a book by BK Campbell and J Loxley. It highlights the impact of globalisation through international financial institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, on African countries in the 1980s.

The conditions with which African governments have had to respond to the global crisis of the early 1980s have had the effect of locking them into new forms of dependent relationships with Western governments and international financial organisations. In particular, the acute (severe) balance of payments crises suffered by most African states in recent years, and the accompanying disruption of local production, have undermined the continent's ability to service foreign debt incurred in better times. Indeed, many countries have been forced to go into debt in an effort to stave (repair) off economic collapse and/or in an attempt to stimulate economic recovery. In particular, they have turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for balance of payments loans.

Usually they have done so reluctantly (unwillingly), and because they have exhausted other possibilities of obtaining finance. Sometimes banks' bilateral donors and other sources of funding insist that African governments borrow from international institutions as a condition for maintaining their own contribution to balance of payment assistance.

Never before have the international financial institutions wielded (used) such pervasive (extensive) influence on policy formulation in Africa; not since the days of colonialism have external forces been so powerfully focused to shape Africa's economic structure and the nature of its participation in the world system.

Structural adjustments, as advocated by the international institutions, seek to restore growth and stability by recasting (changing) relative prices, domestic expenditures and the type and degree of state intervention in the economy.

[From *Structural Adjustment in Africa* by BK Campbell and J Loxley]

SOURCE 3C

This cartoon titled 'Dependence Theory' was taken from the book *The Development of Underdevelopment* by AG Frank. It sheds light on a view regarding the dependency theory.



[From *The Development of Underdevelopment* by AG Frank]

POOR NATIONS **RICH NATIONS**

SOURCE 3D

The source below is an extract from a book titled *Globalisation and Its Discontents* by J Stiglitz. It shares his personal experiences working in powerful international financial institutions.

In 1993 I left Academia (university) to serve on the Council of Economic Advisers under President Bill Clinton. After years of research and teaching, this was my first major foray (attempt) into policy making, and more to the point, politics. From there I moved to the World Bank in 1997, where I served as chief economist and senior vice-president for almost three years, leaving in January 2000. I couldn't have chosen a more fascinating time to go into policy making. I was in the White House as Russia began its transition from communism and I worked at the World Bank during the financial crisis that began in East Asia in 1997 and eventually enveloped the world.

I had always been interested in economic development and what I saw radically changed my views of both globalisation and development. Foreign aid, another aspect of the globalised world, for all its faults still has brought benefits to millions, often in ways that have almost gone unnoticed: guerrillas in the Philippines were provided jobs by a World Bank-financed project as they laid down all their arms, irrigation projects have more than doubled the incomes of farmers lucky enough to get water, education projects have brought literacy to the rural areas, in a few countries Aids projects have helped contain the spread of this deadly disease.

Those who vilify (criticise) globalisation too often overlook the benefits. But the proponents (supporters) of globalisation have been, if anything, even more unbalanced. To them, globalisation (which typically is associated with accepting triumphant capitalism, American style) is progress; developing countries must accept it, if they are to grow and to fight poverty effectively. But to many in the developing world, globalisation has not brought the promised economic benefits.

[From *Globalisation and Its Discontents* by J Stiglitz]

Copyright reserved

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

Cameron-Dow, J. 2016. *A Question of Balance: A Biography of FW de Klerk,* JCD Publishers, USA.

Campbell, B and Loxley J. 1989. *Structural Adjustment in Africa,* St Martin's Press Inc., USA.

Erasmus, P. 2021. *Confessions of a Stratcom Hitman,* Jacana Media, South Africa.

Falola, T and House-Soremekun, B. 2011. *Globalisation and Sustainable Development in Africa,* University of Rochester Press, United Kingdom.

Frank, AG. 2005. *The Development of Underdevelopment*, New England Free Press, USA.

Meredith, M. 1999. *Coming to Terms – South Africa's Search for Truth,* Public Affairs, USA.

Seidman, J. 2008. *Red on Black: The Story of the South African Poster Movement*, STE Publishers, South Africa.

Stiglitz, J. 2002. *Globalisation and Its Discontents,* WW Norton & Company, USA.

The Namibian, 6 December 1985

The Washington Post, 25 February 1988

Villa-Vicencio, C and Du Toit, F. 2006. *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 Years on,* David Phillip, South Africa.

Work in Progress, Issue No. 54, June–July 1988, Publication of the Southern African Research Service.

Copyright reserved