NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
MAY 2025

HISTORY: PAPER II

SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C

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SOURCE A

This extract has been adapted from a publication of the *Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund* titled *Savimbi and South Africa: No Casual Affair*. It was published in August 1987.

For more than a decade, South Africa has been waging an undeclared war against Angola … The major instrument of this South African war, apart from direct invasion, has been Jonas Savimbi of UNITA … UNITA is the South African-backed group fighting to overthrow the government of Angola … The USA government supports the war against Angola by supplying military aid and political recognition to the UNITA rebels. The Reagan Administration says it is fighting for freedom when it backs groups like UNITA in Angola. In reality, this has involved the US directly in the apartheid government's war against the Angolan people. US foreign policy is being determined by the incorrect perception* that the conflict in southern Africa is a Cold War struggle. **(Paragraph 1)**

Savimbi is very effective at public relations*. He presents UNITA as a genuine African nationalist movement and claims that the majority of Angolans support him. By telling Western audiences that the real problem in southern Africa is not South Africa but the Soviet Union, he touches chords* calculated* to loosen America's purse strings*. His military ties with South Africa, he says, are an unfortunate necessity. **(Paragraph 2)**

[Adapted from: <https://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-746-84-african_activist_archive-a0b5u9-a_12419.pdf> (Accessed 11 February 2024)]

*perception – the way in which something is interpreted or understood
*public relations – maintaining a positive public image
*touches chords – trigger an emotional response to something
*calculated – intentionally planned to get a particular outcome
*purse strings – a metaphorical term referring to control over financial resources or decisions

SOURCE B

This is a cartoon that appeared in the *Southern African Report* in February 1986. The publication was produced by the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa. The figure in the cartoon is Jonas Savimbi.



[From: <http://noeasyvictories.org/sar/sar0104.pdf> (Accessed 12 January 2024)]

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SOURCE C

This is an extract from an online essay by Ben Rosie published in 2020 for an international relations website. It is titled *The Angolan Civil War: Conflict Economics or the Divine Right of Kings?* It discusses the role of natural resources in the civil war.

… natural resources played a very significant role in the continuation of the Angolan Civil War, allowing both parties to fund a destructive war effort and buy favour* with the world's leading powers. It is … less likely the international community would have become as involved had it not been for the strategic opportunity Angola represented within the political context of the Cold War. Ideologically, at least on the surface, international assistance was provided along Cold War lines, ensuring the conflict escalated and was sustained, arguably artificially. While this provided both the USSR and the US the opportunity to bloody the other's nose* and disrupt their global spread. **(Paragraph 1)**

Natural resources remain such a significant explanatory factor because of their consistent importance throughout every stage of the conflict. Without Angola's natural riches, the conflict would not have persisted as it did. They funded much of the hostilities but also made connections between and provided the platform for, other factors, which allow for a more nuanced* explanation of conflict perpetuation*. **(Paragraph 2)**

[From: <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/12/02/the-angolan-civil-war-conflict-economics-or-the-divine-right-of-kings/#google_vignette> (Accessed 20 January 2024)]

*buy favour – win support or approval for something
*bloody the other's nose – to defeat or harm someone, often in a confrontational or aggressive manner
*nuanced – not simple, has many complex qualities
*perpetuation – the continuation of a situation

SOURCE D

This is an extract from an article that appeared in the *New York Times* in December 1975. It is titled *South African role in Angola grows*.

Prime Minister John Vorster is saying that with the Soviet Union aiding one of the three liberation movements in Angola, the huge former Portuguese territory could become a major crisis for South Africa unless the Western powers were prepared to aid in defusing* it quickly. **(Paragraph 1)**

South Africa is supplying military advisers and weapons to anti-Communist forces in Angola, which are getting American help also. The official statements, as well as authoritative leaks, are clearly aimed at trying to persuade the Western world, particularly the United States, to force the Soviet Union to back down. **(Paragraph 2)**

The South African Defense Minister … emphasizing at a news conference this week that South Africa was dedicated to any action to keep Communism out of Africa, asserted that it should be a concerted* Western action. **(Paragraph 3)**

Summing up the widespread feelings of frustration here over the Angolan situation, an editorial in The Johannesburg Star … said: 'The West fiddles* while Angola burns, and the flames could spread throughout southern Africa.' **(Paragraph 4)**

[From: <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/12/03/archives/south-africa-role-in-angola-grows-involvement-in-civil-war-is-made.html> (Accessed 20 January 2024)]

*defusing – making a difficult situation calmer by reducing or removing the cause
*concerted – working together to achieve a common goal
*fiddles – to spend time doing nothing

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SOURCE E

This is an extract from a book by Tony Hodges published in 2001. It is titled *Angola from Afro-Stalinism to Petro-Diamond Capitalism* and looks at Angola's history over a number of decades.

The key causal factors were the nature of Portuguese colonialism, particularly its failure to prepare for a stable transition to independence, and the development of rival nationalist groups, each with different ethno-regional heartlands*, external backers* and leaderships determined on achieving absolute power at the expense of their rivals … **(Paragraph 1)**

Even during the war against Portugal, the leaderships of the three main Angolan movements proved unable to present a united front, and at times fought each other … When the transition to independence began … the nationalist movements quickly proved unable to work together. Instead, they embarked on a desperate race to achieve supremacy before the scheduled date for independence … This conflict was exacerbated* by external intervention … driven by geo-political* rivalries of the Cold War and by South Africa's determination to weaken Angola's ability to aid nationalists in South African-ruled Namibia. **(Paragraph 2)**

[Adapted from: Hodges, T. (2001). *Angola: From Afro-Stalinism to Petro-Diamond Capitalism*. Oxford: James Currey; and Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press]

*ethno-regional heartlands – a stronghold of support for a particular ethnic group within the country
*backers – a country that provides financial and/or political support to something
*exacerbated – make a problem or situation worse
*geo-political – matters related to politics impacted by geography, divide between East and West in Cold War context

SOURCE F

This is an extract from *South African History Online*. It provides a brief history of the Angolan Civil War.

A salient* reason for the continuation of civil war after independence was a result of the reluctance* of the dominant liberation movements to share power within a multi-ethnic society … The MPLA called for a single united front of all anti-colonial Angolan forces; however, its popular appeal was largely limited to the Mbundu – Angola's second largest ethnic group … The MPLA's nationalist drive did not appeal to the Bakongo people, who rallied to militant right-wing FNLA leader, Holden Roberto … The formation of UNITA in 1966 attracted the largest support base; the Ovimbundu ethnic group … **(Paragraph 1)**

Thus, while a power-sharing arrangement was agreed upon after independence was secured, power struggles ensued almost immediately as the agreement collapsed. This was aggravated* by the withdrawal of the Portuguese in 1975; refusing to impose peace or supervise elections, and failing to hand over power to any one party, the Portuguese armies exited Angola and left the country and its future to its own devices. It was here that the common anti-colonial goal was abandoned, and the three dominant liberation movements began a steady struggle for power. On August 1, 1975, UNITA formally declared war on the MPLA. **(Paragraph 2)**

[From: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/angolan-civil-war-1975-2002-brief-history> (Accessed 20 January 2024)]

*salient – noticeable or important
*reluctance – an unwillingness to do something or take action
*aggravated – made more severe or serious

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SOURCE G

This photograph shows Cuban soldiers displaying a poster of Fidel Castro and MPLA supporters displaying a poster of Agostinho Neto. The ceremony took place on 9 January 1989, at the Cuban training camp of Punda, near Luanda, Angola.



[From: <https://jacobin.com/2022/05/cuba-castro-angola-namibia-us-soviet-union> (Accessed 12 January 2024)]

SOURCE H

This is an extract from an article written by international relations journalist Adam Taylor in 2015 for the *Washington Post*. It is titled *A 27-year Civil War for no reason at all.* It comments on a study written by Justin Pierce examining the Angolan Civil War.

The Angolan Civil War may have been considered a Cold War proxy war by the rest of the world, but Pearce's study finds few ordinary Angolans cared about that ideological divide. Many of those who were interviewed suggested that they simply accepted the authority of whichever military power was controlling the land they lived on at that moment. As the war went on, the rival groups began creating jobs and providing services to the civilians they controlled, who in turn became loyal to the group for the positive effect it may have had on their life. **(Paragraph 1)**

Pearce writes that in the end the war became a 'zero-sum game*', with each side working to destroy the other's ability to provide for its supporters. 'The MPLA won the war through military might,' Pearce writes. 'But the ending of the war was the culmination* of a process whereby firepower, blood-shed and starvation were employed to transform the possibilities of what was imaginable.' **(Paragraph 2)**

[Adapted from: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/14/a-27-year-civil-war-for-no-reason-at-all/> (Accessed 20 January 2024)]

*zero-sum game – a situation where one group can win something only by causing another group to lose it
*culmination – the highest point of something, achieved after a long time

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