



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION  
NOVEMBER 2022

**HISTORY: PAPER II**

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**SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET  
FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C**

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**SOURCE A** This photograph shows the Commander of 20 SA Brigade, Colonel P. S. Fouché with two M-46 Russian artillery pieces taken by the SADF during the Operation Hooper attack on 21 Brigade in January 1988 (one of the battles fought around Cuito Cuanavale). It was sourced from a book called: *Cuito Cuanavale: 12 Months of War that Transformed a Continent* by Fred Bridgland. The photographer is unknown.



[Available at [ONLINE]: Cuito Cuanavale: 12 Months of War that Transformed a Continent by Fred Bridgland (timeslive.co.za)]

**SOURCE B** This is an extract from an article written in 2009 by Andreas Velthuizen, an independent researcher, called: 'The significance of the battle for Cuito Cuanavale: long-term foresight of the current strategic landscape.'

This final battle at Tumpo\*, where the SADF lost three tanks in a minefield, proved to be detrimental\* to the morale\* of the SADF. The troops had fought too many fights and there was no indication of relief. The SADF did not succeed in driving the enemy out of their bunkers on the eastern bank of the Cuito River. The SADF lacked the offensive means and the killer instinct. The SADF suffered more losses of equipment and personnel than usual and had no substantial reserves available to continue the fight. Aircrew members, both in helicopters and fighters, were exhausted by the numerous operations. The offensive was then stopped owing to considerations such as the cost effectiveness of the operation ... The SADF was also under pressure from President Botha to terminate the intervention because he did not want 'another Vietnam'.

[Adapted from: *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol 37, Nr 2, 2009. doi: 10.5787/37-2-71 Available at: <<https://scientiamilitaria.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/71>> Accessed on 14 January 2022]

\*Tumpo – One of the battles fought as part of the military campaign around Cuito Cuanavale in March 1988

\*detrimental – tending to cause harm

\*morale – the confidence, enthusiasm, and discipline of a person or group at a particular time

**SOURCE C This is an extract from a book on 'Pik' Botha – South Africa's foreign minister in the 1980s.**

... Padraig O Malley\* asked Pik\* about the claims that Cuito was a historic battle where the tide turned against South Africa. It was said that the South Africans had wiped the Cubans out on the ground. But the Cubans had the upper hand in the air. Apparently, the Air Force were unable to get spares for their aircraft and consequently lost command of the air, ... The South Africans were unable to advance and had to halt right there. He had heard that story before, Pik answered. 'I think it's just more realistic to describe it as a face-saving\* device – a face-saving device for the Cubans and that sort of thing. It's totally untrue ...' To Sue Onslow of the London School of Economics he put this more strongly: 'Frankly, the idea that Cuito Cuanavale was a smashing victory [for them] is a joke ...' **(Paragraph 1)**

... Chester Crocker's\* account of the fighting at Cuito Cuanavale also differs widely from the one put out by the Cubans.' The legend of Cuito Cuanavale was gratifying for those who lusted to smash the myth of South African invincibility\* ... but the South African, Angolan and Cuban officials who accepted our mediation in 1988 knew better. They were there ...' **(Paragraph 2)**

... General Geldenhuys was emphatic about who the victors were: the SADF and Unita. Hands down. 'The mission of the MPLA, Cubans and Russians was to capture Jamba. They did not. They never even reached Jamba. We did just that; indeed even before the attackers could scale the first hurdle – the Lombo River. As a bonus we also pushed them back to West of the Cuito river with the exception of one isolated spot, Tumpo, east of the river. This is the unquestionable truth.' From the Cuban camp the much-decorated General Sanchez said in 1989 after the end of the Angolan war: 'I was sent to a war that was already lost so that I could take blame for the defeat.' ... **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted from: *Pik Botha and his times*. Theresa Papenfus. Litera publications.2010. Pages 568–571]

\*Padraig O Malley – is an Irish international peacemaker, author, and Distinguished Professor of Peace and Reconciliation at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. O'Malley specializes in the problems of divided societies, such as South Africa and Northern Ireland.

\*Pik – Roelof Frederik "Pik" Botha was a South African politician who served as the country's foreign minister for 17 years during the apartheid era. Botha was nicknamed 'Pik'.

\*face-saving – something which saves your reputation and credibility.

\*Chester Crocker – Chester Arthur Crocker served as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs from 1981 to 1989, in the Reagan administration. In May 1988 he headed a US mediation team which brought negotiators from Angola, Cuba and South Africa, and observers from the Soviet-union together in London.

\*invincibility – too powerful to be defeated or overcome

**SOURCE D**

The following table shows military losses in terms of men and military hardware on both sides during the campaign in Angola that ended in the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, September 1987 to April 1988. These are SADF figures which do not include UNITA casualties.

Cuban-Fapla forces (Damage done by SADF and UNITA)		South African Defence Force (SADF)[ Excludes UNITA casualties] (Damage done by Cubans and Fapla)	
Tanks	94	Tanks	3
Armoured troop and combat vehicles	100	Ratel infantry fighting vehicles	5
BM 21/BM 14 multiple rocket launchers	34	Casspirs (mine-resistant ambush-protected vehicle)	3
TMM mobile bridges	7	Rinkhals (armoured ambulance)	1
Logistic vehicles	389	Withings (recovery vehicle)	1
Artillery, rocket and missile systems	5	Kwevoel (landmine protected truck)	1
23 mm anti-aircraft guns	22	Mirage F1 fighting aircraft	2
MIG 21/23 combat aircraft	9	Men killed in action	31
Men killed in action	4785		

[Adapted from: *At The Front*. Jannie Geldenhuys. Jonathan Ball Publishers. 2009. Page 240]

**SOURCE E** On March 28, 2018, Ambassador of Cuba to South Africa, Rodolfo Benítez Verson, addressed the participants of the 'Southern Africa Ministerial Roundtable on the UNESCO/AU Roads to Independence', in commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

By the beginning of November 1987, the South African armed forces had encircled the best Angolan units in the village and were preparing to annihilate them. The fall of Cuito was imminent\*, which would mean a devastating blow to the Angolan government ... In that context, once again, Cuba quickly responded to the Angolan government's call for assistance. ...

**(Paragraph 1)**

..., select Cuban units advanced towards Cuito Cuanavale and there they prepared a deadly trap for the powerful South African forces that were advancing. The objective was not only to defend Cuito, it was to expel the South African Defence Forces from Angola once and for all. Commander in Chief Fidel Castro would later describe his strategy to the leader of the South African Communist Party, Cde.\* Joe Slovo. He explained that Cuba would stop the South African onslaught in Cuito and then attack in another direction, 'like the boxer who keeps the opponent with the left hand and hits him with the right'. **(Paragraph 2)**

On March 23 1988, the South Africans and the puppet armed group Unit for the Total Defence of Angola (UNITA), supported by the United States, launched their last major assault against Cuito. But they were definitely stopped by the revolutionary forces. **(Paragraph 3)**

... The Apartheid regime tried to present its defeat in Cuito as a tactical retreat. Throughout these years, some dubious\* authors have also tried to rewrite history, minimizing and even ignoring the relevance of the fight in Cuito Cuanavale. But the African revolutionaries never had doubts about who won the battle or its relevance. **(Paragraph 4)**

[Adapted from: <<http://misiones.minrex.gob.cu/en/articulo/ambassador-cuba-speaks-about-cuito-cuanavale>> Accessed on 15 January 2022]

\*imminent – happening very soon  
 \*cde. – comrade  
 \*dubious – of questionable quality

**SOURCE F** The following extract is from a book written by the author Fred Bridgland, called *Cuito Cuanavale: Twelve Months of War that Transformed a Continent*.

Geldenhuys\* denied that Cuito Cuanavale was ever an objective of the ... SADF. 'Cuito Cuanavale was put into the limelight by the Cubans. I actually forbade the chief of the army (General Kat Liebenberg) to take Cuito Cuanavale ...' **(Paragraph 1)**

... There were several ways to argue about who won the war, said Geldenhuys, who stepped down in 1990 as head of the Defence Force. The best way ... was to look at the *initial* objectives of each side: 'The Cuban-Fapla objective was to capture Mavinga and Jamba. They didn't accomplish it. Our objective was to prevent them from taking Mavinga and Jamba. We succeeded. The turning point was the Lomba River battles. They were a severe blow to the morale, ... of the Cubans and Fapla ...'. We destroyed a whole enemy brigade\* ... To destroy that brigade with minimal South African losses was remarkable. The Cubans and Fapla had to do something subsequently to shore up morale, so they presented the war to the outside world as though it was a matter of who captured or who held Cuito Cuanavale'. **(Paragraph 2)**

[Adapted from: *Cuito Cuanavale: Twelve Months of War that Transformed a Continent*. Fred Bridgland. Jonathan Ball Publishers. 2017. Pages 439-441]

\*Jannie Geldenhuys – Chief of the South African Defence Force from 1985 to 1990

\*brigade – a large body of troops (3 000–5 000 troops)

**SOURCE G** This is an extract from an online article called: 'Cuito Cuanavale, Angola 25th Anniversary of a Historic African Battle', written by Ronnie Kasrils in 2013 in the *Monthly Review*, an independent Socialist magazine. Kasrils was an active ANC and SACP member who fought against the apartheid system and was an active member of MK. He also served in various positions in government after 1994.

The Seventh Congress of the South African Communist Party was held in Cuba in April 1989. When Jorge Risquet, one of Fidel Castro's shrewdest and most trusted colleagues, addressed the gathered members, he was greeted with the resounding salutation 'Viva Cuito Cuanavale!' For the ... delegates, many who had come from military duty in Angola itself where the African National Congress (ANC) had military training facilities courtesy of the government, there was no doubt whatsoever that an epic\* victory had been recently won at the remote town of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola. The loser was the apartheid military machine in that embattled country in March 1988 ... **(Paragraph 1)**

It was in July 1987 that several brigades of Angola's military force FAPLA (People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) advanced south in an effort to crush UNITA. This was followed by an invasion by SADF forces in October, who came to UNITA's assistance and nearly led to catastrophe for the MPLA government in Luanda. But a dramatic reversal came in March 1988 after crack Cuban internationalist forces from Havana came to the rescue. By the year's end the tables had been dramatically turned on the SADF and the Pretoria apartheid regime, resulting in an epic regional change in favour of African liberation. **(Paragraph 2)**

The generals ... of the former SADF are at pains to claim victory in Cuito Cuanavale. But the acid test\* in this continuing debate is the outcome – which was the end of apartheid. The SADF, which had carried out continuous invasions and incursions into Angola since that country's hard-won independence in 1975 (and the reason for the Cuban military presence in the first place), had been forced totally to withdraw. **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted from: <<https://monthlyreview.org/2013/04/01/cuito-cuanavale-angola/>> Accessed on 16 January 2022]

\*epic – something done on a grand scale, heroic

\*acid test – crucial, very important

**SOURCE H** This photograph appeared in *Le Monde diplomatique* – a world-famous voice in journalism dating back to 1954 (it began as a journal to keep diplomats up to date on world events). Based in Paris, under the umbrella of the French daily newspaper *Le Monde*. It shows a captured South African tank at Cuito Cuanavale in 1988. Jeremy Harding was the photographer.



[Available at: <<https://mondediplo.com/2015/07/09southafrica>> Accessed on 17 January 2022]