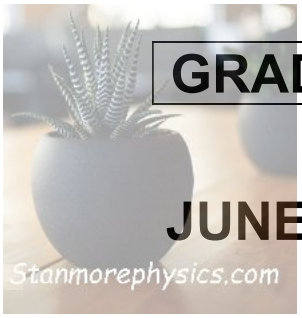
Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

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Provinsie van die Oos Kaap: Department van Onderwys
Porafensie Ya Kapa Botjahabela: Lefapha la Thuto

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE



GRADE 12

JUNE 2025

HISTORY P2
MARKING GUIDELINE

MARKS: 150

This marking guideline consists of 21 pages.

1. SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

1.1 The following cognitive levels were used to develop source-based questions:

COGNITIVE LEVELS	HISTORICAL SKILLS	WEIGHTING OF QUESTIONS
LEVEL 1	• Extract evidence from sources • Selection and organisation of relevant information from sources • Define historical concepts/terms	**30% (15)**
LEVEL 2	• Interpretation of evidence from the sources • Explain information gathered from the sources • Analyse evidence from the sources	**40% (20)**
LEVEL 3	• Interpret and evaluate evidence from sources • Engage with sources to determine its usefulness, reliability, bias and limitations • Compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives presented in sources and draw independent conclusions.	**30% (15)**

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1.2 The information below indicates how source-based questions are assessed:

- In the marking of source-based questions, credit needs to be given to any other valid and relevant viewpoints, arguments, evidence or examples.
- In the allocation of marks, emphasis should be placed on how the requirements of the question have been addressed.
- In the marking guideline, the requirements of the question (skills that need to be addressed) as well as the level of the question are indicated in italics.
- When assessing open-ended source-based questions, learners should be credited for any other relevant answers.
- Learners are expected to take a stance when answering 'to what extent' questions in order for any marks to be awarded.

1.3 Assessment procedures for source-based questions

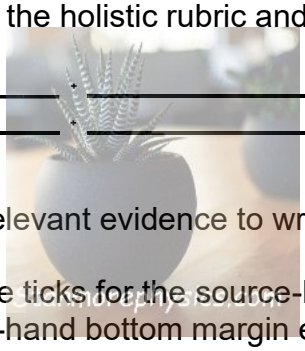
- Use a tick (✓) for each correct answer
- Pay attention to the mark scheme e.g. (2 × 2) which translates to two reasons and is given two marks each (✓✓✓✓); (1 × 2) which translates to one reason and is given two marks (✓✓)
- If a question carries 4 marks then indicate by placing 4 ticks (✓✓✓✓)

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Paragraph question

Paragraphs are to be assessed globally (holistically). Both the content and structure of the paragraph must be taken into account when awarding a mark. The following steps must be used when assessing a response to a paragraph question:

- Read the paragraph and place a bullet (•) at each point within the text where the candidate has used relevant evidence to address the question.
- Re-read the paragraph to evaluate the extent to which the candidate has been able to use relevant evidence to write a paragraph.
- At the end of the paragraph indicate the ticks (√) that the candidate has been awarded for the paragraph; as well as the level (1, 2 or 3) as indicated in the holistic rubric and a brief comment e.g.



√√√ Level 2

Used mostly relevant evidence to write a basic paragraph.

- Count all the ticks for the source-based question and then write the mark on the right-hand bottom margin e.g. 32/50
- Ensure that the total mark is transferred accurately to the front/back cover of the answer script.

2. ESSAY QUESTIONS

2.1 The essay questions require candidates to:

- Be able to structure their argument in a logical and coherent manner. They need to select, organise and connect the relevant information so that they are able to present a reasonable sequence of facts or an effective argument to answer the question posed. It is essential that an essay has an introduction, a coherent and balanced body of evidence and a conclusion.

2.2 Marking of essay questions

- Markers must be aware that the content of the answer will be guided by the textbooks in use at the particular centre.
- Candidates may have any other relevant introduction and/or conclusion than those included in a specific essay marking guideline for a specific essay.

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2.3 Global assessment of the essay

The essay will be assessed holistically (globally). This approach requires the teacher to asses the essay as a whole, rather than assessing the main points of the essay separately. This approach encourages the learner to write an original argument by using relevantl evidence to support the line of argument. The learner will **not** be required to simply regurgitate content (facts) in order to achieve a level 7 (high mark). This approach discourages learners from preparing 'model' answers and reproducing them without taking into account the specific requirements of the question. Holistic marking of the essay credits learners' opinions supported by evidence. Holistic assessment, unlike content-based marking, does not penalise language inadequacies as the emphasis is on the following:

- The construction of argument
- The appropriate selection of factual evidence to support such argument
- The learner's interpretation of the question

2.4 Assessment procedures of the essay

2.4.1 Keep the synopsis in mind when assessing the essay.

2.4.2 During the reading of the essay ticks need to be awarded for a relevant introduction (indicated by a bullet in the marking guideline), each of the main points/aspects that is properly contextualised (also indicated by bullets in the marking guideline) and a relevant conclusion (indicated by a bullet in the marking guideline) e.g. in an answer where there are 5 main points there will be 7 ticks.

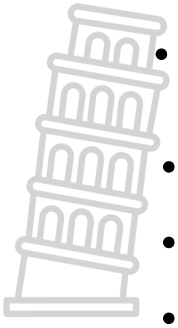
2.4.3 Keep the **PEEL** structure in mind when assessing an essay.

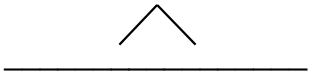
P	**Point:** The candidate introduces the essay by taking a line of argument/making a major point. Each paragraph should include a point that sustains the major point (line of argument) that was made in the introduction.
E	**Explanation:** The candidate should explain in more detail what the main point is all about and how it relates to the question posed (line of argument)
E	**Example:** The candidates should answer the question by selecting content that is relevant to the line of argument. Relevant examples should be given to sustain the line of argument.
L	**Link:** Candidates should ensure that the line of argument is sustained throughout the essay and is written coherently.

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2.4.4 The following additional symbols can also be used:

- Introduction, main aspects and conclusion not properly contextualised



- Wrong statement 
- Irrelevant statement
- Repetition **R**
- Analysis **A** √
- Interpretation I √
- Line argument **LOA** ↕



2.5 **The matrix**

2.5.1 Use of the matrix in the marking of essays.

In the marking of essays, the criteria as provided in the matrix should be used. When assessing the essay note both the content and presentation. At the point of intersection of the content and presentation based on the seven competency levels, a mark should be awarded.

(a) The first reading of essays will be to determine to what extent the main aspects have been covered and to allocate the **content level** (on the matrix).

C	LEVEL 4	

(b) The second reading of essays will relate to the level (on the matrix) of **presentation**.

C	LEVEL 4	
P	LEVEL 5	

(c) Allocate an overall mark with the use of the matrix.

C	LEVEL 4	} 30–33
P	LEVEL 5	

MARKING MATRIX FOR ESSAY: TOTAL: 50

PRESENTATION → / CONTENT ↓	LEVEL 7	LEVEL 6	LEVEL 5	LEVEL 4	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 1
	Very well planned and structured essay. Good synthesis of information. Developed an original, well balanced and independent line of argument with the use of evidence and sustained and defended the argument throughout. Independent conclusion is drawn from evidence to support the line of argument.	Very well planned and structured essay. Developed a relevant line of argument. Evidence used to defend the argument. Attempts to draw an independent conclusion from the evidence to support the line of argument.	Well planned and structured essay. Attempts to develop a clear argument. Conclusion drawn from the evidence to support the line of argument.	Planned and constructed an argument. Evidence used to some extent to support the line of argument. Conclusions reached based on evidence..	Shows some evidence of a planned and constructed argument. Attempts to sustain a line of argument. Conclusions not clearly supported by evidence.	Attempts to structure an answer. Largely descriptive or some attempt at developing a line of argument. No attempt to draw a conclusion.	Little or no attempt to structure the essay.
LEVEL 7 Question has been fully answered. Content selection fully relevant to line of argument.	47–50	43–46					
LEVEL 6 Question has been answered. Content selection relevant to a line of argument.	43–46	40–42	38–39				
LEVEL 5 Question answered to a great extent. Content adequately covered and relevant.	38–39	36–37	34–35	30–33	28–29		
LEVEL 4 Question recognisable in answer. Some omissions/irrelevant content selection.			30–33	28–29	26–27		
LEVEL 3 Content selection does not always relate. Omissions in coverage.				26–27	24–25	20–23	
LEVEL 2 Sparse content. Question inadequately addressed					20–23	18–19	14–17
LEVEL 1 Question not answered. Inadequate content. Significant irrelevance						14–17	0–13

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*Guidelines for allocating a mark for Level 1:

- Question not addressed at all/totally irrelevant content; no attempt to structure the essay = 0
- Content selection includes basic and generally irrelevant information; no attempt to structure the essay = 1 – 6
- Question inadequately addressed and vague; little attempt to structure the essay = 7 – 13

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SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: WHAT ROLE DID THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (SACC) PLAY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID IN THE 1980s?

1.1 1.1.1 *[Definition of historical concept from Source 1A – L1]*

- The political, economic and social segregation of races based on their skin colour
- Separate development of different racial groups
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*

- Many people were killed and tortured in the 1980s
- The 1980s was a time of extreme violence and repression by the apartheid government
- People lived in fear in the townships with the permanent presence of the army
- The state of emergency gave the army/police more power to brutality suppress any resistance
- They provided guidance, comfort and sense of hope during this period
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A – L1]*

- 'there was a deeper understanding of the liberation movements' (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*

- If the apartheid government do not end apartheid, more aggressive means will be used to resist it
- Guerrilla strategies will be used by the resistance movements if the government do not change its policies
- The government need to implement the changes soon, or else there will be acts of sabotage and terrorism
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.2 1.2.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]*

- Non-violent methods used before yielded no change in the government's policies
- To fight violence with violence
- The minority government only implemented cosmetic changes
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.2.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1B – L1]*

- 'his modesty (humility) was an obstacle to liberation' (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]*

- He was a liberal church leader who preached non-violence
- He had to diffuse the conflicts in Alexandra and at Ashley Kriel's funeral because it was black – on black violence
- Both opposing groups listened and respected Tutu because he was a church leader
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.2.4 *[Definition of historical concept from Source 1B – L2]*

- When civil society deliberately undermine apartheid laws
- Resisting unjust apartheid laws in the 1980s
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.2.5 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1B – L1]*

- 'planned a campaign against him'
- 'distributing anti-Tutu flyers and stickers'
- 'paying protestors'
- 'harassing his wife' (any 2 x 1) (2)

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1.3 1.3.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1C – L2]*

- To show the church has joined the fight against apartheid
- It was evidence that the Committee for the Defence of Democracy existed
- The photograph shows that different racial groups wanted freedom, democracy and equal rights
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.3.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*

- 'Frank van de Horst'
- 'Allan Boesak'
- 'Desmond Tutu'
- 'Prof. Jakes Gerwel' (any 2 x 1) (2)

1.3.3 *[Evaluate the reliability of the evidence from Source 1C – L3]*

This source is RELIABLE because:

- It is an original photograph taken at the launch of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy
- It has a date, 7 March 1988, which was known for the launch of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy
- The source can be validated/corroborated by the information in Source 1B on the formation of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.4 *[Comparison of evidence from Source 1B and Source 1C – L3]*

- Source 1B explains the involvement of Desmond Tutu in the fight for liberation and Source 1C shows Desmond Tutu's involvement in the fight for freedom
- Source 1B says Tutu worked with other church leaders and in the photograph, he is seen with another church leader, Allan Boesak
- Both sources refer to Desmond Tutu as an organising member of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.5 1.5.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1D – L1]*

- 'justice'
- 'skills development'
- 'community projects'
- 'theological reflection' (any 2 x 1) (2)

1.5.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1D – L1]*

- 'Offered emergency services to victims of apartheid brutalities'
- 'Raised funds for the legal defence of victims of the system'
- 'Cared for families of detainees and political prisoners and those on death row'
- 'Supported exiles and facilitated their return to South Africa after the unbanning of the liberation movements and the release of political prisoners' (any 2 x 1) (2)

1.5.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D – L2]*

- Assisted in the establishment of a democratic South Africa
- Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a member of the SACC became the chairman of the TRC
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.6 *[Interpretation, evaluation and synthesis from relevant sources – L3]*

Candidate could include the following aspects in their response:

- The church became involved in the resistance against apartheid because of instability and repression that took place in South Africa (Source 1A)
- Church pastors ministered to victims and family members brutalised by massacres (Source 1A)
- Beyers Naudé warned that if policies do not improve the church will be "engaged in a war of terrorism" (Source 1A)
- SACC fiercely resisted the apartheid state during the secretaryship of Naudé and Tutu (Source 1A)
- Tutu said he understood why people were violent in their resistance (Source 1A)
- Desmond Tutu as a member of SACC testified for the armed Umkhonto we Sizwe captured group in 1984 (Source 1B)
- Desmond Tutu preached non-violence (Source 1B)
- The SACC pressured the international world to impose economic sanctions on SA to force them to relinquish apartheid (Source 1B)

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- Church leaders diffused conflicts in violent situations between protesters and the police in many incidents (Source 1B)
- Tutu protected the so called 'sellouts' at the funerals of apartheid victims. (own knowledge)
- He gave speeches at funerals of activists (Source 1B).
- Tutu was against brutality by the state (own knowledge)
- The SACC got involved in the Committee of Defence of Democracy launched in March 1988 (Source 1C and 1D)
- SACC helped poor black people with bursaries (Source 1D)
- SACC funded and participated in skills development programmes and projects (Source 1D)
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

	CRITERIA	MARKS
LEVEL 1	• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. **show no or little understanding of the role the South African Council of Churches played in the fight against apartheid in the 1980s.** • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph.	**0–2**
LEVEL 2	• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent to the topic, e.g. **shows some understanding of the role the South African Council of Churches played in the fight against apartheid in the 1980s.** • Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph.	**3–5**
LEVEL 3	• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. **demonstrates a thorough understanding of the role the South African Council of Churches played in the fight against apartheid in the 1980s.** • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.	**6–8**

(8)
[50]

QUESTION 2: WAS THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCESSFUL IN RECONCILING SOUTH AFRICA WITH ITS DIVIDED PAST?

2.1 2.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*
- 'To investigate human rights violations since 1960' (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.2 *[Definition of historical concept from Source 2A – L2]*
- To bring together victims and perpetrators for the political crimes that were committed during the apartheid era
- For the victims and perpetrators to come face to face, apologise and seek forgiveness
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*
- They did not concentrate on the details as to why the political crimes were committed
- They did not probe the reasons as to why the perpetrators committed gross human rights violations against political activists
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*
- They were involved in the murders and killings of political activists
- They wanted to avoid prosecution and imprisonment
- Vlakplaas operatives were defending the apartheid regime
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.1.5 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*
- 'Mathew Goniwe and three friends'
- 'the Pebco Three'
- 'the Gugulethu Seven' (3 x 1) (3)

2.2 2.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2B – L1]*
- 'The liberation movements' (1 x 1) (1)

2.2.2. *[Interpretation of evidence Source 2B – L2]*
- FW De Klerk feared he will be bias
- He would not be objective in his findings
- It was common knowledge that Archbishop Tutu was pro-ANC
- Archbishop Tutu was an activist that fought against the evils of the apartheid regime
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B – L2]*
- To promote unity amongst South Africans
- To prevent the past atrocities to occur in the future
- To make the new dispensation work
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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2.2.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2B – L1]*
- 'as an innocent victim that was opposed to apartheid'
- 'opposed to the liberation movements adoption of the armed struggle and sanctions' (2 x 1) (2)

2.2.5 *[Determine usefulness of Source 2B – L3]*
This source is USEFUL because:
- It gives insight as to why political parties got involved in politically motivated crimes
- It is not biased as it gives different viewpoints on the work of the TRC
- It highlights how the NP did not accept blame for the atrocities that they committed
- It reveals the reasons why the IFP refused to co-operate with the TRC
- The PAC justified its attacks on white South Africans
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.3 2.3.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2C – L2]*
- The final TRC report is being delivered by Archbishop Tutu
- It reveals the volumes of information gathered by the TRC on the atrocities committed during the apartheid era
- Allegations and accusations of human rights violations were loaded heavily against the NP
- The ANC reacted with disbelief and insensitivity believing that only the NP were the wrongdoers
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.3.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2C – L1]*
- 'Desmond Tutu' (1 x 2) (2)

2.4 *[Comparison of evidence from Source 2B and Source 2C – L3]*
- Source 2B indicates that the NP denied being involved in widespread violations and Source 2C literary shows the amount of crimes committed by the NP
- Source 2B indicates that the ANC is being blamed for the violence and human rights and Source 2C shows the ANC walking away denying the outcomes of the report implicating them
- Source 2B indicates the PAC justifying its use of violence while the IFP and the ANC refuse to take responsibility for human rights violations
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.5 2.5.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2D – L1]*
- 'blamed it for contributing to the spiral of the violence'
- 'by arming and training self-defence units in a volatile (unstable) situation' (2 x 1) (2)

2.5.2 *[Definition of historical concept from Source 2D – L1]*
- Fundamental freedom for all without discrimination against race, sex, language and religion
- Any other relevant response (1 x 2) (2)

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2.5.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2D – L2]*

- Both did not want to accept responsibility for the atrocities they committed
- Both believed they were victims of human rights violation by the apartheid government
- The IFP did not want to be blamed for political violence
- The ANC felt they were fighting against an unjust system
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.6 *[Interpretation, evaluation and synthesis of evidence from relevant sources – L3]*

Candidates could include some of the following aspects in their response:

SUCCESSFUL

- TRC was established to investigate human rights violations and authorised to grant amnesty (Source 2A)
- More than 1 000 perpetrators received amnesty (Source 2A)
- The TRC performed a therapeutic role by allowing the perpetrators to tell their stories (Source 2A)
- The TRC was able to reveal the truth by allowing perpetrators to tell their stories (Source 2A)
- Political parties acknowledged the violent crimes that were committed (Source 2B)
- The TRC fulfilled its mandate by submitting a report on its findings (Source 2C)
- The ANC was regarded as hypocrites since they too committed similar crimes (Source 2C)
- The TRC held the ANC accountable for human rights abuses before and after 1990 (Source 2D)
- The TRC highlighted third force activities (Source 2D)
- The credibility of the TRC was challenged when the final report was amended to include the IFPs the findings (Source 2D)
- The TRC was therefore viewed as successful as it contributed to nation building and reconciliation (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

NOT SUCCESSFUL

- Cross examination of victims was not allowed (Source 2A)
- The political parties were not prepared to take any blame for the violent crimes that were committed (Source 2B and Source 2C)
- Many families were still looking for answers (own knowledge)
- Perpetrators were not held accountable for the crimes that were committed (own knowledge)
- The final report was contested by the ANC and IFP (Source 2D)
- Many leaders refused to appear before the TRC
- The TRC did not achieve its aims since it was unable to bring about reconciliation (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

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Use the following rubric to allocate marks.

	CRITERIA	MARKS
LEVEL 1	• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. **shows no or little understanding in explaining whether the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was successful in reconciling South Africa with its divided past.** • Uses evidence partially to report on topic or cannot write a paragraph.	**0–2**
LEVEL 2	• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent to the topic, e.g. **shows an understanding in explaining whether the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was successful in reconciling South Africa with its divided past.** • Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph.	**3–5**
LEVEL 3	• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. **demonstrates a thorough understanding in explaining whether the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was successful in reconciling South Africa with its divided past.** • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.	**6–8**

(8)
[50]

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

QUESTION 3: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to agree or disagree with whether Steve Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness mobilised black South Africans to challenge the apartheid government in the 1960s and 1970s.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

- **Introduction:** Candidates should agree or disagree that Steve Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness mobilised black South Africans to challenge the apartheid government in the 1960s and 1970s.

ELABORATION

- Political vacuum (Background information)
  - Created after ANC and PAC political leaders and parties were banned or imprisoned in 1960
- Mobilisation of blacks
  - Infused blacks with sense of pride
  - To accept themselves/have self-confidence/self-reliance/sense of identity
  - Empowered blacks to reject the spirit of self-pity; inferiority complex; self-alienation and domination by external forces
  - The formation of BC was welcomed by the apartheid government as an extension of separate development
- Political mobilisation
  - Black students started to organise themselves to resist white domination by breaking away from NUSAS and formed SASO (1968)
  - Black students adopted the philosophy of Black Consciousness (Role of Biko/ SASO)
  - SASO was for university students and SASM for schools
  - BC led to the formation of the Black Peoples Convention (BPC) in 1972 which involved students, churches, communities and trade unions
  - Unions aligned to the BC philosophy included Black Parents' Association and Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU)
  - The South African Students Movement formed in 1972 which exposed Blacks to the ideals of BC
  - Expulsion of Tiro which led to student protests
  - BCM and SASO organised FRELIMO Rallies (1974)
  - Expulsion of students from universities
  - The arrests of BC leaders heightened political activism

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- Student mobilisation
  - Bantu Education introduced Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools (1975)
  - SASO and SASM influenced the formation of Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC)
  - Both black teachers and students rejected Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor
  - Some teachers and learners were already exposed to the ideas of Biko and the BC philosophy through SASO student teachers from universities
  - The departmental circular on Afrikaans (50/50) was the trigger for the Soweto uprising
  - 16th of June 1976 students protested peacefully against the implementation of the circular
  - Police response to student protests (Hector Petersen, a 13-year-old boy was one of the first casualties of this uprising)
- Mobilisation through Community Programmes
  - Bikos' banishment to King Williams Town led to diverted focus to community programmes
  - Mamphele Ramphele's banishment to Tzaneen
  - BC promoted independence from whites through Black Community Programmes to support blacks without white assistance. (Zanempilo Health Clinic/Ginsburg Educational Trust/Zimele Trust Fund/Solempilo Community Health Centre/Ithuseng Community Health Programme and Winter School Projects)
- Mobilisation through Labour
  - Mobilised workers to form trade unions
  - BC led to the formation of the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) – worker's strikes in Durban in 1973
- Killing of Biko (1977) in police custody
- 19 October 1977 banning of 19 organisations aligned to BC
- Mobilisation through Media
  - Role of media that was sympathetic to the BC philosophy, e.g. *The World* and *The Weekend World* newspapers were closed
- Any other relevant response

- **Conclusion:** Candidates should sum up their argument with a relevant conclusion. **[50]**

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QUESTION 4: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to critically discuss how commitment and compromise played key roles in sustaining the negotiation process that ultimately led to a new democratic Republic of South Africa in 1994.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

- **Introduction:** Candidates need to critically discuss how commitment and compromise played key roles in sustaining the negotiation process that ultimately led to a new democratic Republic of South Africa in 1994.

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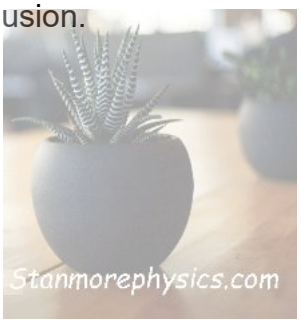
ELABORATION

- De Klerk comes to power in 1989 – brief background
- De Klerk's speech in parliament on 2 February 1990
- Led to the unbanning of political and civic organisations, such as the ANC and SACP
- The removal of restrictions on COSATU, AZAPO, etc.
- Groote Schuur Minute, 2 May 1990 (ANC and NP met: ANC delegation led by Nelson Mandela, NP delegation led by FW De Klerk)
- Apartheid legislation revoked, such as the Separate Reservation of Amenities Act
- Pretoria Minute, 6 August 1990 (ANC agreed to suspend the armed struggle)
- CODESA 1 (19 political parties, excluding AZAPO, CP and PAC – 300 delegates met)
- Violence erupts in some parts of the country, such as the Witwatersrand and Natal
- Whites-only referendum and its impact (March 1992) (commitment)
- CODESA 2 (2 May 1992) collapsed. Parties failed to agree on a new constitution making body and interim government
- NP wanted minority veto while ANC wanted an interim government for no longer than 18 months and simple majority rule
- Boipatong massacre and its consequences (17 June 1992)
- Bisho massacre derailed the process of negotiations (7 September 1992)
- Record of Understanding signed on 26 September 1992 between Roelf Meyer (NP) and Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC) (commitment)
- Assassination of Chris Hani (10 April 1993) and its impact on South Africa (commitment)
- Significance of the Multiparty negotiating Forum for South Africa's future (commitment)
- Right-wing (AWB) attack on World Trade Centre and its consequences

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- Sunset Clause introduced by Joe Slovo broke the negotiations deadlock (commitment and compromise)
- St James Massacre in July 1993 – APLA open fire – 11 killed and 58 wounded
- Heidelberg Tavern Massacre – 31 January 1993
- Shell House bombing
- Election date announced, 27 April 1994 (commitment)
- Motor bombs – ANC head office and Jan Smuts airport
- ANC won elections and Mandela became the first black South African President
- Any other relevant response

- **Conclusion:** Candidates should sum up their argument with a relevant conclusion. **[50]**



QUESTION 5: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to indicate to what extent policy changes by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union from 1985 led to its disintegration in 1991 but also had positive results on South African politics.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

- **Introduction:** Candidates need to take a stance and demonstrate to what extent policy changes by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union from 1985 led to its disintegration in 1991 but also had positive results on South African politics.

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ELABORATION

- Gorbachev became Secretary-General of the CPSU and leader of the government in 1985 at 54 years of age
- He was not a hardliner and hoped to revive the Soviet Union's economy by improving both industrial output and technology, as well as expanding its markets
- He took a big risk of effecting political change, especially for the Soviet Union, known for its hard-line Communist stance
- He wanted to take the Soviet Union out of a weak economic system – due to space and arms race with the USA
- In 1985 he introduced Perestroika (Economic reconstruction) and Glasnost (openness)
- Perestroika allowed small scale private ownership and removed government control over production
- Perestroika and glasnost led to demands for the end of communism and full democracy
- Glasnost led to criticism of the policy of Perestroika and Gorbachev himself
- Many hardline communists were discontent with policies that became unpopular
- At home he had two types of opponents: hardliners who were opposed to the reforms and liberals who criticised him for not moving fast enough
- The two policies did not support each other as thought but ended the entire system of the Soviet Union
- He lost support at home – Unity of the Soviet Union was at risk and Socialism became under threat
- He commanded a hero status to the West. His personal power and prestige increased
- He earned a Nobel Peace Prize in 1990
- Many underlying differences existed among the 15 Republics
- Civil unrests broke out between various groups
- Old form of Nationalism emerged and led to new demand for independence

- He tried to stop the disintegration by proposing the establishing a Federation of States – which failed
- In 1990, several Soviet states including Russia under Gorbachev's bitter rival, Boris Yeltsin, declared their independence
- On 25 Dec. 1991, the USSR was dissolved, the Communist Party disbanded
- Each of the 15 Republics became independent and became members of the Commonwealth of Independent states
- The disintegration symbolised the end of the Cold War

Positive results of Gorbachev's reforms on South African politics

- Talks between the NP and the ANC in exile
- The collapse of the Soviet Union put pressure on both the National Party government and the ANC to begin negotiations
- The defeat of the SADF during the Battle of Cuito Caunavale in 1988 spurred the National Party to start negotiations with communists over the independence of South West Africa
- FW de Klerk introduced reforms that led to negotiations between the National Party and the ANC
- South Africa withdrew from South West Africa – SWAPO won the elections (1990) and renamed it Namibia
- This peaceful transition from white minority rule to Black majority rule in Namibia served as a blueprint for SA to do the same
- It became evident that the National Party government could not maintain white supremacy rule indefinitely
- Influential National Party members started to realise that apartheid was not the answer for the development of 'white' economic interests
- The government started to believe that reforms needed to include the development of a strong black middle class which would act as a 'bulwark against revolution'
- The South African government could no longer use the threat of communism to generate Western support
- South Africa could no longer rely on Western backing for its 'anti-communist' stance
- World politics changed and this had an impact on South Africa's apartheid policies
- The apartheid regime could no longer use communism to justify its policy of racial segregation
- The National Party's claim that it was protecting South Africa from a communist onslaught became unrealistic
- De Klerk thought that the ANC would be weak and showed his willingness to negotiate with it
- The USSR could no longer support the ANC financially as it was bankrupt
- The USSR would not support the ANC with weapons anymore as it favoured peaceful negotiations
- The ANC was unable to continue the armed struggle against the NP without this military and financial support
- The ANC now also showed willingness to negotiate with NP as an alternative to the armed struggle
- FW de Klerk started to accept that the black struggle against apartheid was not a conspiracy directed from Moscow

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- This enabled De Klerk to engage with the liberation organisations to find a lasting solution for South Africa
- On 2 February 1990 De Klerk announced the unbanning of all anti-apartheid organisations and this paved the way for multi-party talks
- These talks ultimately led to democratic elections that were held in 1994
- Any other relevant response

- **Conclusion:** Candidates should sum up their argument with a relevant conclusion. **[50]**

TOTAL: 150



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