Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

Iphondo leMpuma Kapa: Isebe leMfundo
Provinsie van die Oos Kaap: Department van Onderwys
Porafensie Ya Kapa Botjahabela: Lefapha la Thuto

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE



GRADE 12

JUNE 2025

HISTORY P2

MARKS: **150**

TIME: **3 hours**

JHISTE2

This question paper consists of 7 pages and an addendum of 10 pages.

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

   SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

3. SECTION B consists of THREE essay questions.

4. Answer THREE questions as follow:

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

   4.2 The THIRD question can either be 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, skill 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.

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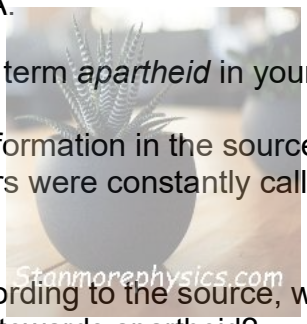
SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE or TWO questions, in this section. Source material to be used to answer these questions is contained in the ADDENDUM.

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

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

1.1 Refer to Source 1A.



1.1.1 Define the term *apartheid* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 Use the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why pastors were constantly called on to minister to people in the townships. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 What, according to the source, was the attitude of the church during the 1980's towards apartheid? (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 What did Beyers Naudé mean with the statement, "unless new factors are going to play a role or unforeseen developments take place in the near future, we will have to prepare ourselves for a long, protracted guerrilla struggle …"? (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Consult Source 1B.

1.2.1 Comment on the reasons why Tutu stated, "he could understand why black Africans under oppression would resort to using violence in their struggle for freedom." (2 x 2) (4)

1.2.2 Why, according to the source, were Tutu's non-violent message at funerals criticised? (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 Explain why you think Archbishop Desmond Tutu was able to diffuse tensions in Alexandra Township and at Ashley Kriel's funeral, and mediate conflict between protesters and the police. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.4 Define the term *defiance* in the context of resistance against apartheid in the 1980's. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.5 Identify TWO actions taken by the government to punish Tutu for his defiance of the government. (2 x 1) (2)

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1.3 Use Source 1C.

1.3.1 Why do you think this photograph was taken? (2 x 2) (4)

1.3.2 Name any TWO members of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy. (2 x 1) (2)

1.3.3 Comment on the reliability of this source regarding the involvement of the South African Council of Churches in the resistance against apartheid. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Compare Source 1B and Source 1C. Explain how the information in Source 1B supports the evidence in Source 1C regarding the involvement of the South African Council of Churches in the resistance to apartheid. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Read Source 1D.

1.5.1 What, according to the source, was the main driving force to the activities of the SACC? (2 x 1) (2)

1.5.2 Quote evidence from the source that indicates that the SACC assisted victims of apartheid. (2 x 1) (2)

1.5.3 Comment on the role that the SACC played in the post-apartheid era. (1 x 2) (2)

1.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining the role the South African Council of Churches played in the fight against apartheid in the 1980s. (8)

[50]

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

Study Sources 2A, 2B, 2C and 2D to answer the following questions.

2.1 Study Source 2A.

2.1.1 Why, according to the source, was the TRC established? (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.2 Define the term *reconciliation* in the context of the aims of the TRC. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.3 Explain why you think many cases were scantily addressed. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.4 Comment on the reasons why the Vlakplaas operatives applied for amnesty. (2 x 2) (4)

2.1.5 Name THREE murders that the Vlakplaas operatives were involved in. (3 x 1) (3)

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2.2 Consult Source 2B.

2.2.1 Who, according to the source, did the National Party (NP) blame for the wide spread human rights violations? (1 x 1) (1)

2.2.2 Why do you think FW De Klerk was sceptical about Archbishop Tutu being the chairman of the TRC? (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.3 Comment on why FW De Klerk made the following statement, "Despite my growing misgivings (doubts), I decided to give the commission my full co-operation." (2 x 2) (4)

2.2.4 How, according to the source, did the IFP portray themselves? (2 x 1) (2)

2.2.5 Comment on the usefulness of the information in this source to a historian researching how political parties responded to the TRC. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Use Source 2C.

2.3.1 What messages is conveyed in this cartoon regarding the TRC report? (2 x 2) (4)

2.3.2 Identify the person who was driving the forklift with the TRC report. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4 Compare Source 2B and Source 2C. Explain how the information in Source 2B differs from the evidence in Source 2C regarding the criticism against the TRC. (2 x 2) (4)

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2.5 Read Source 2D.

2.5.1 Identify TWO human rights abuses in the source that the ANC was responsible for. (2 x 1) (2)

2.5.2 Define the term *human rights* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.5.3 Comment on why both the ANC and the IFP decided to challenge the final draft of the TRC's report. (1 x 2) (2)

2.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining whether the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was successful in reconciling South Africa with its divided past.

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

Steve Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness mobilised black South Africans to challenge the apartheid government in the 1960s and 1970s.

Do you agree with the statement? Substantiate your line of argument by using relevant evidence. **[50]**

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

Commitment and compromise played key roles in sustaining the negotiation process that ultimately led to a new democratic Republic of South Africa in 1994.

Critically discuss the statement. Substantiate your line of argument by using relevant evidence. **[50]**

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

Explain 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.

Substantiate your line of argument by using relevant evidence. **[50]**

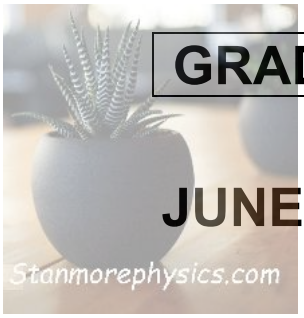
TOTAL: 150

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GRADE 12

JUNE 2025

HISTORY P2 ADDENDUM

* J H I S T E 4 *

This addendum consists of 10 pages.

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

SOURCE 1A

The extract below explains why the South African Council of Churches (SACC) resisted the apartheid regime in 1983.

The Tricameral Parliament established in 1983 was yet another constitutional instrument to co-opt (absorb) the Coloured and Asian people into the grand design of the regime. This led to the establishment of the United Democratic Front, which emerged during this period as the principal expression of resistance against apartheid. It was amidst this enormous instability and repression that the church made its mark. Pastors were called on to minister to people and families brutalised by massacres and agitated (upset) by the military occupation which was a constant irritant (annoyance) in black communities. They felt the need to sharpen and focus on the means to bring apartheid to an end. Whereas in the early 1970s the churches had some sympathy for the state, by the 1980s there was a deeper understanding of the liberation movements. Beyers Naudé, who became general secretary of the SACC, could confidently warn in 1983 that, "unless new factors are going to play a role or unforeseen developments take place in the near future, we will have to prepare ourselves for a long, protracted (prolonged) guerrilla struggle; a war increasingly fought with acts of sabotage and urban terrorism."

The SACC, during the time of the general secretaryships of Desmond Tutu and Beyers Naudé, saw the churches being engaged in fierce (aggressive) resistance against the state. This was resistance sparked by the Eloff Commission, which sought to control the foreign funding of SACC programmes. By the 1980s the churches were part of the resistance movement. Expressing this sentiment during a service in St. George's Anglican Cathedral in Cape Town to protest detentions, Tutu underlined the theme of Christian resistance against unjust rule, "If we can no longer peacefully campaign for a change in an evil and unjust system, is the government saying then that the only alternative is violence – what else will be left for people to do?"

[From sahistory.org.za/article/1980s-and-crisis-apartheid. Accessed on 19 December 2024.]

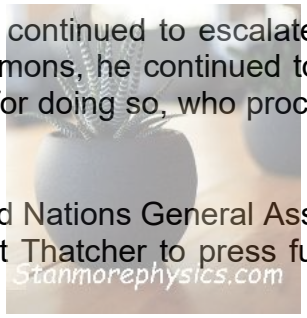
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SOURCE 1B

The extract below is about the reaction of the then South African Council of Churches (SACC) secretary, Desmond Tutu towards the state's repression in the 1980s.

Tutu testified on behalf of a captured cell of the armed anti-apartheid group, uMkhonto we Sizwe in 1984. He maintained that he was committed to non-violence but could understand why black Africans under oppression would resort to using violence in their struggle for freedom. He called out the white government on their hypocrisy (double standards) for praising armed liberation groups in Europe while condemning the same kinds of groups in South Africa.

Violence in the country continued to escalate and Tutu was asked to speak at many funerals. During his sermons, he continued to preach a message of non-violence and was criticised by some for doing so, who proclaimed that his modesty (humility) was an obstacle to liberation.



He addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York and met with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to press further for economic sanctions on South Africa.

Tutu, along with other church leaders, became a mediator of conflict between protesters and police. They diffused tensions in Alexandra Township in 1986 and at the funeral of Ashley Kriel in 1987 among other incidents.

When the government banned 17 organisations in 1988, they organised a protest march, which was banned too. In response, they formed the Committee for the Defence of Democracy and when their rallies were banned, they replaced it with a service at St. George's Cathedral.

In response to Tutu's defiance, the government orchestrated (planned) a campaign against him, distributing anti-Tutu flyers and stickers, paying protestors and even harassing his wife.

[From https://southafrica.co.za/desmond-tutu-contribution-to-dismantling-apartheid.html. Accessed on 19 December 2024.]

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SOURCE 1C

The source below is a photograph taken at the launch of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy on the 7th of March 1988. The Committee for the Defence of Democracy was formed because the government had banned liberal organisations that were resisting the apartheid policy.



From left to right are the committee members – Frank van de Horst, South African Council on Sport (SACOS), Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu, Prof. Jakes Gerwel, Rector University of Western Cape (UWC).

[From https://southafrica.co.za/desmond-tutu-contribution-to-dismantling-apartheid.html. Accessed on 19 December 2024.]

SOURCE 1D

The following extract outlines the role played by the South African Council of Churches in restoring human rights and fighting the injustices during and after apartheid.

Throughout its history, the SACC has had three main thrusts (driving forces) to its activities: justice, skills development and community projects, as well as theological reflection. During the apartheid regime, the SACC not only spoke out strongly against matters of injustice and the violation of human rights, it also provided practical assistance to the oppressed. Specifically, the SACC:

- 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
- Offered bursaries to thousands of poor black children
- Funded community development programmes and projects
- Campaigned for comprehensive international sanctions against apartheid
- Facilitated the establishment of development institutions such as the Kagiso Trust
- Engaged in youth and women's rights projects and development programmes
- Supported exiles and facilitated their return to South Africa after the unbanning of the liberation movements and the release of political prisoners
- Assisted in the transitional process, from the negotiations to peace-making in the midst of intense violence; participated in the drafting of a new constitution for the country; supported the establishment of the TRC; and advocated for a just social and economic order

The role of the SACC in the fight to bring human rights to South Africa is an honourable one that will always be recorded in South Africa's history.

[From https://sacc.org.za/history. Accessed on 19 December 2024.]

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

SOURCE 2A

The following is an extract from a book written by K Christie. It focuses on the reasons for the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established in 1995 to investigate human rights violations since 1960. It was authorised to grant amnesty to the perpetrators who made full disclosure. The commission also had to foster reconciliation and unity among South Africans. The TRC's mandate charged it with the responsibility to be even-handed, but its composition was hardly balanced. The chairman of the TRC was Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was a patron of the United Democratic Front.

The commission received some 21 300 victim statements that recorded some 38 000 gross violations of human rights. More than 1 000 perpetrators received amnesty after full disclosure. Instead of concentrating on the context of a deed the commission focused on the perpetrator or victim, with the result that the context was in most cases only scantily (poorly) addressed. Cross-examination of victims was not allowed in the victim hearings, but hearsay evidence was.

On the positive side the TRC performed an important therapeutic (healing) role, giving victims the opportunity to tell their stories and have their suffering acknowledged. It revealed the truth in some notorious cases. Vlakplaas operatives or local security policemen asked for amnesty for the murders of Mathew Goniwe and three friends outside Port Elizabeth, the Pebco Three, the Gugulethu Seven, and several other 'targeted killings'. ANC operatives asked for amnesty for the Church Street bomb in Pretoria, where eighteen people were killed.

[From *The South African Truth Commission* by K Christie.]

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SOURCE 2B

The source outlines how various political parties responded to the TRC hearings.

Despite acknowledging (admitting) the hurt caused by discriminatory (unfair) apartheid policies, the National Party systematically denied or avoided engagement regarding its culpability (blame) for widespread violations but instead presented itself as the custodian (defender) of law and order and blamed the liberation movements for embracing violent ideologies. According to FW De Klerk the success of the TRC would depend on the impartiality (neutrality) of its members. He was concerned that Archbishop Tutu was suggested as chairperson of the TRC and that not one member of the National Party has been elected to serve on the commission. "Despite my growing misgivings (doubts), I decided to give the commission my full co-operation."

The PAC's contribution at the TRC hearings was controversial (debatable) in that (unlike the ANC) it justified its attacks on white South African civilians, as legitimate targets of the armed struggle, and acknowledged its cadres were entitled to engage in criminal acts (such as armed robbery) provided they forwarded the aims and objectives of the movement.

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The IFP attended the initial round of party-political hearings but subsequently refused to co-operate with the Commission. In their submission, they blamed both the state and the ANC for the violence and human rights violations, portraying itself as an innocent victim that was opposed to apartheid but also opposed to the liberation movements' adoption of armed struggle and sanctions.

[From http://truth.wwl.wits.ac.za/cat_descr.php?cat=2. Accessed on 9 November 2024.]

SOURCE 2C

This cartoon by Zapiro, dated 1 November 1998 appeared in the *Sunday Times*. Tutu is depicted on a forklift, the ANC walks away, and the NP is buried under the report of the TRC.



[From *Sunday Times* by J Zapiro]

SOURCE 2D

The following extract was taken from a book by D. Welsh and focus on the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The TRC held the ANC accountable for various human rights abuses, both before and after 1990, and blamed it for contributing to the spiral of the violence by arming and training self-defence units in a volatile (unstable) situation. It also found that the success of the so-called 'third force' activities was 'at least in part a consequence of the extremely high levels of political intolerance, for which all parties to the conflict are held to be morally and politically accountable.'

This attempt at even-handedness (fairness) between the NP and the ANC caused the ANC, unsuccessfully, to seek amendments (changes) to the final draft of the TRC's report. Seven commissioners supported the ANC's demand, and seven opposed it. Only Tutu's vote decided the matter. An application to court by the ANC was unsuccessful. The IFP and Buthelezi also challenged the TRC's findings in court, causing the Report to be amended in some respects and allowing the inclusion in the final report of a statement by the IFP contesting other findings.

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… Both the UDF and Inkatha were deeply implicated (caught up) in violence and it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine who threw the first stone, and which organisation was responsible for most human rights violations.

[From *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* by D Welsh]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

Christie, K. 2000. *The South African Truth Commission* (Palgrave Publishers, Cape Town)

http://truth.wwl.wits.ac.za/cat_descr.php?cat=2.

https://sacc.org.za/history

https://southafrica.co.za/desmond-tutu-contribution-to-dismantling-apartheid.html.

https://sahistory.org.za/article/1980s-and-crisis-apartheid

Welsh, D. 2009. *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Jonathan Ball Publishers, Cape Town)

Zapiro, J. (1 November 1998) *Sunday Times*

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