



basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

HISTORY P2
NOVEMBER 2022

MARKS: 150

TIME: 3 hours

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

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.

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 MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (MDM) CHALLENGE THE SEGREGATORY LAWS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID GOVERNMENT IN THE LATE 1980s?

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

1.1 Study Source 1A.

- 1.1.1 Which organisation, according to the source, was established as an anti-apartheid successor to the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1988? (1 x 1) (1)
- 1.1.2 What, according to the UDF, was the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) expected to achieve in the struggle against apartheid? Give TWO responses. (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.1.3 Comment on the implication of the statement, 'a condition for affiliation with the MDM was adherence to the provisions of the ANC's Freedom Charter', in the context of the struggle against apartheid. (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.1.4 Explain the term *civil disobedience* in the context of activities organised by the MDM in September 1989. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2 Consult Source 1B.

- 1.2.1 Explain the messages conveyed in the photograph regarding the MDM's 'Open Hospital' defiance campaign against segregation. (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.2.2 Comment on the racial composition of protestors that took part in this campaign. (1 x 2) (2)

- 1.3 Refer to Sources 1A and 1B. Explain how the information in Source 1A supports the evidence in Source 1B regarding the defiance campaigns organised by the MDM against segregatory laws in 1989. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Read Source 1C.

- 1.4.1 Why, according to the source, did Tutu and Boesak lead a peace march to Parliament on 13 September 1989? (1 x 1) (1)
- 1.4.2 Explain what Tutu meant with his expression, 'Fifteen is a massacre ... Even if we deal only with their figures, it is a scandal' in the context of police reaction against protestors. (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.4.3 Quote THREE reasons from the source why De Klerk allowed the peace march to proceed. (3 x 1) (3)
- 1.4.4 Why do you think the police kept a low profile during the peace march to the Cape Town City Hall on 13 September 1989? (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.4.5 Comment on the usefulness of this source to a researcher studying the events that took place during the peace march to the Cape Town City Hall on 13 September 1989. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Use Source 1D.

- 1.5.1 According to the source, state THREE ways in which the police dealt with the MDM leaders and protestors who contravened their restriction orders. (3 x 1) (3)
- 1.5.2 Define the term *defiance campaign* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.5.3 Quote evidence from the source which suggests that the US administration was against the clampdown on Tutu and his spouse by the apartheid government. (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.5.4 Why do you think Lieutenant Gregory Rockman commented that his colleagues had acted like 'wild dogs with a killer instinct'? (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 how the MDM challenged the segregatory laws of South Africa's apartheid government in the 1980s.

(8)
[50]

QUESTION 2: WHAT CAN SOUTH AFRICANS LEARN FROM THE ROLE PLAYED BY ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU, CHAIRPERSON OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) FROM 1995 TO 1998?

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

2.1 Use Source 2A.

- 2.1.1 Which Act, according to the source, brought the Truth and Reconciliation Commission into being? (1 x 1) (1)
- 2.1.2 What, according to Tutu, should remain absolutely central to the concerns of South Africans in 'the work of our Commission' (TRC)? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.3 Explain what Tutu meant by the statement, '... no matter on which side we stood. We all stand in need of healing', in the context of reconciliation and national unity'. (2 x 2) (4)

2.2 Study Source 2B.

- 2.2.1 Identify any FOUR political parties in the cartoon that attacked Tutu when he delivered the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October 1998. (4 x 1) (4)
- 2.2.2 Explain the messages conveyed in this cartoon regarding the final TRC report submitted to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October 1998. (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.2.3 Comment on the limitations of this source for a historian researching the submission of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Read Source 2C.

- 2.3.1 Define the concept *perpetrator* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.3.2 Quote TWO pieces of evidence from the source to indicate that the NPA acted on the recommendations of the final TRC report. (2 x 1) (2)
- 2.3.3 Explain what Commissioner Ntsebeza meant by 'public declarations of fact would ... be the first step towards national unity', regarding the TRC hearings. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4 Consult Source 2D.

- 2.4.1 Quote any THREE statements made by Sisonke Msimang which paid tribute to Archbishop Tutu after he passed away on 26 December 2021. (3 x 1) (3)
- 2.4.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, comment on the statement, 'the TRC was never given a full mandate to address the group effects of apartheid'. (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.4.3 Explain the term *redress* in the context of what the government wanted to achieve through the TRC. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.4.4 What did Msimang imply by 'his (Tutu's) death reminds us of the unfinished business of the transition from apartheid to democracy'? (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 the work of the TRC. (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) explaining what South Africans can learn from the role played by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) from 1995 to 1998. (8)
- [50]**

QUESTION 3: HOW COMMITTED HAVE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF BRICS BEEN TO GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES BETWEEN 2000 AND 2021?

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

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

- 3.1.1 Identify TWO roles that South Africa has to play as a signatory to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.1.2 Define the concept *climate change* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.1.3 Give TWO responsibilities of the Kyoto Protocol, stated in the source. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.1.4 State TWO activities in the source that were delegated to the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Climate Change in preparation for the hosting of the UNFCCC in May 2008. (2 x 1) (2)

3.2 Consult Source 3B.

- 3.2.1 According to the source, what amount of CO₂ emissions is produced by the following:
- (a) Richest 10 per cent of the world population (1 x 1) (1)
- (b) Poorest 50 per cent of the world population (1 x 1) (1)
- 3.2.2 Why do you think rich countries failed to honour their pledge to reduce their emission of greenhouse gases? (2 x 2) (4)
- 3.2.3 Comment on what Greta Thunberg meant by the statement, 'there is hope. I have seen it but it does not come from the governments or corporations. It comes from the people', in the context of dealing with challenges posed by climate change. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.2.4 Explain the reliability of the source to a historian researching the climate change issues between 2000 and 2021. (2 x 2) (4)

3.3 Read Source 3C.

- 3.3.1 Give TWO concerns that the Indian Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi brought to the Paris Climate Summit. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.3.2 Comment on the implication of the statement, 'for me the event in Paris was not a summit, it was a sentiment and a commitment', in the context of India's involvement in the Paris Climate Summit. (2 x 2) (4)
- 3.3.3 Explain the concept *developing countries* with reference to Brazil, India and South Africa. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.3.4 Why, according to the source, did the whole world believe that India is the only big economy that has delivered in letter and in spirit on the Paris commitment? Give TWO responses. (2 x 1) (2)

3.4 Study Source 3D.

- 3.4.1 Explain why you think this photograph that appeared in *The Times* newspaper on 12 November 2021 was taken. (2 x 2) (4)
- 3.4.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, comment on why Brazilians were concerned about the Amazon and Caatinga Forests. (2 x 2) (4)

- 3.5 Use Source 3B and Source 3D. Explain how the information in Source 3B supports the evidence in Source 3D regarding the implementation of the climate change agreements. (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 the commitment of developing countries of BRICS to global climate change issues between 2000 and 2021. (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 philosophy of Black Consciousness successfully instilled blacks with pride and self-belief to start challenging apartheid South Africa in the 1970s.

Do you agree with this statement? Support your line of argument with relevant historical evidence.

[50]**QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST**

Explain to what extent compromises by different role players (political parties) remained a key feature that paved the way for a new political dispensation in South Africa in 1994.

Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument.

[50]**QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER**

The policy changes by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union from 1985 led to its disintegration in 1991, however, they also brought positive results for South African politics.

Critically discuss this statement. Support your line of argument with relevant historical evidence.

[50]**TOTAL: 150**



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MARKING GUIDELINES

MARKS: 150

These marking guidelines consist of 28 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extract evidence from sources • Selection and organisation of relevant information from sources • Define historical concepts/terms 	30% (15)
LEVEL 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpretation of evidence from sources • Explain information gathered from sources • Analyse evidence from sources 	40% (20)
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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)

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 guidelines, the requirements of the question (skills that need to be addressed) as well as the level of the question are indicated in italics.

1.3 Assessment procedures for source-based questions

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

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 bottom margin to the right, e.g. $\frac{32}{50}$
- 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

Candidates may have any other relevant introduction and/or conclusion than those included in a specific essay marking guideline for a specific essay.

2.3 Global assessment of the essay

The essay will be assessed holistically (globally). This approach requires the teacher to assess 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 relevant 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 essays and reproducing them without taking the specific requirements of the question into account. Holistic marking of the essay credits learners' opinions that are supported by evidence. Holistic assessment, unlike content-based marking, does not penalise language inadequacies as the emphasis is on the following:

- The learner's interpretation of the question
- The appropriate selection of factual evidence (relevant content selection)
- The construction of an argument (planned, structured and has an independent line of argument)

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 (which is indicated by a bullet in the marking guideline), the main aspects/body of the essay that sustains/defends the line of argument (which is indicated by bullets in the marking guideline) and a relevant conclusion (which is indicated by a bullet in the marking guideline). For example, in an essay where there are five (5) main points there could be about seven (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 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.

2.4.4 The following symbols **MUST** be used when assessing an essay:

- Introduction, main aspects and conclusion not properly contextualised

^

- Wrong statement
- Irrelevant statement

|
|
|

- Repetition
- Analysis
- Interpretation
- Line of Argument

R

A✓

I✓

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 3	



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

C	LEVEL 4	}26–27
P	LEVEL 3	

COMMENT

Some omissions in content coverage.
Attempts to sustain a line of argument.

GLOBAL ASSESSMENT OF ESSAYS: TOTAL MARKS: 50

	LEVEL 7	LEVEL 6	LEVEL 5	LEVEL 4	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 1
PRESENTATION  CONTENT 	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, 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 is 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 the 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 is recognisable in answer. Some omissions or irrelevant content selection.			30–33	28–29	26–27		
LEVEL 3 Content selection does relate to the question, but does not answer it, or does not always relate to the question. Omissions in coverage.				26–27	24–25	20–23	
LEVEL 2 Question inadequately addressed. Sparse content.					20–23	18–19	14–17
LEVEL 1 Question inadequately addressed or not at all. Inadequate or irrelevant content.						14 –17	0–13

***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

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS**QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (MDM) CHALLENGE THE SEGREGATORY LAWS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID GOVERNMENT IN THE LATE 1980s?**

1.1

1.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A - L1]*

- 'Mass Democratic Movement' (MDM) (1 x 1) (1)

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

- 'To strengthen grassroots structures'
- 'To bring in all those organisations in the periphery, thus involving them in the struggle' (2 x 1) (2)

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

- All organisations wanting to be part of the MDM should adopt the demands of the ANC's Freedom Charter
- The struggle for liberation waged by the MDM was aimed at the realisation of the fundamental principles of the Freedom Charter which affiliates had to embrace
- Organisations joining MDM must be anti-apartheid
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.1.4 *[Explanation of a term from Source 1A – L2]*

- Passive resistance campaigns/non-violent protest action organised by the MDM aimed at defying unjust apartheid laws
- Peaceful marches/protest of communities organised by MDM against segregatory laws in South Africa
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.2

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

- Apartheid laws promoting discrimination in hospitals are condemned/challenged by groups affiliated to MDM e.g. NUSAS
- MDM rejected health provisioning and treatment of people based on apartheid discrimination – Desegregate hospitals
- A call is made by MDM to desegregate and open all hospitals to all racial groups
- Protestors belonged to different racial groups - inclusion of NUSAS
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B - L2]*

- The protest comprised of a multiracial group of protestors (blacks and whites)
- Any other relevant response (1 x 2) (2)

- 1.3 *[Comparison of evidence in Sources 1A and 1B – L3]*
- Source 1A refers to MDM protestors against whites-only hospitals and Source 1B depicts MDM multi-racial protestors against segregation at the whites-only Addington Hospital in Durban
 - Both sources highlight civil disobedience/peaceful campaigns organised by the MDM against segregatory laws
 - Both sources show multi-racial protest
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 1.4
- 1.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*
- 'To express outrage against police killings on election day' (1 x 1) (1)
- 1.4.2 *Interpretation of evidence from Source 1C – L2]*
- Tutu condemns the brutal killing of protestors by police on the election day
 - Police had no respect for the lives of protestors
 - Tutu believes there is no justification for any loss of life of peaceful protestors, irrespective of numbers killed/it is a crime
 - It was a scandal because the incident was a cover up
 - The lives of people who were killed is reduced to statistics by the government
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 1.4.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C - L1]*
- 'Encouraged by assurances from the Rev. Johan Heyns, moderator (negotiator) of the Dutch Reformed Church, that the march would be non-violent'
 - 'We cannot have a democracy without protest marches'
 - 'there was no reason for people to give vent (outlet) to their political aspirations (ambitions) through disorderly protest or rioting'
 - 'The door to a new South Africa is open'
 - 'It is not necessary to batter (hit) it down' (any 3 x 1) (3)
- 1.4.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1C – L2]*
- De Klerk as the new NP leader/police wanted to prevent conflict
 - De Klerk allowed the march to continue
 - De Klerk wanted to show that he is charting a new course for change
 - De Klerk/police wanted to avoid repeating unnecessary killings that occurred before his tenure as President
 - The police were instructed to act with restraint by the new NP leadership to restore their credibility to avoid another scandal
 - To avoid negative publicity of the police
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.4.5 *[Determining usefulness of evidence from Source 1C – L3]***The source is USEFUL because:**

- It is from a book by an academic and renowned author of History books, Anthea Jeffery
- The date of the peace march (13 September 1989) was on the day Parliament had to reconvene after police brutality on election day
- It explains the actual events that took place during the peace march to the Cape Town City Hall on 13 September 1989 organised by the MDM
- It highlights the prominent leaders of the MDM like Boesak and Tutu who were instrumental in organising the march to challenge the apartheid regime
- It includes direct words/quotations leaders from both sides of the conflict (Tutu and De Klerk)
- It gives insight into the new path of reform that De Klerk was embarking on after 1989
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.5

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

- 'Clamped down'
- 'arresting'
- 'detaining some 30 MDM leaders'
- 'Tutu's wife was twice arrested during illegal protests'
- 'Boesak and Tutu were taken into custody'
- 'Police resorted to teargas, water cannons, sjamboks and mass arrests'
- 'Police laid into protest marchers with batons and quirts' (any 3 x 1) (3)

1.5.2 *[Definition of a term from Source 1D – L1]*

- Peaceful protest/non-violent action aimed at disobeying unjust laws
- Peaceful protest campaigns directed at undermining unjust legislation
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.5.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1D - L1]*

- 'The clampdown drew sharp disapproval'
- 'The US administration registering concern over the arrest of Tutu and his spouse'
- 'Urging the government to permit the peaceful expression of political dissent' (any 2 x 1) (2)

1.5.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D - L2]*

- He objected to the abuse of power by the police against peaceful marches
- He pledged solidarity with the peaceful actions of marchers
- He disliked brutality committed by his colleagues
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- The MDM was formed (after the UDF was banned in 1988) as a coalition of anti-apartheid groups from grassroots community organisations engaging in the struggle (Source 1A)
- The MDM (as loose coalition with no permanent organisational structure drawing support from black communities) used the Freedom Charter as condition for affiliation (Source 1A)
- It organised civil disobedience campaigns through defying the state of emergency and apartheid legislation such as whites-only hospitals and beaches through peaceful marches (Sources 1A and 1D)
- It defied the state of emergency regulations effective at the time (Source 1A)
- It organised defiance campaigns involving multiracial groups against the apartheid government's hospital and health segregation policies (Source 1B)
- It organised peace march protest campaigns against the apartheid government's killings of people and apartheid legislation (Source 1C)
- It staged protest campaigns putting the last nail in the coffin of apartheid forcing De Klerk to relax emergency regulations and paving the way for talks with the liberation movement (Source 1C)
- It displays ANC slogans/flags/banners openly (Source 1C)
- Its activities exposed police brutality (Source 1D)
- Defiance campaigns organised by the MDM throughout SA during 1989 put pressure on the South African government to relinquish power (own knowledge)
- Police brutality during the 1989 peace march and other various defiance campaigns organised by the MDM was condemned internationally by US and UK and made the apartheid government unpopular (Source 1D and own knowledge)
- The campaign strategies of the MDM galvanised massive support from the masses forcing the apartheid government to eventually change its policies (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. shows no or little understanding of how the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) challenged the segregatory laws of South Africa's apartheid government in the late 1980s. • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph. 	MARKS 0–2
LEVEL 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. shows some understanding of how the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) challenged the segregatory laws of South Africa's apartheid government in the late 1980s. • Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph. 	MARKS 3–5
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses relevant evidence, e.g. demonstrates a thorough understanding of how the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) challenged the segregatory laws of South Africa's apartheid government in the late 1980s. • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic. 	MARKS 6–8

(8)
[50]

QUESTION 2: WHAT CAN SOUTH AFRICANS LEARN FROM THE ROLE PLAYED BY ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU, CHAIRPERSON OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) FROM 1995 TO 1998?

2.1

2.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*

- 'The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation' (1 x 1) (1)

2.1.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*

- 'helping our land and people to achieve genuine, real and not cheap and spurious (false) reconciliation' (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*

- That the TRC was not going to focus on the victims only, but also on perpetrators who should be relieved from the guilt of crimes that they committed
- That the past should be fearlessly faced by all racial groups to achieve healing and reconciliation/unity from its trauma
- Any other relevant response (2 x 2) (4)

2.2

2.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2B – L1]*

- 'NP' (National Party)
- 'ANC' (African National Congress)
- 'FF' (Freedom Front)
- 'IFP' (Inkatha Freedom Party)
- 'PAC' (Pan Africanist Congress) (any 4 x 1) (4)

2.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B - L2]*

- Many political parties attacked the TRC report because they were implicated
- Tutu (as the Chairperson of the TRC) submitted the TRC report to the office of Nelson Mandela (the President of South Africa) despite all the challenges
- Although the TRC was criticised by various political parties the basic work was completed and South Africa had dealt with the past to some extent
- Tutu regarded the submission of the TRC report as something special (special delivery)
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.2.3 *[Ascertaining the limitations of evidence from Source 2B – L3]***The source is LIMITED because:**

- It is only a view of Zapiro/bias – the cartoonist
- The cartoonist portrayed a negative perspective of the TRC report being attacked by various political parties
- The language used 'attacked from left, right and centre ...' serves as an admission of negativity on the TRC report
- The TRC is depicted as a failure
- Any other relevant response

(any 2 x 2) (4)

2.3

2.3.1 *[Definition of a concept from Source 2C – L1]*

- Anyone who is responsible for the gross human rights violations on another individual
- Anyone who has intentionally dehumanised or harmed innocent people for political reasons
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

2.3.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2C – L1]*

- 'The NPA announcement to prosecute 15 cases from the list'
- 'One person found guilty of apartheid era crimes – Eugene de Kock'
- 'Recent resurgence of TRC related prosecution'
- 'The cases of Ahmed Timol, the Cradock four and others are currently being litigated'
- 'Many hope that the fifteen new cases taken on by the NPA will be the start to a long process of prosecuting the full list from the TRC report' (any 2 x 1)

(2)

2.3.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2C - L2]*

- Public declarations signified an achievement for the TRC
- Testimonies of the victims and perpetrators in the TRC should not be taken for granted – they revealed important information
- Public hearings clarified some misconceptions, misinformation and lies
- Public declarations would lead to reconciliation/healing
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

2.4

2.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2D – L1]*

- 'Tutu was neither made nor broken by the difficult exchanges that took place in the context of the TRC'
- 'He was a man with nothing to prove'
- 'He ran the commission with a deep sense of love and a commitment to truth-telling and forgiveness'
- 'This insistence on reaching out and across all sorts of divides was the key to his effectiveness' (any 3 x 1)

(3)

- 2.4.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2D - L2]*
- The TRC focused only on specific cases affecting victims and perpetrators
 - The TRC did not address the general impact of apartheid on blacks (non-whites)
 - The TRC focused on atrocities committed only between 1960 and 1994/ limited to a specified time frames
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 2.4.3 *[Explanation of a term from Source 2D – L2]*
- Restoring human dignity of those who were oppressed by the apartheid government
 - Implementing reparations and the rehabilitation process of the loss and trauma that South Africans experienced during apartheid
 - Restoring fairness so that the victims could reconcile with the perpetrators for equality in South Africa
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 2.4.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2D - L2]*
- That Tutu led the TRC effectively to deal with the past and it was important that the ANC government completes the process by implementing the recommendations
 - The TRC's recommendations have not been fully implemented by the NPA
 - South Africa is still reeling from the impact of apartheid and has not moved to democratic principles
 - Some reparations promised to the victims have not yet been paid
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 2.5 *[Comparison of evidence from Sources 2C and 2D – L3]*
- In Source 2C Commissioner Ntsebeza believed that the TRC was successful in some of its aims and in Source 2D Msimang states that Tutu was a man who ran the commission with a deep sense of love and a commitment to truth-telling and forgiveness
 - Both sources highlight the role/contribution that Tutu made as chairperson of the TRC
 - Both sources acknowledge that the TRC report managed to submit a list of perpetrators (apartheid operatives) to the NPA
 - Both sources allude to the fact that the slow movement of the NPA on the list provided by the TRC cannot be blamed on Tutu
 - Both sources focus on the wounded (victims)
 - Both sources acknowledge that the TRC was unable to provide adequate redress to all the victims of apartheid
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- Tutu accepted a huge responsibility of serving as chairperson of the TRC (Source 2A)
- He committed himself to real reconciliation despite some who viewed the TRC with misgivings (Source 2A)
- He called on all South Africans to be part of the process of healing the nation (Source 2A)
- He did not seek punishment but the truth to be heard (own knowledge)
- He remained humble (he said it's a privilege to be on this commission) while he was the chairperson (Source 2A)
- Tutu set the nation on a profound path of freedom and forgiveness, resentment and vengeance were not for him (own knowledge)
- Tutu was able to deliver the TRC report to Nelson Mandela regardless of the criticism of the various political organisations (Source 2B)
- He remained positive (he believed attacks from left, right and centre did not stop him from making it) (Source 2B)
- Under the leadership of Tutu the TRC was able to recommend that the NPA should prosecute 300 cases of perpetrators who had violated human rights, thus some of the families are currently litigating the cases (Source 2C)
- Tutu empathised with victims and their families (own knowledge)
- He gave hope to some families who are currently litigating cases as recommended by the TRC report (Source 2C)
- Ntsebeza commended the leadership of Tutu in the TRC because of the success of public hearings (declarations) (Source 2C)
- Msimang described Tutu as a man with nothing to lose, a man who ran the TRC with deep a deep sense of love and commitment to truth-telling and forgiveness (Source 2D)
- He stood up as an inspiration of reconciliation for all South African, he also promoted UBUNTU (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. shows no or little understanding of what South Africans can learn from the role played by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) from 1995 to 1998. • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph. 	MARKS 0–2
LEVEL 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. shows some understanding of what South Africans can learn from the role played by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) from 1995 to 1998. • Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph. 	MARKS 3–5
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses relevant evidence, e.g. demonstrates a thorough understanding of what South Africans can learn from the role played by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) from 1995 to 1998. • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic. 	MARKS 6–8

(8)
[50]

QUESTION 3: HOW COMMITTED HAVE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF BRICS BEEN TO GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES BETWEEN 2000 AND 2021?

3.1

3.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3A - L1]*

- 'To comply with and'
- 'participate in meetings and discussions of the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol' (2 x 1) (2)

3.1.2 *[Definition of a concept from Source 3A – L1]*

- A long-term shift in temperatures and weather pattern due to human activities like burning of fuels such as coal, oil, gas or fossil
- Change in global or regional climate patterns also referred to as global warming
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

3.1.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3A – L1]*

- 'classifies countries by their level of industrialisation'
- 'commits certain countries to Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emission-reduction targets' (2 x 1) (2)

3.1.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3A – L1]*

- 'to oversee both the logistics and substantive (practical) content issues of our hosting'
- 'at operational level two technical working sub-committees have been formed to look at logistics and substantive content' (2 x 1) (2)

3.2

3.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3B – L1]*

- (a) 'half' (1 x 1)
- (b) 'one-tenth' (1 x 1) (2)

3.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3B - L2]*

- They were/are greedy/not prepared to reduce their industrial or economic targets
- They were/are not prepared to cut down on their emissions as they derived huge profits from the businesses
- They were/are not prepared to contribute fair amounts towards assisting the developing countries to reduce their emissions
- Their leaders were/are not honest people/lacked leadership skills
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

- 3.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3B - L2]*
- Ordinary people are showing greater interest/awareness in protecting the environment
 - Governments and big companies are only concerned with making profits against protecting the environment
 - Protests towards protecting the environment are led by ordinary people
 - There has been insufficient effort by leaders to make individuals aware of the threats to the environment
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.2.4 *[Ascertaining the reliability of Source 3B – L3]*
The source is RELIABLE because:
- It is extracted from a speech (direct information) by Greta Thunberg
 - The speech was presented by Greta Thunberg, a Swedish Environmental activist at the United Nations Committee of Parties conference
 - The speech was presented on 11 December 2011 during the COP25 climate conference
 - The speech addressed the thorny issue of the reluctance by most rich countries towards reducing their gas emissions as agreed in the previous conferences
 - The speech addressed a topical issue on the effects of climate change globally
 - The information in Source 3B can be corroborated by evidence in Source 3D regarding the issues about climate change
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 3.3
- 3.3.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3C – L1]*
- 'a concern for humanity '
 - 'India was not making those promises to the world, but crores (ten million) Indians were making those promises to themselves' (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.3.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3C - L2]*
- Modi did not consider the Paris Climate Summit as just another Conference – he valued it as a turning point
 - India's presence at the conference was an occasion where President Modi could display the honest feelings of his countrymen towards the environment
 - The Indian Prime Minister regarded the promises made as an undertaking towards protecting the environment that every effort should be put to ensure its success
 - Indians had a complete understanding of the devastation that climate change could cause to life
 - There was cooperation among Indians in their efforts towards protecting the environment
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.3.3 *[Explanation of a concept from Source 3C – L2]*

Refers to:

- Poor agricultural countries that are economically and socially developing
- Countries that have fewer industrial as well as technical advanced facilities
- Countries where the majority of the population earn a low or middle income
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

3.3.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3C – L1]*

- 'it has left no stone unturned to show that it has fulfilled its obligation'
- 'we are making every effort with determination'
- 'we are working hard and showing results'
- 'India is moving forward on the subject of climate with great courage and great ambition'
- 'India also understands the suffering of all other developing countries, shares them, and will continue to express their expectations'

(any 2 x 1) (2)

3.4

3.4.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3D – L2]*

- To highlight the plight of people in Brazil regarding climate change effects
- To protest the failure by Brazilian government officials in protecting their citizens against environmental threats
- To highlight the failure of the United Nations' environment conventions to address the plight of people across the world
- It is news worthy because it highlights Brazil's negligence of the Amazon and Caatinga forests
- Any other relevant response

(any 2 x 2) (4)

3.4.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3D – L2]*

- Forests play an important role in preventing climate change (global warming)
- The Caatinga forest was allowed to disappear due to officials who received (in exchange of what the forest produces) a few American dollars that did not benefit the nation
- The forests were cleared for urbanisation and mining
- Deforestation would destroy the natural habitat for animals and plants/ cause flooding and environmental destruction
- Subsistence life of indigenous people living in the forests would be negatively affected
- Any other relevant response

(any 2 x 2) (4)

3.5 *[Comparison of evidence in Sources 3B and 3D – L3]*

- In both sources leaders pledged to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases but they don't implement these agreements
- In Source 3B Thunberg makes reference to lack of urgency in addressing climate change issues and in Source 3D Brazilian's protests against their political leaders for not working fast enough to protect their forests
- Both sources refer to pressure from ordinary people against those in power
- Hope for change through pressure from ordinary people referred to in Source 3B is evident through activism in Source 3D
- Both sources highlight the importance of protecting the environment
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- South Africa is a signatory to the UNFCCC and complies with the Kyoto Protocol (Source 3A)
- The South African cabinet approved the hosting of the UNFCCC in May 2008 (Source 3A)
- The DEA together with DIRCO led in the coordination of the conference to be hosted by South Africa (Source 3A)
- India has involved millions of its citizens in contributing towards the reduction of its carbon emissions (Source 3B)
- India has successfully fulfilled her obligations to reduce the emissions it produces (Source 3C)
- India supported the other developing countries in their efforts to reduce their emissions (Source 3C)
- Brazil has failed to manage the environmental challenges in the Amazon and Caatinga forests (Source 3D)
- The Brazilian Environment Minister has failed to implement programs to deal with the environment (Source 3D)
- Ordinary people in Brazil have taken steps to highlight their plight and to fight to save the environment (Source 3D)
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. shows no or little understanding of how committed developing countries of BRICS have been to global climate change issues between 2000 and 2021.• Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph.	MARKS 0–2
LEVEL 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. shows some understanding of how committed developing countries of BRICS have been to global climate change issues between 2000 and 2021.• Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph.	MARKS 3–5
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. demonstrates a thorough understanding of how committed developing countries of BRICS have been to global climate change issues between 2000 and 2021.• Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.	MARKS 6–8

(8)
[50]

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS**QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA**

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

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statement. If they agree with the statement, they need to explain how the philosophy of Black Consciousness successfully instilled blacks with pride and self-belief to start challenging apartheid South Africa in the 1970s. If they disagree with the statement, they need to substantiate their argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction: Candidates could agree or disagree on how the philosophy of Black Consciousness successfully instilled blacks with pride and self-belief to start challenging apartheid South Africa in the 1970s. They should also indicate how they will support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- Political vacuum (Background information)
 - Origins of BC/Created after ANC and PAC political leaders and parties were banned or imprisoned in 1960
- Instilling of blacks with pride and self-belief to challenge the apartheid state (BC philosophy)
 - Infused blacks with sense of pride
 - Influenced blacks 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
- Instilling political organisations with self-belief to challenge the apartheid state
 - 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
 - Black Consciousness (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)
 - South African Students Movement formed in 1972 which exposed Blacks to the ideals of BC
 - BPC and SASO organised FRELIMO Rallies (1974)
 - The arrests of BC leaders heightened political activism
- Instilled students with self-belief to challenge the apartheid state
 - 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 students 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 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)
- Activists went into exile
- Instilled blacks with self-belief in starting on Community Programmes and be self sufficient
 - Biko's banishment to King Williams Town led to diverted focus to community programmes
 - 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)
- Influenced workers to challenge the apartheid state
 - 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)
- Influenced blacks to have their own media to challenge the apartheid state
 - Role of media that was sympathetic to the BC philosophy e.g. The World newspaper
- Legacy of Biko and Black Consciousness
- Any other relevant response
- Conclusion: Candidates should sum up their argument with a relevant conclusion. **[50]**

QUESTION 5: 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 explain to what extent compromises by different role players remained a key feature that paved the way for a new political dispensation in South Africa in 1994. They need to substantiate their argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction: Candidates need to explain to what extent compromises by different role players remained a key feature that paved the way for a new political dispensation in South Africa in 1994. They should also indicate how they will support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- FW de Klerk replaced PW Botha in 1989
- Release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990 and other banned political leaders in 1990 (compromises by De Klerk)
- Unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the SACP and other banned organisations
- Groote Schuur Minute, 2 May 1990 - NP released political prisoners and both parties committed themselves to end violence and to negotiate (compromises by different role players)
- Violence in the Vaal Triangle - Sebokeng (role of various political organisations)
- Pretoria Minute in August 1990 – ANC stopped armed struggle and NP stopped State of Emergency (compromises by different role players)
- The National Peace Accord signed by 27 political organisations - provided safety net for negotiations (compromises by different role players) – Goldstone Commission
- CODESA 1 (20 December 1991) – 19 political parties except for Conservative Party (CP) and Pan Africanist Congress (compromises by different role players) Parties could not agree on power-sharing and constituent assembly – meeting ended
- The Declaration of Intent – parties agreed to draw up a new constitution and interim government (compromises by different role players)
- Whites-only referendum – De Klerk tested white opinion after losing three by-elections to CP, Result – landslide Yes (indication of supporting compromise by De Klerk) – negotiations continued
- CODESA 2 (2 May 1992) – did not last because of violence and inability of parties to agree on power-sharing
- Boipatong massacre and influence of Third Force (17 June 1992)
- Bisho massacre (September 1992) (violence) – ANC supporters who wanted to be part of negotiation process (compromises by different role players)
- ANC called for rolling mass action against the National Party (pushing the NP to compromise)
- Record of Understanding (September 1992) – Meyer and Ramaphosa committed themselves to peace and to negotiations (compromises by different role players)
- Meyer and Ramaphosa agreed on Joe Slovo's Sunset Clause (compromises by different role players)

- Parties winning more than 5% of vote will form a Government of National Unity to govern the new SA and whites could retain their jobs for 5 years (enforced unity through compromise)
- Multi-party negotiations resumed at the World Trade Centre but did not last (compromises by different role players)
- The AWB interrupted the negotiations on 25 June 1993, when they stormed the World Trade Centre with armoured vehicle
- Assassination of Chris Hani (10 April 1993) – Janus Walus
- Mandela addresses nation on TV – calming the nation down
- St James massacre (25 July 1993)
- Heidelberg tavern shooting (30 December 1993)
- Shell House massacre (28 March 1994)
- Date for the first democratic elections set (27–29 April 1994) (compromises)
- Continued violence throughout elections – car bomb outside ANC head offices
 - Car bomb exploded at Jan Smuts Airport
- Elections held due to compromise (compromises by different role players)
- Results of election: ANC 62,7%, NP 20,4% and IFP 10,5%
- ANC, NP and IFP formed the Government of National Unity as agreed upon in the Sunset Clause
- Mandela became first black state president of the new democratic Republic of South Africa with Thabo Mbeki and FW de Klerk as his deputies
- Any other relevant response

Conclusion: Candidates should tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion.

[50]

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

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

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to critically discuss how policy changes (perestroika and glasnost) by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union from 1985 led to its disintegration in 1991, but had a positive result in South African politics. They need to substantiate their argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- Introduction: Candidates need to critically discuss how policy changes (Perestroika and Glasnost) by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union from 1985 led to its disintegration in 1991, but had a positive result in South African politics. They should also indicate how they will support their line of argument.

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 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 hard-line 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 threatened
- He commanded a hero status to the West. His personal power and prestige increased. He received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1990.
- Many underlying differences always 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 establishment of 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
- 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 tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion.

[50]**TOTAL: 150**