



basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

**HISTORY P2
NOVEMBER 2023**

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 CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT'S LABOUR REFORMS IN THE 1980s?

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

1.1 Study Source 1A.

- 1.1.1 Why, according to the source, did the newly launched COSATU threaten to call a national strike? (1 x 1) (1)
- 1.1.2 Explain why you think COSATU supported the campaign for disinvestment against the apartheid government. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.3 Define the term *nationalisation* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.4 What is implied by the statement, 'that it [COSATU] was committed to one-person one-vote in a unitary South Africa', in the context of its role as a labour movement? (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Consult Source 1B.

- 1.2.1 Why do you think this poster was created? (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.2.2 Identify evidence in the source that indicates that this was a COSATU poster. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.3 Comment on the limitations of this source to a researcher studying COSATU's response to the Labour Relations Amendment Act. (2 x 2) (4)

1.3 Use Source 1C.

- 1.3.1 Quote evidence from the source suggesting that anti-apartheid groups were negatively affected by the state of emergency. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.2 Name the TWO radical organisations that were of more concern to the police, according to Johan van der Merwe. (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.3.3 Why do you think the government prohibited COSATU from campaigning for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners? (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.4 Explain the concept *sanctions* in the context of COSATU's position in resisting the apartheid government. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4 Consult Source 1D.

- 1.4.1 What, according to the source, were the TWO challenges that the COSATU special congress had to respond to on 14 May 1988?
(2 x 1) (2)
- 1.4.2 List THREE ways from the source which show how the Labour Relations Amendment Act would affect workers and their trade unions.
(1 x 3) (3)
- 1.4.3 Explain the meaning of the statement, COSATU was denied the 'right to operate on the national political terrain', in the context of restrictions imposed by the apartheid government.
(1 x 2) (2)
- 1.4.4 Comment on what is implied by the words, 'COSATU would not knuckle under (give in) without a struggle', in the context of the threat posed by the apartheid government.
(2 x 2) (4)
- 1.5 Refer to Sources 1B and 1D. Explain how the information in Source 1B supports the evidence in Source 1D regarding COSATU's response to the Labour Relations Amendment Act.
(2 x 2) (4)
- 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 COSATU responded to the apartheid government's labour reforms in the 1980s.
(8)
[50]

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) EXPOSE LEADERS OF THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BETWEEN 1960 AND 1994?

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

2.1 Use Source 2A.

- 2.1.1 According to the source, why did the National Party support the idea of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.2 Define the term *amnesty* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.3 Why do you think black South Africans demanded explanations from perpetrators, and not only disclosure by the National Party? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.4 Explain the implication of the statement of the Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, about the TRC: '... to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past ... to advance the cause of reconciliation'. (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.1.5 What, according to the source, were the opinions of the following regarding the granting of general amnesty by the TRC?
- (a) De Klerk (1 x 1) (1)
- (b) ANC (1 x 1) (1)

2.2 Study Source 2B.

- 2.2.1 Quote THREE pieces of evidence from the source suggesting that Botha's government entered the 'realm of criminal misconduct' in the late 1970s. (3 x 1) (3)
- 2.2.2 Explain the term *third force* in the context of the apartheid government's way of dealing with the ANC. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.2.3 Comment on why you think De Klerk did not act on the allegations, made by General Steyn, of third force activities. (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.2.4 Who, according to the source, was involved in the bombing of Khotso House? (1 x 1) (1)

2.3 Read Source 2C.

- 2.3.1 Explain the significance of the phrase, 'FINALLY, A BIG ONE!', in the context of the amnesty process. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.3.2 What is the implication of Tutu's words, 'YOU SHOULD HAVE SEEN THE ONES THAT GOT AWAY ...', regarding the TRC process? (2 x 2) (4)

2.4 Consult Source 2D.

- 2.4.1 What, according to the source, was T Leon's view of how the National Party treated their foot soldiers? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.4.2 Why, according to the source, did P Erasmus mention, '... I felt that old fury (anger) burning bright as ever inside me', regarding the meetings between ex-ministers, generals and the State Security Council on how to deal with the TRC? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.4.3 Comment on why the foot soldiers felt thrown away by the leadership of the government that employed them. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.4.4 Why would a historian regard this source as reliable when researching the accountability of the National Party leadership to the TRC processes? (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 how the leadership of the apartheid government avoided accountability during the TRC hearings. (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) to explain how the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) exposed leaders of the apartheid government for gross violations of human rights committed between 1960 and 1994. (8)

[50]

QUESTION 3: HOW DID POWERFUL INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, NAMELY THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) AND THE WORLD BANK, SHAPE THE GLOBALISED ECONOMIES SINCE THE 1980s?

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

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

- 3.1.1 Define the term *globalised economies* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.1.2 Give FOUR points of criticism of globalisation as stated in the source. (4 x 1) (4)
- 3.1.3 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, comment on how powerful nations and financial institutions benefitted from the implementation of globalisation 'from above'. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.1.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain how experiencing globalisation 'from below' would be of advantage to Africa. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2 Consult Source 3B.

- 3.2.1 Quote FOUR pieces of evidence from the source to indicate that Africa's experience of the global crisis in the 1980s led to a dependency relationship with the West. (4 x 1) (4)
- 3.2.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank was reluctantly accepted by some African countries. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.2.3 What do you think is implied by the statement, '... not since the days of colonialism have external forces been so powerfully focused to shape Africa's economic structure', regarding the influence of the IMF and the World Bank? (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.2.4 Explain the term *structural adjustments* in the context of the policies of international financial institutions regarding African countries. (1 x 2) (2)

3.3 Read Source 3C.

- 3.3.1 Explain whether you consider the caption 'Dependence Theory' as appropriate for this cartoon. (2 x 2) (4)
- 3.3.2 Why do you think the cartoonist portrays 'rich nations' as oversized? (1 x 2) (2)

3.4 Study Source 3D.

- 3.4.1 Identify TWO positions in the source that J Stiglitz held before he entered the world of policy making. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.4.2 Comment on why globalisation is generally associated with development. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.4.3 Give TWO examples of projects mentioned in the source that benefitted from foreign aid. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.4.4 What is implied by the statement, 'But to many in the developing world, globalisation has not brought the promised economic benefits'? (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.4.5 Explain the usefulness of the source to a historian studying globalisation. (2 x 2) (4)

- 3.5 Use Source 3C and Source 3D. Explain how the information in Source 3C differs from the evidence in Source 3D regarding the impact of globalisation on the African countries. (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 how powerful international financial institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, shaped the globalised economies since the 1980s. (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 Black Consciousness Movement believed that black people should liberate themselves psychologically and be self-reliant in their struggle to challenge the apartheid government of the 1970s.

Do you agree with the statement? Use relevant evidence to substantiate your line of argument.

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

The road to democracy was characterised by the continuous emergence of violence and conflicts that failed to stop the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994.

Critically discuss this statement. Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument.

[50]**QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989**

Explain to what extent Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s influenced FW de Klerk to introduce political reforms that paved the way for negotiations for a democratic South Africa.

Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument.

[50]**TOTAL: 150**



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MARKING GUIDELINES

MARKS: 150

These marking guidelines consist of 30 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 in own words 	30% (15)
Level 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpretation of evidence from sources Explain information gathered from sources Analyse evidence from sources Define of historical concepts in context 	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 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 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 ✓✓✓✓

COMMENT

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

- 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

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- 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.

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 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 CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT'S LABOUR REFORMS IN THE 1980s?**

- 1.1 1.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A - L1]*
- '... if the government carries out its threat to repatriate migrant workers'
 - 'and have pledged to organise workers in the homelands in defiance of any restrictions on unions in these regions'
- (any 1 x 1) (1)
- 1.1.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*
- To put pressure on the South African government to change/dismantle its apartheid policy
 - To isolate South Africa from the rest of the world/cutting it off from foreign economic support by imposing sanctions - forcing it to capitulate
 - COSATU was aligned to the ANC which used the disinvestment tactic to intensify the fight against apartheid
 - To force the apartheid government to change its policy which in turn would lead to better working conditions for workers
 - Any other relevant response
- (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.3 *[Definition of term from Source 1A – L1]*
- Economic policy placing means of production under state control
 - Economic policy limiting private ownership and promoting ownership by the state in all means of production
 - Any other relevant response
- (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*
- COSATU was not only involved with labour issues but also with political matters
 - COSATU supported the objectives of the liberation struggle - fighting for the right to vote for all South Africans/democratic rights
 - All South Africans should exercise their right to vote within a united South Africa
 - Any other relevant response
- (any 2 x 2) (4)

- 1.2 1.2.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B - L2]*
- To mobilise workers to support the struggle against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill/Act
 - To galvanise/show support and solidarity from broader sectors of society against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill/Act
 - To highlight the struggle against the restrictions that the Labour Relations Amendment Bill/Act will impose on workers and their unions
 - To notify its (COSATU) members of the planned special congress to be held in Johannesburg on 14 – 15 May 1988
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 1.2.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1B – L1]*
- The COSATU logo/name appears on the poster
 - 'FORWARD WITH COSATU'
 - 'AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL'
 - 'Special Congress JOHANNESBURG MAY 14 -15 1988'
 - 'workers'
 - 'NO! to the Labour Bill'
 - 'NO! to restrictions'
 - 'ORGANISE!'
 - 'RESIST!'
 - 'factories' (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.3 *[Determining limitations of Source 1B – L3]*
- The source is LIMITED because:**
- It was designed by a COSATU media worker (Patrick Cockayne) who was fiercely opposed to the government and its legislations
 - It caters only for the perspective of COSATU/one-sided perspective
 - It against the government's introduction of the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRA) to restrict trade unions
 - It used emotive language, NO! NO! to influence mobilisation against the legislation of the LRA
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 1.3 1.3.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*
- '... they will have to obtain the Law and Order Minister's permission to conduct any other activities' (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C –L1]*
- 'UDF'
 - 'COSATU' (2 x 1) (2)

- 1.3.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1C – L2]*
- The apartheid government feared that ANC and COSATU leaders would mobilise people and form a strong opposition against the government
 - They saw both the ANC and COSATU as puppets of the Soviet Union
 - The ANC and other political prisoners were regarded as a threat to the apartheid government
 - The struggle for liberation would be expedited if the ANC was unbanned
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.4 *[Explanation of concept from Source 1C – L2]*
- Campaigns organised by COSATU and aligned organisations for economic punitive measures (trade boycotts) to be implemented to isolate South Africa from the world, forcing it to change its apartheid policy
 - Formal/official blocking of economic, cultural, political relations between foreign countries and the apartheid government of SA to force it to end apartheid
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 1.4 1.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence in Source 1D – L1]*
- 'The government's February 24 restrictions (which legally limited COSATU to a narrow range of factory floor trade unionism ...'/'... effectively banned 17 other organisations ...'
 - 'the Labour Relations Amendment Act' ('limit workers' right to strike'/'open trade unions to civil action for losses incurred (experienced)/by their members' actions'/'outlaw (ban) solidarity action in industrial disputes' (any 2 x 1) (2)
- 1.4.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1D - L1]*
- '... limit workers' right to strike ...'
 - '... open trade unions to civil action for losses incurred by their members' actions ...'
 - '... outlaw solidarity action in industrial disputes'
 - 'restore the balance in industrial relations in favour of the employer' (any 1 x 3) (3)
- 1.4.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D – L2]*
- To curb COSATU from challenging the state politically at a national level
 - COSATU could not mobilise its workers at national level (politically) because it focussed on workers rights at factory floor level
 - The rights of the employers were protected
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

- 1.4.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D – L2]*
- COSATU would not accept government restrictions and the LRA
 - COSATU ban it/prepared to suffer/fight for workers rights
 - COSATU would mobilise workers for mass would stand up and challenge attempts by the government to
 - demonstrations against their employers and government
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 1.5 *[Comparison of evidence in Sources 1B and 1D – L3]*
- Source 1B is a poster depicting COSATU's call to reject the LRA and restrictions and Source 1D highlights COSATU's formal reaction against the LRA and restrictions - adopted at its special congress on 14 May 1988
 - Source 1B makes a notification of the special congress that was to be held from 14 – 15 May 1988 and Source 1D highlights the resolutions that were taken against the dual threat of the bill and restrictions during the special congress
 - Both sources highlight that the protest actions against the Bill and restrictions were adopted during COSATU's special congress on 14 May 1988
 - Both sources highlight the fact that workers should resist the Bill and restrictions/Both sources indicate that COSATU was forceful in their resistance
 - Both sources highlight the democratic rights of workers
 - Both sources indicate COSATU's commitment to resist the LRA
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- COSATU launched on 5 December 1985 as a labour movement to challenge apartheid labour reforms (Source 1A)
- COSATU President Elijah Barayi committed it to fill the political gap created by the banning of the ANC and other political organisations (Source 1A)
- COSATU would use its huge membership from NUM and FOSATU to build a formidable force of trade unionism against the apartheid government (Source 1A)
- COSATU called for a national minimum wage and other advantages for workers (Source 1A)
- COSATU as a trade union federation posed a threat to the apartheid government and foreign investors (own knowledge)
- COSATU used posters to communicate and conscientise its members, workers and the general public (Source 1B and own knowledge)
- COSATU called on workers to organise and resist the Bill and restrictions (Source 1B)
- COSATU began to fill the organisational vacuum created by the detention of most of the UDF's national and regional leaders (Source 1C)
- Called on the international community to impose sanctions and disinvestment (Source 1C and own knowledge)
- COSATU organised a Special Congress to react to the threat posed by the government's restrictions (Source 1D)
- COSATU committed itself to never give in to restrictions by the employer or government (Source 1D)
- COSATU successfully organised various campaigns and strikes to pressurise the apartheid government (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 COSATU responded to the apartheid government's labour reforms in the 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 largely on the topic e.g. shows some understanding of how COSATU responded to the apartheid government's labour reforms in the 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 COSATU responded to the apartheid government's labour reforms in the 1980s. • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic. 	MARKS 6 - 8

(8)
[50]

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) EXPOSE LEADERS OF THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BETWEEN 1960 AND 1994?

- 2.1 2.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*
 • '... in order to avoid responsibility' (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.2 *[Definition of term from Source 2A – L1]*
 • Process of exempting someone who committed a politically motivated crime from prosecution
 • Granting of official pardon or forgiveness to a perpetrator that would give full disclosure to political atrocities committed in the past
 • Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*
 • Most injustices committed in the past by the apartheid government were against blacks who demanded explanations to find closure
 • The amnesty process led to those who tortured and killed black activists to be scot free
 • The high command of the security forces who issued instructions to kill activists was not held accountable
 • Families of victims did not always get the whole truth of what happened to their loved ones
 • They wanted to hear from perpetrators themselves
 • Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*
 • That the TRC had to reveal the truth about atrocities committed in the past to forge reconciliation amongst South Africans
 • The TRC should create a platform where victims and perpetrators could tell their stories to help those affected get closure and be willing to reconcile
 • All South Africans should face the past to achieve healing and reconciliation
 • Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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

(a)

- '... he was of the opinion that a process was required in order to enable South Africans to come to terms with the conflict of the past in a spirit of reconciliation and to get on with the future without recriminations (accusations)'
- '... favoured a general amnesty for perpetrators of politically inspired violence' (any 1 x 1) (1)

(b)

- 'A general amnesty went very much against ANC thinking' (1 x 1) (1)

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

- '... Botha's government had adopted a policy of killing its opponents'
- 'torture'
- 'abduction'
- 'arson'
- 'sabotage'
- '... used terminology like eliminate, take out and wipe out ...' (any 3 x 1) (3)

2.2.2 *[Explanation of a term from Source 2B – L2]*

- Network of underground state sponsored security force members, right wing groups and those opposed to the ANC that were used to block or derail the ANC take over
- Any other relevant response (1 x 2) (2)

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

- De Klerk wanted to hide the truth about how the NP supported violence
- The report was an indictment/accusation on the NP government and its security agents
- De Klerk as head of state was not willing to investigate atrocities committed by the third force because they were neutralising the ANC
- De Klerk allowed third force activities to be carried out under his watch because they supported the National Party (NP) government
- De Klerk did not want to risk further dissension within his party
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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

- Commissioner of Police/Van der Merwe (1 x 1) (1)

- 2.3 2.3.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2C - L2]*
- Only member of the Apartheid government that would be held accountable for atrocities committed applied for amnesty
 - Adriaan Vlok was the Minister of Police in the apartheid government who was held responsible for human rights violations
 - Only Adriaan Vlok appeared before the Amnesty Committee
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 2.3.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2C - L2]*
- Tutu implied that there were many other NP leaders who evaded/escaped the Amnesty process
 - Tutu implied that many leaders got away because of their unwillingness to cooperate with the TRC process
 - Many leaders were guilty of political crimes committed but were not brought to book
 - Tutu as the chairperson of the TRC did not have the power to force them to appear before the Amnesty Committee
 - Some political leaders refused to appear before the TRC
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 2.4 2.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2D – L1]*
- '... turning its back on the foot soldiers ...' (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.4.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2D – L1]*
- '... had already met on three occasions ...'
 - '... were planning the fourth meeting to prepare themselves for what must felt like the coming onslaught of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) ...'
 - '... each individual goes before the commission and tells their story alone' (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 2.4.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2D - L2]*
- The foot soldiers were to appear before the TRC process on their own/not included in the meeting of ex- ministers, generals and the State Security Council
 - The government misled the foot soldiers who were employed by them to commit political crimes
 - The foot soldiers were not protected/defended and felt betrayed by the government they served when they appeared before the TRC
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.4.4 *[Ascertain the reliability of Source 2D – L3]***The source is RELIABLE because:**

- The author, Paul Erasmus was an eyewitness who served in the Security Branch of the South African Police
- It is taken from Paul Erasmus's confessions as contained in his biography
- Paul Erasmus had inside information of the activities of the National Party (NP)
- He gave an account of how foot soldiers felt about being left on their own by the National Party leadership
- The source can be corroborated by Source 2B and Source 2C
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.5 *[Comparison of evidence from Sources 2C and 2D – L3]*

- In Source 2C Tutu refers to the apartheid leaders who got away from (evaded) the TRC and in Source 2D the state security council met to plan their response against the coming onslaught of the TRC
- In Source 2C the apartheid leaders seemed defiant to appear as individuals to the Amnesty process and in Source 2D they were making arrangements for a blanket amnesty
- Both sources allude to the fact that the National Party leaders evaded the TRC process
- Source 2C shows small fish (foot soldiers) who appeared before the TRC's Amnesty process and Source 2D refers to the National Party having turned its back on its foot soldiers as if they acted on their own accord
- 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:

- The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 laid the basis for the formation of the TRC encouraging perpetrators to disclose the truth about human rights violations (Source 2A)
- The TRC provided the NP an opportunity to disclose human rights violations committed during the apartheid era (Source 2A)
- The TRC provided a platform for victims and perpetrators to tell their stories (own knowledge)
- TRC verdict declared that Botha's government adopted a policy of killing opponents (realm of criminal misconduct) and was responsible for torture, abduction, arson and sabotage in the 1970s (Source 2B)
- FW de Klerk was held accountable for criminal misconduct/ third force by the TRC (Source 2B)
- Van der Merwe, Commissioner of Police, was held accountable for the bombing of anti-apartheid organisations offices - Khotso House (Source 2B)
- Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Police was the only big fish caught by the TRC because he was a minister in the apartheid government (Source 2C)
- The apartheid government foot soldiers admitted their role in the atrocities and applied for amnesty (Source 2D)
- The apartheid leaders met to corroborate their story and refused to appear before the TRC (Source 2D)
- The foot soldiers felt betrayed by the apartheid leaders as they had to take accountability for the violations of human rights (Source 2D)
- 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 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) exposed leaders of the apartheid government for gross violations of human rights committed between 1960 and 1994. • 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 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) exposed leaders of the apartheid government for gross violations of human rights committed between 1960 and 1994. • 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 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) exposed leaders of the apartheid government for gross violations of human rights committed between 1960 and 1994. • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic. 	MARKS 6 – 8

(8)
[50]

QUESTION 3: HOW DID POWERFUL INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, NAMELY THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) AND WORLD BANK, SHAPE THE GLOBALISED ECONOMIES SINCE THE 1980s?

- 3.1 3.1.1 *[Definition of a term from Source 3A - L1]*
- Economies that have access to resources from all countries across the world
 - Economies that reap benefits from political and economic resources that are accessible across the world
 - Increasing inter-dependence as a result of cross border trade
 - Economies influenced globally where resources of developing countries are exploited
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.1.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3A – L1]*
- 'presents Africa and black people as marginal' (globalising economies seek resources from every corner of the world, and globalised economies reap considerable benefits from their economics and political dominance)
 - 'the devastation of the environment'
 - 'climate change'
 - 'depletion of natural and mineral resources'
 - 'labour exploitation' (any 4 x 1) (4)
- 3.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3A – L2]*
- Powerful nations and financial institutions:
- designed Structural Adjustment Programmes that favoured themselves
 - designed policies that ensured that poor and developing nations would depend on them and they made huge profits
 - maintained the gap between rich and poor nations
 - made available foreign loans to under-developed countries at exorbitant interests and dependency
 - exploited natural resources and cheap labour from poor countries
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

- 3.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3A – L2]*
- Globalisation would be applied from the African perspective to benefit Africa
 - Africa can use the demand of its resources to positively influence the way international institutions function
 - Africa can use the demand for its resources to promote nationalism
 - Africa can use the demand for its resources to highlight resistance to exploitation by the international institutions
 - Africa can use its resources to attract investment that will create employment and end poverty
 - Africa will be offered an opportunity to trade African commodities internationally
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.2 3.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3B – L1]*
- '... acute balance of payment crises ...'
 - '... accompanying disruption of local production have undermined the continent's ability to service foreign debt ...'
 - '... many countries have been forced to go into debt ...'
 - 'They have turned to IMF and World Bank for balance payment loans' (4 x 1) (4)
- 3.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3B - L2]*
- They had to sign economic policies with these institutions as conditions
 - The economic policies signed with the International institutions would bind the African countries to these organisations until their debt was paid
 - The African countries would not have a say in the terms and conditions of the Structural Adjustment Programme
 - It would make African countries always dependent on foreign help/neo-colonialism
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3B - L2]*
- IMF and World Bank are like colonial powers
 - The IMF and World Bank are exploiting Africa through economic policies just like colonial powers did
 - The IMF and World Bank are using structural adjustment policies to benefit from African economies
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

- 3.2.4 *[Explanation of a term from Source 3B – L2]*
- Policy through which the IMF and World Bank provided conditional loans to countries in economic crisis
 - Policy that was used by the IMF and the World Bank to assist countries in Africa to stabilise and recover their economies as a result of globalisation
 - Policy used by IMF and World Bank to adjust economic structures of countries to their benefit
 - Policy that lessens the role of government on the economy by promoting market economy
 - Policies offered by the IMF and the World Bank to assist with domestic and international restoration and growth of economies
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.3 3.3.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3C - L2]*
Candidates can choose either APPROPRIATE or NOT APPROPRIATE
- APPROPRIATE**
- Rich nations (developed countries) depend on resources from poor nations (underdeveloped countries)
 - Poor nations are exploited
 - Any other relevant response
- NOT APPROPRIATE**
- Rich nations (developed countries) should help poor nations (developing countries)
 - Poor nations are known for depending on hand-outs (loans) from developed countries/international powerful institutions
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 3.3.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3C - L2]*
To suggest that:
- They are greedy
 - Monopolise resources of poor countries
 - They enrich themselves with resources from poor countries
 - They have policies in place that will drain the economies of the poor to enrich themselves
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.4 3.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3D – L1]*
- 'Academia'
 - 'research'
 - 'teaching' (any 2 x 1) (2)

- 3.4.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3D – L2]*
- It leads to a globalised economy wherein all countries share resources/reduces poverty/creates job opportunities
 - It creates a global village wherein underdeveloped, developing and developed countries gain from interconnectedness in the field of technology, arts and culture, transportation etc.
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.4.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3D – L1]*
- 'guerrillas in Philippines were provided jobs by a World Bank – financed project as they laid down all their arms'
 - 'irrigation projects'
 - 'education projects'
 - 'Aids projects' (any 2 x 1) (2)
- 3.4.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3D – L2]*
- Many people are still experiencing inequality/poverty/debt
 - The gap between the rich and the poor is increasing
 - Wealth is still unequally distributed throughout the world
 - The gap between the developed and the developing nations / countries still exist due to excessive exploitation
 - Mismanagement/embezzlement of funds have led to corruption
 - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.4.5 *[Determining the usefulness of evidence from Source 3D – L3]*
The source is USEFUL because:
- The author Joseph Stiglitz had experience of serving in international financial institutions of globalisation
 - It is first-hand information/direct source/testimony from experiences of Stiglitz
 - It gives a balance assessment of the advantages/benefit of globalisation
 - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 3.5 *[Comparison of evidence in Sources 3C and 3D – L3]*
- Source 3C shows rich nations depending on poor nations but Source 3D refers to economic development of poor nations as a benefit of globalisation
 - Source 3C shows poor nations serving rich nations whereas Source 3D refers to foreign aid benefitting millions from poor nations
 - Poor nations in Source 3C are portrayed as weak due to malnutrition and vulnerable while Source 3D refers to projects that helped contain deadly diseases
 - 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:

- Globalised economy depends on resources from all over the world (Source 3A)
- African countries lost more in resources to the outside world than it received (Source 3A)
- International financial institutions created globalisation 'from above' (Source 3A)
- The international institutions formed unpopular policies which did not always benefit the African countries (Source 3A)
- African countries were locked into dependent relationships with the international institutions (Source 3B)
- African countries were unable to sustain themselves (own knowledge)
- African countries were forced into debt for economic recovery (Source 3B)
- Structural Adjustment programmes were implemented in African countries (Source 3B)
- The Structural Adjustment Programmes adjusted Africa's economic structures (Source 3B)
- Foreign loans prevented African countries from developing their economies (own knowledge)
- Globalisation is compared to colonialism as it had the same effect on the African countries (Source 3B)
- The issue of dependency/exploitation characterised the globalised economy (Source 3C)
- International financial institutions are regarded as the saving grace for the African countries (own knowledge)
- The foreign aid and its projects could be viewed as a benefit of the international institutions (Source 3D)
- Critics link globalisation to triumphant capitalism (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 powerful international financial institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, shaped the globalised economies since the 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 powerful international financial institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, shaped the globalised economies since the 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 powerful international financial institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, shaped the globalised economies since the 1980s. • 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 Black Consciousness Movement believed that blacks should liberate themselves psychologically and be self-reliant in their struggle to challenge the apartheid government 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 Black Consciousness Movement believed that blacks should liberate themselves psychologically and be self-reliant in their struggle to challenge the apartheid government in the 1970s. They should also indicate how they would support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- Political vacuum (Background information)
 - Created after ANC and PAC leaders and parties were banned or imprisoned in 1960s
- Instilling of blacks with pride and self-belief to challenge the apartheid state
 - 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)
 - The South African Students Movement (SASM) was formed in 1972 and exposed Blacks to the ideals of BC
 - BCM and SASO organised the VIVA FRELIMO Rallies (1974)
 - The arrests of BC leaders heightened political activism

- Instilled blacks with confidence to establish Community Programmes - to be self-reliant
 - 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)
- Legacy of Biko
- Instilled students with self-belief to challenge the apartheid state through the Soweto uprising
 - Bantu Education introduced Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools (1975)
 - South African Students Movement formed in 1972 which exposed Blacks to the ideals of BC
 - 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 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)
 - Students and learners went into exile
- Influenced workers to challenge the apartheid state
 - Unions aligned to the BC philosophy included Black Parents' Association and Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU)
 - 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
- 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 critically discuss the assertion that the road to democracy was characterised by the continuous emergence of violence and conflicts that failed to stop the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994. Candidates should use relevant evidence to support their balanced line of argument.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction: Candidates need to take a line of argument by critically discussing the assertion that the road to democracy was characterised by the continuous emergence of violence and conflicts that failed to stop the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994. They should also indicate how they would support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- FW de Klerk took over from PW Botha in 1989 and introduced reforms
- Unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) and other banned organisations (attacks on train commuters and rumours about the third force destabilised the negotiations)
- Release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990 and other banned political leaders in 1990 (this opened the way to negotiations for democratic SA)
- Talks (31 March 1990) between the ANC and the NP postponed due to killing of defenceless demonstrators in Sebokeng (violence)
- Groote Schuur Minute, 2 May 1990 - NP released political prisoners and both parties (ANC and NP) committed themselves to end violence and to negotiate
- Violence in the Vaal Triangle – Sebokeng (July 1990)
- Hand grenade attacks at the Melrose House Museum (24 May 1990) (violence)
- Pretoria Minute (August 1990) – ANC stopped armed struggle and NP stopped State of Emergency
- Night attack in Thokoza (13 September 1990) (violence)
- The National Peace Accord signed by 27 political organisations
- CODESA 1 (20 December 1991) - 19 political parties except for CP and PAC. NP strongly criticised ANC for not disbanding MK and accused them of keeping MK as a 'private army'
- Parties could not agree on power sharing and the constituent assembly – meeting ended
- The Declaration of Intent (20 December 1991) – parties agreed to draw up a new constitution and interim government
- Whites-only referendum – De Klerk tested white opinion to continue with negotiations after losing three by-elections to CP. Referendum results – landslide Yes – negotiations continued
- CODESA 2 (2 May 1992) – was not successful because of violence and inability of parties to agree on power-sharing – ended in deadlock (conflict)

- Boipatong massacre (17 June 1992) and influence of Third Force (violence)
 - Bisho massacre (7 September 1992) – ANC supporters who wanted to be part of negotiation process (a turning point after which negotiation process favoured the ANC) (violence)
 - ANC called for rolling mass action (May 1992) against the National Party (conflict)
 - Resistance from Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) – October 1992 (conflict)
 - Record of Understanding – 26 September 1992 – Meyer and Ramaphosa committed themselves to peace and to negotiations, Meyer and Ramaphosa agreed on Joe Slovo's Sunset clause (2 April 1993)
 - Parties winning more than 5% of vote will form a Government of National Unity (GNU) to govern the new SA and whites could retain their positions for 5 years
 - Multi-party negotiations resumed on 2 April 1993 at the World Trade Centre but did not last (conflict)
 - Assassination of Chris Hani (10 April 1993) – Janus Walus (violence)
 - Mandela addresses nation on TV calming the nation down
 - The AWB interrupted the negotiations on 25 June 1993, when they stormed the World Trade Centre with armoured vehicle (violence)
 - St James Church massacre (25 July 1993) (violence)
 - Heidelberg Tavern massacre (30 December 1993) (violence)
 - Shell House massacre (28 March 1994) (violence)
 - Date for the first democratic elections set (27-29 April 1994)
 - Continued violence throughout elections – car bomb outside ANC head offices
 - Car bomb exploded at Jan Smuts airport (violence)
 - Elections held in 1994
 - Mandela became the first 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 sum 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 explain to what extent Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s influenced F W De Klerk to introduce political reforms that paved a way for negotiations for a democratic South Africa. Candidates need to substantiate their argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- Introduction: Candidates need to take a line of argument by explaining to what extent Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s influenced F W De Klerk to introduce political reforms that paved a way for negotiations for a democratic South Africa. They should indicate how they will support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- Soviet Union in economic hardships (background information)
- Gorbachev took leadership of the Soviet Union in 1985 and introduced 'Perestroika' and 'Glasnost'
- 'Perestroika' allowed small scale private ownership and removed government control over production – shift away from Communism
- 'Glasnost' allowed people to criticise government – unknown culture under Communism
- Perestroika and Glasnost led to demands for the end of communism and full democracy
- This led to the end of communism and the end of the Cold War/Russia was no longer regarded as a super power/Communism was no longer seen as a 'global threat'
- The USA and its allies could no longer continue to support the apartheid regime
- The West now put pressure on the NP government to negotiate with the ANC or face continued sanctions
- 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
- 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 (contributing factor)
- It became evident that the National Party government could not maintain white supremacy rule indefinitely (contributing factor)
- Influential National Party members started to realise that apartheid was not the answer for the development of 'white' economic interests (contributing factor)

- The government started to believe that reform 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
 - Constructive engagement between FW de Klerk and Reagan (US President) with Margaret Thatcher (British Prime Minister) facilitated by Chester Crocker
 - 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 ANC would be weak and showed his willingness to negotiate with the ANC
 - 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