



# **basic education**

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Department:  
Basic Education  
**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

## **SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS/ NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS**

**HISTORY P2**

**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: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

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

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

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 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) REACT TO PW BOTHA'S 'REFORMS' IN THE 1980s?**

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

**1.1 Refer to Source 1A.**

- 1.1.1 Why, according to the source, was the MDM formed in 1988? (1 x 1) (1)
- 1.1.2 Identify THREE organisations in the source that were part of the MDM. (3 x 1) (3)
- 1.1.3 Explain why the MDM operated as an unstructured front in the fight against apartheid. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.4 Define the term *defiance campaign* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.5 Why did the MDM decide to organise a worker stay-away against the tricameral elections due to take place on 6 September 1989? (1 x 2) (2)

**1.2 Read Source 1B.**

- 1.2.1 State TWO reasons why the nearly month-old campaign of civil disobedience and defiance by South African blacks lost some of its momentum by August 1989. (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.2.2 Explain why MDM leaders of the defiance campaign decided to escalate their protests a week before the elections for Parliament in September 1989. (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.2.3 Comment on the implication of the march by Mary Burton and Dorothy Boesak for British intervention in South African matters. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.4 Give TWO protest actions, named in the source, that could not materialise because of arrests or other restrictions on MDM activists. (2 x 1) (2)

## 1.3 Study Source 1C.

- 1.3.1 Identify any TWO reasons in the source that best describe why the peace march can be regarded as a success. (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.3.2 What do you think influenced the apartheid government at the time, not to use violence to break up the peace march? (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.3.3 Explain the term *emergency decrees* in the context of the apartheid government's attempt to control anti-apartheid demonstrations. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.4 Quote evidence from the source that shows the protestors imitated (copied) some actions of the US Civil Rights Movement. (1 x 2) (2)

## 1.4 Use Source 1D.

- 1.4.1 Why do you think this photograph was taken on 13 September 1989? (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.4.2 Explain the usefulness of this source to a historian studying the 13 September 1989 peace march. (2 x 2) (4)

- 1.5 Refer to Sources 1C and 1D. Explain how the evidence in Source 1D supports the information in Source 1C regarding the events that unfolded during the peace march organised by the MDM on 13 September 1989. (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 the MDM reacted to PW Botha's 'reforms' in the 1980s. (8) [50]

**QUESTION 2: WAS THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCESSFUL IN ATTAINING ITS AIMS WITH ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU AS ITS CHAIRPERSON?**

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

2.1 Refer to Source 2A.

- 2.1.1 What, according to the source, was the purpose of the TRC when it was set up in 1996? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.2 Identify THREE areas recorded by the Commission where horrendous atrocities (horrific killings) were committed against political activists. (3 x 1) (3)
- 2.1.3 Comment on the meaning of the statement, 'the decision to end apartheid and bring the ANC to power was aimed at staving off mass revolution by South Africa's workers and youth'. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.4 Explain why you think the TRC played an important contributory role in avoiding a bloodbath in South Africa. (2 x 2) (4)

2.2 Read Source 2B.

- 2.2.1 What messages are conveyed by this cartoon regarding the evidence in the final TRC report? (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.2.2 Explain the implication of the phrase 'SO DID WE' by the security forces regarding their contribution to the TRC report. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3 Consult Source 2C.

- 2.3.1 What, according to the source, did the failure of several pre-1998 trials mean for some former security forces? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.3.2 Define the concept *perpetrators* in the context of the TRC. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.3.3 Explain why the TRC cannot be blamed for the failure of the National Director for Public Prosecutions (NDPP) to prosecute. (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.3.4 Identify THREE reasons in the source why the NDPP's progress in acting on the recommendation by the TRC was slowed down. (3 x 1) (3)
- 2.3.5 Comment on the limitations of this source for a researcher studying the success of the TRC. (2 x 2) (4)

- 2.4 Refer to Sources 2B and 2C. Explain how the information in Source 2B supports the evidence in Source 2C regarding the weaknesses of the TRC report. (2 x 2) (4)
- 2.5 Study Source 2D.
- 2.5.1 How, according to the source, did social media describe Archbishop Tutu on hearing of his passing (death)? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.5.2 Explain what is implied by Mbeki's statement, 'there might have been shortcomings in the design of the process', with reference to the TRC. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.5.3 Using your own words define the concept *reconciliation*. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining whether the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was successful in attaining its aims with Archbishop Desmond Tutu as its chairperson. (8)
- [50]**

**QUESTION 3: WHAT CHALLENGES DID BRICS MEMBERS ENCOUNTER IN ADDRESSING PROBLEMS CREATED BY GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY?**

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

3.1 Read Source 3A.

- 3.1.1 State ONE of the global objectives of sustainable development set forth by the international community. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.1.2 Define the concept *global climate change* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.1.3 Identify any TWO aspects in the source according to which countries differ in addressing climate change challenges. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.1.4 Explain the implication of the statement, 'The problem of climate change, however, cannot be solved by the efforts of any one country acting alone.' (2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Study Source 3B.

- 3.2.1 Give any TWO pieces of evidence in the source to show that BRICS countries have no common position on global climate change. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.2.2 Comment on what the Indian Prime Minister, Modi, meant by 'climate change is a concern which needs to be tackled in a framework of cooperation, rather than coercion (force)'. (2 x 2) (4)
- 3.2.3 Explain the implication of the statement, 'In the end, all want to "free ride" and none wants to "pay the check" ', in the context of managing climate change. (2 x 2) (4)

3.3 Use Source 3C.

- 3.3.1 Identify TWO challenges stated by President Jinping regarding climate change that COP26 had to address. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.3.2 Explain the concept *multilateralism* in the context of tackling global climate change. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.3.3 According to President Jinping, which TWO documents provide the legal basis for international cooperation on climate change? (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.3.4 Quote any TWO ways, according to President Jinping, how the world must respond to climate change. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.3.5 Comment on why a historian researching China's contribution to addressing global climate change during COP26, would find this source reliable. (2 x 2) (4)

- 3.4 Refer to Source 3A and Source 3C. Explain how the evidence in Source 3A supports the information in Source 3C regarding the BRICS countries' position in challenging global climate change. (2 x 2) (4)
- 3.5 Consult Source 3D.
- 3.5.1 Explain the messages conveyed by this photograph regarding global climate change. (2 x 2) (4)
- 3.5.2 What do you think 'HOME', as captured in the photograph, refers to? (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining challenges that BRICS members encountered in addressing problems created by global climate change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. (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**

Black Consciousness started a movement that filled the political vacuum in the 1960s and continued to successfully challenge the apartheid government in the 1970s.

Do you agree with this statement? Substantiate your answer with relevant historical evidence.

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

Critically discuss why the negotiation process towards a democratic South Africa was not an easy process between 1990 and 1994.

Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument.

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

Explain to what extent Gorbachev's reforms were influential in affecting politics in South Africa in 1989 and in the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Use relevant historical evidence to support your response.

**[50]****TOTAL: 150**



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## **SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS/ NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS**

**HISTORY P2**

**2023**

**MARKING GUIDELINES**

**MARKS: 150**

**These marking guidelines consist of 26 pages.**

**1. SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS****1.1 The following cognitive levels were used to develop source-based questions:**

<b>Cognitive Levels</b>	<b>Historical skills</b>	<b>Weighting of questions</b>
<b>LEVEL 1</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extract evidence from sources</li> <li>• Selection and organisation of relevant information from sources</li> <li>• Define historical concepts/terms</li> </ul>	<b>30% (15)</b>
<b>LEVEL 2</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interpretation of evidence from sources</li> <li>• Explain information gathered from sources</li> <li>• Analyse evidence from sources</li> </ul>	<b>40% (20)</b>
<b>LEVEL 3</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interpret and evaluate evidence from sources</li> <li>• Engage with sources to determine its usefulness, reliability, bias and limitations</li> <li>• Compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives presented in sources and draw independent conclusions</li> </ul>	<b>30% (15)</b>

**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.

<b>P</b>	<b>Point:</b> 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.
<b>E</b>	<b>Explanation:</b> The candidate should explain in more detail what the main point is about and how it relates to the question posed (line of argument).
<b>E</b>	<b>Example:</b> 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.
<b>L</b>	<b>Link:</b> 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**

	<b>LEVEL 7</b>	<b>LEVEL 6</b>	<b>LEVEL 5</b>	<b>LEVEL 4</b>	<b>LEVEL 3</b>	<b>LEVEL 2</b>	<b>LEVEL 1</b>
<b>PRESENTATION</b>  <b>CONTENT</b> 	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.
<b>LEVEL 7</b> Question has been fully answered. Content selection fully relevant to line of argument.	<b>47–50</b>	<b>43–46</b>					
<b>LEVEL 6</b> Question has been answered. Content selection relevant to the line of argument.	<b>43–46</b>	<b>40–42</b>	<b>38–39</b>				
<b>LEVEL 5</b> Question answered to a great extent. Content adequately covered and relevant.	<b>38–39</b>	<b>36–37</b>	<b>34–35</b>	<b>30–33</b>	<b>28–29</b>		
<b>LEVEL 4</b> Question is recognisable in answer. Some omissions or irrelevant content selection.			<b>30–33</b>	<b>28–29</b>	<b>26–27</b>		
<b>LEVEL 3</b> Content selection does relate to the question, but does not answer it, or does not always relate to the question. Omissions in coverage.				<b>26–27</b>	<b>24–25</b>	<b>20–23</b>	
<b>LEVEL 2</b> Question inadequately addressed. Sparse content.					<b>20–23</b>	<b>18–19</b>	<b>14–17</b>
<b>LEVEL 1</b> Question inadequately addressed or not at all. Inadequate or irrelevant content.						<b>14 –17</b>	<b>0–13</b>

**\*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) REACT TO PW BOTHA'S 'REFORMS' IN THE 1980s?**

1.1

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

- '... when the apartheid government placed restrictions on the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other activist organisations' (1 x 1) (1)

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

- 'United Democratic Front'/'(UDF)'
- 'African National Congress'/'(ANC)'
- 'Congress of South African Trade Unions'/'(COSATU)' (3 x 1) (3)

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

- To involve a broader spectrum of formations in the fight against apartheid
- To make it difficult for the apartheid government to ban its activities/To avoid the activists from being arrested/harassed by the apartheid regime
- To intensify the struggle against apartheid with a united front
- To unify the Congress alliance movement across all sectors of society to pressurise the apartheid regime to capitulate
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 *[Definition of a term from Source 1A – L1]*

- Peaceful/non-violent/violent protest action aimed at deliberately undermining segregation laws
- Acts of deliberate civil disobedience against discriminatory laws
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- The MDM rejected/sabotaged the reforms that still excluded blacks
- The tricameral elections were still based on segregation
- To mobilise workers to stay-away so that business could put pressure on government
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.2

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

- 'Intensive nationwide police clampdown'
- 'a sharp increase in attacks on anti-apartheid activists by white vigilantes' (2 x 1) (2)



- 1.2.2 [Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]
- To reject elections based on segregatory laws
  - Send a strong message that the elections of the tricameral parliament would not be accepted
  - To continue with civil disobedience
  - To weaken and discredit the apartheid government
  - Any relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 1.2.3 [Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]
- To expose segregatory laws on South Africa to the international world
  - To show to the South African government that MDM would use all avenues to reject reforms
  - To garner support from the British government/South Africa was a member of the British Commonwealth
  - To represent the voice of the detained black children
  - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.4 [Extraction of evidence from Source 1B – L1]
- 'defy bus segregation laws'
  - 'launch an "all schools for all people" campaign' (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.3
- 1.3.1 [Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]
- 'More than 20 000 anti-government protesters of all races filled Cape Town's main thoroughfare'
  - 'Civil rights leaders said it demonstrated the needlessness of emergency decrees'
  - 'The demonstration took place without incident'
  - 'Was one of the largest ever held in SA'
  - 'The only one receiving government waiver of emergency regulations'
  - 'Today is a day on which we, the people, have scored a great victory for justice and peace' (any 2 x 1) (2)
- 1.3.2 [Interpretation of evidence from Source 1C – L2]
- De Klerk as new National Party leader wanted to show that he is in a process of putting the country on a transition to democracy
  - De Klerk displayed a more liberal approach to marches showing his intention of change/reform
  - To prevent negative publicity and enhance South Africa's reputation internationally
  - The struggle for liberation has been intensified to such an extent that the apartheid government was willing to negotiate with the liberation movement
  - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

- 1.3.3 *[Explanation of a historical term from Source 1C – L2]*
- Emergency/temporary laws that were passed by the apartheid regime to control political activities organised by the liberation movement against its discriminatory laws
  - Special measures applied by the apartheid government to suppress any opposition and protests against it
  - Special laws that prohibit specific expressions of rejecting a political set-up
  - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*
- 'human tide of black, white and coloured, or mixed protesters'
  - 'Singing 'We Shall Overcome' and other freedom songs in an outpouring (burst) reminiscent (famous) of the US Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s' (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 1.4
- 1.4.1 *[Analysis of Source 1D – L2]*
- To cover/document a unique march, the first of its kind permitted in SA by the apartheid regime
  - To show multitudes of multiracial people who attended the peace march
  - To highlight protest actions organised by the MDM and supported by Allan Boesak
  - To show the success of the MDM in organising the peace march attended by many people
  - To win over the support of the people across the globe to pledge solidarity with the liberation struggle
  - To show the demands of the people
  - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 1.4.2 *[Determining the usefulness of Source 1D – L3]*
- The source is USEFUL because:**
- As a photograph, it is a direct source (first-hand information)
  - It was taken on the actual day of the peace march, 13 September 1989
  - Evidence showing the multiracial nature/unity of marchers who protested can be corroborated with information in Source 1C
  - It depicts the events as they unfolded during the peace march of 1989 with Allan Boesak as one of the leaders
  - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.5 *[Comparison of Sources 1C and 1D to ascertain similarities - L3]*

- Source 1C mentions that more than 20 000 anti-government marchers took part in one of the largest marches ever held in SA and the photo in Source 1D depicts the large numbers of people present at the march
- Source 1C states that anti-government protestors of all races took part in the peace march and the photo in Source 1D highlights the multiracial nature of protestors during the peace march
- Source 1C refers to the peaceful nature of the march which took place without incident and police intervention and Source 1D shows marchers marching peacefully with no signs of police presence/Both sources refer to the peace march organised by the MDM
- Source 1C mentions MDM leaders Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak leading the march and Allan Boesak's presence in the march can be seen on the photograph in Source 1D
- Source 1C refers to marchers carrying banners and in Source 1D banners, placards and posters carried by marchers can be seen
- 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

- The MDM was established in 1989 as a loose alliance of anti-apartheid groups to continue the struggle against apartheid after UDF was banned (Source 1A)
- The MDM embarked on civil disobedience campaigns against segregation laws and tricameral elections of 1989 (Source 1A)
- The MDM brought different organisations (including the banned ones) together to be more forceful (Source 1A)
- It organised defiance campaigns (Source 1A)
- Its civil disobedience and defiance of restrictions encountered intensive police suppression (Source 1B)
- It escalated protests a week before the tricameral parliamentary elections (Source 1B)
- Mary Burton (president of Black Sash) and Dorothy Boesak (Allan Boesak's wife) marched to the British embassy (Source 1B)
- It challenged bus segregation in Pretoria (Source 1B)
- It launched 'all schools for all people' campaign (Source 1B)
- Conducted the march for peace on 13 September 1989 (Source 1C)
- Leaders of the MDM claiming victory as a result of the non-interference of the apartheid state during the peace march (Source 1C)
- It successfully brought a multiracial group of people together (Source 1C and 1D)
- The MDM applied a non-violent approach (own knowledge)
- The MDM organised other protest activities such as stay-aways and consumer boycotts (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

<b>LEVEL 1</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Uses evidence in an elementary manner e.g. <b>shows no or little understanding of how the MDM reacted to PW Botha's 'reforms' in the 1980s.</b></li><li>• Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph.</li></ul>	<b>MARKS 0–2</b>
<b>LEVEL 2</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic e.g. <b>shows some understanding of how the MDM reacted to PW Botha's 'reforms' in the 1980s.</b></li><li>• Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph.</li></ul>	<b>MARKS 3–5</b>
<b>LEVEL 3</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Uses relevant evidence e.g. <b>demonstrates a thorough understanding of how the MDM reacted to PW Botha's 'reforms' in the 1980s.</b></li><li>• Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.</li></ul>	<b>MARKS 6–8</b>

(8)  
[50]

**QUESTION 2: WAS THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCESSFUL IN ATTAINING ITS AIMS WITH ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU AS ITS CHAIRPERSON?**

2.1

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

- '... To head off popular demands for the trials of those responsible for the deaths and torture of tens of thousands of black workers and youth under apartheid' (1 x 2) (2)

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

- 'Sharpeville'
- 'Soweto'
- 'Langa'
- 'Vlakplaas camp' (any 3 x 1) (3)

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

- To stop mass and labour demonstrations that would be effective in forcing the National Party to end apartheid
- To prevent bloodshed/to prevent a revolution/civil war
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- The TRC was established to deal with the atrocities committed during the past
- The TRC was used as an instrument that would heal and build a united South Africa
- Reconciliation/Restorative justice (amnesty and reparations) was emphasised by the commission so that there would be no need to revenge and cause a bloodbath
- Some family members of the victims were able to find closure
- South Africans were able to confront the truth about the past atrocities so that the perpetrators and the victims of apartheid could reconcile
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.2

2.2.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B – L2]*

- The TRC Chairperson, Desmond Tutu delivered the final TRC report to Thabo Mbeki
- The final report did not cover all the cases because the apartheid government and the security forces had destroyed most of the evidence (shredder) of crimes committed in the past
- The TRC's aims were not fully achieved thus Tutu states that – 'we dealt with much of the evidence as we could'
- FW de Klerk is depicted as one hiding something – 'peeping'
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

- 2.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B – L2]*
- It suggests that the security forces did not tell the truth about their role in violating human rights
  - The security forces implied that the TRC's final report was incomplete
  - Massive government records and documents were shredded by the security forces to ensure that there would be no evidence that incriminates the apartheid leaders like De Klerk in the TRC's final report
  - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 2.3
- 2.3.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2C - L1]*
- '... that some sectors of the former security forces have virtually escaped accountability for serious human rights abuses' (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.3.2 *[Definition of historical concept in context of Source 2C – L2]*
- Members of the security forces/anyone who committed dreadful human rights violations between 1960 and 1994 in South Africa
  - Any other relevant response (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.3.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2C – L2]*
- The TRC had completed its mandate (recommendations), it had no powers to force the NDPP to implement its recommendation
  - The TRC made recommendations to the NDPP to prosecute
  - The government's responsibility was to ensure that the perpetrators were prosecuted but it failed because the TRC was not a court of law
  - The TRC's mandate was restricted to promote restorative justice
  - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 2.3.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2C – L1]*
- '... unit also deals with organised crime cases'
  - 'Limited resources
  - ' ... obstacles to recovering evidence will restrict its ability to prosecute many cases' (3 x 1) (3)
- 2.3.5 *[Determining limitations of Source 2C – L3]*
- The source is LIMITED because:**
- The title of the source 'Truth and Justice: Unfinished Business' strongly suggest the failure of the TRC
  - The TRC report was a mere recommendation
  - One sided view by Amnesty International/Human Rights Watch on the TRC recommendations
  - The date of the source (Briefing Paper is 2003), 5 years apart from the publishing of the TRC report (1998)
  - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

- 2.4 *[Comparison of evidence from Sources 2B and 2C to ascertain how they support each other - L3]*
- Source 2B suggests that Tutu acknowledged that the final report was not conclusive (dealt with much of the evidence as we could) and in Source 2C the Report is regarded as 'unfinished business'
  - Source 2B shows De Klerk and the security forces with a shredding machine that destroyed a lot of incriminating evidence and in Source 2C reference is made of the failures of several trials and some security forces that escaped accountability for serious human rights abuses
  - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 2.5
- 2.5.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2D – L1]*
- '... many praising the fallen hero for his activism work against the engineers of the apartheid regime, the National Party' (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.5.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2D – L2]*
- The shortcomings of the TRC were embedded in its aims and scope of operation
  - Tutu had done his job as the Chairperson of the TRC, the fault was with the lack of implementation of the TRC's report
  - Tutu cannot be blamed for weaknesses of the TRC
  - The TRC was not mandated to prosecute the perpetrators
  - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 2.5.3 *[Definition of concept in own words from Source 2D – L1]*
- A process of facilitating peaceful endings between the perpetrator and the victim/enemies
  - It is a process whereby the victim understands the reasons why the perpetrator violated their human rights and publicly forgives them
  - A process wherein the perpetrator takes responsibility for their actions to repair the harm they have done exclusive of punishment
  - A process in which victims and perpetrators/enemies come together to resolve collectively the aftermath of the offences that occurred
  - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response.

**Candidates need to indicate whether the TRC was SUCCESSFUL or NOT SUCCESSFUL**

**SUCCESSFUL**

- It was led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a chairperson chosen by President Mandela (Source 2A)
- It managed to record atrocities submitted by apartheid security forces (Source 2A)
- The TRC started a process that avoided bloodbath in South Africa (Source 2A)
- The final report was submitted to Thabo Mbeki (Source 2B)
- The TRC made recommendations to prosecute to the justice system (Source 2C)
- Social media praised Tutu – as a fallen hero (Source 2D)
- Mbeki suggested that Tutu did good work for the TRC (Source 2D)
- Led to closure for some victims and family members (own knowledge)
- Some victim's bodies were recovered and given proper burial (own knowledge)
- It resulted in reconciliation between victims and perpetrators (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

**NOT SUCCESSFUL**

- The final report was incomplete (Source 2B)
- Tutu himself acknowledged that the final TRC report did not have all the evidence (Source 2B)
- De Klerk and his security forces destroyed incriminating evidence (Source 2C) – thus weakening the TRC findings and its report
- The TRC is labelled as 'unfinished business' (Source 2C)
- The NDPP was too slow in prosecuting recommendations by the TRC (Source 2C)
- Many regarded the TRC as a failure (Source 2D)
- Mbeki suggested that the shortcomings of the TRC were embedded in its inception (Source 2D)
- Some victims complained about lack of reparations (own knowledge)
- Some victims felt that perpetrators apologised to the TRC only (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response



Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

<b>LEVEL 1</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses evidence in an elementary manner e.g. <b>shows no or little understanding of whether the TRC was successful in attaining its aims with Archbishop Desmond Tutu as its chairperson.</b></li> <li>• Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph.</li> </ul>	<b>MARKS 0–2</b>
<b>LEVEL 2</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic e.g. <b>shows some understanding of whether the TRC was successful in attaining its aims with Archbishop Desmond Tutu as its chairperson.</b></li> <li>• Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph.</li> </ul>	<b>MARKS 3–5</b>
<b>LEVEL 3</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses relevant evidence e.g. <b>demonstrates a thorough understanding of whether the TRC was successful in attaining its aims with Archbishop Desmond Tutu as its chairperson.</b></li> <li>• Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.</li> </ul>	<b>MARKS 6–8</b>

(8)  
[50]

**QUESTION 3: WHAT CHALLENGES DID BRICS MEMBERS ENCOUNTER IN ADDRESSING PROBLEMS CREATED BY GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY?**

3.1

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

- '... to improve the quality of life within the constraints (controls) of the natural environment' (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.2 *[Definition of concept in own words from Source 3A – L1]*

- Average long-term shifts in temperatures and weather patterns
- Changes in the weather patterns experienced across the world that negatively affect people/Depletion of ozone layer caused by pollution and carbon emission
- Extreme weather patterns developing across the world due to global warming/human activity
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- 'scope'
- 'focus'
- 'style' (any 2 x 1) (2)

3.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3A – L2]*

- All individual countries in the whole world have to make a contribution for successful management of climate change
- All countries in the world have to develop similar programmes towards reducing the damage caused by climate change
- A country's efforts adopted in isolation of other countries will not bring successful results in managing climate change
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.2

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

- 'Not only are the ambitions and proposed scopes different but also the policies divert'
- 'China and South Africa decided to define their goals acknowledging that there is going to be a peak in next decades and then a very decline from 2030'
- 'Indians opted to reduce their Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions progressively'
- 'Brazil chose to present an absolute contribution'
- 'Russia opted for some kind of natural mechanism to diminish (reduce) their emissions' (any 2 x 1) (2)

- 3.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3B – L2]*
- Individual countries should make voluntary contributions towards addressing climate change issues
  - No country should be forced to implement measures to address climate change
  - An agreement needs to be entered into that will guide each country on what it is expected to complete for climate change to be successfully addressed
  - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 3.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3B – L2]*
- Countries are not willing to take collective responsibility in managing climate change/do not want to fulfil financial obligations
  - All countries are prepared to ignore the demands for managing climate change by postponing their responsibilities
  - No country is willing to sacrifice economic growth presently in order to fight climate change
  - No country is prepared to ignore its economic benefits in favour of managing climate change
  - Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)
- 3.3
- 3.3.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3C – L1]*
- 'Adverse impacts on climate change have become increasingly evident, presenting a growing urgency for global action'
  - 'How to respond to climate change'
  - 'To revive the world economy' (any 2 x 1) (2)
- 3.3.2 *[Explanation of a concept within the context of Source 3C – L2]*
- Agreement/cooperation by all countries on all aspects relating to climate change
  - International cooperation in tackling climate change globally
  - Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)
- 3.3.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3C – L1]*
- 'The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change'
  - 'Paris Agreement' (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.3.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3C – L1]*
- 'to uphold multilateral consensus'
  - 'to focus on concrete actions'
  - 'to accelerate the green transition' (any 2 x 1) (2)

3.3.5 *[Assessing reliability of Source 3C – L3]*

- It gives first-hand information from Xi Jinping speech
- The author of the speech (Xi Jinping) was China's president
- The date of the source (1 November 2021) corresponds with the time frame of the UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow in Scotland
- The date of the speech corresponds with the period when Xi Jinping was the President of China
- It sheds light on how the Chinese government viewed climate change by committing to its responsibilities
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.4 *[Comparison of evidence in Sources 3A and 3C to ascertain how they support each other – L3]*

- Both sources focus on ways to lessen global climate change
- Both sources emphasise the need to have multilateral efforts to address climate change and improve quality of life
- Both sources state that developed countries should assist developing countries to achieve their targets
- Source 3A says climate change is governed by agreements signed by BRICS countries and in Source 3C HE Xi Jinping says BRICS countries should commit to the signed climate change agreements
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

## 3.5

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

- Environmental activists are holding placards protesting against global climate change
- The government leaders are not handling the climate change threat with the necessary urgency
- The future of mankind is threatened by the dangers posed by climate change to the planet
- All people should work together to address climate change challenges
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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

- To the world/continent/planet/earth affected by climate change
- To a country or region
- To people's lives and what they own
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response.

- BRICS countries were faced with a challenge of reducing greenhouse gas emissions (Source 3A)
- They had to create and implement the best technologies (Source 3A)
- They observed that some countries had more experience and resources than the others (Source 3A)
- They acknowledged that successful climate change mitigation will require global consensus on the appropriate responses (Source 3A)
- BRICS had to revive their economies (Source 3C)
- They had to cooperate in the area of protecting the ozone layer (Source 3A; 3C)
- They did not have a common position among themselves nor a synchronised behaviour (Source 3B)
- Russians presented an uncomfortable position among them as she was in the Annexure 1 Group of countries (Source 3B)
- They faced a challenge that in the future the costs to fight climate change would be higher if strict measures were not taken immediately (Source 3B)
- They were not willing to sacrifice the economic growth while promoting the global public good (Source 3B)
- They had to encourage the technological and scientific innovations to address challenges in climate change thus promote a green transition (Source 3C)
- The ordinary citizens were growing impatient with their leaders' capabilities of urgently taking action (Source 3C and 3D)
- They were faced with leaders who could not take immediate steps to address the challenges (Source 3D)
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. <b>shows no or little understanding of challenges that BRICS members encountered in addressing problems created by global climate change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.</b></li> <li>• Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph.</li> </ul>	MARKS 0–2
LEVEL 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. <b>shows some understanding of challenges that BRICS members encountered in addressing problems created by global climate change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.</b></li> <li>• Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph.</li> </ul>	MARKS 3–5
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. <b>demonstrates a thorough understanding of challenges that BRICS members encountered in addressing problems created by global climate change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.</b></li> <li>• Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.</li> </ul>	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 that Black Consciousness started a movement that filled the political vacuum created in the 1960s and continued to successfully challenge the apartheid government in the 1970s. If they disagree they need to substantiate their line of argument with relevant historical evidence.

**MAIN ASPECTS**

Candidates should include the following aspects in their essays:

Introduction:

- Candidates need to take a line of argument by indicating whether they agree or disagree that Black Consciousness started a movement that filled the political vacuum created in the 1960s and continued to successfully challenge the apartheid government in the 1970s. They should indicate how they will support their line of argument.

**ELABORATION**

- Political vacuum
  - Created after the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960
  - Imprisonment of political leaders in the 1960s
  - Leaders exiled
  - Suppression of political gatherings and activities in the 1960s
- Role of BCM – led by Biko in organising black South Africans around the philosophy of Black Consciousness
  - Infused blacks with sense of pride
  - To accept themselves/have self-confidence/self-reliance/sense of identity
  - Empowered blacks to reject the spirit of self-pity; inferiority complex; self-alienation and domination by external forces
- BC and political organisations
  - 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
  - BCM and SASO organised VIVA FRELIMO Rallies (1974)
  - The arrests of BC leaders heightened political activism
  - BC led to the formation of the Black Peoples Convention (BPC) in 1972 which involved students, churches, communities and trade unions
- BC and Labour
  - Unions aligned to the BC philosophy included Black Parents' Association and Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU)
  - Organised workers to form trade unions
  - BC led to the formation of the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) – worker's strikes in Durban in 1973)

- BC and Community Projects
  - Biko's banishment to King Williams Town led to diverted focus to community programmes
  - BC promoted independence from dependence on whites through establishment of Black Community Programmes to support blacks without white assistance. Examples are Zanempilo Health Clinic; Ginsburg Educational Trust; Zimele Trust Fund; Solempilo Community Health Centre; Ithuseng Community Health Programme and Winter School Projects
- BC and the Soweto uprising
  - Bantu Education introduced Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools (1975)
  - The departmental circular on Afrikaans (50/50) was the trigger for the Soweto uprising
  - 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
  - South African Students Movement formed in 1972 which exposed Blacks to the ideals of BC
  - Some teachers and learners were already exposed to teachings of Biko and the BC philosophy through SASO student teachers from universities
  - 16th of June 1976 students protested peacefully against the implementation of the circular
  - Police response to student protests (Hector Petersen, a 13-year-old boy was one of the first casualties of this uprising)
- BC and Media
  - 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 why the negotiation process to a democratic South Africa was not an easy process between 1990 and 1994. They should use relevant historical evidence to support their line of argument.

**MAIN ASPECTS**

Candidates should include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction: Candidates need to take a line of argument in critically discussing why the negotiation process to a democratic South Africa was not an easy process between 1990 and 1994. They should also indicate how they will support their line of argument.

**ELABORATION**

- FW de Klerk took over from PW Botha in 1989 and introduced reforms
- Release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990 and other banned political leaders in 1990
- 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
- Violence in the Vaal Triangle
- Pretoria Minute in August 1990 – ANC stopped armed struggle and NP stopped State of Emergency
- The National Peace Accord signed by 27 political organisations - provided safety net for negotiations
- CODESA 1 (20 December 1991) - 19 political parties except for CP and PAC
- Parties could not agree on power sharing and the constituent assembly – meeting ended
- The Declaration of Intent – parties agreed to draw up a new constitution and interim government
- Whites-only referendum – De Klerk tested white opinion after losing three by-elections to CP
- Referendum results – landslide Yes – negotiations continued - The 'No' percentage signalled lack of confidence of De Klerk's leadership
- CODESA 2 (2 May 1992) – was not successful because of violence and inability of parties to agree on power-sharing
- Boipatong massacre and influence of Third Force
- Bisho massacre (September 1992) – ANC supporters who wanted to be part of negotiation process
- ANC called for rolling mass action against the National Party
- Record of Understanding 1 September 1992 – Meyer and Ramaphosa committed themselves to peace and to negotiations
- Resistance from Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) – October 1992
- Meyer and Ramaphosa agreed on Joe Slovo's Sunset clause – February 1993



- Parties winning more than 5% of vote will form a Government of national unity to govern the new SA and whites could retain their positions for 5 years
  - Multi-party negotiations resumed at the World Trade Centre but did not last
  - Assassination of Chris Hani (10 April 1993) – Janus Walus
  - Mandela addresses nation on TV
  - The AWB interrupted the negotiations on 15 June 1993, when they stormed the World Trade Centre with armoured vehicle
  - St James Church massacre – 25 July 1993
  - Heidelberg Tavern massacre – 30 December 1993
  - 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
  - Elections held due to committed leadership
  - Mandela became 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 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 explain to what extent Gorbachev's reforms were influential in affecting politics in South Africa in 1989 and in the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991. They need to substantiate their line of argument with relevant historical evidence.

**MAIN ASPECTS**

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- Introduction: Candidates need to explain to what extent Gorbachev's reform were influential in affecting politics in South Africa in 1989 and in the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991. They should also indicate how they will support their line of argument.

**ELABORATION**

Background:

- 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)

Influential in South African politics:

- FW de Klerk replaced PW Botha in 1989
- Gorbachev's reforms led to the collapse of the Berlin Wall (1989)
- The collapse of the Berlin Wall signalled the collapse of communism
- The collapse of communism meant the ANC would no longer get support from the Soviet Union
- The lack of communist support to the ANC forced the ANC to negotiate with the National Party (NP)
- Constructive engagement between FW de Klerk and Reagan (US President) with Margaret Thatcher (British Prime Minister) facilitated by Chester Crocker
- The collapse of communism influenced the NP not to fear the ANC anymore/apartheid could not be practiced any longer
- The Western powers stopped supporting the NP because communist onslaught (Rooi gevaar) disappeared
- The defeat of the South African government in the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale influenced the National Party to start negotiations with the ANC
- Withdrawal of SADF from Angola led to the independence of Namibia
- Any other relevant response

Influential in the disintegration of the Soviet Union:

- Perestroika allowed small-scale private ownership and removed government control over production
- Glasnost led to criticism of the policy of perestroika and Gorbachev himself
- Perestroika and glasnost led to demands for the end of communism and full democracy
- 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 under threat
- He commanded a hero status to the West. His personal power and prestige increased. He earned a Noble Peace Prize in 1990.
- Many underlying differences always existed amongst the 15 republics
- Old form of Nationalism emerged and led to new demand for independence
- He tried to stop the disintegration by proposing establishing a Federation of States – which failed
- In 1990, several Soviet states including Russia under Gorbachev's bitter rival, Boris Yeltsin, declared their independence
- On 25 Dec. 1991, the USSR was dissolved, the Communist Party disbanded
- Each of the 15 republics became independent and became members of the Commonwealth of Independent states
- The disintegration symbolised the end of the Cold War
- Any other relevant response

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

**[50]**

**TOTAL: 150**