Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

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

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

JUNE 2026

HISTORY P2

MARKS: **150**

TIME: **3 hours**

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

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

INSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION

1. This question paper consists of SECTION A and SECTION B based on the prescribed content framework in the CAPS document.

   SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

   QUESTION 1: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA

   QUESTION 2: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

   SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

3. SECTION B consists of THREE essay questions.

4. Answer THREE questions as follow:

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

   4.2 The THIRD question can either be a source-based question or an essay question.

5. You are advised to spend at least ONE hour per question.

6. When answering questions, candidates should apply their knowledge, skill and insight.

7. You will be disadvantaged by merely rewriting the sources as answers.

8. Number the answers correctly according to the numbering system used in this question paper.

9. Write neatly and legibly.

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

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

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID REFORMS INTRODUCED BY PW BOTHA IN 1983?

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

1.1 Refer to Source 1A.

1.1.1 Name TWO apartheid statutes in the source that PW Botha scrapped while introducing reforms to the apartheid policy. (2 x 1) (2)

1.1.2 Explain what is implied by the statement, '… what he (PW Botha) had in mind was not reform but rather a reformulation (restructuring) of apartheid.' (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why you think the black majority was excluded from the new legislation. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.4 Identify any THREE legislative powers in the source that the white minister had over black urban councils. (3 x 1) (3)

1.2 Consult Source 1B.

1.2.1 Define the term c*omrades* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2 Identify TWO differences, stated in the source, that organisations which came together to form the UDF had to overcome. (2 x 1) (2)

1.2.3 What is the implication of the statement, '… And I want to call on you, all peace-loving people of South Africa … so that we can then destroy the system', in the context of the aim of the formation of the UDF? (2 x 2) (4)

1.2.4 Explain why a historian would consider this source reliable when researching the launch of the UDF. (2 x 2) (4)

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

1.3 Study Source 1C.

1.3.1 Name any TWO protest actions, in the source, that the UDF launched against Botha's apartheid reforms. (2 x 1) (2)

1.3.2 Comment on the implication of the slogan, 'Forward to People's Power', in the context of the UDF's resistance to PW Botha's apartheid reforms. (2 x 2) (4)

1.3.3 Explain the concept *state of emergency* in the context of general unrest in South Africa in the 1980s. (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.4 State any measure (action) in the source that the state took to suppress the general unrest that was taking place in the country in 1985. (1 x 1) (1)

1.4 Use Source 1D.

1.4.1 Why do you think the UDF published this poster? (2 x 2) (4)

1.4.2 Identify any TWO oppressive measures in the source that the apartheid regime took against UDF members. (2 x 1) (2)

1.5 Refer to Source 1C and Source 1D. Explain how the evidence in Source 1D supports the information in Source 1C regarding the South African government's reaction to the UDF. (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 UDF responded to the apartheid reforms introduced by PW Botha in 1983. (8)

[50]

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

QUESTION 2: WHY DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) GRANT EUGENE DE KOCK AMNESTY?

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

2.1 Study Source 2A.

2.1.1 Define the term *perpetrators* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.2 What, according to the source, were the mandate of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? (2 x 1) (2)

2.1.3 Why do you think the act directed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate human rights abuses between 1960 and 1994? (2 x 2) (4)

2.1.4 Name the TWO conditions, in the source, required for the granting of amnesty. (2 x 1) (2)

2.2 Consult Source 2B.

2.2.1 Why, according to the source, was Eugene de Kock disqualified from joining the army? (1 x 1) (1)

2.2.2 Comment on why the C10 unit intensified the killings of the anti-apartheid activists in the 1980s. (2 x 2) (4)

2.2.3 Explain why Eugene de Kock referred to FW de Klerk 'as a man whose hands were soaked in blood'. (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.4 Explain the usefulness of this source to a historian researching the work of the TRC regarding the process of amnesty. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Use Source 2C.

2.3.1 Comment on the significance of Eugene de Kock breaking "APARTHEID: OFFICIAL VERSION" in the context of his application for amnesty. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3.2 Whose atrocities, according to the source, did Eugene de Kock expose during the TRC hearings? (2 x 1) (2)

2.3.3 Explain the symbolism of the chains on Eugene de Kock's feet in the cartoon. (1 x 2) (2)

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

2.4 Read Source 2D.

2.4.1 How, according to the source, did Eugene de Kock present his testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? (2 x 1) (2)

2.4.2 Explain the concept of *restorative justice* in the context of the work of the TRC. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.3 According to the source, what did Eugene de Kock reveal during his testimony? (3 x 1) (3)

2.4.4 What is implied by the statement, 'He became the polygraph machine of the commission'? (1 x 2) (2)

2.5 Compare Sources 2C and Source 2D. Explain how the evidence in Source 2C supports the information in Source 2D regarding Eugene de Kock's testimony at 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) explaining why the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) granted amnesty to Eugene de Kock. (8)

[50]

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but not more than TWO questions, in this section.

Your essay should be about THREE pages long.

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

Critically discuss how the Black Consciousness Movement under the leadership of Steven Bantu Biko was influential in the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s. **[50]**

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

Explain to what extent South African politicians used leadership and compromise to pave the way for a negotiated settlement and realisation of a democratic breakthrough by 1994 in South Africa.

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

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

The reforms introduced by Gorbachev, in the 1980s, not only led to the collapse of communism, but also paved the way for the negotiations between the ANC and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Do you agree with this statement? Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument. **[50]**

TOTAL: 150

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

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

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

JUNE 2026

HISTORY P2 ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 10 pages.

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID REFORMS INTRODUCED BY PW BOTHA IN 1983?

SOURCE 1A

The source below is an extract written by A Sparks and MA Tutu that explains the reasons why PW Botha, President of the Republic of South Africa, introduced reforms in 1983.

… in early 1983, Botha attempted to ease the mounting pressures on the country by introducing some piecemeal (gradual) reforms to the apartheid policy without relinquishing (giving up) white minority control. He scrapped what he called 'outdated' and 'unnecessary' apartheid statutes (laws), such as the outlawing of mixed marriages and sex across colour line, to present a new image of reformism (change) to the world.

It almost succeeded. The Western powers, ever eager to read the South African situation optimistically (positively), were deceived for a time into believing that Botha was really dismantling apartheid. But, on a closer examination, when Botha unveiled constitutional changes he intended making, it became clear what he had in mind was not reform but rather a reformulation (restructuring) of apartheid. He set out his plan to establish a tricameral parliament in which the mixed-race 'Coloured' and Indian minorities would have separate chambers to legislate their 'own affairs', while the existing much larger, whites-only House of Assembly would deal with both 'whites issues' and the nation's 'general affairs'.

The huge black majority, meanwhile, would get nothing beyond the right to vote in their remote tribal Bantustans, and the municipal councils would run their separate black townships in so-called 'white' South Africa. But even these urban councils were not autonomous (free). The legislation enabled the white minister to remove members, appoint others, or dismiss the whole council and appoint a new one. It meant that the black councils had to implement government policy rather than be responsive to their electorates.

[From *Tutu – The Authorised Portrait* by A Sparks and MA Tutu]

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SOURCE 1B

The source below is part of a speech delivered by Rev. Frank Chikane at the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, Cape Town on 20 August 1983. It explains the importance of forming a united front against the 1983 apartheid reforms.

Comrades, friends, this day, today, is the culmination (conclusion) of seven months' work to see the launching of the United Democratic Front. We are sure going to go into the record of history as an important event, bolstering (strengthening) the tide (rush) of the struggle, picking up that day when the people shall say, we are free and justice is here, when the people shall live together as brothers and sisters without the exploitation and oppression of the other. However, although this is a unique (special) day, it falls within the spectrum (range) of the history of struggle in South Africa.

… The idea of a front is a new concept in the struggle of the people for about the last twenty years, and it was understood to be standing for unity-in-action accepting the fact that all the organisations coming together have got differences. There are also differences of class, differences of ideology, differences of intent, but all of them agree that they reject the reform proposals that are proposed by the Botha regime, and as a result they need a broad front to do this.

That necessitates, therefore, the formation of this group, not necessarily as a national political organisation, but as a united front for the sole purpose of opposing the Koornhof Bills* …

… And I want to call on you, all peace-loving people of South Africa, to put hands together, to walk side by side to fight against the implementation of these reform proposals so that we can then destroy the system, so that we can put up a government by the people where the people shall govern according to their will.

[From *A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983–1991* by J Seekings]

***Koornhof Bills:** Refers to a piece of legislation named after Piet Koornhof, the National Party Minister of Co-operation and Development in the early 1980s. It hoped to create black local government, tighten influx control and divide African people into rural and urban residents (also for control purposes).

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SOURCE 1C

The source below explains various forms of resistance initiated by the United Democratic Front (UDF) against apartheid reforms and the subsequent reaction by the state.

The UDF's opposition to apartheid manifested (showed) itself in a number of actions. Shortly after its formation, it launched a successful boycott action against the election of the (Coloured) House of Representatives and (Indian) House of Delegates. The UDF was involved in the organisation of a number of consumer boycotts and stayaways. In 1983 and 1984, it launched the 'one million signatures' campaigns, in which signatories were asked to voice their opposition to the so-called Koornhof legislation on black local government, as well as to the new constitution.

However, the UDF's greatest impact was at grassroots level where it created local structures that played a key role in the political education and mobilisation of the masses. At its second national congress, held in April 1985, it was decided to transform mass support into active participation, under the theme 'From Protest to Challenge: From Mobilisation to Organisation'. Four months later this theme was extended to include a new slogan, 'Forward to People's Power'. The UDF's strategy was to replace decision-making structures created by the government with a system of 'people's power'. It was equivalent to (the same as) the establishment of 'liberated areas' in South Africa.

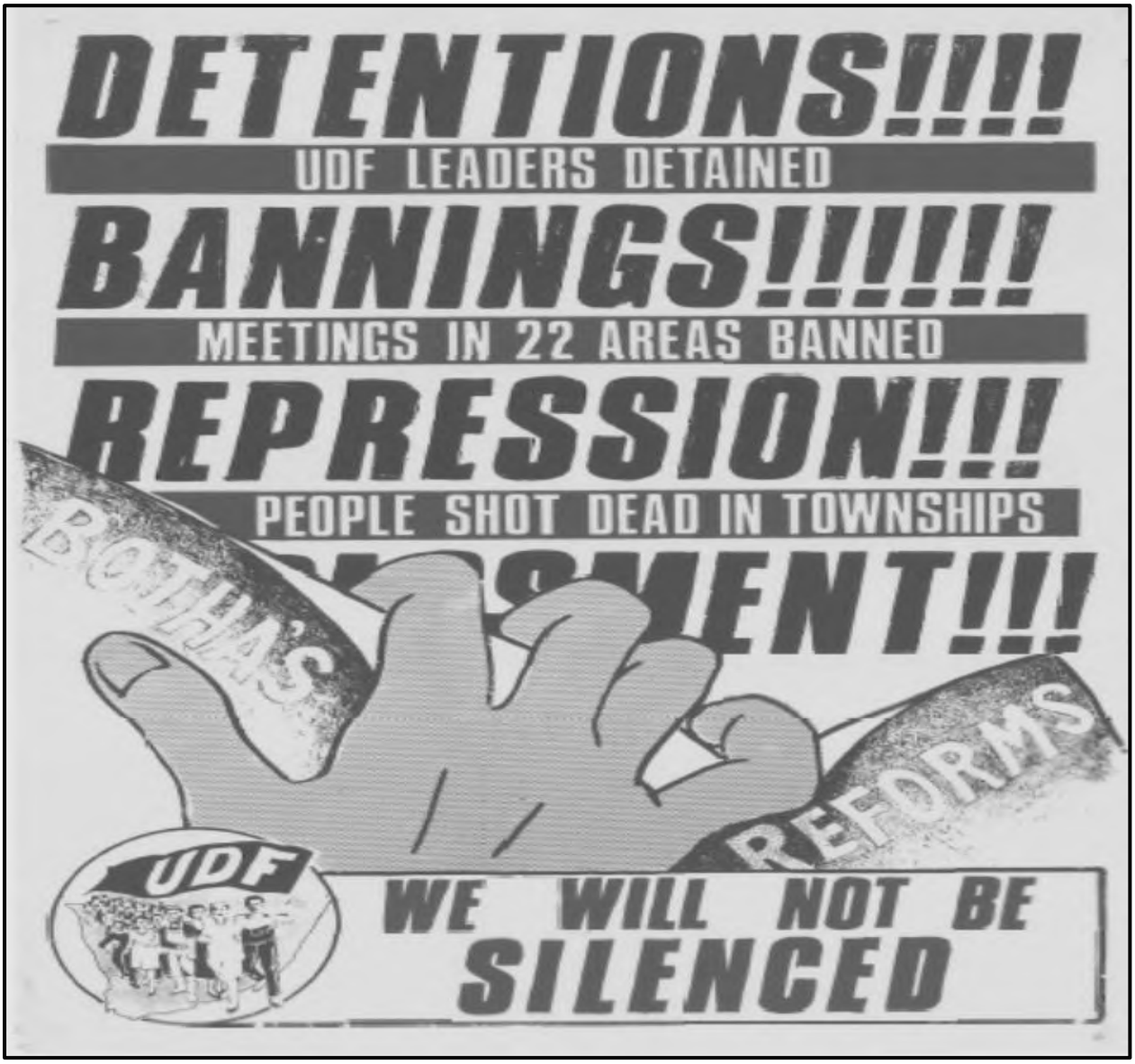
The state headed off this threat and suppressed the general unrest in the country, which reached a peak in 1985, by calling a series of states of emergency. A large number of people were arrested in terms of security legislation. The UDF, in particular, was badly affected. Several key members of the organisation were murdered, including Matthew Goniwe (UDF organiser in the Eastern Cape) and Victoria Mxenge (UDF treasurer in Natal). Almost the entire leadership corps (group) of the UDF was restricted in the period 1985 to 1987.

[From https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/ 05lv03188/06lv03222.htm Accessed on 2 January 2026.]

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SOURCE 1D

The poster below was published by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s. It depicts its commitment to resisting oppressive measures of the state.



[From Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s]

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

QUESTION 2: WHY DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) GRANT EUGENE DE KOCK AMNESTY?

SOURCE 2A

The extract below, from SAHO (South African History Online), examines the formation and functions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was a court-like body assembled in South Africa after the end of Apartheid. Anybody who felt they had been a victim of violence could come forward and be heard at the TRC. Perpetrators of violence could also give testimony and request amnesty from prosecution. The hearings made international news and many sessions were broadcast on national television. The TRC was a crucial component of the transition to full and free democracy in South Africa and, despite some flaws, is generally regarded as very successful.

The mandate of the commission was to bear witness to testimonies, record and in some cases grant amnesty to the perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violations, reparation and rehabilitation.

The work of the TRC was accomplished through three committees: Human Rights Violations (HRV) Committee investigated human rights abuses that took place between 1960 and 1994. The Reparation and Rehabilitation (R&R) Committee was charged with restoring victims' dignity and formulating proposals to assist with rehabilitation. The Amnesty Committee (AC) considered applications for amnesty that were requested in accordance with the provisions of the Act. In theory, the commission was empowered to grant amnesty to those charged with atrocities during Apartheid as long as two conditions were met: The crimes were politically motivated and the entire and whole truth was told by the person seeking amnesty. The commission brought forth many witnesses giving testimony about the secret and immoral acts committed by the apartheid government, the liberation forces including the ANC, and other forces for violence that many say would not have come out into the open otherwise. On 28 October 1998, the Commission presented its report which condemned both sides for committing atrocities.

[From www.sahistory.org.za /article/reconciliation-commission. Accessed on 26 December 2025.]

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SOURCE 2B

The source below is an article by the British Broadcasting Corporation. It focuses on the professional career of Eugene de Kock.

Like many young Afrikaner males, Eugene de Kock first tried the army but he was disqualified because of a stutter (speech defect). He became a policeman although his attempt to join the elite Special Task Force unit was turned down because of poor eyesight.

In 1983, the South African Police transferred de Kock to C10, a counter-insurgency unit based some 10 km (six miles) from the capital, Pretoria, on a remote farm known as Vlakplaas. De Kock rose through the ranks and became the commander of Vlakplaas under a new code name of C1. This unit became the number one death squad for killing largely black anti-apartheid activists. He was arrested after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 when Nelson Mandela became president.

He appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was set up by the democratic government and chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. At the TRC, de Kock confessed to crimes against humanity.

His revelations shocked South Africans and revealed the length and brutal techniques the apartheid regime was prepared to take to stay in power. He was granted amnesty for many of the crimes committed in defense of a racial segregation system. But he was sentenced to 212 years plus two life terms for the murders and crimes he committed which the commission felt went beyond the call of duty. While serving time in Pretoria's C-Max prison, De Kock conducted a radio interview in which he described the last apartheid leader FW de Klerk as man whose hands were 'soaked in blood'. Mr De Klerk, who shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Mr Mandela for ending apartheid, denied the allegations.

[From https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31056914. Accessed on 26 December 2025.]

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SOURCE 2C

The cartoon was taken from the *South African History Archive* and depicts Eugene de Kock revealing the truth about atrocities committed at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to confess his crimes and apply for amnesty.



[From www.Zapiro.com Accessed on 26 December 2025]

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SOURCE 2D

The source below is an extract from an article written by Antjie Krog published on 13 March 2015 in *The New York* Times, titled 'Can an evil man change?' It outlines how Eugene de Kock co-operated with the TRC regarding the atrocities committed by the apartheid apparatus.

After South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, Mr de Kock disclosed the full scope of his crimes as part of his testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as both an amnesty applicant and an expert witness. This commission was set up as an example of restorative justice — granting amnesty to perpetrators of violence after they confessed in public.

As a reporter covering the often heart-rending hearings in the 1990s, I watched Mr de Kock calmly correct facts, expose lies and name superiors who then quickly had to apply for amnesty themselves. He became the polygraph (lie detector) machine of the commission. Without him the "truth" part of the T.R.C. would have been sorely lacking.

With his intimate knowledge of apartheid-era security agencies, he began to assist victims in finding the remains of loved ones. He provided answers and pointed to places where bodies could be found. Mr de Kock openly confessed his regret directly to the victims and admitted that nothing could redeem him. This contrasted (differed) sharply with many of his commanders, who openly refused to apply for amnesty, or the politicians who denied that he had carried out their orders.

To show regret was not a requirement for amnesty, so most perpetrators simply gave their testimony and disappeared scot-free into anonymous lives. During the time of the T.R.C., an army general and 19 members of the top military brass appeared in court on charges of murder and creating hit squads to destabilize the country, but after a seven-month trial, all 20 were cleared, so Mr de Kock, as "Prime Evil," became one of only three white men after 1994 to be jailed for atrocities committed during apartheid.

[From https://khulumani.net. reconciliation/new-york-times. Accessed on 26 December 2025.]

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

https:// khulumani.net. reconciliation/new-york-times

https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/05lv 03188/06lv03222.htm

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31056914

Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters of the 1980s

Parks, A and Tutu, MA. 2011. *Tutu – The Authorised Portrait* (Macmillan, Johannesburg)

Seekings, J. 2000. *A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983□1991* (David Phillip Publishers, Cape Town)

www.zapiro.com

www.sahistory.org.za /article/reconciliation-commission

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

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

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

JUNE 2026

HISTORY P2
MARKING GUIDELINE

MARKS: **150**

This marking guideline consists of 23 pages.

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

1. SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

1.3 Assessment procedures for source-based questions

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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

Paragraph question

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

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

_____ + _____ + _____
_____ + _____ + _____
√√√√
Level 2

Used mostly relevant evidence to write a basic paragraph

- Count all the ticks for the source-based question and then write the mark on the right-hand bottom margin.

- Ensure that the total mark is transferred accurately to the front/back cover of the answer script.

2. ESSAY QUESTIONS

2.1 The essay questions require candidates to:

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

2.2 Marking of essay questions

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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

2.3 **Global assessment of the essay**

The essay will be assessed holistically (globally). This approach requires the teacher to score the overall product as a whole, without scoring the component parts separately. This approach encourages the learner to offer an individual opinion by using selected factual evidence to support an argument. The learner will not be required to simply regurgitate 'facts' in order to achieve a high mark. This approach discourages learners from preparing 'model' answers and reproducing them without taking into account the specific requirements of the question. Holistic marking of the essay credits learners' opinions supported by evidence. Holistic assessment, unlike content-based marking, does not penalise language inadequacies as the emphasis is on the following:

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

2.4 **Assessment procedures of the essay**

2.4.1 Keep the synopsis in mind when assessing the essay.

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

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

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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

The following additional symbols can also be used:

- Introduction, main aspects and conclusion not properly contextualised ^
- Wrong statement _____
- Irrelevant statement |
- Repetition **R**
- Analysis **A** √
- Interpretation | √
- Line of argument LOA 

2.5 The matrix

2.5.1 Use of the matrix in the marking of essays.

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

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

C	LEVEL 4	

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

C	LEVEL 4	
P	LEVEL 5	

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

C	LEVEL 4	} 30–33
P	LEVEL 5	

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

MARKING MATRIX FOR ESSAY – TOTAL: 50

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

*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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID REFORMS INTRODUCED BY PW BOTHA IN 1983?

1.1 1.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A – L1]*
- 'mixed marriages'
- 'sex across colour line' (2 x 1) (2)

1.1.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*
- PW Botha's intention was not to dismantle apartheid but to reinforce/revamp/renew/restructure it in a different way
- PW Bothas intention was to ensure that the white minority would retain their political power
- PW Botha wanted to create the impression that the minority groups were included in the power sharing government
- PW Botha's intended changes were cosmetic as whites would still deal with 'white issues' and have a say over the majority issues
- PW Botha wanted apartheid to look less discriminatory to the outside world
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*
- Provision was made for them to vote in the Bantustans/municipal/local councils/The National Party granted them political rights in the Bantustans
- If included, they would outvote the white voters who were in the minority
- If included, they would change the apartheid laws and address the inequalities
- Africans would not be able to fight for their rights
- To protect white privileges
- To weaken resistance against apartheid
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.1.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A – L1]*
- 'remove members'
- 'appoint others'
- 'dismiss the whole council'
- 'appoint a new one' (any 3 x 1) (3)

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

1.2 1.2.1 *[Definition of historical concept from Source 1B – L1]*

- Colleagues or a fellow member of an organisation
- People who have the same ideology
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- 'class'
- 'ideology'
- 'intent' (any 2 x 1) (2)

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

The UDF:

- Regarded all organisations that came together as peaceful and working against an oppressive apartheid system that had to be destroyed
- Called on all South Africans to oppose the implementation of the 1983 Constitution/the Koornhof Bills
- Called on all South Africans to reject the Tricameral parliament
- Called on all South Africans to demand democratic reforms that would end apartheid
- Called on all South Africans to demand democratic reforms that must include all South Africans (Black, Indian, coloured and whites)
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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

This source is RELIABLE because:

- It was a speech delivered by Reverend Frank Chikane, a founding member of the UDF, on 20 August 1983
- The speech was delivered on 20 August 1983 – the official day of the launch of the UDF
- The speech is first-hand information that can be corroborated with Source 1C on the launch of the UDF
- It highlights the reasons for the launch of the UDF which was in response to the introduction of apartheid reforms and the establishment of the Tricameral parliament
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.3 1.3.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*

- 'Boycott action against election of the Coloured House of Representatives and (Indian) House of delegates'
- 'consumer boycotts'
- 'stay-aways'
- 'one million signatures' campaign' (any 2 x 1) (2)

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

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

- The UDF represented People's Power – the majority
- A call for full political rights for all South Africans
- Full democratic rights for all South Africans
- An inclusive political negotiated settlement for South Africa
- That all South Africans should have the right to vote for their representatives
- That the UDF would represent power of the majority against Botha's apartheid reforms that represented power of the minority
- To mobilise blacks against Botha's reforms
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.3.3 *[Definition of historical concept from Source 1C – L2]*

- The situation in which the South African government suspended general laws of the country and passed policies that would normally not be implemented for the protection of its citizens against unrests started by the UDF
- Application of emergency laws by a government to take control/suppress general unrest by the UDF in the mid-1980s
- It is a situation where the police and the army were given extra powers to deal with the unrest of the UDF
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- 'calling a series of states of emergency'
- 'A large number of people was arrested'
- 'Several key UDF members were murdered'
- 'leadership of the UDF was restricted' (any 1 x 1) (1)

1.4 1.4.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D – L2]*

- To show the oppressive measures the state took to weaken the UDF
- So that it could win sympathy and support from South Africans in general
- That the UDF would break Botha's reforms – symbolised by the hand
- The UDF's commitment in resisting oppressive measures of the state
- That the state's repressive measures will not discourage them 'justice'
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

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

- 'Detentions' (UDF leaders detained)
- 'Banning's' (Meetings in 22 areas banned)
- 'Repressions' (People shot dead in townships)
- 'Harassment' (any 2 x 1) (2)

1.5 *[Comparison of evidence from Sources 1B and 1C – L3]*

- Both sources refer to oppressive measures the state took against the UDF
- Both sources refer to the fact that the UDF leadership were detained/banned or arrested
- Both sources refer to how the UDF members suffered repression/killings/murder/torture
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.6 *[Interpretation, comprehension and synthesis of evidence from relevant sources – L3]*

Candidates can include the following aspects in their answers:

- PW Botha planned to establish a tricameral parliament (Source 1A)
- The UDF was launched on 20 August 1983 to oppose the introduction of the tricameral parliament (Source 1B)
- When the UDF was formed in 1983 it had to co-ordinate opposition to the National Party government's reforms (Source 1B)
- The launch of the UDF was a pivotal event in the history of the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa (Source 1B)
- In 1983 the UDF was established as a response to Koornhoff Bills and aimed at transforming South African politics (Source 1B)
- The aim of the UDF was to campaign for a free and just South Africa – without oppression and exploitation (Source 1B)
- The UDF rejected the reform proposals (Koornhof Bills) by the Botha regime (Source 1B)
- The UDF brought different organisations together to form a united front in order to put up a government according to the will of the people (Source 1B)
- The UDF successfully organised a boycott against the election of the House of Representatives and House of Delegates (Source 1C)
- The UDF was involved in consumer boycotts and stay aways/ 'one million signatures' campaigns (Source 1C)
- The greatest impact of the UDF was at grass roots level which was a space where masses could be mobilised (Source 1C)
- The UDF's theme 'Forward to Peoples Power' was an attempt to replace the government's decision-making structures with grassroots decision- making organisations (own knowledge)
- The UDF committed itself to resist being silenced by the state repression (Source 1D)
- The UDF used posters to conscientise people about state repression (Source 1D)
- Any other relevant response

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

Use the following rubric to allocate a mark:

	CRITERIA	MARKS
LEVEL 1	• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. **show no or little understanding of how the UDF responded to the apartheid reforms introduced by PW Botha in 1983.** • Uses evidence partially to report on topic or cannot write a paragraph.	**0–2**
LEVEL 2	• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent to the topic, e.g. **shows some understanding of how the UDF responded to the apartheid reforms introduced by PW Botha in 1983.** • Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph.	**3–5**
LEVEL 3	• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. **demonstrates a thorough understanding of how the UDF responded to the apartheid reforms introduced by PW Botha in 1983.** • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.	**6–8**

(8)
[50]

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

QUESTION 2: WHY DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) GRANT EUGENE DE KOCK AMNESTY?

2.1 2.1.1 *[Definition of historical concept from Source 2A – L1]*
- A person/group that commits a crime or misdeed.
- A person/group that commits human rights violations
- A person or group that is responsible for committing acts of violence
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.1.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*
- 'to bear witness to testimonies'
- 'record'
- 'in some cases, grant amnesty to the perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violations, reparation and rehabilitation'

(any 2 x 1) (2)

2.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*
- During the period of 1960 to 1994, apartheid was vicious and rigid
- This was the period in which there were most unsolved crimes such as murders and disappearances
- The anti-apartheid liberation struggle intensified after 1960
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.1.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*
- 'the crimes were politically motivated'
- 'the entire and whole truth was told by the person seeking amnesty' (2 x 1) (2)

2.2 2.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2B – L1]*
- 'stutter (speech defect)' (1 x 1) (1)

2.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B – L2]*
- To eradicate any opposition posed to the apartheid government
- To eliminate the political activists
- The ANC was a threat to the ruling government and needed to be stopped
- To suppress the growing resistance and militancy against the apartheid regime in the 1980s
- Use fear and violence to maintain apartheid control
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

2.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B – L2]*
- De Klerk was also responsible for the deaths of the anti-apartheid activists
- De Klerk was part of the government that authorised the security operations
- He did not stop the actions of death squads like the C10 unit
- De Klerk inherited the killing machinery of the apartheid regime
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.2.4 *[Determine usefulness of Source 2B – L3]*
This source is USEFUL because:
- It provides information about the involvement of Eugene de Kock in Apartheid crimes
- It gives the confessions of Eugene de Kock to the TRC
- It provides information on the requirements for amnesty
- It gives insight as to why political parties got involved in politically motivated crimes
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.3 2.3.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2C – L2]*
- He is revealing the truth about crimes that was kept secret by the apartheid government
- He is exposing human right violations that was committed by the apartheid government
- Any other relevant response (2 x 2) (4)

2.3.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2C – L1]*
- 'Security police'
- 'Military Intelligence'
- 'Cabinet'
- 'Inkatha' (any 2 x 1) (2)

2.3.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2C – L2]*
- As an apartheid agent he is revealing the truth about crimes that was kept secret by the apartheid government
- He was sentenced to jail for his crimes committed during apartheid
- It represent the loss of his power and freedom
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.4 2.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2D – L1]*
- 'an amnesty applicant'
- 'an expert witness' (2 x 1) (2)

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

2.4.2 *[Definition of historical concept from Source 2D – L2]*

- The TRC hoped to encourage truth-telling and forgiveness that would lead to nation-building in South Africa.
- If retributive justice occurred in South Africa, people would not come forward, due to fear of punishment and the relations would remain stagnant or hostile.
- It would rebuild the relationship between the victims of human rights abuses and perpetrators
- Restorative justice concentrated on the victim's healing
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- 'correct facts'
- 'expose lies'
- 'name superiors who then quickly had to apply for amnesty themselves' (3 x 1) (3)

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

- Eugene de Kock revealed credible information about crimes committed
- He provided corrected versions that other perpetrators had given.
- He confirmed the information that others denied
- He exposed hidden crimes of the apartheid security forces and mentioned the senior officials who were involved.
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- Source 2C shows that Eugene de Kock breaking the silence by exposing the crimes committed during apartheid and Source 2D indicates how he confesses at the TRC hearings about these crimes
- Source 2C shows senior officials that were exposed by Eugene de Kock and Source 2D indicates how he revealed the involvement of senior official in political crimes
- Source 2C shows leaders looking surprised with Eugene de Kock's revelations while Source 2D indicates that politicians denied that he carried out their orders
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

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

Candidates could include the following:

- The TRC is a forum that bears witness to, recorded and granted amnesty to perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violation (Source 2A)
- The TRC could officially pardon perpetrators of crimes if they met all requirements – full disclosure and politically motivated (Source 2A)
- Eugene de Kock came forward to confess to crimes and apply for amnesty from the TRC (Source 2B)
- Eugene de Cock was involved in many crimes (own knowledge)
- He was tried and convicted on eighty-nine charges and sentenced to two concurrent life terms plus 212 years in prison. (Source 2B)
- Eugene de Kock exposed crimes committed by the apartheid government (Source 2C)
- Eugene de Kock disclosed the full scope of his crimes. (Source 2D)
- Showed deep remorse – assisted victims to find the remains of their loved ones (Source 2D)
- Confessed regret directly to victims (Source 2D)
- The TRC was able to reveal the truth by allowing perpetrators to tell their stories (Source 2C and Source 2D)
- The TRC therefore contributed to nation building and reconciliation (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

Use the following rubric to assess this paragraph.

	CRITERIA	MARKS
LEVEL 1	• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. **shows no or little understanding in explaining why the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) granted amnesty to Eugene de Kock**. • Uses evidence partially to report on topic or cannot write a paragraph.	**0–2**
LEVEL 2	• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent to the topic, e.g. **shows an understanding in explaining why the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) granted amnesty to Eugene de Kock.** • Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph.	**3–5**
LEVEL 3	• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. **demonstrates a thorough understanding in explaining why the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) granted amnesty to Eugene de Kock.** • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.	**6–8**

(8)
[50]

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

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

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

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to take a **critical stance** on how the Black Consciousness Movement under the leadership of Steven Bantu Biko was influential in the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, but became less influential with the banning, arrests, and killings of BC organisations and members, including Biko. Candidates should use relevant evidence to support their line of argument.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

- **Introduction:** Candidates need to take a **critical stance** on how the Black Consciousness Movement under the leadership of Steven Bantu Biko was influential in the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s. The BCM influenced the struggle against the apartheid regime and indicated how the apartheid government responded to the pressure posed by BCM. They should also provide examples of content and how they would use it to support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

- BCM and SASO organised FRELIMO rallies (1974)
- Expulsion of students from universities
- The arrests of BC leaders heightened political activism

- Student influence
  - Bantu Education introduced Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools (1975)
  - SASO and SASM influenced the formation of Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC)
  - Both black teachers and students rejected Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor
  - Some teachers and learners were already exposed to the ideas of Biko and the BC philosophy through SASO student teachers from universities
  - The departmental circular on Afrikaans (50/50) was the trigger for the Soweto uprising
  - 16 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)
- Influential through Community Programmes
  - 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 Clinic/ Ginsburg Educational Trust/ Zimele Trust Fund/ Solempilo Community Health Centre/ Ithuseng Community Health Programme and Winter School Projects)
- Influential through Labour
  - Mobilised workers to form trade unions
  - BC led to the formation of the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) – worker's strikes in Durban in 1973
- Killing of Biko (1977) in police custody
- 19 October 1977 – 19 organisations aligned to BC were banned
- Influential through Media
  - Role of media that was sympathetic to the BC philosophy, e.g. *The World* and *The Weekend World* newspapers were closed
- Any other relevant response

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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

QUESTION 4: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST: NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND THE GNU

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

SYNOPSIS

Candidates should explain whether it was to a **greater or lesser extent** South African politicians used leadership and compromise to pave the way for a negotiated settlement and realisation of a democratic breakthrough in South Africa by 1994. Candidates need to substantiate their argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

Introduction: Candidates need to take a stance indicating to what **extent** South African politicians used leadership and compromise to pave the way for a negotiated settlement and realisation of a democratic breakthrough in South Africa by 1994. They should also provide examples of content and how they would use it to support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

- Sunset Clause introduced by Joe Slovo broke the negotiations deadlock (leadership and compromise)
- St James church massacre (July 1993)
- Heidelberg tavern shooting
- Shell House massacre
- Election date announced, 27 April 1994 (compromise)
- Motor bombs – ANC head office and Jan Smuts airport
- ANC won elections and Mandela became the first black South African President
- Any other relevant response

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

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

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

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

SYNOPSIS

Candidates should **agree or disagree** that the reforms introduced by Gorbachev, in the 1980s, not only led to the collapse of communism, but also paved the way for the negotiations between the ANC and the apartheid regime in South Africa. Candidates need to substantiate their argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

Introduction: Candidates need to take a stance and demonstrate how the reforms introduced by Gorbachev, in the 1980s, not only led to the collapse of communism, but also paved the way for the negotiations between the ANC and the apartheid regime in South Africa. They should also provide examples of content and how they would use it to support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

- Many underlying differences always existed among the 15 Republics
- Civil unrests broke out between various groups
- Old form of nationalism emerged and led to new demand for independence
- He tried to stop the disintegration by proposing the establishment of a Federation of States – which failed
- In 1990, several Soviet states including Russia under Gorbachev's bitter rival, Boris Yeltsin, declared their independence
- On 25 December 1991, the USSR was dissolved, the Communist Party disbanded
- Each of the 15 Republics became independent and became members of the Commonwealth of Independent states
- The disintegration symbolised the end of the Cold War

Positive results of Gorbachev's reforms on South African politics

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

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za

- 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 sum up their argument with a relevant conclusion. **[50]**

TOTAL: 150

Copyright reserved

Free past papers & memos at studypapers.co.za