basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS/
NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS

HISTORY P2

MAY/JUNE 2026

MARKS: 150

TIME: 3 hours

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

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INSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION

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

   SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

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

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

   QUESTION 3: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER, 1989 TO THE PRESENT

   SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

   QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

   QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

   QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

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

3. SECTION B consists of THREE essay questions.

4. Answer THREE questions as follows:

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

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

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

6. When answering questions, you should apply your 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.

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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 PW BOTHA'S GOVERNMENT REACT TO THE ANTI-APARTHEID MEDIA REPORTING DURING THE 1980s?

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

1.1 Study Source 1A.

1.1.1 Identify the community newspaper in the source that was established in 1980. (1 x 1) (1)

1.1.2 Name any THREE democratic organisations in the source that provided volunteers who worked for the *Grassroots* community newspaper. (3 x 1) (3)

1.1.3 Why do you think *Saamstaan* encountered constant police harassment while it was only a community newsletter? (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain how the UDF contributed to the mobilisation of internal resistance to apartheid during the 1980s. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2 Consult Source 1B.

1.2.1 Comment on the symbolic representation of the following in the cartoon regarding Stoffel Botha's extreme measures in banning print media:

(a) Onlookers, standing in the background (1 x 2) (2)

(b) A grave, in the foreground (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2 Explain why you would consider the caption of the cartoon 'MASS FUNERAL IN SOUTH AFRICA' appropriate in the context of the Home Affairs Minister, Stoffel Botha's media restrictions in the 1980s. (2 x 2) (4)

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1.3 Use Source 1C.

1.3.1 List FOUR types of activities in the source that the media was restricted from reporting on when a national state of emergency was declared in June 1986. (4 x 1) (4)

1.3.2 Define the historical term *revolution* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.3 Why do you think Stoffel Botha imposed restrictions on reports about outlawed black nationalist groups? (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.4 Explain why Aggrey Klaaste regarded *The Sowetan* as the only kind of avenue where black people could vent some of their deeply held feelings against Botha's government reforms. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4 Read Source 1D.

1.4.1 Identify any TWO political events in the source which coincided with Mojalefa Moseki's arrival at *The Sowetan* newspaper in the early 1980s. (2 x 1) (2)

1.4.2 Quote TWO pieces of evidence from the source that suggest that the paper (*The Sowetan*) and reporters paid heavily for reporting against the apartheid state. (2 x 1) (2)

1.4.3 What is implied by the phrase, '(*Sowetan* editors) had long ago lost whatever "fear" they had of the government laws', in the context of reporting negatively about the police? (1 x 2) (2)

1.4.4 Explain the term *censorship laws* in the context of PW Botha's policy on media. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4.5 Comment on the usefulness of this source to a historian researching the censorship of the media in South Africa during the 1980s. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Refer to Sources 1C and 1D. Explain how the information in Source 1D supports the evidence in Source 1C regarding the introduction of media restrictions by Stoffel Botha in the 1980s. (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 PW Botha's government reacted to the anti-apartheid media reporting during the 1980s. (8)

[50]

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QUESTION 2: WHY WAS THE GRANTING OF AMNESTY BY THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) TO THE SECURITY BRANCH POLICEMEN FOR THE DEATH OF STANZA BOPAPE CONSIDERED CONTROVERSIAL*?

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

2.1 Refer to Source 2A.

2.1.1 Quote TWO ways from the source showing how Stanza Bopape was described before he died in police custody. (2 x 1) (2)

2.1.2 According to the source, what did General Johan van der Merwe approve to avoid the negative political ramifications (results) of Stanza Bopape's death in police custody? (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.3 Define the term *amnesty* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.4 What conclusion can you draw from the fact that the Minister of Law and Order, Vlok, supported the Security Branch policemen's version of Stanza Bopape's 'escape'? (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.5 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why Stanza Bopape's mother pleaded with 'the police who were with him [to] come here and tell us where the bones are'. (2 x 2) (4)

2.2 Read Source 2B.

2.2.1 Explain the reference to 'them' in Francina Bopape's statement. (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.2 What is implied by the statement, 'All I am asking of them is to tell the truth …', in the context of Stanza Bopape's whereabouts? (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Use Source 2C.

2.3.1 Quote any THREE actions from the source showing how Stanza Bopape was interrogated by the Security Branch policemen. (3 x 1) (3)

2.3.2 Identify any TWO Security Branch policemen in the source who were present when Stanza Bopape was interrogated. (2 x 1) (2)

2.3.3 Using information in the source and your own knowledge, what does the statement, 'it was never our intention to kill him', suggest about the Security Branch policemen's interrogation methods? (2 x 2) (4)

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2.4 Consult Source 2D.

2.4.1 Quote the controversial finding of the TRC from the source, regarding the death of Stanza Bopape. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.2 Name the head of the security police in the source who applied for amnesty in the Stanza Bopape case. (1 x 1) (1)

2.4.3 Explain the term *full disclosure* as a condition required by the TRC. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.4 What is implied by the statement, 'applicants presented a well-oiled account,' during the testimony before the TRC hearing? (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.5 Comment on why a historian would find the source reliable when researching the evidence submitted at the TRC hearings on the disappearance of Stanza Bopape. (2 x 2) (4)

2.5 Refer to Sources 2C and 2D. Explain how Source 2D differs from Source 2C regarding the TRC's decision to grant amnesty to the Security Branch policemen. (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 granting of amnesty by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to the Security Branch policemen for the death of Stanza Bopape was considered controversial. (8)

[50]

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QUESTION 3: DOES THE CHINESE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI) BENEFIT BRICS+ COUNTRIES?

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

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

3.1.1 Name any TWO regions where China's BRI has the potential to transform the geo-economic landscape. (2 x 1) (2)

3.1.2 According to the source, which TWO banks supported the BRI projects? (2 x 1) (2)

3.1.3 Explain what is implied by the phrase 'a win-win situation' in the context of Chinese BRI investment in developing countries. (2 x 2) (4)

3.1.4 Define the term *developing countries* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.5 Why do you think BRICS partners, Russia and India, have reservations about China's Belt and Road Initiative? (1 x 2) (2)

3.2 Read Source 3B.

3.2.1 List any THREE of the 'five connectivities' that Chinese scholars believe is a common way forward for both the BRI and BRICS. (3 x 1) (3)

3.2.2 Explain in what way strengthening the interconnection between BRI and BRICS would be of benefit to China. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.3 Why do you think China's view of itself as the 'leading power centre' or 'dominant power' within BRICS could negatively affect relations among BRICS member states? (2 x 2) (4)

3.3 Consult Source 3C.

3.3.1 Explain how the United States is depicted in the cartoon. (1 x 2) (2)

3.3.2 What impression does the cartoonist give of the BRI? Use visual clues to substantiate your response. (1 x 2) (2)

3.3.3 Comment on the limitations of this source to a historian studying the benefits of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). (2 x 2) (4)

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3.4 Study Source 3D.

3.4.1 According to the source, state THREE opportunities that entry into BRICS has offered to Ethiopia. (3 x 1) (3)

3.4.2 Identify the TWO traditionally dominant Western lenders in the source that BRICS wishes to be independent from. (2 x 1) (2)

3.4.3 Explain the term *South-South cooperation* in the context of globalisation. (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.4 Why do you think supporters of the BRI would consider the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway a success? (1 x 2) (2)

3.5 Refer to Sources 3B and 3D. Explain how Source 3D supports Source 3B regarding China's use of the BRI to strengthen economic development of BRICS+ nations. (2 x 2) (4)

3.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining whether the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) benefits BRICS+ countries. (8)

[50]

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SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

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

Your essay should be about THREE pages long.

QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

Explain to what extent Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement played a significant role in mobilising black South Africans to challenge the apartheid regime during the late 1960s and the 1970s.

Support your line of argument with relevant historical evidence. **[50]**

QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

The process towards achieving a democratic South Africa between 1989 and 1994 was smooth because of the role of skilled negotiators.

Critically discuss this statement. Support your line of argument with relevant historical information. **[50]**

QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

Gorbachev's attempts to save the Soviet Union through policy changes (Glasnost and Perestroika) resulted in its ultimate collapse from the mid-1980s to 1991.

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

TOTAL: 150

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ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

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QUESTION 1: **HOW DID PW BOTHA'S GOVERNMENT RESPOND TO THE ANTI-APARTHEID MEDIA REPORTING IN THE 1980s?** 2026

SOURCE 1A

The excerpt below, titled 'HISTORY OF RESISTANCE AND THE BLACK PRESS', by Xaba, is from *The Journalist* newspaper of 26 September 2017. It explains how various community newspapers became a voice against oppression in South Africa in the 1980s.

Grassroots, a community newspaper, was finally established in 1980 after a protracted brainstorming process that began in the 1970s among progressive journalists in the Writers' Association of South Africa. The newspaper would run until 1990 and was a task of commitment to the struggle of the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies. It grew to about 20 000 readers. Eight months after *Grassroots* was founded, their first organizer, Johnny Issel, was banned, but the newspaper continued to exist.

The newspaper was made up of volunteers from 60 democratic organisations, such as the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA), Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), women's and youth organisations, the youth under the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) with over 400 contributing members and survived on funds from a group of Protestant churches in the Netherlands. By 1984, community support from *Grassroots* the establishment of *Standing together* (*'United We Stand'*), a community newsletter founded in the small rural town of Swellendam in the Cape Province. They soon moved their base to Oudtshoorn, a larger, mainly rural town, also in the Cape. From the start, they encountered constant police harassment in an area where police vigilance (awareness), compared to Cape Town, was strong.

There was also another Western Cape newspaper, *South*, which successfully provided a voice for the United Democratic Front and other progressive forces in the area, while keeping their coverage relevant to the local community. *New Nation*, in the then Transvaal, also played an important role in the 1980s. The black press, which resisted, helped to keep the voices of the people of Africa alive during the many decades of oppression.

[Source: *The Journalist* newspaper, 26 September 2017]

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SOURCE 1B

The cartoon below, titled 'MASS FUNERAL IN SOUTH AFRICA', drawn by E Hulme, appeared in an American newspaper on 8 September 1986, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* published in Texas. It depicts the extreme measures taken by the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, regarding the banning and censorship of the print media, in order to protect PW Botha's government from criticism.



MASS FUNERAL IN SOUTH AFRICA

[Source: *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, September 8, 1986]

Spectators

A grave

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SOURCE 1C

The article below, titled 'Threats of Censorship and Closures Bode Ill for South African Anti-apartheid Press', by A Croft, an American journalist, appeared in the January 10, 1988 issue of the *Los Angeles Times* newspaper. It explains how the South African government acted against the anti-apartheid media regarding reporting on political violence and apartheid oppression.

South Africa started a global upheaval by imposing strict restrictions on the media when a national state of emergency was declared in June 1986, following months of black protest violence. The restrictions banned first-hand reporting of political unrest, as well as news of demonstrations, anti-apartheid boycotts, and unofficial township structures such as people's courts and street committees. They were reinforced in August 1987 with sweeping new powers that enabled the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, to close any newspaper he believed was fomenting revolution for up to three months.

Newspaper editors say Botha's restrictions are subjective (one-sided) and that it is impossible to know when they are being breached. They say the current set of regulations already makes it difficult for newspapers to stay afloat, with many stories having to be cut or omitted on legal advice. Botha can take action against a newspaper that he believes is consistently promoting the image of banned black nationalist groups, promoting the breakdown of public order or inciting hatred of the security forces.

Newspapers, such as *The Sowetan*, claim they will fight government action in court. Black newspapers fear that government action against them will close one of the few remaining outlets for the voiceless black majority and lead to more frustration and violence in the townships. 'For black people, newspapers like ours are the only way they can express some of their deep-seated feelings, and now they are going to be stopped,' said [Aggrey] Klaaste.

[Source: *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1988]

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SOURCE 1D

The excerpt below, titled 'Black Journalists Under Apartheid', appeared in an online article by Taylor and Francis on 24 October 2007 in *Index on Censorship*, Issue 7: Volume 17, published 1988. In this source, Mojalefa Moseki reflects on his personal experience as a journalist during the apartheid government's period of media censorship in the 1980s.

'... My arrival at *The Sowetan* coincided with the rent protest action in the Vaal Townships and the uprising and the tricameral parliamentary elections in September 1984. The creativity and tenacity (resistance) of reporters at the newspaper emerged and the popular daily became a must-read for opinion leaders in the black townships nationwide. But the newspaper and reporters paid dearly; some were seriously injured, in some cases 'accidentally'; company cars and photographic equipment were confiscated.

Impromptu (Unplanned) meetings were held by the editor at *The Sowetan* invested as warnings poured in from the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis le Grange, against 'portraying the police in a bad light' or 'inciting (starting) unrest'. Nevertheless, reporting remained lively at *The Sowetan* under deputy editor A Klaaste, articles editor J Thloloe and news editor T Mazwai, who long ago lost any 'fear' they had of government laws. As staff members they witnessed the downfall of *The World* and *The Post* seen and have all been detained at one point or another for alleged violations of the security laws. There is no way a black person can avoid arrest in South Africa, no matter how law-abiding they are.

Klaaste, Thloloe and Mazwai could not hide their anger at government warnings against the newspaper and the security forces' activities in black townships. But the anger was usually short-lived as it always found its way to the pages of *The Sowetan* found, only to be cut often by sub-editors who had to comply with censorship laws. But the news editor, and also the sub-editors, lost their responsibilities when lawyers began to determine which stories would appear in the newspaper. This was the trend for all newspapers, except the pro-government Afrikaans press, in the mid-1980s.'

[Source: *Index on Censorship*, Issue 7: Volume 17, 1988]

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QUESTION 2: WHY WAS THE GRANTING OF AMNESTY BY THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) TO THE SECURITY BRANCH POLICEMEN FOR THE DEATH OF STANZA BOPAPE CONSIDERED CONTROVERSIAL*?

SOURCE 2A

This source is an excerpt from the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Final Report* which was submitted in 1998. It exposes a high-level cover-up of Stanza Bopape's death by the Security Branch and why his mother appealed to the TRC for help.

Mr. [Johannes Stanley Maisha] 'Stanza' Bopape, a well-known activist and general secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Association, died in police custody at John Vorster Square on 12 June 1988, three days after he was arrested with his flatmate Mr. Bheki Nkosi. A high-level cover-up, including a fake escape and secret disposal of Mr. Bopape's body, was approved by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, to avoid the negative political repercussions (consequences) of his death in police custody.

Until the recent amnesty applications by a number of police officers involved in Bopape's death, a public story (lie) was maintained that Bopape had 'escaped' from police custody while being transported from Johannesburg to the Vaal. According to the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, Bopape escaped when the three police officers he was travelling with got out of the car to change a flat tire. Bopape apparently got hold of the keys to unlock his handcuffs and fled. The police reported that they shot at him but failed to capture (arrest) him, and claimed that he must have left the country to join the African National Congress (ANC).

Mr. Bopape's mother, Ms. Mokgaetji Francina Bopape, who collapsed several times, made an impassioned plea at the Commission's (WVK) Pietersburg hearings for information about her son's whereabouts. After a fruitless (unsuccessful) search by her husband for [Stanza] Bopape in the ANC exile community, Ms. Bopape was convinced that her son had died in police custody. However, she was never able to confirm this. She told the Commission that she wanted 'the police who were with him to come here and tell us where his bones are'.

[Source: *TRC Final Report*, Volume 3, Chapter 2, 1998]

***CONTROVERSIAL:** controversial/doubtful

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SOURCE 2B

The image below is from an interview that aired on the SABC on March 1, 1998 with Francina Bopape, Stanza Bopape's mother.*Special Report on Truth and Reconciliation,* Episode 83, Part 1. This highlights her response to the evidence given by the Security Branch police officers during the TRC hearing held on 23 February 1998.



[Source: The SABC]*Special Report on Truth and Reconciliation*, Episode 83, Part 1, March 1, 1998]

"All I ask of them is to tell the truth and my Stanza's bones to give.'

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SOURCE 2C

The source below is from the testimony of Major Adriaan van Niekerk (member of the Security Branch of the South African Police) at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearing held on 23 February 1998 into the death of Stanza Bopape. It sheds light on the interrogation and subsequent death of Stanza Bopape in police custody at the hands of the Security Branch police officers and why the TRC granted amnesty to those involved.

MR. PRINSLOO (Commissioner): Mr. Van Niekerk, will you tell the Committee what happened with regard to the interrogation of Stanza Bopape?

MR. VAN NIEKERK (member of the Security Branch of the South African Police): Mr. Bopape was questioned by Mr. Mostert and Mr. Engelbrecht at John Vorster Square on 12 June 1988. He refused to cooperate and denied any involvement in the ANC or terrorist activities. I spoke to him personally and explained the seriousness of his detention under section 29, but he still refused to talk. Later that day we discussed the situation and decided to frighten him (scare) to persuade him to cooperate... We tied Mr. Bopape to a strong wooden chair in the corridor outside my office. His shirt was removed and his hands and feet were tied to the chair. Sergeant Du Preez worked with the electric shock device while Mr. Engelbrecht placed the electrodes (electric wires) on Bopape's body.

Mr. Bopape's head fell forward during the third round and I realized something was wrong. We untied him and placed him on the floor. Sergeant Du Preez attempted mouth-to-mouth resuscitation (CPR), but he showed no signs of life. We felt for a pulse, but he was already dead.

Everyone present – myself, Major Charles Zeelie, Warrant Officer Hendrik Mostert, Sergeant Johan du Preez and Constable Jakobus Engelbrecht – believed that he was dead. I immediately called General Erasmus and informed him of what had happened. Chairman, it was never our intention to kill him; the aim was only to obtain information. It was common practice in the Security Branch to use such methods when detainees refused to cooperate.

... The TRC concluded ... We are satisfied, in the circumstances and in light of what has been said above, that they have disclosed all of the relevant facts.

As a result, their application for amnesty is successful.

[Source:*Looking Back, Reaching Forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*by C Villa-Vicencio and W Verwoerd]

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SOURCE 2D

The source below is an extract from an article entitled 'Lid Not Lifted on Bopape Cover-up', by P Pigou, a former TRC researcher, which appeared in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper. It suggests that the granting of amnesty to 10 former security policemen for the death of Stanza Bopape was controversial and a threat to the credibility of the amnesty process.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has reached another controversial finding... when it granted amnesty to 10 former security policemen for their role in the murder of Mamelodi activist Stanza Bopape in June 1988.

The disappearance of Bopape will go down in history as one of apartheid South Africa's most elaborate cover-ups. Despite disappearing in 1988, Bopape's death was only confirmed after the case came before the TRC. This is the only case before the Commission in which a full range of police ranks – from constable to the former head of the security police (and South Africa's first police commissioner after apartheid), General Johannes Velde van der Merwe – applied for amnesty.

The TRC found that the applicants met the amnesty criteria; with full disclosure of all relevant facts. However, closer examination of the amnesty transcripts and rulings reveals a selective use of available evidence and no attempt to further inquire into a wide range of relevant issues.

The applicants presented a well-oiled version of events that carefully linked and reinforced each other's accounts. Some parts of the written applications used identical writing and expressions, giving the impression that they were suspect (false) and selective in terms of details.

[Source: *Mail and Guardian*-newspaper, April 28, 2000]

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QUESTION 3: DOES THE CHINESE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI) BENEFIT BRICS+ COUNTRIES?

SOURCE 3A

The extract below, from a research article titled 'BRI: Bridging or Breaking BRICS' by D Thussu, appeared in the journal *Global Media and China*, 2018, Vol. 3(2) is published. It outlines the nature of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and its relationship with BRICS.

China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has the potential to change the geo-economic landscape of Asia, the Middle East, Africa and even Europe. It was conceived in 2013, outlined by China's National Development and Reform Committee in 2015 and formally launched in May 2017. Completion is expected in the next decade. The BRI consists of more than 900 infrastructure projects – ranging from ports and roads to digital infrastructure, valued at around US$1.3 trillion.

The BRI projects will be supported by a US$40 billion Silk Road Infrastructure Fund. It will also be supported by the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank along with the BRICS Bank, formally known as the New Development Bank (NDB), based in Shanghai, which was established in 2014 by the five BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) nations.

In most Chinese official and journalistic accounts, the BRI is projected as a "win-win" situation for all parties involved. However, some view this major geopolitical undertaking as designed to advance Chinese political and economic interests in strategically important areas in Asia and elsewhere, providing an alternative to the US-dominated security and economic infrastructure that has shaped the world since World War II.

For many developing countries involved in the BRI projects, it unlocks great potential for rapid access to modern facilities and infrastructure to benefit from Chinese generosity (wealth). Among the BRICS nations, the attitude is more complex. Two of China's main BRICS partners – Russia and India – have reservations (concerns) about the BRI, while for the other two members (Brazil and South Africa) it is not of much geopolitical significance.

[Source: *Global Media and China*, 2018, Vol. 3(2)]

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SOURCE 3B

The excerpt below is from an article titled 'BRICS and BRI: China Aims for Strategic Alignment' by an Indian researcher, A Singh. It appeared in the 2022 *Observer Research Foundation: Issue Brief 591* It outlines how China wanted to strengthen the economic connection between the BRI and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa).

Chinese scholars (researchers) believe that the 'five connectivities' (policy, infrastructure, trade, finance and people-to-people) are the general way forward for both the BRI and BRICS. They emphasize how China is working to strengthen the interconnectedness of economic development strategies of different countries along the BRI, especially the BRICS countries – by aligning and integrating BRI and BRICS infrastructure (transport) projects, which will ensure free trade, enable intensive integration of financing mechanisms and pursue various forms of cooperation.

BRICS countries play a dominant role in organizations in their respective regions. China wants to use the BRICS platform to forge ties and influence policies of these key regional organizations, including the African Union in Africa. They want BRICS, especially the BRICS New Development Bank, to strengthen cooperation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO). This will enable China, through BRICS, to strengthen its international leadership and play a greater role in the formulation (creation) of international rules.

According to Chinese strategic thinking, the BRI and BRICS are strongly interconnected. BRICS consists of the world's best-performing emerging economies. How does China view each member country in BRICS? They see themselves as the 'leading power point' of the mechanism, 'the dominant power' or the 'center or core', with the greatest power and ability to determine the group's future course.

[Source: *Observer Research Foundation*: *Issue Letter 591*, November 2022]

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SOURCE 3C

The cartoon below, drawn by Chinese cartoonist M Hongliang, was published on August 22, 2023.*People's Daily Online*It depicts US allegations that China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a debt swamp for countries involved in infrastructure projects.



[Source:*People's Daily Online*, August 22, 2023]

*** debt swamp:** financial crisis where a country cannot pay off its debt, forcing it to borrow more money to cover its existing obligations, leading to severe financial instability, rising interest rates, and difficulty in escaping from the lender

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SOURCE 3D

The source below, from an article titled 'BRICS+: China's Belt and Road Initiative is Advancing Ethiopia's Infrastructure', by I Surve and S Mdlokovana, appeared in the Journal on June 26, 2025.*Sunday Independent*newspaper. It examines the experience of Ethiopia (a BRICS+ member) with regard to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

Ethiopia's 2024 accession to BRICS+ offers new opportunities for funding, technology exchange and strategic partnerships. The BRICS bloc has always advocated alternative development models. The BRICS framework calls for infrastructure-led development, financial independence from traditionally dominant Western lenders, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and non-partisan partnerships.

Ethiopia’s engagement with China, particularly with the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), exemplifies the BRICS vision of promoting physical and digital infrastructure, strengthening South-South cooperation and driving industrial growth across the Global South. Despite the ‘debt swamp’ criticism of Chinese infrastructure investments, Ethiopia’s experience with the Belt and Road Initiative tells a different story. The operational Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway serves as a crucial element in Ethiopia’s economic development. Completed in 2016, with Chinese engineering and financing, the 750-kilometer electrified railway connects landlocked Ethiopia to the port of Djibouti. It is the lifeline for more than 95% of Ethiopia’s exports and imports. This railway has significantly reduced transit time from three days to 12 hours, improving trade efficiency, cutting costs and reshaping the architecture of logistics in the region. Platforms like BRICS and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) are facilitating this shift and are a sign of a new era of activity (governance) for Africa. A future built on cooperation. The Ethiopia-China-BRICS alliance offers a compelling alternative to traditional development models.

[Source:*Sunday Independent*, June 26, 2025]

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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*Global Media and China,*2018, Vol. 3(2)

Index on Censorship, Issue 7: Volume 17, 1988

Los Angeles Times, January 10, 1988

Mail and Guardian, April 28, 2000

Observer Research Foundation, Issue Brief 591, November 2022

People's Daily Online, August 22, 2023

The SABC*Special Report on Truth and Reconciliation*, Episode 83, Part 1, March 1, 1998

*Sunday Independent,*June 26, 2025

The Journalist, September 26, 2017

TRC Final Report, Volume 3, Chapter 2, 1998

Villa-Vicencio, C and Verwoerd, W. 2000.*Looking Back, Reaching Forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*. (University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town)

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basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS/
NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS

HISTORY P2

MAY/JUNE 2026

MARKING GUIDELINES

MARKS: 150

These marking guidelines consist of 30 pages.

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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 in own words	30% (15)
Level 2	• Interpretation of evidence from sources • Explain information gathered from sources • Analyse evidence from sources • Explain historical concepts in context	40% (20)
Level 3	• Interpret and evaluate evidence from sources • Engage with sources to determine usefulness, reliability, bias and limitations • Compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives presented in sources and draw independent conclusions	30% (15)

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

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

1.3 Assessment procedures for source-based questions

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

Paragraph question

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

- Read the paragraph and place a bullet (•) at each point within the text where the candidate has used relevant evidence to address the question.
- Re-read the paragraph to evaluate the extent to which the candidate has been able to use relevant evidence to write a paragraph.

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- At the end of the paragraph indicate the ticks **(√)** that the candidate has been awarded for the paragraph; as well as the level (1,2, or 3) as indicated in the holistic rubric and a brief comment e.g.

_____ • _____
_____ • _____ • _____
Level 2 √√√

COMMENT
Used mostly relevant evidence to write a basic paragraph.

- Count all the ticks for the source-based question and then write the mark on the right-hand bottom margin e.g. 32/50
- Ensure that the total mark is transferred accurately to the front/back cover of the answer script.

2. ESSAY QUESTIONS

2.1 The essay questions require candidates to:

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

2.2 Marking of essay questions

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

2.3 Global assessment of the essay

The essay will be assessed holistically (globally). This approach requires the teacher to assess the essay as a whole, rather than assessing the main points of the essay separately. This approach encourages the learner to write an original argument by using relevant evidence to support the line of argument. The learner will **not** be required to simply regurgitate content (facts) in order to achieve a level 7 (high mark). This approach discourages learners from preparing essays and reproducing them without taking the specific requirements of the question into account. Holistic marking of the essay credits learners' opinions that are supported by evidence. Holistic assessment, unlike content-based marking, does not penalise language inadequacies as the emphasis is on the following:

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

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2.4 Assessment procedures of the essay

2.4.1 Keep the synopsis in mind when assessing the essay.

2.4.2 During the reading of the essay, ticks need to be awarded for a relevant introduction (which is indicated by a bullet in the marking guideline), the main aspects/body of the essay that sustains/defends the line of argument (which is indicated by bullets in the marking guideline) and a relevant conclusion (which is indicated by a bullet in the marking guideline).
For example, in an essay where there are five (5) main points there could be about seven (7) ticks.

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

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

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

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

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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.

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

* Guidelines for allocating a mark for Level 1:

- Question not addressed at all/totally irrelevant content; no attempt to structure the essay = 0
- Content selection includes basic and generally irrelevant information; no attempt to structure the essay = 1–6
- Question inadequately addressed and vague; little attempt to structure the essay = 7–13

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SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: HOW DID PW BOTHA'S GOVERNMENT REACT TO THE ANTI-APARTHEID MEDIA REPORTING DURING THE 1980s?

1.1

1.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A – L1]*
- '*Grassroots* …' (1 x 1) (1)

1.1.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A – L1]*
- '… Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) …'
- '… Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) …'
- '… women's and youth organisations …'
- '… Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) …' (any 3 x 1) (3)

1.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*
- Mobilised the local community against Botha's reforms and repression/threat
- It was committed to the struggle of the local community
- It was the voice of the oppressed under apartheid
- It undermined the system of apartheid
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A - L2]*
The UDF mobilised:
- through the use of community newsletters, newspapers and magazines
- by aligning itself with the ANC against Botha's reforms
- making use of the black press to organise resistance/campaigns
- through different forms of protests e.g. boycotts, strikes, etc
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.2

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

(a)
- Powerlessness of anti-apartheid activists as Botha banned their newspapers/imposed media restrictions
- Voicelessness of anti-apartheid activists during the media restrictions in South Africa in the 1980s
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

(b)
- Media restrictions/banning print media
- To permanently destroy/shut down/to silence anti-government news media
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- Many newspapers and magazines were shut down due to Botha's media restrictions, thus killing the progressive media
- Many media/publications due to loss of revenue were forced to close
- Silencing the voices of anti-apartheid activists
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.3

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

- '… first-hand reporting of political unrest …'
- '… strikes …'
- '… anti-apartheid boycotts ...'
- '… people's courts …'
- '… street committees' (any 4 x 1) (4)

1.3.2 *[Definition of a historical term from Source 1C – L1]*

- A significant or total change
- When armed citizens fighting the government in order to enforce changes in a country
- Process of removing/overthrowing the government for a new one due to political, economic and social problems/significant change to a country's social, political or economic structure/government
- A violent/peaceful protest/rebellion by a nation against the government for the purpose of replacing it by another
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.3.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1C - L2]*

- Botha was afraid that the reports might incite revolution in the country
- He did not want the world to know how his government was treating black people in South Africa
- He wanted to protect his government's image to the outside world/to stop disinvestment campaigns
- So that black nationalist media should not report on the activities of the banned political organisations/activists
- To stop/curb the voice/ability to mobilise/struggle of the banned South African political organisations
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.3.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1C - L2]*

- It was easily accessible/affordable in many black townships
- *The Sowetan* newspaper portrayed the reality of the black people's lives during the State of Emergency
- It was trustworthy and respected by the black communities because of its anti-apartheid stance
- It was through *The Sowetan* newspaper that black people could criticise/rebel/resist Botha's reforms
- Because they were able to navigate through strict government censorship
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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1.4

1.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1D – L1]*
- '… rent protests in the Vaal Townships …'
- '… uprising …'
- '… the tricameral parliament elections …' (any 2 x 1) (2)

1.4.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1D – L1]*
- ' … some were seriously injured …'
- ' … company cars and photographic equipment were confiscated' (2 x 1) (2)

1.4.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D – L2]*
- They were no longer afraid of the government's repercussions/bannings/ incarcerations
- They ignored the censorship laws and resisted by continuing to report on mass actions
- They were no longer afraid of being detained
- They were not afraid of the government's media restriction laws
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.4.4 *[Explanation of a term from Source 1D - L2]*
- Laws that were passed by Botha to restrict media reporting on apartheid activities/impact on black people
- Botha's laws to control the anti-apartheid press in South Africa
- Restrictions on freedom of speech during the State of Emergency
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- It is first-hand information by Moseki, a *Sowetan* journalist's personal experiences on print media censorship in the 1980s
- Moseki's experiences were published in 1988 during the era of media censorship in South Africa
- It highlights how the Sowetan and other newspapers were negatively affected by media censorship
- It comes from an academic journal that is internationally recognised
- The information regarding censorship can be corroborated with restrictions in Sources 1B and 1C
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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1.5 *[Comparison of Source 1C and Source 1D to ascertain similarities – L3]*

- Source 1C states that Home Affairs Minister had **powers to censor or close newspapers** and in Source 1D mention is made of **the demise/end of *The World* and *The Post* newspaper/Both sources refer to the banning of the newspapers**
- Source 1C states that Botha could act against a newspaper that he believed **promoted the hatred against security forces** and Source 1D states that the *Sowetan* newspaper received warnings against **portraying the police in a bad light/Both sources highlight that newspapers portray police negatively**
- Source 1C states that **many stories were cut off** because of the restrictions and Source 1D mentions that **sub-editors cut off some stories** to comply with the censorship laws/**Both sources refer to the censoring of reports by the government**
- Both sources refer to **the operational difficulties** of journalists/editors in carrying out their responsibilities
- 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:

- PW Botha's apartheid reforms in the early 1980s encountered a strong anti-apartheid media reporting (own knowledge)
- PW Botha's government reacted with extreme measures of restrictions on the anti-apartheid media (own knowledge)
- Journalists like J Issel, were harassed/banned for reporting on the mass actions against apartheid (Source 1A)
- Many news media outlets were shut down – *Saamstaan, South* and *New Nation* (Sources 1A/B)
- Stoffel Botha ignored the mass protest against media censorship (Source 1B)
- PW Botha imposed tight restrictions on the media when a national State of Emergency was declared in June 1986 (Source 1C)
- It barred first-hand reporting of political unrest and severely restricted news about strikes, anti-apartheid boycotts and unofficial township structures (Source 1C)
- All types of press including newsletters, magazines and commercial press were banned (own knowledge)
- The restrictions gave the Minister of Home Affairs (Stoffel Botha) the power monitor and close any newspaper he believed was fanning revolution (Source 1C)
- Newspapers found enhancing the image of the outlawed Black Nationalists, promoting the breakdown of public order or encouraging hatred of the security forces were acted against (Source 1C)
- The media content was controlled by the government (own knowledge)
- Editors of newspapers were banned (Source 1C)
- Police harassment was used as an intimidation method against media houses (Source 1C)
- Reporters paid heavily, as some were seriously injured (Source 1D)

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- Company cars and photographic equipment were confiscated to stop the reports on the protests (Source 1D)
- Journalists and editors were arrested and banned for violation of the restrictions (own knowledge)
- Journalists, subeditors and editors lost their jobs as it was to be determined by the media censorship laws on what was printed (Source 1D)
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL 1	• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. **shows no or little understanding of how PW Botha's government reacted to the anti-apartheid media reporting during the 1980s.** • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph.	**MARKS 0–2**
LEVEL 2	• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates largely on the topic, e.g. **shows some understanding of how PW Botha's government reacted to the anti-apartheid media reporting during the 1980s.** • Uses evidence in a basic manner to write a paragraph**.**	**MARKS 3–5**
LEVEL 3	• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. **demonstrates a thorough understanding of how PW Botha's government reacted to the anti-apartheid media reporting during the 1980s.** • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic**.**	**MARKS 6–8**

(8)
[50]

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QUESTION 2: WHY WAS THE GRANTING OF AMNESTY BY THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) TO THE SECURITY BRANCH POLICEMEN FOR THE DEATH OF STANZA BOPAPE CONSIDERED CONTROVERSIAL?

2.1

2.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*
- '… a well-known activist …'
- '… general secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Association …' (2 x 1) (2)

2.1.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*
- 'A high-level cover-up, including a fake escape and secret disposal of Mr Bopape's body …' (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.3 *[Definition of a term from Source 2A – L1]*
- Process of exempting someone from prosecution
- Granting of an official pardon or forgiveness
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*
- This is a cover-up of the crimes committed by the security policemen
- The cover-up goes all the way to the top – even the Minister was implicated/an endorsement of the apartheid system of hiding the truth
- It was to prevent a political backlash
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.1.5 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*
- A cry/plea from the mother symbolising deep pain and yearning for the truth and closure/healing
- A moral call/demand for the truth and dignity in the face of state denial and dehumanisation
- A call to the interrogators to reveal how they tortured and killed Stanza Bopape
- The family would be able to provide a proper/dignified/spiritual rites/burial for Stanza Bopape
- The bones could serve as physical evidence to expose the atrocities committed by the Security Branch policemen/reveal the truth about the disappearance of Stanza Bopape
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.2

2.2.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B - L2]*
- Perpetrators
- Security Branch policemen/police
- Apartheid state agents
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- Francina Bopape doubted/did not trust the Security Branch policemen's version of the truth/Francina Bopape was suspicious of the perpetrators' version
- Francina Bopape sensed/suspected that her son could have been killed by the Security Branch/evidence had been destroyed
- The Security Branch policemen had told lies/had not revealed the whole truth
- Francina Bopape needed all the evidence to get closure about the death of her son
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.3

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

- '… We tied Mr Bopape to a strong wooden chair in the corridor outside my office'
- 'His shirt was removed …'
- '… his hands and feet were bound to the chair'
- 'Sergeant Du Preez operated the electric shock device …'
- '… Mr Engelbrecht applied the electrodes to Bopape's body (any 3 x 1) (3)

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

- '… Mr Van Niekerk'/'Major Adriaan Van Niekerk …'
- '… Major Charles Zeelie …'
- '… Warrant Officer Hendrick Mostert/Mr Mostert…'
- '… Sergeant Johan du Preez …'
- '… Constable Jakobus Engelbrecht/Mr Engelbrecht' (any 2 x 1) (2)

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

- That the policemen did not see torture as being morally wrong
- That the security policemen viewed it as being routine and acceptable despite its brutality
- That the security policemen used it as a motivation for their amnesty application
- The security policemen applied their methods carelessly/they were just fishing for information
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.4

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

- '… when it granted amnesty to 10 former security policemen for their role in the murder of Mamelodi activist Stanza Bopape in June 1988.' (1 x 2) (2)

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

- 'General Johannes Velde van der Merwe …' (1 x 1) (1)

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2.4.3 *[Explanation of a term from Source 2D – L2]*

- Process whereby perpetrators of Apartheid-era political crimes could be granted amnesty by the TRC, but only if they fully and truthfully revealed their offenses
- Refers to the requirement by the TRC that individuals applying for amnesty had to tell the complete truth about the human rights violations or politically motivated crimes they committed during the apartheid era
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- It implies that their stories (accounts) were highly coordinated, polished and rehearsed, possibly to appear consistent rather than truthful
- The accounts by the perpetrators had no loopholes for the TRC to interrogate
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.4.5 *[Determining the reliability of Source 2D – L3]*

The source is RELIABLE because:

- An article by P Pigou, a former TRC investigator
- Pigou has conducted research into amnesty transcripts and judgements showing the policemen's testimonies were not truthful
- The article is published by a reputable newspaper, *The Mail and Guardian*
- The article was published on 28 April 2000, only two years after the TRC's hearing into the disappearance of Stanza Bopape
- The source can be corroborated with Sources 2C by suggesting full disclosure of how police colluded to cover up the disappearance/killing of Stanza Bopape
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

2.5 *[Comparison of Sources 2C and 2D to ascertain differences – L3]*

- Source 2C refers to the TRC being satisfied that the **perpetrators made a full disclosure**, while Source 2D indicates that there was a **selective use of available evidence**
- Source 2C indicates that the application for **amnesty succeeded**, while Source 2D refers to the granting of **amnesty as being controversial**
- Any other relevant response (2 x 2) (4)

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

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- The perpetrators manufactured a high-level cover-up of Stanza Bopape's death (Source 2A)
- Initially, a lie about Stanza Bopape's escape had dominated the public narrative (Source 2A)
- The Minister of Law and Order, Vlok, had endorsed the so-called 'escape narrative' (Source 2A)
- Francina Bopape, Stanza's mother, was not convinced that her son had escaped from police custody (Source 2A)
- Matome Bopape, Stanza's father, revealed a lack of trust in the Minister by rejecting the Minister's escape version (Source 2A and own knowledge)
- Van Niekerk's testimony in Source 2C, which was used for the granting of amnesty, was not interrogated or cross-examined
- It was the only case where 10 former security policemen from the lowest rank to police commissioner, applied for amnesty and were granted amnesty (Source 2D)
- Evidence used by the applicants seemed to have been selected to justify amnesty (Source 2D)
- The presentation by the applicants revealed a well-oiled account to avoid incriminating themselves (Source 2D)
- It shows that families were often lied to and denied closure about what happened to their loved ones (own knowledge)
- The government's false claim of 'escape' made it difficult for families to know the truth (own knowledge)
- The feelings of the family were not considered when amnesty was granted to the perpetrators of political crimes (own knowledge)
- The amnesty was controversial because it appeared to reward deceit and brutality with forgiveness, while leaving the victim's family and the public without full truth or justice (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

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Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL1	• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. **shows no or little understanding of why the granting of amnesty by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to the security policemen for the death of Stanza Bopape was considered controversial.** • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph.	**MARKS 0–2**
LEVEL 2	• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. **shows some understanding of why the granting of amnesty by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to the security policemen for the death of Stanza Bopape was considered controversial.** • Uses evidence in a basic manner to write a paragraph	**MARKS 3–5**
LEVEL 3	• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. **demonstrates a thorough understanding of why the granting of amnesty by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to the security policemen for the death of Stanza Bopape was considered controversial.** • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.	**MARKS 6–8**

(8)
[50]

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QUESTION 3: DOES THE CHINESE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI) BENEFIT BRICS+ COUNTRIES?

3.1

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

- '… Asia …'
- '… the Middle East …'
- '… Africa …'
- '… Europe' (any 2 x 1) (2)

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

- '… Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank …'
- '… BRICS bank …'/'… New Development Bank (NDB) …' (2 x 1) (2)

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

- Both China and developing countries will benefit from BRI
- Developing countries will benefit from loans and investments while China will earn profits from its investments
- China will gain from the BRI initiative which in turn would also strengthen BRICS
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.1.4 *[Definition of term from Source 3A – L1]*

- Less industrialised countries where primary goods/raw materials dominate the economy/also referred to as Third World countries
- Countries with less diversified economies (often reliant on single product, industry or economic sector)
- Countries with a lower gross domestic product (GDP) and lower GDP per capita than developed countries
- Countries with lower literacy rates, high infant mortality rate, and less developed infrastructure, education and healthcare sectors
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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

- The perception that the BRI promotes only the Chinese political and economic interests/they (Russia and India) did not benefit from the initiative
- Although they are partners with China in BRICS, they are rivals with China in some areas
- They might not want to be seen as junior partners in a Chinese-led initiative/ They might be seen as weak
- The BRI might be seen to be a Chinese tool in their geo-political and economic rivalry with the US and US-dominated institutions, which might be against Indian or Russian interests
- The BRI might be seen as encroaching on regions seen by India and Russia as within their traditional spheres of interest, leading to conflict
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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3.2

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

- 'policy …'
- '… infrastructure …'
- '… trade …'
- '… finance …'
- '… people-to-people' (any 3 x 1) (3)

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

- China would gain increased power/influence/control in BRICS countries where BRI projects were in place
- BRI projects in BRICS countries would be of benefit to China's economic interests
- China could possibly gain the support of other BRICS countries in international affairs through BRI
- Increased influence from BRI in other BRICS countries would be of geo-political benefit to China in the long term
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

3.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3B – L2]*

- China would influence policy within the partnership
- Other BRICS countries, like India and Russia, would not accept China's dominant role
- BRICS member states' economic and political interests might not always align with China, which could lead to friction with China
- Other BRICS countries would not want to be seen as dependent on China
- Certain BRICS countries are rivals with China in some areas and would dispute China's view of itself as dominant
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.3

3.3.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3C – L2]*

- The figure representing America is portrayed as angry – America is opposed to the BRI
- The figure has a long nose, indicating that he is lying: the BRI is not a debt trap in reality
- He is agitated, waving his arm and pointing at the picture of the train – Chinese investment in Africa is a problem / concern for America
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

3.3.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3C – L2]*

- China's Belt and Road initiative is successful – we see a modern train in motion
- China's infrastructure development connects different areas within the BRI – railway line
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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3.3.3 *[Determining the limitations of Source 3C – L3]*
The source is LIMITED because:

- It is produced by a Chinese cartoonist/from a Chinese one-sided point of view/bias
- It represents Western scepticism of the BRI
- It portrays the USA in a negative light, depicting it as lying (the long nose of the figure representing the USA) and angry/agitated.
- It is dismissive of the American 'debt trap' claims
- Language usage by USA, 'debt trap' portrays China negatively
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.4

3.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3D – L1]*
- '… funding …'
- '… technology exchange …'
- '… strategic partnerships' (3 x 1) (3)

3.4.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3D – L1]*
- '… World Bank …'
- '… International Monetary Fund (IMF) …' (2 x 1) (2)

3.4.3 *[Explanation of a term from Source 3D – L2]*
- Cooperation between countries of the Global South (developing countries) independent of the traditionally dominant Global North (developed nations)
- Collaboration between emerging economies outside of the USA/Western-dominated economic order
- Alliance between countries outside of the G7 industrialised nations
- Nations outside of Western-dominated structures like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are working together
- Partnership between nations south of the 'Brand Line' which has traditionally defined the gap between the developed 'North' and the less developed 'South'
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

3.4.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3D – L2]*
- Ethiopia had not been caught in a 'debt trap' – 'debt trap' criticisms of Chinese infrastructure investments did not apply to the project
- The railway was operational and complete/It was a functionally successful BRI project
- The rail project had become a crucial part of Ethiopia's economic development as envisaged by the BRI
- The project facilitated the transportation of a massive share of the country's exports and imports
- The railway line cut down transport times and costs
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

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3.5 *[Comparison of evidence from Sources 3B and 3D to ascertain their similarities – L3]*

- Source 3B refers to the **alignment of BRICS and the BRI**, and Source 3D deals with a **BRI project in Ethiopia (a BRICS+ country)**
- Source 3B mentions **infrastructure projects as part of the BRI**, and Source 3D highlights **an infrastructure project in Ethiopia** (the Addis Ababa – Djibouti Railway)
- Source 3B mentions **partnerships and collaboration** as part of the BRI, and Source 3D highlights the **collaboration of China and Ethiopia** on a BRI project
- Source 3B mentions free trade, and Source 3D explains the trade conducted along the Addis Ababa – Djibouti Railway/Both sources **mention BRI's trade benefits in Africa**
- Both sources refer to China financing BRICS countries
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

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

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:
Candidates need to choose **BENEFIT** or **DOES NOT BENEFIT**

BENEFIT:

- China created the BRI to invest in infrastructure projects across several regions of the world (Source 3A)
- The BRICS bank/New Development Bank is involved in funding the projects (Source 3A)
- China portrays the BRI as a 'win-win situation' for BRICS (Source 3A)
- The BRI provides developing countries with a way to advance rapidly (Source 3A)
- China wishes to strengthen the interconnection and economic development strategies of different states in the BRI, particularly BRICS (Source 3B)
- China wishes to use BRI/BRICS to influence the policies of regional organisations (Source 3B)
- China sees itself as the 'leading power' of BRICS, with the greatest strength and ability to determine its future course (Source 3B)
- BRICS calls for development and financial independence from traditionally dominant Western lenders such as the World Bank and the IMF (Source 3D)
- China collaborated with Ethiopia (BRICS+) in a BRI project (the Addis Ababa–Djibouti Railway) which improved trade efficiency (Source 3D)
- The BRI project in Ethiopia (BRICS+) is seen as an example of an alternative approach to development (Source 3D)
- Any other relevant response

DOES NOT BENEFIT

- Some see BRICS as a way for China to promote its own political and economic interests – not for BRICS (Source 3A)
- Two of China's main BRICS partners Russia and India had reservations of whether BRICS would benefit from BRI (Source 3A)
- BRICS will allow China to strengthen its international leadership and play a bigger role in the formulation of international rules (Source 3B)
- It was a strategy for China to position itself as a 'dominant power' to determine BRICS' future course (Source 3B)
- Some countries have criticised China's BRI projects as 'debt traps' which will allow China to gain influence over those countries (Sources 3C and 3D)
- Any other relevant response

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Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL1	• Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. **shows no or little understanding of whether the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) benefited BRICS+ countries?** • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph.	**MARKS 0–2**
LEVEL 2	• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. **shows some understanding of whether the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) benefited BRICS+ countries?** • Uses evidence in a basic manner to write a paragraph.	**MARKS 3–5**
LEVEL 3	• Uses relevant evidence, e.g. **demonstrates a thorough understanding of whether the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) benefited BRICS+ countries?** • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.	**MARKS 6–8**

(8)
[50]

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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 it was to a **greater or lesser extent** that Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) played a significant role in mobilising Black South Africans to challenge the apartheid regime during the late 1960s and the 1970s. In the main the discussion should indicate that it was to a **greater extent,** that the Black Consciousness Movement strengthened the struggle against apartheid through its philosophy, advocacy, various organisation and projects during the late 1960s and the 1970s. They should highlight the content they would use to support their line of argument.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction: Candidates need to indicate whether it was to a **greater or lesser extent** that Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) played a significant role in mobilising Black South Africans to challenge the apartheid regime during the late 1960s and the 1970s. They should indicate how they will support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- Political vacuum
  - Created after ANC and PAC leaders and parties were banned or imprisoned from 1960s
- Black Consciousness philosophy – to instil conviction to bring change by themselves (BCM and Biko used the philosophy to effectively mobilised anti-apartheid support)
  - Instilling blacks with self-belief to fight against the apartheid state – BC gained support
  - Infused blacks with sense of pride through self-help/socio-economic development/self-reliance
  - Influenced black people to accept themselves as 'Blacks'/have self-confidence/self-reliance - sense of a positive unifying identity
  - Empowered blacks to reject the spirit of self-pity; inferiority complex; self-alienation and domination by external forces – gained confidence/built support
  - Solidarity – collective power of black people
  - Women would stop using skin lightening products/keep afro hairstyles - self-confidence
- Inspired the establishment of political organisations promoting the BC philosophy to bringing change by themselves - various organisations established which challenged the apartheid regime
  - Instilling political organisations with determination to challenge apartheid to bringing change by themselves
  - Black students started to organise themselves to resist white domination by breaking away from NUSAS and forming SASO (1968) – to truly establish black independent leadership

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- Black students adopted the philosophy of Black Consciousness (role of Biko/SASO which led to mobilisation against the apartheid regime)
- SASO inspired the formation of SASM in schools in 1972 - challenged the apartheid education system
- The South African Students Movement (SASM) exposed students to the ideals of BC – organised meetings/conferences in challenging the apartheid system
- Black Consciousness (BC) led to the formation of the Black Peoples Convention (BPC) in 1972 which involved students, churches, communities and trade unions (the solidarity against apartheid)
- Unions aligned to the BC philosophy included Black Parents' Association and Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) (the solidarity led to the intensification of the struggle against apartheid)
- BCM and SASO organised the VIVA FRELIMO Rallies (1974) (to inspire and gain more support to intensify the struggle against apartheid)
- The arrests of BC leaders heightened political activism and intensified the struggle against apartheid

- BC mobilised students to escalate the struggle against apartheid and bring change by themselves (e.g. Soweto Uprising)
  - Department of Bantu Education introduced Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools through a decree in 1974
  - South African Students Movement was formed in 1972 which exposed Blacks to the ideals of BC which reinforced the struggle against apartheid
  - 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 - mobilisation
  - The departmental Circular on Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in June 1976 was the trigger for the Soweto uprising
  - 16th June 1976 students mobilised peaceful protests against the implementation of the circular
  - Violent police response to student protests (Hector Petersen, a 13-year-old boy was one of the first casualties of this uprising)
  - Protests flared up nationally – wider mobilisation – greater pressure exerted on the apartheid government
  - Students and learners fled into exile – strengthened the struggle against apartheid outside South Africa
- Inspired the establishment of Community Programmes for self-reliance/self-help and bring change by themselves/increased resistance to apartheid
  - Biko's banishment to King Williams Town led to diverted focus on community programmes
  - BC promoted independence from whites through Black Community Programmes to support blacks without white assistance (Zanempilo Health Clinic/Ginsburg Educational Trust/Zimele Trust Fund/Solempilo Community Health Centre/Ithuseng Community Health Programme and Winter School Projects)

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- Inspired the workers to form a trade union for workers to organise themselves and mobilise against apartheid in workplace/form trade unions
  - Unions aligned to the BC philosophy included Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU)
  - BC inspired the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) to organise the 1973 worker's strikes in Durban – negatively impacted the economy
- Empowered Black people to have their own media to publicise the struggle against apartheid – BCM gained more support
  - Role of media organisations that were sympathetic to the BC philosophy e.g. *The World* and *The Post* newspapers – banned by the apartheid government
- Death of Biko increased mobilisation against apartheid
- Any other relevant response

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

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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 provide a **balanced view** in that the process towards achieving a democratic South Africa between 1989 and 1994 **was smooth (because of skilled negotiators), but that it was also rough and bumpy** – leading to violence due to disagreements and the violent nature of other leaders. Candidates should provide a **balanced view**, whether the presentation is following a chronological order or thematic approach. In all cases, candidates should use relevant historical evidence to support their line of argument.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction: Candidates need to take a **critical stance** that would **provide a balanced view** by indicating that the process towards achieving a democratic South Africa between 1989 and 1994 **was on one hand smooth but on the other hand rough and bumpy.** They should support their stance by referring to instances of **compromises and negotiation on one hand and violence/disagreement/lack of trust on the other hand**. They should highlight the content they would use in providing their balanced view, e.g. Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes for negotiations between the NP and the ANC and violence in the Vaal Triangle (Sebokeng) by the Third Force and attacks at the Melrose House Museum by the AWB.

ELABORATION

- FW de Klerk took over from PW Botha in 1989 and introduced reforms
- Starting the process:
  - Unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) and other banned organisations (NP started a process of negotiations)
  - Release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990 and other banned political leaders in 1990 (this opened the way to negotiations for democratic SA)
- Talks (31 March 1990) between the ANC and the NP were postponed due to the killing of defenceless demonstrators in Sebokeng (rough and bumpy)
- Groote Schuur Minute, 2 May 1990 - both parties (ANC and NP) committed themselves to end violence and to negotiate (smooth process/skilled negotiators)
- Violence in the Vaal Triangle – Sebokeng (July 1990) (potential to derail the smooth process of negotiations) – by Third Forces allegedly influenced by political parties
- Hand grenade attacks at the Melrose House Museum (24 May 1990) (AWB violence attempt to derail the process of negotiations) – (violence)
- Pretoria Minute (August 1990) – ANC stopped armed struggle and NP stopped State of Emergency (smooth process/skilled negotiators)
- Night attack in Thokoza (13 September 1990) (IFP, ANC and Third Force violence attempt to derail the smooth process)
- The National Peace Accord signed by 27 political organisations (on 14 September 1991 (smooth process/skilled negotiators)

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- CODESA 1 (21 December 1991) – 19 political parties except for CP and PAC. NP strongly criticised ANC for not disbanding MK and accused them of keeping MK as a 'private army' (process of negotiations not smooth due to lack of trust)
- The Declaration of Intent (21 December 1991) – political parties agreed to draw up a new constitution and interim government (smooth process/skilled negotiators)
  - The participating parties could not agree on power sharing and the Constituent Assembly – meeting ended (process of negotiation not smooth due to disagreement/lack of trust)
- Whites-only referendum – De Klerk tested white opinion to continue with negotiations after losing three by-elections to CP. Referendum results – landslide Yes – (smooth process/skilled negotiators)
- CODESA 2 (2 May 1992) – was not successful because of violence and inability of parties to agree on power-sharing – ended in deadlock (Third Force violence allegedly by IFP and NP (process of negotiations – not smooth due to violence/disagreement/lack of trust)
- Boipatong Massacre (17 June 1992) and influence of Third Force violence allegedly by IFP and NP (attempt to derail the smooth process of negotiations)
- Bisho Massacre (7 September 1992) – ANC supporters who wanted to be part of the negotiation process (a turning point after which the negotiation process favoured the ANC) (Homeland forces supported by the NP - attempt to derail the smooth process of negotiations)
- ANC called for rolling mass action (May 1992) against the National Party (process of negotiations not smooth due to violence/disagreement/lack of trust)
- Resistance from Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) – October 1992 - (process of negotiations not smooth due to violence/disagreement/lack of trust)
- Record of Understanding – 26 September 1992 – Meyer and Ramaphosa committed themselves to peace and to negotiations, Meyer and Ramaphosa agreed on Joe Slovo's Sunset clause (2 April 1993) – (smooth process/skilled negotiators)
- Parties winning more that 5% of the vote will form a Government of National Unity (GNU) to govern the new SA and whites could retain their positions for 5 years – (smooth process/skilled negotiators)
- Multi-party negotiations resumed on 2 April 1993 at the World Trade Centre - to support the process of negotiations – (smooth process/skilled negotiators)
- Assassination of Chris Hani (10 April 1993) – Janus Walus (CP attempt to derail the process of negotiations). Mandela addresses the nation on TV calming the nation down
- The AWB interrupted the negotiations on 25 June 1993, when they stormed the World Trade Centre with an armoured vehicle (attempt to derail the smooth process of negotiations - violence/disagreement/lack of trust)
- St James Church massacre (25 July 1993) - AZAPO/PAC attempt to derail the process of negotiations - violence/disagreement/lack of trust)
- Heidelberg Tavern massacre (30 December 1993) AZAPO attempted to derail the smooth process of negotiations - violence/disagreement/lack of trust)
- Shell House massacre (28 March 1994) - the ANC and IFP (violence)
- Date for the first democratic elections set (27–29 April 1994) - (smooth process/skilled negotiators)
- Continued violence throughout elections – car bomb outside ANC head offices on 24 April 1994 (Right Wing sporadic - violence attempt to derail the smooth process of elections)
- Car bomb exploded at Jan Smuts airport on 27 April 1994 (Right Wing sporadic violence attempt to derail the smooth process of elections)

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- Elections held in 1994 (process towards democracy concluded)
- Mandela became the first President of the new democratic Republic of South Africa with Thabo Mbeki and FW De Klerk as his deputies
- Any other relevant response

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

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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 **agree or disagree** with the statement that Gorbachev's attempts to save the Soviet Union through the policies of Glasnost and Perestroika resulted in its ultimate collapse from the mid-1980s to 1991. Candidates need to indicate how Gorbachev's policies saved or destroyed the Soviet Union. Candidates need to substantiate their argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- Introduction: Candidates need to take a stance by **agreeing or disagreeing** with the statement that Gorbachev's attempts to save the Soviet Union through the policies of Glasnost and Perestroika resulted in its ultimate collapse from the mid-1980s to 1991. They need to indicate why they **agree** or **disagree** and should also highlight the content they would use to support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- USA and the Soviet Union emerged as superpowers after WWII
  - The two were involved in a Cold War for ideological domination
  - Space and arms race against the USA and the war in Afghanistan weakened the economy of the Soviet Union
- Gorbachev became Secretary-General of the CPSU and leader of the government in 1985 at 54 years of age and inherited an economically weakened Soviet Union
- He hoped to revive Soviet Union's economy by improving both industrial output and technology, as well as expanding its markets (attempt to save the Soviet Union)
  - He took a risk of introducing political and economic changes (reforms): increasing freedom - unpopular with hardline communists (contributed to the ultimate collapse)
- In 1985 he introduced the policy of Perestroika - economic reconstruction (an attempt to save the Soviet Union)
  - Allowed small-scale private ownership and removed government control over production (a hybrid communist-capitalist system)
  - It was poorly implemented/managed and confusing for enterprises that had never operated in a capitalist environment (resulting in an ultimate collapse
- He took a big risk in effecting political change, especially for the Soviet Union, known for its hard-line Communist stance by introducing a policy of Glasnost (attempt to save the Soviet Union)
  - Glasnost led to criticism of government – including criticism of Perestroika and of Gorbachev himself
  - Increased media freedom (reduction of censorship) and encouraged increased participation in, and criticism of government (contributed to the ultimate collapse)
- Openness to external parties/countries
  - Allowed non-communist parties to be part of the government system – slowly destabilised communist control (contributed to the ultimate collapse)
  - Included moves to normalise relations with the USA which alarmed hardliners

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- Criticism of the policies
  - 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 (contributed to the ultimate collapse)/while he had a hero status in the West
  - The two policies did not support each other as thought but ended the entire system of the Soviet Union (contributed to the ultimate collapse)
  - Perestroika and Glasnost led to demands for the end of communism and full democracy
  - He lost support at home – Unity of the Soviet Union was at risk and socialism became threatened
- Collapse of the Berlin Wall (1989) signifying end of Cold War, Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fall of communism
- Many underlying differences always existed among the 15 Republics
  - Civil unrests broke out between various groups
  - Old forms 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 of the Soviet Union symbolised the end of the Cold War
  - The USA remained as the only superpower
- Any other relevant response

- Conclusion: Candidates should tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion **[50]**

TOTAL: 150

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