



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION  
NOVEMBER 2011

## **HISTORY: PAPER II**

### **MARKING GUIDELINES**

Time: 2 hours

150 marks

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These marking guidelines were used as the basis for the official IEB marking session. They were prepared for use by examiners and sub-examiners, all of whom were required to attend a rigorous standardisation meeting to ensure that the guidelines were consistently and fairly interpreted and applied in the marking of candidates' scripts.

At standardisation meetings, decisions are taken regarding the allocation of marks in the interests of fairness to all candidates in the context of an entirely summative assessment.

The IEB will not enter into any discussions or correspondence about any marking guidelines. It is acknowledged that there may be different views about some matters of emphasis or detail in the guidelines, and different interpretations of the application thereof. Hence, the specific mark allocations have been omitted.

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**SECTION A DISCURSIVE ESSAY**

Answer **ONE** question from this section.

A discursive essay-answer showing evidence of analysis, interpretation, explanation and argument is required.

**THEME: HOW DID SOUTH AFRICA EMERGE AS A DEMOCRACY FROM THE CRISES OF THE 1990s?**

**QUESTION 1**

'The National Party was working towards a negotiated settlement yet at the same time it was still trying to hold on to power.'

Is this a fair assessment of the period 1990 – 1994 in South Africa? Discuss.

**Candidates need to argue that this is a fair assessment because the government and political leaders were sending mixed messages to the people. Candidates therefore need to provide evidence that shows that on the one hand, the National Party *was* working towards a negotiated settlement, and on the other hand, was trying to hold on to power, by fermenting violence and stalling negotiations when it looked as if their grasp on power was being lost.**

**Evidence to show that the National Party was working towards a negotiated settlement**

- In February 1990 President de Klerk unbanned the ANC, PAC and SACP and announced that political leaders, including Nelson Mandela, would be released from prison. This announcement opened the way forward to a negotiated settlement.
- May 1990 – Groote Schuur Accord – terms of negotiation set out by Mandela and de Klerk – indicates De Klerk's genuineness in moving forward towards a negotiated settlement.
- June 1990 – Separate Amenities Act repealed – indicates the National Party's genuine efforts to begin dismantling apartheid.
- August 1990 – Pretoria Minute – the ANC agreed to suspend the armed struggle and the National Party agreed to continue to release political prisoners and suspend the state of emergency in Natal. Indicates a genuine willingness on part of National Party to work together with ANC to make it possible for negotiations to take place.
- In March 1991 the National Party repealed the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and Land Act. Only with a genuine dismantling of the laws of apartheid could the country move forward to negotiations.
- In 1991 – After meetings between political leaders, business leaders and church leaders, the National Peace Accord was produced. It laid down the rules of behaviour for political parties, the police force, and other bodies in order to prevent violence.
- November 1991 – after the signing of the National Peace Accord, the government began making arrangements for a multiparty political conference which would lay down guidelines for the drawing up of a new constitution. Clear evidence of the National Party's willingness to work towards a negotiated settlement.
- December 1991 – the Convention for a Democratic South Africa – Codesa I – took place in Johannesburg. The issue of a new constitution was a disputed point and reflects the NP's desire to hold onto power – they feared that if a new constitution was drawn up by an elected body, the government would not achieve the power-sharing they desired. A compromise was eventually reached in which a two-stage process was agreed to: An interim

constitution would be drawn up and the first elected parliament would use this as a basis for drafting the final constitution.

- February 1992 – The NP accepted the ANC's demand for an Interim Government and the principles that a new South Africa be non-racial, non-sexist, and democratic. The regime, however, remained insistent that MK be disbanded. The ANC argued that only an Interim Government could decide the fate of MK.
- 17 March 1992 – An All-White Referendum is held. The NP government received overwhelming support for reform. Appears that move towards negotiated settlement was genuine.
- May 1992 – By the time of CODESA II many issues remained unresolved. There were deadlocks on the question of a constitution-making body. Technically, the deadlock manifests itself around the question of the special majorities required to adopt a final constitution.

### **Evidence to show that the National Party was still trying to hold onto power**

Talks between the government and the ANC started at a time when the country was on the brink of civil war. Violence and unrest continued, especially between the ANC and IFP. This violence raised questions of the National Party's duplicity and points to its attempts to hold onto power.

- The government continued to give funds to the IFP in their fight with ANC supporters.
- Evidence of a 'Third Force' funded and trained by the National Party strengthened the belief that the National Party was still trying to hold onto power.
- Negotiations kept on breaking down, both due to violence and disagreements over power-sharing.

**Violence:** 17 June 1992 – Boipatong massacre took place. Third Force activity was suspected and Mandela accused FW de Klerk of fermenting violence. Led to breakdown in negotiations.

September 1992 – Bisho Massacre.

April 1993 – assassination of Chris Hani.

June 1993 – AWB stormed the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park where negotiations were taking place.

1993 – APLA attacks on white civilians.

- De Klerk used 'black on black' violence to negotiate for a stronger role for the NP.

### **Disagreements over constitutional issues:**

- The issue of a new constitution reflected the NP's desire to hold onto power. It forced the ANC to adopt a compromise position. The government wanted some form of power sharing to protect white economic power. De Klerk insisted that the new constitution protect the rights of 'minorities'. The 'sunset clause' put forward by Joe Slovo, agreed to allow high ranking members of the armed services and civil services to retain their positions for the first five years.

- The National Party believed that the ANC was politically weak after being banned for 30 years. It believed that it could exploit this weakness by demanding to be included in a Government of National Unity.

**Moves towards resolution – showed that the NP, although trying to hold onto power, was not always successful in its demands. Ultimately, the desire for a negotiated settlement outweighed their desire to hold onto power and they had to agree to a number of compromises.**

- 26 June 1992 – The ANC accused the government of complicity in the violence and made 14 demands in a memorandum to FW de Klerk.
- 2 July 1992 – de Klerk responded to the ANC's 26 June memorandum, denying government complicity in the violence but refused to commit the government to the principle of majority rule. A clear indication of a desire to hold onto power. But the NP does take some action to reduce levels of violence – banned dangerous weapons and agreed to international monitoring of violence.
- 23 – 25 November 1992 – The ANC and the NP came to an agreement to resume bilateral negotiations.
- 1 April 1993 – The Multi-Party Negotiating Forum met. Negotiations speeded up.
- 1 June 1993 – In working toward an interim government, the Negotiating Council agrees that sufficient progress has been made to enable it to agree to 27 April 1994 as the date for South Africa's first ever non-racial elections.
- October 1993 – After months of negotiations the ANC and the NP finalised agreements on the interim constitution. It was agreed that all parties which won at least 5% of the votes in the 1994 election would be represented in a Government of National Unity for the first five years. This demand by the NP was a clear attempt to hold onto power. But the NP was not fully successful in their desire to hold onto power and was forced to make compromises, e.g. the NP abandoned its claim to a veto over decisions of cabinet.

[70]

OR

**THEME: WHAT FORMS OF CIVIL SOCIETY PROTEST EMERGED FROM THE 1960s UP TO 1990?****QUESTION 2**

'While King was having a dream, the rest of us Negroes are having a nightmare'.  
(Malcolm X, 1963)

Is this a fair assessment of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s?  
Discuss.

**Candidates need to point out that although the achievements of the CRM did not satisfy all black Americans, significant changes were made. Therefore it is not fair to think of Martin Luther King Jr. and CRM as having a dream as the dream was realised to some extent. The CRM was a major example of how effective popular mass protests could be. As a result of it, there was less discrimination against African Americans.**

Not all black people were satisfied with the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement. Those who lived in the ghettos believed that non-violent tactics of the CRM did nothing to help. They turned to black separatist movements. However, conditions in the north and south were very different. In the south, the CRM was dealing with the issue of segregation. In the north, black people were dealing with conditions of poverty, the repeated violence and abuse of police towards African Americans and the continued racial prejudice that they still faced. Malcolm X made the above statement largely in reference to conditions of African Americans in the north.

Segregation had been outlawed in America but it still continued in many Southern states. There was segregation in schools, public transport and other amenities. Black people did not enjoy the same political rights as white people. There was prejudice and discrimination against them despite some achievements made in the 1950s. The CRM used non-violent tactics to demand equality and an end to segregation.

Non-violent confrontation included boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides and mass marches. January 1960 – black students at a college in North Carolina staged a sit-in at a lunch counter in a shop which refused to serve black customers. Kneel-ins were organised in churches, read-ins in public libraries, play-ins in city parks and wade-ins on beaches.

In 1961 CORE organised the Freedom Riders (black and white) to protest segregated buses. They deliberately rode on buses in Birmingham. In 1964, black and white Civil Rights campaigners from the more liberal states went to Mississippi to open 'Freedom Schools' where basic literacy, black history and black pride were taught.

Voter registration courses were organised to register and train black Americans in voting procedures.

Martin Luther King Jr. personified the non-violent movement. In April 1963 he led a march in Birmingham to expose racism in the South. This march caught the world's attention. In 1963 Martin Luther King Jr. also led the march in Washington where 250 000 people demanded the end to segregation and the introduction of equality in public transport, libraries, education and jobs. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his famous 'I have a dream' speech.

By 1967, King had also become an outspoken opponent of the Vietnam War. He argued that the money should be spent on the poor of America. He lobbied for Federal assistance to the poor and became increasingly involved in the trade union struggles. King was arrested many times during his

civil rights campaigns. He believed that God had called him to leadership, but that he truly wanted a normal existence. King agreed that going to jail may have been a publicity stunt, but argued that sometimes it was necessary to dramatise an issue because many people were not aware of what was happening. He had no desire for material wealth.

Sit-ins brought some degree of success. Schools and stores were desegregated in some towns. Freedom Rides also led to Robert Kennedy ordering the end of segregated interstate transport in 1961. The march on Birmingham succeeded in drawing national public attention to the problem of racism in the south. President Kennedy pressured the governor of Alabama to desegregate Birmingham. The courage of protestors encouraged others to become involved in the struggle. Black and white people joined in a massive campaign of non-violent civil disobedience to demand desegregation of public facilities. They persisted despite violence and intimidation by southern authorities and white racists.

In 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed. This act barred segregation and discrimination in employment in all public facilities. In December 1964, Martin Luther King Jr. was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This was a triumphant and historic moment as few people had believed that this honour would be given to an African American. In 1965, the Voting Rights Act outlawed obstacles to voting. In 1967 Thurgood Marshall became the first African American judge on the Supreme Court. In the same year, the Supreme Court ruled that state laws forbidding inter-racial marriages were unconstitutional. In 1968 the Fair Housing Act made racial discrimination in housing illegal.

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<b>70 marks</b>
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**SECTION B EXTENDED WRITING**

Answer **BOTH** questions from this section. Each piece of extended writing should be approximately 350 – 400 words in length. You should use your own knowledge as well as the visual material as a stimulus to answer the questions.

**These memoranda serve as guidelines. Learners are not expected to write down all this detail.**

**THEME: HOW DID SOUTH AFRICA EMERGE AS A DEMOCRACY FROM THE CRISES OF THE 1990s?**

**QUESTION 3**

Explain the role played by the UDF in South Africa in the 1980s by answering the following questions:

(a) What was the UDF?

The United Democratic Front was a non-racial organisation formed in Cape Town in August 1983. Dr Allan Boesak made a call to unite anti-apartheid groups. They brought together more than 500 organisations that were fighting apartheid. It was made up of trade unions, community, youth, women, student, religious, sports, political and business organisations. The UDF was aligned to the ANC. The membership of the UDF was approximately 1.5 million made up of people from different ethnic and racial groups.

(b) Why was the UDF formed?

The UDF was formed as a response to the Tricameral constitution (parliament) that was part of PW Botha's reforms. The new system of government provided three houses of parliament, for Whites, Coloureds and Indians. Black Africans were excluded entirely. Although the Indians and Coloureds were brought back into central government, this did not challenge white supremacy because the Coloured and Indian minorities together could not outvote the whites. By excluding black Africans, the new constitution made it clearer than ever what apartheid meant for the majority of the country's population. Later the UDF organised more general resistance against the government. It planned programmes of action against the Tricameral System and pass laws. It also responded to the ANC's call to render the country ungovernable.

(c) What methods of protest did the UDF use?

The UDF called for all Coloureds and Indians to **boycott** the 1984 elections for the new parliament and for Africans to boycott elections for the local community councils. UDF leaders travelled throughout the country mobilising people and addressing meetings. In some townships, groups of youths known as the comrades began to assume control. People suspected of collaborating with the apartheid government were **murdered**. The practice of '**necklacing**' suspected collaborators became common. The UDF also organised **strikes, stayaways, rent boycotts, school boycotts and consumer boycotts**. Street committees and courts were formed to replace the local authorities.

- (d) What impact did the UDF have in resisting apartheid in the 1980s?

The UDF campaign to boycott the elections had successfully denied the new parliament any kind of legitimacy. It instilled the passion for resistance and rekindled the struggle of the 1970s. The resistance that took place between 1984 and 1986 was largely organised by the UDF. The UDF had a profound impact in making the townships ungovernable. Township residents organised rent boycotts and civil disobedience. The middle class councillors (who collected rents) were targeted for collaborating with the government. Struggles between Inkatha and the UDF broke out in Natal. The government intensified repression – State of Emergency (partial in 1985 and full in 1986); there were other forms of repression. By bringing together the different organisations, the UDF was able to unify opposition to apartheid. This also meant that resistance was more effective. The township struggle by the community and student organisations led by the UDF is considered by historians to be the major cause of the collapse of apartheid. However, the UDF was banned in 1988.

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**THEME: WHAT FORMS OF CIVIL SOCIETY PROTEST EMERGED FROM THE 1960s UP TO 1990?**

**QUESTION 4**

Explain the role played by the Black Panthers in the fight for Civil Rights in the United States by answering the following questions:

- (a) Who were the Black Panthers?

This was a group formed by two black students; Bobby Seale and Huey Newton in 1966. It was formed for self-defense. They were young and angry and identified with the teachings of Malcolm X. The Black Panthers were a militant group within the Black Power Movement. They believed that the moderate leaders of the Civil Rights Movement had failed the black people of America. They chose the panther as their symbol because 'the nature of the panther is that he never attacks. But if anyone attacks him or backs him into a corner the panther comes up to wipe the aggressor or that attacker out'. The panther also symbolised power. The Black Panthers made their largest impact in the urban areas of California and major northern cities, such as New York, Chicago and Boston. Many young black people, living in poverty and with no hope for future employment, were attracted to the Black Panthers. Other members were college students and graduates who had an understanding of the law. They were armed, well trained and very determined in their fight.

- (b) What were their aims?

Candidates can include the aims of the Black Power Movement and specifically look at the following aims:

Like the Nation of Islam, they taught black pride and acceptance. They wanted black people to define their own goals, lead their own organisations, recognise their heritage and build a sense of community. They aimed to make American society more politically, economically and socially equal. They emphasised class unity, and criticised the black middle class for acting against the interests of other, less fortunate African Americans. They wanted to improve the life of ghetto-dwellers. They also wanted to expose the brutality of the police against black people. They wanted to make African Americans aware of their right to carry guns. They talked of the armed struggle and revolution. They argued that black people in



America and the Vietnamese people (during the Vietnam War) were waging a common struggle against a common enemy; the US government.

- (c) What methods did the Black Panthers use to achieve their aims?

In order to improve the life of ghetto-dwellers, the Black Panthers established ghetto clinics which provided health care and legal aid. They also provided free food to school children. The leaders argued that violence was necessary to bring about change. They used both the guns and the law to make their point. California law allowed a person to carry a rifle as long as it was not hidden and it was not loaded. One of the Black Panthers' tactics was to 'police the police'. They followed the police around and when they found the police harassing or arresting a black person, they would approach them. Dressed in black and carrying a camera, a law book and their guns in full view, the Black Panthers would make sure that the police operated within the law. They informed the police: 'So long as we remain the proper distance from you, we can observe what you do. This is not interfering or disorderly conduct.' They were regarded as the greatest threat to internal security of the United States. Towards the end of the 1970s, a combination of the continued activities of the FBI and internal conflict led to the end of the Black Panther Party.

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**80 marks**

**Total: 150 marks**