



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
NOVEMBER 2012

HISTORY: PAPER II

MARKING GUIDELINES

Time: 2 hours

150 marks

These marking guidelines are prepared for use by examiners and sub-examiners, all of whom are required to attend a standardisation meeting to ensure that the guidelines are consistently interpreted and applied in the marking of candidates' scripts.

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. It is also recognised that, without the benefit of attendance at a standardisation meeting, there may be different interpretations of the application of the marking guidelines.

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: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS

QUESTION 1

LO 2: AS 1, AS 2 and AS 3

LO 3: AS 2, AS 3 and AS 4

The Women's and Students' Movements of the 1960s both protested against tradition and government policy, but they were not successful in achieving change.

To what extent is this an accurate assessment of the aims, methods and achievements of the Women's Movement and the Students' Movement in the USA in the 1960s?

Candidates should take a stand regarding the statement.

They need to indicate to what extent they agree/disagree with the statement.

Candidates should discuss the aims, methods of protest action and achievements and failures in bringing about change for both the Women's and Students' Movements.

The Women's Movement protested against the tradition of discrimination based on gender and inequality. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 established equal rights based on gender and race and thus government policy was in line with many of the demands put forward by women. Some may argue that government policy was also challenged, for example on issues of abortion.

The Students' Movement protested against the traditions of the older generation and the universities and against government policy with regard to Disarmament, the Vietnam War and education policies.

Both movements were successful to some extent, but both experienced failures in achieving change.

Candidates are not expected to include all the details listed below.

The Women's Movement:

Context:

- The role of women shifted over the course of the 20th century in the Western world.
- By the end of Second World War women had more employment opportunities and more women were attending universities and colleges.
- In the 1950s there was a return to traditional values and middle class women were expected to be home-makers.
- Women worked in low-level secretarial or service jobs, earning less than men.
- The Civil Rights Act of 1964 established equal rights based on gender as well as race, inspiring women.

Aims:

- Women wanted greater freedom and to be recognised as equal to men.
- Some wanted to work for equal opportunities, but others wanted to separate themselves from men.
- Some challenged male power, male violence and reproductive rights.
- Protest was mainly against practised tradition.
- They wanted maternity leave and childcare centres.
- They wanted equal pay for equal work and career opportunities.

Methods: (against tradition)

- Women who participated in movements called themselves feminists, but the Women's Movement was made up of different groups with different ideologies.
- The National Organisation for Women (NOW) consisted of older, middle-class professional women.
- NOW encouraged women to strive for a better life through work and education.
- NOW worked within established organisations, institutions and government structures, such as courts, to gain equal rights in employment and education.
- Women's Liberation was the second stream, also known as Women's Lib. They focused on reproductive rights, perceptions of beauty, violence and sexuality.
- Women's Lib was more openly confrontational, using peaceful protest to bring attention to their cause in public. They used sit-ins, strikes, demonstrations and legal action.
- They attracted media attention by protesting against the 1968 Miss America pageant, bra-burning and invading male bars.

Methods: (against government policy)

- Before the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964, women campaigned for discrimination based on gender to be outlawed.
- The introduction of the oral contraceptive pill in 1960 allowed women to make choices on when and whether to have a child. However, access to the pill was limited and many women had to deal with unwanted pregnancies. This led to an intense struggle for the right to legalise abortion. In a landmark court case known as *Roe vs Wade*, abortion was legalised in the United States.

Successes and failures:

- The Women's Movement resulted in some change to society, but many of their demands for true equality, respect and justice were not met. However, the groundwork for women's rights had been laid for modern day civil society to address.
- It acted as a pressure group on government.
- Legalised abortion was seen by many as a victory and brought change.
- Some methods of protest attracted negative publicity and ridicule.
- The issues that plagued poor and black women were not really dealt with.
- Women's Lib lost momentum due to internal factions.
- Thus the Women's Movement did achieve some success in changing society and not only failure.

Student Movements

Context:

- The Cold War between USA and USSR created widespread fear and distrust in the 1960s. Many people feared that the Superpowers would literally destroy the world.
- The 1960's generation had grown up aware of the terrifying power of nuclear weapons.
- They were part of the post-World War II 'Baby Boom' generation, who were more prosperous and better educated than previous generations.
- Most students in American universities were white and middle-class and had been brought up with the traditional values of their parents.
- Students had no say in the curriculum offered at universities.
- Many different student organisations emerged in the US. What united them was their opposition to the Vietnam War and a questioning of the values with which they had been raised.

Aims:

- Campaigned for Nuclear Disarmament (government policy).
- Wanted to end American involvement in the Vietnam War (government policy).
- Demanded a say in the kind of courses that were taught and for the university administration to be more accountable and transparent (government policy and university tradition).
- Rejected the materialism and middle class values of American society (tradition).

Methods: (against tradition)

- The youth of the 1960s rejected their parents' values by 'dropping out' and becoming hippies.
- They rejected the materialism of their parents and corporate capitalism by rejecting their work ethic and embracing alternative lifestyles.
- Many lived in communes and were concerned about the environment and became vegetarians.
- They developed a distinctive fashion style that was opposite to the corporate nature of fashion. (e.g. long hair, jeans and flowing robes, drugs, folk and rock music.)
- Two of their slogans were 'Make love, not war' and 'Don't trust anyone over 30'.
- Students also held protests about socially relevant curricula in universities, reforms in teaching methods, the right to elect student representatives.

Methods: (against government policy)

- Students joined Ban the Bomb marches.
- Students supported the Civil Rights Movement, and many volunteered to take part in protests (e.g. Freedom Summer of 1964). They protested against American involvement in the Vietnam War.
- They used non-violent tactics to get their message across and held teach-ins to educate people about the war.
- They staged demonstrations and organised draft resistance (burning the draft).
- Student organisations like the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) organised teach-ins and sit-ins at universities, and held rallies and marches.

- At the beginning of 1968 there were over 100 demonstrations against the war, involving 40 000 students.
- In 1969, more than 250 000 people took part in a massive anti-war demonstration in Washington.
- Musicians used music to express their outrage against the war in Vietnam and the policies of the US government.

Successes and failures:

- Student protest acted as a pressure group on the government and contributed to the US withdrawal from the Vietnam War and regulation of nuclear weapons.
- Student protest led to changes to educational administration and curricula and thus had some success in changing society.
- The Hippie Movement challenged values of older generation, created new trends in music and fashion, but failed to create lasting alternative lifestyle.
- As a result of student protests, young people had new rights and opportunities (e.g. voting age lowered from 21 to 18 in US and many countries).

[70]**OR**

THEME: SOUTH AFRICA'S EMERGENCE AS A DEMOCRACY**QUESTION 2****LO 2: AS 1, AS 2 and AS 3****LO 3: AS 2, AS 3 and AS 4**

According to the historian Nigel Worden, there was a stalemate* in South Africa by 1989 caused by internal and external pressures on the government.

To what extent is this an accurate assessment of the situation in South Africa in the late 1980s?

* Stalemate = a situation in which progress is blocked; a deadlock

Candidates should take a stand in response to the statement.

They may agree with the statement by saying that increased repression did not crush the protests. The protesters could not overthrow the state and the state could not get rid of or end dissension. Protest, violence, sanctions and international pressure had caused the economy to slow down.

OR Candidates may argue that there was stalemate and that either internal or external pressures played a more significant role in later breaking the stalemate.

OR Candidates may argue that there was a stalemate, but that it was a combination of internal and external pressures on the government that helped to end the stalemate. Secret meetings with the ANC in exile, the end of the Cold War and Botha's resignation broke the stalemate as de Klerk saw the need for urgent change which allowed the country to move forward.

Candidates are not expected to include all the details listed below.

Internal pressures:

- The Tricameral Parliament sparked nationwide protests, led to formation of the UDF, and resulted in township uprisings from 1984 onwards.
- In response, the government declared a State of Emergency (1985, 1986 and extended to 1990). Troops in townships, detention, censorship of media, bannings and protests did not stop protests.
- White business suffered and business leaders placed pressure on government, critical of government's failure to accept real change.
- Rubicon speech failed to promise change, and indicated unwillingness of government to give in to real reform. Rand collapsed, stock exchange closed for four days.
- The armed struggle increased, with MK attacks on high profile targets and police stations.
- Cross-border raids by the SADF increased anger and opposition to the government.
- As the anger rose, the government matched it with repressive violence until the country was in a virtual state of civil war.
- A stalemate had occurred at this point as it was clear that total strategy had failed to win the hearts and minds of the people.
- The government had now come to rely on increased repression and international bravado. The black protesters could not overthrow the state and the state could not get rid of or end resistance.

- Pressure within NP itself. Under Botha there was no move towards real meaningful change and as long as he was in power this was unlikely to change. Botha had a stroke and was later forced to resign (helped break stalemate).
- Secret meetings between the government and Mandela, 1985 meetings between business leaders and the ANC in exile and 1987 Van Zyl Slabbert and liberal Afrikaners met with ANC in exile also increased the internal pressures on the government.

External pressures:

- SA isolated – barred from UN General Assembly, expelled from world bodies such as WHO and International Olympic Movement.
- External pressure in the form of sanctions resulted in sustained economic pressure helping to force change to take place. Helped break the stalemate.
- Sanctions: support from ANC in exile, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and USA.
- Investments and loans banned, SA Airways no longer allowed to land at US airports, universities sold shares, large corporations closed down operations.
- Chase Manhattan Bank cut links in 1985, financial crisis.
- Commonwealth countries also applied sanctions, e.g. Barclay's Bank sold SA holdings, consumers refused to buy SA products, cultural boycott and sports boycotts (Gleneagles Agreement).
- Collapse of EPG initiative increased the call for sanctions.
- ANC in exile recognised as official representatives of SA people.
- The on-going war in Namibia and Angola became a drain on SA resources. SA finally withdrew in 1988 and gave independence to Namibia in 1989. The government had to reassess its military capabilities in maintaining indefinite power after battle against Cubans at Cuito Cuanavale.
- Cold War was coming to an end, with the reforms implemented by Gorbachev in the USSR; this impacted on SA and validity of policy of total onslaught-total strategy.

[70]**70 marks**

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 and may also refer to the visual material as a stimulus to answer the questions.

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

THEME: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS

QUESTION 3

LO 2: AS 2 and AS 3

LO 3: AS 2 and AS 4

Explain the role played by the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa in the 1970s by answering the following questions:

- (a) What were the aims of the Black Consciousness Movement?
- The Black Consciousness Movement was an attitude rather than a political movement.
 - The use of the term 'black' was a direct challenge to the apartheid term 'non-white'.
 - Movement included Black, Indian and Coloured people.
 - Black Consciousness was a philosophy based on the belief that liberation for black people would only be accomplished if they removed the shackles of fear and inferiority.
 - The driving force behind Black Consciousness was the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) established in 1968 under the leadership of Steve Biko.
 - Black pride in identity, culture and history was emphasised.
 - Movement aimed to promote a degree of separatism, by encouraging black people to stop working with white liberals in multi-racial organisations. Instead, white liberals should educate other white people to change their attitudes.
 - Movement worked to promote unity amongst black people.
- (b) How did the Black Consciousness Movement influence students' resistance to Apartheid in the 1970s?
- Students joined organisations to voice their anger and share their ideas. The South African Students Movement (SASM) grew rapidly from 1973 onwards, especially in Soweto.
 - The SASM branches functioned as forums for discussion of educational and political matters.
 - SASM produced a militant newspaper, Thrust, to spread the ideas of Black Consciousness amongst students, encouraging activism.
 - The government ban of the newspaper resulted in the SASM establishing secret links with the ANC in exile.

- In 1976, when students started to boycott classes, the SASM supported the protests and called for a complete boycott of the June examinations.
- SASM formed an Action Committee renamed the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC).
- It planned a march for 16 June 1976 as a mass demonstration to protest against the enforced use of Afrikaans in schools. It was on this date that the Soweto Uprising started.
- The Soweto Uprising refers to the widespread student protests that took place in Soweto and in many towns throughout South Africa. It started as an uprising against education policies, but became a general uprising against the whole system of Apartheid, with teachers, parents and workers supporting the students.
- The Soweto Uprising marked a turning point in South African history and was inspired by the Black Consciousness Movement.

(c) How did the Apartheid government react to the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s?

- The government's response to the Black Consciousness Movement was positive at first, because it seemed to fit in with the concept of separate development.
- But when it became clear that the movement was strongly anti-government; the government expelled students linked to the SASO from universities and harassed leaders.
- As a result of the Soweto Uprising, the government abandoned the Afrikaans language policy in schools. School protests continued.
- Many student leaders were detained or killed through police action.
- The harsh suppression of the Soweto Uprising resulted in negative criticism from the international community and pressure was placed on the government to reform.
- In 1977 the government banned 17 anti-apartheid organisations, including the SASM and the SSRC.
- The government arrested Black Consciousness leaders, including Steve Biko, who died in police custody.
- Bannings suggest that the government viewed the ideology of the Black Consciousness Movement as a threat to white domination.

[40]

AND

THEME: SOUTH AFRICA'S EMERGENCE AS A DEMOCRACY**QUESTION 4****LO 2: AS 2 and AS 3****LO 3: AS 2 and AS 4**

Explain the role played by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa in dealing with the past and facing the future by answering the following questions:

- (a) What was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)?
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established in 1995, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Dr Alex Boraine was the vice-chairperson.
 - It was set up by parliament in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act.
 - The Commission was to deal with gross human rights violations that occurred between 1 March 1960 and 10 May 1994.
 - The TRC consisted of three separate committees. They were the Committee on Human Rights Violations, the Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation and the Committee on Amnesty.
 - It held hearings around the country so that victims and perpetrators could give testimony.
- (b) What did the TRC aim to achieve?
- The main aim of the TRC was to develop a culture of human rights.
 - Its aims were to investigate the causes and extent of human rights violations under apartheid, recommend compensation for victims and grant amnesty to those guilty of human rights offences under certain conditions. In return for amnesty, individuals and political parties had to give full and public testimony of their actions.
 - The truth had to be told in order to reach national reconciliation.
 - The past had to be overcome with confession and forgiveness in order to build a new nation.
 - The TRC was not a court of law.
 - The TRC focused on restorative justice.
 - Its function was to uncover the truth so that reconciliation could be achieved.
 - It wanted to investigate human right violations committed by liberation movements as well as by the government and security forces.
- (c) What were the successes and failures of the TRC in achieving its aims?
- The TRC did succeed in revealing some of the atrocities of the past.
 - The TRC played a significant role in acknowledging the pain and suffering that people endured.
 - More than 21 000 victims were heard at the TRC.
 - 19 144 victims were given a once-off reparation payment of R30 000 each.
 - Reconciliation, however, was not instantly achieved.

- Many victims and their families were angry that perpetrators escaped punishment. They believed that they should have been tried in a court of law and sentenced for their crimes. They wanted justice rather than simply truth.
- Not all victims were willing to forgive.
- Amnesty was controversial. Many found it difficult to accept that perpetrators were allowed to walk free.
- Many perpetrators did not show remorse for their actions and this angered many.
- Some refused to give evidence, such as PW Botha.
- Some refused to accept responsibility and said that they were only following orders.
- FW de Klerk took legal action to prevent the publication of a paragraph of the TRC report which held him responsible for the actions of the 'third force'.
- The ANC was unhappy that no distinction was made between human rights violations carried out by agents of apartheid and those carried out by the liberation struggle.
- The TRC succeeded, in part, by revealing some truth about the atrocities of the past; providing a stepping stone to reconciliation and national unity.

[40]

80 marks

Total: 150 marks