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.

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

THEME: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS

QUESTION 1

LO 2: AS 1, AS 2 and AS 3
LO 3: AS 2, AS 3 and AS 4

Although they both fought for an end to inequality, the Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Movement had nothing else in common.

Critically assess the accuracy of this statement by referring to the aims, methods and achievements of these two protest movements in the United States in the 1960s.

Candidates need to develop an independent line of argument to evaluate whether the Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Movement had anything in common apart from their struggle to end inequality.

The debate is open-ended, but candidates need to clarify whether they support or disagree with the statement.

Candidates may agree with the statement. Both movements were fighting for equality, one of race the other of gender, and wanted an end to legal discrimination. They may argue that this was all they had in common and that their methods and achievements were different.

Candidates may disagree with the statement, arguing that both were fighting for equality, but that there were similarities in their methods. Both movements used non-violent protest. In addition, their achievements were similar. The Civil Rights Act (1964) benefited both movements.

Context

- The 1960s in the United States was marked by a general trend of mass protest by ordinary members of the public.
- The Civil Rights Movement dealt with racial discrimination and the Women's Movement dealt with discrimination on the grounds of gender.
- The 14th Amendment in the Constitution made African Americans full citizens. The 15th Amendment guaranteed that the right to vote could not be denied. Despite this, discrimination against African Americans continued, particularly in the Southern States of America.
- At the end of the Second World War women had made a number of gains, including employment opportunities. However, in the 1950s there was a return to traditional values. Women who worked usually worked in low-level secretarial or service jobs and earned less than men.
Civil Rights Movement

- Civil Rights Movement could include Black Power Movement

Aims
- End racial discrimination and segregation.
- Racial equality.

Methods
- The Civil Rights Movement used non-violent protest.
- Bus boycotts were used.
- Sit-ins were used to force integration of public facilities. In Greensboro, North Carolina, four black students walked into a Woolworths department store and sat at the all-white lunch counter. This began the sit-in campaigns against segregation in public facilities.
- Freedom rides were organised to protest against segregated buses. The Freedom Riders were black and white activists who deliberately rode on the buses in Birmingham and Alabama.
- African Americans attended traditionally all-white schools and universities with federal protection. James Meredith was the first African American student to be enrolled at the University of Mississippi.
- Protest marches were held. The march on Washington (1963) and Selma (1965) are two such examples.
- African Americans were registered to vote in voter registration campaigns.
- Freedom Summer Campaign. The main goal was to try and provide education and make sure that black people could vote. Freedom schools were established.

Achievements
- 1964: the Civil Rights Act barred discrimination in employment and segregation of public facilities.
- 1965: the Voting Rights Act was passed that outlawed obstacles to voting which some states had used to exclude black voters.
- 1968: the Housing Rights Act was passed.
- Media attention and publicity were achieved.
- Schools were desegregated.
- The Civil Rights Movement did not achieve economic equality.
- The Civil Rights Movement did not help the situation in the ghettos of the Northern states.
- Racism was still prevalent.
- The pace of change remained slow.

Women's Movement

Aims
- The movement campaigned for equal opportunity in pay, career choice, rights for married women, greater independence and the right to make their own decisions.
- They campaigned against sexist attitudes and portrayal of women.
- They campaigned for benefits and facilities such as maternity leave and child-care centres.

Methods
- They formed organisations such as NOW and Women's Lib.
- NOW worked within the government and court systems to gain equal rights in education and employment.
- Women's Lib held consciousness-raising events, where they shared their personal experiences.
• Sit-ins, street theatre and mass demonstrations were used.
• Feminists used petitions, strikes and legal action.
• More radical forms of protest action included demonstrating outside beauty pageants, bra-burning and invading male bars and clubs.
• Women also protested against laws restricting abortion.

Achievements
• 1964: Civil Rights Act applied to discrimination on grounds of race and gender and feminist groups tried to ensure that it was applied effectively.
• Greater opportunities were achieved in career choice.
• Abortion was legalised as a result of the Roe versus Wade court case.
• The birth control pill allowed for greater choices and opportunity to plan careers but this was not an achievement; it coincided with the movement.
• Media attention achieved, but it was not always positive.
• Sexist attitudes were still prevalent.
• The issues affecting poor and African American women were not really dealt with.
• Ideas of the Women's Movement permeated the United Nations analyses of inequality and social injustice.

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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

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was an important bridge between the old and the new, and helped South Africans to move from apartheid to democracy.

Critically assess the accuracy of this statement by referring to the aims, methods and achievements of the TRC for the period 1995 to 1998.

Candidates need to develop an independent line of argument to evaluate whether the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) succeeded in serving as a bridge between pre- and post-1994 South Africa, and in this way helped South Africans to deal with the past and face the future.

The debate is open-ended, but candidates should consider the successes and failures of the TRC in their response.

Candidates may argue that the TRC was successful in this regard. The TRC was able to expose the truth regarding past atrocities and allowed victims to gain closure. The truth was essential in order to reach reconciliation and build a future based on a culture of human rights. Amnesty was a key element in this process as it allowed perpetrators to come forward with the truth. The hearings were broadcast publicly allowing all South Africans to gain knowledge about the past. Although there were shortcomings, the TRC succeeded in moving towards reconciliation in the future.

Candidates may argue that the TRC was only successful to some extent. The TRC did allow the truth to be told and attempted to reconcile and build a future as a united nation, however, its success was limited. Not everyone came forward to tell the truth, many key apartheid leaders refused to testify and many asking for amnesty did not show remorse. Some regarded the TRC as a witch-hunt and accused it of opening old wounds. Amnesty was controversial as many victims and their families felt that justice was not served and perpetrators received no punishment.

Candidates may also argue that the TRC failed to act as a bridge, and that it was deeply flawed. Its failures outweighed its successes.

Context

• During the negotiations leading to the 1994 elections, the ANC and NP had agreed on the establishment of a commission to investigate apartheid crimes.
• It was set up by parliament in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act.
• The TRC was established in 1995 under the chairmanship of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The vice-chairman was Dr Alex Boraine.
• The TRC hearings began in 1996.
Aims
- The TRC was set up to investigate the causes and extent of the gross human rights violations committed under apartheid between 1960 and 1994.
- The TRC was to develop a culture of human rights in South Africa, by exposing the truth about the past so that South Africans would not allow these atrocities to happen again and help bring about reconciliation upon which to build a future.
- The TRC was to recommend compensation for victims.
- The TRC was to grant amnesty to those guilty of human rights offences under certain conditions. In return for amnesty, individuals or political parties had to give a full and public testimony of their actions. This was to encourage perpetrators to confess.
- Tutu stressed that only after knowing the truth about these activities could full reconciliation be achieved in South Africa.
- The TRC was not a court of law. It could not prosecute people or hand out judgements. Its function was to create a process to uncover the truth about the past.
- The TRC was based on the principle of restorative justice rather than retributive justice.
- The TRC had to present the President with a report of its findings and conclusions drawn from its investigations. The TRC had to inform the public of its findings.

Methods
- The TRC was made up of three committees.
- The Committee of Human Rights Violations allowed people and families of victims to tell their stories. Thousands of victims gave their statements and experiences of human rights violations were exposed.
- These confessions were given national coverage and this helped South Africans to know about the atrocities of the past.
- Hearings were conducted in every province throughout the country.
- The Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation investigated the stories told by the victims and gave them support. In some cases reparations were given.
- The Committee on Amnesty could grant amnesty from prosecution to perpetrators of gross human rights violations. This could only be done if they could prove that their crimes were done for a political motive. They had to tell the whole truth and acknowledge what they had done.
- Public confessions revealed the violence of the previous decades.

Evidence of Success
- The TRC presented its interim report to President Mandela in 1998.
- The TRC revealed truths about the past.
- The TRC revealed that death squads had operated and had been part of government oppression.
- Torture was practised as part of government policy.
- Violence had been encouraged and had been supported at the highest level of government.
- The liberation movements were confronted with their crimes of torture and 'necklacing'.
- The TRC helped to solve murders and disappearances.
- Hearing and telling the truth allowed victims a time to grieve for the first time. Many were able to find closure in this process and move forward.
- Many found the process cathartic.
- It was estimated that 19 144 victims were subjected to apartheid atrocities.
- Mandela and others believed that it was essential to speak about the injustices of the past in order to move forward. A nation could not be built on secrets regarding its past. Mandela felt that the TRC report laid the foundation for reconciliation in the future.
- The truth being exposed could not immediately lead to a reconciled future, but without the truth a nation could never reconcile. The TRC thus had a strong link to helping South Africans to move from apartheid to democracy.
Evidence of Failure

- Some believed that the TRC was not enough and that war crimes tribunals would have been more appropriate.
- Others believed that the TRC would result in a witch-hunt and re-open old wounds. This would stand in the way of nation-building in the future.
- Not everyone was satisfied with the work of the TRC. Many victims were angry that the perpetrators walked away without punishment. Many wanted justice and not just the truth. Amnesty was controversial in this regard.
- Not all victims were willing to forgive.
- Not all those who applied for amnesty expressed any remorse for their actions.
- Some senior leaders within the NP and ANC refused to give evidence or apply for amnesty. Therefore not all truth was revealed about the past.
- P. W. Botha refused to appear before the TRC; some other apartheid-era ministers refused to apologise at the TRC.
- Eugene de Kock was the commander of the apartheid death farm, Vlakplaas. At the time of the TRC he was in prison serving sentences for his role in killing apartheid opponents. Many felt that he was the scapegoat who carried the blame and punishment for these crimes, while others walked free.
- The final report of the TRC was met with disapproval from F.W.de Klerk, who took legal action to prevent the publication of a paragraph which held him responsible for the activities of a 'third force' between 1990 and 1994.
- The ANC was unhappy that the TRC made no distinction between human rights violations carried out by agents of the government and those carried out by the liberation movement.
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 you may also refer to the 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 Power Movement to end racial discrimination in the USA in the 1960s by answering the following questions:

(a) What was the Black Power Movement and what were its aims?

- It was a philosophy rather than a political organisation.
- It was a movement among African Americans to promote pride in black culture, traditions and history.
- It promoted a distinct black identity and used the slogan 'Black is Beautiful'.
- It rejected the use of the term 'Negro' and used 'black' instead.
- It urged solidarity with Africa.
- It supported black political and cultural institutions, rather than seeking equality and acceptance by whites.
- It supported an assertive approach to achieve its aims.
- The Black Panthers were a militant group within the Black Power Movement, who were prepared to use violence.
- They worked to improve the lives of ghetto-dwellers and monitored police activities to prevent police brutality.
- Malcolm X, the most influential Black Power leader, belonged to the Nation of Islam.
- He promoted black separatism and self-reliance, and was critical of co-operation with whites. He also criticised Martin Luther King's non-violent approach.

(b) Why did African Americans support the Black Power Movement?

- The Civil Rights Movement had focused on ending segregation in the South, but there were also serious discrimination problems in the North.
- Schools and facilities for black people in the North were inferior and they did not have the same opportunities as white Americans.
- African Americans supported the Black Power Movement as they were frustrated with the slow pace of change. This was illustrated by the 1965 violent riots in Watts, Los Angeles.
- A U S government commission found that white racism was the main cause of the riots in the ghettos.
- Black people were living in poverty in ghettos in the urban areas and believed that the non-violent tactics followed by the Civil Rights Movement did nothing to help them.
- They turned to the Black Power Movement which harnessed their anger.
(c) To what extent was the Black Power Movement successful in achieving its aims?

- The Black Power Movement held regular conferences and encouraged black participation in public affairs, and so more black mayors and officials were elected.
- It also encouraged black business and entrepreneurship.
- The Black Power Movement was not successful in achieving many of its aims.
- The Black Power Movement did not succeed in getting black people to break away from white society and create a separate society.
- The movement did not end discrimination or racism.
- The Nation of Islam intensified the divisions between black and white Americans and also between the different civil rights movements.
- The police targeted the Black Panthers. They were constantly harassed and by 1970, most of their leaders had been killed or imprisoned.
- The Black Power Movement did, however, help provide some elements that were necessary for black and white Americans to gain a fuller understanding of each other.
- The movement did succeed in promoting black pride and self-reliance, illustrated by the 'black power salute' shown in the source.

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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 international pressure in the 1970s and 1980s in helping to bring about the collapse of Apartheid by answering the following questions:

(a) Why did the international community place sanctions* on South Africa?

*sanctions = bans and restrictions

- The international community believed that adding extra pressure on South Africa through isolation, would help bring an end to Apartheid.
- There was also growing support for international sanctions, partly due to the influence of the ANC in exile and prominent South Africans.
- The Anti-Apartheid Movement placed pressure on their governments to apply sanctions.
- Sanctions were a means of demonstrating support for the liberation struggle.

(b) What political, economic and social sanctions did the international community place on South Africa?

Political Sanctions

- The United Nations (UN) applied pressure on South Africa by issuing publications to raise awareness about Apartheid.
- South Africa was barred from attending the UN General Assembly in 1974.
- The UN declared 1978 as the 'International Year Against Apartheid'.
- Most countries supported the ban on the sale of weapons to South Africa.
- South Africa was expelled from the World Health Organisation and the International Labour Organisation.

Economic Sanctions

- The United States Congress and companies applied sanctions to try and force the South African government to change.
- In 1986 the US Congress banned all new investment and loans to South Africa.
- SA Airways planes were not allowed to land at US airports.
- There was a ban placed on certain imported South African products.
- Universities sold off their shares in companies with South African connections.
- Large corporations closed down their operations in South Africa (e.g.: Mobil, IBM, General Motors, Kodak, General Electric, and Coca-Cola).
- American bank Chase Manhattan cut ties with South Africa in 1985.
- There was support for sanctions from Commonwealth countries.
- Barclays Bank sold off their South African holdings as a result of pressure from the British public.
- British consumers boycotted South African fruit and wine in British stores.
Social Sanctions

- South Africa was expelled from the International Olympic Movement.
- The British Actors Union, Equity, would not allow the performances of any of its members to be shown in South Africa.
- There was a cultural boycott.
- South African sports teams were isolated from international competition after the adoption of the Gleneagles Agreement by Commonwealth countries.

(c) Explain the consequences of sanctions for the South African government.

- Sanctions had a negative effect on the South African economy and this put pressure on the government.
- Disinvestment and trade isolation placed enormous pressure on South Africa as it relied on foreign loans and trade to function efficiently.
- The country suffered economically and faced bankruptcy.
- Sanctions were an important cause of the collapse of Apartheid and the move by the government towards negotiated change.

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80 marks

Total: 150 marks