



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
SUPPLEMENTARY 2014

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.

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

The Civil Rights Movement succeeded in changing government policy and public opinion in the USA during the 1960s.

Critically assess the accuracy of this statement by referring to the aims, methods and achievements of the Civil Rights Movement.

Candidates need to develop an independent line of argument to assess whether the statement is accurate or not. They should assess whether the Civil Rights Movement succeeded in getting the government to change its policies.

They should also consider to what extent the general public changed its attitude or practices in response to the Civil Rights Movement.

They may argue that the Civil Rights Movement did succeed in placing pressure on the government to end segregation in America: Kennedy's and Johnson's actions, the Civil Rights Act (1964) and the Voting Rights Act (1965).

They may argue that, although government policy may have progressed, many people's attitudes did not change in the 1960s. Some schools and other facilities, especially in the Southern states, remained segregated. Intimidation and violence by white racists prevented black people from registering as voters. The government was not always successful in enforcing desegregation. Progress was slow.

Context

- The 14th Amendment in the Constitution (1868) made African Americans full citizens.
- The 15th Amendment (1870) guaranteed that the right to vote could not be denied.
- Despite the 14th Amendment, which stated that African Americans enjoyed 'equal protection of the law', the Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and often ruled that it was constitutional.
- Discrimination against African Americans continued, particularly in the Southern States of America
- Racist attitudes and the desire of white Americans to maintain their supremacy led to an erosion of civil rights for African Americans.
- By 1900 most Southern states had passed 'Jim Crow Laws', which segregated African Americans from white Americans in terms of schools, housing, jobs and public gatherings. This meant that African Americans continued to be treated as second-class citizens in the South.

- The Civil Rights Movement started in earnest in 1955 when Rosa Parks refused to give up her 'whites only' bus seat to a white man. She was arrested. Rosa Park's action in Montgomery, Alabama, set off a year-long boycott of the public transport system by 50 000 black inhabitants that would eventually lead to the Supreme Court outlawing segregation on buses in 1956. As a result of the bus boycott, a young black minister, Martin Luther King, emerged as the leader of the Civil Rights Movement.

Aims

- The movement encouraged ordinary people to join the struggle for an end to discrimination and segregation. They challenged the government to provide equality and social justice. (changing government policy/law and attitudes/opinions)
- They aimed to use peaceful protest to end social injustice and racial discrimination.

Methods

- Candidates should discuss/mention some of the different tactics used by the Civil Rights Movement. These tactics included legal challenges to the system of discrimination, civil disobedience and non-violent confrontation.
- In 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina, black students walked into a department store and sat at the all-white lunch counter. This began the 'sit-in' campaigns against segregation in public facilities. They were organised by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Within a week, sit-ins spread throughout the South with 70 000 students, black and white, following their example in other segregated facilities.
- In 1961 Freedom Rides were organised to protest against segregated buses. The Freedom Riders were black and white activists who travelled together on inter-state buses to challenge segregation laws. They were confronted with violence and Freedom Riders were attacked and buses burnt.
- In the 1963 March on Washington 250 000 people, black and white, protested in Washington to demand the end of segregation. King delivered his famous 'I have a dream' speech.
- The Freedom Summer Campaign of 1964 had the main goal of trying to provide education and make sure that black people could register as voters in the South. Volunteers concentrated on Mississippi and established 30 Freedom Schools. During the summer of 1964 over 3000 students attended these schools. The Freedom Schools were targets for the Ku Klux Klan, and many Civil Rights activists were beaten and arrested, and some murdered.

Achievements

- The sit-ins brought a measure of success, but there was violence and intimidation from white racists.
- The Freedom Rides resulted in Robert F Kennedy, the Attorney-General of the United States, ordering the end of segregated interstate transport in November 1961. This was a change in government policy, but violence and arrests suggest that there was not necessarily a change in public opinion in the South.
- In 1962 James Meredith was the first African American student to be enrolled at the University of Mississippi. However, violent protests at the university indicate that many were unhappy with this progress. Kennedy's actions to ensure Meredith's enrolment point to a shift in government policy.
- The March on Washington was a media success and helped change public opinion of Civil Rights protest action and demands, and also placed pressure on the government to move forward with policy reform.
- The Freedom Schools were targets for the Ku Klux Klan, and many Civil Rights activists were beaten and arrested, and some murdered.
- The government was committed to ensuring civil rights as a result of the actions of the Civil Rights Movement.

- President Kennedy was committed to a wide-ranging Civil Rights programme. He appointed a number of African Americans to important federal offices. He used federal troops to enforce desegregation in schools and universities. He introduced a Civil Rights Bill to Congress.
- When Lyndon B. Johnson took over from Kennedy, he was determined to push the Civil Rights Bill through. The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964. It gave the federal government the legal right to end segregation in the South.
- In 1965 Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, which removed the obstacles that some states had used to disqualify black voters.
- Legal segregation and discrimination were abolished. The Civil Rights Movement improved the lives of African Americans but it was unable to wipe out racial prejudice and racist attitudes.
- Although changes did take place, progress was slow and a lot of people grew impatient about the non-violent tactics of the Civil Rights Movement. This led to the adoption of violent tactics by the Black Power Movement.

[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

The transition to democracy in South Africa involved compromise* rather than violent conflict*.

Critically assess the accuracy of this statement by referring to the key events in the negotiation process between 1990 and 1994.

*compromise = co-operation

*conflict = struggle

Candidates need to develop an independent line of argument to assess whether compromise rather than violent conflict characterised the transition to democracy in South Africa between 1990 and 1994.

Candidates need to critically evaluate the process of negotiation from 1990 to 1994; the violence and power struggles that threatened this process, the breakdown of negotiations and the compromises made that resulted in a transition to democracy in 1994.

The debate is open-ended.

- **Candidates may argue that the achievement of a democracy was a result of compromise rather than conflict, although unrest and power struggles between key political parties disrupted and stalled negotiations. It was only through compromise that a democracy was achieved.**
- **Candidates may argue that the achievement of a democracy was to some extent due to conflict as violence and power struggles put pressure on the government and political parties to reach a compromise in order to prevent possible civil war.**
- **Candidates may argue that political leaders were ultimately committed to a negotiated transition to democracy and thus were willing to make compromises to ensure a peaceful outcome.**
- **Candidates may choose to go through events chronologically and show how compromise and conflict interacted with one another and resulted in a negotiated transition to democracy.**

Evidence of Commitment to Compromise

- Talks between the ANC and the government (NP) began in Cape Town in May 1990.
- They discussed obstacles to negotiation and ways of overcoming them. These issues included the state of emergency, on-going violence, political prisoners, homelands, exiles returning, the continuation of the armed struggle and economic sanctions.
- They announced their agreement on many issues and their commitment to negotiations in the 'Groote Schuur Minute' 1990.
- Further progress was made at the 'Pretoria Minute' of August 1990, where the ANC agreed to suspend the armed struggle and the government lifted the state of emergency.
- The process of change and peaceful negotiation was underway and commitment was expressed by all parties involved. 1991 National Peace Accord produced.
- In December 1991 formal negotiations between the government and the ANC and other liberation movements began at a multi-party conference called the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). The ANC and NP dominated the talks.

- Problems encountered regarding South Africa's new constitution included the ANC demanding majority rule, and the NP government demanding some form of power-sharing and the protection of minority rights.
- CODESA reached a compromise agreement whereby a multi-party conference would draw up an interim constitution, and the first elected parliament would use this interim constitution as a basis for drafting the final constitution. A commitment to co-operation was evident.
- After negotiations broke down in May 1992, talks resumed after behind-the-scenes negotiations by Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC) and Roelf Meyer (NP). Both the ANC and the NP were willing to make concessions to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy.
- The ANC and NP agreed to a 'Record of Understanding' whereby negotiations would continue, while the government would consider the release of more political prisoners, fencing around hostels and the banning of carrying and displaying traditional weapons. The ANC agreed to a government of national unity (coalition government) which would include all parties that received over 5% of the vote in the democratic elections (this would include the NP), for the first five years under the new constitution: this clause became known as the 'sunset clause' as it allowed for a gradual dying of the old order. It was proposed by Joe Slovo of the SACP and broke the deadlock between the ANC and NP. Compromise ensured that the negotiation process continued.
- Negotiations resumed in April 1993 and hope was restored and agreements regarding the interim constitution were made in line with the sunset clause and the election date was set for 27 – 29 April 1994.
- The attitude of Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom party (IFP), caused concern until the last minute. He refused to have anything to do with the negotiation process and threatened to boycott the election. One week before the election, after an emergency summit with Mandela and De Klerk, he agreed to participate. It was essential for free and fair elections as without Inkatha's participation there would have been continued bloodshed. Compromise was once again evident.
- All attempts to disrupt the elections failed. Elections took place from 27 to 29 April 1994 and millions voted.
- Election results resulted in a coalition government: ANC and its alliance 62%, NP 20%, IFP 10%

Evidence of Violent Conflict

- In Natal and the Witwatersrand area violence continued between ANC and Inkatha members.
- The Third Force of security personnel encouraged violence in townships in an attempt to weaken the ANC and delay change using conflict. Thus there was an atmosphere of anger and suspicion, making the negotiation process more difficult.
- During 1992 the breakdown of negotiations at CODESA and incidents of bloody violence made many people feel that a civil war was inevitable. In May 1992 the ANC broke off negotiations at CODESA. Many feared a violent end to Apartheid.
- In June 1992 in Boipatong Inkatha supporters, helped by the police, attacked ANC members attending a funeral. The ANC demanded a full investigation. The Goldstone Report confirmed the suspicions of police involvement and government 'third force' activities trying to sabotage negotiations. As a result the ANC, SACP and COSATU launched a campaign of 'rolling mass action' involving a two-day strike by millions of workers and protest demonstrations.
- In September 1992 in Bisho, soldiers fired on a group of unarmed protesters, killing some and injuring 200.
- UN observers were sent to South Africa to monitor political violence.
- As a result of the Bisho tragedy both the ANC and the NP government realised that it was crucial to resume talks, an indication of their commitment to talks.

- Just before the talks were about to resume in April 1993, the most serious obstacle to peaceful transition occurred. Chris Hani, a popular ANC, MK and SACP leader, who had helped persuade militant members of the ANC to accept negotiation, was assassinated. His assassin was a right-wing fanatic linked to the Conservative Party. Hani's death led to angry demonstrations and racial tension. It was only Mandela's appeal for calm that prevented the country descending into anarchy and civil war.
- In June 1993 the AWB crashed an armoured vehicle into the front of World Trade Centre in Johannesburg where talks about the constitution were taking place; 200 AWB members occupied the building; their actions however failed to sabotage the talks.
- There were several attempts to cause chaos and prevent the election from taking place.
- APLA attacks on white civilians included an attack on St James Church in Kenilworth and the Heidelberg Tavern in Cape Town. Both resulted in death and injury.
- Right-wing Afrikaner groups were responsible for 40 bomb blasts targeting voting locations; the attempted invasion of Bophuthatswana by a convoy of AWB members and an AWB bombing campaign in Johannesburg all failed to prevent a negotiated settlement from taking place.
- A month before the election, thousands of Inkatha supporters carrying traditional weapons marched through the streets of Johannesburg. At the ANC headquarters, violence broke out between ANC guards and Inkatha supporters leading to 53 deaths.
- There were continued clashes between the ANC and Inkatha throughout the country for the next three weeks.
- Right-wing supporters exploded a powerful bomb at Johannesburg International Airport on Election Day.

[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 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 Student Movement in the USA in the 1960s by answering the following questions:

- (a) Why did the Student Movement want change in society?
- Peace and student protests were against American involvement in the war in Vietnam, especially after extensive media coverage exposed the suffering caused by the war. Protesters believed the war to be unjust and unfair.
 - Anti-war and student protesters also wanted to stop conscription of young men to fight in the war.
 - Students protested against the outdated curricula taught at universities and the bureaucratic way in which universities were run.
 - Students protested against nuclear weapons, the traditions of their parents' generation, the attitudes and values of society and materialism.
- (b) What methods of protest were used by the Student Movement?
- In 1965, many students attended a peaceful rally in Washington to protest against the war.
 - Many anti-war marches and rallies were held in Washington and other cities.
 - Some refused to fight in the Vietnam War and were called 'draft dodgers'. Many left for other countries.
 - Some protested by burning their draft cards.
 - Strikes and demonstrations took place on university campuses.
 - At some protests the American flag was burned in public.
 - Organisations were formed, such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) which helped organise peaceful protests and rallies.
 - 'Free speech' campaigns on campuses demanded the right to protest where protest action had been banned.
 - Some students dropped out of mainstream society to become hippies. They rejected tradition and materialism, wearing alternative clothes and practising alternative lifestyles.

- (c) To what extent was the Student Movement successful in achieving its aims in the 1960s?
- Anti-war demonstrations and protest rallies pressurised the government into changing its policy in Vietnam. The Peace and Student Movements played an important role in the eventual withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam.
 - Universities responded to strikes and protests and started to reform curricula and university administration.
 - Students who became hippies did not succeed in creating a sustainable alternative lifestyle, but introduced new trends in music, fashion and challenged traditional ways of thinking.
 - As a result of student protests, young people gained new rights and opportunities, such as the right to vote at eighteen.

[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 Botha's policy of 'total strategy' in helping to bring about the collapse of Apartheid by answering the following questions:

- (a) Why did Botha decide to adopt the policy of 'total strategy'?
- The policy of total strategy was an attempt to reform Apartheid in an effort to win the support of the growing black middle class.
 - The policy also repressed opposition in order to maintain white domination.
 - The policy employed Cold War propaganda, using the idea of a communist plot to take over South Africa to justify its ruthless oppression of all forms of opposition (total onslaught).
 - The government used Cold War propaganda to try and justify apartheid politics to the international community.
- (b) Describe the methods of reform and repression that made up the policy of 'total strategy'.

Limited reform measures were introduced to win the hearts and minds of the population and limit resistance:

- Black trade unions were legally recognised.
- Job reservation was relaxed.
- Certain apartheid laws were cancelled (prohibition of mixed marriages, public amenities desegregated).
- Multi-racial private schools were permitted.
- Pass law prosecutions were reduced and the pass laws were abolished in 1986.
- A tricameral parliament was introduced in the 1983 constitution. It created a parliament with three chambers allowing representation for Coloured, Indian and White populations. Only the White chamber had real power. Africans were totally excluded.

The repressive measures were designed to deal with resistance in the economic, political, psychological and social spheres:

- The army became increasingly influential and military spending increased, with Armscor supplying the military with weapons.
- A secretive State Security Council was established.
- Compulsory military service for all white males was introduced.
- Cross-border raids into front-line states to destroy ANC bases were carried out.
- States of Emergency were declared.

(c) What were the consequences of the use of reform and repression for the Apartheid government?

- Reform failed to win supporters for the government and repression could not end resistance.
- The introduction of the 1983 constitution and the tricameral parliament sparked countrywide protests against Apartheid.
- Most Coloured and Indian people rejected the tricameral constitution by boycotting elections for the new parliament.
- The establishment of the tricameral parliament led directly to the establishment of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983.
- The policy led to ongoing protests in the townships, which placed enormous pressure on the government.
- Protest action resulted in increased repressive measures (State of Emergency) used by the government but they could not stamp out opposition and protest action. This led to increased pressure from the international community.
- The policy of 'total strategy' was linked to the collapse of Apartheid as the policy's failure to win hearts and minds was one of the factors that led to increased pressure on the government to introduce real reform.

[40]

80 marks

Total: 150 marks