THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

Checklist
Make sure you:

- Know the structure of the exam paper
- Understand the concepts related to the theme
- Apply the skills to analyse different types of sources
- Are able to construct a coherent argument using evidence in an extended writing question

Overview of Paper
HISTORY PAPER 1
MARKS: 150
TIME: 3 HOURS

Instructions and information
This question paper consists of SIX (6) questions

SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Question 1 The Cold War:
How did the Cold War period shape international relations after the Second World War?
Question focus: Origins of the Cold War
- USSR and USA and the creation of spheres of interest
- Who was to blame for the Cold War?

Question 2 Independent Africa:
How was independence realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?
- Question focus: Africa in the Cold War
  Case Study: Angola

Question 3 Civil society protests, 1950s to 1970s:
What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s to 1990?
- Question focus: The US Civil rights movement

ESSAYS

Question 4 The Extension of the Cold War:
Question focus: Case Study: Vietnam

Question 5 Independent Africa:
How was independence realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?
Question focus: Comparative case studies on the Congo and Tanzania
Successes and challenges

Question 6 Civil society protests from the 1950s to the 1970s:
- What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s to 1990?
- Question focus: Black Power movements
Exam Questions

Question 1
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 1.1)
Refer to Source 1A.

1.1 Name the TWO ways of life a nation must choose, according to Truman. (2 x 1) (2)

1.2 Explain the following historical concepts in the context of the Cold War:
   (a) Freedom of speech (1 x 2) (2)
   (b) Political oppression (1 x 2) (2)

1.3 What did Truman hope to achieve by giving economic and financial aid to ‘free peoples’? (2 x 1) (2)

1.4 How, according to Truman, would the fall of Greece affect Turkey? (1 x 2) (2)

1.5 Comment on whether a historian doing research on the Cold War would consider the information in this source to be a reliable piece of historical evidence. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 2
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 1.3)
Refer to Source 1C

2.1 Why did Vyshinsky claim that America had violated the principles of the United Nations? (1 x 2) (2)

2.2 Explain why Vyshinsky criticised the Marshall Plan. Give valid reasons for your answer. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Comment on why an American politician would disagree with the information in this source. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 3
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 1.4)
Study Source 1D.

3.1 Explain the messages the cartoon conveys regarding the Marshall Plan. (2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Comment on whether the cartoonist gives a one-sided view about the Marshall Plan. Use the visual clues in the source to support your answer. (2 x 2) (4)
Source 1A
This is an excerpt from a speech by US President, Harry S Truman, delivered on 12 March 1947, which focuses on the reasons why the Truman Doctrine was implemented.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is often a free one. One way of life is based on the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based on the will of the minority forcibly imposed on the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed election and the suppression of personal freedom.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation (suppression) by armed minorities or outside pressures … I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political process …

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realise that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of a grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbour, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might spread through the entire Middle East …


Source 1C
Andrei Vyshinsky, a Russian foreign ministry official, had the following opinion about the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan:

The so-called Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan are particularly glaring examples of the manner in which the principles of the United Nations are violated, of the way in which the organisation is ignored.

… the United States government has moved towards a direct renunciation (rejection) of the principles of international collaboration and concerned action by the great powers and towards attempts to impose its will on other independent states, while at the same time obviously using the economic resources distributed as relief to individual needy nations as an instrument of political pressure … The United States also counted on making all these countries directly dependent on the interests of American monopolies, which are striving to avert (turn away) the approaching depression by an accelerated export of commodities and capital to Europe.

It is becoming more and more evident to everyone that the implementation of the Marshall Plan will mean placing European countries under the economic and political control of the USA and direct interference by the latter in the international affairs of these countries. Moreover, this plan is an attempt to split Europe into two camps and with the help of the United Kingdom and France, to complete the formation of a bloc of several European countries hostile to the interests of the democratic countries of Eastern Europe and most particularly to the interests of the Soviet Union.

Source 1D

This cartoon was published in the Soviet Union magazine, Krokodil, in 1949. It was drawn by the team of Russian artists called 'Kukryniksy'. The title of the cartoon is 'Marshall Plan in Practice'. General Marshall holds life belts labelled 'For the French' and 'For the Germans' and, behind Marshall, 'For Italy'. (The words in the cartoon have been translated from Russian into English.)

SOLUTIONS TO THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

Question 1
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 1.1)

1.1 One way of life is based on the will of the majority (democracy)
    The other way is based on the will of the minority that is forcibly imposed on the majority
    (authoritarian)  
    (2 x 1)  (2)

1.2 a) A state and democratic system (as in the USA) in which citizens were allowed to state their
    views or opinions (exercise their freedom of expression) regarding issues of the government
    that affected them.
    A system in which citizens are allowed to criticise the government without fear of being
    arrested and charged.  
    (1 x 2)  (2)

b) A system of government (as in the Soviet Union) which was based 'on the will of the minority',
    that relied upon terror and oppression upon the majority, in retaining the same political
    leadership.
    A state system in which the citizens of a country feels that their human rights are not
    respected and that they are oppressed by the will of the leaders.  
    (1 x 2)  (2)

1.3 Economic stability
    Orderly political system
    Hoped to prevent the spread of communism  
    (any 2 x 1)  (2)

1.4 Turkey's fall would be immediate and serious
    Turkey would also be taken over by the Communists
    The Domino Theory would apply
    Confusion and disorder would spread in the Middle East

1.5 Candidates should indicate why it is RELIABLE or NOT RELIABLE and support their
    response with relevant evidence.

RELIABLE
Words from a speech presented by Truman (the US President)
It was at the time (1947) when capitalism and communism were competing in expanding their sphere
of influence.
The Truman doctrine became USA's official government policy
Greek civil war was fought between Greek government (supported by the UK and USA) and Greek
Communist Party (supported by USSR)

NOT RELIABLE
Could be seen as biased – It is the American President's view
Only communism seen as threat  
(any 2 x 2)  (4)
Question 2
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 1.3)

2.1 United Nations were not informed or consulted about the implementation of an international programme (the recovery plans).
United States had not collaborated with other countries before announcing the Marshall Plan.
Vyshinsky sees US actions as an attempt to interfere in the internal politics of independent states

2.2 It was an American programme It would ensure economic control by the USA
It would ensure political control by USA Europe would be split into two camps
USA would interfere in internal affairs of other countries

2.3 It gives a biased view of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan
The information in the source is too critical about the USA's role in Europe
Vyshinsky does not state that the USA was merely trying to assist Europe with its economic problems – highly critical of the USA's role

Question 3
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 1.4)

3.1 USA is shown as a powerful and commanding force in Europe – it has been drawn as the captain of the ship
America is offering economic aid through the Marshall plan but in essence it meant that the USA will ensure they are obligated to their military imperialism
Cartoon shows military aid – guns and helmets being distributed and not any economic aid as Marshall claimed would be given.
The life belts can be interpreted as a means of control over countries and not just economical help
The USA is seen as saving Europe – Marshall is depicted as handing out lifebelts which are usually thrown to save people who are drowning
The life belts are given to European countries with strings attached (military aid)
Any other relevant response

3.2 Candidates should use VISUAL CLUES to detect bias in the cartoon.
YES: Marshall's face looks 'evil' – and is not offering gifts out of kindness
He is giving away harnesses, not money
Life belts that were given by the USA and had strings attached – it came with military aid too
Guns, swords and helmets are attached to the life belts and symbolise military control
The cartoonist implies that the real aim was to extend the sphere of influence
Cartoon published in Czechoslovakia as propaganda – message not to use US aid
Any other relevant response

NO: It depicts the Marshall plan the way it was – it was a form of economic and political support to other countries
Other countries needed support from the USA
Any other relevant response
THE COLD WAR

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Overview of Paper

HISTORY PAPER 1

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SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Question 1 The Cold War:
- How did the Cold War period shape international relations after the Second World War?
  Question focus: Origins, Cold War in Europe and the Cuban crisis

Question 2 Independent Africa:
- How was independence realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?
  Question focus: Africa in the Cold War

Question 3 Civil society protests, 1950s to 1970s:
- What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s to 1990?
  Question focus: Civil rights and Black Power movements

ESSAYS

Question 4 The Cold War:
- How did the Cold War period shape international relations after the Second World War?
  Question focus: China and Vietnam (candidates to choose one)

Question 5 Independent Africa:
- How was independence realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?
  Question focus: Successes and challenges faced by the Congo and Tanzania

Question 6 Civil society protests from the 1950s to the 1970s:
- What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s to 1990?
  Question focus: Civil rights and Black Power movements
Exam Questions

Question 1

(Adapted from DBE Feb 2013 Paper 1 Question 1)

Use Source 1A to answer the questions that follow.

**SOURCE 1A**

This source consists of a written and a visual source about the relationship between the USSR and Cuba before the Cuban Missile Crisis.

**Written Source:** This extract focuses on the relationship that Cuba had with the USA and the USSR.

As his relationship with the United States got worse, Castro's relations with the USSR improved. When the United States refused to buy sugar from Cuba, which was very important to the Cuban economy, the Soviets agreed to buy the sugar. Cuba's ties to the USSR were strengthened by two of Castro's closest advisers – his brother, Raul Castro, and the legendary revolutionary, Che Guevara. Both men shared the communist ideology of the Soviets … Castro came to believe that the Americans would invade Cuba no matter what. This fear drove him into the arms of the Soviets. Soon the USSR and its allies were providing military aid and weapons to Cuba.

Khrushchev and the Soviets couldn't have asked for a better-located ally against the United States. The Americans had allies all over the Eastern Hemisphere, surrounding the USSR. The United States had a huge number of military forces in Europe near Soviet borders … It was well known that the United States had nuclear missiles in Turkey, which were pointed at the Soviet Union.

By the time John F Kennedy became president at the beginning of 1961, the Americans were already working on ways to get rid of Fidel Castro … This plan ended in disaster with a failed invasion at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. Castro and his men quickly defeated the army and the failure was a huge embarrassment for the Kennedy administration … Their failed schemes only helped to solidify (harden) Castro's alliance with the USSR.

[From: The Cuban Missile Crisis To The Brink Of War by Paul J Byrne]

**Visual Source:** This is a photograph of Fidel Castro (left), the leader of Cuba and Khrushchev (right), the leader of the USSR, hugging each other at a meeting of the United Nations on 20 September 1960 in New York.

[From: The Cold War by Katherine A Sibley]

1.1.1 How did Raul Castro and Che Guevara influence Cuba's foreign policy? (Written source) (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 Use the source and your own knowledge and define the concept communism. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 In which country did the USA place nuclear missiles? (Written source) (1 x 1) (2)
1.1.4 Explain whether the initial plan by the USA to 'get rid of Castro' was a success. (Written source) (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.5 How would you describe the relationship between Castro and Khrushchev as shown in the visual source? (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.6 Refer to the written and the visual sources. Explain why Castro tried to strengthen his relationship with Khrushchev. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 2
(Adapted from DBE Feb 2013 Paper 1 Question 1)

Use Source 1C to answer the questions that follow.

SOURCE 1C
This cartoon by Herblock appeared in the Washington Post on 1 November 1962 shortly after the Cuban Missile Crisis. It shows John F Kennedy (left) and Nikita Khrushchev (right) trying to contain a nuclear war.

Study Source 1C

2.1 What messages does the cartoonist convey? (2 x 2) (4)

2.2 Explain the statement, 'Let's get a lock for this thing', in the context of the Cuban Missile Crisis. (2 x 2) (4)
CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS

Lesson Description

In this lesson we:

• Work through various examination questions relating to Civil Society Protests.

Exam Questions

Study Sources A and B then answer the questions that follow.

SOURCE A

The source below focuses on the strategies adopted by protestors, the reaction by state authorities and the impact of media coverage of the Birmingham campaign in 1963.

The Birmingham campaign began quietly with sit-ins on 3 April 1963 at several downtown 'whites-only' lunch counters. From the outset, the campaign confronted an apathetic (uninterested) black community, an openly hostile established black leadership and Bull Connor's 'non-violent resistance' in the form of police arrests of the offenders of the city's segregation ordinances. With no sensational news, the national media found nothing to report, and the campaign floundered (declined). But when Connor ordered out police dogs to disperse a crowd of black bystanders, journalists recorded the attack of a German shepherd on a nonviolent protester, thereby revealing the brutality that undermined segregation …

In a desperate bid to generate media coverage and to keep the campaign alive ... the Children's Campaign was launched on 2 May 1963, in which black youth from area schools served as demonstrators. Trying to avoid the use of force, Bull Connor arrested hundreds of school children and hauled them off to jail on school buses. When the jails were filled, he called out fire hoses and police dogs to contain large protests … African American spectators responded with outrage, pelting police with bricks and bottles as firemen opened up the hoses.

The media captured the negative images of Connor and his men suppressing the nonviolent protest of school children with brutal blasts of water cannons and attacks from police dogs. Front page photographs in the nation's newspapers convinced president Kennedy to send assistant attorney-general for Civil Rights, Burke Marshall, to Birmingham to secure negotiations that would end the violent demonstrations.

SOURCE B
This photograph appeared in the Daily News during the Birmingham Campaign, 1963. It shows firemen who had been ordered to use their high-pressure hoses on civil rights protestors who are seated on the pavement.


Question 1
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 3.2)
Refer to Source A.
1.1 Identify TWO reasons why the initial campaign against segregation in Birmingham was unsuccessful. (2 x 1) (2)
1.2 What motivated Connor to change his tactics during the Birmingham Campaign? (1 x 2) (2)
1.3 Explain how the ‘spectators’ in the source responded to police action. (2 x 2) (4)
1.4 In what ways did the media coverage of the Birmingham Campaign contribute to the success of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States of America in the 1960s? (2 x 2) (4)

Question 2
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 3.3)
Consult Source B.
2.1 Give TWO pieces of evidence from the source which suggest that the civil rights activists were non-violent in their approach. (2 x 1) (2)
2.2 Explain the usefulness of this source to a historian writing about the role of the media during the civil rights campaign. (2 x 2) (4)
Question 3
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 3.4)
Refer to Sources A and B. Explain how the information in Source A supports the visual evidence in Source B regarding the civil rights protest in Birmingham in 1963. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 4
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 1, Question 6)
The Black Panther Party was established in the USA in 1966 for relevant and justifiable reasons. Do you agree with this statement? Support your argument using appropriate evidence.
LIVE: CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Lesson Description

In this lesson we:

- Work through selected examination questions adapted from 2014 Exemplar Paper covering:
  - The Black Consciousness movement in South Africa in the 1970s

Improve Your Skills

Question 1
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 1.3)
Compare Sources 1A and 1B. Explain how the information in Sources 1A and 1B are similar regarding the philosophy of the Black Consciousness Movement. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 2
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 1.6)
Refer to Sources 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D. Select and explain which ONE of the sources you would consider to be most useful when studying the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement on South Africans in the 1970s. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 3
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 1.7)
Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how the ideas of Black Consciousness challenged the apartheid regime in the 1970s. (8)

Question 4
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 4)
PW Botha's policy of 'divide and rule' to oppress the majority, was, at best, 'political suicide'.

Critically examine the validity of this statement by referring to intensified internal resistance by the anti-apartheid organisations against Botha's apartheid regime in the 1980s. (50)
SOURCES

SOURCE 1A

The extract below focuses on the philosophy of Black Consciousness (BC).

Black Consciousness (BC) became a doctrine of self-emancipation and a strategy for escape from the political doldrums (state of stagnation) into which South Africa had been cast in the 1960s. BC was also the breeding ground for a new generation of leaders and the training ground for imparting organisational skills. BC succeeded in popularising self-reliance as a viable (practicable) liberation strategy. Its initiatives in launching a student movement and adult political organisations, leadership training programmes, and in enunciating (uttering) a philosophy which accorded with the dignity of the downtrodden (burdened) and oppressed, served to demonstrate that self-reliance was attainable. The tasks BC set were to uplift sagging spirits; raise battered self-esteem; affirm identity and assert human dignity; fight off apathy and stagnation; turn racial stereotypes on their heads; exorcise (to get rid of) the arsenal (collection) of complexes that haunted and kept down individuals and communities; instil self confidence and self-reliance and reinvigorate (revive) the masses in their struggle for emancipation (freedom).

[From: *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Vol. 2* by MV Mzamane et al.]

SOURCE 1B

This source describes the organisations that were established as a result of the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

In addition, some of the younger teachers, also in Soweto, had come from the ethnically divided campuses of Fort Hare and the University of the North, where they had formed the South African Student's Organisation (SASO). The organisation was based on the philosophy of Black Consciousness and was associated with Steve Biko. These young professionals had a major impact on emerging student organisations such as the South African Student's Movement (SASM), which were founded in schools. Some accounts even refer to the SASM as a school-based branch of SASO. Statements by the SASM and the SASO reflected the growing excitement felt by young black people, inspired by the workers' strikes of 1973 in Durban, the fall of the Portuguese regimes in Angola and Mozambique in 1975, and the successes of resistance movements in the war in Rhodesia ...

[From: *Recollected 25 years later Soweto 16 June 1976* by E Brink et al.]
SOURCE 1C

This extract focuses on the reaction of the apartheid government to the philosophy of Black Consciousness in the 1970s.

... SASO's ability to pull off simultaneous boycotts contributed to the government's perception that Black Consciousness was a threat. It did not act immediately, but in early 1973, the Minister of State Security followed by the banning of eight NUSAS leaders by banning the leadership of the SASO and the BPC. The banned leaders included Nengwekhulu, Biko, Pityana, Cooper, Moodley and Mafuna, nearly all of whom had been critical in Black Consciousness philosophical development from the outset ... Banned to their hometowns and forbidden to attend public meetings or publish, the founders of Black Consciousness essentially vanished from public life they had only recently attained. They were still consulted, but these and subsequent bannings paved the way for a new generation of leaders that included people like Tiro, who had made a name for themselves not only by organising or theorising but also by confronting the state ...

This new generation of leaders expressed glee (excitement) when the 'junta of national salvation' overthrew the Portuguese government in April 1974 ... Thousands of Africans freely celebrated in Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and Prime Minister Vorster conceded, with considerable understatement, that the events would 'affect' white South Africa.

As winter turned to spring, the movement announced a nationwide series of rallies to commemorate the occasion, in Durban at Currie's Fountain Sports Ground, in Johannesburg, and at still highly organised and militant University of the North. Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of State Security, pledged that these rallies would not take place ... When dust settled in late September and early October, the fears of the King William's Town contingent had been realised. Police raids broke up rallies of a thousand people each at Currie's Fountain and Turfloop, and dozens of leaders were detained, including previously banned individuals such as Cooper and Moodley, as well as the entire leadership of SASO, BPC and the University of the North SRC. As 1974 closed, more than sixty Black Consciousness activists remained in detention.

SOURCE 1D
This cartoon, drawn by Zapiro, commemorates the legacy of the former Black Consciousness leader, Stephen Bantu Biko’s struggle against the apartheid regime.

[From: The Sowetan, 12 September 1997]
SOLUTIONS TO CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA (LIVE)

Question 1
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 1.3)
Both Sources 1A and 1B are similar in the following ways:

- Source 1A states that the BC is a breeding ground for a new generation of leaders while
- Source 1B states that SASO recruited young trainee teachers from Fort Hare and the University of the North as members
- Source 1A states that BC wanted to launch a student movement while
- Source 1B states that SASO was formed as a movement to propagate BC

Question 2
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 1.6)
Candidates can choose either Source 1A or Source 1B or Source 1C or Source 1D to substantiate its usefulness:

SOURCE 1A
- The source contains key ideas on the philosophy of Black Consciousness
- The source provides a definition of Black Consciousness
- The source outlines the reasons for the establishment of the Black Consciousness Movement

SOURCE 1B
The source describes the impact of Black Consciousness
The source mentions organisations associated with the Black Consciousness Movement
The source describes how the philosophy of Black Consciousness influenced teachers, students and learners

SOURCE 1C
- The source explains the impact of the Black Consciousness Movement
- The source mentions the various leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement
- The source outlines the challenges faced by the Black Consciousness Movement

SOURCE 1D
- The source shows the influence of the ideas of Black Consciousness on South Africa
- The source appeared in a national newspaper depicting the legacy of Steve Biko as the 'father' of Black Consciousness in South Africa
- The cartoon pays tribute to Biko's legacy

(Any 2 x 2) (4)
Question 3
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 1.7)
Candidates should include the following aspects in their responses:

- Instilled self-pride, discipline and assertiveness among black South Africans to demand equality (Source 1A)
- Exposed the negative effects of Bantu Education (Sources 1B and 1C)
- Increased political consciousness among black South Africans (Sources 1A and 1B)
- Filled the gap/void left by the banned liberation organisations (Source 1C)
- Young generation was inspired that being a black South African was worth fighting for (Sources 1B and 1C)
- Black South Africans wanted to collectively end apartheid
- Refusal to accept inferior education
- Led to the formation of SASO (Source 1B)
- Broke away from white dominated organisations like NUSAS (Source 1B)
- Set up community structures such as Zaneempilo clinic
- Inspired student boycotts and marches

Question 4
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 4)
Candidates should include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction:
  Candidates should take a stance as to whether or not Botha's policy to divide and rule the oppressed masses of South Africans.

ELABORATION

- Botha's policy of 'divide and rule'
- Attempts to reform apartheid
- The tri-cameral parliament and response by black South African political organisations
- Reaction to Botha's reforms, formation of the UDF, e.g. the 'million signature' campaign by UDF
- Intensification of the internal resistance e.g. violent protests in the Vaal Triangle
- Banning of political organisations (AZAPO, UDF)
- Detention of political activists, e.g. Thlok Mofokeng and S'celo Dlomo
- Banned organisations like the ANC called for the country to be ungovernable
- Imposition of the state of emergency 1985–1986
- Education struggles – Education Crisis Committee, COSAS, etc.
- Emergence and impact of MDM
- Apartheid at crossroads – country ungovernable

Conclusion:

- Candidates should tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion.
CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Checklist
Make sure:

- Know the structure of the paper.
- Understand of the concepts related to the theme
- Apply the skills to analyse different types of sources
- Able to construct to construct a coherent argument related to the topic

CONTENT OF CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

FLOW CHART

1960 - The National Party dominated the government of South Africa and the policy of apartheid was enforced. Opposition to Apartheid grew with increased resistance from various liberation movements.

1970 - One of those liberation movements is known as the Black Consciousness Movement
- Nature and aims of BCM
- The role of Steve Biko-his ideas and writings
- The changing views of the Apartheid State of the BCM
- The challenge posed by the BCM to the State

1976 – The Soweto Uprising and the influence of the BCM.
- Reaction to the Bantu Education System
- Students protested against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

1976 – 1980
The legacy of BCM
- It filled the void in black resistance after the banning of the ANC and the PAC.
- Provided new leadership and a new direction to resistance
- Encouraged educational, health and other community projects to improve the lives of black people.

1980s
The contradictions of Apartheid
- Pass laws break down and the reliance on Black Labour
- 1982 Bantu Authorities Act
- 1983 – The Tricameral System

1980s
The crisis of Apartheid and response to Botha’s reforms:
- Growth of Trade unions
- Formation of the UDF
- The role of the Black Sash Movement
- Emergence of the MDM
- End Conscription Campaign
- Country is now ungovernable
Exam Questions

IMPROVE YOUR SKILLS

In this section we are going to look at the interpretation of both a written and a visual source.

When working with sources it is very important that one asks the following questions:

1. Who produced the source?
2. When was it produced?
3. Why was the source produced?
4. Where was the source written?
5. What is the source about?
6. How is the source produced?

These are the Five ‘W’ questions and the one ‘H’ question. By using these questions to analyse the sources, you will be better understanding of the sources and will now be able to answer the questions effectively.

Question 1

(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 1.1.1)

What, according to the source, were the main aims of the philosophy of Black Consciousness? (2 x 1)(2)

In answering this question, one needs to first look at the mark allocation. Your answer must include two points for one mark each.

The question requires of you to make reference to the source and state evidence from the source. **What, according to the source.....**

Let us analyse source using the Five W questions and one H question:

1. Who produced the source? **It is written by MV Mzamane.**
2. When was it produced? **There are no dates attached to the source.**
3. Why was the source produced? **To inform the reader about the philosophy of Black Consciousness.**
4. Where was the source written? **In South Africa, it is a collection of books related to the Road to democracy.**
5. What is the source about? **The source focuses on the philosophy of Black Consciousness.**
6. How is the source written? **Here one needs to look for any bias in the source, or is it merely stating facts and are accurate.**

By doing this you will clearly be able give the main aims of the Black Consciousness Movement.
Question 2  
(Adapted from Exemplar Paper 2, 2014, Question 1.5)

Study Source 1D
2.1 What message does this cartoon convey regarding Biko?  
(1 x 2)(2)

2.2 Comment on the significance of the caption in the cartoon: BIKO 20 years on, an indelible legacy’.  
(2 x 2)(4)

Look at the mark allocation for each question.

Once again look at the source and use the Five ‘W’ and one ‘H’ question. Get as much information as possible from looking at this visual source.

- Size of the name Biko –highlighting his role in BCM
- Shape of his face – shape of South Africa –highlighting his influence in South Africa.
- The meaning of the caption: indelible legacy: his lasting legacy
- This was done by Zapiro in 1997, two decades after his role in BCM
- It certainly paints a positive image of Biko.
- The black background could speak about the dark past of Apartheid and his name in white speaks about the light he brought to the black people

Question 3  
(Adapted from the Exemplar Paper 2, 2014, Question 1.7)

Using all the sources in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (80 words) explaining how the ideas of Black Consciousness challenged the apartheid regime in the 1970’s.  
(8)

- For this question, a rubric is used and your answer is given a level, you will find this in the memo given to you.
- Here you need to look for evidence in each source that gives evidence on how the BCM challenged the apartheid regime. Do not make the mistake of merely writing what the BCM is all about. The question is very specific and often learners write general answers in paragraph questions.
- The key words are CHALLENGED THE APARTEID REGIME.
- To challenge means to oppose, to question and to actively resist so if you have to look for evidence in all the sources that provide this information.
Question 4
“The apartheid government's attempt to strengthen its position resulted instead in mounting resistance which by 1989 had become unstoppable.”

Do you agree with this view? In your answer, examine the impact of the 1983 Tricameral constitution and the internal mass resistance that followed.

This is an essay question on Civil Society Protest in South Africa.
In an essay question, it is very important that you underline key words.

- The government’s attempt to strengthen its position: would be Botha’s reforms. In this case specifically, the Tricameral system and how this caused the resistance to increase (mounting resistance), that by 1989 had become unstoppable (that is the resistance)
- You also need to say whether you agree with the statement or not.
- Then in your answer, examine the impact of the Tricameral system on the internal (within the country) resistance.

In your introduction, use words from the question, it is a way to start and then state your viewpoint (remember to use the word ONE instead of I, write in the third person) and finally mention your plan to answer the question for example: In this essay one will examine the impact......

In your body: outline the details of the internal resistance, each idea in a new paragraph. It is always good to use chronological order as it makes provides a good flow in your essay. Do not mix your points in your body and jump from one idea to the next in the same paragraph.

Conclusion: Finally tie up you argument with a relevant conclusion. Do not write any new points.
SOURCE 1A
The extract below focuses on the philosophy of Black Consciousness (BC).

Black Consciousness (BC) became a doctrine of self-emancipation and a strategy for escape from the political doldrums (state of stagnation) into which South Africa had been cast in the 1960s. BC was also the breeding ground for a new generation of leaders and the training ground for imparting organisational skills. BC succeeded in popularising self-reliance as a viable (practicable) liberation strategy. Its initiatives in launching a student movement and adult political organisations, leadership training programmes, and in enunciating (uttering) a philosophy which accorded with the dignity of the downtrodden (burdened) and oppressed, served to demonstrate that self-reliance was attainable. The tasks BC set were to uplift sagging spirits; raise battered self-esteem; affirm identity and assert human dignity; fight off apathy and stagnation; turn racial stereotypes on their heads; exorcise (to get rid of) the arsenal (collection) of complexes that haunted and kept down individuals and communities; instil self-confidence and self-reliance and reinvigorate (revive) the masses in their struggle for emancipation (freedom).

[From: The Road to Democracy in South Africa Vol. 2 by MV Mzamane et al.]

SOURCE 1B
This source describes the organisations that were established as a result of the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

In addition, some of the younger teachers, also in Soweto, had come from the ethnically divided campuses of Fort Hare and the University of the North, where they had formed the South African Student's Organisation (SASO). The organisation was based on the philosophy of Black Consciousness and was associated with Steve Biko. These young professionals had a major impact on emerging student organisations such as the South African Student's Movement (SASM), which were founded in schools. Some accounts even refer to the SASM as a school-based branch of SASO. Statements by the SASM and the SASO reflected the growing excitement felt by young black people, inspired by the workers’ strikes of 1973 in Durban, the fall of the Portuguese regimes in Angola and Mozambique in 1975, and the successes of resistance movements in the war in Rhodesia ...

[From: Recollected 25 years later Soweto 16 June 1976 by E Brink et al.]
This extract focuses on the reaction of the apartheid government to the philosophy of Black Consciousness in the 1970s.

... SASO's ability to pull off simultaneous boycotts contributed to the government's perception that Black Consciousness was a threat. It did not act immediately, but in early 1973, the Minister of State Security followed by the banning of eight NUSAS leaders by banning the leadership of the SASO and the BPC. The banned leaders included Nengwekhulu, Biko, Pityana, Cooper, Moodley and Mafuna, nearly all of whom had been critical in Black Consciousness philosophical development from the outset ... Banned to their hometowns and forbidden to attend public meetings or publish, the founders of Black Consciousness essentially vanished from public life they had only recently attained. They were still consulted, but these and subsequent bannings paved the way for a new generation of leaders that included people like Tiro, who had made a name for themselves not only by organising or theorising but also by confronting the state ...

This new generation of leaders expressed glee (excitement) when the 'junta of national salvation' overthrew the Portuguese government in April 1974 ... Thousands of Africans freely celebrated in Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and Prime Minister Vorster conceded, with considerable understatement, that the events would 'affect' white South Africa. As winter turned to spring, the movement announced a nationwide series of rallies to commemorate the occasion, in Durban at Currie's Fountain Sports Ground, in Johannesburg, and at still highly organised and militant University of the North. Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of State Security, pledged that these rallies would not take place ... When dust settled in late September and early October, the fears of the King William's Town contingent had been realised. Police raids broke up rallies of a thousand people each at Currie's Fountain and Turfloop, and dozens of leaders were detained, including previously banned individuals such as Cooper and Moodley, as well as the entire leadership of SASO, BPC and the University of the North SRC. As 1974 closed, more than sixty Black Consciousness activists remained in detention.

SOURCE 1D
This cartoon, drawn by Zapiro, commemorates the legacy of the former Black Consciousness leader, Stephen Bantu Biko's struggle against the apartheid regime.
Answers

Question 1
- Self-emancipation
- Black South Africans must become self-reliant
- Must move away from becoming apathetic and stagnant
- To accord dignity to the downtrodden and the oppressed

Question 2
2.1
- It commemorates Biko’s political influence in South Africa during the 1970’s
- Steve Biko served as an inspiration for most South Africans
- Biko’s ideas had a huge impact on South Africa

2.2
- Biko left a firm and long legacy on the struggle for freedom
- The ideas of Steve Biko are still relevant
- Biko is regarded as the foremost political heroes/matrys in South Africa

Question 3
Candidates should include the following aspects in their responses:
- Instilled self-pride, discipline and assertiveness among black South Africans to demand equality (Source 1A)
- Exposed the negative effects of Bantu Education (Sources 1B and 1C)
- Increased political consciousness among black South Africans (Sources 1A and 1B)
- Filled the gap/void left by the banned liberation organisations (Source 1C)
- Young generation was inspired that being a black South African was worth fighting for (Sources 1B and 1C)
- Black South Africans wanted to collectively end apartheid
- Refusal to accept inferior education
- Led to the formation of SASO (Source 1B)
- Broke away from white dominated organisations like NUSAS (Source 1B)
- Set up community structures such as Zanempilo clinic
- Inspired student boycotts and marches
Question 4

Learners must show they understand the “total strategy” concept and its combination of reform and repression as a means of trying to retain control in the 1980’s. They must then show how these policies led to increased internal resistance to apartheid.

Introduction

During the 1980’s the apartheid government under PW Botha adopted a new policy in an attempt to retain control. This was “total strategy”. These policies only increased resistance to apartheid both within South Africa.

Body

- Total strategy – limited reforms (abolition of pass system, legalisation of black trade unions, Black Local Authorities Act, 1983 Tricameral Constitution)
- Increased repression of opposition – state of emergency, bannings, detentions without trial, army moves into townships.
- Increase resistance - Strikes, stay-aways, boycott of Tricameral elections.
- Township revolt against community councils
- Opposition to conscription, mass marches.
- New opposition organisations emerge – UDF, civics, ECC, MDM

Conclusion

By the end of the 1980’s it was clear that “total strategy” had failed. Reforms made were widely rejected and led to greater resistance within South Africa. Formation of UDF and MDM. Government’s position was worse by 1989 than it had been at the start of the decade.
THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

Checklist

Make sure you:

- revise the relevant content and context for this topic
- know how to analyse different types of sources
- are able to construct a coherent argument for an extend writing question

Exam Questions

Question 1

(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 2.3)

Read Source 1A.

1.1 Why did Nonhle Mohapi blame the apartheid regime for the death of her husband? (1 x 2) (2)
1.2 What motivated Nonhle Mohapi to give her testimony at the TRC hearings? (1 x 2) (2)
1.3 Quote TWO reasons why Nonhle Mohapi was critical about the work of the TRC. (2 x 1) (2)

Question 2

(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 2.4)

Refer to Source 1B.

2.1 Why, according to the source, was the TRC regarded as controversial? (1 x 2) (2)
2.2 Comment on why you think Gobodo-Madikizela stated that the TRC was an attempt 'to make real that history'. (1 x 3) (3)
2.3 Explain what is implied by the statement 'reconciliation is an embrace of evil'. (2 x 2) (4)
2.4 Define the concept justice in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
2.5 Explain to what extent Gobodo-Madikizela's assertion that the TRC was able to attain 'justice' can be regarded as valid. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 3

(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 2.5)

Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining whether the TRC assisted South Africans to come to terms with the past. (8)

Question 4

(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 5)

An upsurge of violence in the 1990s was a desperate attempt by right-wing political organisations to derail the process of negotiations.

Do you agree with this statement? Use relevant examples to support your argument. [50]
Source 1A

This testimony by Nonhle Mohapi was made at the TRC hearings in East London in 1996.

In 1976, I was widowed; I became a widow of the apartheid regime. When the TRC began I was sceptical (doubtful), not knowing what to expect from the process, yet I was forward looking. I persistently (patiently) reminded myself that my main purpose in choosing to be a witness at the TRC was to unlock the truth of how my beloved husband Mapetla Mohapi died. I expected to get the whole truth from the TRC process.

It is true that the TRC was a political process forging the concept of nation-building and the rainbow nation. But did it do so at the expense of thousands of African victims and families living in South Africa...?

As a doting (loving) mother and wife I welcomed the opportunity after waiting patiently for nearly 20 years to stand before the commission and ask for the truth.

[From: Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 Years On by C Villa-Vicencio and F du Toit]

Source 1B

This account by Gobodo-Madikizela focuses on the value of the TRC.

'And so I think it's important to realise that sometimes there's a very thin line between history and reality. And what we're trying to do in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is to make real that history. Not to make it just an object of the past but something that is real. There's a lot of controversy about how the Truth Commission is embracing reconciliation, and sacrificing justice for truth, and how, in fact, reconciliation is an embrace of evil. But being in the Truth Commission and having watched several victims walk up to the witness box and talk about their story, I'm reminded every day how the way we define concepts such as justice, for example the way we frame those definitions, decides the conclusions we make about those concepts. Justice, as far as many victims who have come to the Commission are concerned, is something totally different from what someone who has not had that experience would define as justice.

'I have been struck many times at the Truth Commission [by] how, in fact, victims look at justice as a validation (confirmation) of themselves, as a reaffirmation (confirmation) of themselves, something that tells them that, "You were right. You were right. The system that demonized (threatened) you, the system that took away all that you had was wrong, but you were right!" And the opportunity for these victims to come and tell their stories, to talk about their loss and their pain – in fact, the pain of silence about talking about the pain – that is broken for the first time at the hearings of the Truth Commission, is, on its own, sufficient validation for family members. And that, for me, is superior to any quest for justice because that embodies justice in a very meaningful way. It is reparative justice; it is justice nonetheless.'

Exam Questions

Question 1
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 2.3)
1.1 She became a widow as a result of the crime committed by the apartheid regime
Any other relevant response
1.2 She wanted to hear the truth about her husband's death
1.3 She claimed that the TRC was a political process
The TRC promoted nation building and the emergence of rainbow nation at the expense of human lives
The TRC took place without giving due regard to psychological trauma that people underwent and how people actually felt

Question 2
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 2.4)
2.1 It embraced reconciliation and sacrificed truth for justice
The process of reconciliation embraced evil without taking into account the suffering and torment the families of the 'victims' faced
Any other relevant response
2.2 It acknowledged the pain and suffering caused
Wanted to reveal the truth of the past events
Acknowledged the injustices of the system of apartheid
Any other relevant response
2.3 To forgive perpetrators without first establishing the extent of the human rights violations that victims experienced
Acceptance of verbal testimony as the truth without corroborating the evidence
Come to terms with the evil that caused the hurt
Any other relevant response
2.4 Matters that are dealt with fairness, honesty, integrity
Any other relevant response
2.5 TRC acknowledged the apartheid system was wrong
TRC highlighted violation of human rights
TRC acknowledged the victims pain and suffering
TRC broke the silence and allowed the truth to be told and heard
Any other relevant response
Question 3

*(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 2.5)*

**YES**
- The TRC aimed to address the gross human rights violations
- It allowed for the truth to be made known
- Gave many family members of victims the closure they needed
- Confessions led to forgiveness
- Promoted healing
- Contributed to national unity and reconciliation
- Contributed to nation building and the concept of the rainbow nation
- Any other relevant response

**NO**
Candidates must substantiate their response with relevant examples

Question 4

*(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 5)*

**SYNOPSIS**
Candidates need to indicate whether or not they agree with the statement and show how the violence negatively affected and hindered the negotiating process in South Africa in the 1990s.

If candidates **DISAGREE** with the statement, they must substantiate their response with relevant examples.

If candidates **AGREE** with the statement, they need to include the following aspects in their response:

**MAIN ASPECTS**
Candidates should include the following aspects in their essays:
- Introduction: Candidates need to take a stance and indicate the various challenges that led to the breakdown in the negotiating process.

**ELABORATION**
- Talks about Talks (brief background)
- Groote Schuur Minute
- Outbreak of violence in Sebokeng
- Pretoria Minute
- CODESA 1
- Boipatong massacre and its impact
- Record Of Understanding
- Bhisho massacre and its impact
- CODESA 2
- Multiparty Negotiating Forum
- Sunset Clause
- Assassination of Chris Hani
- Election date set and Mandela elected as first black president
- Any other relevant response
- Conclusion: Candidates should tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion.

[50]
IMPACT OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR ON SA

Checklist

Make sure you can answer the following question:

- How did the collapse of the Soviet Union contribute to the ending of Apartheid in South Africa in 1989?

Questions

**Question 1**

*Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 1.1*

Refer to Source 1.

This extract deals with the reasons for the changes in the ANC's stance on negotiations with the South African government.

The USSR was no longer inclined (likely) to support the ANC in its armed struggle but urged negotiations with Pretoria. The decline, followed by the collapse, of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and finally the USSR itself undermined the credibility (integrity) of the one-party state and the state-directed command economy. The 1985 party conference in Kabwe, Zambia, marked the high point of enthusiasm (keenness) for an insurrectionary (revolutionary) approach and of the predominance (majority) of hard-line SACP members in the ANC executive. But the mood rapidly changed in the direction of favouring negotiations and the acceptance of multiparty democracy together with the persistence (continuation) of a largely capitalist economic order. Finally, the resolution of the Angolan situation and the loss of the ANC bases there left no real alternative to negotiating with the government should the opportunity arise. The ANC thus published draft constitutional proposals demonstrating its moderate negotiating stance. The message that negotiations were an acceptable alternative to insurrection (uprising) was conveyed to the townships by the UDF. Mandela wrote to De Klerk suggesting they should meet.

*From: History of Southern Africa by JD Omer-Cooper*

1.1 Why did the USSR no longer support the ANC's armed struggle? (1 x 2) (2)

1.2 Using the information from the source and your knowledge, define the concept multiparty democracy. (1 x 2) (2)

1.3 Explain the factors that motivated the ANC to enter into negotiations with the National Party. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Why did the UDF convey the following message to township residents: 'negotiations were an acceptable alternative to insurrection'? (2 x 2) (4)

**Question 2**

*Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 1.2*

Study Source 2.

The source below comprises two extracts which focus on the reasons for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners.
Extract 1: This is an interview that Willem de Klerk conducted with his brother FW de Klerk. The interview focuses on the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990. This was FW de Klerk's response to the following question.

Was there pressure from outside to risk this leap?

No. I would rather speak of pressure from inside and opportunities. We had to release Mandela. The previous president and minister Kobie Coetzee and some officials had prepared the way. Mandela had committed himself to peace and PW Botha had accepted it after he had previously relinquished (given up) his claim to the renunciation (rejection) of violence. The insight and opportunity to unban organisations which included the African National Congress, coincided with the logic that such a step would mean the normalising of the politics. Many organisations were in any event busy to promote their image and policies. Besides, the fall and integration of communism in Eastern Europe and Russia created a new situation. The ANC was previously an instrument of the expansionism (extension) of Russia in Southern Africa. When that fell away, the carpet was pulled from under the ANC. Their basis of financial, advisory and moral support fell away.

Did this mean that you thought that the ANC was now on its knees?

Absolutely not. We realised that the ANC had wide support and they had to be incorporated into the negotiations. The risk of them being a Trojan horse (ANC being used as a front to promote communism in South Africa) of a world power had drastically lessened.

[From: The Man and His Time by W de Klerk]

Extract 2: This extract focuses on the reasons that motivated De Klerk to have talks with the ANC.

Finally, the collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe symbolised by the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, changed Afrikaner perceptions of their opponents and themselves. They could no longer claim to be the bastion (defender) of Christian civilisation against the hordes (masses) of the evil empire, a perception which their contacts with the ANC top had in any event done much to dispel (dismiss) – and the government probably calculated that the withdrawal of Soviet financial support would emasculate (weaken) the ANC. At the same time, these events meant that lingering (remaining) American distrust for the ANC as a communist front, and consequent support for the South African status quo, no longer had any geopolitical (considering of the geographical and political situation) rationale (grounds). At all events, there is no doubt that De Klerk and his fellows calculated that they could control the process of transition in such a way as to guarantee their own interests, and probably to maintain their rule. It was to prove a mistaken calculation.

[From: A Concise History of South Africa by R Ross]

2.1 Why, according to the source, was Mandela released? (Extract 1) (2 x 1) (2)

2.2 Explain to what extent you would agree with the statement: ‘The ANC was previously an instrument of the expansionism of Russia in Southern Africa.’ (Extract 1) (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Comment on whether the unbanning of the ANC normalised the political situation in South Africa. (Extract 1) (2 x 2) (4)

2.4 How did the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe force the South African government to begin a process of negotiations with the ANC? (Extract 2) (1 x 3) (3)
Use Source 3.

The source below consists of a written and a visual source about FW de Klerk's reform policy.

**Written Source:** This is an extract from the address by the State President, FW de Klerk, at the opening of the Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, Cape Town, 2 February 1990.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament

The general election of 6 September 1989 placed our country irrevocably (no turning back) on the road of drastic change. Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population can ensure lasting peace ...

For South Africa, indeed for the whole world, the past year has been one of change and major upheaval. In Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheavals surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom.

[From: Turning Points in History by F du Toit]

**Visual Source:** The headline and subtext below appeared in The Argus of 2 February 1990. It reports on the unbanning of the ANC.

ANC unbanned

‘The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived ...’

[From: Newspaper Archive in the National Library of South Africa]

3.1 How do you think the following would have reacted to De Klerk's parliamentary address: (Written source)

(a) Conservative white South Africans
(b) The majority of black South Africans

(2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Using information from the visual source and your own knowledge, comment on the significance of the newspaper headline:

ANC unbanned

'The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived ...'

(2 x 2) (4)
Question 4

(Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 1.5)

Using information from ALL the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining the consequences of the unbanning of the ANC on South African politics.

(8)

Question 5

(Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 1.6.2)

It was the fall of the Berlin Wall coupled with the statesmanship of FW de Klerk that paved the way for political change in South Africa.

Do you agree with this statement? Substantiate your answer by using the information from ALL the sources and your own knowledge.

(30)
SOUTH AFRICA EMERGING AS A DEMOCRACY

Checklist

Make sure you know how to answer the following focus question:

- What were the various obstacles that South Africa faced on the road to democracy?

Questions

Question 1

(Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 3.1)

Refer to Source 1.

The extract below focuses on FW de Klerk's reform measures after 1990.

On 2 February 1990 De Klerk announced major reforms. He announced the unbanning of the ANC, CPSA and the PAC, the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, the lifting of the emergency media regulations and a moratorium (suspension) on the death penalty. Most sensational of all, he announced that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners would be released soon with no preconditions. Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert asked FW de Klerk what had moved him to make the announcement. FW de Klerk answered that he had experienced a 'spiritual leap away from apartheid' and that he would have been a fool not to take advantage of the gap that the fall of communism in Eastern Europe had provided.

A question that has often been debated since 1990 was whether FW de Klerk had any other option but to take the steps he did. In theory, De Klerk could have stayed on PW Botha's course and continued with piecemeal (little by little) reforms. However, that would almost certainly have destroyed the South African economy and with it white wealth. It would probably also have ensured that the low-intensity civil war would have escalated (gone up) considerably.

[From: Turning Points In History, Book 6 by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation]

1.1 Why, according to the source, is 2 February 1990 regarded as a significant date in South Africa's history? (2 x 1) (2)

1.3 Explain whether you would agree with FW de Klerk's statement 'that he would have been a fool not to take advantage of the gap that the fall of communism in Eastern Europe had provided'. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 2

(Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 3.2)

Study Source 2.

This article appeared in The Argus, 6 February 1990. It contained the following headline, 'Afrikaner Tiger Awakens says Conservative Party' written by Tos Wentzel.

President De Klerk could bask in the approval of almost all the political parties yesterday, the first day of a joint debate on his speech at the opening of parliament. Predictably, resistance came from the Conservative Party.

CP leader Dr AP Treurnicht said Mr De Klerk had 'awakened the tiger in the Afrikaner' with his 'most revolutionary speech on Friday'.
There were roars of laughter when he demanded that Mr De Klerk should resign. There was more laughter when Dr Treurnicht referred to reports of a ‘Viva Comrade De Klerk’ cry in the streets of Cape Town. Dr Treurnicht maintained that Mr De Klerk did not have a mandate for a new South Africa that was open to African National Congress and communist leaders and that he had misled the voters. The CP is to launch a campaign for ‘a free nation in its own fatherland’ with the aim of rallying at least a million supporters…

2.1 What do you think Treurnicht meant when he declared that De Klerk had ‘awakened the tiger in the Afrikaner’? (1 x 2) (2)

2.2 Explain whether Treurnicht was justified in his comments against De Klerk. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Give TWO reasons from the source that suggest that Treurnicht was opposed to De Klerk's vision for a new South Africa. (2 x 1) (2)

**Question 3**

*(Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 3.3)*

Use Source 3.

This cartoon by Fred Mouton appeared in Die Burger on 10 February 1990. It shows Andries Treurnicht's attitude towards multi-party talks.

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**Morning, morning and how awake is our tiger this morning?**

**More more! En hoe wakker is ons tier vanoggend?**

**GEWELD**

**VIOLANCE**

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*Brought to you by Mindset Learn a division of Mindset Network (NPO)*
3.1 Explain the messages of the cartoon. (2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Comment on whether the cartoonist gives an accurate portrayal of events. Use the visual clues in the cartoon to support your answer. (2 x 2) (4)

**Question 4**
(Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 3.4)

Compare Sources 2 and 3. Explain to what extent these sources are similar regarding the Conservative Party's reaction to the political changes in South Africa. (2 x 2) (4)

**Question 5**
(Adapted from Nov 2012, Paper 2, Question 3.5)

Consult Source 5.

This source consists of two extracts on the process of negotiations.

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**Extract 1:** This source focuses on the attempts by the Afrikaner-weerstandsbeweging (AWB) to disrupt negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg. Delegates from negotiating parties were meeting when the AWB stormed the building.

On 25 June 1993 the Afrikaner-volksfront (AVF) received permission to hold a protest meeting outside the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, where multiparty negotiating process deliberations were being held. The careful arrangements set up by the protest organisers and the authorities were comprehensively violated when several hundred AWB supporters, many of them drunk, led by Eugene Terre'Blanche, invaded and vandalised the building, shouting racist abuse and tearing up documents.

It was potentially a dangerous situation: Jan Heunis, a government legal advisor who witnessed the invasion, was convinced that violence, which could have led to civil war, was averted by two young policemen who threatened the mob with automatic weapons and forced them to retreat.

[From: *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* by D Welsh]

**Extract 2:** This source highlights the need for negotiations in South Africa after the storming of the World Trade Centre by the AWB and the St. James Church massacre in Cape Town in July 1993.

Although shocking and difficult, these two events served to deepen the commitment of the main political parties to negotiations. With the urgency of the situation becoming increasingly evident, the Multiparty Negotiation Process (MPNP) plenary finally ratified the election date.

Under fortress-like conditions at Kempton Park, the various parties engaged in intense negotiations over various draft interim constitutions, the structure of the Transitional Executive Council that would govern the country in the run-up to the elections, the establishment of a Constitutional Court and the nature of the proposed Bill of Rights. Joe Slovo drafted a paper setting out a scenario for a negotiated settlement ...This contained concessions – later known as the 'sunset clause' – that were arguably pivotal in paving the way for a peaceful transition. At the heart of these was the suggestion that the African National Congress accept a Government of National Unity (GNU) for a period of five years after the first election.

[From: *One Law, One Nation: The Making of the South African Constitution* by L Segal and S Cort]

5.1 According to Extract 1, why did the AWB invade the World Trade Centre? (1 x 1) (1)
5.2 Explain whether you agree with the manner in which the policemen dealt with the AWB agitators. (Extract 1) (2 x 2) (4)

5.3 What impact did the storming of the World Trade Centre have on the process of negotiations? (Extract 2) (1 x 2) (2)

5.4 Comment on the significance of the 'sunset clause' as proposed by Joe Slovo. (Extract 2) (2 x 2) (4)
THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Checklist

Make sure you:
- revise the relevant content and context for this topic
- know how to analyse different types of sources
- are able to construct a coherent argument for an extend writing question

Exam Questions

Question 1
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 3.1)

Read Source 1A.

1.1 Define the concept globalisation in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
1.2 What, according to the source, are TWO positive results of globalisation? (2 x 1) (2)
1.3 In what ways do you think businesses like McDonald's and Starbucks could:
   (a) Assist less economically developed countries (1 x 2) (2)
   (b) Exploit less economically developed countries (1 x 2) (2)
1.4 Explain whether McDonald's can be used as an example of how typical businesses operated in the global economy. (2 x 2) (4)
1.5 What, according to the source, is the roles of less economically developed countries (LEDs) in a globalised economy? (2 x 1) (2)

Question 2
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 3.2)

Use Source 1B.

2.1 Name the TWO countries that did business with the USA as depicted in the source. (2 x 1) (2)
2.2 Explain the messages that are conveyed in the cartoon. Use the visual clues in the source to support your answer. (2 x 2) (4)
2.3 What can you conclude about Kerry's intention to leave America for Canada? (1 x 2) (2)

Question 3
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 3.3)

Compare Sources 1A and 1B. Explain how the information in Source 1B confirms what is being referred to in Source 1A regarding economic practices in a globalised world. (2 x 2) (4)

Question 4
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 6)

The fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 had a significant impact on South Africa's political future. Explain to what extent this statement is valid. Support your answer by using relevant examples.
Source 1A

This source focuses on the results of globalisation for both rich and poor nations.

Globalisation has resulted in: increased international trade; a company operating in more than one country; greater dependence on the global economy; freer movement of capital, goods and services; recognition of companies such as McDonald's and Starbucks in less economically developed countries (LEDC).

Although globalisation is probably helping to create more wealth in developing countries, it is not helping to close the gap between the world's poorest countries and the world's richest. Globalisation has resulted in many businesses setting up or buying operations in other countries. Companies that operate in several countries are called multinational corporations (MNCs) or trans-national corporations (TNCs). The US fast-food chain McDonald's is a large MNC – it has nearly 30 000 restaurants in 119 countries.

Globalisation operates mostly in the interests of the richest countries, which continue to dominate world trade at the expense of developing countries. The role of LEDCs in the world market is mostly to provide the North and West with cheap labour and raw materials. There are no guarantees that the wealth from inward investment will benefit the local community. Often profits are sent back to the more economically developed country where the TNC is based. Trans-national companies may drive local companies out of business. If it becomes cheaper to operate in another country, the TNC might close down the factory and make local people redundant.

An absence of strictly enforced international laws means that TNCs may operate in LEDCs in a way that would not be allowed in a more economically developed country. They may pollute the environment, run risks with safety or impose poor working conditions and low wages on local workers.


Source 1B

The cartoon below was drawn by M Wuerker on 8 December 2004. It portrays how multi-national companies in the United States of America did business in the globalised world.
Exam Questions

Question 1

(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 3.1)

1.1 It is a global network of economic, communication and trade which has monopolised the global village.
Any other relevant answer

1.2 Increased international trade
- A company can operate in more than one country
- Greater dependence on the global economy
- Free movement of capital, goods and services
- Recognition of companies such as McDonald's and Starbucks

1.3 a) Provide work in less economically developed countries
   - Cheaper products
   - Provide income for local communities
   - Access new products
   - Access new technology
   - Investment in less economically developed countries
   Any other relevant answer

   b) Fast food not a healthy option
   - Exploitation of natural resources in less economically developed countries
   - Exploitation of labour
   - Polluting the environment
   Any other relevant answer

1.4 YES
- McDonald's is a multi-national company and it shows its economic power and control
- McDonald's has 30 000 restaurants in 119 countries. This shows its domination
Any other relevant response

1.5 To provide cheap labour
- To provide raw materials
Any other relevant answer
Question 2

(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 3.2)

2.1 China
   India
   Bermuda

2.2 Devastated as they could be without a job in the near future (Factories to China)
    Begrudged because economic activities were outsourced (Jobs to India)
    Resentment against the capitalist bosses for not investing profits in the developed countries
    Resentment towards Kerry for leaving America for Canada as he became one of the richest politicians that benefitted from a globalised economy
    Ordinary people who were patriotic may view this cartoon as an insult to their government and therefore could be malicious and biased
    Any other relevant answer

2.3 He wanted to create an impression that he disagreed with the manner in which the capitalist did business in America
    His action is questionable as he is leaving for another more economically developed country
    John Kerry is in fact one of the richest paid politicians in America and benefitted greatly from globalisation
    Emissions from the three ships as seen in the cartoon are polluting the environment -Kerry is a politician who campaigned for clean air (Clean Air Act) in the USA
    Any other relevant answer

Question 3

(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 3.3)

Both sources refer to the globalisation of the economy
Both sources refer to the setting up of MNCs and TNCs in developing countries
Both sources refer to the creation of employment opportunities in developing countries
Both sources refer to the pollution of the environment by MNCs and TNCs
Both sources refer to the wealth that is generated by MNCs and TNCs that would not benefit local communities

Any other relevant answer
Question 4
(Adapted from Exemplar 2014, Paper 2, Question 6)

SYNOPSIS
Candidates should explain to what extent the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 influenced change in South Africa. They should argue (with examples) whether the collapse was the only factor that paved the way for negotiations between the National Party and the African National Congress or not. They need to take a line of argument and support their response with historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS
Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:
- Introduction: Candidates should state to what extent the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 influenced change in South Africa and support their line of argument with relevant examples.

ELABORATION
In stating that the fall of the Soviet Union had a significant impact on South Africa's political future, candidates should include the following points in their answer:

EXTERNAL FACTORS
- The fall of the Berlin Wall affected the reform process in South Africa
- South Africa could no longer use the threat of communism to gain support
- It could no longer rely on Western support for its 'anti-communist' stance
- The National Party's fear for a communist-controlled ANC also disappeared
- The National Party was now prepared to negotiate with the ANC
- The collapse of the Soviet Union also affected the ANC
- After the demise of communism the Soviet Union was no longer prepared to support the ANC
- This forced the ANC to negotiate with the National Party
- Influential South Africans began to believe that talks with the ANC were necessary in order to end the turmoil in South Africa
- After the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola the ANC could no longer operate from there
- The ANC had to redefine its position and began to seek recognition from Western countries
- Granting of independence to Namibia also encouraged both the NP and ANC to pursue peaceful negotiations
- The NP saw that majority rule did not mean the introduction of communism
- The collapse of communism was a critical factor that led to change in South Africa
- De Klerk's speech of 2 February 1990 brought an end to apartheid
- Any other relevant response

In stating that the fall of the Soviet Union influenced political changes in South Africa to a lesser extent, candidates should include the following points in their answer:

INTERNAL FACTORS
- In the 1980's the South African government faced a transformed world order
- South Africa became isolated/most neighbouring states had attained independence
- By the end of 1989 the Soviet Union was disintegrating/The Berlin Wall had fallen
- Changes in the world contributed to the end of apartheid
- The collapse of the USSR deprived the ANC of its main source of support
- The National Party's claim to be protecting South Africans from a communist onslaught became unrealistic
- Western world powers supported the move that South Africa resolve its problems peacefully and democratically
- The government started to believe that reform is needed to include the development of a strong black middle class which would act as a 'bulwark against revolution'
- The PW Botha 'total strategy' did not work
- PW Botha suffered a stroke and was succeeded by FW De Klerk
- FW De Klerk started to accept that the black struggle against apartheid was not a conspiracy directed from Moscow
- This enabled De Klerk to engage in discussions with the liberation organisations
- On 2 February 1990 De Klerk announced ‘a new and just constitutional dispensation’
- He was declaring the end of apartheid
- Any other relevant response

- Conclusion: Candidates should tie up their argument with a relevant conclusion.

Candidates can also indicate that it was both the internal and external factors that contributed to change in South Africa.

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