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NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
NOVEMBER 2010

HISTORY: PAPER II

MARKING GUIDELINES

Time: 2 hours

150 marks

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

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

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

SECTION A DISCURSIVE ESSAY**QUESTION 1 WHAT FORMS OF CIVIL SOCIETY PROTEST EMERGED FROM THE 1960s UP TO 1990?**

The times they are a-changing

– Bob Dylan (1963)

How, and with what success, did the Student and Women's Movements attempt to change 'the times' in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s?

Contextualise question by explaining what the 'times' were

- 1950s – baby boomers conforming to the status-quo – middle class, suburban, conservative values.
- Students – conforming to university demands – no say in curricula or running of universities.
- Women – stayed at home, housewives, no formal tertiary education, for those who worked discrimination in workplace – mostly worked as secretaries, nurses, teachers, supportive roles.

How did Student Movement attempt to change 'the times'?

Context

- Emerges out of civil rights movement and its successes – belief that non-violent confrontation was able to change aspects of law and society.
- Begins with the Freedom of Speech Movement – University of Berkeley leads the way
- Students demanding right to determine their own curriculum, etc.
- University of Berkeley refused to allow political action on campus.

Actions

- Sit-ins, marches, songs, demonstrations.
- Demands made to university administration to allow freedom of speech and association on campus.

Success

Yes – at Berkeley, students given right to protest on campus.

- A say in the running of the universities.
- Sparked off idea of role of students in social protest, ability to achieve change which would pave the way for protest against the Vietnam War.

Vietnam War

Context

War in Vietnam – 1964

1965 – escalation with Johnson leads to draft, more students facing draft.

Action

Sit-ins, teach-ins, burning of draft cards, marches, demonstrations, creating awareness, protest songs, music festivals.

Successful

No, doesn't get government to withdraw immediately. War only ends in 1973.

- But Government does take notice of student protests. Number of protesters increase especially after media reports, relating to Tet Offensive in 1968.
- Johnson chooses not to seek re-election. Student protest definitely plays a role here.
- Nixon wins election in 1968 on basis of bringing the boys home. Responding to anti-war movement. But continues bombing Cambodia and Laos.
- Exposed by students at Kent State University. Leads to shooting of four students by National Guard. Nixon – criticised for actions. Contributes to his growing unpopularity.

Do students change the times?

- Yes – new ideologies, fashion, music, values of freedom, 60s and early 70s are very different from the 1950s. Challenges made to older generation.
- But achievements are not fully sustained.

How did the Women's Movement attempt to change 'the times'?

Context

- Discrimination and oppression – at home and in the workplace.
- Also inspired by civil rights movement – ability to take action and protest against their own oppression.

Actions

2 groups – NOW led by Betty Friedan

- Aimed at middle class, white, intellectuals.
- Feminine Mystique – exposed the hardships endured by white middle class women in the home.
- Gained popularity. People began to speak of women's liberation.
- Only worked within existing structures of society – law.
- Strikes, petitions – to give women greater equality in workplace.
- Lobbied for maternity leave, child care centres.

Success

Yes, created awareness, gained some advances for women in workplace.

But only targeted a certain group of women – white, middle class. Excluded black women, younger women, working class. Therefore could only achieve a limited success.

Women's Lib**Context**

- Grew out of student movements. Young women saw themselves as working for freedom in society but were still treated as inferior within student movement structures.
- Growing sense of freedom in 1960s – brought about by the Pill. Liberated women sexually.
- More loosely structured, consisting of different organisations.
- Encouraged married women to keep own surnames.

Actions

- Protested against male sexism by invading male bars, burning male magazines.
- Targeted Miss World Pageant – objected to objectification of women.
- Burn bras.
- The personal is political!
- Women's consciousness raising groups, reading groups to raise awareness of women's issues and rights.
- Sit-ins, street theatre and mass demonstrations.

Success

Yes

Abortion – Roe vs Wade-abortion legalised

- By the late 1970s, Women's Liberation began to lose momentum. It split into a number of groups and factions.
- Demands for true equality, respect and justice were not met.
- Laid the groundwork for women's rights.
- ERA

[70]

QUESTION 2 HOW DID SOUTH AFRICA EMERGE AS A DEMOCRACY FROM THE CRISES OF THE 1990s?

In the 1980s repression rather than reform was key to PW Botha's policy of maintaining white domination.

The core argument is to analyse Botha's policy of Total Strategy and determine whether repression or reform was more central to his aim of maintaining white domination.

Learners should begin by contextualising the argument with a focused explanation on Total Strategy. This should include the following:

- Total strategy – Botha's response to Total Onslaught, a belief that SA was under threat from communism both within and outside of SA.
- Response – total strategy – two-pronged policy of repression and reform.

First line of argument should examine the policy of repression as this is how the argument is presented in the essay question.

Aspects of repression that should be included in the discussion are:

- Increased military expenditure, continuation of Vorster's military expansion – conscription.
- Formal Repression – repression that was legally implemented and was visible to the public
 - Internal Security Act of 1982 – power to detain indefinitely without access to trial and lawyers
 - Bannings of people, political gatherings including funerals, and banning of organisations (e.g. UDF in 1988)
 - House arrests
 - Censorship – restrictions on media
 - State of Emergency in 1985 (partial) and 1986 (full).
- Covert repression – hidden repression
 - Political assassinations
 - Cross-border raids
 - Hit squads
 - Support for vigilantes

Did these measures help in maintaining white control?

- Yes – made it difficult to sustain resistance
 - Resistance was hampered
 - Leaders were detained which weakened organisation
 - ANC still in exile and banned – key to maintaining white control
 - But the National Party remained in power
- No – repression led to intensified resistance
 - People's spirit not crushed – e.g. UDF became more centralised and organised and linked up with community movements
 - COSATU more determined, more organised, workers' strikes
 - Armed struggle intensified – 'soft' targets

Botha's policy of reform should be analysed in relation to the question. The following points should be included:

- An examination of the Tricameral Parliament (in some detail).
- Three houses of parliament – White, Coloureds, Indians.
- Blacks excluded – Koornhof Bills – choose local councillors in townships to represent them.
- Criticism: Did it maintain white domination?
- Yes: blacks excluded: inequality in terms of seat allocation – Whites always in control; apartheid remained outside parliament.

More central to maintaining white domination?

- Yes – looked as if government was reforming apartheid; in fact, securing control while looking as if real change was taking place.
- The Homelands policy.
- Tried to speed up independence.
Why? To gain support from homeland leaders in fight against international and local pressure.
- More central to maintaining white domination than repression?
- Yes – it looked as if government was making changes, but was their way of holding onto power.
- Token, cosmetic reforms

Creation of black middle class

Aim: to establish a group of black people who would support Botha's policy and not be attracted to the communist philosophy of the ANC.

More central to maintaining white domination?

- Yes – establishing support base amongst black community so that white rule could be maintained.

Conclusion:

Elements of repression and reform contributed to Botha's policies of maintaining white control.

70 marks

SECTION B EXTENDED WRITING**QUESTION 3 HOW DID SOUTH AFRICA EMERGE AS A DEMOCRACY FROM THE CRISES OF THE 1990s?****LO 1: AS 2, 3, 4****LO 2: AS 3****LO 3: AS 2, 3, 4****Historical context – Level 2, 3**

What role did the Truth and Reconciliation Commission play in 'dealing with the past and facing the future' in South Africa?

The TRC was established in 1995 to investigate the causes and extent of human rights violations, recommend compensation for victims and grant amnesty to the perpetrators. Its chairman was Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The TRC began work in 1996 after 19 commissioners had been appointed. It presented its report in 1998.

Historical knowledge – Level 2

The aim of the TRC was to establish the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights committed by South Africans from 1960 to 1994. In order to uncover what happened in the past, the TRC opted for the principle of amnesty. Perpetrators were required to come forward and tell their stories. If they made a full disclosure of what they did, and could demonstrate that their actions were politically motivated, they would be given full amnesty, and not be persecuted. In this way the TRC hoped to uncover the truth of South Africa's hidden past. It also hoped that such testimonies by perpetrators would allow many families to reach closure about their loss of their loved ones, as evidence of what happened to them was revealed.

Furthermore, it was hoped that by allowing victims to tell their stories in a public forum, there would be healing through a cathartic process.

It was not the aim of the TRC to pass binding judgement on the people and actions. As a result, the TRC made it possible for the general public to hear a wide range of evidence about the role of the state security system, which otherwise would not have been possible.

Application – Level 4

Bishop Tutu stressed that only after knowing the truth about the past activities could full reconciliation be achieved. In the stimulus, Mrs Ngwewu was initially angry and hated all white people because of the way her son was killed but forgave and supported the TRC when everything was revealed: *they must say why they shot our children*. She wished for the perpetrators to be accepted by society.

Historical Significance – Level 5, 7

To some extent the TRC was successful because the victims forgave the perpetrators (as seen in the source) where Mrs Ngewu says she supports the TRC if it means everyone will get their humanity back. BUT not everyone agreed/was satisfied with the TRC. Some people believed that there should be war tribunals. Some did not want to open old wounds that were beginning to heal. Some victims and their families wanted the perpetrators to be punished – to be given harsh sentences. They wanted justice rather than simply truth.

Another factor that angered people was that not all perpetrators expressed remorse for their actions. Some people criticised the TRC for granting amnesty to wrongdoers. Some offenders refused to testify. Only 22 000 victims of apartheid told their stories in public. There were thousands of others who were not heard, and felt that reconciliation was difficult because they were not part of the process. De Klerk accused the TRC of seeking revenge rather than reconciliation. The TRC often exchanged truth for reconciliation, and thus did not fully achieve its aim.

[40]**AND****QUESTION 4 WHAT FORMS OF CIVIL SOCIETY PROTEST EMERGED FROM THE 1960s UP TO 1990?**

Explain how sit-ins and similar protests from 1960 to 1964 contributed to the fight for Civil Rights in the United States of America.

LO 1: AS 2, 3, 4**LO 2: AS 3****LO 3: AS 2, 3, 4****Historical context – Level 2, 3**

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

Historical knowledge – Level 2

Non-violent confrontation included boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides and mass marches.

January 1960 – black students at a college in North Carolina staged a sit-in at a lunch counter in a shop which refused to serve black customers. The sit-ins were organised by the SNCC. Kneel-ins were organised in churches, read-ins in public libraries, play-ins in city parks and wade-ins on beaches.

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

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

Martin Luther King, Jr personified the non-violent movement. In April 1963 he led a march in Birmingham to expose racism in the South and to Washington.

Application – Level 4

In the photograph, black and white students are protesting in a non violent way (sit-in). There is no aggression or violence involved, even when those who were opposed to integration intimidated them. The photograph shows unity and determination of the protesters. It also shows the intense hatred that the students were up against. The actions of the white youth suggest that they would not tolerate any changes in terms of racial integration.

Historical Significance – Level 5, 7

Sit-ins brought some degree of success. Schools and stores were desegregated in some towns. Freedom Rides also led to Robert Kennedy ordering the end of segregated interstate transport in 1961. The march on Birmingham succeeded in drawing national public attention to the problem of racism in the south. President Kennedy pressured the governor of Alabama to desegregate Birmingham. The courage of protestors encouraged others to become involved in the struggle. Black and white people joined in a massive campaign of non-violent civil disobedience to demand desegregation of public facilities. They persisted despite violence and intimidation by southern authorities and white racists. In 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed. This act barred segregation and discrimination in employment in all public facilities. In 1965, the Voting Rights Act outlawed obstacles to voting.

Not all black people were satisfied with the achievement of the Civil Rights Movement. Those who lived in the ghettos believed that non-violent tactics of the CRM did nothing to help. They turned to black separatist movements.

[40]

80 marks

Total: 150 marks