

Question 1

What was the impact of ideology, spheres of influence and propaganda during the Cold War?

Source-based questions.

Study Sources 1A and 1B and then answer these questions.

- 1.1 Is this poster (Source 1A) produced for an American or an Asian audience? Refer to the source to back up your answer. (2)
- 1.2 Explain the message of this poster and whether you think it is effective. (Comment on the visual images only.) $2 \times 2 = (4)$
- 1.3 Explain the following concepts which are used in Source 1B.
- a) Imperialist warmonger
- b) Monopoly capitalist $2 \times 2 = (4)$
- 1.4 What would the Soviet government say that communism had to offer the 'worker' in Source 1B? $3 \times 1 = (3)$
- 1.5 a) Write a definition of propaganda. (3)
- b) How do sources 1A and 1B illustrate this definition of propaganda? (Discuss to whom each appeals and what persuasive techniques are used to get the message across.) $2 \times 3 + 2 = (8)$

Study Source 1C

- 1.6 Does this cartoon reinforce the idea that the Cold War had a negative impact on Africa? Explain your answer with reference to the cartoon. (4)
- 1.7 This cartoon was drawn by a British cartoonist. Does this mean that it is neutral or objective? Refer to the cartoon in your answer. $2 \times 2 = (4)$
- 1.8 Are cartoons a useful source for historical research? Explain your views. $3 \times 1 = (3)$

Study Source 1D

- 1.9 The war in Vietnam was the first major modern war that was widely photographed and given daily television coverage in America. It is said that in America this increased opposition to war. Why do you think this was the case? (4)
- 1.10 Why, as an historian, must you question the reliability of photographic evidence? $3 \times 1 = (3)$
- 1.11 Of these four sources, which is possibly the least useful when studying the Cold War? Select and comment on only one source. (3)
- [45]

Extended writing

Use the information in the sources (1A – 1D), and your own knowledge, to answer one of these questions:

EITHER

- 1.12 Use one of these sources (Source 1A, 1C or 1D) as a starting point to explain how the ideologies of the superpowers led to conflict in different areas of the world. (Notice that Source 1A refers to Korea, Source 1C gives an assessment of the influence of the Cold War in Africa, and Source 1D comes from Vietnam.) Your answer should be about 350 words.

OR

- 1.13 Imagine you are a journalist in the early 21st century. Write a 350 word newspaper article that examines the impact that the policies of the superpowers had on the lives of ordinary people.

Your article will include at least two of the visual sources given in question 1, and therefore it needs to cover the issue in relation to the Cold War period. But you should also include commentary on the relevance of this issue in the world today. (You don't have to agree with the interpretation given in these visuals.) [30]

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Question 2

What social, economic and political constraints faced African states after independence?

Source-based questions:

- 2.1 Source 2A says that the 'lack of education was a further debilitating legacy of the colonial period.' Explain why this would be a problem. 2 x 1 = (2)
- 2.2 Study Source 2B. Do these statistics support what is said in Source 2A, or not? Explain your answer. (4)
- 2.3 Study Source 2B. Is there evidence to support the following statements? Refer to the statistics to explain your answers.
- (a) 'Levels of education in French-speaking colonies were worse than they were in British colonies.'
- (b) 'Women were disadvantaged by colonial education systems.'
- (c) 'Education levels improved dramatically after independence.'
- (d) 'Some countries (such as Kenya) have made great progress in giving women greater access to education.' 4 x 3 = (12)
- 2.4 What is the value and what are the problems of using statistics as evidence? 2 x 2 = (4)
- 2.5 According to Source 2C, what were the aims of the education system set up by colonial governments? 2 x 2 = (4)
- 2.6 Source 2A is a secondary source and Source 2C is a primary source. Does this make one more reliable than the other? Refer to the sources in your answer. 2 x 2 = (4)
- 2.7 Read Source 2D. Explain in your own words the 'mounting economic crisis' facing Africa. (4)
- 2.8 Study Source 2E.
- (a) What economic problem facing many African countries does this table highlight? Explain the nature of the problem. Refer to the table in your answer. (4)
- (b) According to the statistics in this table, did this problem get worse or better during the 1960s and 1970s? Refer to the table in your answer. (3)
- 2.9 Read Sources 2F and 2G. Who do they blame for Africa's economic problems? Refer to the sources in your answer. 2 x 2 = (4)
- [45]

Extended writing:

Use the information in the sources (2A – 2H), and your own knowledge, to answer one of these questions:

EITHER

- 2.10 Explain the constraints which faced many African countries at the time of independence, showing how the social, economic and political constraints were linked to each other.

OR

- 2.11 Write an essay in response to this statement:

'We can't go on blaming the colonialists eternally for all our problems. Yes they set up the system, but it is us who have been unable to change it.'

Joseph Maitha, Professor of Economics, University of Nairobi (quoted in D. Lamb, *The Africans*, Vintage Books, 1985, p.68.)

You may agree or disagree with this statement, but make sure that you examine the different views relating to the colonial legacy as a cause of Africa's problems. [30]

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Question 3

What is the relevance of the Civil Rights Movement and Black Consciousness in the modern world?

Source-based questions

Read Source 3A and answer these questions.

- 3.1 What do you think is meant by 'stay in the wilderness far too long'? (2)
 3.2 What is the significance of the title? (3)
 3.3 Use Source 3A to explain the role of songs in the liberation struggle. (4)

Study Source 3B and answer these questions.

- 3.4 Explain whether it is accurate to say that the Civil Rights Movement was a movement of a small group of intellectuals. Quote from Source 3B to back up your view. (5)
 3.5 Describe the nature of resistance used by the Civil Rights Movement, as shown in this source. (5)
 3.6 Use your own knowledge to explain why African Americans were 'inspired by independence movements in Africa and Asia'. (3)
 3.7 According to the source, what was ironic about the values America promoted during the Cold War? (4)
 3.8 Does Joe William Trotter show any bias towards the Civil Rights Movement? Extract information from the source to support your answer. (6)

Study Sources 3C, 3D and 3E and answer these questions.

- 3.9 According to these sources, explain why it is important for the younger generation to know about the Civil Rights Movement. (6)

Study Sources 3F, 3G and 3H and answer these questions.

- 3.10 Compare these three sources and explain how they reflect Black Consciousness thinking. (7)
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Extended writing

Use the information in the sources (3A to 3I), and your own knowledge, to answer one of these questions:

EITHER:

- 3.11 Do you agree with the idea that the 'youth of Africa' should follow and promote the ideas of Black Consciousness (as stated in Source 3I) or whether the values and ideas of the Civil Rights Movement are equally important in the modern world?

Your essay should be about 400 to 450 words and must be structured in paragraphs. Make sure you refer to the ideas of both movements and suggest how they are relevant today.

OR

- 3.12 Write a report in which you compare the Civil Rights and Black Consciousness Movements. Make sure that you refer to the background, the ideas, the tactics and the results achieved by each of them.

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Question 4

'People power': How did mass resistance lead to democracy in South Africa and eastern Europe?

Source-based questions

Read Source 4A and answer this question.

- 4.1 Why would the formation of COSATU be a 'nail in the coffin of apartheid'? (i.e. What role did trade unions play in resisting apartheid?) 4 x 1 = (4)

Read Source 4B and answer these questions.

- 4.2 Explain, in the context of resistance in South Africa in the 1980s, why Morris uses the phrase 'out on the streets'. 3 x 1 = (3)
- 4.3 Identify four different methods used by the government that 'restricted' the actions of the UDF, COSATU and other political organizations. 4 x 1 = (4)
- 4.4 Describe the types of action that were taken during the Defiance Campaign in South Africa in 1989. 3 x 1 = (3)
- 4.5 Quote one phrase from Source 4B that suggests that up until the end of 1989 the government was still holding on to power tightly. (2)
- 4.6 Source 4B mentions PW Botha and FW de Klerk. Make an argument **either** in favour of **or** against the idea that the resignation of PW Botha and shift in leadership to FW de Klerk influenced the government's decision to start the process of change. 4 x 1 = (4)
- 4.7 According to Source 4B why were the large marches in major cities 'extraordinary' and what other changes followed soon after? 2 + 3 = (5)

Read Source 4C and answer this question.

- 4.8 Why, according to Mandela, was mass action important at that time? (3)

Read Sources 4D and 4E and answer these questions.

- 4.9 Identify the key decision that symbolized the success and power of the mass demonstrations in Leipzig, and explain why it was significant. 2 + 2 = (4)
- 4.10 Identify three similarities between the marches in Leipzig (Source 4D) and in Prague (Source 4E). 3 x 1 = (3)
- 4.11 Does the fact that both Sources 4D and 4E are written by the same author make them less reliable? (3)
- 4.12 Some people argue that when people become part of a large crowd they lose their self-control and their individual identity. With reference to Source 4E, explain whether this was the case in Prague. (7)
- [45]

Extended writing

Use the information in the sources (4A to 4G), and your own knowledge, to answer one of these questions:

EITHER

- 4.13 Imagine you are a journalist who has been asked to write a 350 to 400 word newspaper article on the momentous year of 1989. Your article should analyse how mass action in different parts of the world changed people's understanding of their lives and the possibilities for the future.

OR

- 4.14 Write a 350 to 400 word speech that a leader of the resistance movement would say at any one of the marches mentioned in these sources. It must clearly identify the issues that you are opposing, state what you want people to do, and stress what you are hoping to create in the future. Make sure you address it directly to the people in the crowd, and use persuasive techniques throughout. It should reflect the atmosphere and attitudes of the time.

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Question 5

How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s?

Source-based questions:

Read Sources 5A and 5B and answer these questions.

- 5.1 Study Source 5A. According to Source 5A, what were the (a) economic and (b) political problems facing South Africans in the early 1990s? 4 + 4 = (8)
- 5.2 What common problem mentioned in both sources threatened democracy in South Africa in the early 1990s? (2)
- 5.3 What additional problems does Source 5B mention? (5)
- 5.4 Compare the attitudes of the two writers to the situation in South Africa at the time. Are they similar or different? Refer to both sources to support your answer.

Read Sources 5C, 5D and 5E and answer these questions. (4)

- 5.5 Compare the reasons that they suggest for the actions of the 'third force.' (5)
- 5.6 Why is studying these three sources together useful to get an understanding of the period? Refer to the writers of each source in your answer. (5)

Read Sources 5F and 5G and answer these questions.

- 5.7 Explain why these two sources offer different perspectives about the same issue. 2 + 2 = (4)

Refer to all the sources to answer these questions.

- 5.8 Source 5A refers to a struggle for power in South Africa. How do Sources 5E to 5J support this interpretation? 3 x 2 = (6)
- 5.9 Source 5B is a secondary source; the others are all primary sources. How (a) useful and (b) reliable is it as a source of information about this period? 3 + 3 = (6)
- [45]

Extended writing:

Use the information in the sources (5A to 5K), and your own knowledge, to answer one of these questions:

EITHER

- 5.10 Write a report on events in South Africa between 1990 and 1994. Use the following sub-headings in your report: Conflict; Negotiations; Compromise; and Settlement. The report should be about 450 words.

OR

- 5.11 Write an essay in which you explain how South Africa emerged from a state of crisis in 1990 to a democracy in 1994.

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Question 6

How did the TRC help the process of reconciliation, justice and forgiveness?

Source-based questions

Read Source 6A and answer these questions.

- 6.1 Identify the two crucial things that Source 6A says have come out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. 2 x 2 = (4)
- 6.2 Explain why the TRC 'produced an archive' as stated in Source 6A. (4)
- 6.3 What do you understand by the phrase 'crime against humanity'? (4)

Read Source 6B and answer these questions.

- 6.4 According to Source 6B, in what way was testifying a valuable process for perpetrators? (3)
- 6.5 Use your knowledge to explain the following in relation to the TRC process:
- a) 'amnesty legislation' (4)
- b) 'its reparation measures' and 'compensation' (4)

Read Source 6C and answer these questions.

- 6.6 Race is used as a category of analysis in this source.
- a) Formulate an argument which justifies this as an appropriate way to analyse attitudes about the TRC process. (4)
- b) Formulate an argument which regards this as an inappropriate way to analyse the attitudes about the TRC process. (4)

Read Sources 6D and 6E and answer these questions.

- 6.7 The TRC was meant to promote reconciliation and to help South Africans develop a new national identity. How do Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Source 6D, and the Freedom Front in Source 6E, interpret these ideas and see the role of the TRC. 5 + 5 = (10)
- 6.8 As historians why is it crucial to know about and examine different attitudes to the TRC process? (4)
- [45]

Extended writing

Use the information in the sources (6A to 6E), and your own knowledge, to answer one of these questions:

EITHER

- 6.9 You have been sent by the United Nations to write a report on the TRC process in South Africa and its success in helping South Africans form a new national understanding of their past and their future. Your report should identify and explain:
- the aims of the process and how it was meant to work
 - the problems and criticisms it faced
 - the successes it had.
- The report should be about 350 words.

OR

- 6.10 Write two letters to the press, written at the time of the TRC hearings. The title of the first one should be 'Raking up the past is doing more harm than good.' The second letter should be a response to this one. You may give the second one your own title. Each letter should be about 150 words.

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Addendum - Paper 1

Sources for Question 1

What was the impact of ideology, spheres of influence and propaganda during the Cold War?

Source 1A



An American propaganda poster about the communist threat in Korea and the Far East, 1950.

Source 1B



This Soviet propaganda poster shows the worker as the victim of the American imperialist war-monger and the British monopoly capitalist.

Source 1C



This British cartoon shows Africa welcoming the rivalry between the superpowers in Africa.

Source 1D



A South Vietnamese soldier executes a Viet Cong suspect during the war in Vietnam.

Sources for Question 2

What social, economic and political constraints faced African states after independence?

Source 2A

From Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa*, Macmillan, 1989, p. 412.

The lack of education was a further debilitating legacy of the colonial period. Across most of tropical Africa barely ten per cent of the population was literate at independence.

Source 2B

Country	1960		1970		1980		1998	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Congo/DRC	49	14	35	11	48	21	71	47
Cote d'Ivoire	8	2	25	6	34	13	53	36
Kenya	30	10	56	26	70	43	88	74
Nigeria	25	6	31	10	45	22	70	53
Senegal	10	1	23	6	31	12	45	26
South Africa	41	40	72	68	78	75	85	84
Uganda	44	26	55	22	61	31	76	54
Zambia	53	30	64	32	72	47	84	69
Zimbabwe	48	31	66	49	78	62	92	83

Figures from World Bank, World Development Indicators (2000); United National Demographic Yearbook (1960, 1970); UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook (1980)

Literacy rates in selected African countries 1960-1998 (Percentage of males and females aged 15 and above who were literate.)

Source 2C

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania gives his views on the colonial education system.

[Colonial education] was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their country. Instead, it was motivated by a desire to inspire colonial values, and to train individuals for service of the colonial state... This meant that colonial education encouraged attitudes of human inequality, and, in practice, underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field...

Source 2D

From Kevin Shillington, *Causes and Consequences of Independence in Africa*, Evans Brothers, 1997, p. 63.

At independence European colonial governments left Africa with a mounting economic crisis – the end-product of three-quarters of a century of colonial misrule. Africa's economies had been directed towards providing Europe with cheap raw materials. In return, Africa imported relatively expensive manufactured goods, such as cars, trucks, machinery, tools, utensils, clothing and even processed food, from Europe. Throughout the colonial period there had been little or no attempt to develop African economic self-sufficiency. The basis of Africa's economic problem is summed up in the words of a former Tanzanian Minister of Finance: 'Africans produce what they do not consume, and consume what they do not produce'.

Source 2E

Country	Main export commodity	% of total exports		
		1960	1970	1980
Cote d'Ivoire	Coffee	49	33	21
Egypt	Cotton	66	45	14
Ghana	Cocoa	57	64	56
Mauritius	Sugar	22	92	67
Nigeria	Cocoa	21	15	9
	Petroleum	3	58	95
Senegal	Groundnuts	84	38	13
Uganda	Coffee	37	50	99
	Cotton	32	17	1
Zambia	Copper	N/a	95	91

Figures from ICA Secretariat, IMF, International Financing statistics: Yearbook (1982 and 1983)

Exports of selected African countries 1960-1980. (N/a in this case means the statistic is not available.)

Source 2F

From Ali A. Mazrui (ed), *General History of Africa, Volume 8: Africa since 1935* UNESCO, 2003, p. 393.

It should have been clear to all, even in those early days of independence, that Africa marching towards the future hand-in-hand with its colonial economic inheritance has no dignified future at all. Indeed, if the truth must be told, the economic crisis that has engulfed the continent since the second half of the 1970s has been largely the cumulative result of the continued operation of the African economies within the framework of the inherited colonial economic legacy.

Source 2G

A comment by Moeletsi Mbeki, deputy chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs (the *Sunday Times Magazine* (London), 3 August 2005).

At the root of Africa's problems are economic elites that have misused finances and aid over the past 40 years. They have enriched themselves, undertaken loss-making industrialization projects, borrowed vast sums from rich countries and put their own states in debt.

The push for more and better aid will not transform African countries into economic powerhouses. Indeed, by supporting existing elites, it is likely to undermine reform. The real freedom Africans need is the ability to use their creativity and entrepreneurial spirit to engage in economic activity – and to keep the profits of their efforts.

Source 2H

From Ali A. Mazrui (ed), *General History of Africa, Volume 8: Africa since 1935* UNESCO, 2003, p. 394.

Unfortunately, for virtually all of Africa and for the overwhelming majority of its citizens, the rapid economic transformation which had been hoped for on independence, failed to materialize. Instead, the African economy moved from one crisis to another; the revolution of rising expectations gave way to the revolution of rising frustrations with the consequent waves of military revolts and political upheavals in different parts of the continent.

Sources for Question 3

What is the relevance of the Civil Rights Movement and Black Consciousness in the modern world?

Source 3A

A liberation song of the Civil Rights Movement.

'Keep your eyes on the prize'

Paul and Silas were bound in jail

Had no money for to pay their bail

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on (x3)

The very moment I thought I was lost

The dungeon shook and the chains fell off

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on (x3)

Only thing that we did wrong

Was stay in the wilderness far too long

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on (x3)

The only thing that we did right

Was the day we began to fight

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on (x3)

Source 3B

From Joe William Trotter, *The African American Experience*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 2001.

Between the end of World War II and the mid 1960s, African Americans launched the largest and most successful mass movement for civil and human rights in the nation's history. They moved their struggle from courts, presidential edicts, and congressional legislation to the streets. In rapid succession, they initiated boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides, and voter education projects across the South. Although their actions were deeply rooted in local community-based institutions and organizations, they transformed such struggles into a broader national, and increasingly international, movement. Inspired by independence movements in Africa and Asia as well as their own history, culture and social struggles, African Americans used America's Cold War advocacy of democratic freedoms abroad to demand their own civil rights. Supported by a growing core of white allies in federal agencies and diverse peace and freedom organizations, the modern Civil Rights Movement demolished the legal pillars of the segregationist system and established a new and more promising framework for social change.

Source 3C

This article called 'Death of Rosa Parks underlines the challenges still facing racial justice in the US'. It was written in America by Erin Texeira and published in the *Cape Times* 27 October 2005.

The death of Rosa Parks underscores the fact that the generation responsible for the key victories of the United States Civil Rights Movement is fading into history, leaving its survivors with the challenge of keeping the movement's memory and work alive.

Source 3D

Statement made in 2005 at the time of the death of Rosa Parks by Bruce Gordon, former president of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP).

Many people either don't know civil rights history or don't know why it matters.... It ought to renew in people the recognition that individual actions make a difference.

Source 3E

Renada Johnson, a history teacher, in Washington DC, USA.

We use history as our guide to help young people make better choices... You don't understand where you're going until you know where you've been.

Source 3F

From Drake Koka, 'On black consciousness and black solidarity', He was a founding member of the Black People's Convention.

Through the philosophy of Black Consciousness black people could be led onto the road of self-discovery ... This would eventually lead to the self-assertion of the Black man's inner pride, of the 'I' in him and thus strengthen him to accept or reject with confidence certain things that are being done for him or on his behalf... he will develop an attitude of self-reliance.... The self-realization develops in the Black man a yearning to create and to take the initiative in doing things.

As soon as Blacks become conscious of themselves as a people and identify themselves with their fellow blacks and see their potentials in the social, political, economic and cultural spheres of the community of which they are part, they would be able to determine their destiny.

Source 3G

Steve Biko argued that black people had to value themselves, their history and culture and develop a proactive and positive sense of self before they could gain external liberation. From Biko's book *I Write What I Like*.

Liberation for the black man begins first with the liberation from psychological oppression of himself through an inferiority complex.

Source 3H

From Ossie Davis, 'Why I Eulogize Malcom X' in JH Clarke (ed.), *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*, Toronto, 1969, pp. 128-31.

We used to think that protocol and common sense required that Negroes stand back and let the white man speak up for us, defend us, and lead us from behind the scenes in our fight. This was the essence of Negro politics. But Malcolm said to hell with that! Get up off your knees and fight your own battles He could make you as angry as hell, but he could also make you proud. It was impossible to remain defensive and apologetic about being a Negro in his presence.

Source 3I

From an article on the internet by Charles Otieno-Hongo called "Malcolm X: Is there Any Relevance to Africa Today?"

Malcolm X significantly elevated black consciousness in the United States (and so did Biko in Africa). He asserted in the most forceful terms that "black is beautiful," and that African Americans must take control of their own destiny. This is the message that is today reaching out to the youth of Africa who must now struggle to elevate this legacy.

Sources for Question 4

'People power': How did mass resistance lead to democracy in South Africa and eastern Europe?

Source 4A

From Catherine Bradley, *Causes and Consequences of the end of apartheid*, Raintree Steck-Vaughan Publishers, 1996 p. 44-45.

Another nail in the coffin of apartheid was supplied by the organized resistance of trade unions... In December 1985 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was launched and it joined the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which opposed the government's policies.

Source 4B

M. Morris, *Every Step of the Way: The Journey to Freedom in South Africa*, HSRC Press/Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 240.

Out on the streets there was more hope, but still much animosity and mistrust, and a determination to sustain the struggle.

As a result of restrictions placed on the UDF, Cosatu and other political groupings, there emerged a new mass front, which drew together a wide range of anti-apartheid forces. It was called the Mass Democratic Movement, and in August 1989, 12 days before PW Botha's resignation, it launched a campaign of defiance against apartheid.

In the run-up to the 6 September elections, protests were met with stiff police resistance, but immediately after the ballot the new government eased up and gave permission for a mammoth march of thousands of people through central Cape Town. Others followed elsewhere in the country.

After a decade of virtual civil war, it was an extraordinary event. The political climate began to change quickly.

In October, de Klerk released the remaining Rivonia prisoners and others ... In November, beaches were opened to all people forthwith, and plans were made to drop the Separate Amenities Act soon.

Source 4C

From a speech on 11 February 1990 made by Nelson Mandela on his release after 27 years behind bars.

Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognize that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. The mass actions of defiance and other actions of our organizations and people can only culminate in the establishment of democracy.

Source 4D

From Patrick Burke, *Revolution in Europe, 1989, Wayland, 1995*, pp. 26-27.

On Monday 9 October, in Leipzig (in East Germany), over 70 000 demonstrated peacefully for reform. At first it seemed as if the regime might use the military and the feared and hated security service – the Stasi – against the demonstrators. But, in the end, it decided the risks in using force were too great and the march passed off peacefully. With this decision, the regime surrendered the one weapon it had with which to put down the revolution. From now on, events were driven by those escaping to the West and by the demonstrators on the streets.

Meanwhile, the demonstrations got bigger every week. They reached a climax on Saturday 4 November, as almost one million people gathered in East Berlin to demand real reforms in East Germany. This was the largest demonstration in the history of East Germany.

Source 4E

From Patrick Burke, *Revolution in Europe, 1989, Wayland, 1995*, pp. 31-33.

Students and rebels led the revolution, but it was made on the streets, and above all in Wenceslas Square in central Prague (in Czechoslovakia). Here, from Saturday 18 November, Czechs gathered every day to hear veteran rebels, students, actors, priests and workers demand change.

The demonstrations were peaceful, cheerful and determined. Every day they got larger: and not just in Prague, but throughout the country...As the days went by, it was clear that the future of the Communist regime was at stake.

The demonstrations reached a climax on Friday, 24 November when Alexander Dubcek, the Communist leader during the 'Prague Spring' of 1968, came to Prague. For over twenty years he had been silenced by the regime. Now as he stepped out onto a balcony to speak, a great roar met him. DUBCEK! DUBCEK! echoed off the tall houses up and down the narrow square... As the demonstration ended, the people in the square, in a spontaneous gesture, took keys out of their pockets and shook them, 300 000 key rings producing a sound like massed Chinese bells.

Source 4F

From Patrick Burke, *Revolution in Europe*, 1989, Wayland, 1995, pp. 34-35.

(In Romania) anger at Nicolai Ceausescu, erupted. To everyone's amazement, it happened in front of his eyes, as he was addressing a stage-managed rally in the capital, Bucharest... People started booing. Shocked, Ceausescu stopped talking. The TV station, probably afraid to transmit the dictator's embarrassment, cut transmission of the speech to the whole country.

This was the turning point. When transmission began again, Ceausescu was talking. But it was too late: the whole country had seen him silenced by the crowd.

Source 4G

From David Taylor, *The Cold War*, Heinemann, 2002, p. 41.

On the night of 9 November, thousands of people flocked to the Wall and they demanded to be let through to West Berlin. As they walked through the checkpoints, the confused border guards could only stand and watch. There were wild scenes of rejoicing. Hundreds climbed on to the Wall and began to hack it to pieces. Berlin was no longer a divided city.

Sources for Question 5

How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s?

Source 5A

Rich Mkhondo, a Reuters journalist, describes some of the problems facing South Africa in the early 1990s. Quoted in *Readers' Digest Illustrated History of South Africa*, 1994.

Millions of blacks are caught in a spiral of landlessness, homelessness, unemployment and poverty. Add to that a clash between modern political structures and traditional tribal ones. Mix in a struggle for hegemony (power) in the region between major political players. Stir in the security forces in all their guises...Add faceless, apparently trained killers such as the 'third force'...Sprinkle all that with ancient and recent political and social grudges and you get a deadly brew.

Source 5B

K. Pampallis, *Mandela*, Maskew Miller Longman, 2000, p. 61.

It seemed that the unbanning of the political organizations and the release of Mandela and the others had lit a fire under South Africa. A huge pot was beginning to cook, and it looked like it might boil over. There were a lot of ingredients in the pot – moderate white people who were worried about losing their comfortable lifestyle, right-wing white nationalists who were determined not to accept majority rule, black radicals who thought that the only way to gain freedom was to drive white people out of the country, Zulu nationalists who were set on having power in their own part of the country and many others.

Whenever there was a bit of progress in the negotiations, there seemed to be another riot or massacre somewhere in the country. Often, there were reports that the police or the army were either helping the violence to happen, or not doing anything about it when they could. The pot got hotter.

Source 5C

A white sergeant in the security forces, in an interview in 1991.

Over the years we have been drilled with 'The ANC are terrorists' and this and this and this...And now all of a sudden we've got to accept them as colleagues, which I find hard to accept. I mean, I won't accept that.

Source 5D

Neil Tobajane, a Soweto resident comments on the involvement of 'Third force' activity in the early 1990s.

The aim of third-force activity was to exacerbate the fight (make it worse), to take forward the tension and to make sure that the violence didn't stop. The most frightening aspect of third-force attacks was that they were carried out with a high degree of military precision. They went way beyond what either side, the ANC or Inkatha, would do as an organization.

Source 5E

Chris Hani, secretary of the SACP, 1993.

It is crucial that the process [negotiations] is not allowed to slow down. We're facing a regime which, for all its deep crisis, has not been defeated. The powers of the security forces are intact and their strategy is destabilizing us by low-intensity warfare. The state orchestration of violence is indisputable.

Source 5F

Walter Sisulu, an ANC leader.

It is not easy for us to sit and negotiate. Many of the youngsters are not really interested in negotiations. They are very angry about the suffering they have gone through under apartheid.

Source 5G

Thlokie Mofokeng, a resident of Soweto, explains the attitude of the PAC and AZAPO towards the negotiations.

They did not condemn Mandela but they were very much against negotiations. They tried to make people believe that Mandela was a genuine political leader but he was, unfortunately, surrounded by the ANC which was too influenced by whites. They also said that the very people who own the land cannot help to distribute it. They said: "You cannot negotiate to take back something that is yours. You must just take what belongs to you."

Source 5H

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the IFP.

Inkatha believes that it has a right to defend itself. We will not be intimidated out of existence. I am a black leader in the midst of violence. I am a leader of an angry people.

Source 5I

Neil Tobajane, a Soweto resident comments on the upsurge in violence there in 1990.

The objective of Inkatha's campaign in Soweto was organizational domination but it took on a violent form. Inkatha realized they couldn't contest the elections openly. They couldn't compete with the ANC for ownership of the people. This, therefore, caused an upsurge in violence.

Source 5J

Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the AWB, in 1992.

No one dares take the land God gave us. We refuse to live under an ANC government. There will be war in South Africa. That day we will fight like our forefathers and we will fight until we win.

Source 5K

Nelson Mandela, ANC leader, 1993.

Our idea of an interim government of national unity is that it should be based on the principle that a party which emerges as the strongest in a general election should form the government. But we believe that the problems of our country can only be properly addressed if the majority party invites other parties to join the government of its free will, not because it is forced by the constitution.

Sources for Question 6

How did the TRC help the process of reconciliation, justice and forgiveness?

Source 6A

From K.Christie, *The South African Truth Commission*, Palgrave, 2000, p. 176-7.

There are two crucial things that have come out of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The first is that it has achieved a remarkable and far-ranging public exposure of the human rights violations and crime committed under the apartheid regime... It has forced a previously reluctant population (though, of course, there is still denial at one level) to see that apartheid was morally indefensible; that it's a crime against humanity. It has produced an archive which allows people to examine their past and hopefully learn from it.

Secondly, it has allowed ordinary people to find expression for the suffering under the regime. It has had a completely cathartic [therapeutic or healing] function for many of the victims... It is in this sense that some form of reconciliation has already taken place.

Source 6B

Piet Meiring, a TRC Commissioner, analyses the complexity of the process.

Was it worth it to come forward? For perpetrators who lived under a cloud for years, the process meant a new life! From the side of some high-profile families of victims there were serious objections. The Biko,

Mxenge and Goniwe families, from the Eastern Cape, saw the process as extremely unfair towards the victims. They felt so strongly about it that they fought the amnesty legislation right up to the Constitutional Court. Whether the TRC with its reparation measures will succeed in making it clear to everyone that the gracious amnesty offer to perpetrators is balanced by an equally gracious compensation to victims, remains to be seen. The nation will have to be convinced that the process is as "victim-friendly" as it is "perpetrator-friendly".

Source 6C

The result of a survey of the views of 3 727 randomly selected ordinary South Africans carried out in 2000-1. From James Gibson, 'The truth about Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa', *International Political Science Review*, 2005, Vol 26, No. 4, pp. 341-361.

Vast racial differences exist in how people evaluate the TRC, with the extremes being defined by blacks and whites. For instance, while roughly three-quarters of black South Africans approve of the work of the commission, only slightly more than one-third of whites are so inclined. Coloured respondents hold fairly negative views towards the TRC, although they are not as critical as whites, and Asian respondents tend to be relatively positive, although not as favourable as blacks. The task on which the TRC is most charitably rated is that of helping the families of the victims to find out what happened to their loved ones – uncovering the truth about the past. A majority of South Africans of every race agrees that the TRC has done a very good job on this function. The least positive aspect of the truth and reconciliation process has to do with compensation, although even on this difficult issue, a majority of black and Asian South Africans rate the TRC positively. In general, it appears that blacks are positive toward all aspects of the work of the TRC, while whites judge nearly all of the TRC's work negatively.

Source 6D

The IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, explains that although he supports the idea of nation building, he does not think that the TRC served this function, 1998.

One should not confuse the goals with the means. I recognize that we must build a common pool of shared values and a new national identity. I believe that we must expose the truth about the conflicts of the past and create a common historical memory which can inspire our drive towards the future. I believe that we must seek national reconciliation and develop techniques capable of healing the wounds of the past, allowing people to forgive if not to forget. However, I have always expressed my strong reservations that the TRC was the adequate tool to achieve any of such meritorious [deserving] goals.

Source 6E

P.D.Uys states the views of the Freedom Front, representing right-wing Afrikaner opinion in 1998.

The ideal of the TRC to contribute to the ANC's objective of building one nation, is an ANC inspired ideal. The ANC wants to build one nation out of a large variety of peoples and tribes. The previous president of Mozambique, Samora Machel, said 'For the nation to survive, the tribe must die'. He was proved wrong – the nation can only survive if it allows the tribes to live and prosper, in harmony with each other. We therefore oppose the concept of one nation; we don't believe in it; one nation does not exist in this multiracial country, and the more the ANC forces its policies down the throats of the citizens, the more they object to ANC policies. The TRC seeks not only to give people a common memory; they want to re-write history...We will not accept their version of history.

Question 3

What is the relevance of the Civil Rights Movement and Black Consciousness in the modern world?

Source-based questions

Read Source 3A and answer these questions.

- 3.1 What do you think is meant by 'stay in the wilderness far too long'? (2)
 3.2 What is the significance of the title? (3)
 3.3 Use Source 3A to explain the role of songs in the liberation struggle. (4)

Study Source 3B and answer these questions.

- 3.4 Explain whether it is accurate to say that the Civil Rights Movement was a movement of a small group of intellectuals. Quote from Source 3B to back up your view. (5)
 3.5 Describe the nature of resistance used by the Civil Rights Movement, as shown in this source. (5)
 3.6 Use your own knowledge to explain why African Americans were 'inspired by independence movements in Africa and Asia'. (3)
 3.7 According to the source, what was ironic about the values America promoted during the Cold War? (4)
 3.8 Does Joe William Trotter show any bias towards the Civil Rights Movement? Extract information from the source to support your answer. (6)

Study Sources 3C, 3D and 3E and answer these questions.

- 3.9 According to these sources, explain why it is important for the younger generation to know about the Civil Rights Movement. (6)

Study Sources 3F, 3G and 3H and answer these questions.

- 3.10 Compare these three sources and explain how they reflect Black Consciousness thinking. (7)
 [45]

Extended writing

Use the information in the sources (3A to 3I), and your own knowledge, to answer one of these questions:

EITHER:

- 3.11 Do you agree with the idea that the 'youth of Africa' should follow and promote the ideas of Black Consciousness (as stated in Source 3I) or whether the values and ideas of the Civil Rights Movement are equally important in the modern world?

Your essay should be about 400 to 450 words and must be structured in paragraphs. Make sure you refer to the ideas of both movements and suggest how they are relevant today.

OR

- 3.12 Write a report in which you compare the Civil Rights and Black Consciousness Movements. Make sure that you refer to the background, the ideas, the tactics and the results achieved by each of them.

[30]
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Question 4

'People power': How did mass resistance lead to democracy in South Africa and eastern Europe?

Source-based questions

Read Source 4A and answer this question.

- 4.1 Why would the formation of COSATU be a 'nail in the coffin of apartheid'? (i.e. What role did trade unions play in resisting apartheid?) 4 x 1 = (4)

Read Source 4B and answer these questions.

- 4.2 Explain, in the context of resistance in South Africa in the 1980s, why Morris uses the phrase 'out on the streets'. 3 x 1 = (3)
- 4.3 Identify four different methods used by the government that 'restricted' the actions of the UDF, COSATU and other political organizations. 4 x 1 = (4)
- 4.4 Describe the types of action that were taken during the Defiance Campaign in South Africa in 1989. 3 x 1 = (3)
- 4.5 Quote one phrase from Source 4B that suggests that up until the end of 1989 the government was still holding on to power tightly. (2)
- 4.6 Source 4B mentions PW Botha and FW de Klerk. Make an argument **either** in favour of **or** against the idea that the resignation of PW Botha and shift in leadership to FW de Klerk influenced the government's decision to start the process of change. 4 x 1 = (4)
- 4.7 According to Source 4B why were the large marches in major cities 'extraordinary' and what other changes followed soon after? 2 + 3 = (5)

Read Source 4C and answer this question.

- 4.8 Why, according to Mandela, was mass action important at that time? (3)

Read Sources 4D and 4E and answer these questions.

- 4.9 Identify the key decision that symbolized the success and power of the mass demonstrations in Leipzig, and explain why it was significant. 2 + 2 = (4)
- 4.10 Identify three similarities between the marches in Leipzig (Source 4D) and in Prague (Source 4E). 3 x 1 = (3)
- 4.11 Does the fact that both Sources 4D and 4E are written by the same author make them less reliable? (3)
- 4.12 Some people argue that when people become part of a large crowd they lose their self-control and their individual identity. With reference to Source 4E, explain whether this was the case in Prague. (7)
- [45]

Extended writing

Use the information in the sources (4A to 4G), and your own knowledge, to answer one of these questions:

EITHER

- 4.13 Imagine you are a journalist who has been asked to write a 350 to 400 word newspaper article on the momentous year of 1989. Your article should analyse how mass action in different parts of the world changed people's understanding of their lives and the possibilities for the future.

OR

- 4.14 Write a 350 to 400 word speech that a leader of the resistance movement would say at any one of the marches mentioned in these sources. It must clearly identify the issues that you are opposing, state what you want people to do, and stress what you are hoping to create in the future. Make sure you address it directly to the people in the crowd, and use persuasive techniques throughout. It should reflect the atmosphere and attitudes of the time.

[30]

/75/

Source 2H

From Ali A. Mazrui (ed), *General History of Africa, Volume 8: Africa since 1935* UNESCO, 2003, p. 394.

Unfortunately, for virtually all of Africa and for the overwhelming majority of its citizens, the rapid economic transformation which had been hoped for on independence, failed to materialize. Instead, the African economy moved from one crisis to another; the revolution of rising expectations gave way to the revolution of rising frustrations with the consequent waves of military revolts and political upheavals in different parts of the continent.

Sources for Question 3

What is the relevance of the Civil Rights Movement and Black Consciousness in the modern world?

Source 3A

A liberation song of the Civil Rights Movement.

'Keep your eyes on the prize'

Paul and Silas were bound in jail

Had no money for to pay their bail

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on (x3)

The very moment I thought I was lost

The dungeon shook and the chains fell off

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on (x3)

Only thing that we did wrong

Was stay in the wilderness far too long

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on (x3)

The only thing that we did right

Was the day we began to fight

Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on (x3)

Source 3B

From Joe William Trotter, *The African American Experience*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 2001.

Between the end of World War II and the mid 1960s, African Americans launched the largest and most successful mass movement for civil and human rights in the nation's history. They moved their struggle from courts, presidential edicts, and congressional legislation to the streets. In rapid succession, they initiated boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides, and voter education projects across the South. Although their actions were deeply rooted in local community-based institutions and organizations, they transformed such struggles into a broader national, and increasingly international, movement. Inspired by independence movements in Africa and Asia as well as their own history, culture and social struggles, African Americans used America's Cold War advocacy of democratic freedoms abroad to demand their own civil rights. Supported by a growing core of white allies in federal agencies and diverse peace and freedom organizations, the modern Civil Rights Movement demolished the legal pillars of the segregationist system and established a new and more promising framework for social change.

Source 3C

This article called 'Death of Rosa Parks underlines the challenges still facing racial justice in the US'. It was written in America by Erin Texeira and published in the *Cape Times* 27 October 2005.

The death of Rosa Parks underscores the fact that the generation responsible for the key victories of the United States Civil Rights Movement is fading into history, leaving its survivors with the challenge of keeping the movement's memory and work alive.

Source 3D

Statement made in 2005 at the time of the death of Rosa Parks by Bruce Gordon, former president of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP).

Many people either don't know civil rights history or don't know why it matters.... It ought to renew in people the recognition that individual actions make a difference.

Source 3E

Renada Johnson, a history teacher, in Washington DC, USA.

We use history as our guide to help young people make better choices... You don't understand where you're going until you know where you've been.

Source 3F

From Drake Koka, 'On black consciousness and black solidarity', He was a founding member of the Black People's Convention.

Through the philosophy of Black Consciousness black people could be led onto the road of self-discovery ... This would eventually lead to the self-assertion of the Black man's inner pride, of the 'I' in him and thus strengthen him to accept or reject with confidence certain things that are being done for him or on his behalf... he will develop an attitude of self-reliance.... The self-realization develops in the Black man a yearning to create and to take the initiative in doing things.

As soon as Blacks become conscious of themselves as a people and identify themselves with their fellow blacks and see their potentials in the social, political, economic and cultural spheres of the community of which they are part, they would be able to determine their destiny.

Source 3G

Steve Biko argued that black people had to value themselves, their history and culture and develop a proactive and positive sense of self before they could gain external liberation. From Biko's book *I Write What I Like*.

Liberation for the black man begins first with the liberation from psychological oppression of himself through an inferiority complex.

Source 3H

From Ossie Davis, 'Why I Eulogize Malcom X' in JH Clarke (ed.), *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*, Toronto, 1969, pp. 128-31.

We used to think that protocol and common sense required that Negroes stand back and let the white man speak up for us, defend us, and lead us from behind the scenes in our fight. This was the essence of Negro politics. But Malcolm said to hell with that! Get up off your knees and fight your own battles He could make you as angry as hell, but he could also make you proud. It was impossible to remain defensive and apologetic about being a Negro in his presence.

Source 3I

From an article on the internet by Charles Otieno-Hongo called "Malcolm X: Is there Any Relevance to Africa Today?"

Malcolm X significantly elevated black consciousness in the United States (and so did Biko in Africa). He asserted in the most forceful terms that "black is beautiful," and that African Americans must take control of their own destiny. This is the message that is today reaching out to the youth of Africa who must now struggle to elevate this legacy.

Sources for Question 4

'People power': How did mass resistance lead to democracy in South Africa and eastern Europe?

Source 4A

From Catherine Bradley, *Causes and Consequences of the end of apartheid*, Raintree Steck-Vaughan Publishers, 1996 p. 44-45.

Another nail in the coffin of apartheid was supplied by the organized resistance of trade unions... In December 1985 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was launched and it joined the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which opposed the government's policies.

Source 4B

M. Morris, *Every Step of the Way: The Journey to Freedom in South Africa*, HSRC Press/Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 240.

Out on the streets there was more hope, but still much animosity and mistrust, and a determination to sustain the struggle.

As a result of restrictions placed on the UDF, Cosatu and other political groupings, there emerged a new mass front, which drew together a wide range of anti-apartheid forces. It was called the Mass Democratic Movement, and in August 1989, 12 days before PW Botha's resignation, it launched a campaign of defiance against apartheid.

In the run-up to the 6 September elections, protests were met with stiff police resistance, but immediately after the ballot the new government eased up and gave permission for a mammoth march of thousands of people through central Cape Town. Others followed elsewhere in the country.

After a decade of virtual civil war, it was an extraordinary event. The political climate began to change quickly.

In October, de Klerk released the remaining Rivonia prisoners and others ... In November, beaches were opened to all people forthwith, and plans were made to drop the Separate Amenities Act soon.

Source 4C

From a speech on 11 February 1990 made by Nelson Mandela on his release after 27 years behind bars.

Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognize that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. The mass actions of defiance and other actions of our organizations and people can only culminate in the establishment of democracy.

Source 4D

From Patrick Burke, *Revolution in Europe, 1989, Wayland, 1995*, pp. 26-27.

On Monday 9 October, in Leipzig (in East Germany), over 70 000 demonstrated peacefully for reform. At first it seemed as if the regime might use the military and the feared and hated security service – the Stasi – against the demonstrators. But, in the end, it decided the risks in using force were too great and the march passed off peacefully. With this decision, the regime surrendered the one weapon it had with which to put down the revolution. From now on, events were driven by those escaping to the West and by the demonstrators on the streets.

Meanwhile, the demonstrations got bigger every week. They reached a climax on Saturday 4 November, as almost one million people gathered in East Berlin to demand real reforms in East Germany. This was the largest demonstration in the history of East Germany.

Source 4E

From Patrick Burke, *Revolution in Europe, 1989, Wayland, 1995*, pp. 31-33.

Students and rebels led the revolution, but it was made on the streets, and above all in Wenceslas Square in central Prague (in Czechoslovakia). Here, from Saturday 18 November, Czechs gathered every day to hear veteran rebels, students, actors, priests and workers demand change.

The demonstrations were peaceful, cheerful and determined. Every day they got larger: and not just in Prague, but throughout the country...As the days went by, it was clear that the future of the Communist regime was at stake.

The demonstrations reached a climax on Friday, 24 November when Alexander Dubcek, the Communist leader during the 'Prague Spring' of 1968, came to Prague. For over twenty years he had been silenced by the regime. Now as he stepped out onto a balcony to speak, a great roar met him. DUBCEK! DUBCEK! echoed off the tall houses up and down the narrow square... As the demonstration ended, the people in the square, in a spontaneous gesture, took keys out of their pockets and shook them, 300 000 key rings producing a sound like massed Chinese bells.

Source 4F

From Patrick Burke, *Revolution in Europe*, 1989, Wayland, 1995, pp. 34-35.

(In Romania) anger at Nicolai Ceausescu, erupted. To everyone's amazement, it happened in front of his eyes, as he was addressing a stage-managed rally in the capital, Bucharest... People started booing. Shocked, Ceausescu stopped talking. The TV station, probably afraid to transmit the dictator's embarrassment, cut transmission of the speech to the whole country.

This was the turning point. When transmission began again, Ceausescu was talking. But it was too late: the whole country had seen him silenced by the crowd.

Source 4G

From David Taylor, *The Cold War*, Heinemann, 2002, p. 41.

On the night of 9 November, thousands of people flocked to the Wall and they demanded to be let through to West Berlin. As they walked through the checkpoints, the confused border guards could only stand and watch. There were wild scenes of rejoicing. Hundreds climbed on to the Wall and began to hack it to pieces. Berlin was no longer a divided city.

Sources for Question 5

How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s?

Source 5A

Rich Mkhondo, a Reuters journalist, describes some of the problems facing South Africa in the early 1990s. Quoted in *Readers' Digest Illustrated History of South Africa*, 1994.

Millions of blacks are caught in a spiral of landlessness, homelessness, unemployment and poverty. Add to that a clash between modern political structures and traditional tribal ones. Mix in a struggle for hegemony (power) in the region between major political players. Stir in the security forces in all their guises...Add faceless, apparently trained killers such as the 'third force'...Sprinkle all that with ancient and recent political and social grudges and you get a deadly brew.

Source 5B

K. Pampallis, *Mandela*, Maskew Miller Longman, 2000, p. 61.

It seemed that the unbanning of the political organizations and the release of Mandela and the others had lit a fire under South Africa. A huge pot was beginning to cook, and it looked like it might boil over. There were a lot of ingredients in the pot – moderate white people who were worried about losing their comfortable lifestyle, right-wing white nationalists who were determined not to accept majority rule, black radicals who thought that the only way to gain freedom was to drive white people out of the country, Zulu nationalists who were set on having power in their own part of the country and many others.

Whenever there was a bit of progress in the negotiations, there seemed to be another riot or massacre somewhere in the country. Often, there were reports that the police or the army were either helping the violence to happen, or not doing anything about it when they could. The pot got hotter.