



basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**NATIONAL
SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

GRADE 12

**HISTORY P2
NOVEMBER 2025**

MARKS: 150

TIME: 3 hours

This question paper consists of 9 pages and an addendum of 14 pages.



INSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION

1. This question paper consists of SECTION A and SECTION B based on the prescribed content framework in the CAPS document.

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA

QUESTION 2: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

QUESTION 3: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER, 1989 TO THE PRESENT

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

2. SECTION A consists of THREE source-based questions. Source material that is required to answer these questions can be found in the ADDENDUM.
3. SECTION B consists of THREE essay questions.
4. Answer THREE questions as follows:
 - 4.1 At least ONE must be a source-based question and at least ONE must be an essay question.
 - 4.2 The THIRD question can be either a source-based question or an essay question.
5. You are advised to spend at least ONE hour per question.
6. When answering questions, you should apply your knowledge, skills and insight.
7. You will be disadvantaged by merely rewriting the sources as answers.
8. Number the answers correctly according to the numbering system used in this question paper.
9. Write neatly and legibly.

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but not more than TWO questions, in this section. Source material to be used to answer these questions is contained in the ADDENDUM.

QUESTION 1: WHAT WERE THE DIFFERENT RESPONSES TO THE ATTEMPTS OF THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) TO MOBILISE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS IN THE 1980s?

Study Sources 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D and answer the questions that follow.

1.1 Use Source 1A.

- 1.1.1 Quote evidence from the source which suggests that COSATU was the largest federation of black worker unions in South Africa in November 1985. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.2 Define the term *non-parliamentary opposition group* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.3 Explain what can be inferred (implied) by the statement, 'COSATU ... has allied itself to the aims, if not formally to the structures, of the banned and exiled African National Congress ...' (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, state why you think industrial trade unions grew stronger in the 1980s. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Study Source 1B.

- 1.2.1 Comment on the significance of holding this COSATU rally on 1 May 1986. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.2 What is inferred (implied) by the words, 'FORWARD WITH THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE', in the context of mass action against the apartheid government in the 1980s? (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.3 Explain the symbolism of the 'clenched fists' in the banner and some of the workers in the photograph. (1 x 2) (2)

- 1.3 Refer to Sources 1A and 1B. Explain how the information in Source 1A supports the visual evidence in Source 1B regarding COSATU's mass mobilisation against the apartheid government in the 1980s. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Consult Source 1C.



- 1.4.1 Identify a campaign in the source that COSATU members conducted through a strike that took several weeks in March 1987. (1 x 1) (1)
- 1.4.2 Explain the term *grievances* in the context of COSATU's activities against the apartheid government. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.4.3 Quote THREE pieces of evidence from the source which suggest that the 'young recruits' were terrified. (3 x 1) (3)
- 1.4.4 Comment on the limitations of this source to a historian researching the clash between COSATU and the East Rand Riot Squad in March 1987. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Read Source 1D.

- 1.5.1 According to the source, why was COSATU House raided by policemen on 23 April 1987? (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.5.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why the demolition of COSATU House by the Security Branch was described as 'unprecedented and unparalleled'. (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.5.3 List FOUR ways in the source in which the police demolished the building and its contents during the COSATU House raid. (4 x 1) (4)
- 1.5.4 Why do you think that the Security Branch members misled the fire fighters where the fire actually started? (1 x 2) (2)

1.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining what the different responses were to the attempts of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) to mobilise South African workers in the 1980s.

(8)
[50]



QUESTION 2: WHY DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) REJECT THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS OF THE PERPETRATORS WHO TORTURED REVEREND TSHENUWANI FARISANI?

Study Sources 2A, 2B, 2C and 2D and answer the questions that follow.

2.1 Refer to Source 2A.

- 2.1.1 Name, from the source, TWO organisations within the Black Consciousness Movement, in which Farisani served as a founding member. (2 x 1) (2)
- 2.1.2 State any THREE types of abuses, according to the source, that Farisani was subjected to during his imprisonment between 1977 and 1987. (3 x 1) (3)
- 2.1.3 Explain why Amnesty International declared Farisani 'a prisoner of conscience'. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.1.4 Define the term *persecution* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.2 Read Source 2B.

- 2.2.1 Give the names of any TWO Venda Security Branch policemen in the source implicated by Farisani during his interrogation. (2 x 1) (2)
- 2.2.2 What does the statement, 'I don't hate them, they must tell the truth', suggest about Farisani's testimony? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.2.3 Explain what the phrase, 'Call on your God. He'll come and help you', suggest about the tactics used by the Security Branch policeman during the interrogation. (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.2.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, what can you conclude from the words, '... unless they come out and confess, sooner or later they will come back ...', with reference to the perpetrators? (1 x 2) (2)
- 2.2.5 Why would a historian find the source reliable when researching how the TRC's Human Rights Violation Committee dealt with the violations against Reverend Farisani? (2 x 2) (4)

2.3 Use Source 2C.



2.3.1 Quote ONE piece of evidence from the source which suggests that the TRC Amnesty Committee was satisfied that the amnesty applications by the three policemen complied with the requirements of the TRC Act. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3.2 Name THREE applicants, according to the source, who applied for amnesty for the assault and torture of Reverend Farisani. (3 x 1) (3)

2.3.3 Explain the term *oral testimonies* in the context of the TRC's hearings by the Amnesty Committee. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3.4 What conclusion can be drawn from the statement, 'The (TRC's Amnesty) Committee is not satisfied that the above three applicants have made a full disclosure', as required by the Act? (1 x 2) (2)

2.4 Refer to Sources 2B and 2C. Explain how the evidence in Source 2B supports the information in Source 2C regarding the human rights violations committed against Reverend Farisani by the apartheid security policemen. (2 x 2) (4)

2.5 Consult Source 2D.

2.5.1 Explain the symbolic representation of the following:

(a) Dullah Omar (1 x 2) (2)

(b) The security policemen (1 x 2) (2)

2.5.2 Comment on why the information in FRAME A differs from FRAME B regarding evidence presented at the TRC hearings. (2 x 2) (4)

2.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining why the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) rejected the amnesty applications of the perpetrators who tortured Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani. (8) [50]





QUESTION 3: HOW MIGHT THE EXPANSION OF BRICS COUNTRIES BE SEEN AS A THREAT TO THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE GLOBAL NORTH (WESTERN COUNTRIES) AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH (BRICS COUNTRIES)?

Study Sources 3A, 3B, 3C and 3D and answer the questions that follow.

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

- 3.1.1 When, according to the source, did the first meeting in the BRIC format take place? (1 x 1) (1)
- 3.1.2 Name the FOUR countries in the source who agreed to develop multifaceted cooperation among themselves in the formation of BRIC. (4 x 1) (4)
- 3.1.3 Define the term *summit* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.1.4 Using information in the source and your own knowledge, explain the significance of six new countries joining BRICS on 1 January 2024. (2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Read Source 3B.

- 3.2.1 Name any TWO strategic initiatives launched by BRICS in the source that aimed at challenging the established international order. (2 x 1) (2)
- 3.2.2 Explain the concept *de-dollarisation* in the context of the BRICS challenge to Western countries. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.2.3 Identify ONE reason in the source why BRICS countries attempted to influence the agricultural sector. (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.2.4 Comment on how the 'diminished (reduced) US influence' would change the existing international order. (2 x 2) (4)

3.3 Consult Source 3C.

- 3.3.1 What message is conveyed by the graph regarding the change in:
- (a) The G7's share of global gross domestic product (GDP) between 1995 and 2023 (1 x 2) (2)
- (b) BRICS' share of global GDP between 1995 to 2023 (1 x 2) (2)
- 3.3.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain the implication of the growth in China's GDP from 1995 to 2023. (2 x 2) (4)

3.4 Study Source 3D.



3.4.1 Who, according to the source, was Trump referring to when he said, '... leave the dollar, you are not doing business with the US because we're going to put a 100% tariff on your growth'? (1 x 1) (1)

3.4.2 Give a reason in the source why BRICS+ countries are critical of the Bretton Woods era. (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.3 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why '... the fact that the BRICS+ countries form 35% of the World's GDP and 45% of the world's population ...' is a concern for the USA (Trump) as the leader of the Global North. (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.4 Comment on the usefulness of this source to a researcher studying how Trump felt threatened by the expansion of BRICS+ countries. (2 x 2) (4)

3.5 Refer to Sources 3C and 3D. Explain how the evidence in Source 3C supports the information in Source 3D regarding how BRICS is upsetting the balance of power between the Global North and Global South. (2 x 2) (4)

3.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how the expansion of BRICS countries might be seen as a threat to the balance of power between the Global North (Western countries) and Global South (BRICS countries). (8) [50]



SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but NOT more than TWO questions, in this section.

Your essay should be about THREE pages long.

QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

The philosophy of Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement revived resistance to apartheid in South Africa from the 1960s to the 1970s.

Do you agree with this statement? Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument.

[50]

QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

The road to democracy was characterised by a non-violent process of negotiation.

Critically discuss this statement with reference to the period between 1990 and 1994.

[50]

QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

Explain to what extent Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost and Perestroika in the 1980s ultimately led to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument.

[50]

TOTAL: 150





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ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.





QUESTION 1: WHAT WERE THE DIFFERENT RESPONSES TO THE ATTEMPTS OF THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) TO MOBILISE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS IN THE 1980s?

SOURCE 1A

The extract below was taken from an article titled, 'The Struggle: Power and Politics in South Africa's Black Trade Unions', written by A Cowell, a journalist, and appeared in *The New York Times* magazine on 15 June 1986. It sheds light on the formation of COSATU in 1985.

In November 1985, more than 33 unions joined together to form the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest federation (grouping) of black workers in South African history, with a total membership of some 500 000 workers.

Far from being tamed (obedient), COSATU and other black labour groups have sought (wanted) the political high ground in what unionists' call 'the struggle' against white rule, desperately seeking to catch up with the protests of the youthful and violent black radicals of the townships. COSATU has forged (established) important links with the United Democratic Front, the largest non-parliamentary opposition group in the country, and has allied itself to the aims, if not formally to the structures, of the banned and exiled African National Congress, which is dedicated to overthrowing the white government by force.

In a country that is Africa's most industrialised nation, the challenge now posed by the black unions is profound (overpowering); holding out the possibility of a large-scale withdrawal of labour from a modern economy that is increasingly dependent on black skills. Farm and domestic workers are not protected under South Africa's new labour laws. In other areas, from the country's textile mills to its steelworks, the unions are strong and growing. And, in the critical mining industries, labour leaders claim the support of almost half the 600 000-man black work force.

[From *The New York Times* magazine, 15 June 1986]



SOURCE 1B

The photograph below was taken during a rally organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in the Western Cape on 1 May 1986. It shows workers participating in a protest under the banner of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA), which was an affiliate of COSATU.



[From *History of Trade Unionism in South Africa* by L. Gentle, et al.]

CLENCHED FISTS

**FORWARD WITH THE
WORKERS' STRUGGLE**

CCAWUSA

SOURCE 1C

The extract below was taken from a *memoir, *War in Peace: The Truth about the South African Police's East Rand Riot Unit 1986–1994*, written by N Howarth, a former East Rand Riot Squad member. It explains how the crowd control riot unit clashed with COSATU members who were conducting a living wage campaign at the Germiston railway station in March 1987.

COSATU members had been out on strike for several weeks in March 1987 over grievances that none of us either understood or cared about. It turned out they were conducting a 'living wage' campaign heavily backed by the African National Congress (ANC). There was a security clampdown on all such activities but this didn't bother COSATU, which was busy organising and mobilising union members to take part in the campaign. This added to the number of strikes and stoppages around the country that were already crippling (weakening) the South African economy. A large percentage of the strikers, some 18 000, belonged to South African Transport (SAT).

I was part of a group of 14 young recruits, none older than myself, who had formed a line at the top of the stairs that led up to the station platform from an underground tunnel. The thunder of political jingles (struggle songs) being sung in the deep angry voices of 300 strikers resonated (echoed) down the tunnel and up the stairway towards us. At first, we could not see them, but the sound almost scared the life out of me. Then they appeared at the bottom of the stairs and swung in our directions. It was a terrifying sight. They were armed with knobkerries, whips, knives and a whole variety of vicious (dangerous) weapons.

We clashed with the mob in hand-to-hand fighting. I was stabbed in the arm without even knowing it and there was blood all over me. Nevertheless, the physical damage was minor. I punched, kicked and fought with everything I had. Fortunately, the crowd began to disperse (go away) as we got the better of them. The next day COSATU held a meeting at the World Centre in Germiston, which was about 500 metres down the road from the railway station.

[From *War in Peace: The Truth about the South African Police's East Rand Riot Unit 1986–1994* by N Howarth]

***memoir:** a book written by a person about their past experiences

SOURCE 1D

The source below was extracted from a book titled *Confessions of a *STRATCOM Hitman*, by P Erasmus, former Security Branch policeman. It explains how the Security Branch officers raided and destroyed COSATU House in 1987.

On 23 April 1987, after a shooting incident involving members of the Riot Unit, COSATU HOUSE was raided by a throng (crowd) of policemen who, having secured the building, handed it over to the Security Branch. What followed was the demolition (destruction) job, the likes of which were unprecedented (extraordinary) and unparalleled (unmatched). It was as if the accumulated (increased) rage (anger) and frustration of the police, caught as usual in the middle of the ongoing political conflict, were vented (expressed) on the building and its contents.

Doors were promptly closed, and then filing cabinets filled with documents and records rained (fell) down like confetti (scatterings of pieces of paper) from balconies of the ten-storey building, office equipment was smashed, personal computers were tossed (thrown) out of the windows and over the balconies into the courtyard, video monitors and an expensive security system were destroyed, and what wasn't smashed or broken was stolen. ... I found COSATU's printing machine in the basement and I smashed the plates and control panel.

Some hours later I returned to the basement to find that the printing machine had been completely destroyed, and cars in the basement had likewise been seriously damaged. Security Branch members started a fire on the eighth floor and, when the Johannesburg Fire Department arrived, fire-fighters ended up running from floor to floor, they were told [by Security Branch members] that the blaze was upstairs, then downstairs, then out and so on.

[From *Confessions of a STRATCOM Hitman* by P Erasmus]

***STRATCOM (STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION):** a secret apartheid-era unit that engaged in propaganda, disinformation and violence against anti-apartheid activists and organisations



**QUESTION 2:**

WHY DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) REJECT THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS OF THE PERPETRATORS WHO TORTURED REVEREND TSHENUWANI FARISANI?

SOURCE 2A

The extract below was taken from the funeral programme of Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani. The funeral took place on 7 June 2025. It focuses on Farisani's political activism against the apartheid government which led to his imprisonment in the 1980s.


Farisani was a founding member of the Black People's Convention (BPC) and served as its president from 1973 to 1975. He worked closely with Stephen Bantu Biko and other leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). He co-founded the Black Evangelical Youth Organisation (BEYO) in the 1970s with current South African President Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa, Tshifhiwa Muofhe and Lawrence Khorombi. This initiative evolved into the Bold Evangelical Christian Organisation (BECO) and later the Evangelical Christian Outreach (ECHO).

Between 1977 and 1987, Farisani was detained without trial on four separate occasions as a result of his outspoken opposition to apartheid. During these incarcerations (imprisonment), he was subjected to brutal torture, including beatings, electric shocks and prolonged isolation. His 1982 detention, one of the most widely documented cases of political abuse under apartheid, drew international condemnation (criticism). Amnesty International*, having declared him a prisoner of conscience, spearheaded (organised) a global campaign demanding his release, which ultimately succeeded.

His suffering became emblematic (symbolic) of the regime's cruelty and helped expose the extent of state-sponsored violence. In 1986, Farisani testified before US congressional committees, recounting his experiences in chilling detail; a testimony that led to formal resolutions in both the Senate and House of Representatives urging the South African government to end its persecution of him and other activists.

[Source: Funeral Programme of Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani, 7 June 2025]

***Amnesty International:** a global human rights organisation that works to protect and promote human rights around the world



SOURCE 2B

The source below is part of a testimony given by Farisani at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Human Rights Violation Committee hearing held in Venda on 4 October 1996. It is a recollection of Farisani's experiences at the hands of the Venda Security Branch policemen during his period of detention.

... I was interrogated every day. There where I was tortured. I was interrogated because the first thing which was said was the letter which was written by Mr JAM Silimela and Mr Magwaba, Venda Security Branch policemen. I don't hate them, they must tell the truth.

They put a bag on me, they poured some glue-like things, you know they were just sticky. In my imagination when they were shocking, I couldn't feel the electricity in the substance, properly. Well they tied those electrical devices on my ears, they poured water, some water just on the floor. My whole body was just feeling pain. I fell in the water and I was just falling down, rising and taking off the bag, asking me a lot of questions. The electric devices were taken from the head to the toes and the thighs and even in my private parts. My intestines were jumping. As it was happening, Ramaligela (member of the Venda Security Branch police) started a song, 'Hallelujah. Call on your God. He'll come and help you.' I am not lying about Ramaligela. Why should I lie about him, he knows very well that is true?

I was made to do press-ups, to stand on my head, how can I stand on my top, you know I was very stout (short and heavy)? They took me and made me stand on my head and then they kicked me. Could I just say one final thing? One reason I bring the family here, one reason I want to support is that many of these evil people, and I don't use the word 'evil' easy as a pastor, but we should dwell over (speak about) evil and brutal men and women, because unless they come out and confess, sooner or later they will come back ...

[From *TRC Final Report*, Volume 5, Chapter 2, 1998]



SOURCE 2C

The source below is an extract from the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission Special Report of Case No. AC/99/0238*, dated 5 May 1999. It highlights why the TRC's Amnesty Committee rejected the application of three Venda Security Branch policemen, T Nesamari, P Managa and M Ramaligela who assaulted and tortured Reverend Farisani and other victims.

... The TRC Amnesty Committee is satisfied that the applications comply with the formal requirements of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act 34 of 1995) hereinafter referred to as 'The Act', and finds that all the acts in respect of which amnesty is sought by the applicants were committed with a political objective as required by the Act.

All three of the applicants (T Nesamari, P Managa and M Ramaligela) testified at the hearing. Both in their written applications and in their oral testimonies, it became clear to the TRC Amnesty Committee that these three applicants were constantly playing down their role and involvement in the assault and torture of the victims who were tortured separately, but from whose evidence a picture of consistency in the methods employed became apparent (obvious).

The use of a bag filled with water over their heads, the application of electric shocks to their ear lobes and private parts, the pulling of hair from various body parts, the instructions to do strenuous (tiring) exercises and vicious assaults by the applicants by using their bare hands, emerged during the evidence of the victims so consistently that the Committee could not accept the truth of their testimonies.

The Committee is not satisfied that the above three applicants have made a full disclosure of all relevant facts as required by section 20(1) of the Act and their applications must consequently FAIL.

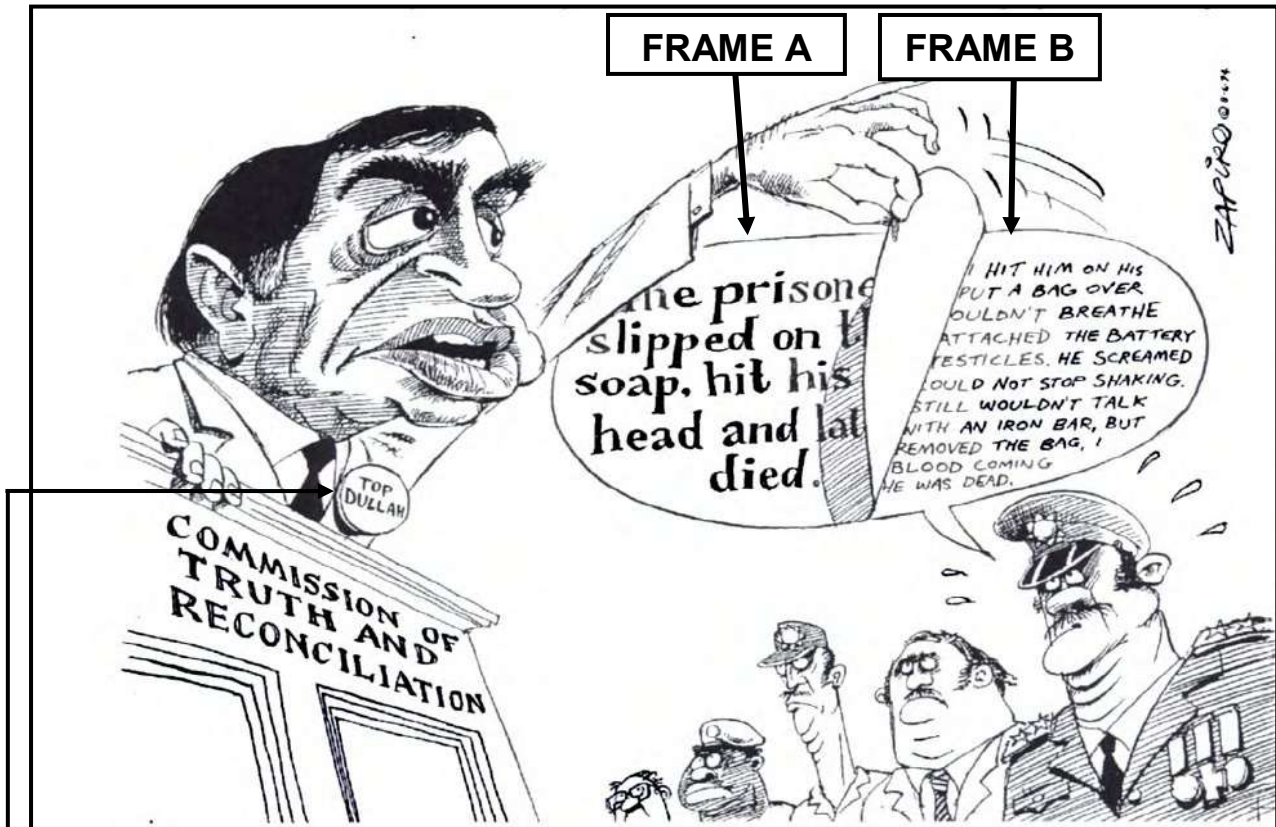
[From *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Special Report, Decisions*, 1998]



SOURCE 2D

The cartoon below is by J Shapiro, taken from the book *Truths Drawn in Jest: Commentary on the TRC Through Cartoons*, edited by W Verwoerd and M Mabizela. It depicts Dullah Omar, the former Minister of Justice, who was responsible for the TRC, revealing the truth about human rights violations of political activists during the apartheid era.

The information in both frames (FRAME A and FRAME B) have been re-typed below the cartoon for clarity.



[From *Truths Drawn in Jest: Commentary on the TRC Through Cartoons*, edited by W Verwoerd and M Mabizela]

TOP DULLAH

FRAME A

he prisone
slipped on t
soap, hit his
head and lat
died.

FRAME B

HIT HIM ON HIS
PUT A BAG OVER
OULDN'T BREATHE
ATTACHED THE BATTERY
TESTICLES. HE SCREAMED
OULD NOT STOP SHAKING.
STILL WOULDN'T TALK
WITH AN IRON BAR, BUT
REMOVED THE BAG, I
BLOOD COMING
HE WAS DEAD.



QUESTION 3: HOW MIGHT THE EXPANSION OF BRICS COUNTRIES BE SEEN AS A THREAT TO THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE GLOBAL NORTH (WESTERN COUNTRIES) AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH (BRICS COUNTRIES)?

SOURCE 3A

The source below is an article titled 'BRICS Intergovernmental Organization', taken from records of the BRICS summit held in Kazan in Russia in October 2024. It focuses on the reasons for the formation of BRICS and its history since 2006.

The first meeting in the BRIC format took place on 20 September 2006 on the side-lines of the 61st session of the UN (United Nations) General Assembly in New York. The meeting was attended by the ministers of foreign affairs of Russia, Brazil and China and the minister of defence of India, who all agreed to develop multifaceted (multi-sided) cooperation between the four countries.

The BRIC summit took place on 16 June 2009 in Yekaterinburg in Russia. The final Joint Statement stated the desire of BRIC countries to develop 'an incremental (slowly increasing), proactive (hands-on), pragmatic (practical), open and transparent dialogue and cooperation' that is 'conducive (suited) not only to serving common interests of emerging market economies and developing countries, but also to building a harmonious (friendly) world of lasting peace and common prosperity'.

With the accession (joining) of the Republic of South Africa (the first summit with South Africa took place on 14 April 2011 in Sanya, China), the abbreviation 'BRICS' was established as the name of the association. One of the priorities of BRICS activities is to promote the formation of a multi-polar (many-centred) democratic world and strengthen global security and stability around the world. The association consistently advocates (encourages) for compliance (agreement) with the principles of international law with the UN in the central role, and the rejection of unilateral coercive (forceful) measures. On 1 January 2024, Egypt, Iran, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Ethiopia joined BRICS.

[From 'BRICS Intergovernmental Organization', the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2024]

GLOBAL NORTH: broadly refers to wealthier, more developed nations in Western Europe, North America, parts of Asia and Oceania (Western countries)

GLOBAL SOUTH: broadly encompasses the rest of the world, often characterised by lower incomes and developing economies (including BRICS countries)

SOURCE 3B

The source below is from an article titled, 'The BRICS Challenge to the G7 Established International Order' by MG Mooradian, published by the Foreign Policy Research Institute on 20 September 2024. It highlights the strategies adopted by BRICS to challenge the Global North.

BRICS is launching (starting) three strategic initiatives that aim to challenge the established international order: an *artificial intelligence (AI) governance framework, an independent economic system and regional security coalitions (alliances). BRICS's current goal is to reshape the international order to allow nations to act independently, without involvement or enforcement from Western countries.

One of BRICS's primary objectives is to establish an independent payment system using member currencies to promote de-dollarisation (replace the US dollar in international trade), thereby diminishing (reducing) the impact of Western sanctions. The first step of this process is the attempt to influence specific vital international markets to gain economic leverage (advantage). One example of this new strategy is BRICS's involvement in the energy market, with the organisation aiming to create an energy partnership between its members. With the recent inclusion of energy-rich nations such as Saudi Arabia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates, BRICS could achieve a level of influence in the global energy market comparable to that of OPEC (Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries), potentially altering the dynamics by controlling a significant portion of the world's oil and gas supplies.

Another critical market BRICS is attempting to influence is the agricultural sector, whose first objective is to create an independent grain trading system that was introduced by Russia. This initiative would increase the organisation's negotiating power in grain prices and combat sanctions by the United States and its **G7 partners (other wealthy Western nations). BRICS seeks to alter (change) the existing global power structure which could result in diminished (reduced) US influence and the destabilisation of the international order.

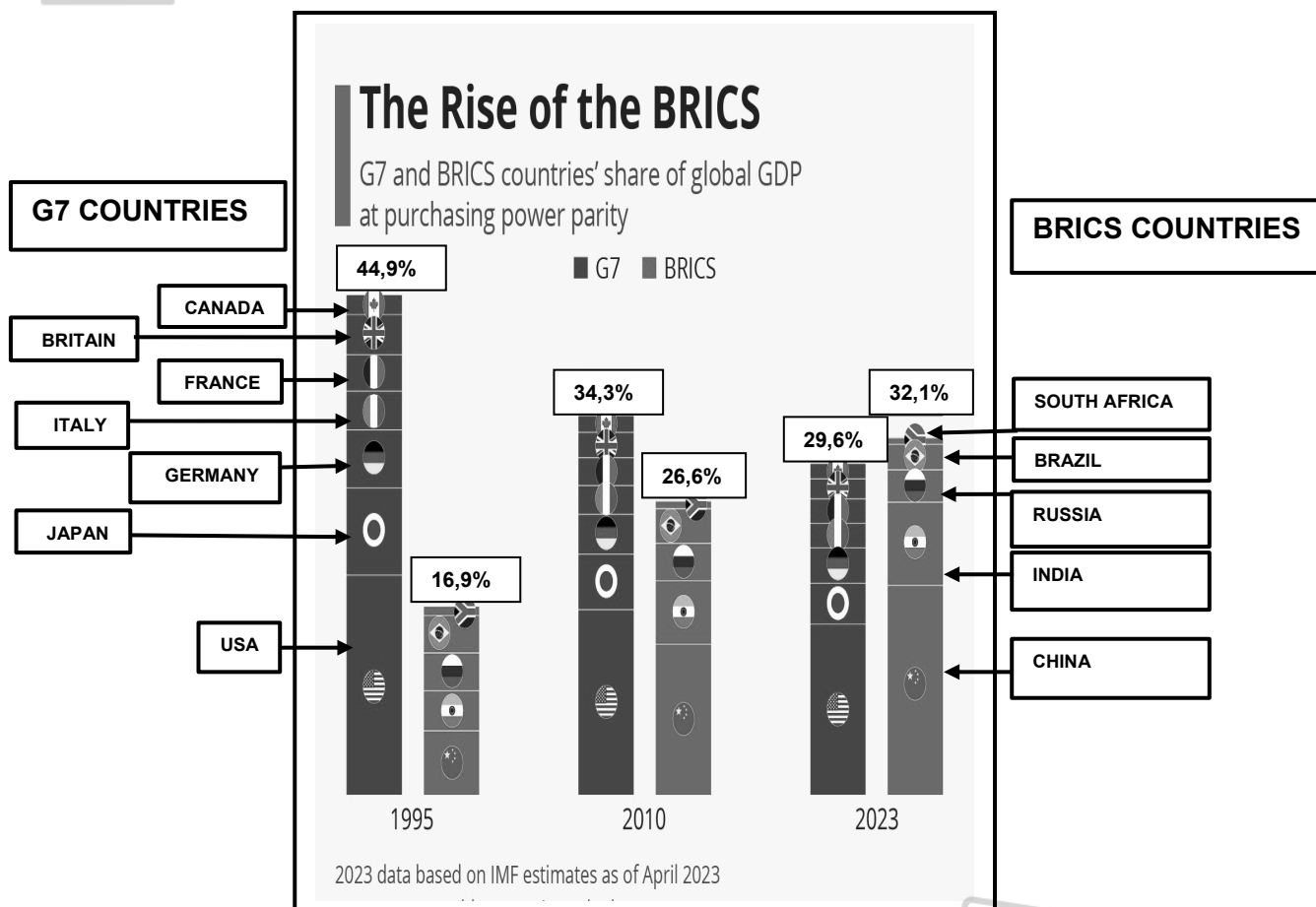
[From 'The BRICS Challenge to the G7 Established International Order' by MG Mooradian]

***Artificial intelligence governance framework:** a government information system to manage the use of artificial intelligence (AI) in a responsible manner

****G7:** refers to an intergovernmental political and economic forum of seven of the world's most powerful economies. Its members are Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States.

SOURCE 3C

The graph below, titled 'The Rise of the BRICS', was produced by STATISTA, an online market research company that provides data and reports on global markets, from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) world economic outlook figures. It shows a comparative analysis of the growth of GDP (gross domestic product) between the G7 and BRICS countries covering the period from 1995 to 2023.



[From <https://www.statista.com/chart/30638/brics-and-g7-share-of-global-gdp/>. Accessed on 5 March 2025.]

Gross domestic product (GDP): total value (worth) of all goods within a country

'share of global GDP': a comparison of a country's GDP to the total GDP of the world

'purchasing power parity': a comparison of buying power of currencies between two or more countries

SOURCE 3D

The extract below was taken from an article, titled 'How Trump's Dump on De-dollarisation Affects BRICS' by K Wadhwa and published in the *Responsible Statecraft Weekly* newsletter on 28 November 2024. It includes an extract from a speech that Trump delivered as president-elect during a campaign rally in Wisconsin in September 2024, highlighting how BRICS poses a threat to the balance of power between the Global North and the Global South.

'Many countries are leaving the dollar. They are not going to leave the dollar with me. I'll say, you leave the dollar, you are not doing business with the United States because we're going to put a 100% tariff (tax) on your growth.' He was referring to *BRICS+ countries, many of whom are critical of the 'rules-based' international order, established by the United States in the Bretton Woods era, which they see as benefitting the West (especially the United States) over the emerging Global South.

De-dollarisation may not happen anytime soon but the fact that the BRICS+ countries, which form 35% of the world's GDP and 45% of the world's population, appear to be taking it seriously, is a real concern for American leaders, including Trump.

In his previous presidential term, Trump started a trade war with China in addition to unleashing a new torrent of sanctions on Iran, Venezuela and Russia. If he (Trump) doubles down on using sanctions as a weapon, more countries will want **to hedge their bets. After all they might also be on the receiving end of sanctions if they were to fall out of favour with the United States one day. 'That will mean more consolidation (strengthening) of China's leadership of the BRICS+ and more innovation in terms of financial infrastructure, co-operation and integration ...'

He [Trump] noted that even Western-friendly countries, like Turkey, wish to join the alliance (BRICS+).

[From *Responsible Statecraft Weekly* newsletter, 28 November 2024]

***BRICS+**: Original BRICS nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) plus the new members (Ethiopia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates) and any other country that could still join. Argentina had already withdrawn after a change in government by December 2023.

****to hedge your bets**: to avoid committing oneself when faced with a difficult choice or to protect oneself against making the wrong choice

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**NATIONAL
SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

GRADE 12

**HISTORY P2
NOVEMBER 2025
MARKING GUIDELINES**

MARKS: 150

These marking guidelines consist of 26 pages.



1. SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

1.1 The following cognitive levels were used to develop source-based questions:

Cognitive Levels	Historical skills	Weighting of questions
Level 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extract evidence from sources Selection and organisation of relevant information from sources Define historical concepts/terms in own words 	30% (15)
Level 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpretation of evidence from sources Explain information gathered from sources Analyse evidence from sources Explain historical concepts in context 	40% (20)
Level 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpret and evaluate evidence from sources Engage with sources to determine usefulness, reliability, bias and limitations Compare and contrast interpretations and perspectives presented in sources and draw independent conclusions 	30% (15)

1.2 The information below indicates how source-based questions are assessed:

- In the marking of source-based questions, credit needs to be given to any other valid and relevant viewpoints, arguments, evidence or examples.
- In the allocation of marks, emphasis should be placed on how the requirements of the question have been addressed.
- In the marking guideline, the requirements of the question (skills that need to be addressed) as well as the level of the question are indicated in italics.
- When assessing open-ended source-based questions, learners should be credited for any other relevant answers.
- Learners are expected to take a stance when answering 'to what extent' questions in order for any marks to be awarded.

1.3 Assessment procedures for source-based questions

- Use a tick (✓) for each correct answer
- Pay attention to the mark scheme e.g. (2 x 2) which translates to two reasons and is given two marks each (✓✓✓✓); (1 x 2) which translates to one reason and is given two marks (✓✓)
- If a question carries 4 marks then indicate by placing 4 ticks (✓✓✓✓)

Paragraph question

Paragraphs are to be assessed globally (holistically). Both the content and structure of the paragraph must be taken into account when awarding a mark. The following steps must be used when assessing a response to a paragraph question:

- Read the paragraph and place a bullet (•) at each point within the text where the candidate has used relevant evidence to address the question.
- Re-read the paragraph to evaluate the extent to which the candidate has been able to use relevant evidence to write a paragraph.

2.4 Assessment procedures of the essay

2.4.1 Keep the synopsis in mind when assessing the essay.

2.4.2 During the reading of the essay, ticks need to be awarded for a relevant introduction (which is indicated by a bullet in the marking guideline), the main aspects/body of the essay that sustains/defends the line of argument (which is indicated by bullets in the marking guideline) and a relevant conclusion (which is indicated by a bullet in the marking guideline).
For example, in an essay where there are five (5) main points there could be about seven (7) ticks.

2.4.3 Keep the **PEEL** structure in mind when assessing an essay.

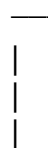
P	Point: The candidate introduces the essay by taking a line of argument/making a major point. Each paragraph should include a point that sustains the major point (line of argument) that was made in the introduction.
E	Explanation: The candidate should explain in more detail what the main point is about and how it relates to the question posed (line of argument).
E	Example: The candidates should answer the question by selecting content that is relevant to the line of argument. Relevant examples should be given to sustain the line of argument.
L	Link: Candidates should ensure that the line of argument is sustained throughout the essay and is written coherently.

2.4.4 The following symbols **MUST** be used when assessing an essay:

- Introduction, main aspects and conclusion not properly contextualised



- Wrong statement
- Irrelevant statement



- Repetition
- Analysis
- Interpretation
- Line of Argument

R

A√

I√

LOA



2.5 The matrix

2.5.1 Use of the matrix in the marking of essays

In the marking of essays, the criteria as provided in the matrix should be used. When assessing the essay note both the content and presentation. At the point of intersection of the content and presentation based on the seven competency levels, a mark should be awarded.

- (a) The first reading of essays will be to determine to what extent the main aspects have been covered and to allocate the **content level** (on the matrix).

C	LEVEL 4	

- (b) The second reading of essays will relate to the level (on the matrix) of **presentation**.

C	LEVEL 4	
P	LEVEL 3	

- (c) Allocate an overall mark with the use of the matrix.

C	LEVEL 4	}26–27
P	LEVEL 3	

COMMENT

Some omissions in content coverage.
Attempts to sustain a line of argument.



MARKING MATRIX FOR ESSAY: TOTAL: 50

	LEVEL 7	LEVEL 6	LEVEL 5	LEVEL 4	LEVEL 3	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 1*
<p>PRESENTATION</p> <p>→</p> <p>CONTENT</p> <p>↓</p>	<p>Very well planned and structured essay. Good synthesis of information. Developed an original, well-balanced and independent line of argument with the use of evidence and sustained and defended the argument throughout. Independent conclusion is drawn from evidence to support the line of argument.</p>	<p>Very well planned and structured essay. Developed a relevant line of argument. Evidence used to defend the argument. Attempts to draw an independent conclusion from the evidence to support the line of argument.</p>	<p>Well planned and structured essay. Attempts to develop a clear argument. Conclusion drawn from the evidence to support the line of argument.</p>	<p>Planned and constructed an argument. Evidence used to some extent to support the line of argument. Conclusions reached based on evidence.</p>	<p>Shows some evidence of a planned and constructed argument. Attempts to sustain a line of argument. Conclusions not clearly supported by evidence.</p>	<p>Attempts to structure an answer. Largely descriptive or some attempt at developing a line of argument. No attempt to draw a conclusion.</p>	<p>Little or no attempt to structure the essay.</p>
<p>LEVEL 7 Question has been fully answered. Content selection fully relevant to line of argument.</p>	47–50	43–46					
<p>LEVEL 6 Question has been answered. Content selection relevant to a line of argument.</p>	43–46	40–42	38–39				
<p>LEVEL 5 Question answered to a great extent. Content adequately covered and relevant.</p>	38–39	36–37	34–35	30–33	28–29		
<p>LEVEL 4 Question recognisable in answer. Some omissions or irrelevant content selection.</p>			30–33	28–29	26–27		
<p>LEVEL 3 Content selection does relate to the question, but does not answer it, or does not always relate to the question. Omissions in coverage.</p>				26–27	24–25	20–23	
<p>LEVEL 2 Question inadequately addressed. Sparse content.</p>					20–23	18–19	14–17
<p>LEVEL 1* Question inadequately addressed or not at all. Inadequate or irrelevant content.</p>						14–17	0–13

*** Guidelines for allocating a mark for Level 1:**

- Question not addressed at all/totally irrelevant content; no attempt to structure the essay = 0
- Content selection includes basic and generally irrelevant information; no attempt to structure the essay = 1–6
- Question inadequately addressed and vague; little attempt to structure the essay = 7–13

SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS**QUESTION 1: WHAT WERE THE DIFFERENT RESPONSES TO THE ATTEMPTS OF THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) TO MOBILISE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS IN THE 1980s?**

1.1

1.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A - L1]*

- '... more than 33 unions joined together ...'
- '... with a total membership of some 500 000 workers' (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 *[Definition of a term from Source 1A – L1]*

- Organisations/political parties that are not members of parliament
- Groups fighting against apartheid/groups dedicated to overthrowing the white government by force
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*

- COSATU no longer focused only on labour issues but also on the struggle for liberation, just like the ANC
- COSATU and the banned African National Congress shared the same political objective/mandate/goals of ending apartheid in South Africa
- COSATU believed in the aims of the Freedom Charter
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*

- There were many workers in industries, large factories and industrial plants
- Trade Unions were made legal and could organise meetings after political parties were banned
- It was easy for them to mobilise and hold meetings because the 1980s were generally a period of heightened political activism/consciousness/growing worker militancy against repression
- They had union representatives (shop stewards) who recruited more workers/mouthpiece of the workers
- Workers were exploited and joined Trade Unions
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

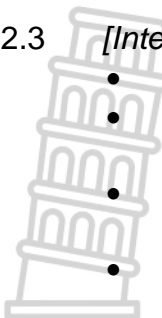
1.2

1.2.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]*

- Workers in South Africa joined workers worldwide in celebration/commemoration of International Workers' Day
- It united workers throughout the world in the struggle for their rights
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]*

- It indicates the commitment/call for workers to fight against the apartheid government's repressive labour laws
- Any other relevant response (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]*

- It was a symbol of the liberation/workers' struggle
- It shows the unity and determination of workers in their struggle against the apartheid government's labour laws
- It symbolises the power that the workers had against the apartheid government
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

1.3 *[Comparison of evidence from Sources 1A and 1B to ascertain how they support each other – L3]*

- Source 1A states that COSATU became the **largest federation of more than 33 unions** in South Africa and Source 1B shows **CCAWUSA as one of the unions** affiliated to COSATU
- Source 1A states that COSATU had a **membership of some 500 000 workers** and Source 1B shows a **large crowd of workers** attending the rally
- Source 1A indicates that South Africa was the most **industrialised country** (many workers) and Source 1B shows a large number of **CCAWUSA members who worked in industries**
- Both sources refer to the commitment of the workers in fighting/struggle for workers' rights
- Both sources refer to the involvement of youth/workers against the apartheid government
- Both sources emphasise the importance of unity and cooperation amongst unions in fighting against apartheid
- Any other relevant response

(any 2 x 2) (4)

1.4

1.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*

- '... 'living wage' campaign ...'

(1 x 1) (1)

1.4.2 *[Explanation of a term from Source 1C – L2]*

- Complaints/Demands/issues that COSATU members had against the apartheid labour laws and/or better wages
- Demands showing resentment and rejection of the apartheid government by labour unions affiliated to COSATU
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

1.4.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*

- 'The thunder of political jingles being sung in the deep angry voices ...'
- '... 300 strikers resonated down the tunnel and up the stairway towards us'
- '... the sound almost scared the life out of me'
- 'Then they appeared at the bottom of the stairs and swung in our directions'
- 'It was a terrifying sight'
- 'They were armed with knobkerries, whips, knives and a whole variety of vicious weapons'

(any 3 x 1) (3)

1.4.4 *[Determining the limitations of Source 1C – L3]*

The source is LIMITED because:



- It is only a perspective of a member of the East Rand Riot Unit
- It is one-sided/biased/propaganda against the strikers
- It is a version from a young inexperienced recruit
- The language used is exaggerated e.g. the thunder of political jingles, the mob in hand-to-hand fighting, there was blood all over me
- The source is a memoir and some of the information might have been forgotten/distorted/selected before publication
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.5

1.5.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1D – L1]*

- '... after a shooting incident involving members of the Riot Unit ...' (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D – L2]*

- Such brutal force by the Riot Unit had never been seen in South Africa
- Everything that was in and out of the building was destroyed
- The police wanted to shut down/eliminate the federation and its activities/destroy COSATU
- The behaviour of the police was reckless, immoral, criminal, unethical and unjustified
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

1.5.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1D – L1]*

- '... filing cabinets filled with documents and records rained down like confetti from balconies of the ten-storey building ...'
- '... office equipment was smashed ...'
- '... personal computers were tossed out of the windows and over the balconies into the courtyard ...'
- '... video monitors and an expensive security system were destroyed ...'
- '... and what wasn't smashed or broken was stolen'
- '... smashed the plates and control panel'
- '... the printing machine had been completely destroyed ...'
- '... cars in the basement had likewise been seriously damaged'
- 'Security Branch members started a fire ...' (any 4 x 1) (4)

1.5.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D – L2]*

- Security Branch members did not want the firefighters to stop the fire to ensure that everything in COSATU HOUSE was destroyed/delaying tactics to ensure the fire spread
- The police did not want to implicate themselves/cover their tracks
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

1.6 *[Interpretation, evaluation and synthesis from relevant sources – L3]*

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- More than 33 workers' unions decided to affiliate to COSATU and increased the membership of the federation (Source 1A)
- The ANC and UDF supporters aligned themselves with COSATU (Source 1A)
 - Unfair new labour laws motivated domestic and farm workers to join COSATU (Source 1A)
 - Community groups and students supported COSATU (own knowledge)
 - COSATU 'living wage' campaign was clamped down by the East Rand Riot Unit (Source 1C)
 - The East Rand Riot Unit confronted the mob and were able to disperse them (members of COSATU) (Source 1C)
 - Strong leadership within workplaces (shop stewards) were silenced (own knowledge)
 - The police raided COSATU House (Source 1D)
 - The Special Branch demolished COSATU House/destroyed office equipment and records (Source 1D)
 - The Special Branch set COSATU House on fire and hindered the firefighters from extinguishing the fire (Source 1D)
 - The apartheid government/Special Branch tortured/silenced/killed some leaders of COSATU (own knowledge)
 - UWUSA (government-aligned by IFP) and other unions/federations were formed to counter the formation of COSATU (own knowledge)
 - Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses evidence in an elementary manner e.g. shows no or little understanding of the different responses to the attempts of the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) to mobilise South African workers in the 1980s. • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph. 	MARKS: 0–2
LEVEL 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence is mostly relevant and relates largely on the topic e.g. shows some understanding of the different responses to the attempts of the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) to mobilise South African workers in the 1980s. • Uses evidence in a basic manner to write a paragraph. 	MARKS: 3–5
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses relevant evidence e.g. demonstrates a thorough understanding of the different responses to the attempts of the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) to mobilise South African workers in the 1980s. • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic. 	MARKS: 6–8

(8)
[50]

QUESTION 2: WHY DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) REJECT THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS OF THE PERPETRATORS WHO TORTURED REVEREND TSHENUWANI FARISANI?

2.1

2.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*

- '... Black People's Convention/BPC ...'
- '... Black Evangelical Youth Organisation/BEYO' (2 x 1) (2)

2.1.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2A – L1]*

- '... brutal torture ...'
- '... beatings ...'
- '... electric shocks ...'
- '... prolonged isolation' (any 3 x 1) (3)

2.1.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2A – L2]*

- The injustices meted out against Farisani due to his political beliefs were wrong
- The apartheid government imprisoned him because he held political views that were not tolerated by the state in which he lived
- That he was imprisoned for peaceful expression of his political beliefs
- Pledging solidarity with the cause of prisoners like Farisani who suffered physical abuse and was restricted solely for his stance against apartheid
- Putting pressure on the apartheid government for the abuses suffered and campaign for the release of Farisani who fought against the injustices of apartheid
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.1.4 *[Definition of a term from Source 2A – L1]*

- Cruel or unfair treatment of people because of their beliefs
- Harassment of people who hold dissenting views
- Unfair treatment of a person on the basis of gender/sexual orientation /political beliefs
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.2

2.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2B – L1]*

- '... Mr JAM Silimela ...'
 - '... Mr Magwaba ...'
 - '... Ramaligela ...'
- (any 2 x 1) (2)

2.2.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B – L2]*

- Farisani was showing willingness to restore relations with his torturers in a spirit of reconciliation provided that they reveal the truth
- Farisani was longing for the truth in his quest to find closure and did not show any vengeance/no hatred towards his perpetrators
- Farisani's words are premised on the primary objectives set out by the TRC in their attempt to reconcile the nation through telling the truth/restorative justice
- Farisani wanted to hear the truth from his perpetrators
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

2.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B - L2]*

- Ramaligela was mocking Farisani's religious beliefs to create psychological distress and completely break him down
- The use of pretence and dishonest methods of interrogation used by Ramaligela was to erode Farisani's confidence in believing that God exists
- The security police believed that they had all the powers and could not be challenged by an individual/act of intimidation
- The tactics were brutal and inhumane
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

2.2.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2B - L2]*

- If there is no full disclosure, perpetrators will continue to commit human rights abuses
- Perpetrators of human rights abuses should disclose the whole truth in their quest to find closure and prevent further prosecutions
- The truth shall set them free so that they will not be haunted by further prosecutions
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

2.2.5 *[Determining the reliability of evidence from Source 2B – L3]***The source is RELIABLE because:**

- The testimony contains first-hand information from Farisani regarding how he was tortured during his detention and interrogation
- It is from a testimony that Reverend Farisani presented to the TRC Human Rights Violation Committee hearings held on 4 October 1996 in Venda
- The testimony is published in the TRC Final Report
- His testimony regarding torture can be corroborated with other sources. e.g. Sources 2A and 2C
- Any other relevant response

(any 2 x 2) (4)

2.3

2.3.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 2C – L1]*

- '... finds that all the acts in respect of which amnesty is sought by the applicants were committed with a political objective as required by the Act'

(1 x 2) (2)

2.3.2 [Extraction of evidence from Source 2C – L1]

- '... T Nesamari ...'
- '... P Managa ...'
- '... M Ramaligela ...'

(3 x 1) (3)

2.3.3 [Explanation of term in context of evidence from Source 2C – L2]

- Spoken/verbal accounts given by the policemen/perpetrators who tortured Farisani/any victim in order to plead for amnesty
- First-hand memories/accounts given by the amnesty applicants relating to the human rights abuses committed against Farisani/any victim in their quest for amnesty
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

2.3.4 [Interpretation of evidence from Source 2C – L2]

- The applicants did not tell the whole truth as was expected by the TRC Act, (Act 34 of 1995)
- The testimonies given by the applicants were not sufficient to make them qualify for amnesty
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

2.4 [Comparison of Sources 2B and 2C to ascertain their similarities – L3]

- Source 2B mentions **the bag that was pulled over** Rev. Farisani to torture him and Source 2C highlights the **use of a bag filled with water** that was put over the head / Both sources highlight the use of a bag as a torture method used by the security police during Rev. Farisani's detention and interrogation process
- Source 2B refers to the **press-ups/'stand on my head' that Rev. Farisani had to perform and Source 2C highlights the strenuous exercises that he was involved in**
- Source 2B refers to the **kicking** meted out against Rev. Farisani and Source 2C refers to **the vicious assaults that Rev. Farisani had to endure** / Both sources highlight how Rev. Farisani was assaulted
- Source 2B refers to the **electric devices** tied over his ears and Source 2C mentions the **electric shocks** applied to the ear lobes
- Both sources mention that Ramaligela was responsible for human rights violations committed against Rev. Farisani
- Any other relevant response

(any 2 x 2) (4)

2.5

2.5.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2D – L2]*

(a)

- As Minister of Justice, he was responsible for the TRC
- The Minister/government is exposing the acts of violence committed by the police under apartheid
- Dullah Omar, Minister of Justice wanted to ensure that truth-telling as the mandate of the TRC is achieved
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

(b)

- The sweating of the police suggests that they were anxious about the truth being revealed
- Their facial expression suggests fear of being implicated in human rights violations
- They represent the apartheid government
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

2.5.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 2D - L2]*

- Frame A refers to the security policemen's version of hiding the truth
- Frame B reveals the hidden human rights violations committed by the security policemen
- Any other relevant response (2 x 2) (4)



2.6 *[Interpretation, evaluation and synthesis of evidence from relevant sources - L3]*
Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- Reverend Farisani presented his testimony at the TRC regarding his torture that he suffered at the hands of the security policemen (Source 2B)
- Farisani's testimony at the TRC explains how the policemen's brutal interrogation was unrelated to any political motive that could qualify them for amnesty (Source 2B)
- The policemen used vicious interrogation methods to compel Farisani into a false confession (Source 2B)
- The Committee was not satisfied that the three applicants had made a full disclosure of all relevant facts as required by section 20(1) of the Act (Source 2C)
- The three applicants played down their role and involvement in the assault and torture/human rights violation of victims who were tortured separately (Source 2C)
- Testimonies of victims were consistent and showed brutal torture methods used against Farisani by policemen, that led the committee not to accept the testimony of the policemen (Source 2C)
- Evidence in the cartoon highlights the fact that the apartheid security policemen did not always tell the truth and the TRC did not grant amnesty to the perpetrators (Source 2D)
- Security policemen wanted to evade accountability by not telling the truth/making a full disclosure, as seen by their reaction towards the TRC in the cartoon (Source 2D)
- The security policemen did not want to implicate their principals in the torture of Reverend Farisani (own knowledge)
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

LEVEL 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. shows no or little understanding of explaining why the TRC rejected the amnesty applications of the perpetrators who tortured Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani. • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph. 	MARKS 0–2
LEVEL 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. shows some understanding of why the TRC rejected the amnesty applications of the perpetrators who tortured Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani. • Uses evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph. 	MARKS 3–5
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses relevant evidence, e.g. demonstrates a thorough understanding of explaining why the TRC rejected the amnesty applications of the perpetrators who tortured Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani. • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic. 	MARKS 6–8

(8)
[50]

QUESTION 3: HOW MIGHT THE EXPANSION OF BRICS COUNTRIES BE SEEN AS A THREAT TO THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE GLOBAL NORTH (WESTERN COUNTRIES) AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH (BRICS COUNTRIES)?

3.1

3.1.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3A - L1]*

- '... 20 September 2006' (1 x 1) (1)

3.1.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3A – L1]*

- '... Russia'
- 'Brazil'
- 'China'
- '... India' (4 x 1) (4)

3.1.3 *[Definition of a term from Source 3A – L1]*

- A high-level meeting/conference of heads of government
- Any other relevant response (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3A – L2]*

- Strengthen BRICS countries to challenge the Global North/balance of power
- Neutralised the domination by the Global North
- It provided more BRICS members to collaborate at the United Nations
- Support and development (political, economic and social) to members of the Third World countries (Global South)
- Directly threatened the Global North to recognise the Global South as an equal trading partner
- To make BRICS more inclusive
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.2

3.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3B – L1]*

- '... artificial Intelligence (AI) governance framework ...'
- '... an independent economic system ...'
- '... regional security coalitions' (any 2 x 1) (2)

3.2.2 *[Explanation of concept from Source 3B – L2]*

- The reduction of dependence on the US dollar in global trade by BRICS member states
- The increased use of local BRICS currencies as a substitute for the dollar in international trade transactions
- The establishment of an international payment system not reliant on dollar payments
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

3.2.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3B – L1]*

- '... to create an independent grain trading system ...'
- '... would increase the organisation's negotiating power in grain prices ...'
- '... combat sanctions by the United States and its G7 partners' (any 1 x 2) (2)

3.2.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3B – L2]*

- US would lose its position as a leader of the Global North/de-dollarisation
- Global North would surrender its dominant position in the world
- Opened doors for leadership in the Global North
- Free trade would narrow the economic gap between the undeveloped/underdeveloped and developed countries
- It would give the Global South to play a meaningful role in sharing political and economic spheres in the world
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.3

3.3.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3C – L2]*

(a)

- G7 GDP noted a steady decline/shrinking influence
- The gap between the G7 and the developing countries was narrowing
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3C – L2]

(b)

- BRICS GDP noted a steady increase between 1995 and 2023/growing influence
- BRICS economic power was improving
- China and India contributed more in the economic development in the BRICS countries
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2) (2)

3.3.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3C – L2]*

- Gradual/Steady rise of the GDP
- Positions China as a leader in BRICS countries
- Implies that China is an emerging power
- Challenging the dominance of the USA
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2) (4)

3.4

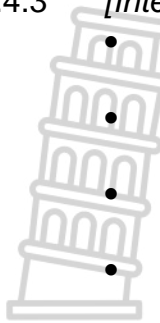
3.4.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3D – L1]*

- '... BRICS+ countries' (1 x 1) (1)

3.4.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 3D – L1]*

- '... rules-based international order, established by the United States ...'
- '... they see as benefitting the West (especially the United States) over the emerging Global South' (any 1 x 2) (2)

3.4.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 3D – L2]*



- The GDP of BRICS+ represents an emerging economic power and a threat to the economic dominance of the Global North
- The powerful GDP of BRICS+ (and possible de-dollarisation) represents a possible threat to the dominance of the US dollar in international trade
- The substantial population of BRICS+ is a threat because the population of the Global North is generally aging and in decline in many countries
- The large population of BRICS+ represents a large workforce that can fuel economic growth
- Any other relevant response

(any 1 x 2) (2)

3.4.4 *[Determining the usefulness of Source 3D – L3]*

The source is USEFUL because:

- It is part of a speech delivered by Trump in a campaign rally when he felt threatened by BRICS expansion – gave insight into Trump's perspective
- Trump gave a speech as the president-elect of the USA and the leading figure of the Global North, who was worried about the growth of the Global South
- Trump addressed the rally soon after six new members joined BRICS
- It highlights how Trump was concerned about de-dollarisation by BRICS+
- Any other relevant response

(any 2 x 2) (4)

3.5 *[Comparison of evidence from Sources 3C and 3D to ascertain how they support each other – L3]*

- Source 3C shows the **declining G7 economic power** and Source 3D refers to BRICS **countries leaving the dollar/de-dollarisation**
- Source 3C shows the BRICS GDP **increasing to 32,1% over time** and Source 3D indicates that the BRICS countries **formed 35% of the world's GDP**/Both sources show that BRICS GDP formed over 30% of the world's GDP
- Source 3C shows **USA and China as dominating leaders for the G7** and BRICS, respectively and Source 3D refers to a **trade war between China and the USA** as dominating powers
- Any other relevant response

(any 2 x 2) (4)

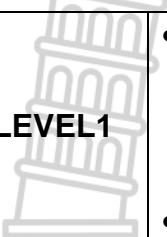


3.6 *[Interpretation, evaluation and synthesis from relevant sources – L3]*

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- The expansion of BRICS members from BRIC to BRICS+ was meant to challenge the Global North (Source 3A)
- BRICS was created to focus on emerging markets and developing countries in the Global South (Source 3A)
 - A priority of BRICS+ is to promote the formation of a multi-polar world order and strengthen global security and stability around the world (Source 3A)
 - BRICS is seen as a way to counter-balance the economic dominance of the G7 which represents the interests of the Global North (own knowledge)
 - BRICS rejects unilateral coercive measures used by the West (Source 3A)
 - BRICS is challenging the international order through an AI governance framework, an independent economic system and regional security coalitions (Source 3B)
 - BRICS wishes to allow nations to act independently, without involvement or enforcement from the West (Source 3B)
 - BRICS aims at de-dollarisation and diminishing the effects of Western sanctions (Source 3B)
 - BRICS is creating an energy partnership with energy-rich nations to gain control of more of the world's energy reserves (Source 3B)
 - BRICS aims to create an independent grain trading system which would increase its negotiating power in the grain market (Source 3B)
 - BRICS created the New Development Bank (NDB) as an alternative to Western financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (own knowledge)
 - Expansion of BRICS with the addition of new members: Argentina, Ethiopia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates is a threat to the Global North (Sources 3A and 3C)
 - There is interest from other countries (like Thailand) in joining BRICS, which would further upset the existing global order (own knowledge)
 - De-dollarisation is recognised as a threat by Donald Trump/USA (Source 3D)
 - BRICS+ countries form 35% of the world's GDP and 45% of the world's population which is a threat to the West (Source 3D)
 - Possible sanctions or tariffs by Trump (the West) could consolidate China's leadership of the BRICS+ and lead to more innovation, co-operation and integration of the Global South (Source 3D)
 - Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate marks:

 <p>LEVEL 1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. shows no or little understanding of how the expansion of BRICS countries might be seen as a threat to the balance of power between the Global North (Western Countries) and Global South (BRICS countries). • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph. 	<p>MARKS 0–2</p>
<p>LEVEL 2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. shows some understanding of how the expansion of BRICS countries might be seen as a threat to the balance of power between the Global North (Western Countries) and Global South (BRICS countries). • Uses evidence in a basic manner to write a paragraph. 	<p>MARKS 3–5</p>
<p>LEVEL 3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses relevant evidence, e.g. demonstrates a thorough understanding of how the expansion of BRICS countries might be seen as a threat to the balance of power between the Global North (Western Countries) and Global South (BRICS countries). • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic. 	<p>MARKS 6–8</p>

(8)
[50]



SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to **agree or disagree** with the statement that the philosophy of Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement revived resistance to apartheid in South Africa from the 1960s to the 1970s. Candidates need to substantiate their line of argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction: Candidates need to take a stance by either agreeing or disagreeing with the statement that the philosophy of Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement revived resistance to apartheid in South Africa from the 1960s to the 1970s. They should also provide examples of content and how they would use it to support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- Political vacuum (Background information)
 - Created after the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were banned in 1960 and their leaders imprisoned
- Black Consciousness philosophy
 - Instilling black people with self-belief to challenge the apartheid state
 - Influenced black people to accept themselves/have self-confidence/self-reliance/sense of identity
 - Empowered black people to reject the spirit of self-pity; inferiority complex; self-alienation and domination by external forces
 - Infused black people with a sense of pride
 - Women and men would stop using skin lightening products/keep afro hairstyles
- Inspired the establishment of political organisations promoting the Black Consciousness (BC) philosophy
 - Instilling political organisations with the determination to challenge the apartheid state
 - Black students started to organise themselves to resist white domination by breaking away from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and forming South African Students Organisation (SASO) (1968)
 - Black students adopted the philosophy of Black Consciousness (Role of Biko/SASO which revived resistance to apartheid)
 - SASO was for university students and South African Student Movement (SASM) for schools
 - Black Consciousness led to the formation of the Black Peoples Convention (BPC) in 1972 which involved students, churches, communities and trade unions (which revived resistance to apartheid)
 - The South African Students Movement (SASM) was formed in 1972 and exposed Blacks to the ideals of BC (which revived resistance to apartheid)
 - Unions aligned to the BC philosophy included Black Parents' Association and Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) which revived resistance to apartheid

- BCM and SASO organised the VIVA FRELIMO Rallies (1974) which revived resistance to apartheid
- The arrests of BC leaders heightened political activism and revived resistance to apartheid
- Mobilisation of students – Soweto uprising inspired and empowered students with self-belief to challenge the apartheid state
 - Bantu Education introduced Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools (1975)
 - South African Students Movement (formed in 1972) exposed black people to the ideals of BC and helped revive resistance to apartheid
 - SASO and SASM influenced the formation of Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC)
 - Both black teachers and students rejected Afrikaans - as the language of the oppressor
 - Some teachers and learners were already exposed to the ideas of Biko and the BC philosophy through SASO student teachers from universities
 - The departmental circular on Afrikaans (50/50) was the trigger for the Soweto uprising
 - 16th June 1976, students protested peacefully against the implementation of the circular (which revived resistance to Apartheid)
 - Police response to student protests (Hector Petersen, a 13-year-old boy was one of the first casualties of this uprising)
 - Students and learners fled into exile, where they continued to resist Apartheid
- The establishment of community programmes for self-reliance
 - Biko's banishment to King Williams' Town led to a diverted focus on community programmes
 - BC promoted independence from white people through black community programmes to support black people without white assistance (Zanempilo Health Clinic/Ginsburg Educational Trust/Zimele Trust Fund/Solempilo Community Health Centre/Ithuseng Community Health Programme and Winter School Projects) (which revived resistance to Apartheid at the local level)
- Mobilised workers to form a trade union and challenge the apartheid state
 - Mobilised workers to form trade unions
 - Unions aligned to the BC philosophy included Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU)
 - BC inspired the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) to organise the 1973 workers' strikes in Durban (which revived workers' resistance to apartheid)
- Empowered black people to have their own media to challenge the apartheid state
 - Role of media that was sympathetic to the BC philosophy, e.g. *The World* newspaper (which revived resistance to apartheid)
- Any other relevant response

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

[50]

QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to take a **critical discussion** on the assertion that the road to democracy was characterised by a non-violent process of negotiation. They need to show that there was a non-violent process of negotiation but at the same time there was much violence that almost derailed the negotiation process. Candidates should use relevant evidence to support their line of argument.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their essays:

- Introduction: Candidates need to take a critical stance by indicating that it was not only a non-violent process. The period 1990–1994 was also characterised by much violence. They should also provide examples of content and how they would use it to support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- FW de Klerk took over from PW Botha in 1989 and introduced reforms
- Unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) and other banned organisations
- Release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990 and other banned political leaders in 1990 (this opened the way to negotiations for democratic SA) (non-violent negotiations)
- Talks (31 March 1990) between the ANC and the National Party (NP) were postponed due to killing of defenceless demonstrators in Sebokeng (violence)
- Groote Schuur Minute, 2 May 1990 - both parties (ANC and NP) committed themselves to end violence and to negotiate (non-violent negotiations)
- Violence in the Vaal Triangle – Sebokeng (July 1990)
- Hand grenade attack on Melrose House Museum (24 May 1990) - (violence)
- Pretoria Minute (August 1990) – ANC stopped armed struggle and NP stopped State of Emergency (non-violent negotiations)
- The National Peace Accord signed by 27 political organisations (14 September 1991) (non-violent negotiations)
- CODESA 1 (21 December 1991) - 19 political parties except for Conservative Party (CP) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). NP strongly criticised ANC for not disbanding Mkhonto We Sizwe (MK) and accused them of keeping it (Mkhonto We Sizwe) as a 'private army'
- The Declaration of Intent (21 December 1991) – political parties agreed to draw up a new constitution and interim government (non-violent negotiations)
- Whites-only referendum – De Klerk tested white opinion to continue with negotiations after losing three by-elections to CP. Referendum results – landslide Yes – negotiations continued (non-violent negotiations)
- CODESA 2 (2 May 1992) – was not successful because of the inability of parties to agree on power-sharing – ended in deadlock (non-violent negotiations)/violence in Ventersdorp
- Boipatong Massacre (17 June 1992) and the influence of Third Force (violence)

- Bisho Massacre (7 September 1992) – ANC supporters who wanted to be part of the negotiation process (violence/after which non-violent negotiation process was favoured by the ANC)
- ANC called for rolling mass action (May 1992) against the National Party
- Resistance from Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) – October 1992
- Record of Understanding – 26 September 1992 – Meyer and Ramaphosa committed themselves to peace and to negotiations, Meyer and Ramaphosa agreed on Joe Slovo's Sunset clause (2 April 1993) (non-violent negotiations)
- Parties winning more than 5% of the vote will form a Government of National Unity (GNU) to govern the new SA and whites could retain their positions for 5 years (non-violent negotiations)
- IFP withdrew from the Multi-party negotiation forum
- Multi-party negotiations resumed on 2 April 1993 at the World Trade Centre but did not last (non-violent negotiations)
- Assassination of Chris Hani on 10 April 1993 (violence)
- Mandela addresses the nation on TV calming the nation down after the assassination of Chris Hani
- The AWB interrupted the negotiations on 25 June 1993, when they stormed the World Trade Centre with an armoured vehicle (violence)
- Date for the first democratic elections set (27–29 April 1994) despite a series of violent attacks: St James Church massacre (25 July 1993), Heidelberg Tavern massacre (30 December 1993), Bophuthatswana massacre (11 March 1994), Shell House massacre (28 March 1994) (negotiations/violence)
- IFP joined the elections on the eve of the election date
- Elections held in 1994 despite continued violence throughout elections – car bomb outside ANC head offices and a car bomb exploded at Jan Smuts airport (violence)
- Mandela became the first President of the new democratic Republic of South Africa with Thabo Mbeki and FW De Klerk as his deputies/GNU
- Any other relevant response

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

[50]



QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to indicate whether it was to a **greater or lesser extent** that Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost and Perestroika in the 1980s ultimately led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Candidates need to substantiate their argument with relevant historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- Introduction: Candidates need to take a stance, indicating to what extent Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost and Perestroika in the 1980s ultimately led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. They should also provide examples of content and how they would use it to support their line of argument.

ELABORATION

- Background
 - USA and the Soviet Union emerged as superpowers after the Second World War
 - The two were involved in a Cold War for ideological domination
 - Space and arms race against the USA – crippled the economy of the Soviet Union
 - War in Afghanistan weakened the economy of the Soviet Union
 - Gorbachev took over as the leader of the Soviet Union in 1985
 - He inherited an inefficient and corrupt bureaucratic system and an economically weakened Soviet Union
 - Agriculture – poor production
 - Chernobyl disaster
- He hoped to revive the Soviet Union's economy by improving both industrial output and technology, as well as expanding its markets
- He took a risk of introducing political and economic changes
- Perestroika
 - In 1985 he introduced the policy of Perestroika (economic reconstruction)
 - Allowed small-scale private ownership
 - Removed government control over production
 - Accepted aspects of a capitalist system into communism
 - Shut down non-profitable businesses and industries
- Glasnost
 - Policy of openness and transparency
 - Increased media freedom (reduction of censorship) and encouraged increased participation in, and criticism of government
 - Allowed non-communist parties to be part of the government system – slowly destabilising communist control
 - Included moves to normalise relations with the USA which alarmed hardliners
 - Release of political prisoners

- Consequences of both policies
 - Perestroika was poorly implemented/managed, and confusing for enterprises which had never operated in a capitalist environment
 - Glasnost led to criticism of government – including criticism of Perestroika and of Gorbachev himself
 - It's the inability to cope with a market-driven economy (supply and demand) that is the main issue
 - Lack of entrepreneurial spirit and ability to use initiative had been stifled under Communism
 - Loss of jobs and increasing inflation due to perestroika = political dissatisfaction
 - Glasnost's reforms and release of political prisoners, emboldened nationalist groups, especially satellite states of Eastern Europe
 - Many hard-line communists were discontent with policies that became unpopular
 - At home he had two types of opponents: hardliners who were opposed to the reforms and liberals who criticised him for not moving fast enough
 - He had a hero status in the West, his personal power and prestige increased and he earned a Nobel Peace Prize in 1990
 - The two policies did not support each other as thought but ended the entire system of the Soviet Union
 - Perestroika and Glasnost led to demands for the end of communism and full democracy
 - He lost support at home – the unity of the Soviet Union was at risk and socialism became threatened
 - They led to the collapse of the Berlin Wall (1989), signifying the end of the Cold War
 - The Soviet Union lost influence in Eastern Europe
 - Many underlying differences always existed among the 15 republics
 - Civil unrest broke out between various groups
 - Old forms of nationalism emerged and led to a new demand for independence
 - He tried to stop the disintegration by proposing the establishment of a Federation of States – which failed
 - In 1990, several Soviet states, including Russia under Gorbachev's bitter rival, Boris Yeltsin, declared their independence
 - On 25 December 1991, the USSR was dissolved, the Communist Party was disbanded
 - Each of the 15 Republics became independent and became members of the Commonwealth of Independent States
 - The disintegration symbolised the end of the Cold War and the fall of communism
 - The USA remained the only superpower
 - Any other relevant response

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

[50]

TOTAL: 150