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SOUTH AFRICAN COMPREHENSIVE ASSESSMENT INSTITUTE
SUID-AFRIKAANSE KOMPREENSIEWE ASSESSERINGSINSTITUUT



SECTION A

QUESTION 1: HOW DID PW BOTHA'S GOVERNMENT TRY TO REFORM APARTHEID TO APPEASE THE BLACK MAJORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE 1980s?

SOURCE 1A

The source below is an extract from an article: *South Africa: PW Botha* by Dan van der Vat, compiled for the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper on 1 November 2006 long after the death of PW Botha. The article evaluates Botha's political contribution to South Africa.

Botha soon stunned everyone by pronouncing apartheid dead. "Adapt or die" became his watchword as he foreshadowed "reform" without precedent. The world fondly imagined he would abolish discrimination as he became the first South African leader to visit Soweto, Johannesburg's south-western township, and travelled abroad more than any of his predecessors. However, the furthest he was prepared to go was to shift the great divide in South African politics from between white and non-white to between non-black and black.

But progress could not be stemmed altogether. One of the most important changes under Botha's leadership was the legalisation of black trade unions in 1979, giving black industrial labour a voice. "Petty apartheid" was radically cut back... the fatuous laws (silly and pointless) banning marriage and sex between different races were repealed, the notorious pass laws, the British legacy that controlled the movements of Africans, and the ban on black freehold ownership were also scrapped."

But residential and educational segregation and racial classification were retained. In 1983, under loudly trumpeted constitutional reform proposals, the coloured and Asian minorities were given their own separate chambers in parliament. Black political rights, however, were enshrined in their tribal "homelands" as conceived by Verwoerd, "Grand apartheid was adapting, but only so as not to die".

[Source from: *South Africa: PW Botha - Mail and Guardian*, 1 November 2006. Accessed on 14 November 2024]

SOURCE 1B

The extract below is from an article: *South Africa: Botha's Reforms*, compiled on 21 May 1980 by African Division Office of Political Analysis and was released on 11 June 2010 by the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency).

Prime Minister, PW Botha, strongly influenced by the leaders of his military forces who believe the greatest security threat to South Africa is internal black discontent, is searching for less restrictive social and economic policies to dampen black restrictiveness. He has hinted that urban blacks might eventually be allowed a voice within a revised constitutional framework intended to streamline the present system of separate development of the races.

Botha believed that the existing social order cannot be maintained unless a stable black urban population is created. He wants to remove the most irritating aspect of legalized racial discrimination and give urban blacks more control of their own affairs and a greater economic stake in the white areas. Botha hoped to consolidate some of the more fragmented "black homelands" into more viable entities and intends to give Coloured persons of mixed blood ... and Asians a political role in the white areas in which they live. He envisaged a form of common South African citizenship for all races.

Botha has been slow to make good on his promises and so far, has managed only minor reforms. The government recently granted black trade unions the right to organize and had removed an anachronistic (belonging or appropriate to an earlier period) law that kept blacks from becoming skilled workers.

The Prime Minister met with "homeland" leaders in February to set up a joint government-homeland committee to explore common approaches to the South African dilemma. Within days of the Mugabe victory in Rhodesia, Botha took his plans one step forward for an undefined "council of states" in which all races could participate. For the first time he included urban blacks in this "council" and couched (express) his announcement in terms abstract enough to encourage those looking for new directions.

[Source from: <https://www.cia.gov/docs>. Accessed on 12 November 2024]



SOURCE 1C

The source below is an article by Chetty, published in 2023 titled: *Walking the Tightrope: The President's Council, PW Botha and the Rhetoric of Reform*. It focuses on the establishment of the Tricameral System of Parliament in the 1980s.

The Fifth Amendment Act of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa was passed in 1980. This Act marked a significant change from a constitution adopted in 1961 when South Africa was declared a Republic. It created the office of the Vice President, abolished the Senate and provided for the creation of a President's Council. The Vice President would serve as its chair. Other members of the Council were to be appointed by the President, serve a term of five years, and would be paid for their service. Some of the criteria that excluded possible candidates were their age, citizenship and designated race.

Members of the President's Council had to be at least thirty years old, hold South African citizenship and be classified as either White, Indian, Coloured or Chinese. Both men and women were eligible (having the right) for appointment. A key role of the President's Council was to advise the President on any issue deemed to be in the 'public interest' and to advise legislative bodies on 'draft legislation' should advice be sought. To fulfil its advisory role, the Council was permitted to consult with any individual or 'state organisations'. Its findings would then be made available to the President who would place it before the House of Assembly.

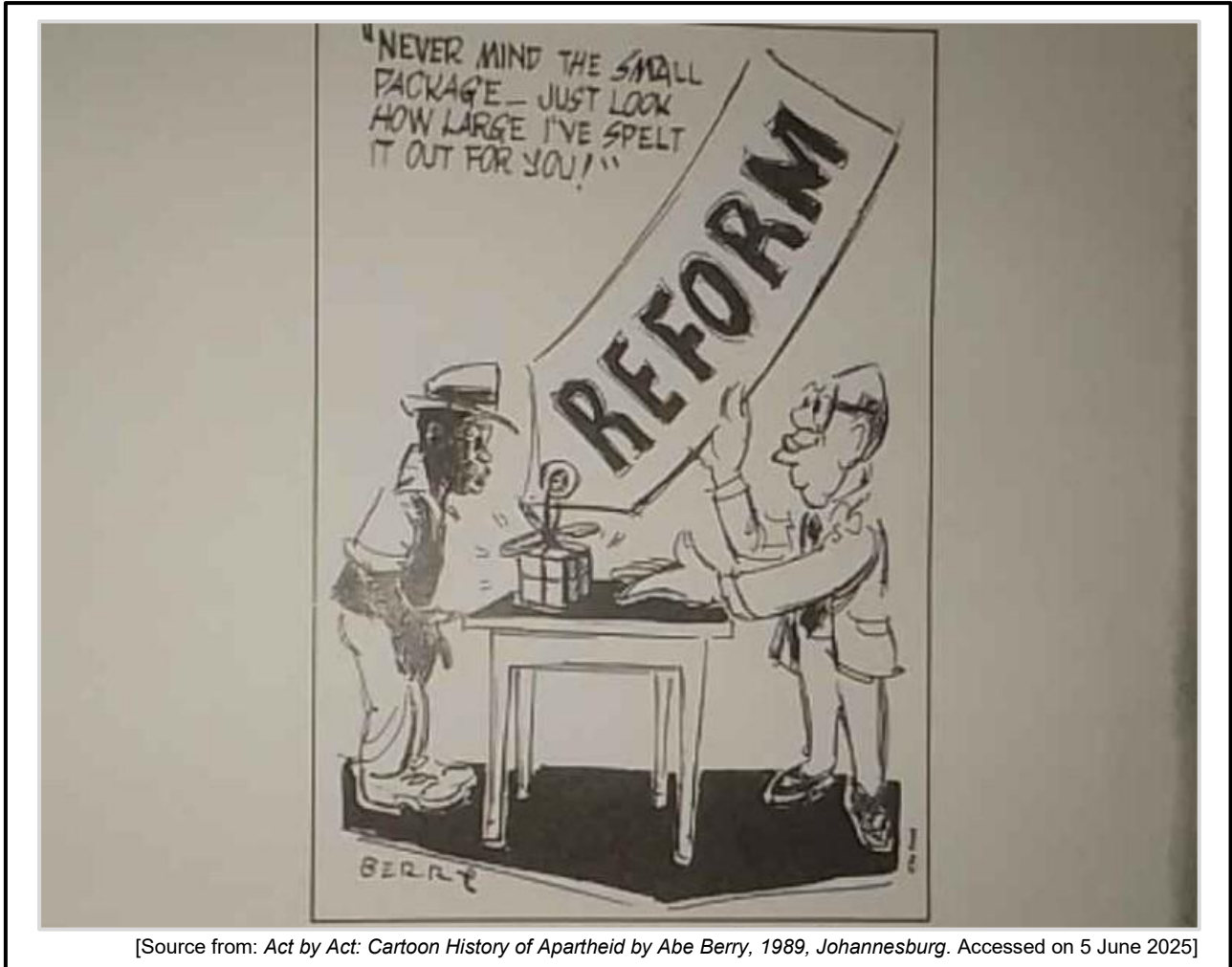
The President's Council comprised five committees – each with fifteen members. Members were permitted to serve in more than one committee. The committees were the committee for Economic Affairs, the Planning Committee, the Constitutional Committee, the Committee for Constitutional Relations and the Science Committee. The members chosen by Botha reflected what was described as a 'representative cross-section' of South African society – but, as already noted, Africans were excluded.

[Source from: <https://scielo.org.za/scielo>. Accessed on 14 November 2024]



SOURCE 1D

The source below is a cartoon by Abe Berry published in 1989 from *Act by Act: A Cartoon History of Apartheid in 1989*. It depicts PW Botha presenting his 'reform package' to Black South Africans.



[Source from: *Act by Act: Cartoon History of Apartheid* by Abe Berry, 1989, Johannesburg. Accessed on 5 June 2025]

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH THE MURDER CASE OF THE CRADOCK FOUR?

SOURCE 2A

The source below is an article by Yasmin Sooka: *Cradock Four families Denied the Right to Truth and Justice for 36 years*. It was published on 27 June 2021 and coincided with the 36th anniversary of the murder of the Cradock Four.

27 June is the 36th anniversary of the murder of the Cradock Four. Their families are still awaiting the prosecution of their killers. They have joined the call for an independent commission of inquiry into political interference with the NPA (National Prosecuting Authority) that halted prosecutions of apartheid-era murderers.

On 27 June 1985, four anti-apartheid activists from Cradock, Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkonto travelled back from a United Democratic Front (UDF) meeting in Gqeberha, (formerly Port Elizabeth) to Cradock.

Matthew Goniwe, an activist teacher and prominent community leader in Cradock, had helped organize and support a school strike in the community, which served to catalyse (accelerate a reaction) the town's strong resistance to the apartheid government.

Fort Calata too had history of activism that extended from his family roots; his grandfather James Calata had served as the Secretary-General of the African National Congress (ANC) from 1936 to 1949. Fort, a teacher, worked closely with Goniwe. Their close collaboration brought them to the attention of the apartheid security police who wanted to reduce their influence even if it meant eliminating them.

Sicelo Mhlauli, the headmaster of a school in Oudtshoorn, was also a member of the UDF, as was Sparrow Mkonto, a railway shop steward who became a senior office-bearer of the Cradock Residents' Association (CRADORA) also attracting the attention of the security police.

The four never arrived back in Cradock. They were intercepted by the security police on their way home, and their charred remains were discovered days later.

[Source from: *The Daily Maverick: Cradock Four Families denied the right to truth and justice for 36 years, 27 June 2021.*
Accessed on 6 December 2024]

SOURCE 2B

The source below is from an article titled: *Goniwe's killer convinced he would get away with it, TRC hears*, published on 3 March 1989 by South African Press Association. It explains how one of the security policemen, who wiped out the Cradock Four testified before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

A security policeman from a squad that wiped out the Cradock policemen – in 1985 – on Tuesday showed limited knowledge of the men's organisation at the time: the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front.

Eric Alexander Taylor, a former police lieutenant, was testifying before the Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Port Elizabeth. He has confessed to the murders. He said the four activists were killed because they were seen as a threat to the country.

Taylor said he was having difficulty remembering the leadership structures of the UDF and its affiliates in the Eastern Cape. He is applying for amnesty for the murder in June 1985 of UDF members Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlauli.

The Committee has heard from two other officers applying for amnesty – Nic Janse van Rensburg and Johan van Zyl – that the Cradock Four were eliminated because they were causing anarchy in the province.

Asked by George Bizos, Senior Council for the families of the victims, to name the executive members of the UDF in Port Elizabeth and Cradock at the time, Taylor was unable to do so.

He explained that at the time he knew most of the UDF activists and the positions they held but had since forgotten how many of them were. Taylor, who was responsible for monitoring activists in the Cradock area, also had difficulty in describing the positions held by Goniwe, Calata and Mkonto in the Cradock Residents' Association, which the police also saw as a threat to security in the area.

[Source from: SAPAJustice.gov.za Accessed on 5 June 2025]

SOURCE 2C

This poster published in 1998, was produced by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as part of a campaign to promote awareness of its work and to encourage victims to give testimony. The slogan of this poster today speaks to the unfinished business of the TRC.



SOURCE 2D

The source below is an extract from the *Herald Live* newspaper by Tymol Smit and published on 21 July 2021. It is titled: *Lukhanyo Calata's last stand for justice for the Cradock Four*. It highlights how the Cradock Four families led by Lukhanyo Calata, reacted to the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) for delaying the prosecution of the State Security Police for the murder of the Cradock Four.

Calata's anger, outrage and bitterness at the democratic government is evident in his 134-page affidavit. The government for which the Cradock Four fought has failed consistently to deliver on its promises of justice and closure for the families of those who died in the struggle against apartheid.

His application lists 17 respondents, including several high-ranking former members of the apartheid regime who sat in State Security Council (SSC) meetings. Evidence suggests decisions were made here that led to the murders of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkonto, who became known as the Cradock Four, on 25 June, 1985.

They include former President FW de Klerk, former Minister of Law-and-Order Adriaan Vlok, former Minister of Black Education Barend du Plessis, former South African Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe and former National Intelligence Service Director Niel Barnard. Former apartheid 'super spy', Craig Williamson and former SAP Head of Counterintelligence, "Krappies", Engelbrecht are also in the list.

None of them applied for amnesty with regard to the Cradock Four murders, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) never asked any of them about their alleged involvement in the events that led to the murders. This was despite evidence presented during the 1994 inquest into the deaths that judge Neville Zietsman chaired and subsequent evidence by eight former security force members who applied for and were mostly denied amnesty by the TRC.

[Source from: *Herald Live*, 21 July 2021. Accessed on 9 December 2024]

QUESTION 3: WHAT ARE THE IMPORTANT GLOBAL ISSUES BEING ADDRESSED BY G20 IN THE 21ST CENTURY?**SOURCE 3A**

Below is an extract from *Briefing Paper 16/2011, The G20: Its Beginnings and Composition*, published in 2011 by the German Development Institute (DIE).

The finance ministers at the G7 Summit in Cologne in June 1999 recommended founding the G20 to strengthen the international financial architecture (structure). The G20 was subsequently established in December 1999 as a regular forum for finance ministers and central bank governors. The G20 was valorised (given value) when the heads of state and government met for the first time at the G20 summit in Washington in November 2008 to deal with the global economic and financial crisis. The G20 thus became the key forum for the most important industrial and emerging countries to discuss major issues of international currency and financial policy, as well as other global challenges.

The G20 is a group of finance ministers and central bank governors and, since 2008, leaders of 19 countries: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Germany, France, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the USA meet annually. The European Union (G7) is the 20th member, represented by the Presidents of the European Commission and the European Central Bank. Some ex-officio members also take part in G20 meetings to support collaboration with international fora and institutions. This includes the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the President of the World Bank and of the IMF's Economic and Financial Committee, as well as the joint World Bank-IMF Development Committee.

[Source from: *Briefing Paper 16/2011 (DIE)*. Accessed on 11 December 2024]

SOURCE 3B

The source below is taken from an article: *2024 Rio de Janeiro Summit* published on 10 July 2024. It explains the priorities and agenda of the summit.

The 2024 G20 Rio de Janeiro summit was the nineteenth meeting of the Group of Twenty (G20), ... held at the Museum of Modern Art in Rio de Janeiro from 18 - 19 November 2024. It was the first G20 summit to be held in Brazil. Additionally, it marked the first full summit with the African Union as a member, following the inclusion during the previous summit in 2023.

G20 Brazil set three main agenda priorities for the G20 dialogue in 2024:

- Social inclusion and the fight against hunger.
- Energy transition and sustainable development in its social, economic and environmental aspects.
- Reform of the global governance institutions.

Addressing the G20 countries in India on 10 September 2023, Lula announced the creation of the Global Mobilisation Against Climate Change Working Group, aimed at generating income and reducing inequalities for the people affected by climate change. Another focus of the Brazilian presidency was advocating for comprehensive reform of global institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation, in addition to reforming the United Nations Security Council to engage the representation and influence of the Global South on the world stage.

The Brazilian presidency launched the G20 Social, space where for the first time, the organisation will bring the civil society into the debate where it can participate and contribute to discussions and policy formulations regarding to the summit.

[Source from: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrouner/what-does-g20-do=-:~:text=> Accessed on 11 December 2024]

SOURCE 3C

The source below is an extract from an article titled: *G20 Presidency* published on 4 November 2024. It outlines South Africa's intention when assuming the presidency from 1 December 2024.

South Africa assumes the G20 Presidency from 1 December 2024 through to November 2025, approximately five years before the deadline of the United Nations (UN) 2030 Agenda.

South Africa's G20 Presidency takes place when the world is facing a series of overlapping and mutually reinforcing crises, including climate change, underdevelopment, inequality, poverty, hunger, unemployment, technological changes and geopolitical instability. The UN Secretary-General, Mr Antonio Guterres, underscored the urgency of the situation during the launch of the special Edition of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) Progress Report on 25 April 2023. He noted with concern that only 12% of the SDG targets are currently on track, with approximately 50% needing more substantial progress, and more than 30% of the SDGs having either stalled or reversed. To achieve the 2030 SDGs, the forthcoming G20 Presidencies must encourage a paradigm shift and accelerate the implementation of practical solutions.

To tackle the global polycrisis, South Africa has embraced the theme "Solidarity, Equality, Sustainability" for its G20 Presidency. The high-level deliverables and priorities under this theme lie at the core of the original G20 mandate of promoting Strong, Sustainable, and Balanced, Inclusive growth.

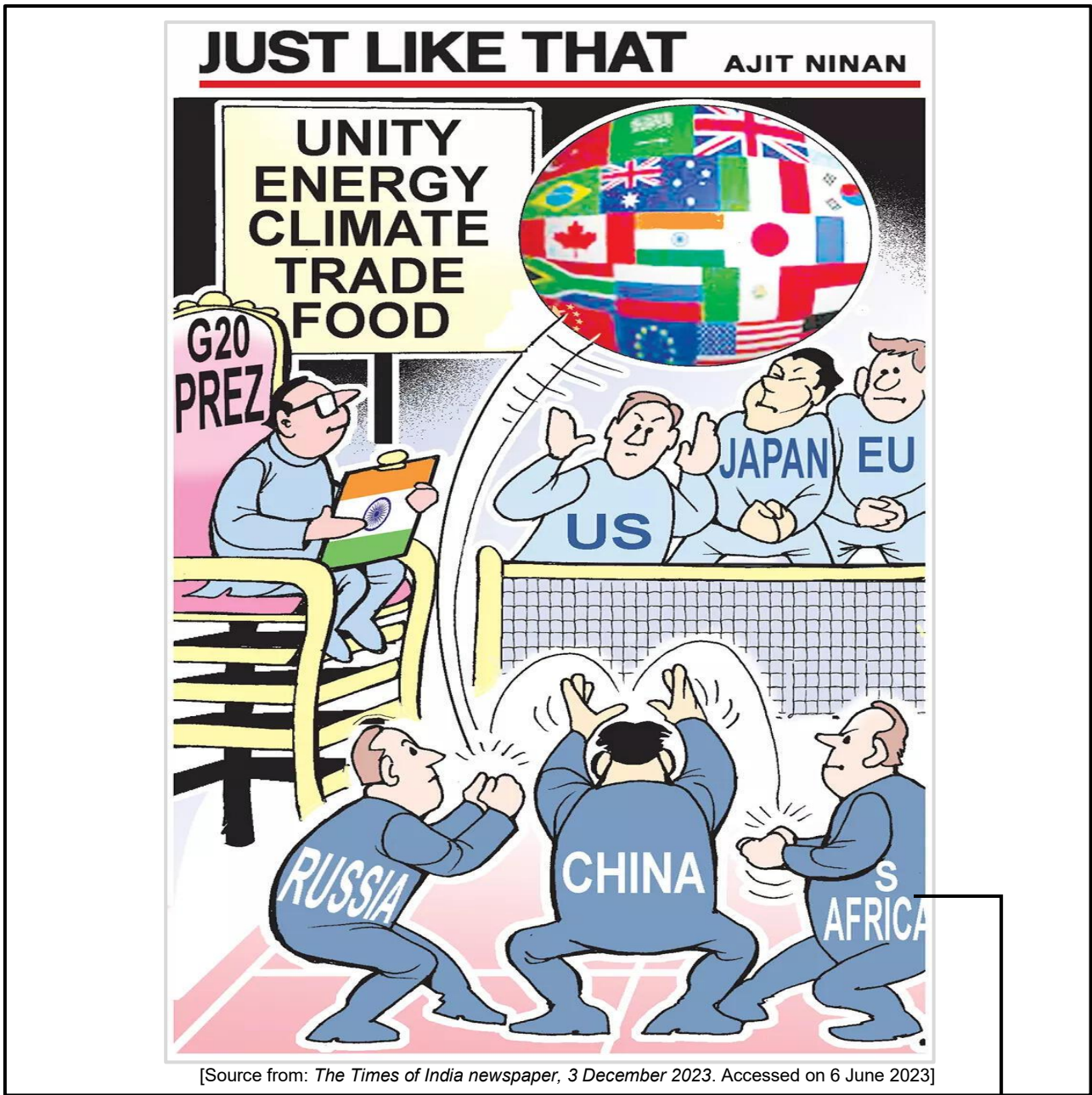
Through solidarity, we can create an inclusive future centred on people ... By promoting equality, we can strive to ensure fair treatment and equal opportunities for all individuals and nations regardless of their economic status, gender, race, geographic location or any other characteristic. Sustainability involves meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs.

The Brazilian presidency launched the G20 social space where for the first time, the organisation will bring the civil society into the debate where it can participate and contribute to discussions and policy formulations during the summit.

[Source from: <https://g20.org-south-africa>. Accessed on 11 December 2024]

SOURCE 3D

The source below is a cartoon by Ajit Ninan titled: *Just Like That* published on 3 December 2023. It depicts the G20 Presidency of 2023 and its focus.



[Source from: *The Times of India* newspaper, 3 December 2023. Accessed on 6 June 2023]

SOUTH AFRICA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Visual sources and other historical evidence were taken from the following:

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