Mark Scheme (Pre-Standardisation)

Summer 2024

Pearson Edexcel in
GCE History (8HI0/2F)
Advanced Subsidiary

Paper 2: Depth study

Option 2F.1: India, c1914-48: the road to independence

Option 2F.2: South Africa, 1948-94: from apartheid state to 'rainbow nation'

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General Marking Guidance

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.
- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.
- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.
- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.
- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.
- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.
- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.
- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

How to award marks when level descriptions are used

1. Finding the right level

The first stage is to decide which level the answer should be placed in. To do this, use a 'best-fit' approach, deciding which level most closely describes the quality of the answer. Answers can display characteristics from more than one level, and where this happens markers must use the guidance below and their professional judgement to decide which level is most appropriate.

For example, one stronger passage at L4 would not by itself merit a L4 mark, but it might be evidence to support a high L3 mark, unless there are substantial weaknesses in other areas. Similarly, an answer that fits best in L3 but which has some characteristics of L2 might be placed at the bottom of L3. An answer displaying some characteristics of L3 and some of L1 might be placed in L2.

2. Finding a mark within a level

After a level has been decided on, the next stage is to decide on the mark within the level. The instructions below tell you how to reward responses within a level. However, where a level has specific guidance about how to place an answer within a level, always follow that guidance.

Levels containing two marks only

Start with the presumption that the work will be at the top of the level. Move down to the lower mark if the work only just meets the requirements of the level.

Levels containing three or more marks

Markers should be prepared to use the full range of marks available in a level and not restrict marks to the middle. Markers should start at the middle of the level (or the upper-middle mark if there is an even number of marks) and then move the mark up or down to find the best mark. To do this, they should take into account how far the answer meets the requirements of the level:

- If it meets the requirements *fully*, markers should be prepared to award full marks within the level. The top mark in the level is used for answers that are as good as can realistically be expected within that level
- If it only *barely* meets the requirements of the level, markers should consider awarding marks at the bottom of the level. The bottom mark in the level is used for answers that are the weakest that can be expected within that level
- The middle marks of the level are used for answers that have a *reasonable* match to the descriptor. This might represent a balance between some characteristics of the level that are fully met and others that are only barely met.

Indicative content

Examiners are reminded that indicative content is provided as an illustration to markers of some of the material that may be offered by students. It does not show required content and alternatives should be credited where valid.

Generic Level Descriptors

Section A: Questions 1a/2a

Target: AO2: Analyse and evaluate appropriate source material, primary and/or contemporary to the period, within its historical context.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material
1	**1–2**	• Demonstrates surface level comprehension of the source material without analysis, selecting some material relevant to the question, but in the form of direct quotations or paraphrases. • Some relevant contextual knowledge is included, with limited linkage to the source material. • Evaluation of the source material is assertive with little if any substantiation. Concepts of utility may be addressed, but by making stereotypical judgements.
2	**3–5**	• Demonstrates some understanding of the source material and attempts analysis by selecting and summarising information and making undeveloped inferences relevant to the question. • Contextual knowledge is added to information from the source material to expand or confirm matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and with some substantiation for assertions of value. The concept of utility is addressed mainly by noting aspects of source provenance and may be based on questionable assumptions.
3	**6–8**	• Demonstrates understanding of the source material and shows some analysis by selecting key points relevant to the question, explaining their meaning and selecting material to support valid inferences. • Knowledge of the historical context is deployed to explain or support inferences, as well as to expand or confirm matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and based on valid criteria although justification is not fully substantiated. Explanation of utility takes into account relevant considerations such as nature or purpose of the source material or the position of the author.

Section A: Questions 1b/2b

Target: AO2: Analyse and evaluate appropriate source material, primary and/or contemporary to the period, within its historical context.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material
1	**1–2**	• Demonstrates surface level comprehension of the source material without analysis, selecting some material relevant to the question, but in the form of direct quotations or paraphrases. • Some relevant contextual knowledge is included, with limited linkage to the source material. • Evaluation of the source material is assertive with little or no supporting evidence. Concept of reliability may be addressed, but by making stereotypical judgements.
2	**3–5**	• Demonstrates some understanding of the source material and attempts analysis, by selecting and summarising information and making undeveloped inferences relevant to the question. • Contextual knowledge is added to information from the source material to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry but with limited support for judgement. Concept of reliability is addressed mainly by noting aspects of source provenance and judgements may be based on questionable assumptions.
3	**6–9**	• Demonstrates understanding of the source material and shows some analysis by selecting key points relevant to the question, explaining their meaning and selecting material to support valid inferences. • Deploys knowledge of the historical context to explain or support inferences as well as to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and explanation of weight takes into account relevant considerations such as nature or purpose of the source material or the position of the author. Judgements are based on valid criteria, with some justification.
4	**10–12**	• Analyses the source material, interrogating the evidence to make reasoned inferences and to show a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion. • Deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source material, displaying some understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn. • Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and applied, although some of the evaluation may not be fully substantiated. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement.

Section B

Target: AO1: Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material
1	**1–4**	• Simple or generalised statements are made about the topic. • Some accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but it lacks range and depth and does not directly address the question. • The overall judgement is missing or asserted. • There is little, if any, evidence of attempts to structure the answer, and the answer overall lacks coherence and precision.
2	**5–10**	• There is limited analysis of some key features of the period relevant to the question, but descriptive passages are included that are not clearly shown to relate to the question. • Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but it lacks range or depth and has only implicit links to the demands and conceptual focus of the question. • An overall judgement is given but with limited substantiation, and the criteria for judgement are left implicit. • The answer shows some attempts at organisation, but most of the answer is lacking in coherence, clarity and precision.
3	**11–16**	• There is some analysis of, and attempt to explain links between, the relevant key features of the period and the question, although descriptive passages may be included. • Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included to demonstrate some understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, but material lacks range or depth. • Attempts are made to establish criteria for judgement and to relate the overall judgement to them, although with weak substantiation. • The answer shows some organisation. The general trend of the argument is clear, but parts of it lack logic, coherence and precision.
4	**17–20**	• Key issues relevant to the question are explored by an analysis of the relationships between key features of the period, although treatment of issues may be uneven. • Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question and to meet most of its demands. • Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied in the process of coming to a judgement. Although some of the evaluations may be only partly substantiated, the overall judgement is supported. • The answer is generally well organised. The argument is logical and is communicated with clarity, although in a few places it may lack coherence and precision.

Section A: indicative content

Option 2F.1: India, c1914-48: the road to independence

Question	Indicative content
1a	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited. Candidates must analyse the source to consider its value for an enquiry into the causes of the riots during the Direct Action Day in 1946. 1. The value could be identified in terms of the following points of information from the source, and the inferences which could be drawn and supported from the source: • It identifies a range of long-term causes, implying that these play a role in establishing the context of events ('more long-term causes') • It provides evidence of the role of the Muslim League in triggering the riots ('cause…resolution of the Muslim League',) suggesting that much of the responsibility for the violence lies with the Muslim League • It suggests that the British were not sufficiently well-prepared to deal with events on the day ('extremely difficult to arrive at any confident assessment of the probability of trouble and its possible extent.') • It implies that both Congress and the Muslim League may have played a role by concealing their true views ('outwardly'). 2. The following points could be made about the authorship, nature or purpose of the source and applied to ascribe value to information and inferences: • As the British Governor of Bengal, the author can be expected to be well informed about the issues in the area he has responsibility for • The author of the source is providing the Viceroy with a confidential report, which may be expected to report as accurately as possible on the situation • The author claims that he will 'try to be as objective as possible' and the tone of the report suggests that he is trying to achieve this. 3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information. Relevant points may include: • There was a long tradition of intercommunal violence, e.g Moplah, which had been exacerbated by British policies of divide and rule • There had been a number of attempts to reach a negotiated political solution to enable Britain to leave India in the years 1945-6 • Congress and the Muslim League were unable to find a compromise • Jinnah had called the Direct Action Day in response to the failure of negotiations to reach a settlement.

Question	Indicative content
1b	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited. Candidates must analyse and evaluate the source in relation to an enquiry into the proposals made by the Cripps Mission (1942). 1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to selected information and inferences: • The author is likely to be well informed about these events as he was working as a reporter in Bombay and would be aware of what was going on • The author had access to high level sources that would have reflected the views of Congress ('Nehru explained') • The author was reflecting on these events at a later date, using additional information with which he had been provided ('much later'). 2. The evidence could be assessed in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences: • It implies that the proposals made by the Cripps Mission were a means of conciliating Indian public opinion during the war by making limited concessions ('did not provide…did hold out the hope') • It provides evidence that the proposals saw the role of Indians as supporting the British government ('help in the task of…'), suggesting that Indians would be of limited importance in the overall government of India • It provides evidence that the proposals provided Indian politicians with only limited powers and authority ('in charge of canteens') • It suggests that the British had not fully worked out a plan for the future of India but were developing policy in response to specific situations. 3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information or to note limitations or to challenge aspects of the content. Relevant points may include: • The purpose of the Cripps Mission was to discuss wartime arrangements for the government of India based on the terms of the 1935 Government of India Act • Japan had declared war in December 1941 and, with the fall of Singapore and invasion of Burma in early 1942, the threat to India was very real • Cripps was perceived as favouring Congress over other political parties • Congress and Gandhi opposed the proposals because they allowed for the possibility of provinces to opt out of the constitution.

Option 2F.2: South Africa, 1948-94: from apartheid state to 'rainbow nation'

Question	Indicative content
2a	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited. Candidates must analyse the source to consider its value for an enquiry into Mandela's hopes for the future following his release from prison in 1990. 1. The value could be identified in terms of the following points of information from the source, and the inferences which could be drawn and supported from the source: • It indicates that his release from prison marks a turning point in making progress towards the ending of apartheid in South Africa ('decisive moment') • It implies that the end of apartheid is within reach ('march to freedom is irreversible) • It provides an optimistic message for all South Africans, suggesting his hope for a state that can take its place on the world stage ('our victory…our white fellow citizens…international community') • It claims that the future for South Africa will be in a 'united, democratic and non-racial' state. 2. The following points could be made about the authorship, nature or purpose of the source and applied to ascribe value to information and inferences: • As the author of the speech, Mandela will have a clear sense of what he hopes will be achieved following his release from prison • It represents Mandela's own views on the immediate potential significance of his release from prison • Its purpose, by being inclusive, is to unite many differing groups within South Africa in order to achieve a new South Africa • The tone of the source is optimistic about what the future holds. 3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information. Relevant points may include: • De Klerk and Mandela had met in December 1989 to agree the framework for Mandela's release • Mandela's release from prison was accompanied by the unbanning of political parties, e.g. ANC • Mandela travelled widely after his release, addressing large crowds, and paving the way for the ending of apartheid.

Question	Indicative content
2b	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited. Candidates must analyse and evaluate the source in relation to an enquiry into the 1994 elections. 1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to selected information and inferences: • Suzman had been an MP for over 30 years, so was likely to have a secure understanding of the nature of the South African political system • Suzman was a member of the Independent Electoral Commission and therefore had clear knowledge of how the elections operated based on first-hand experience of the preparation and conduct of the election • It provides some statistical data to support her arguments • As her memoirs were published in the same year as the election, this is an immediate response based on her observations. 2. The evidence could be assessed in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences: • It suggests that preparations for the election were a challenge ('four months…no voter registration…inexperienced') • It provides evidence that the South African government provided resources to make the election successful ('300,000 people …trained quickly.'), suggesting its commitment to free and fair elections • It claims that the election was as fair as it was possible for it to be and that problems resulted largely from inefficiency rather than corruption • It claims that the oversight of the election by the security forces was conducted 'with absolute fairness.'. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information or to note limitations or to challenge aspects of the content. Relevant points may include: • This was the first election in South Africa where citizens of all races could take part – the first election where universal suffrage applied • As there was not time to create a Voters' Roll, the Independent Electoral Commission relied on identity cards issued under apartheid to establish who was eligible to vote • Voting took place over four days • All participating parties agreed that the results of the election fairly represented their support, even if there had been some irregularities.

Section B: indicative content

Option 2F.1: India, c1914-48: the road to independence

Question	Indicative content
3	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether the First World War was the most significant reason for the growth of nationalism in India in the years 1914-20. Arguments and evidence that the First World War was the most significant reason for the growth of nationalism in India in the years 1914-20 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Indian troops fighting overseas were exposed to ideas of democracy and self-government and came home wanting those things for India • Muslim and Hindu differences were put aside during the war (e.g. Lucknow Pact 1916) and this facilitated the growth of nationalism • The sacrifices made by Indians in the war were recognised by the Montagu Declaration (1917), which encouraged hopes for self-government and nationalist thinking • Shortages and high prices of food caused discontent, which was channelled into nationalist ideas. Arguments and evidence that challenge the view that the First World War was the most significant reason for the growth of nationalism in India in the years 1914-20 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The 1919 Government of India Act disappointed many Indians who were expecting more progress towards self-government and contributed to growing nationalism • British repression, as evidenced by the Rowlatt Acts and Amritsar (1919), contributed to the growing support for nationalist groups • Gandhi's role in starting a *satyagraha* in 1920 encouraged many Indians to start to support nationalist action. Other relevant material must be credited.

Question	Indicative content
4	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the significance of the role played by Gandhi in the campaign for Indian independence in the years 1919-32. Arguments and evidence that the role played by Gandhi in the campaign for Indian independence, in the years 1919-32, was significant should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Gandhi was significant in mobilising mass support to challenge the power of the Raj and put pressure on it to move towards independence, e.g. opposition to the Rowlatt Acts, 1920-22 *satyagraha*, 1930 *salt satyagraha* • Gandhi was significant in garnering international support for his campaigns, e.g. through the reporting of Webb Miller at the Dharasana Salt Works, 1930, thus increasing pressure on Britain for concessions • Gandhi was significant in his work to unite Congress, e.g. at the 1929 Lahore Congress, so that it was able to campaign more effectively for independence • Gandhi was significant in being able to negotiate with representatives of the Raj, bringing nationalist interests to their attention, e.g. 1931 Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Arguments and evidence that challenge the statement that the role played by Gandhi in the campaign for Indian independence, in the years 1919-32, was significant should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Many of Gandhi's ideas were impractical to implement, undermining his significance, e.g. children boycotting school, 'back to basics' • Gandhi was imprisoned in 1920, 1922-24, 1930-31 and 1932 and the leadership of Congress passed to others, who were more significant at those times • Gandhi's involvement in the Round Table Conferences hindered progress towards independence, e.g. intransigent position at the Second Round Table Conference. Other relevant material must be credited.

Question	Indicative content
5	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether it is accurate to say that, in the years 1929-40, Britain maintained its rule in India by making concessions to the Indian nationalist movement. Arguments and evidence that it is accurate to say that, in the years 1929-40, Britain maintained its rule in India by making concessions to the Indian nationalist movement should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The British commitment to dominion status was renewed on several occasions as a mechanism for conciliating Indian nationalist opinion to British rule, e.g. Irwin Declaration, 1935 Government of India Act • The Round Table conferences showed that Britain was prepared to discuss constitutional reforms with the nationalists; there was no significant challenge to Britain's rule whilst these were scheduled • The British government was prepared to negotiate with Gandhi and make concessions in order to maintain law and order, e.g. the Gandhi-Irwin Pact • The 1935 Government of India Act aimed at conciliating Indian nationalists by making concessions to their demands, e.g. extension of the franchise and more power to provincial governments. Arguments and evidence that challenge that it is accurate to say that, in the years 1929-40, Britain maintained its rule in India by making concessions to the Indian nationalist movement should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Britain continued to exploit differences amongst Indian nationalists in order to pursue policies of divide and rule to maintain control, e.g. the Round Table conferences, the Communal Award • Britain was concerned that control of key aspects of Indian policy, e.g. defence and foreign affairs, should be maintained and this underpinned the passage of the 1935 Government of India Act • Britain often pursued her own interests with little or no concern for concessions or consultation with Indians, e.g. the declaration of war by Lord Linlithgow in 1939, which alienated many Indians • Britain was prepared to maintain control by imprisoning nationalist leaders for their opposition to the Raj, e.g. 1930 *salt satyagraha,* after the collapse of the Round Table talks, 1940 individual *satyagraha.* Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 2F.2: South Africa, 1948-94: from apartheid state to 'rainbow nation'

Question	Indicative content
6	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether it is accurate to say that the main reason for the implementation of apartheid in South Africa, in the years 1948-59, was the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. Arguments and evidence that it is accurate to say that the main reason for the implementation of apartheid in South Africa, in the years 1948-59, was the growth of Afrikaner nationalism should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The growth of Afrikaner nationalism contributed to the electoral victory of the National Party in 1948. The NP was elected on the basis of its commitment to the development of apartheid • At the heart of Afrikaner nationalism was the Dutch Reform Church that believed that black and white people played a different role in God's plan, thereby legitimising and promoting the growth of apartheid policies • Afrikaner nationalists promoted the ideas of *swart gevaar* and *oorstrooming,* which justified the use of apartheid to contain the threats that were perceived by white supporters. Arguments and evidence that it is not accurate to say that the main reason for the implementation of apartheid in South Africa, in the years 1948-59, was the growth of Afrikaner nationalism and/or other factors were more important should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Apartheid legislation was already in place before 1948 and the legislation in this period built upon this basis • The NP was elected by only a narrow majority in 1948 and pursued apartheid policies in order to appeal to their electoral base and stay in power • The NP claimed that the implementation of apartheid policies was a sound method of dealing with the social and economic problems caused by the internal migration of black South Africans to the cities • The weaknesses and divisions of the opponents of apartheid in South Africa meant domestic opposition to the implementation of the apartheid legislation was not effective. Other relevant material must be credited.

Question	Indicative content
7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether the Sharpeville Massacre was significant in creating opposition to apartheid in the years 1960-68. Arguments and evidence that the Sharpeville Massacre was significant in creating opposition to apartheid in the years 1960-68 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The events at Sharpeville were photographed and the horror expressed at these events reinforced white liberal opposition to the government • It created international outrage at the response to the protest, e.g. the UN passed a resolution condemning the shooting, and contributed to the growing international pressure on South Africa • It encouraged further protests in the immediate aftermath, e.g. 30,000 people marched from Langa to Cape Town • It led both the ANC and PAC to reconsider their strategies for bringing change, and thus contributed to the move to armed struggle by MK and Poqo. Arguments and evidence that challenge the view that the Sharpeville Massacre was significant in creating opposition to apartheid in the years 1960-68 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Police powers were strengthened under the state of emergency announced after the Massacre and this enabled the state to control potential opposition • A number of key leaders of the ANC, e.g. Mandela, Luthuli, Slovo, were immediately arrested, meaning that their organisational abilities were lost to the opposition movement. Also arrested was Sobukwe of the PAC • The banning of political parties under the Unlawful Organisations Act (1960) meant that there was a loss of organisational structure through which opposition could be expressed. Other relevant material must be credited.

Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether it is accurate to say that, in the years 1974-83, opposition to apartheid was strengthened. Arguments and evidence that it is accurate to say that, in the years 1974-83, opposition to apartheid was strengthened should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The mobilisation of school children in support of the Black Consciousness Movement caused growing numbers to become involved in the opposition to apartheid • The Soweto uprising (1976), and the government's response to it, attracted global attention, strengthening opposition both domestically and internationally • The reorganisation of the ANC revitalised the organisation and strengthened opposition to apartheid • International support for the anti-apartheid movement led to international cultural and sporting boycotts, as well as calls for economic boycotts. Arguments and evidence that challenge the view that, in the years 1974-83, opposition to apartheid was strengthened should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Opposition to apartheid was constrained by the use of repressive actions against protesters, e.g. the imprisonment of student leaders after the Soweto uprising • Much of the leadership of anti-apartheid groups was in prison (Mandela), in exile (Tambo) or died in mysterious circumstances (Biko). This made organising the opposition more challenging • The ability of the ANC to organise in neighbouring countries was limited by the government exerting diplomatic pressure on these countries, e.g. agreement with Lesotho (1982) • Opposition was undermined by reforms and concessions from Botha and the NP, e.g. changes to the constitution in the early 1980s. Other relevant material must be credited.

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