



Pearson

Mark scheme

Pearson Edexcel  
GCE History (9HI0/2F)  
Advanced

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.

## Generic Level Descriptors: Section A

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	1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Some relevant contextual knowledge is included, with limited linkage to the source material.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is assertive with little or no supporting evidence. Concepts of reliability or utility may be addressed, but by making stereotypical judgements.</li> </ul>
2	4–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates some understanding and attempts analysis of the source material by selecting and summarising information and making undeveloped inferences relevant to the question.</li> <li>• Contextual knowledge is added to information from the source material to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry but with limited support for judgement. Concepts of reliability or utility are addressed mainly by noting aspects of source provenance and judgements may be based on questionable assumptions.</li> </ul>
3	8–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Deploys knowledge of the historical context to explain or support inferences as well as to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and explanation of utility 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 but with limited justification.</li> </ul>
4	13–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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, although treatment of the two sources may be uneven.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and applied, although some of the evaluation may be weakly substantiated. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement.</li> </ul>
5	17–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interrogates the evidence of both sources with confidence and discrimination, making reasoned inferences and showing a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion.</li> <li>• 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 secure understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and fully applied. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement and, where appropriate, distinguishes between the degree of certainty with which aspects of it can be used as the basis for claims.</li> </ul>

## Section B

Target: A01: 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	1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Simple or generalised statements are made about the topic.</li> <li>• Some accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but it lacks range and depth and does not directly address the question.</li> <li>• The overall judgement is missing or asserted.</li> <li>• There is little, if any, evidence of attempts to structure the answer, and the answer overall lacks coherence and precision.</li> </ul>
2	4–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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 focus of the question.</li> <li>• Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but lacks range or depth and has only implicit links to the demands and conceptual focus of the question.</li> <li>• An overall judgement is given but with limited substantiation and the criteria for judgement are left implicit.</li> <li>• The answer shows some attempts at organisation, but most of the answer is lacking in coherence, clarity and precision.</li> </ul>
3	8–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Attempts are made to establish criteria for judgement and to relate the overall judgement to them, although with weak substantiation.</li> <li>• The answer shows some organisation. The general trend of the argument is clear, but parts of it lack logic, coherence and precision.</li> </ul>
4	13–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question and to meet most of its demands.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> </ul>
5	17–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Key issues relevant to the question are explored by a sustained analysis of the relationships between key features of the period.</li> <li>• Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, and to respond fully to its demands.</li> <li>• Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied and their relative significance evaluated in the process of reaching and substantiating the overall judgement.</li> <li>• The answer is well organised. The argument is logical and coherent throughout and is communicated with clarity and precision.</li> </ul>

## Section A: Indicative content

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

Question	Indicative content
1	<p><b>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.</b></p> <p>Candidates must analyse and evaluate the sources to consider how far the historian could make use of them to shed light on the problems facing the Second Round Table Conference.</p> <p>Source 1</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The source is a speech by a British politician who is involved in a debate in parliament before the ending of the Conference, which suggests there may be some political agenda on which his comments are based</li> <li>• As deputy leader of the Labour party, Attlee might be expected to have <b>some sympathy for the Indian position in view of his party's approach to India</b></li> <li>• Attlee had spent a short time in India, so his comments are based on some direct experience of the subcontinent which would inform his understanding of the problems</li> <li>• There is no direct reference to Gandhi, despite his role in causing some of the problems associated with the Conference.</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about the problems facing the Second Round Table Conference: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It provides evidence that the root of the problems was complex and involved a range of issues that had developed over time (<b>'facts of geography, facts of climate and facts of history'</b>)</li> <li>• <b>It argues that the situation was 'constantly changing'</b> and suggests that this contributed to the complexity of understanding what needed to be done</li> <li>• It identifies the divisions between Hindus and Muslims and points to the <b>existence of 'extremists' who make the situation harder to remedy</b></li> <li>• It suggests dealing with separate electorates is causing disagreement ('You have the difficulty of the minorities.')</li> </ul> </li> <li>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 content. Relevant points may include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some members of Congress, e.g. Nehru and Bose were becoming more <b>extremist in their views and had some influence on Gandhi's thinking</b></li> <li>• The divisions between Hindus and Muslims were long-established and had <b>been exacerbated over time by the British policy of 'divide and rule'</b></li> <li>• Separate electorates were wanted by the Muslim League, the Untouchables and the Sikhs, but were opposed by Gandhi.</li> </ul> </li> </ol> <p>Source 2</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The author had reported directly on the events at the time and is using this material in her account (<b>'in my newspaper, I wrote'</b>)</li> <li>• The author of the source was an English journalist who was reflecting on her experiences in India after she had left the subcontinent</li> <li>• The length of her stay in India might lead to the conclusion that she would have a secure understanding of Indian matters which would inform her</li> </ul> </li> </ol>

Question	Indicative content
	<p>understanding of the problems facing the Second Round Table Conference.</p> <p>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about the problems facing the Second Round Table Conference:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It suggests that there were long term issues arising from British policy that generated problems in the discussions, (<b>“divide and rule’ principle”</b>)</li> <li>• It provides evidence of divisions between Hindus and Muslims, (<b>“The sectionalism which developed”</b>)</li> <li>• It suggests divisions between Gandhi and the Depressed Classes, (<b>Gandhi’s ‘firm attitude ... in his discussions with Dr Ambedkar’</b>)</li> <li>• <b>It both provides evidence and suggests that Gandhi’s attitude and actions were responsible, (‘Gandhi lost the biggest opportunity of his life’).</b></li> </ul> <p>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 content. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gandhi claimed that he alone could speak for all of India and that was why he was the only representative from Congress. This claim alienated other groups</li> <li>• Gandhi attended with a clear agenda that had been developed as a result <b>of his support for the ‘young hooligans’</b></li> <li>• <b>The Depressed Classes were outraged by Gandhi’s claim to speak for them</b> because they were all Hindu</li> <li>• Jinnah tried to play one group off against another to maximise the concessions that Muslims might get from the Conference.</li> </ul> <p>Sources 1 and 2</p> <p>The following points could be made about the sources in combination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The authors of both sources were English observers with some direct experience of India which informed their comments on the problems facing the Second Round Table Conference</li> <li>• The author of the Source 1 was commenting in parliament before the Second Round Table Conference had ended; Source 2 was a reflection written by a journalist some five years later</li> <li>• Both sources agree that a key issue was the divisions that existed amongst Indians e.g. between Hindus and Muslims, and Congress and the Depressed Classes.</li> </ul>

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

Question	Indicative content
2	<p>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.</p> <p>Candidates must analyse and evaluate the sources to consider how far the historian could make use of them to shed light on responses to the death of Steve Biko.</p> <p>Source 3</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was published within days of the death of Steve Biko, so was an immediate response</li> <li>• The newspaper had a liberal anti-apartheid stance which would influence the way in which it reported the activities of the police</li> <li>• The tone of the source suggests that the newspaper does not accept the view offered by the police of the death of Steve Biko.</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about responses to the death of Steve Biko: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>It suggests that Biko's death was part of a larger pattern of deaths in custody ('Mr Biko is the twentieth person to die in Security Police custody in eighteen months')</b></li> <li>• It suggests that the rapidity with which Kruger issued his statement is <b>suspicious and may be an attempt</b> 'to prevent any anticipated outcry about Biko's death'</li> <li>• It suggests that the manner of death claimed for Biko and for another detainee amount to a cover up by the police</li> <li>• It provides arguments to challenge the basis of the report that Biko died whilst on hunger strike.</li> </ul> </li> <li>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 content. Relevant points may include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Steve Biko was a leading member of the Black Consciousness Movement and SASO. He was banned for his activities in 1973</li> <li>• Donald Woods had been told by Biko that he would never commit suicide and that any such reports should be treated with suspicion</li> <li>• James Kruger showed very little sympathy for the death of Steve Biko, saying shortly after his <b>death that 'it leaves me cold'</b>, i.e. he was not interested in it</li> <li>• The publicity surrounding the death of Steve Biko led to an inquest, although this ruled his death a prison accident.</li> </ul> </li> </ol> <p>Source 4</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The broadcast took place shortly after the death of Steve Biko</li> <li>• The South African Broadcasting Corporation always followed the official National Party line, so that is what can be expected in this broadcast</li> <li>• The purpose of the broadcast was to present an official line to an overseas audience to justify what has happened.</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the</li> </ol>



Question	Indicative content
	<p>following points of information and inferences about responses to the death of Steve Biko:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It claims that there is more information to be revealed and links this to the arrest of Biko, thus suggesting that what happened to him was legitimate</li> <li>• It claims that Biko went on hunger strike and that this was the cause of his death. It claims that <b>suicide was the result of 'communist training' and points to deaths in custody being 'thoroughly investigated'</b></li> <li>• It claims that Biko was well treated whilst in custody ('A number of doctors <b>visited Biko'</b>)</li> <li>• It suggests that the police were engaged in a cover-up as despite the <b>number of suicides, they claim that they 'are sometimes totally unexpected.'</b></li> </ul> <p>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 content. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Biko was an influential political activist who met foreign diplomats and politicians to inform them about the situation that black South Africans faced</li> <li>• <b>Biko's funeral was attended by about 20,000 people, including diplomats from thirteen Western countries</b></li> <li>• Biko was frequently arrested in the last two years of his life and attempts were made to link him to foreign opposition groups</li> <li>• Peter Jones, who was arrested with Steve Biko, was tortured over a long period.</li> </ul> <p>Sources 3 and 4</p> <p>The following points could be made about the sources in combination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both sources appear within a week of the death of Steve Biko, so are immediate responses to his death</li> <li>• The sources reflect different views from different parts of the media about the death of Steve Biko</li> <li>• Both sources claim his death as part of a larger pattern – Source 3 as deaths in custody and Source 4 as suicides</li> <li>• Source 3 blames the police explicitly for the deaths in custody, including Steve Biko, and from Source 4 it can be inferred that the police are responsible for these deaths.</li> </ul>

## Section B: indicative content

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

Question	Indicative content
3	<p><b>Answers will be credited according to candidates'</b> 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.</p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether repression was the principal method used by the British to maintain their control over India throughout the years 1914–30.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that repression was the principal method used by the British to maintain their control over India throughout the years 1914–30 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nationalist leaders and supporters were interned/ imprisoned regularly, e.g. Annie Besant of the Home Rule League (1917), Gandhi (1917, 1919, 1922, 1930), participants in the Salt Satyagraha (1930)</li> <li>• The passing of the repressive Rowlatt Acts continued the use of wartime controls and suggested that any concessions that were made by the British were meaningless</li> <li>• Provincial governors had the power to resolve opposition to the Raj by using <b>the most appropriate means, e.g. it was O'Dwyer who sent Dyer to Amritsar</b> and approved his actions, such as the Crawling Order</li> <li>• The use of force by the army and the police throughout the period to keep control, e.g. Amritsar (army), the response to the Dharasana Satyagraha (police).</li> </ul> <p>Arguments and evidence that repression was not the principal method used by the British to maintain their control over India throughout the years 1914–30 and/or other methods were used should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many Indians were loyal to and voluntarily supported the Raj, e.g. about 1.5 million were recruited for the armed forces during the First World War, so that repression was not needed</li> <li>• Britain offered conciliation to their rule through the hope of independence at some point in the future – the Montagu Declaration (1917) and the Irwin Declaration (1929)</li> <li>• Political concessions were made to India, e.g. 1919 Government of India Act which created a system of dyarchy, invitation to the Round Table discussions 1930</li> <li>• The response of the Hunter Committee to the Amritsar massacre suggests that this was an exceptional event, rather than a confirmed method of British policy</li> <li>• Irwin rejected the imposition of martial law as a response to the Salt Satyagraha, suggesting that Britain avoided the use of repression.</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>

Question	Indicative content
4	<p><b>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.</b></p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether the impact of communal violence after the Second World War was the most significant factor in the British decision to partition the Indian subcontinent in August 1947.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that the impact of communal violence after the Second World War was the most significant factor in the British decision to partition the Indian subcontinent in August 1947 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The willingness of leaders on both sides to use violence and accept the possibility of a large loss of life, e.g. <b>Nehru's refusal to compromise</b> and <b>Jinnah's call for a day of Direct Action</b></li> <li>• No leading nationalist was acting as a voice of moderation or was prepared to <b>compromise; even Gandhi referred to a 'bloodbath'</b></li> <li>• Violence in cities such as Calcutta, with 5,000 killed in a few days, showed that there was not an easy solution to the communal divisions</li> <li>• The inability of Wavell to deal with the nascent civil war that he was facing. His fears of this led him to develop a secret evacuation plan for both the British army and British civilians in India</li> <li>• The division of the Punjab as part of the negotiations over partition created further communal violence affecting the Sikh communities in the region</li> <li>• The impact of communal violence in influencing the <b>British government's</b> decision to bring forward the date of independence from June 1948 to August 1947.</li> </ul> <p>Arguments and evidence that the impact of communal violence after the Second World War was not the most significant factor and/or other factors were more significant in the British decision to partition the Indian subcontinent in August 1947 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communal violence was endemic to relations in India and had been exacerbated by the <b>'divide and rule'</b> policy of the Raj throughout the time Britain had governed India, e.g. Moplah 1921</li> <li>• The desire of the Labour government to withdraw from India as soon as possible in order to <b>avoid having to deal with India's problems and to be able to rebuild Britain in the post-war era</b></li> <li>• The role played by Mountbatten in negotiations and decision making, including his preferential treatment of Congress.</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>

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

Question	Indicative content
5	<p><b>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.</b></p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether the National Party was able to implement apartheid legislation, in the years 1948–59, because of the weakness of opposition to it.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that the National Party was able to implement apartheid legislation, in the years 1948–59, because of the weakness of opposition to it should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There was no single unified black opposition group to apartheid in 1948</li> <li>• Black opposition groups were divided on the basis of ideology, race, class, region and with different views of the future which weakened their ability to oppose apartheid legislation</li> <li>• The ANC was divided internally, and hence weakened, during the 1940s, between a cautious leadership and a more activist young membership. It also represented an educated elite rather than a mass membership</li> <li>• The co-operation between the ANC and others in the Congress Alliance during the 1950s ended with the creation of the PAC in 1958 thus further weakening potential opposition</li> <li>• Lack of co-operation between black and white anti-apartheid groups in challenging the implementation of apartheid.</li> </ul> <p>Arguments and evidence that the National Party was able to implement apartheid legislation, in the years 1948–59, because of other factors should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The strength of the National Party in suppressing opposition, e.g. 1950 Communist Party banned, 1956 arrests of 156 members of the Congress Alliance and the length of the judicial process</li> <li>• Apartheid policy was implemented by leading members of the National Party, e.g. Verwoerd, with considerable enthusiasm, using it to defend their political position</li> <li>• The National Party was able to build on and develop previous legislation, which gave their actions the appearance of legitimacy</li> <li>• The National Party increased its support in this decade and was able to use its position to insert its supporters into key roles in the military, police and bureaucracy which strengthened the administration of apartheid</li> <li>• The development of apartheid legislation was incremental, gradually being extended to cover more areas of life, and marginally different in its application to different racial groups.</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>

Question	Indicative content
6	<p><b>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.</b></p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether it is accurate to say that P W <b>Botha's attempts</b> to reform the system of apartheid, in the years 1983–89, were a complete failure.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that it is accurate to say that P W <b>Botha's attempts</b> to reform the system of apartheid, in the years 1983–89, were a complete failure should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It led to the alienation of part of the National Party's support and the creation of a breakaway group, the Conservative Party who won sufficient seats to become the official opposition in the 1980s</li> <li>• The creation of the UDF in 1983 was a response to the constitutional reforms undertaken by Botha which aimed to give some racial groups limited political rights</li> <li>• Campaigning by opposition groups clearly had an impact on the <b>implementation of Botha's reforms</b>, e.g. turnout in the tricameral elections was low at only 30% of Coloured voters and 20% of Indian voters</li> <li>• Campaigns across the period clearly demonstrated that <b>Botha's reforms had</b> not conciliated the non-white population, e.g. 1984 Million Signature campaign, 1988–89 actions organised by the Mass Democratic Movement</li> <li>• The need for the authorities to revert to suppression by the end of the period reveals the failure of the policy.</li> </ul> <p>Arguments and evidence that it is not accurate to say that P W <b>Botha's attempts</b> to reform the system of apartheid, in the years 1983–89, were a complete failure should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>It was never the intention to genuinely reform apartheid; the National Party's</b> real goal was to maintain the white status quo and this was achieved within these years</li> <li>• There was a relaxation of the implementation of some of the apartheid laws, whilst the Pass Laws were largely abandoned</li> <li>• There was some investment into the upgrading of some of the more important townships, so that some improvement in living standards was seen</li> <li>• Some non-whites did take advantage of the greater political rights that were on offer to participate in the system.</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>