



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION  
MAY 2022

**HISTORY: PAPER I**

**MARKING GUIDELINES**

Time: 2 hours

100 marks

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**These marking guidelines are prepared for use by examiners and sub-examiners, all of whom are required to attend a standardisation meeting to ensure that the guidelines are consistently interpreted and applied in the marking of candidates' scripts.**

**The IEB will not enter into any discussions or correspondence about any marking guidelines. It is acknowledged that there may be different views about some matters of emphasis or detail in the guidelines. It is also recognised that, without the benefit of attendance at a standardisation meeting, there may be different interpretations of the application of the marking guidelines.**

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**SECTION A DISCURSIVE ESSAY****QUESTION 1 THE COLD WAR**

*Critically analyse the factors that led to the collapse of relations between the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China by the early 1970s.*

**Context:**

- Communist China established by Mao in 1949 – **Peoples' Republic of China**
- USSR under the leadership of Stalin – welcomed the creation of the PRC
- Mao visits Moscow and signs the Treaty of Friendship (1950)
  - Soviet aid given to China – advisers/technicians/industrial and military equipment
- Combined support for the Korean communists during the war 1950–1953
- USSR and China united by the threat of USA and build-up of anti-communist alliances in Asia – SENTO and SEATO

**Content:**

- Some **ideological differences** between China and USSR
  - Ideas of revolution: agricultural workers were the basis of the Chinese communist revolution versus urban industrial working class as in Russian Revolution
  - Mao believed in continuous rapid revolution – aimed for a classless society in China versus Soviets who believed transformation should be gradual
  - Mutual respect between Mao and Stalin despite differences
- Some **antagonism in early 1950s**
  - Soviet Union did not share nuclear technology or weapons
  - USSR saw China as subservient – Red Army to be at Soviet disposal
  - Soviet aid limited
  - Residual border conflicts from the imperial period
  - USSR critical of Mao's policy of 'Great Leap Forward'
  - Ideological differences became more apparent
- **Khrushchev** replaced Stalin as Soviet leader in 1956
  - Promoted policy of 'peaceful coexistence'
    - denounced Stalin and his methods
    - 'spheres of influence' rather than world revolution
    - Soviet policy divided communist countries
      - *China began to compete for influence amongst nations in Asia and Africa challenging the West and the USSR*
- Mao and Chinese accused Khrushchev and USSR of '**revisionism**'
  - China did not see USSR as true leaders of the revolution
  - 1960s Soviet advisers withdrawn from China
  - Mao critical of Khrushchev's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962
- By mid-1960s evidence of a '**Sino-Soviet split**'
  - China changed attitude towards USA – establishment of closer relations
  - USA no longer seen as a threat owing to setbacks suffered by USA in Vietnam – Pro-USA policy supported by politicians – closer relations established by Nixon and Mao at expense of USSR
    - 1971 US table tennis team visits China – '**ping-pong diplomacy**'/USA withdrew opposition to China sitting on UN Security Council – assumed their seat in 1971 at expense of Taiwan/1972 Nixon visited China
- China asserted itself as a **major world power** independent of the superpowers – a 'third force' in the Cold War – Establishment of Chinese nuclear programme by 1964

**OR**

## QUESTION 2 THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA

*Critically analyse the impact of National Party actions on the negotiation process from 1990 to 1994.*

### Context:

- National Party still in power in late 1980s/early 1990s
  - Attempted to appear to be reforming
  - Violence continued – MK and 'armed struggle'
- Tentative approaches to ANC-in-exile
  - Botha offered Mandela conditional release
  - Businessmen talked to ANC in Lusaka (1985)
  - Slabbert and opposition politicians met ANC in Dakar (1987)
- De Klerk replaced Botha in September 1989
  - NP 'hardliners' vs 'moderates'

### Content:

- February 1990
  - Mandela released and ANC/PAC/SACP unbanned
  - Easing of restrictions, banning orders and censorship
  - *Aim of NP to maintain control and white power*
- **Groote Schuur Minute** (May 1990)
  - NP and ANC discussed obstacles to negotiations – *NP attempted to control process*
  - Talked about security legislation, violence, homelands, political prisoners, armed struggle, sanctions, return of exiles
- **Pretoria Minute** (August 1990)
  - ANC suspended armed struggle
  - NP lifted states of emergency
- On-going violence
  - Sebokeng
    - **Rise of the 'third force'** – army and police in townships in collusion with Inkatha – *attempts by NP to control events*
  - ANC demanded majority rule – *NP wanted to protect minority rights viz. maintain white power*
- **CODESA Convention for a Democratic South Africa** (December 1991–May 1992)
  - 19 different political groups – 300 delegates – met at World Trade Centre
  - Conservative Party/AZAPO/PAC boycotted the negotiations
  - Atmosphere of co-operation – reached compromise agreement on constitution
  - 'Declaration of Intent' committing to multi-party democracy – *NP attempted to assert white minority rights*
- **'Whites Only' referendum** (1992) – *attempts by NP to control negotiation process*
- Increasing violence and breakdown of CODESA
  - ongoing 'third force' activity – army and police in townships in collusion with Inkatha – *attempts by NP to control events*
    - Violence between ANC and IFP – hostels of the Vaal Triangle
      - **Boipatong Massacre** (June 1992)
- NP government supported homeland leaders – *attempts by NP to maintain power*
  - ANC led protest against Oupa Gqozo – **Bisho Massacre** (September 1992)
- ANC and NP began private negotiations
  - **'Record of Understanding'** – NP and ANC concessions – establishment of Government of National Unity (GNU)
  - 'Sunset clauses' – limited the GNU term of office – *limited NP control*

- Assassination of Chris Hani (April 1993)
  - White right wingers implicated – angry demonstrations – Mandela on TV
- CODESA resumed – **Multiple-Party Negotiating Forum** – agreement reached on an interim constitution

OR

### QUESTION 3 THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

*Critically analyse the role played by the three Western capitalist organisations in dominating the world economy.*

#### Context:

- **Globalisation** refers to the movement of people, information, investments, goods and services around the world characterised by:
  - Smaller distances/availability of news/disappearance of borders/greater movement and migration of people/development of global culture/dominance of global corporates
- **'Western Capitalism'** refers to dominance by USA and world financial institutions
  - Collapse of USSR saw victory of capitalism over communism – *USA now dominant world power politically, militarily, and economically*
  - **Dominance** reinforced by global financial institutions
    - Established by Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944
    - **World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and **World Trade Organisation (WTO)** (established as General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs)
    - **Promoted free trade** as a best way to ensure economic stability, peace and prosperity but this has led to the control of economies by global financial institutions – growing reaction and rejection of this control.
    - Has led to the development of a 'new world order' that is dominated by the USA

#### Content:

- The role of the 'Western capitalist' organisations:
  - **World Bank:**
    - Funds projects in developing nations
    - long-term low-interest loans to improve infrastructure
    - USA and wealthier countries' contribution in funding significant
    - *has led to the WTO becoming a tool of USA ultimately – WB can*
  - **IMF:**
    - Aims to regulate global financial activities/exchange rates/lends money to developing nations
    - IMF implemented Structural Adjustment Programmes to assist in cutting spending through cutting of welfare programmes/state subsidies in agriculture/preferential trade agreements for global financial institutions and Western corporations – increasing reliance on aid – *sovereignty of independent nations undermined and allows for conditions suitable to MNC and Western influence*
  - **WTO:**
    - Promotes free trade in services and goods by reducing tariff barriers
    - dominated by G8
    - countries amend laws to meet WTO rulings if necessary – undermines legislative authority and national sovereignty – *WTO able to influence developing economies and has therefore led to domination of these countries*

- **Reaction and rejection** of the role of 'Western capitalism' has led to:
  - Opposition from civil society – establishment of organisations to counter influence of globalisation and 'Western capitalism'
  - Increased protests worldwide against the global financial institutions
  - Calls to end debt of the Third World
  - Consumers use buying power to challenge global corporate control – fair trade movement – movement toward local producers – increase in environmental awareness – consumer campaigns against sweat shops in developing nations.

<b>70 marks</b>
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**SECTION B EXTENDED WRITING****QUESTION 4 THE COLD WAR**

*Explain how the Soviet Union attempted to establish a sphere of influence in Europe by 1955 by answering the following questions:*

- (a) *What were the reasons for the Soviet Union's attempt to establish a sphere of influence in Europe by 1955?*
- (b) *How did the Soviet Union attempt to establish a sphere of influence in Europe by 1955?*
- (c) *What was the impact of this attempt to establish a sphere of influence on Europe and on the Soviet Union's relationship with the United States?*
- USA's attempts to establish free governments and revive the European economy led to their dominance of Western Europe viz 'policy of containment'
    - **Truman Doctrine (Mar 1947)** Civil war in Greece and in Turkey: Truman got US Congress to agree to send money, military equipment and advice to any country threatened with communist takeover – basis of US foreign policy during the Cold War that allowed for further US dominance
    - **Marshall Aid Plan (April 1948)** European economic recovery seen as key to defeating communism but ultimately led to global economic dominance
    - USA reinforced economic dominance with military influence
  - **North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (April 1949)** US provided additional military support to Western European armies – expansion of US's 'sphere of influence'
    - USA's increased funding of armament and nuclear programme to consolidate dominance
  - USSR attempted to establish a 'sphere of influence'
    - **Cominform (1947)** USSR's plan to coordinate Communist Parties of Eastern Europe – attempted to entrench control over Eastern European governments through local structures and propaganda – *USSR established control over satellite states – Europe further divided*
    - **Berlin Blockade (Jun 1948–May 1949)**
  - Issue of West Berlin – symbolic of US dominance? – undermined Soviet control of Eastern Germany – contract between 'workers' paradise' and 'Western extravagance'
  - Stalin cut off transport routes into West Berlin – US responded with an airlift of all necessary items for West Berlin's survival – airlift was only option to avoid war – Stalin reopened land routes in May 1949 – *Led to the creation of East Germany [DDR] in October 1949 – divisions cemented*
    - **Comecon (Jan 1949)** USSR's desire to cooperate and strengthen the international relationships at an economic level with states of Central Europe, which were now increasingly cut off from their traditional markets and suppliers in the rest of Europe – *attempted to undermine the USA's 'dollar diplomacy'*
    - **Warsaw Pact (May 1955)** Response to creation of NATO and other pro-Western military alliances and West Germany joining NATO in 1955 – Red Army used to bolster Soviet-dominated governments in face of protest or opposition – *attempted to counter USA's military alliance in Western Europe*
    - Soviets sped up nuclear programme – reached nuclear capability by 1953 – increased armament production – needed to be able to challenge US capacity – led to the **arms race** – *challenged USA's dominance in nuclear race*

OR

**QUESTION 5 THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA**

*Explain the role played by 'third force' activities during the negotiation process in the early 1990s by answering the following questions:*

- (a) *What was the 'third force' and how did it come about?*
- (b) *Which events in the early 1990s were linked to the existence of the 'third force'?*
- (c) *What was the impact of the 'third force' on the negotiation process in the early 1990s?*

- Nelson Mandela released and ANC/PAC/SACP unbanned in Feb 1990
- Negotiations started between ANC and NP
- Groote Schuur Minute/Pretoria Minute
- Violence still ongoing
  - Army still patrolling townships
  - State of Emergency still in effect until Sept 1990
  - **Sebokeng Massacre (March 1990)**
    - All-night vigil to pay final respects to their comrade and community leader, Chris Nangalembe, who was a member of the African National Congress (ANC)
    - Hand-grenade thrown in by gang – evidence of political motivation
- **Rise of 'third force'**
  - CID Lt.-Gen. Johan le Roux masterminded a third force with the aim of making the country ungovernable viz. implicit in the government's failure to take decisive action to stop the violence was indicative of the government's benign attitude towards the violence
  - links between police and government with various atrocities that took place in Vaal Triangle and Natal, such as vigilantism/political murders/manufacture, purchase, smuggling and supply of weapons to Inkatha
  - Senior Transvaal Inkatha leader Themba Khoza implicated in these activities
- **Violence spread** into the Transvaal, encompassing Pretoria, Witwatersrand, and Vereeniging – the Vaal Triangle – that was littered with some of the most deprived townships, squatter camps, and hostels for migrant workers, most of whom were IFP supporters from Natal
  - **Swanieville (May 1991)** a group of about 800 alleged IFP supporters attacked the squatter settlement on the East Rand, 29 people killed and over 30 injured
  - **Boipatong (June 1992)** killings on 17 June, 200 IFP supporters from KwaMadala hostel attacked residents of Slovo Park squatter camp, killing over 45 people
  - **Bisho (September 1992)** killings on 7 September, Ciskei Defence Force troops opened fire on ANC protesters demanding free political activity in Ciskei at Bisho. 29 protesters and one soldier killed and about 200 wounded. (This followed months of violent conflicts between homeland government supporters and ANC supporters)

- **Negotiations collapse**

- The ANC withdrew from CODESA in protest against the killings
- ANC/SACP and COSATU launched a 'rolling mass action' campaign
- ANC and NP signed 'record of understanding' (September 1992) – concessions and agreements to resume negotiations
- Creation of a Government of National Unity – 'sunset clauses' determined the power sharing model

**OR**

**QUESTION 6            THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER**

*Explain how Gorbachev's reforms attempted to overcome the challenges facing the Soviet Union in the early 1980s by answering the following questions:*

- (a) *What were the political challenges facing the Soviet Union by the early 1980s?*
- (b) *What reforms did Gorbachev put in place to overcome the political challenges facing the Soviet Union in the early 1980s?*
- (c) *Were Gorbachev's reforms successful in overcoming the political challenges facing the Soviet Union in the early 1980s?*

- By the late 1970s/early 1980s:
  - Soviet economy collapsing
    - Resources drained by arms race
    - Agricultural production poor
    - Command-economy could not compete with free trade and the West
  - Soviet people demoralised
    - high rate of alcoholism – poor work ethic
    - housing shortages – consumer goods poor
  - War in Afghanistan – loss of life
    - war unpopular – further drain on resources
  - Rise of anti-Soviet sentiment in some states of Eastern Europe – stirrings of nationalism in some Soviet republics
  - Leadership old and irrelevant – unable to respond to changes and challenges of the global economy and military growth of USA – early deaths of leaders – no stability
- Gorbachev Soviet premier from 1985 – implemented a reform process to address issues
- **Perestroika**
  - 'restructuring'
    - Aimed to rebuild the Soviet economy and reform the communist system
  - Moved Soviet economy from state-control and central-planning to one based on market forces – economic challenges in this transition
    - Private businesses allowed to exist
      - Finance through loans from newly created banks
      - Citizens able to start buying and selling for profit
    - No price controls – quality of consumer goods decreased
    - No subsidies from the State – *prices and cost of living increased, Soviet citizens angered and critical of the Soviet state and without state support and controls, systems collapsed – food and consumer-good shortages*

- Foreign investment encouraged – outside influence undermined communist control and thinking – *production remained low, and inflation increased, and foreign debt rose – increase of 140% in prices of retail goods*
- State-owned enterprises sold off – *led to creation of wealthy oligarch class – undermined 'socialist paradise'*
- **Demokratiya**
  - calling for the infusion of 'democratic' elements into the Soviet Union's single-party government
    - attempt to maintain the control by the Communist Party
    - CPSU branches in many of the fifteen Soviet republics began to split into large pro-sovereignty and pro-union factions – *further weakening Central Party control*
    - *Growth of nationalist movements in states of the USSR – led to election of anti-Soviet local governments*
    - *Anti-Soviet sentiment in Eastern Europe grew*

<b>30 marks</b>
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**Total: 100 marks**