NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
NOVEMBER 2020

HISTORY: PAPER I

MARKING GUIDELINES

Time: 2 hours 100 marks

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SECTION A DISCURSIVE ESSAY

QUESTION 1 COLD WAR

"The United States had to rethink and adapt its military strategies repeatedly during the conflict in Vietnam."

Critically evaluate the statement with reference to the United States' policies in Vietnam from 1957 to 1975.

Context (broadly):
- Japanese occupation of IndoChina – gave support to nationalist movements
- *Viet Minh* established in 1941 (a front for ICP) – led by Ho Chi Minh – claim power after Japanese surrender in 1945 – Democratic Republic of Vietnam
- France attempts to reclaim IndoChina after Second World War – war starts in December 1946 – initially USA sympathetic to anticolonialism of the Viet Minh – but from 1949 increased support from Communist China and USSR
- US Foreign policy in SEA changes – *Domino Theory* – lead to American support for the French
- French defeated at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 – lead to withdrawal – Geneva Conference – creation of North Vietnam (NV) and South Vietnam (SV)
- With French/USA involvement against the Communist North – becomes a *proxy conflict* of the Cold War

Under Eisenhower (1957–1961):
- Support for President Ngo Dinh Diem but government seen as corrupt and brutal – use of secret police and torture – no land reform – showed little respect for Buddhist religion
- Increased US involvement in South Vietnam as part of *Eisenhower Doctrine*
- US government sends financial and military aid – money largely mismanaged but support maintained as part of Cold War strategy to support Western-friendly governments
- Diem government increasingly unpopular – SV peasants support the communists – development of guerrilla warfare under the *Viet Cong* (VC) – establishment of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam – 80% of its support from peasants of SV
- Establishment of supply route from NV to SV to send arms and supplies to VC in SV – *Ho Chi Minh Trail* (HCMT)
- Military strategies under Eisenhower regarded as ineffective – US aid unable to stem the tide of VC and compromised with continued support of Diem government – unable to win support of peasants of SV

Under Kennedy (1961–1963):
- Diem government unable to fight VC alone – reliance on USA – lead to rethinking of strategy
- US sends in soldiers to boost the army of SV (ARVN) – *policy of advisors* and also deploys Green Berets to counter the guerrilla activity of the VC – *policy of counter insurgency* – backed up by *safe hamlets policy* where SV peasants were rounded up into protected villages to cut supply lines of the VC
- NV bolstered by support from China and USSR
- Increased protests against Diem and US presence – students and monk demonstrations – SV responds with martial law

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- Military strategies under Kennedy regarded as ineffective – villagers still supported the VC – unable to *WHAM* and counter-insurgency units unable to fight efficiently owing to terrain and VC tactics and Kennedy not willing to support the war fully

Under Johnson (1963 – 1969):
- Johnson supports the war in Vietnam – lead to the *Gulf of Tonkin Resolution* in August 1965 after exaggerated attacked on USS Maddox by NV navy – Congress approves more money to the war and gives Johnson more power in handling the conflict
- Increased involvement with deployment of combat troops from 1965 – bolstered by support from Australian and New Zealand troops – *policy of escalation*
- *Operation Rolling Thunder* from 1965 to 1972 – bombing of HGMT to cut supply route – use of Agent Orange defoliant to clear vegetation – bombing of 'strategic targets' in NV – caused massive damage to people and landscape and environmental damage
- Military strategies under Johnson regarded as ineffective – polices only increased support by people for VC – Us army unable to beat the VC and NV army in the field – terrain and VC tactics made fighting difficult – Tet Offensive of 1968 undermined US military resolve and demoralised SV government – increasingly negative view of the war in USA through media coverage – increased pressure on US to withdraw

Under Nixon (1969 – 1974):
- Nixon faced an increasing unpopular and expensive war – promised to end the war
- *Policy of Vietnamization* – decreased assistance of ARVN and handing over of control of the war to SV government – decreasing number of troops
- *Policy of bombing* – secret extension of bombing into Laos and Cambodia to frustrate the expansion of the HCMT
- Military strategies under Nixon regarded as ineffective – SV reluctant to take control of war and largely unable to deal with a population largely supportive of VC and NV – bombing of Laos and Cambodia exposed – forces Nixon to seek a withdrawal *peace with honour* – begins peace talks with NV in 1972

OR

QUESTION 2 SOUTH AFRICA

"Throughout the early-1990s, the National Party government continually undermined the negotiation process."

Critically evaluate the statement with reference to the period 1990–1994 in South Africa.

Context:
- De Klerk President from August 1989
- Ongoing secret talks with Mandela and ANC-in-exile since mid-1980s
- Collapse of USSR and end of the Cold War in 1989/1990
- Unbanning of ANC/PAC/SACP announced in 1990
- Mandela released in February 1990
- Start of open negotiations toward a democratic government from May 1990

National Party (NP) position:
- de Klerk aims to *maintain NP control and white power* in light of negotiated settlement
- de Klerk tries to maintain a position of strength in face of an ANC majority
  - SADF and SAP still under government control – *attempts by NP to maintain control*

Groote Schuur Minute:
- May 1990
- Focus: security legislation/troops in townships/state of emergency/on-going violence/ homelands/political prisoners/armed struggle/sanctions and exiles
- NP and ANC largely find agreement, but …
  - NP insists on ANC suspending armed struggle before further negotiations – *attempts by NP to maintain control*

Pretoria Minute:
- August 1990
- ANC agrees to suspend armed struggle, in return government lifts the state of emergency, but …
  - issues still over majority rule versus a power-sharing module – *attempts by NP to maintain control*

CODESA 1:
- December 1991
- Convention for a Democratic South Africa – met at WTC, Kempton Park
- 300 delegates representing broad spectrum of politics – boycotted by left-wing and right-wing
- Aimed to draw up an interim constitution – first elected parliament to finalise constitution
- 'Declaration of Intent' signed by delegates – constitutional principles/interim government/homelands issue/timeline for change, but …
  - de Klerk calls a 'whites only' referendum – show of control
  - on-going violence in townships – 'Third Force' activity – connivance of police with Inkatha in clashes with ANC – attempt by government to destabilise and undermine liberation movements – *attempt by NP to maintain control with internecine conflicts of ANC/Inkatha – appear as a 'solution' to black-on-black violence*

Bisho Massacre and Boipatong:
- ANC protest in Ciskei against homelands and Brigadier Gqozo goes wrong – Ciskei Defence Force open fire – Gqozo seen as a NP puppet undermining negotiation process
- Boipatong residents engulfed in 'Third Force' violence – police largely seen to be doing nothing or giving weapons to Inkatha as accomplices – *attempts by NP to maintain control*
- *Leads to collapse of CODESA*

Other factors:
- Assassination of Chris Hani by Walusz and Derby-Lewis – lead to angry township demonstrations – Mandela restores calm on TV – *right-wing attempts to derail negotiation*
- Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) – attack on St James' Church and Heidelberg Tavern – *left-wing attempts to derail negotiation*
- AWB storm the WTC in June 1993 during multipart talks – *right-wing attempts to derail negotiation*
- Right-wing targets political parties with bombs – *right-wing attempts to derail negotiation*
- Shell House Massacre – clashes between ANC and Inkatha – *more attempts to derail negotiation*

OR

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QUESTION 3 END OF COLD WAR AND NEW WORLD ORDER

"The world economy is dominated by Western capitalist organisations."

Critically evaluate the statement with reference to the roles played by the World Bank, IMF, and WTO in a post-Cold War world.

Context:
- End of World War II – foundations for global economy laid
- Bretton Woods Agreement, 1944 – Allied leaders meet to discuss post-war economies and reconstructions
- Agreements on *free trade* to ensure stability and prosperity
- Establishment of three global financial institutions: *International Monetary Fund/World Bank/General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs*

International Monetary Fund (IMF):
- Established in 1944
- HQ in Washington DC
- Funded by member countries
- Objective: regulation of international financial activities
  - International monetary cooperation
  - Promote exchange rate stability
  - To help deal with balance of payments adjustment
  - Help deal with economic crisis by providing international coordination – loans, plus advice
    … promotion of principles of free trade
- *But has led to dominance of global economy through …*
  - *Providing loans to developing nations – conditional loans*
  - *Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)*
    - Reduce inflation (tightening of monetary policy)
    - Deficit-reducing policies (higher tax)
    - Supply-side policies, such as privatisation, deregulation, and improved tax collection
    - Removing price controls
    - Free trade – removing tariff barriers
    - Devaluation of currency to reduce current account deficit

    … has an impact on citizens owing:
    to austerity measure/cutting of social services/undermining sovereignty of government/decline in investments/devaluation of currencies – worsens economic crisis and leads to greater dependence of developing nations on Western Capitalist institutions

World Bank (WB):
- Established in 1944
- HQ in Washington DC
- Funded by member countries
- WB has five affiliated agencies
- Objective: investments from wealthy members to fund projects in developing nations
  - Long-term loans for infrastructure projects
  - Human resource development
  - Environmental protection
  - Improving governance

- *But has led to dominance of global economy through …*
  - projects deemed neo-imperialist in nature and outcome
  - favouring of Western companies for projects
- *… has had an impact on citizens:*
  Free market reform has a negative impact if implemented too quickly/Western approaches to life are adopted and traditional economic structures and values are abandoned

General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT)/ World Trade Organisation (WTO)

- Established in 1947 as GATT – replaced by WTO in 1995
- HQ in Washington DC
- Funded by member countries
- Objective: promote free trade
  - reduce trade barriers
  - dispute settlement
  - WTO prohibits discrimination between trading partners, but provides exceptions for environmental protection, national security, and other important goals
- *But has led to dominance of global economy through …*
  - rich countries are able to maintain high import duties and quotas in certain products, blocking imports from developing countries (e.g. clothing)
  - The maintenance of high protection of agriculture in developed countries, while developing ones are pressed to open their markets
  - dominance by G8 – many developing countries do not have the capacity to follow the negotiations and participate actively
  - limits developing countries from utilising some technology that originates from abroad in their local systems (including medicines and agricultural products)
- *Has an impact on citizens:*
  Increase in unemployment/decreasing local industry/impacting agricultural output/ labour law disregarded/developed nations impose unfair agreements on developing nations

Role of the United States

- Dominates the 'Western capitalist organisations' – *how autonomous are the organisations?*
- Signatory to Bretton Woods Agreements – founding member
- All organisations have HQs in USA
- Organisations largely funded by USA
- Post-Cold War economy driven by US-based multinational corporations – *have vested interests in maintaining dominance across the globe – lobbying US government for favourable trade terms*

70 marks

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SECTION B EXTENDED WRITING

QUESTION 4 COLD WAR

Explain how the United States created a 'sphere of influence' in Germany by 1949 by answering the following questions:

(a) What actions did the United States take to control the German economy between by 1949?
(b) How did the United States exert dominance in Germany by 1949?
(c) Was the United States successful in creating a 'sphere of influence' in Germany by 1949?

- Germany defeated and surrendered by April 1945 – Allied military occupation
- Division of Germany into **zones of occupation** and city of Berlin divided – as agreed at Yalta Conference
- Soviet demands of reparations denied at Yalta Conference, but Stalin's orders go ahead – mass deconstruction of factories/infrastructure back to USSR & kidnapping of scientists
- US **policy of containment** implemented after 'Long Telegram' and Truman's speech to Congress viz **Truman Doctrine** – US guarantees military and financial support to nations under threat of communist takeovers, e.g. Greece and Turkey
- **Reconstruction** of German industry in Western Zones through US companies and finance – establishment of influence over German economy
- US Congress agrees to finance reconstruction of Europe through **European Recovery Plan** viz **Marshall Aid Plan** – financial aid given to states of Europe to assist with rebuilding of industry and infrastructure damaged by war – contracts given to US companies (e.g. VW), opening of European markets to US imports
- Soviets respond with **COMECOM** – attempt to counter USA aid to Germany and Europe – offered to states of Eastern Europe – unable to significantly challenge US economic influence
- Aid to Allied Zones in Germany and Berlin
- Soviets challenge Allied control in Berlin in 1948
- Stalin blockades all road/rail/water routes into West Berlin
- USA faced with a number of options: fight to Berlin/diplomacy/withdraw – chose airlift option – **Berlin Airlift**
- USA show of strength with organisation and use of air power during airlift – showed military ability
- Stalin calls off airlift by 1949 – unable to challenge the USA military
- Also, since 1944 the USA had nuclear weapons – a deterrent to Soviet aggression in 1940s – building of military bases in Western Germany
- Western Zones implement currency reforms after Berlin Crisis to grow the West German economy – leads to creation of **German Federal Republic** and **German People's Republic** by 1949
- Military capacity developed through the formation of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** in 1949 – in response to Berlin Crisis and to reinforce military strength in Western Bloc

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QUESTION 5 SOUTH AFRICA

Explain how South Africa attempted to uncover the truth and to reconcile with its past between 1994 and 1996 by answering the following questions:

(a) What was the TRC and what were its aims?
(b) What were the structures of the TRC and how did they function?
(c) Was the TRC successful in achieving its aims?

- The **TRUTH AND RECONCILATION COMMISSION** was established by the GNU after passing the national Unity and Reconciliation Act in 1995
- Chairman was Desmond Tutu, Alex Boraine was Vice-Chairman
- TRC aimed:
  - to investigate the causes and extent of **human rights abuses** under Apartheid government between 1960 and 1994
  - to recommend **compensation** for victims
  - to grant **amnesty** to perpetrators under certain conditions where individuals and parties had to give a full and public testimony of their actions
  - to deal with the crimes of Apartheid on a principle of **restorative justice** in an attempt to promote **national reconciliation**
- Work began in 1996 with public hearings around the country
- 22 000 victims testified at the hearings
- Three committees were set up by the TRC:
- **Committee on Human Rights Violations** – aimed to allow victims to testify
- **Committee on Reparations and Rehabilitation** – investigated stories and gave support, some given reparations for losses
- **Committee on Amnesty** – could grant amnesty to perpetrators in return for full disclosure if they could prove a political motivation
- TRC investigates those that worked for the government and liberation movements
- TRC **success** questioned:
  - Issue of human rights abuses: some perpetrators ignored proceedings or did not appear, TRC denounced as a witch-hunt, victims and families did not feel that justice was served
  - Issue of reparations: very controversial, different views on reparations, by 1998 only 1000 claims processed, those awarded reparations did not always receive compensation as government was not able to afford it, some believed perpetrators should pay, some reparations took form of non-financial benefits such as death certificates allowing for closure
  - Issue of amnesty: very controversial, victims and families felt that perpetrators escaped punishment and walked free, criminals used the process to gain freedom, lack of remorse questioned, only 1167 applications out of 7116 received amnesty – amnesty was a political compromise – some senior officials escaped any form of punishment, e.g. PW Botha, Magnus Malan
  - Issue of reconciliation: difficult to assess, perpetrators asked for forgiveness, Tutu as chairman emphasised Christian principle of forgiveness, many victims and families wanted justice rather than just truth
  - Issue of selective focus: TRC focused on human rights abuses in 1980s, ignored many others, TRC could subpoena people but chose not to in interests of reconciliation or political compromise, focus of TRC was individuals and not institutions – many companies complicit in Apartheid – no compulsion to testify or acknowledge wrong-doing
  - Issue of reconciliation: interim report by 1998, final report with amnesty applications by 2003, criticism from all sides of bias and lack of action, reconciliation not achieved but process started

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QUESTION 6 END OF COLD WAR AND NEW WORLD ORDER

Explain how Gorbachev attempted to meet the wide range of challenges facing the Soviet Union in the 1980s by answering the following questions:
(a) What reforms were implemented by Gorbachev and what were their aims?
(b) How did Gorbachev's reforms attempt to meet the wide range of challenges facing the Soviet Union in the 1980s?
(c) Were Gorbachev's reforms successful?

- USSR facing significant challenges in mid-1980s
  - leadership crisis – successive deaths of leader, leaders seen as old and stagnant
  - Soviet economy collapsing – drain of war in Afghanistan, missile production, proxy wars – command economy could not keep up with rest of the world
  - Agriculture production low
  - Shortages of consumer goods, inadequate housing, poor public health care system, Alcoholism rife
  - Soviet way of life demoralised – upheavals starting in Eastern Europe
- Gorbachev assumes power in 1985
  - New drive and energy
  - Acknowledged problems
  - Implements reform process to adapt to Soviet situation and global challenges – **glasnost** and **perestroika**
- **Glasnost:**
  - Means 'openness'
  - Government controlled press but newspapers and magazines could report freely
  - Opening up of archives
  - Chernobyl disaster forces Soviet government to respond openly
  - Reform aimed:
    - To free communication from citizens towards the government – criticism would bring about positive change and solutions to challenges facing Russia but,
      - allowed for increase and open **criticism** of Gorbachev and government
      - growth of **political opposition** to Gorbachev – increase in protests across Russia and Eastern Bloc
      - loss of Russian control in Eastern Europe promotes anti-Communist groups – leads to overthrow of Soviet-dominated governments by end of 1989
    - To end censorship over media, art, literature, and theatre – greater freedom of speech – win hearts and minds of citizens but,
      - **increase in protests** – allows from growth of anti-Soviet media
    - initiated process of **demokratiya**
    - To show tolerance by releasing of political prisoners and dissidents but,
      - lead to creation of opposition groups in republics – loss of control allowed for simmering ethic divisions to rise
      - linked to the rise of **nationalism** in Baltics states and other Soviet Republics – nationalists elected into office – lead to disintegration of USSR as republics declared independence, e.g. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia break away from USSR by 1990 – leads to collapse of USSR
- **Perestroika:**
  - Economic 'restructuring'
  - Soviet economy stagnating by early-1980s: lack of incentives, no access to quality consumer goods, low morale, high alcoholism rates
  - Reforms aimed:

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    - To rebuild the Soviet economy by moving from a state-controlled command economy to one based on capitalist principles of free trade, but **production remained low** and **increase in shortages**
    - To allow private business – make own decisions about prices and distribution
    - To shut down bankrupt state-owned businesses – **lead to unemployment**
    - To end subsidies – more realistic prices but, lead to **increase in housing, food, and medical costs**
    - To increase standard of living but **increase in inflation**
- Lead to **economic deterioration**: food queues, consumer goods in short supply – loss of support for Gorbachev
- **Increase in foreign debt**
- This policy did **break taboos** on private ownership and decentralisation of the economy

30 marks

Total: 100 marks

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