NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
MAY 2024

HISTORY: PAPER I

MARKING GUIDELINES

Time: 2 hours 100 marks

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

Answer **ONE** question from this section.

Write a discursive essay showing evidence of analysis, interpretation, explanation and argument is required. It should be approximately 800–900 words in length.

QUESTION 1 THE COLD WAR

Critically analyse the role of the People's Republic of China in changing the balance of power in the Cold War.

Argument

Candidates, in order to critically analyse, need to examine the role of the PRC from various angles and come to a conclusion/judgement regarding her impact on the balance of power. Candidates should explore how China moved the Cold War from primarily bipolar to (somewhat) tripolar.

Context

- Cold war tensions and power struggle between USA and USSR
- China became communist in 1949 after civil war, under Mao Tse-Tung
- May refer briefly to the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution

Content

- **Alliance with the Soviet Union**
  - Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship
    - USSR provided financial aid and technical advisors
    - Return of Chinese eastern railway & two ports to China
    - Mutual Defence Clause – would stand together against military threats
    - *Thus the PRC's alliance with the USSR changed the balance of power as two large, communist countries were now allied with each other, which was seen as a 'two-against-one' threat by the USA.*
  - United Nations
    - USSR withdrew from the Security Council in protest when the SC seat for China was given to the ROC rather than PRC
    - *This caused a shift in the balance of power at the UN – USSR's attempt to show support actually meant that in future decisions, USA had the ability to push decisions through to the detriment of the communist states, e.g. Korea.*
  - Differing interpretations of partnership
    - Mao saw the PRC and USSR as equals; Stalin saw the PRC as a lesser partner
    - PRC had expected more support than they were given from the Soviets
    - Korean War – PRC committed fully, expecting Soviets to do the same, but USSR limited its involvement, causing PRC to feel betrayed
    - *Thus, although there was a shift, the alliance was not as strong as suspected and so the main players remained the USA and USSR, with PRC filling a more minor role.*

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- **Sino-Soviet split**
  - Khrushchev and Mao tension
    - Khrushchev's Secret Speech and criticism of Stalin angered Mao
    - Differing attitudes to the West – Mao saw USA as a 'paper tiger' and that the 1950s should see a more aggressive spread of communism; Khrushchev wanted to see 'peaceful coexistence' with the West
    - 1957 Defence Accord BUT Khrushchev visit to PRC in 1958 worsened tension – Khrushchev withdrew advisors from PRC. In addition, the USSR was reluctant/slow to provide the promised nuclear technology
    - *This shows USSR as still having more power to make decisions without the PRC/PRC as a lesser power, and the USSR was still the major player*.
    - USSR and PRC had differing interpretations of Communism
    - Khrushchev criticised the Great Leap Forward
    - USSR remained neutral in PRC clashes with India
  - Sino-Soviet Split
    - By 1960 the alliance was over
    - USSR withdrew its remaining advisors from the PRC
    - USSR withdrew all its previous support
    - *At this point the PRC lost the ally that had threatened the USA and shifted the balance of power.*
  - Worsening tensions
    - Mao criticised Khrushchev's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis
    - Border disputes, e.g. USSR siding with India over PRC-India clash in 1962; from 1963 clashes regarding the Sino-Soviet border
    - 1964 – PRC developed its own nuclear weapons independently – *this made it a nuclear power that, while still not on par with the USSR or USA, had more influence than previously on its own, without needing the allyship of the USSR*
    - 1967 Red Guards laid siege to the Soviet embassy in Beijing
    - 1969 border clashes in Xinjiang province led to 1.5 million soldiers stationed on the border, with violent clashes intermittently
    - *These tensions can be seen as the PRC wielding her own power in opposition to the USSR, and thus changing the balance of Cold War power, although never to the extent that the USA was able to threaten the Soviets.*

- **Changing relationship with the USA**
  - Korean and Vietnam wars; ROC
    - Supported opposing sides in both wars
    - SEATO as a threat to the PRC
    - USA provided aid and protection to the ROC in Taiwan through the Mutual Defence Treaty of 1954
    - *These are examples of the PRC and USA being directly opposed, and the USA's fear of the PRC as a threat in the Cold War, indicating a (limited) shift in power balance.*
  - Mao and Nixon
    - After the Sino-Soviet split, the PRC feared being hostile to both superpowers
    - The USA also feared being hostile to both the PRC and USSR, especially as the USA was attempting to cut military spending in response to opposition to the Vietnam war
    - *Thus indicating that although the PRC was too weak to shift the balance of power entirely, she was still of major strategic concern to the USA.*
    - USA and PRC began to work towards détente in the 1970s

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    - 1971 – Kissinger visited the PRC; USA withdrew her support of the ROC and the PRC took up its Security Council seat; table tennis tournament/'ping-pong diplomacy'
    - 1972 Nixon visit to China. Nixon and Zhou Enlai signed the Shanghai Communique in which the USA affirmed a single China
    - *Thus the PRC was able to use its leverage to its benefit, showing the ability to exert power.*
    - Relationship improved further – 1976 Deng Xioping replaced Mao, and PRC saw the USSR as its largest threat, rather than the USA; 1978 Jimmy Carter withdrew all support from Taiwan and recognised the PRC as the sole legitimate government; 1979 full diplomatic relations established between the PRC and USA
  - *The PRC was able to change the Cold War balance of power and forge her own path in the Cold War, threatening both the USA and the USSR to varying degrees throughout the 1950s to late 1970s. She was part of the larger Cold War struggle for dominance, although was never able to be as large a force as either the USA or USSR. The role she played in the balance of power was largely as a strong ally to either the USA or the USSR.*

- **Extension of Chinese power (optional)**
  - The PRC was able to extend her power regionally in Tibet, had hostile relationships with India, failed invasion of Vietnam in 1979; threats to invade Taiwan
  - *Thus the PRC was somewhat of a regional force exerting its own power in the Cold War.*
  - The PRC supported independence movements in other parts of the world, developing trade and diplomatic ties, and supporting liberation movements. *By this she was acting similarly to the other superpowers, and often at odds with them in trying to gain allies in newly independent states.*
  - Large involvement in Africa, e.g. Tan-Zam railway, support for COREMO in Mozambique, FNLA in Angola, ZANU in Zimbabwe, PAC in South Africa (and some support for ANC before the Sino-Soviet Split); SWANU in Namibia; set up guerrilla training camps in Ghana and Algeria
  - Also supplied arms to communist groups in Bolivia, Peru and Colombia
  - *Thus China was shifting the balance of power in these regions which otherwise would have been supported by either the USA or USSR. However, her limited economy meant that her influence remained smaller than that of the USA and USSR and thus her impact on power in these regions was limited.*

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QUESTION 2 CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Critically analyse the role of the Black Consciousness Movement in anti-apartheid activism during the 1970s in South Africa.

Argument

Candidates, in order to critically analyse, need to examine the role of the BCM from various angles and come to a conclusion/judgement regarding its impact on the anti-apartheid movement. The BCM provided new approaches to activism.

Context

- Increased repression in the 1960s and the lack of leadership in the so-called 'silent 60s' – repression after Sharpeville; arrest and exile of main leaders especially after Rivonia Trial
- Development of Black Consciousness via SASO (Biko, Pityana, Moodley, Ramphele etc) and the break from NUSAS

Content

- **Impact of BC philosophies**
  - Biko emphasised the importance of mental liberation, pride in Black heritage and culture, the need for self-determination and a black-run struggle
  - *This differed from the ANC approach of multi-racialism and gave Black South Africans (especially the youth) a new direction and philosophy to inspire resistance. The aspect of self-determination was inspired by pan-Africanism and gave new impetus to organisations.*
  - Aimed for a total transformation of SA society and to end apartheid, total equality although they were not able to achieve this in practice in the short term. *This did, however, contribute to a reinvigoration of the struggle.*
  - Definition of selves in own terms and the conceptions of Blackness as positive and not in relation to whiteness, Black Theology
  - *This provided much-needed psychological liberation which can be seen in the increased ferocity of anti-apartheid activism from the mid-1970s, although this cannot be solely attributed to BCM.*
  - Publications such as 'Thrust', 'Black Review', community newspapers, and Biko's writing as 'Frank Talk' spread the ideas of BCM and its influence widely

- **Student activism; Trade Unionism & community organisation**
  - BC student unions such as SASO (break from NUSAS), SASM *brought the struggle more directly into the sphere of the youth than it had been before*
  - There were some BC-aligned Trade Unions such as BAWU that had some involvement in the increased trade union activity in the 1970s *although the BC was not the primary progenitor of this increase*
  - Umbrella bodies formed such as the Black People's Convention, Black Parents' Association to co-ordinate activities *was a new, more community-based method of activism that was more difficult for the apartheid government to suppress because of their looser structure*
  - Focus on alternative institutions and community self-reliance through the Black Community Programmes, e.g. Zanempilo Clinic, day-care centres, formation of home-based industries and economic co-operatives, Zimele Trust Fund for political prisoners – *was a new way of approaching resistance/activism that relied on building communities and providing internal support in defiance of the government, rather than organised public protest*

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- **Soweto/1976 Uprising**
  - BCM had an influence on students in high schools through publications such as Thrust. SASO graduates became teachers, e.g. Ongopotse Tiro *and were thus able to influence young people, although it is difficult to measure the degree of this influence*
  - BCM particularly appealing to the youth who faced particular struggles and uncertainty about life after school, and frustration with the inequalities of Bantu Education.
  - Youth cultural clubs (such as Debating Societies and Dance clubs) became increasingly influenced by BC ideas, and placed for young people to discuss and debate *causing a politicisation of the youth and giving expression to their anger and frustration*
  - SASM was created as a school-based student union, modelled on SASO and aligned to Black Consciousness ideologies, and had a large role in the organisation of the Soweto Uprising. Members of the SSRC were also heavily influenced by BC. *There is some debate about the extent to which BC influenced the Soweto Uprising and how many of the leaders directly aligned with the movement, but it is certain that at least some did, and that the BCM gave a new vigour to students and the language/tools to oppose their oppression.*
  - There were other, non-BC related influences on the uprising such as the increased protest of Trade Unions in the early 1970s, the independence of Angola and Mozambique, increasingly bad conditions in the townships, frustration with Bantu Education in general, and the introduction of the Afrikaans Medium Decree which sparked the uprising. [*NB – this essay is focused on BC and should NOT be a comparison of the various factors contributing to the uprising*)
  - *Thus it can be argued that BC's influence was small compared to the other factors, but also that it was the influence of BC that allowed students to value themselves and see themselves as agents of change. Candidates may vary in how they address the role of BCM in this instance, but there must be some acknowledgement of its role in the uprising.*

- **Government responses [optional]**
  - Government cracked down on BCM in the 1970s when it became clear that BCM was aimed at dismantling the apartheid state. *This can be used as evidence that BCM was playing a large role in activism as the government targeted BC leaders particularly.*
  - 1973 – banning of 8 leaders, Biko restricted to King Williams Town
  - State of Emergency and more banning after the 1976 Uprising
  - SASO-BPC trial of 1976 saw the conviction of 9 main BC leaders under the Terrorism Act and their incarceration on Robben Island
  - BPC was banned in 1977 along with all BC-aligned organisations
  - Biko particularly targeted and murdered in detention
  - *Shows the government's need to suppress this new movement and its impact on activism*
  - *Government crackdown was able to repress the major BC organisations and it can be argued that this limited the role of the movement in activism from the later half of the 1970s. However, the movement by nature was philosophical and the ideas continued to influence Black South Africans and inspire continued resistance.*

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

Critically analyse the role of political and economic problems in contributing to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Argument

Candidates, in order to critically analyse, need to analyse Gorbachev's reforms and the impact they had in the Soviet Union from various angles, and come to a conclusion about their role in the collapse.

Context

- Context should ideally be woven into the content where relevant
- Cold War tensions & changing relationships
- Death of Soviet leaders and rise of Gorbachev
- Communist economic and political structure

Content

- **Political problems**
  - **Issues facing the USSR**
    - No freedom in political life, cannot criticise government *thus government has no incentive to meet the needs of the people, causing resentment and anger*
    - Communist Party was losing support
    - Relations with both West and PRC were strained, increasing isolation *leading to an unstable international situation for the USSR*
    - Leadership old, conservative, and the death of leaders *meant that there was little improvement, populace becoming frustrated*
    - Increasing desire for self-rule, and nationalism, e.g. the start of the 'Singing Revolution' of 1987 (Kazakhstan, Latvia, Armenia); nationalist uprising in Georgia and the Tblisi Massacre (1989) *would lead to the breakdown of the Soviet Union*
  - **Gorbachev's response to political problems & impacts**
    - Introduced Demokratiya and Glasnost to try and reform the political system, *but these worsened the political problems/changed the nature of the political problems, and led to the demise of the Soviet Union*
    - Glasnost allowed for the free expression of people's concerns and led to increased protest and calls for further freedoms.
    - Allowed nationalist movements to rise especially in the Baltic SSRs *which would eventually be the first to break away from the USSR and trigger the final collapse of the Union*
    - Demokratiya tried to deal with the bureaucratic inertia facing the Soviet Union and infused democratic elements into the USSR *but these were limited and so not only ineffective, but caused calls for more insistent change*
    - Congresses of People's Deputies introduced in 1987, non-party candidates allowed to stand, and competition between Party candidates
    - Opposition from conservatives who saw this as a betrayal of communism, and from reformers who wanted to see more opening up of the political sphere
    - *Thus the USSR was politically unstable, and the reforms did little to improve this.*

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- **Economic problems**
  - **Issues facing the USSR**
    - Centralised economy was inefficient, mismanagement of resources
    - Few consumer goods
    - Stagnation under Brezhnev continued through the 1980s
    - Little incentive to innovate or produce; lying to meet quotas
    - Outdated equipment, poor quality housing
    - Cost of the new arms race – USSR could not compete with the USA's increasing rearmament
    - Cost of maintaining satellite states
    - Drain on the state due to the war in Afghanistan
    - USSR spiralled into debt
    - *All of these issues meant that the USSR was unable to satisfy its population, they wanted change and were beginning to agitate for it.*
  - **Gorbachev's response to economic problems**
    - In an attempt to revive the economy, Gorbachev instituted Perestroika – a restructuring and decentralisation of the economy
    - Enterprise Law gave more autonomy to businesses, who were able to make some decisions about the running of their enterprises
    - State ended subsidies for failing businesses *but without state support many of these collapsed, leading to worsening economic problems and increased unemployment*
    - Price control ended and free market largely allowed to determine the price of goods *but because of a history of price controls, goods were severely underpriced (e.g. fuel) and so when controls were lifted inflation rose dramatically and people could not afford basic necessities. This led to increased worker dissatisfaction and strikes by workers who were pushing for higher wages.*
    - Reforms did not keep up with the demands or needs of the people, and when Gorbachev tried to speed up the demands, the economic situation worsened further *increasing dissatisfaction within the Soviet Union both from reformers, and from conservatives who felt the reforms were detrimental*
    - Reformers like Yeltsin became more popular and gained power in part because they promised a better solution to the economic problems.
    - *Thus the USSR faced massive economic problems, which Gorbachev worsened with his reforms. Increased dissatisfaction led to a decrease in support for the communist party, and increase in protest, and a desire for a new form of government. At the same time the government did not have the money to enforce its power, and fell deeper into debt, which is unsustainable.*

- **Collapse of the USSR**
  - By 1990 the USSR had lost control of her satellite states, and the desire for freedom was echoed within the USSR itself. Economic and political problems had not been solved, and had in fact become worse
  - In 1990 the first free elections for the CPDs led to non-party candidates winning in 7 of the 15 republics. *This led to a 'war of laws' where Republics challenged the authority of the state and further weakened the Soviet Union's central government.*
  - Yeltsin became president of the Russian SSR in March 1990, leading to a power struggle between him and Gorbachev
  - In 1991 the Baltic republics declared independence, leading to a failed military intervention by Gorbachev
  - August 1991 attempted coup *stripped the last vestiges of power from Gorbachev and the central government, and left Yeltsin in de facto control. As a reformer and not part of the CP, Yeltsin would allow for the independence of the Baltic states and preside over the breakup of the Union.*

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- September 1991 – official dissolution of the USSR
- From then many of the ex-Soviet republics joined the CIS and then the Russian Federation
- *Thus the USSR was not able to overcome its political and economic problems, and they played the major role in the collapse of the Soviet union.*
- *Candidates may also refer to other aspect of weakness that impacted the end of the Soviet union, but this is not a comparative essay.*

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SECTION B EXTENDED WRITING

Answer **ONE** question from this section.

The extended writing should be approximately 350–400 words in length. You should use your own knowledge and you may also refer to the stimuli to answer the questions. (You do not need to include a word count.)

THEME THE COLD WAR

QUESTION 4

Explain why Germany became an area of tension in the Cold War by answering the following questions:

(a) What led to the Berlin Blockade?
(b) How did the West respond to the Blockade?
(c) What impact did the Berlin Blockade and Airlift have on Europe and the Cold War?

- **Causes – Long term [Division of Germany]**
  - Germany defeated after Western and Soviet troops conquered Berlin
  - Yalta and Potsdam Conferences – division of Germany into 4 zones of allied occupation; Berlin also divided
  - Allies could extract reparations from their zones of Germany
  - Verbal agreements of access to Berlin for all allies
  - German zones to be administered by the Allied Control Council, which would work towards reunification and self-rule after the de-Nazification of Germany
  - Reunification did not occur due to the increasing Cold War tensions
  - Increasing inequality of economies and quality of life between East and West Germany
  - Differing aims for Germany – the West believed that economic recovery would prevent further war whilst the Soviet Union wanted to keep Germany militarily and economically weak to prevent a possible future rearming and invasion

- **Causes – Short term**
  - Marshall aid to West Germany caused it to recover well and strengthen its economy.
  - Conversely, Soviet extraction of reparations and desire for a weak Germany meant east Germany became increasingly economically unstable
  - By 1948 the Western zones had merged (first Bizonia and then Trionia)
  - The contrast was most marked in Berlin, in which both economies interacted freely
  - West wanted to introduce a new currency (Deutschmark) into its zones; USSR walked out of the ACC in protest
  - West introduced new currency, though not into Berlin. Soviets accused them of breaching the Four Powers Agreement
  - Soviet Union responded with its own new currency in West Germany AND Berlin, at which point the West introduced the DM to Berlin
  - Berliners used the DM – meaning the seeming creation of a capitalist 'hole in the iron curtain' in Berlin

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- **Berlin Blockade and Western response – Airlift**
  - In response to the currency crisis, and hoping to force the West out of Berlin, Stalin blocked all road and rail access to West Berlin. Eventually surrounded the whole of West Berlin with Soviet and DDR troops
  - USSR provided some goods for West Berlin, but not sufficient
  - Blockade officially began 23 June 1948 – no goods in or out by road or rail, air traffic was harassed (but not directly attacked)
  - West faced with few choices – breaking/running the blockade could lead to direct conflict, and the Red Army was stronger than the US/UK ground forces at this time
  - Lucius Clay (administrator of the US zone of Germany) suggested an airlift of goods
  - West responded with Operation Vittles on 26 June – airlift of supplies into West Berlin
  - USSR would be the clear aggressor if they interfered with the humanitarian mission
  - US Airforce and Royal Air Force fully supplied West Berlin for the duration of the blockade
  - Used three airports in West Berlin – most important being Tempelhof
  - Soviets offered to lift the blockade if the West dropped the Deutschmark, but they refused
  - At the height of the airlift a plane was landing every 45 seconds, more than 2.3 million tonnes of goods
  - Allies placed a counter-blockade on eastern Germany, which led to shortages and the possibility of unrest
  - 12 May 1949 Stalin lifted the blockade

- **Impacts of the blockade**
  - Heightened Cold War tensions, often seen as the first major confrontation of the Cold War
  - Solidified the division of Europe and deepened the Cold War
  - Cemented US position in West Germany and Western Europe more generally
  - A huge propaganda victory for the West
  - Victory for containment policy
  - Fear of a hot war over Berlin, which remained a point of tension throughout the Cold War
  - Dangers of Soviet interests in Berlin scared the West
  - By 1949 each zone was declared an independent state
  - West Germany became the Federal Republic of Germany, led by Konrad Adenauer and supported by the Western Powers
  - East Germany became the German Democratic Republic (DDR) under Walter Ulbricht, and a satellite state of the USSR
  - West created NATO partly as a response to the fear of possible Soviet expansion (FRG would only join in 1955)

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THEME CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

QUESTION 5

Explain the importance of internal resistance in South Africa in the 1980s by answering the following questions:

(a) What constitutional reforms did Botha introduce to South Africa in the 1980s?
(b) How did South Africans protest against these constitutional reforms in the 1980s?
(c) What impact did this resistance have on the apartheid state?

- **Context**
  - Repression of protest in the 1960s and 1970s had dampened resistance
  - Reinvigoration of protest after the 1976 Uprising, and increasing politicisation of the youth
  - Botha elected in 1978 and under increasing internal and external pressure
  - Total Strategy policy to respond to 'total onslaught' – a combination of increased repression and token reform, with a focus on constitutional reform
  - These new policies of government led to new forms of resistance
  - 'Rubicon' speech had been expected to make significant reforms but did not – instead doubled down on NP/white power – clear indication that one man one vote/ democracy was not on Botha's agenda

- **Botha's reforms**
  - 1983 constitutional changes
    - Created the position of State President, increasing Botha's control
    - Cabinet became increasingly powerful, also under NP's control
    - Black Local Authorities Act created Township Councils as a superficial token of power for people in the townships, but these were seen as sell-outs to the government and this created increased backlash
    - Creation of the Tricameral Parliament as an attempt to draw in Coloured and Indian support
    - House of Assembly – white candidates, 178 seats
    - House of Delegates – Indian candidates, 45 seats
    - House of Representatives – Coloured candidates, 85 seats
    - BUT seats in the white House of Assembly outweighed the other two houses
    - Decisions of 'own affairs' within the individual houses, but 'general affairs' by a joint sitting
    - President decided what affairs were own or general, further lessening the power of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives
  - Black Local Authorities
    - Permanency of Black people in South Africa recognised as fact, but Botha did not want to allow any representation in parliament
    - Black Local Authorities Act (1982) gave township residence the ability to elect Township Councillors – local government structures within the townships
    - Councillors were in charge of township administration and their funds came from the rents and levies of the township residents.
    - BLAs remained under the Bantu Administration Board of the government (all white officials appointed by government)
  - All these reforms were superficial and left the basis of apartheid firmly in place, and further entrenched the power of the National Party.

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- **Methods and impact of resistance – UDF & National Forum**
  - Opposition to the Tricameral Parliament was fierce – creation of the United Democratic Front and the National Forum, both umbrella bodies with affiliates which allowed for more fluid structure and more difficult for the government to repress
  - Both became important organisations for protest against apartheid more generally, although the UDF had wider support
  - UDF boycott of the Tricameral elections was very successful – only 20% of eligible voters participated in the elections, which was a clear indication that the new constitution was not accepted by Coloured and Indian voters. Although there was this widespread opposition which showed the new parliament to be illegitimate, the government continued with Tricameralism regardless.
  - UDF had approximately 600 affiliates and around 3 million members. Engaged in widespread and effective boycott campaigns including rent, school, consumer boycotts
  - Umbrella bodies such as the UDF and NF were able to mobilise and coordinate protest more effectively and in a more unified manner than had been seen previously – government was unable to control them despite bannings, arrests and detentions.
  - When UDF finally banned, the affiliates reorganised into the Mass Democratic Movement and began the 1989 Defiance Campaign
  - UDF also led boycotts against the BLAs

- **Methods and impact of resistance – Civics and the 1984 Uprising**

  - Residents' organisations in townships had been around since the late 1970s (e.g. PEBCO, SCA, Craddock Residents' Association) and increased in activity and importance in the 1980s
  - Important grassroots methods of organisation and resistance
  - Became particularly important after the Black Local Authorities were introduced as opposition and alternate institutions to the BLAs – violent conflicts with the BLAs led to councillors resigning, fleeing and the collapse of that system
  - Organised and enforced mass action such as stayaways and boycotts, acted as pressure groups for service delivery, major locus of communication within the townships and between township residents and organisations in exile
  - Headed street committees to organise protest; people's courts to control and enforce protest
  - Worked with other organisations – trade unions, UDF, NF, student and youth organisations
  - Critical role during the **1984 Township Uprising**
    - Started in 1984 as a series of rent boycotts and gained momentum
    - Became a general revolt that lasted until 1986
    - Civics and UDF critical to the organisation and sustaining of the revolt
    - Increased and continual protest in townships (starting in the Vaal Triangle and spreading country-wide), increased violence against BLAs and supposed collaborators, violence between 'comrades' and 'vigilantes'
    - The townships effectively became ungovernable and the apartheid government was on the back foot, responding to the revolt but unable to crush it completely – state lost control of the townships and responded brutally with State of Emergency and sending troops into the townships.
    - Uprising had died down by 1986 because of government repression but resistance continued, and the Uprising had served to strengthen the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations

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- **General impacts on apartheid state**
  - Protest and resistance was more unified, militant and sustained than had been seen before
  - Government lost control of areas of the country for months at a time
  - Responded with force and increased repression but this was unable to stop protest entirely
  - Constant resistance weakened the apartheid state and increased both internal and international scrutiny
  - Resistance was coming from all sectors of society and so far more difficult to repress
  - Increased the economic pressures on the state until it was unable to continue repression
  - By 1989 there was somewhat of a stalemate, with government unable to stop resistance, but resistance organisations unable to topple the state
  - Increasing calls for reform by business leaders, Afrikaner intellectuals and more reformist elements in the NP
  - This (along with other international factors) led to the NP leadership being forced into negotiations with the liberation organisations.

OR

THEME THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER

QUESTION 6

Explain the impact of world financial institutions on Africa by answering the following questions:

(a) What led to the creation of the IMF, World Bank, and WTO?
(b) How do the IMF, WB and WTO try to regulate the world's ecomomies?
(c) What impact have the policies of the IMF, WB and WTO had on Africa?

- **Creation & ideals of IMF, WB, and WTO**
  - IMF & WB created 1944 at Bretton Woods conference
  - Bretton Woods conference held to discuss future world economy, believed that global trade was the best way to recover from WWII. Promoted Free Trade (adopting early neo-liberal economic policies and strengthening these from the 1970s)
  - GATT established 1947, replaced by WTO in 1955
  - World financial institutions dominated by the G8 countries
  - Known as the 'Iron Triangle'
  - Sharp change from protectionist policies of the West pre-WWII
- **Role of IMF, WB, WTO**
  - Often seen as 'neo-colonialist' – extending power from the Countries of the North over the Countries of the South
  - **World Bank:** initially created to aid in the reconstruction of Europe. Now it uses investment from the 148 member states to fund projects in developing countries. Focuses on infrastructural development: dams, power plants. Works closely with the IMF
  - **International Monetary Fund:** created to administer world financial activities. Regulates exchange rates between currencies. Makes loans to countries with debt, in return for their adaptation to economic policies favoured by the IMF, e.g. cash crops, reduced spending on social services (Structural Adjustment Programmes). Enormous amounts of power. Countries cannot receive loans if rejected by IMF

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- **Structural Adjustment Programmes**
  - Based on neoliberal ideas that an enhanced role for the market and less government intervention will promote development
  - In order to get loans, African countries had to abide by SAPs, e.g. increasing their interest rates, decreasing government subsidies, devaluation of currencies, putting free market in charge
  - Encouraged/forced privatisation and fiscal discipline, reduced trade barriers (tariffs, quotas, subsidies) in countries accepting loans
  - SAPs caused particularly harsh conditions for citizens of African countries accepting IMF loans – cuts in government subsidies for farmers caused failure, reduced government health care and schooling, increased unemployment, increased cost of goods
  - Decrease in the quality of life – caused by cuts in government spending in order to comply with SAP demands to balance the budget
  - Focus on cash crops and exports made countries vulnerable to market fluctuations as well as crop failures, and the failure of one crop means economic disaster. Lack of diversification of the economy. Lack of production of food crops, food insecurity
  - Trade liberalisation forced on African countries not always reciprocated by Western countries
  - Market forces in these countries were not able to pick up where governments were forced to cut funding to social services, or private services became unaffordable for the majority of people
  - Countries sunk into a debt spiral
- **World Trade Organisation:** promotes free trade and reduced tariffs. Member countries must abide to WTO decisions, even if they have to change their own internal laws to do so.

- **Other impacts on Africa**
  - Increased debt and reliance on foreign aid
  - Financial institutions dominated by West, with little space for African countries to have a say
  - BRICs was hoped to provide a counterbalance to the Western financial institutions, but has not been able to do so
  - Free trade not in reality free – dumping of cheap goods into Africa whose own industries can't compete
  - Unequal tariffs and barriers that usually benefit the west and detrimental to African economies
  - The global economy has lead to the profusion of massive multi-national corporations that dominate global trade and can influence government policy, often leading to poor working conditions and reduction of labour rights in order to attract foreign direct investment. Few African producers can compete.

Total: 100 marks

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