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History Department

Form 4 History Exam Paper One

Memorandum/ Marking guideline

Examiner: Mr K Ndoda

Moderators: Mr Christian

Time: 2 Hours

Marks: 100

Section A: <i>Discursive essay</i>	/70
Section B: <i>Extended writing</i>	/30
Total mark	/100

Instructions to Candidates:

1. Read the questions **carefully**.
2. Answer **ONE** question from Section A, and **ONE** question from Section B.
3. Accurate and adequate factual knowledge is essential, equally important is the ability to use relevant information critically in answering the questions.
4. Start each question on a new page.
5. Number your answers exactly as the questions are numbered in the question paper.
6. It is in your best interest to write legibly. Work in an orderly way and present your answers as neatly as possible.
7. This assessment consists of **4** pages, please check that it is complete.

SECTION A

DISCURSIVE ESSAY

Question 1

“During the Cold War, the U.S. instituted a policy of sending money to governments in poor countries to buy their political loyalty. While studies show that sending aid to foreign governments creates allegiance, it does not lead to economic progress.” - Iqbal Quadi

To what extent were U.S. foreign economic and political policies successful in ‘buying political loyalty’ and ‘creating allegiances’ to stop the spread of communism between 1945 and 1965. [70]

Candidates will need to start with offering some CONTEXT for US foreign policy in the 1940s. This will should include the following elements:

- State of Europe post-WWII: refugees, homelessness, poverty, infrastructural damage (roads, communications, etc.), rationing and starvation, etc. All made the spread of communist ideology more likely.
- Under the umbrella term of CONTAINMENT, the US then decided to implement two key policies in an effort to buy loyalty create allegiances and thus limit the spread of communism:
 - TRUMAN DOCTRINE (1947): countries must choose to support communist or capitalist ideology. The US is then bound the protect ad aid those capitalist aligned countries that felt under threat from the spread of communist ideology. This aid could be financial and/or economic.
 - MARSHALL PLAN (1948): (also known as the ‘European Recovery Programme’) Truman committed to spending \$13 billion on Western European countries, to help the rebuild and recover after the war. It was thought that with the increased quality of life people would be less inclined to become desperate and turn to communist ideology.

Candidates will ultimately need to take a strong STANCE asserting whether or not, and to what extent these policies were successful in buying loyalty, creating allegiances and ultimately stopping the spread of communism.

Arguments which suggest that containment had indeed failed at ‘buying loyalty’ and creating allegiances’ by 1965 could include:

- Soviet takeover of E Europe (1944-1945): West failed to aid allies in E European countries such as Poland resulting in many countries having the totalitarian rule of the Nazis replaced with the USSR's communist dictatorship
- China (1949): Mao's ultimate victory in the 'War of Liberation' now saw the two largest countries in Asia fall to communist rule. The potential for economic and military alliances between the PRC and USSR could result in a mass communist super power developing as signified by the Treaty of Friendship (1950)
- Korean War (1950-1953): U.S. backing of ardent anti-communist Syngman Rhee ultimately failed as he was out of touch with his people. N Korea remained communist and although the USA did protect S Korea it came at a huge cost both economically and morally, equally, the USA ultimately failed at their brief flirtation with the idea of "rollback"
- Cuba (1959): U.S. backing of corrupt dictator Batista ultimately left the majority of the population in poverty and resenting American influence. The completion of the Cuban revolution saw the rise of communist people's leader Fidel Castro backed by influential communist revolutionary Che Guevara. U.S. had thus failed as communism was in the Caribbean further highlighting the failures of containment.
- Bay of Pigs (1961): America's only attempt to regain a foothold in Cuba failed overwhelmingly; costing \$13million and leading the loss or capture of almost 1400 men. Kennedy was left looking weak, inept and naïve. Significant investment had again failed in making allies and buying loyalty only serving to further distance U.S.-Cuban relations.
- Cuban Missile Crisis (1962): despite the removal of nuclear capable missiles from Cuba, it did remain a foothold for communism in America's 'backyard', equally the USA had to suffer critical losses of their strategic missiles in Turkey
- Vietnam (1955-1975): Again, U.S. backing of cruel and corrupt dictator Ngo Dinh Diem left the Vietnamese peasantry disillusioned and impoverished ultimately driving towards the communist influence of Ho Chi Minh. Although not complete by 1965 the fall of N Vietnam to communism highlighted the ever growing spread of communism in the Far East.

Arguments considering the potential success of containment in 'buying loyalty' and 'creating allegiances' could examine the following information:

- West Berlin (1945 +): following division of Germany and Berlin at Potsdam the heavy investment in W Berlin made for a marked difference in quality of life between East and West; W Berlin thus became a "beacon of capitalist hope". U.S. invested heavily to raise the standard of living in West Berlin as means of defiance and propaganda in the Soviet Sphere. This certainly encouraged defection from East to West Germany and ultimately led to the "brain drain" that would enforce the construction of the Berlin Wall.
- Berlin Airlift (1948): West achieved a significant propaganda victory over the East highlighting their commitment to supporting their allies and funding Berlin. Furthermore, the success of the scale of U.S. spending to support the

airlift ensured West German support for the U.S. for the remainder of the Cold War.

- Formation of GDR (1948): formation of GDR resulted in a power united Germany front with heavy Western influence as a blockade against the spread of communism in W Europe. U.S. also had a significant hand in influencing the election of the Deutschmark and GDR's first democratic leader Konrad Adenauer.
- Greece & Turkey (1949): US funding of depleted British forces prevented communist uprisings in spite of the fall of neighbouring E European countries
- Formation of NATO (1949): created a united powerful mutually defensive political and military alliance against the USSR guaranteeing the safety of the West (Collective Security) and proving the success of 'buying loyalty' and 'creating allegiances'.
- Korean War (1950-1953): US stood by their policies of Truman Doctrine and containment sending military and economic aid to South Korea and in so doing forcing N Korea back to the 38th parallel and maintaining the status quo. South Korean peninsula remained a launching platform for the U.S. in the Far East for the remainder of the Cold War and indeed to some extent still does today.
- Berlin Wall (1961): construction of the wall to stop the flow of defectors from East to West became a significant propaganda victory for the West. It highlighted the undesirable nature of life under communism and became a rallying point for European citizens and media
- Vietnam (1955 up to 1965): USA had interfered in Vietnam and was putting their significant military and financial backing behind the S Vietnamese and in 1965 were still holding the communist forces in Vietnam at bay to some extent

Ultimately, both sides have very valid arguments and can be argued successfully. Marking focus will need to be on the quality of focus and rigour of evidence to support the chosen side/dismiss the counter-arguments.

Question 2

Civil Society Resistance in South Africa

The Anti-Apartheid movement targeted numerous aspects of South African life. South Africa felt the pressure of international sanctions, disinvestment as well as boycotts that happened together with internal mass resistance.

Critically assess the accuracy of this statement by referring to the aims, methods and achievements of the Anti-Apartheid movements.

(70)

- Mass resistance began with rent increase in townships, these increases were imposed at a time of economic hardship when unemployment levels had reached about 30%. Local councillors were seen as corrupt and as puppets of the Apartheid state.
- Communities rose up in protest. They also targeted homes of black police officers and town councilors.
- Police and army occupied the townships, they could not restore order and the struggle soon spread to other townships. It involved whole communities young and old, male and female.
- By mid-1985 local government structures had collapsed in townships. New structures based on people's power emerged. These community organizations were run by young activist.
- The police and army never regained full control of the townships. The resistance from the people placed enormous pressure on the government. Yet they were not able to overthrow the government and the government could not crush the resistance. Appeared to be a stalemate. Only when the economy was on the verge of collapse that the state was forced to negotiate.
- Economy was in trouble, maintaining an army and police in the townships was high and South Africa was deeply in foreign debt. Inflation increased and government increased the tax, white South Africans began to feel the strain.

- There were growing support for economic sanctions against SA. The economy relied on international trade and foreign investments. 60% of trade involved foreign countries.
- Strong movement for disinvestment. Disinvestment is the withdrawal of all foreign money, goods, shares and businesses SA, leaving the economy on its own and depend on its own capital and industries. Those calling for disinvestment hoped that a withdrawal of foreign capital and investment would force the SA government to abandon Apartheid. Many foreign companies were reluctant to disinvest because their business benefit from the cheap labour, while high interest rates meant they received a good return on their investment.
- International trade unions played an important role in providing unity with the anti-apartheid resistance. They also provided support to the emerging trade union movement in the 1970s and 1980s.
- Sports boycotts, strong international feeling to stop SA to play sports against teams around the world, some teams were banned from competing against their traditional rivals. SA did not compete in the Olympic games in Tokyo in 1964 and remained out of the Olympics until negotiations for a new government were underway.
- Cultural boycott was another way of isolating white SA during the Apartheid years. From the 1960s English and Irish playwrights signed declarations that they would not allow their works to be performed in SA, unless mixed race audiences were able to attend the performances. Artist in the arts and entertainment discouraged all its members from going to perform in SA. Film makers stopped their films from being distributed in SA, while some American television companies placed a ban on sending their television shows to SA during the 1980s.
- Academic boycott, which was led by overseas universities and academic institutions. The institutions argued that many SA universities were against Apartheid and are working to reform the country, those in favour of it argued that the pressure created would encourage academics and their institutions to fight harder for the end of apartheid. The country was becoming more and more cut off from the world and this included academic research, cultural exchange and travel to overseas universities.

- Consumer boycott, the anti-apartheid movement asked the Britain not to buy SA good. This threatened the profits of the companies who were doing business with the apartheid government, to put pressure on those companies and one SA government to reform. A strong message was sent out that apartheid is not internationally supported.
- Whole world watched the political violence that was taking place in the streets of South Africa. Botha made a speech 'Rubicon' and sparked a financial crisis from which the government could not recover. Business leaders lost faith in Botha's policy reforms. By the end of 1985 over 90 US companies had disinvested. Citibank declared that it would make no new loans to SA government. Other international banks followed its lead.
- US Congress imposed sanctions against SA. Johannesburg stock exchange was forced to close for a few days, government was under enormous pressure.

SECTION B:

EXTENDED WRITING

QUESTION THREE

THEME: THE COLD WAR

Explain the origins of the Cold War by answering the following questions:

(a) Why was Poland, such a source of controversy for the 'Big 3' by early 1945?

- *West and East backed different Polish political resistance groups; West – London Poles and East – Lublin Poles*
- *Western shock as Stalin ordered execution of 15, 000 of Polish officer corps in 1939 (Nazi-Soviet Pact) because of their democratic and capitalist leanings*
- *Soviet Union had failed to back Poles during their resistance of Nazi Germany*
- *Warsaw Uprising of Aug 1944 Soviet forces failed to aid Polish resistance fighters in a coordinated attack on Nazi lines*
- *Horrific casualties as a result; nearly 30, 000 Poles were killed whilst their "ally" watched*
- *Created severe mistrust and resentment from the West*
- *Furthermore, following the defeat of the Western backed 'London Poles' the Soviets forced the socialist sympathizer 'Lublin Pole' government into power and proclaimed control of the country for the USSR*

(b) Why were the Allied leaders disappointed with Stalin's implementation of the Yalta agreement?

- *Churchill, FDR and Stalin failed to come to much of an agreement at Yalta, Feb 1945*
- *Result was an agreement about expanding London Pole influence in Poland and in particular the free elections would be held in Poland within a month*
- *The Declaration on Liberated Europe suggested all 3 powers would work together to create a free Europe with open elections*
- *However, the West and Eastern perceptions of 'freedom' and 'democracy' differed in that Stalin interpreted democracy as ONE party representing the best interests of the people.*
- *Consequently, Stalin failed to institute free elections in Poland and continued to foster the domination of the Lublin government.*
- *The West (USA & GBR) felt betrayed and let down by Stalin; it was clear in their eyes that he was not a man of his word.*

(c) How did attitudes change at the Potsdam conference?

- *Following FDR's illness Vice-President Truman was appointed President of USA in April 1945*
- *Whilst FDR has remained an idealist believing in the possibility of maintaining a US/USSR alliance, Truman was far more aggressive and went into the Potsdam Conference (July-August 1945) determined to assert US authority*
- *He was extremely condescending and confrontational in the meeting insisting the Soviets stand by any agreement made*

- He used nuclear technology as an axe over the head of the USSR; in particular, following the bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima in August 1945
- This represented the end of any sense of alliance remaining between the two as the USSR now saw the USA as a major threat
- As Churchill suggested, by March 1946, "An Iron Curtain had fallen across Europe."

QUESTION FOUR

RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA 1970s and 80s

- **Why were Biko and his ideas seen as a threat to the state and how did the state respond to this perceived threat?**
 - It was a new voice of resistance and had particular influence on the students
 - Apartheid had separated and classified people into specific racial identities-African, coloured, Indian or white
 - This ensured separation and division
 - White people were given privileges and the rest were discriminated against
 - This led to tensions between the different groups and prevented people from uniting in opposition to the Apartheid State
 - BC challenged these perceptions and aimed to change the way in which Black people looked at themselves
 - Black people were encouraged to stand proudly and believe in their own value
 - clear challenge to the apartheid state
 - at first the govt saw no real threat as BC seemed to fit in with Separate Development, the govt under-estimated the popularity of BC, they also believed it would not succeed if white people did not help, BC was non-violent and therefore the state did not take action
 - as the movement gained momentum the state began to crack down on it
 - leaders and SASO and BPC were banned or detained
 - charged with treason
 - people died in detention
- **In what way did Biko encourage Black people to think about being black and how would this challenge white people?**
 - Indians, coloureds and black people were all to be regarded as black
 - "Black" was defined as a people who were discriminated against
 - This was an attempt to unite all people who were discriminated against on the basis of race
 - BC aimed to free black people from oppression
 - Aimed to develop self-reliance and self-determination
 - Consequently white people were excluded from the movement

- Gave rise to the “best able” debate
 - White liberals were challenged to rethink their position as dominant in the struggle against apartheid
 - Urged black people to move away from being apathetic and become activists who would shape their own destiny
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- **How did the Black People’s Convention see to it that BC was extended beyond just the lives of students?**
 - BC mvt recognised the need to create structures that were not only focused on students
 - 1972 the BPC was formed
 - Co-ordinated all BC activities
 - Mobilised the masses to fight against psychological and physical oppression
 - It extended the influence of BC
 - It formed black community programmes
 - Created a number of self-help groups-communities were encouraged to work to improve their lives
 - Schools and day care centres were built