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INTERNATIONAL SECONDARY CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
NOVEMBER 2023

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.

SECTION A DISCURSIVE ESSAY

Answer **ONE** question from this section.

A discursive essay showing evidence of analysis, interpretation, explanation and argument is required. It should be approximately 800–900 words in length. **(You do not need to include a word count.)**

THEME THE COLD WAR**QUESTION 1**

Critically assess if the political and military actions taken by Fidel Castro between 1959 and 1961 led to the start of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

To be marked with the IEB rubric.

Markers must consider, and credit, ALL arguments presented by candidates where the evidence provided is significant and valid.

Argument:

Some historians argue that Castro played a significant role in instigating the crisis. Castro's decision to nationalise American assets, which strained U.S. Cuba relations and subsequent alignment with the Soviet Union. Additionally, Castro's agreement to host Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba.

Learners can argue that the actions taken by Castro resulted in the Cuban Missile Crisis as Castro's economic policies were socialist and more aligned to the Soviet Union, hence the move to a closer relationship with the Soviet Union and bringing Cuba into the theatre of the Cold War. The United States would not accept a communist state so close to its borders.

Learners can argue that Castro was merely a defensive actor and that his decisions were largely reactive and defensive. Castro's actions were responses to U.S. aggression, including the economic embargo and the Bay of Pigs invasion. Missiles and the alliance with the Soviet Union were defensive under extreme external pressure. To some extent Castro does bear some responsibility for the crisis.

Learners can argue that Castro was a pawn in the Superpower rivalry. and Cold War relationships between the Superpowers contributed to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Castro was seen as a relatively minor player in the grand scheme of the Cold War. The Cuban Missile crisis was primarily a showdown between the U.S. and the Soviet Union with Castro caught in the middle. Castro's decisions are influenced by the Superpowers especially Nikita Khrushchev. Castro bears limited responsibility for the crisis.

Context: (briefly)

- By the 1950s there was increased tension between the Superpowers as the USSR had nuclear weapons and both the USSR and the USA had begun to establish 'spheres of influence'.
- Berlin Crisis was still an issue of contention.
- Policy of containment/brinkmanship to prevent the spread of Soviet influence implemented in Europe.
- USA would not accept a future communist country so close to her doorstep.

- The extent to which Castro is seen as responsible for the crisis will depend on the stance that the learner adopts.
 - USA had dominated Cuba for many years politically and economically.
 - USA also had control of Guantanamo Bay and had supported corrupt Cuban governments.
 - Cuba's economy was dependent on the sale of its sugar harvest to the USA.
 - Batista had been in power since 1953 and had abolished the constitution and suppressed opposition.
 - Wealthy elite and landowners in Cuba supported Batista.
 - Majority of Cubans were poor and illiterate.
 - In 1959 Fidel Castro in the Cuban Revolution overthrew Batista. Castro enters Havana supported by peasants and workers.
- **Castro's actions till 1961**
- **Once in power Castro began implementing socialist reforms which included nationalisation of industry. Defensive measures versus Castro playing a major role.**
 - Cuban government began seizing and taking control of land and other assets. This had a direct impact on foreign owned companies, mainly owned by investors from the USA.
 - Agriculture was collectivised.
 - Castro was not a convinced Marxist, although some of his comrades were.
 - His plans to reform Cuba which had included nationalisation looked communist to the US government. When Castro applied to the USA for a loan, he was refused and the USA threatened to cut off its sugar imports from Cuba.
 - Castro then turned to the USSR and in February signed a trade agreement with the USSR.
 - The USSR then undertook to buy Cuba's sugar. By 1960 USA no longer traded with Cuba and in January 1961 the USA cut diplomatic ties.
 - USSR sent technicians and advisors to Cuba.
 - USA convinced that the Castro regime was communist and feared that the USSR would use Cuba to spread the ideology of communism to South and Central America.
- **USA supports a group of anti-Castro Cuban exiles in the USA that had been planning a counterrevolution and the overthrow of Castro. In April 1961, supported by the US Central Intelligence Agency, they invaded Cuba from US bases in Guatemala landing at the Bay of Pigs. Defensive role by Castro.**
 - They were hoping to be supported by an uprising within Cuba, but this did not happen, and the invasion failed.
 - Embarrassment for President Kennedy. In response to the failed invasion Cuba asked for weapons from the USSR to defend Cuba against the USA.
- **In December 1961, Castro declared himself a Marxist and the USA was convinced that Cuba had become a Soviet Satellite State:**
- **Actions taken by the superpowers in Cuba in 1962: Castro as a pawn in the Superpower rivalry.**
 - Soviet Union began building missile bases in Cuba in 1962 in response to the Jupiter missile bases in Turkey.
 - In October 1962 an American U2 spy plane photographed the missiles being built on Cuba. This would bring the main cities of North America within range of the missiles.
 - Kennedy sets up EXCOM and considers responses. The Hawks wanted a direct invasion, Doves diplomacy involving the UN and Moderates a naval blockade of Cuba. Cuba placed under 'quarantine'.
 - The situation develops into a Cold War conflict not directly involving Castro.

- **USA announces that they would consider an attack by Cuba anywhere in the Western hemisphere as an attack by the USSR.**
 - Soviet ships were heading towards Cuba. Kennedy's ultimatum put Khrushchev on the defensive. World waited to see what would happen-on the brink of war. **Focus on the USSR and the USA and the implementation of brinkmanship.**
 - Soviet ships turned back as Khrushchev did not want a direct confrontation leading to a nuclear war and agreed to dismantle the missile sites provided the USA dismantle their missile bases in Turkey.
 - The presence of Jupiter missiles in Turkey was a threat to the USSR.
 - U.S.s determination to limit the spread of communism.
- **USA promises not to invade Cuba.**
- **Actions taken by the Superpowers after 1962/ Argument that it was a Cold War conflict.**
 - Thaw in the Cold War at a diplomatic level due to détente.
 - In June 1963 Washington-Moscow 'hotline' telephone link was set up for direct contact between the White House and the Kremlin.
 - August 1963 a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed which banned testing above ground.
 - In 1968 a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed which attempted to stop the spread of nuclear weapons that did not have them.
 - **Castro's decisions to some extent contributed to the onset of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the crisis resulted from a complex interplay of factors.**

OR

QUESTION 2 UHURU: AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Critically assess if the Mau Mau Rebellion (1952 to 1960) and other national factors helped speed up Kenya's independence in 1963.

Argument:

Learners will argue that it was the Mau Mau Rebellion that led the Kenyan Independence Movement and that as early as 1924 the Kikuyu Central Association was formed to continue the work of the East African Association in 1921. The Kenyan African Union under Jomo Kenyatta was formed in 1942 to push for independence was not the deciding factor to grant Kenya independence. Rather the Mau Mau Rebellion that ended in 1956. By 1959 negotiations underway.

Learners will argue that Jomo Kenyatta was primarily responsible for leading the Kenyan Independence Movement with the formation of the East African Association in 1921, the first African organisation to campaign for African rights in the region. Formed by Harry Thuku and Kenyatta. Kenyatta would go on to form the Kenyan African Union in 1942 to push for independence. 1947 Kenyatta became leader of KAU. By 1960 KAU renamed Kenyan African National Union.

Learners will argue that it was a combination of the Mau Mau Rebellion, **local resistance** and Kenyatta's Kenyan African Union, later becoming Kenyan African National Union that both fought for independence. There was pressure on the British administration in Kenya after the Mau Mau Rebellion ended in 1956. By 1959 Kenyatta is under house arrest and negotiations underway for transition to independence.

Context: (briefly)

- After World War 2 the continued mistreatment of Kenyans by colonial oppressors stirred Kenyans to form a movement calling for greater political recognition of African rights.
- First significant organisation that pursued this aim was the East African Association formed in 1921 by Harry Thuka and Jomo Kenyatta.
- Inclusive of all ethnic groups, members were predominantly Kikuyu. 1922 EAA was banned and the Kenyan African Union was formed in 1942.
- This organisation focused predominantly on demanding land access from white settlers and quickly gained membership including Kenyatta, who was appointed its leader in 1947.
- These organisations were instrumental in politicising the disenfranchised Kenyan people.
- **Kau played a key role during the Mau Mau uprising.**

Content:

- **Mau Mau**
 - The Mau Mau rebellion was a defining episode in the Kenyan struggle for independence.
 - Many of the young radicals were **Kikuyu** and had been initiated in the 1940 age group.
 - Known as '**40 Group**'.
 - By the end of the 1940s revolts were initiated by those who were determined to see the status quo in Kenya overturned in any way possible.
 - The Mau Mau was a loose grouping of predominantly **Kikuyu Kenyans**, who had been reduced to the status of squatters on their land.
- **Origins of the rebellion began with general discontentment – Conditions imposed by the British colonial regime.**
 - Thousands of Kenyans lived in poor conditions in the slums around Nairobi.
 - Little opportunity for economic employment, chance of social and legal justice and economic inflation.
 - Europeans and Indians that had settled in Nairobi enjoyed a conspicuous amount of wealth and treated indigenous Africans with disrespect.
 - In rural areas like the Kikuyu Highlands large numbers of white settlers occupied the fertile agricultural land at the expense of the local Kikuyu people who **resented paying colonial taxes and the passes (kipande)**.
 - **Unhappy with their poor political progress in pursuing rights for Africans and resentment over land. Formation, of Kenya Land Freedom Army/ dissatisfied ex-soldiers, otherwise known as Mau Mau.**
 - Used military experience to organise guerrilla resistance groups among landless Kikuyu squatters who had been evicted to make way for white settlers and began a campaign of farm attacks – set fire to farmhouses, crops and maimed livestock.
 - Colonial authorities tried to win support by persuading Kenyans to swear oaths of loyalty to Britain to counter secret oath-taking ceremonies of the Mau Mau.
 - A state of emergency was declared in 1952 and lasted until 1959. Britain sent troops to crush the movement.
 - **Banned all African political organisations and leaders like Kenyatta were imprisoned and blamed for Mau Mau atrocities.**
 - Dedan Kimathi one of the main leaders captured in 1956 and hanged a year later.
 - Uprising continued – British set up concentration camps where thousands of men were detained to prevent them from joining the resistance.

- 'Protected Villages' were also established to prevent Mau Mau from getting support from the villagers, only after three years of bitter fighting was the uprising crushed.
- Most of the Kikuyu population in Nairobi were expelled. The Mau Mau played a key role in Kenyatta being released and attending negotiations in London to discuss the transition to independence at Lancaster House. **Despite the military defeat of the Mau Mau**, their formation was a clear indication of the extent of popular support for independence within Kenya.
- This coupled with Britain's reluctance to continue pursuing colonial ambitions, placed the idea of an independent Kenya firmly on the agenda.

- **Kenyan African National Union**

- **After the Mau Mau rebellion a major figure in the new era was Tom Mboya who became leader of the Nairobi labour movement as African workers began to strike and demonstrate against poor working and living conditions. This also include the Kenyan African National Union Movement successor to KAU under Kenyatta.**
- In 1960 the British government held a conference in London to discuss the constitutional future of Kenya and for the first time officially recognised the inevitability of independence under African rule.
- **1961** the first Kenyan general election is held with the participation of African parties with one of the major issues being the release of Kenyatta, who had been detained since 1952 on the basis of his alleged involvement with the Mau Mau.
- **Kenyatta regarded as true leader of an independent Kenya.**
- The Kenyan African National Union won a majority the vote but refused to form a government until Kenyatta was free.
- As a result, the country was governed by a coalition established between the Kenyan Democratic Union and the White-led New Kenya Party for a year.
- **When Kenyatta was released in 1962**, he joined the Kenyan African National Union and triumphed in the 1963 elections.
- Sworn in as prime minister and declared Kenya free of British rule.
- In 1964 Kenya became a republic with Kenyatta as the president.

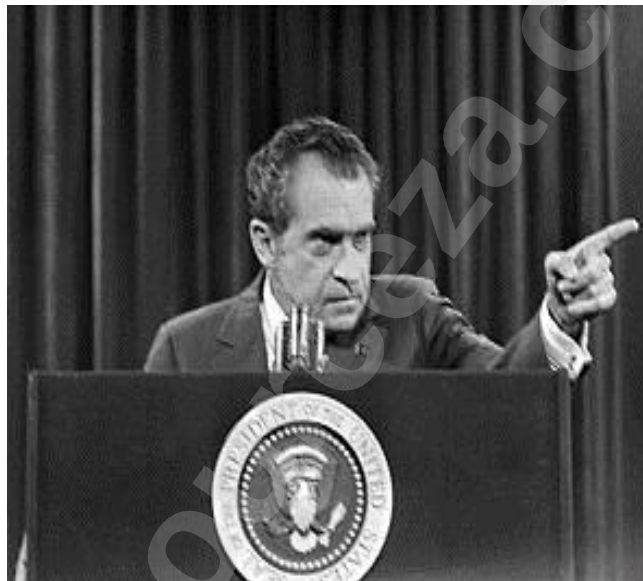
SECTION B EXTENDED WRITING

Answer **ONE** question from this section.

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

QUESTION 3 THE COLD WAR

The photograph below was taken in April 1970, by Andrew Glass shows President Nixon's speech pledging to withdraw 150,000 more U.S. troops from South Vietnam within the next year.



[Source: <<https://www.politico.com/story/2010/04/nixon-speeds-up-vietnamization-of-war>> (Accessed 29 January 2023)]

Evaluate how Nixon's strategy of Vietnamisation changed the direction of the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War between 1969 and 1975 by answering the following questions:

- (a) Why did Nixon implement the policy of Vietnamisation in 1969?
- (b) What strategies were used by Nixon to implement the policy of Vietnamisation from 1969 to 1973 and what was the impact on United States' politics, anti-war and student movements?
- (c) How successful was Nixon in achieving 'Peace with Honour' by 1973?
 - The period between 1969 to 1975, saw the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam, is sometimes referred to as the Nixon Years.
 - During the TET Offensive, the Communists suffered heavy losses.
 - Changing public opinion and the influence of **student activism**.
 - Mounting anti-war sentiment.
 - This allowed the new US President, Nixon, to formulate a policy called the Nixon Doctrine, which was a secret plan to end the war.

- The main aspect of this doctrine was the US decision to no longer send troops to fight Communist revolutions abroad.
- Plan became known as Vietnamisation.
- In Vietnam Nixon began handling the responsibility of the war to the South Vietnamese forces.
- Phased troop withdrawals, to improve South Vietnam's military capabilities.
- Between April 1969 and the end of 1971 almost 400,000 US troops left Vietnam.
- At the same time Nixon expanded bombing campaigns in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.
- US and South Vietnamese troops also invaded Vietcong bases in Laos and Cambodia including Communist bases and supply routes to South Vietnam, via the Ho Chi Minh trail.
- Conflict intensifies in December 1972 when the Nixon administration authorised a series of deadly bombing raids against North Vietnam's largest cities, Hanoi and Haiphong. These attacks, known as the Christmas bombings, brought immediate condemnation from the international community and forced Nixon to reconsider tactics and negotiation strategy.
- **By late 1969 the US had become polarised over the war. A hard core of Americans continued to believe that the Vietnam War was justifiable. Public support decreased as the war raged on.**
- By the early 1970s public opinion in support of the war decreased from 52% agreeing with the war in 1965, to 28 % agreeing with the war in 1971.
- Student activism increased in the 1970s which had started in the civil rights movements.
- Intense bombing campaigns and intervention in Cambodia in late 1970 sparked intense protests at universities across the United States.
- At Kent State University in Ohio, National Guardsmen who were called out to preserve order on campus after days of anti-Nixon protests killed four students.
- Shock waves crossed the nation as students at Jackson State University in Mississippi were also shot and killed for political reasons. **Aligned with the anti-war movement and** burning of draft cards.
- In April 1971, thousands of Vietnam War veterans belonging to the organisation Vietnam Veterans against the War marched on the White House in Washington, and hundreds of them threw their medals and decorations onto the steps of the Capitol.
- Early 1973 Nixon convinced the South Vietnamese regime in Saigon that they would not abandon South Vietnam if they signed the peace accord.
- Hanoi government convinced the NLF that all Southern political prisoners would be released after the peace accord was signed.
- In Paris in January 1973, **Paris Peace Accords**, all parties signed a peace agreement.
- **Nixon described it as 'peace with honour'. Must consider both U.S. and Vietnamese perspectives.**
- By March 1973 the last US forces had left Vietnam.
- It is not clear that Nixon really believed that he had secured a lasting peace settlement.
- Within two years, without the support of the USA, South Vietnam had fallen to the communists.
- 'Peace with honour' was not achieved as one of the bleakest symbols of the United States' failure in Vietnam was the televised news of Vietnamese civilians trying to clamber aboard US helicopters taking off from the US embassy.
- Communist forces take over Saigon.

- After 30 years of conflict the struggle for control of Vietnam had been settled.
- Vietnam united under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.

OR

QUESTION 4 UHURU: AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The photograph below published in 'Black History Hero's blog' in the 1950s shows Kwame Nkrumah who was Ghana's first President.



[Source: <<http://www.blackhistoryheroes.com/2010/09/kwame-nkrumah.html>> (Accessed 5 February 2023)]

Evaluate how successful the policies of Kwame Nkrumah were, between 1957 and 1966 in Ghana by answering the following questions:

- (a) Why did Kwame Nkrumah support Pan-Africanism?
 - (b) What were the challenges facing Kwame Nkrumah before independence in 1957?
 - (c) How did Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party develop Ghana as a stable, prosperous independent nation by 1966?
- After World War Two, African leaders who were mainly educated intellectuals decided to fight for independence.
 - Nkrumah was the first president of an independent Ghana.
 - Leaders like Nkrumah were attracted to the idea that once independent, African countries should join in a pan-continental union.
 - Nkrumah's experiences studying abroad, and influences of thinkers like W.E.B. Du Bois. Nkrumah had spent 10 years studying in Pennsylvania where he had encountered the ideology of Marcus Garvey.
 - Garvey called for 'Africa for the Africans'.
 - **Pan-Africanism advocated togetherness of all people of African descent, and their cooperation in working for the freedom and independence of all African people everywhere including Africa and the countries in the African diaspora, such as the Caribbean and the Americas.**

- **Promoting African unity and resisting neocolonial influence.**
- Movement also aimed to unite people in Africa itself.
- Nkrumah had spent 10 years studying in Pennsylvania where he had come into contact with the ideology of Marcus Garvey.
- Garvey called for 'Africa for the Africans'.
- In 1945 at the Manchester Pan-African Congress Nkrumah met George Padmore' another Pan-African thinker, who became a close advisor to Nkrumah.
- Pan-Africanism, Garveyism and Black Nationalism had gained popularity in the Northern parts of the United States.
- Nkrumah helped to found the African Students Association of America.
- Nkrumah from his early years was an ardent advocate of solidarity across the African freedom struggle.
- Fitted in with his vision of an independent Ghana.
- Nkrumah was attracted to the ideas of Jamaican Nationalist Marcus Garvey.
- Garvey called for 'Africa for the Africans'.
- In 1945 at the Manchester Pan African Congress Nkrumah met George Padmore' another Pan African thinker, who became a close advisor to Nkrumah.
- **Nkrumah faced various challenges before Ghana became independent.**
- Ghana under British rule was known as the Gold Coast.
- **Challenges faced before independence in 1957:**
- Less dependence on the colonial economy and the need for economic diversification.
- Ghana needed skilled labour and enough experienced people to run the country efficiently.
- Key foundation of the Convention Peoples' Party strategy between 1951 and 1957 involved the following:
- Adoption of industrialisation, attempt to radically improve access to basic health, tackling literacy through implementing free primary education, and developing tertiary education in order to deal with educational disparities.
- The five-year plan required significant financing and wanted to get two-thirds of its investment from the export of surplus cocoa production and tax collection. The remaining third would come from international finance loans and private sector business investment.
- Encourage local farming of cocoa through economic incentives under a 'New Deal for Cocoa'.
- **Nkrumah struggled in uniting the four regions of the Gold Coast into a unified country. Muslim (North) vs Asante (South),** heartland and majority cocoa farmers.
- Issues of tribalism and ethnic divisions.
- Formation of the National Liberation Front/ Northern People's Party. These groups wanting a federal system and not a united Ghana.
- Nkrumah is determined to win full independence without delay and challenges are overcome.
- Britain aided in independence by education and training of civil service.
- Nkrumah's decision to make English an official language also unites the country.
- Gold Coast given the name of Ghana also an important factor in unity.
- **Ghana as an independent state was not successful.**
- Nkrumah saw independent Ghana as a spearhead for the liberation of the rest of Africa from colonial rule and the establishment of a socialist African unity under his leadership and establish a Ghanaian national identity.
- This included a welfare system and public schooling.

- Ghana underwent a transition to a republican system.
- After the founding of a republic in 1960, the state became identified with a single political party (the CPP), with Nkrumah, as life president of both, taking ever more power for himself.
- By 1964 Ghana was a one-party state under Nkrumah and the administration of the country fell into the hands of corrupt officials.
- Banned trade unions which had previously been his strongest supporters.
- There was some industrialisation and the initiation of infrastructure projects.
- Nkrumah's economic policies were unpopular. There were general shortages of basic goods.
- Policies involved harsh and Soviet-style industrialisation.
- Money spent on unnecessary weapons and equipment for his new defence force.
- All opposition was banned, including trade unions, these had been Nkrumah's biggest supporters. Nkrumah clamped down on political foes.
- Introduces the Preventative Detention Act. Arrest of J. B. Danquah.
- Nkrumah moved towards 'cult of the personality' and was accused of authoritarianism, previously Nkrumah had been idealised as the perfect leader.
- Nkrumah wanted to make Ghana less reliant on international capital.
- Cocoa industry was badly affected as farmers were not allowed to have full profits from cocoa prices.
- Ghana still borrowed money from international sources.
- On the Pan-African front Nkrumah's messianism was increasingly challenged by other leaders of an ever-growing number of independent states.
- By 1966 his dream of African socialism was foundering under haphazard and corrupt administration, massive foreign debts, and declining living standards.
- 1966 while Nkrumah was in Beijing, army and police leaders rose against him, and his regime was replaced by a National Liberation Council chaired by Lieut. Gen. Joseph A. Ankrah.
- The machinery of government was overhauled and conservative financial policies introduced.

Total 100 marks