

SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION

HISTORY P1

2015

ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE WESTERN POWERS AND THE SOVIET UNION RESPOND TO THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AFTER 1945?

SOURCE 1A

This is an extract from a speech delivered by Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Britain, at Fulton, Missouri, in the United States, on 5 March 1946. It called for greater partnership between Britain and the United States of America to prevent Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind the line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation ...

I repulse (reject) the idea that a new war is inevitable still more that it is imminent (about to happen). It is because I am so sure that our fortunes are in our own hands and we hold the power to save the future that I feel a duty to speak out now that I have an occasion to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines ...

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for military weakness ... If the Western democracies stand together in strict adherence (obedience) to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering these principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If, however, they become divided or falter in their duty, and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away, then indeed catastrophe (disaster) may overwhelm them.

[From The Origins of the Cold War by M McCauley]

SOURCE 1B

This extract has been taken from an 'interview' with Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, in which he responds to Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech. This interview was published in the state-controlled newspaper, *Pravda*, on 14 March 1946. The Kremlin (headquarters of the Soviet government) records show that Stalin wrote the entire interview himself (including the questions that were posed).

Question: Can it be considered that Mr Churchill's speech is prejudicial (damaging) to the cause of peace and security?

Stalin: Yes, unquestionably. As a matter of fact, Mr Churchill now takes the stand of the warmongers (people who create war). In this Mr Churchill is not alone. He has friends not only in Britain but in the United States as well ...

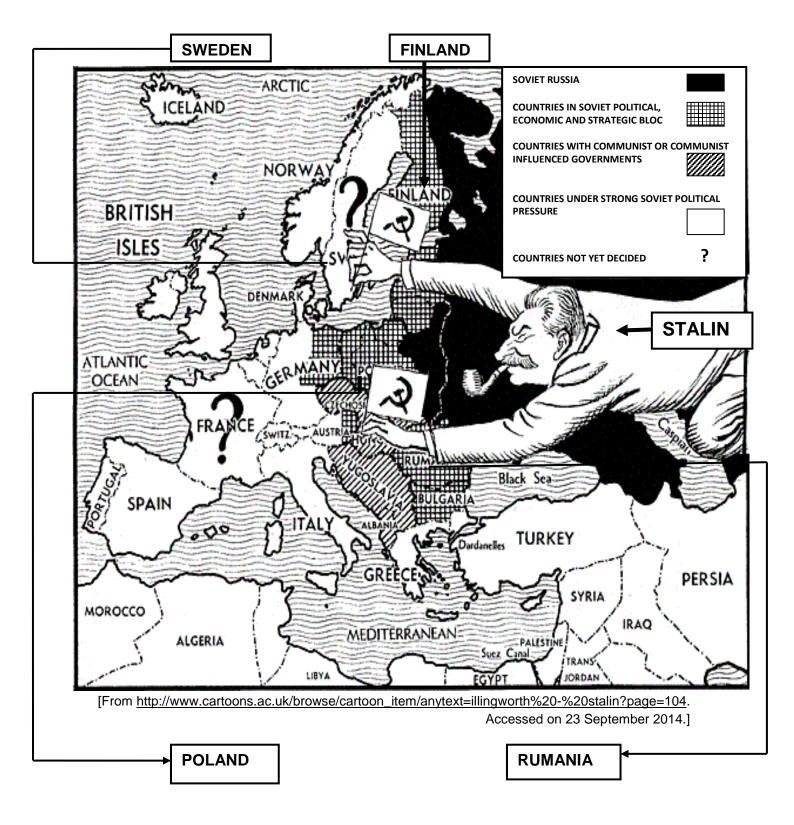
The following circumstances should not be forgotten. The Germans made their invasion of the USSR through Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Germans were able to make their invasion through these countries because, at the time, governments hostile to the Soviet Union existed in these countries.

As a result of the German invasion the Soviet Union has lost irretrievably (forever) in the fighting against the Germans, and also through the German occupation and the deportation (banishment) of Soviet citizens to German servitude (slavery), a total of about seven million people. In other words, the Soviet Union's loss of life has been several times greater than that of Britain and the United States of America put together. Possibly in some quarters an inclination (tendency) is felt to forget about these colossal (huge) sacrifices of the Soviet people which secured the liberation of Europe from the Hitlerite yoke (oppression). But the Soviet Union cannot forget about them. And so what can there be surprising about the fact that the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, is trying to see to it that governments loyal in their attitude to the Soviet Union should exist in these countries? How can anyone, who has not taken leave of his sense, describe these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as expansionist tendencies on the part of our state?

[From The Origins of the Cold War by M McCauley]

SOURCE 1C

This visual source was produced by the British cartoonist, Illingworth. It was published in the *Daily Mail* on 16 June 1947 and it depicts Stalin's policy of expansion in Eastern Europe.



SOURCE 1D

This is part of a speech delivered by Harry S Truman before the United States Congress on 12 March 1947. It focuses on the United States of America's intention in providing economic and financial aid to European countries that needed assistance.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion (bullying). This was a fundamental (basic) issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

... We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes ...

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion (force) and intimidation (pressure), in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments ...

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destiny in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes ...

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341 000 000 000 towards winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace ...

The free people of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world – and we shall surely endanger the welfare of the nation.

[From Debating the Origins of the Cold War. American and Russian Perspectives by R Levering (et al.)]

QUESTION 2: HOW DID FOREIGN INTERVENTION HEIGHTEN COLD WAR TENSIONS IN ANGOLA BETWEEN 1974 AND 1976?

SOURCE 2A

This source explains the reasons for the involvement of foreign countries in Angola during the 1970s.

The nationalist movements in Angola have been supported from the beginning by the superpowers and this state of affairs continued after the country gained independence. The Soviet bloc, including Cuba, always supported the MPLA, while the Western bloc, particularly the United States, has given its support to the FNLA and UNITA. The competition between the two blocs in Angola was clearly based on ideological and strategic interests.

The former US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, placed the Soviet bloc's intervention in Angola in the context of USA-USSR rivalry (competition) throughout the world and blamed the Kremlin for having both initiated and escalated the crisis there. He justified US intervention on the grounds that its purpose was to normalise the situation. The Western powers consequently undertook to provide the FNLA and UNITA guerrillas with aid equal to that received by the MPLA from the USSR. The Soviets and Cubans for their part justified their support for Angola and their presence in the country on the grounds that the Angolan people had requested their protection against imperialist aggression. Since then other countries have allowed themselves to become involved in the Angolan crisis, such as China, to some extent, and South Africa, which has intervened directly in the civil war on the side of UNITA on the pretext of defending Namibia against SWAPO guerrillas operating from Angolan territory and preventing Marxism from making inroads in the region ...

... But apart from these ideological motivations, the deposits of uranium and oil in Angola are not unconnected with the interest taken in that country by foreign powers. The United States, which had major economic interests in Zaïre, Namibia and South Africa, saw the USSR's bid to play a role in Angola as a threat to its economic interests in the region. Finally, at the strategic level, Angola is in a very advantageous position in many respects. Its coast and harbours on the Atlantic Ocean are of a great interest to maritime (naval) powers in both the NATO and Warsaw Pact groups of countries.

[From General History of Africa, Vol. VIII: Africa Since 1935 by A Mazrui (ed.)]

SOURCE 2B

This extract has been taken from the website of the United States of America's Department of State. It outlines the reasons for the involvement of the USA and other countries in Angola in the 1970s.

The MPLA also had long-established relations with Fidel Castro's Cuba. Before 11 November 1975 the MPLA had negotiated with Castro for Cuban assistance. At the same time, UNITA, which enjoyed US support, approached the apartheid government in South Africa for military reinforcement. Pretoria, with the aim to end the use of Angola as a base for rebels fighting for the independence of South Africa-occupied Namibia, contributed forces that entered southern Angola in October and made rapid progress toward the capital. In response, Castro sent Cuban Special Forces to halt the South African advance and succeeded in drawing attention to the fact that the United States had provided support to a group that now accepted assistance from an apartheid government.

The US government had encouraged the South African intervention, but preferred to downplay its connection with the apartheid regime. However, once Pretoria's involvement became widely known, the Chinese withdrew its advisers from the region, and the Ford administration was faced with domestic (internal) resistance to the US role in the Angolan conflict. President Gerald Ford had requested Congressional approval for more money to fund the operation in Angola. However, many members of Congress were wary of intervening abroad after the struggle in Vietnam, others wished to avoid the South African connection, and still others did not believe the issue was important. In the end, Congress rejected the President's request for additional funds. South Africa withdrew its forces in the spring of 1976 and the MPLA remained as the official government of Angola.

[From http://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/angola.

Accessed on 15 September 2014.]

SOURCE 2C

The following delivery (extract) by the I Wor Kuen (an Asian American revolutionary organisation) was made (delivered) on behalf of the Coalition for Angolan Self-Determination. The I Wor Kuen was established in New York in 1969 and was inspired by the Chinese revolution. It focused on the Soviet and American aggression in Angola but was supportive of China's role.

The People's Republic of China also supported the unity of the three liberation movements – asserting that existing differences among them could only be resolved without foreign interference. China concretely implemented this by aiding all three liberation movements in their just struggle against the Portuguese up until the Nakura agreement in June 1975. At this time, with the agreement to form a coalition government signed, the affairs of Angola were seen by China as an internal matter for the Angolan people themselves to determine. China indicated that henceforth it would provide assistance to a coalition government only.

... the Soviet Union has exposed its true nature. Under its socialist cover, it is functioning as an imperialist power. It is betraying the genuine desires of the Angolan people and contending with the US in seeking to grab up and exploit the natural resources of Angola, exert control over the destiny of the Angolan people and the rest of southern Africa, and establish a military presence in the southern Atlantic.

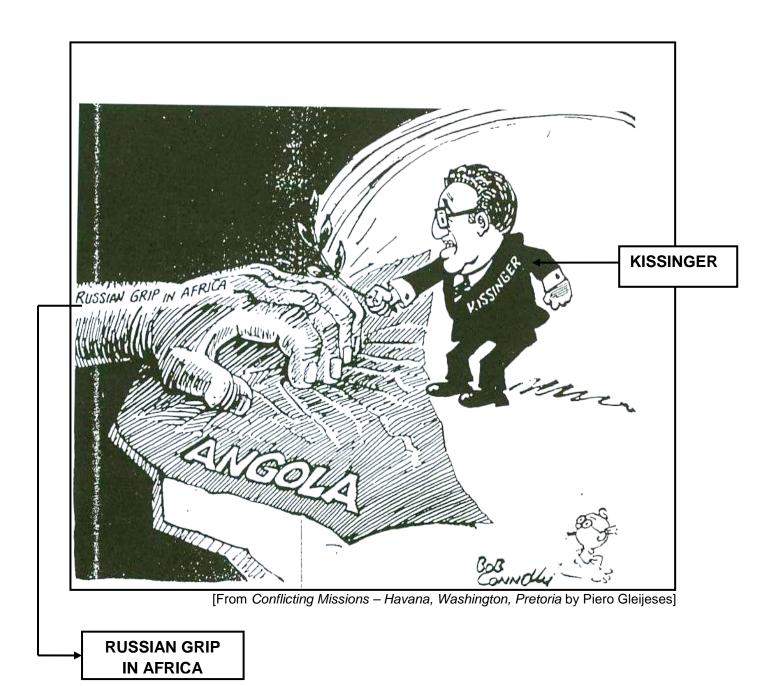
... the other superpower, the United States, has also played a strong role in undermining the Angolan people's fight for independence and self-determination ... the US had tried to gain another foothold in the Angolan situation by sending aid both overtly (openly) and secretly through the CIA and through other means, to forces which had been incited to civil war. By further exploiting the differences between the liberation movements and raising the cry of 'fight Communism', the US attempted to subvert (undermine) the Angolans' struggle for self-determination and gain neocolonialist control over Angola. A number of US-based multi-national corporations, like Gulf Oil, have large operations in Angola and after years of exploiting the natural resources, such as oil in the northern Cabinda region, they are not about to give them up without a fight.

[From http://www.marxist.org/history/erol/ncm-3/iwk-angola.htm.

Accessed on 20 September 2014.]

SOURCE 2D

This cartoon by Bob Connolly was published in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 27 November 1975. It was entitled 'Knuckle-rapping' and depicts Henry Kissinger (the US Secretary of State) slapping the Russian hand with an 'olive branch'.



QUESTION 3: WHAT EFFECT DID THE DESEGREGATION OF CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL HAVE ON RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE 1950s?

SOURCE 3A

This source focuses on the judgement that the supreme court of the United States of America handed down in 1954 regarding school desegregation. It comments on the reaction of Southern States to this judgement.

In 1954 the supreme court took a momentous (significant) step: in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. The court set aside a Kansas statute permitting cities of more than 15 000 to maintain separate schools for blacks and whites and ruled instead that all segregation in public schools is 'inherently unequal' and that all blacks barred from attending public schools with white pupils are denied equal protection of the law as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The doctrine was extended to state-supported colleges and universities in 1956. Meanwhile, in 1955 the court implemented its 1954 opinion by declaring that the federal district courts would have jurisdiction (authority) over lawsuits to enforce the desegregation decision and asked that desegregation proceed 'with all deliberate speed.'

At the time of the 1954 decision, laws in 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia required that elementary schools be segregated.

The struggle over desegregation now centred upon the school question. By the end of 1957 nine of the 17 states and the District of Columbia had begun integration of their school systems. Another five states had some integrated schools by 1961. The states mostly fell back on stopgap (makeshift) measures or on pupil-placement laws, which assigned students to schools ostensibly (presumably) on non-racial grounds. Forced integration led to much violence. The most notable instance was the defiance in 1957 of federal orders by Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas, who called out the Arkansas National Guard to prevent integration in Little Rock. President Eisenhower responded by sending federal troops to enforce the court order for integration.

[From http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/history/integration-to-1963.html. Accessed on 17 September 2014.]

SOURCE 3B

This photograph shows a group of segregationists who gathered outside the State legislature in the capital city of Arkansas. They were against the admission of African American students to Central High School in 1957.



[From http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/media-detail.aspx?mediaID=7188.

Accessed on 17 September 2014.]

SOURCE 3C

The address below was delivered by President Dwight Eisenhower to American citizens on 24 September 1957. It outlines the situation that had occurred at Central High School in Little Rock earlier in the day. The source below was re-typed for clarity.

THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF THE ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, DELIVERED FROM HIS OFFICE AT THE WHITE HOUSE, TUESDAY 24 SEPTEMBER 1957, AT 21:00.

My fellow citizens:

For a few minutes I want to speak to you about the serious situation that has arisen in Little Rock. For this talk I have come to the President's office in the White House. I could have spoken from Rhode Island, but I felt that, in speaking from the house of Lincoln, of Jackson and Wilson, my words would more clearly convey both the sadness I feel in the action I was compelled today to take and the firmness with which I intend to pursue this course until the orders of the federal court at Little Rock can be executed without unlawful interference.

In that city, under the leadership of demagogic (narrow-minded) extremists, disorderly mobs have deliberately prevented the carrying out of proper orders from a federal court. Local authorities have not eliminated that violent opposition and, under the law, I yesterday issued a proclamation calling upon the mob to disperse.

This morning the mob again gathered in front of the Central High School of Little Rock, obviously for the purpose of again preventing the carrying out of the court's order relating to the admission of African American children to the school.

Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the executive branch of the federal government to use its powers and authority to uphold federal courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable.

In accordance with that responsibility, I have today issued an executive order directing the use of troops under federal authority to aid in the execution of federal law at Little Rock, Arkansas. This became necessary when my proclamation of yesterday was not observed, and the obstruction of justice still continues.

[From http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/civil_rights_little_rock.html.

Accessed on 17 September 2014.]

SOURCE 3D

The letter below (using the company's letterhead) was written by Jackie Robinson (a prominent executive of the Chock Full o' Nuts Corporation) to President Eisenhower. He conveyed his concern regarding the desegregation of schools in the United States of America. Jackie Robinson was a strong advocate for the recognition of civil rights for all African Americans. This source was re-typed for the purpose of clarity.

Chock full o' nuts

425 LEXINGTON AVENUE New York 17, NY

The President The White House Washington, DC

My dear Mr President:

I was sitting in the audience at the summit meeting of African American leaders yesterday when you said we must have patience. On hearing you say this, I felt like standing up and saying, 'Oh no! Not again.'

I respectfully remind you sir, that we have been the most patient of all people. When you said we must have self-respect, I wondered how we could have self-respect and remain patient considering the treatment accorded us through the years.

Seventeen million African Americans cannot do as you suggest and wait for the hearts of men to change. We want to enjoy now the rights that we feel we are entitled to as Americans. This we cannot do unless we pursue aggressively goals which all other Americans achieved over 150 years ago.

As the chief executive of our nation, I respectfully suggest that you unwittingly (innocently) crush the spirit of freedom in African Americans by constantly urging forbearance (patience) and give hope to those pro-segregation (in favour of segregation) leaders like Governor Faubus who would take from us even those freedoms we now enjoy. Your own experience with Governor Faubus is proof enough that forbearance and eventual integration is the goal the pro-segregation leaders seek.

[From http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/civil_rights_little_rock. html. Accessed on 17 September 2014.]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Visual sources and other historical evidence were taken from the following:

Gleijeses, P. 1999. *Conflicting Missions – Havana, Washington* (Galago Publishing, Alberton)

http://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/angola

http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/browse/cartoon_item/anytext=illingworth%20-

%20stalin?page=104

http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/civil_rights_little_rock.html

http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/media-

detail.aspx?mediaID=7188

http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/history/integration-to-1963.html

http://www.marxist.org/history/erol/ncm-3/iwk-angola.htm

Levering, R (et al.). 2001. Debating the Origins of the Cold War. American and Russian Perspectives (Rowmann and Littlefield, New York)

Mazrui, A (Ed.). 1999. General History of Africa, Vol. VIII: Africa Since 1935 (New Africa Books, South Africa)

McCauley, M. 1983. The Origins of the Cold War (Longman, Harlow)