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SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS/ NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS

HISTORY P1

MAY/JUNE 2024

ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE MARSHALL PLAN CONTRIBUTE TO COLD WAR TENSIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) IN 1947?

SOURCE 1A

The extract below is from a book titled *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War* by B Steil. It highlights political and economic conditions in Europe after the Second World War (1945).

As the Second World War came to a close, diplomatic pressure was at an all-time high as the United States and the Soviet Union adopted vastly different attitudes regarding their political goals. Due to their divergent (opposing) ideologies, each country held profoundly (strongly) opposing conceptions (ideas) of what post-war Europe would become. For the United States, the goal was to promote free trade and open markets; for the Soviet Union, the goal was to export (spread) communism wherever they could.

By the time the Marshall Plan was first conceived (considered), it had become clear that much of the world was being divided between American-style capitalism and Soviet communism. This process was most pronounced (noticeable) in Europe, which was becoming increasingly polarised (divided) between East and West.

In 1947, George Marshall was faced with daunting (threatening) political obstacles to the development of a European Recovery Program. First, the populations of Europe – whose votes were needed to approve their countries' participation in the program – were strongly opposed to the prospect of choosing between ideologies, and feared that increasing Soviet-American tensions were leading to yet another world war. If the Marshall Plan was to be accepted by European voters, it would have to avoid being framed (trapped) in the context of a Soviet-American conflict.

The second obstacle was the issue of domestic approval. The US Congress was reaching its limits on the appropriation (adoption) of foreign aid to Europe. Previous aid efforts had done little to alleviate (improve) Europe's dire (horrific) economic situation. Furthermore, most American congressmen were staunch anti-communists.

[From *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War* by B Steil]

SOURCE 1B

The source below is an extract from a speech delivered by George Marshall, the Secretary of State of the United States, at Harvard University on 5 June 1947. It provides preconditions that European countries had to satisfy before they could get American economic assistance.

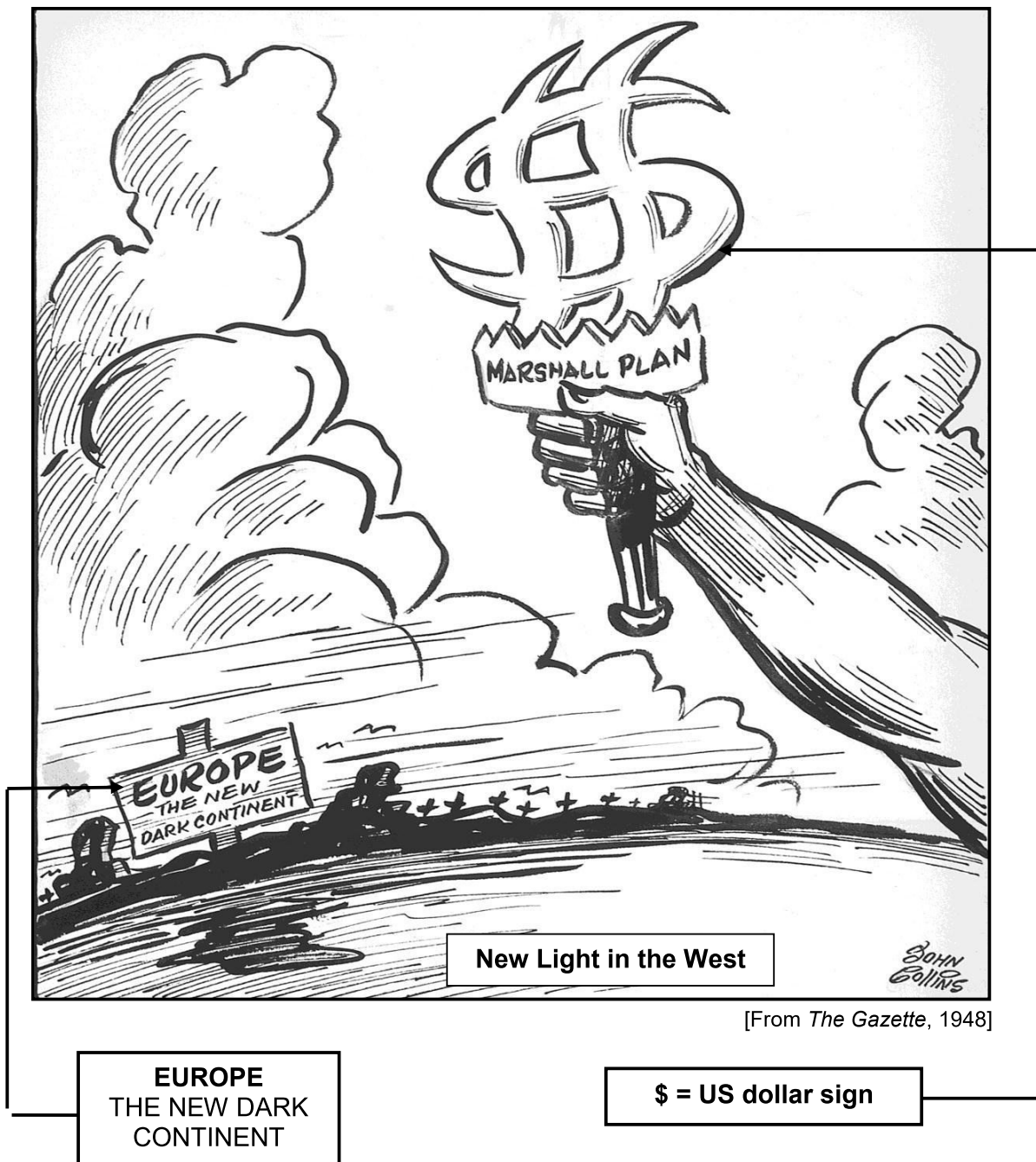
It is already evident that, before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate (improve) the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious (effective) for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally (individually or alone) a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all European nations.

An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice (bias) should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibilities which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome.

[From *Book of Great Speeches* by A Burnet]

SOURCE 1C

The cartoon below, titled 'New Light in the West', by a Canadian cartoonist, J Collins, was published in the Canadian newspaper, *The Gazette*, in 1948. It depicts the Marshall Plan as economic assistance to Europe.



SOURCE 1D

The source below is an extract from an article, titled 'Moscow and the Marshall Plan: Politics, Ideology and the Onset of the Cold War' by G Roberts. It focuses on why VM Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister, rejected the Marshall Plan.

With the negotiations deadlocked, the conference moved towards collapse. On 2 July 1947 Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotov made his final statement to the conference, and it was a resounding (definite) rejection of the Marshall Plan:

'The question of American economic aid ... has ... served as a pretext (excuse) for the British and French governments to insist on the creation of a new organisation, standing above European countries and intervening in the internal affairs of the countries of Europe, to the extent of determining the direction in which the main branches of industry in these countries are to develop ...

There are two roads of international cooperation. One road is based on the development of political and economic relations between states with equal rights ... There is another road of international cooperation which is based on the dominating position of one or several strong Powers in relation to other countries, which thereby fall into the position of some kind of subordinated (minor) states, deprived of independence.

What will the fulfilment of the Franco-British proposal ... lead to? It will lead to nothing. It will lead to Britain, France and the group of countries that follow them separating from Europe, which will split Europe into two groups of states.'

As stated by Molotov, the main reason for Soviet rejection of the Marshall Plan was the Anglo-French insistence on a centrally coordinated programme of American assistance.

[From *Moscow and the Marshall Plan: Politics, Ideology and the Onset of the Cold War* by G Roberts]

QUESTION 2: WHY DID FOREIGN COUNTRIES BECOME INVOLVED IN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR IN THE 1970s?**SOURCE 2A**

The extract below is taken from a book titled *Africa-Altered States – Ordinary Miracles* by R Dowden. It explains the reasons for foreign intervention in the Angolan Civil War.

While France ... handed its African colonies over to African rulers in the 1960s, Marcelo Caetano, the Portuguese dictator who succeeded Antonio de Oliveira Salazar in 1968, decided to stay and fight. He claimed that Portuguese possessions were not colonies but part of Portugal. To maintain the Portuguese empire, Caetano had to send thousands of conscripted (recruited) young men to war in Africa. By the early 1970s, nearly half the Portuguese budget was being spent on military efforts in Africa. The Portuguese generals knew the wars of independence were unwinnable and on 25 April 1974 they mounted a coup and overthrew Caetano. Portugal's African colonies were suddenly pushed into ill-prepared and precarious (risky) independence.

In January 1975 ... Angola's three movements signed up to a power-sharing peace agreement, they almost immediately went to war with one other. The Americans backed the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), the Soviets and Cubans, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the South Africans, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The Cubans sent planeloads of troops, and in response the South Africans invaded Angola from the south with the encouragement of the Americans, but they were beaten back by superior Cuban firepower.

The Americans did not give up. This was the Cold War and every inch of the globe had to be contested with the Soviet Union. They wanted to deny Angola to the Russians not just because of its oil. Angola has good harbours on the Atlantic seaboard opposite America and the prospect (vision) of a Russian naval base there worried Washington.

[From *Africa-Altered States – Ordinary Miracles* by R Dowden]

SOURCE 2B

The source below is taken from the book, *The First Dance of Freedom – Black Africa in the Post-War Era*, by M Meredith. It gives a detailed account of the reasons for the USA's involvement in the Angolan Civil War.

The Americans at first took only a passing interest in events in Angola. In July 1974 the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) resumed some covert (secret) funding for the FNLA, but requests for arms from both the FNLA and UNITA were turned down. When Russian assistance to the MPLA was resumed, the CIA lobbied (pushed) in Washington for greater American support for the FNLA. In January 1975, after the Alvor agreement had been signed, the CIA was authorised to make a covert grant of US\$300 000 to the FNLA, mainly to help Roberto make his mark in the transitional government. The money, made available in March, was used by the FNLA partly to acquire a television station and a daily newspaper in Luanda. These conspicuous (visible) deals immediately drew attention to the possibility that the CIA was seriously entering the fray (conflict).

By mid-July, however, not only had the balance on the battlefield in Angola shifted decisively in the MPLA's favour, but America's perspective (viewpoint) of the Angolan conflict had radically altered. The American defeat in Vietnam in April 1975 had severely damaged its prestige (respect) in the world, and it had left the United States Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, anxious to find new ways of reasserting (confirming) American power. Kissinger had never before taken any interest in African issues. Indeed, he had always considered Africa, compared to the great theatres of Vietnam and the Middle East, to be a bore (waste of time). But the rise of Soviet influence in Angola caught his attention.

Kissinger argued that unless America countered Soviet activities in cases like Angola, the larger global balance of power between the two superpowers would be impaired (harmd).

[From *The First Dance of Freedom – Black Africa in the Post-War Era* by M Meredith]

SOURCE 2C

The source below is an extract from an interview with P Gleijeses (History Professor at John Hopkins University) conducted by D Denvir on 19 November 2021. It sheds light on why Cuba and South Africa were involved in the Angolan Civil War in the 1970s.

DANIEL DENVIR: That South African invasion would have been successful if Cuba had not dispatched 36 000 troops to push the South African Defence Force out. How did that escalation (increase) come about, where did the Cuban troops come from, and why was Cuba's intervention so decisive (influential) on the ground?

PIERO GLEIJESES: A Cuban military mission arrived with the first elements of support in August, and the bulk (size) of the mission arrived in October. But military advisors cannot stop an invasion. To do that, you need troops. In early November 1975, as the South Africans were advancing along the coast, Angola sent a desperate appeal (request) to Cuba for help. The military mission also told Fidel [Castro] that the Cubans had to do something, because Luanda was going to fall.

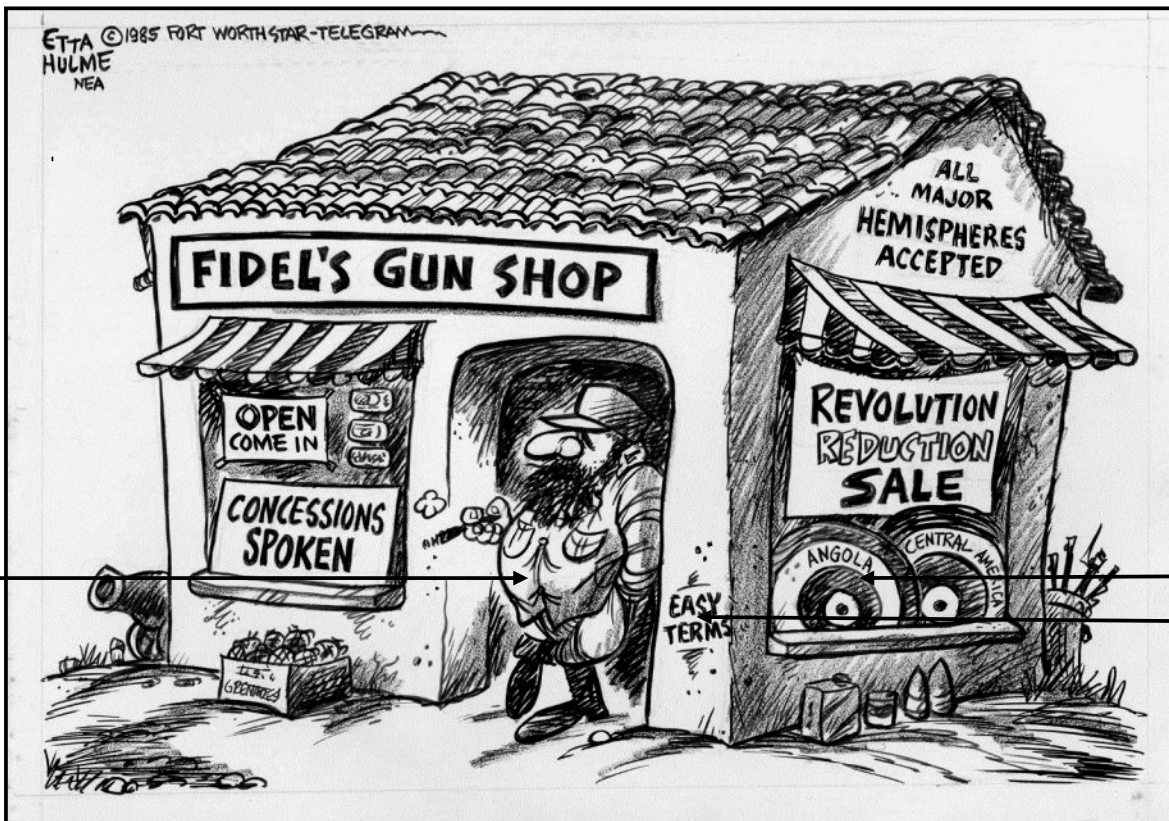
On 4 November, Fidel decided to send troops to Angola. The Soviet Union was miffed (annoyed), because it did not want the Cubans to intervene. It showed its annoyance (anger) by not assisting in the dispatch of Cuban troops to Angola.

The South Africans were willing to escalate, but they wanted things in return from the Ford (US President) administration. First, if the Soviet Union intervened, they wanted the United States to intervene. Their second demand was that the United States openly and fully endorses (approves) the South African invasion in Angola. Kissinger and Ford decided that they could not afford to do that because of the racial situation in the United States and the United States' prestige.

[From The Jacobin Radio podcast: 'The Dig': *When Cuba Provided Crucial Military Aid to African Independence Movements*]

SOURCE 2D

The cartoon below was drawn by E Hulme, who worked for the *Fort Worth Star Telegram* newspaper, in 1985. It portrays the leader of Cuba, Fidel Castro, as a gun shop owner selling guns on easy terms to Angola, amongst other countries.



[From *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, 1985]

EASY TERMS

FIDEL CASTRO

ANGOLA



QUESTION 3: DID THE FREEDOM SUMMER CAMPAIGN SUCCEED IN ADDRESSING VOTER REGISTRATION CHALLENGES FACED BY BLACKS (AFRICAN AMERICANS) IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) IN THE 1960s?

SOURCE 3A

The source below is taken from a book, *Free at Last, A History of the Civil Rights Movement ...*, written by S Bullard. It focuses on reasons why civil rights activists in the Southern States of the USA launched the Freedom Summer Campaign in Mississippi in 1964.

Although blacks* made up nearly half the population in Mississippi, only five per cent were registered to vote. In some of the counties (regions), not a single black person was registered. Black voting became a crucial goal of the Civil Rights Movement. Civil rights activists knew that a few highly publicised integration campaigns would not sustain the movement. Only by building significant voting strength would Southern blacks be able to keep pressure on the government to protect their rights. Several leading civil rights groups combined forces to establish the Council of Federated Organisations (COFO) voter registration project. COFO workers helped blacks fill out the complicated voter registration forms. They also helped poor people to get government assistance and taught black children how to read and write.

As a result of COFO efforts, the number of black voters in the South rose steadily. But it was a long uphill battle against a harsh set of obstacles. Many blacks were afraid of reprisals (punishments) or intimidated (frightened) by the complicated requirements of registration. COFO activists became more and more frustrated. Instead of teaching blacks how to comply with unconstitutional laws, they wanted the laws changed altogether. Yet their demands for new federal legislation went unanswered.

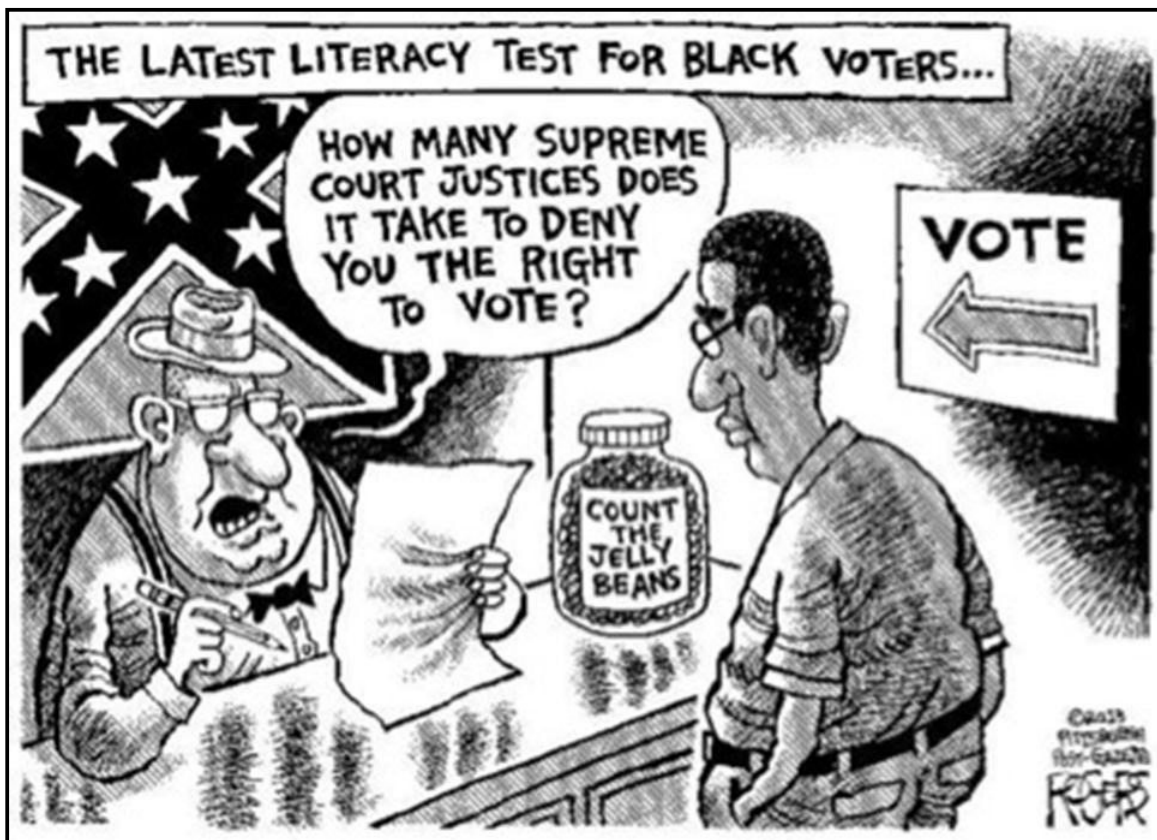
In 1964, COFO launched a campaign, called Freedom Summer, to bring attention to the voting abuses. A thousand college students – most of them white – were brought to Mississippi to register voters and teach in Freedom Schools. Black voters had suffered years of repression, and the barriers to voting remained whilst the white volunteers were beaten or arrested for voting activities.

[From *Free at Last, A History of the Civil Rights Movement and those who died in the struggle* by S Bullard]

***BLACKS – AFRICAN AMERICANS**

SOURCE 3B

The cartoon below was drawn by R Armstrong. It depicts a voter registration officer taking an African American through a literacy test for voter registration in Mississippi in 1964.



[From <https://flowvella.com/s/1xdm/5E511C2B-E1C2-4CA2-A962-4D20C7B81539>
Accessed on 22 February 2023.]



SOURCE 3C

The source below is taken from an article that appeared in *The Washington Post* newspaper dated 6 October 2017. It focuses on experiences civil rights crusader, Fannie Lou Hamer, a leader of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, encountered as she tried to pass discriminatory voter registration tests.

... When Fannie Lou Hamer tried to register to vote in 1962, there were no black elected officials in the district. 'I guess if I'd had any sense, I'd had been a little scared about the night in August 1962 when I attended a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) meeting and volunteered to go to the courthouse the next day to try to register to vote. But what was the point of being scared? The only thing the whites could do was kill me, and it seemed like they'd been trying to do that a little bit at a time since I could remember.'

Because of her ability to read and write, she was given the job of working as a 'time-keeper' in a sharecropping system designed to keep black workers in debt. Only Hamer and Ernest Davis were allowed in the clerk's office to register. They were required to take a literacy test, created to discourage black people from voting. They had to say who they worked for and where they lived – information the Ku Klux Klan often used to find and intimidate black people attempting to register to vote. She and Davis failed the literacy test. She told the clerk she would be back. When Hamer returned to the plantation that day, she was fired from her job. Hamer became a SNCC community organiser and helped found the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

In 1964 she ran for Congress as a Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party candidate against Democratic incumbent (current) Jamie L Whitten. 'My opponent has done nothing to help the Negro in the Second Congressional District,' Hamer said in a campaign speech. 'If I'm elected as congresswoman, things will be different. We are sick and tired of being sick and tired. For so many years, the Negroes have suffered in the state of Mississippi.'

[From *The Washington Post*, 6 October 2017]

SOURCE 3D

The source below is taken from an article titled 'The Freedom Summer of 1964 Launched a Voting Right Revolution' written by RL Uyeda and published in the *Teen Vogue Magazine* on 3 June 2019. It explains the reaction of the supremacists (white racists) and the federal government to the 1964 Freedom Summer Campaign in Mississippi.

In 1964 the Mississippi's government instituted dusk-to-dawn curfews (restrictions) and attempted to ban the implementation of Freedom Schools in response to the growing power of the Civil Rights Movement. The state's Ku Klux Klan (KKK) ballooned (increased) in membership across the state; in one night, crosses were burned by the KKK in 64 out of the state's 82 counties. In just over two months, 37 black churches were bombed or burned, and several people were murdered, including civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner. Scores of people were beaten and arrested. That year also saw the murder of National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) Mississippi state field secretary Medgar Evers.

Attempted intimidation (bullying) through the burning or bombing of black churches in the South was commonplace, and racist 'separate but equal' legislation was overturned only a decade prior, though this did not stop the continuation of the practice. But instead of yielding (giving in) to fear, activists increased their national profile.

The Freedom Summer lasted only 10 weeks, but the activism and the violence of the summer pushed the federal government to act and sparked a national movement. The following year, in 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, which made illegal all of the barriers and intimidation tactics used against potential slack and low-income voters, such as poll taxes, literacy tests, questionnaires, and the threat of violence. In 1964, just 6,7% of eligible black Mississippians were registered to vote.

[From *Teen Vogue Magazine*, 3 June 2019]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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