NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
MAY 2025

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

QUESTION 1

How effective was the United States of America in combatting communist military forces in South Vietnam between 1957 and 1969?

Argument

Candidate should assess the United States's effectiveness at combatting communist military forces (including the NVA and VC/NLF) in Vietnam through the first two stages of the Vietnam War. Candidate should explore both areas where the United States was more effective and where they were less effective.

Context:

- Anti-colonial war, Battle of Dien Bien Phu, and the Geneva Accords.
- Division of Vietnam into North and South, with a communist government under Ho Chi Minh in the North and a capitalist government in the South under Emperor Bai Dai (and then Ngo Dinh Diem).
- The United States feared the Domino Effect (Eisenhower), especially after China became communist, and thus began to intervene to support the anti-communist government in the South.
- The PRC and USSR, to varying degrees, supported the communists in the North.
- The reunification election that had been agreed upon during the Geneva Accords did not happen as they were opposed by Diem and the United States.

Content

[Expected/ core content is indicated in **bold**. Other content can be credited but is not expected]

- Communist threat to South Vietnam caused the United States to increase its involvement.
  - Diem's rule in the South was unpopular and subject to a rising insurgency, much of it communist.
  - From 1959, North Vietnam supported this insurgency and increased it by creating supply lines and sending NVA troops to the South.
  - In 1960, the communist insurgents in the South created the National Liberation Front (NLF/ Viet Cong) to wage guerrilla war against Diem's government with the intention of bringing communist rule to the South. Supported (or directed) by the North and the NLF.
  - The United States supported Diem's government, at first indirectly under Eisenhower and Kennedy and then directly under Johnson, *to prevent a communist takeover.*
- The US attempts to combat communist forces in South Vietnam under Eisenhower (1957–1961) and Kennedy (1961–1963) – first stage of the war.
  - Eisenhower had become involved in the Geneva Accords in 1954 in an attempt to contain communism and supported the division of Vietnam (context).
  - From 1957, **Eisenhower supported the policy of 'nation-building'** to create a free and stable South Vietnam *in an attempt to combat the increasing communist insurgent/ military threat to Diem's government*.*
  - Despite this intervention, the NLF was created in 1960, *indicating the ineffectiveness of nation-building in combatting communist forces.*
  - Investment of large sums of money into the South Vietnamese government. *However, the dissatisfaction with Diem and increasing insurgency imply that this was an ineffective strategy as it did not prevent the growth and creation of the NLF.*

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- Nation-building was continued as a policy under Kennedy despite its failures.
- *With the lack of outright success from the policy of nation-building*, Kennedy (and his successor Johnson) combined nation-building with a **policy of counter-insurgency**. Counter-insurgency refers to a broad set of tactics and strategies employed to counteract the rising NLF insurgency – including military action, propaganda, diplomacy, and continued economic support.
- Part of this policy was to '**win hearts and minds**' (pacification/'hold and protect') – actions taken to try and convince the rural Southern population not to side with the NLF or Northern communists. Kennedy especially favoured a mixed strategy which focused heavily on winning hearts and minds, but his military advisors and Diem pushed a more militaristic set of strategies, *leading to contradictions that created distrust of the United States and further weakened their attempts to combat communist forces in South Vietnam.*
- Kennedy increased military spending and support for Diem's government, including sending **advisors** to help the South Vietnamese government and army (ARVN) combat the communist military forces.
- From 1962, the **Strategic Hamlet Programme (Safe Hamlets)** created by Diem's government, the ARVN, and the United States, attempted to isolate communist insurgents by moving rural South Vietnamese into 'safe hamlets'/protected villages where they were supposed to be protected from the NLF, and supported with aid. However, *this policy failed* as the NLF could infiltrate the villages easily, government officials embezzled money meant for the programmes, and peasants resented being forcibly removed from their land. This just *created further animosity towards Diem and the United States and drove more people to side with the NLF. The Strategic Hamlet Programme was ineffective in combatting communist military forces in South Vietnam.*
- Under Kennedy, Operation Ranch Hand (1962–1971) was begun, a programme of **chemical warfare** that attempted to strip the jungle cover that the NLF and NVA made use of in their guerrilla war against the ARVN. Targeted the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Use of herbicides such as Agent Orange. *Failed to effectively combat communist forces since they used other means of cover (e.g. tunnel systems), rerouted supplies on the ever-evolving Ho Chi Minh Trail, and use of chemical weapons further increased protest against the South Vietnamese Government and the United States.*
- **Search and Destroy** missions were begun by the ARVN and US advisors and used throughout the war. US helicopter pilots would ferry ARVN troops to supposed NLF strongholds to find the enemy bases and destroy them. *Search and Destroy was quite effective in the early stages of the war and dealt significant damage to the NLF.*
- The NLF changed tactics to respond to these missions by setting up ambushes at helicopter landing sites, *thus making the S&D tactic only briefly effective at combatting communist forces.*
    - *Candidates may discuss NLF and NVA tactics, including the use of tunnels, guerilla warfare, support from the USSR and PRC, etc, but this should be in the context of showing the ineffectiveness of US attempts.*
- *Realising that the tactics were failing and possibly strengthening the NLF,* Kennedy began to downscale US involvement.
- The US (via CIA financial support) supported a coup against Diem, who was ousted and executed in 1963. South Vietnam suffered from a number of successive coups over the next year and a half, *further weakening any attempts to combat the communist forces.*

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- The US attempted to combat the spread of communism in South Vietnam under Johnson (1963/4–1969).
  - Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963 and replaced by Lyndon Johnson.
  - **Johnson believed in a policy of escalation** – that by increasing US involvement, sending in ground troops under General Westmoreland, and using the US Navy to patrol the coast of North Vietnam, the US and ARVN could halt the communist insurgency.
  - **Operation Rolling Thunder began after the Gulf of Tonkin incident** convinced Congress to increase support for the action against the NLF and NVA. Rolling Thunder included sustained air raids on targets in North Vietnam and along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Very strict and often illogical rules of engagement *hampered the ability of Rolling Thunder to destroy enemy SAM sites and other bases.* The bombing *did have some success in combatting the NVA's ability to bring supplies to the South and hampered their activities in the North. However, it was not able to end the insurgency.*
  - Other attempts to combat the spread of communism in this phase of the war included the use of helicopters, continued S&D missions, clearing and securing missions, and continued airstrikes. *These had varied levels of effectiveness and were often able to deter the NLF and NVA for a short period until they adjusted their tactics*. In general, the United States and ARVN tended to use more conventional military tactics, which proved ineffective in the long run against the guerrilla tactics of the communist forces.
  - US attempts were *shown to be particularly ineffective* by the **1968 Tet Offensive**. This attack on multiple targets in the South, coordinated by the NVA and NLF, lasted most of 1968, and at the start, the NVA and NLF were able to capture some key strategic points, *thus supporting the claim that the US were at this stage ineffective at preventing a communist spread.*
  - However, the United States and ARVN managed to retake all the areas that the NVA and NLF had captured, *making them effective in preventing the attempted communist takeover of the Tet Offensive.*
  - In 1968, the first peace talks began but failed to come to a compromise.
  - Johnson did not stand for re-election, *which could be seen as, in some ways, evidence of his failures in Vietnam,* and was replaced by Nixon.
  - By 1969, the war reached a stalemate and it was unclear which side had the upper hand. *Thus, by 1969, although they had had some areas of effectiveness, the US had been unable to stop the communist insurgency and, therefore, were not effective in combatting communist forces in South Vietnam. They could be judged to have been able to prevent a quicker spread or total takeover by 1969 (partial effectiveness).*

OR

QUESTION 2

How effective was the Women's Movement in achieving societal change in the United States of America in the 1960s and 1970s?

Argument

Candidate must explore the attempts by the Women's Movement to change US society and assess the effectiveness of these attempts. The candidate should cover both the successes and failures of the movement to bring about changes in US society.

Context:

- Women had gained the right to vote in the United States in the early 20th century but were still restricted in several areas of society. Black women especially faced layers of discrimination.
- During WWII, women in the US took up new roles in society and the workplace, while men went to fight overseas. Women took up jobs previously traditionally reserved for men and made their own money. However, at the end of the war, women were expected to move back into the domestic sphere.
- The Civil Rights Movement inspired women to make changes in their own positions and fight against societal discrimination. The Black Power, anti-war, and student movements were prominent influences.
- At the same time, these organisations tended to perpetuate aspects of societal sexism, and women within the movements experienced growing dissatisfaction.

Content

[Expected/ core content is indicated in **bold**. Other content can be credited but is not expected]

- The Women's **Movement aimed to change the economic and labour position of women**.
  - Women before the 1960s/70s were restricted to 'pink-collar' jobs, **discrimination in hiring and promotion**, **unequal pay**, and no access to **maternity leave or childcare**.
  - Workplace equality was a major focus, especially of the more moderate/liberal feminists.
  - **The National Organisation for Women** was critical in changing women's position in the labour pool. Formed in 1966 to fight for the implementation of **Title VII of the Civil Rights Act**. They fought for workplace equality and were critical in pushing for the Equal Rights Amendment*. *The fact that the ERA was passed by Congress points to its effectiveness in changing society, but the lack of ratification by the 1982 deadline suggests that this effectiveness was limited.*
  - NOW protested gendered Help Wanted adverts at the New York Times in 1967 – *this and other similar protests eventually influenced employers to phase out the discriminatory advertisements but did not necessarily mean an end to employment discrimination.*
  - Ester Peterson convinced Kennedy to create the President's Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. In 1963, it reported on the unequal workplace treatment and payment of women and recommended changes that were put in place. Endorsed the Equal Pay Act. *Thus, by pushing for the Commission, the Women's Movement was able to change women's status in the workplace by unveiling discriminatory practices and causing the government to intervene.*

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  - **Equal Pay Act (drafted by Peterson) 1963** [candidates may refer to the gaining of equal pay without naming the act] guaranteed equal pay for equal work – *worked to raise women's pay, but was still ineffective in gaining full pay equality, as women still earned 62% of what men did by 1979.*
  - Consciousness-raising groups were used in all spheres of the Movement for women to share their experiences, including workplace harassment. *Consciousness-raising may not have directly impacted changing government policy or society, but by women realising their experiences were shared, it enabled them to come together to take action for change and to demand safety and equality at work.*
- The Women's Movement attempted **to increase the reproductive rights of women** and bring attention to domestic and sexual violence.
  - Lack of **access to contraception** through the 19th-century Comstock Laws. Even by the 1950s, it was a felony in some states to sell or advertise contraception, and in Connecticut, it was illegal for a couple to use contraception. *The Women's Movement succeeded in changing this by supporting the Supreme Court case of Griswold vs Connecticut in 1965, which overturned the restrictive laws.*
  - Birth control was a major issue of the Women's Movement, with the first hormonal **birth control pill** created in the late 1950s and approved to treat severe menstrual problems. The *Women's Movement campaigned successfully for the availability of lower doses specifically for birth control and the repeal of the sections of the Comstock Laws related to birth control in 1971.*
  - Speak-outs and consciousness-raising groups increased awareness of domestic and sexual violence.
  - Florynce Kennedy's *Abortion Rap* (1971) – the first book to be published about abortion.
  - The 1969 Senate hearing on abortion rights – Redstockings disrupted and then stormed out, objecting to the fact that 14 of the 15 speakers were men. They then held an abortion 'speak-out' to raise awareness about the realities of accessing abortion and to counter the Senate hearing.
  - 1970s Women's Strike for Peace – demanded free abortion, no forced sterilisation, free childcare, and equal job opportunities. Fifty thousand people marched in New York, plus major marches in 90 other cities. *Effective in bringing media attention to the extent of women's dissatisfaction with their societal position and was a major part of the push for the government to pass the Comprehensive Childcare Act in 1971. However, its effectiveness was limited as Nixon vetoed the Act.*
  - By 1973, the **Women's Movement had *succeeded in pushing for the right to abortion* to such a large enough degree that when *Roe v Wade*** made it to the Supreme Court, they ruled in its favour. *A major success of the Women's Movement was securing reproductive rights*.
- The Women's Movement tried to change the restriction of women to the domestic sphere, pushed for more representation within movements, and **challenged traditional gender roles.**
  - Domesticity was highlighted, especially in the 1950s. Women were expected to raise families and conform to traditional gender roles.
  - Head and Master laws meant **women had little control even within the domestic** sphere.
  - Divorce was difficult, with no 'no-fault' divorce available – this is something the Women's Movement fought for, and *by 1969, the first no-fault divorce laws were passed in California, followed in the early 1970s by the other states.*

  - **Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* critiqued the image of the contented middle-class housewife and showed that women were dissatisfied with confinement** to the domestic sphere. *It was a massively influential book, selling over 3 million copies, which sparked women to question their place in US society and was effective to some degree in changing the views of women in society.*
  - Women within the Peace and Black Power Movements created Women's Caucuses to increase their representation and fight against sexism within these movements. E.g. Frances Beal/Black Women's Liberation Caucus of SNCC; Jo Freeman and Shulamith Firestone Women's Caucus at the 1967 Conference of New Politics (SDS), and creation of the Westside/Chicago Group.
  - New York Radical Women protested against sexism at the **1968 Miss America Pageant**. **Through picket lines, guerrilla theatre, freedom trash cans**, and sneaking a banner into the hall, *they were able to create awareness of the dissatisfaction but did not necessarily make substantive change to society as the pageant and similar pageants continued.*
- The Women's Movement was active in other areas of change [may credit if included, but not expected].
  - Lesbian women in the movement fought for recognition within it and society, and *contributed to the greater acceptance of homosexuality through the Gay Rights Movement*. E.g. Lavender Menace, Radicalesbians. This caused NOW to commit to fighting for lesbian rights and to its *creation of a Task Force on Sexuality and Lesbianism – making gay rights more mainstream.*
  - Intersections with the Civil Rights Movement – e.g. Shirley Chisholm & Gloria Steinem and the National Women's Political Caucus. Chisholm ran for nomination as the Democratic presidential candidate in 1972 – *this was unsuccessful but does point to a small degree of change in that she did become the first African American woman in Congress and caused the passing of a large number of critical laws related to African Americans, women, impoverished people, and the Vietnam War.*

OR

QUESTION 3

How effective were international protests in achieving change in apartheid policy during the 1970s and 1980s?

Argument

Candidate must consider the effectiveness of international (external) protests in the 1970s and 1980s. Candidate must explore both the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of these international movements to achieve change in apartheid policies.

Context:

- Increasing repression by the apartheid government in the 1960s after Sharpeville led to increased international pressure.
- As the protests internally increased, so did the efforts of the international community to effect change through economic and other pressures on apartheid.
- Candidate may mention internal protest and Botha's reforms if they are relevant to the argument being made about the effectiveness of international protest.

Content

[Expected/ core content is indicated in **bold**. Other content can be credited but is not expected]

- Civil society boycotts – economic, sport, cultural, academic.
  - **Economic boycotts** *put pressure on the apartheid state and worsened the economic crisis in South Africa, although it is difficult to give concrete evidence of direct effectiveness in changing government policy.*
    - British and Irish **Anti-Apartheid Movements** – boycotts of South African goods, e.g. Outspan oranges, Dunns Stores refused to sell South African fruit.
    - Boycotts of companies doing business in South Africa.
    - Ireland imposed boycotts of coal and food from South Africa.
  - Sport, cultural, and academic boycotts *contributed to the isolation of South Africa and may have increased dissatisfaction of some white South Africans, but did not directly impact government policy.*
    - **Sport boycotts** [candidates may select examples, not all are expected]
      - South Africa was banned from most world sporting events, such as the Olympic Games.
      - Teams were discouraged from touring to South Africa, and SA teams were boycotted when on tour – Stop the 70 Tour.
      - Gleneagles Agreement 1977 – Commonwealth countries discouraged sporting ties with South Africa.
      - *May have served to show the dissatisfaction of international society with apartheid and had a small contribution to reforms in SA to improve SA's image, but was not directly effective in changing policies.*
    - **Cultural boycotts** [candidates may select examples, not all are expected]
      - Entertainers were discouraged from performing in South Africa – 'Don't entertain apartheid'; Artists Against Apartheid.
      - British TV programmes and films could not be distributed to SA.
      - US and UK playwrights would only allow their plays to be performed if they were to mixed audiences.

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        - *Limited impact as there was the loophole of Homelands and Sun City. Did serve to isolate South Africa somewhat, but it had little impact on government policies.*
    - Academic boycotts [not critical content]
        - Academics refused to come to SA, and SA academics refused entry to overseas conferences, South African works not published by international universities.
        - *Limited scope and, therefore, limited impact on government policy may have contributed to increasing pressure for reform.*
- **Sanctions** and pressure through the United Nations
  – 1973 UN declared apartheid a crime against humanity; **1977 arms embargo** *limited the sale of arms to SA, but undermined in its effectiveness by SA producing its weapons through ARMSCOR*; 1980 both the Security Council and General Assembly demanded the release of political prisoners; the 1984 Security Council Resolution 554 declared Botha's new constitution null and void *although this was not effective in changing government policy as Botha continued with the Tricameral Parliament despite this resolution.*
  – In 1978, Britain and France **stopped selling weapons to South Africa**.
  – In the mid-1980s, the Commonwealth and the US imposed an oil embargo, and Britain imposed minor sanctions on the sale of Krugerrands and the import of iron. 1987 General Assembly urged a voluntary oil embargo by its members.
  – 1986 – **Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act** (United States) – wide-reaching sanctions imposed with the conditions for lifting these being significant change and effectively an end to apartheid.
  – Towards the end of the 1980s, the Nordic countries imposed a total ban on trade with South Africa, and some provided financial aid to the liberation movements.
  – *The increasing sanctions and UN resolutions put both diplomatic and economic pressure on the SA government and did have some effectiveness in first causing Botha to introduce reforms and then for the NP to enter into negotiations. However, support for the anti-communist stance of NP from Thatcher and Reagan somewhat undermined the effectiveness as they opposed sanctions.*
- **Disinvestment and actions by business** [candidates may select examples]
  – Companies, e.g. Kodak, Pepsi, IBM, Barclays, and General Electric, withdrew their businesses from South Africa.
  – AAM protests outside the headquarters of businesses still investing in SA.
  – **Chase Manhattan** stopped rolling over South African loans, *which was effective in putting further economic pressure on the government and hastening their need to change policies and negotiate.*
  – **Sullivan Principles** created a set of guidelines for companies who wanted to do business in South Africa that were *limited in effectiveness as these were not government or other policies.*
  – *Sanctions and disinvestment increased the economic recession in South Africa, made it more difficult for the government to raise the capital it needed to continue to oppose resistance, caused a dramatic decline in the exchange rate and essentially caused economic stagnation in South Africa, effectively putting pressure on the apartheid government to reform and soften its policies, even if there were limitations to this through the support of Reagan and Thatcher, and companies/ countries which did not apply sanctions or disinvest.*
- Other international actions
  – Free Mandela Campaign. [optional]
    - International calls for the release of Nelson Mandela.
    - *May have had some impact on Botha offering Mandela a conditional release in 1985.*

- Frontline States [optional]
  - Declared themselves against apartheid, and as part of the OAU, were pledged to end apartheid.
  - From the 1970s, SA's neighbours met to co-ordinate their efforts against apartheid.
  - Many allowed the creation of MK bases.
  - *However, with their economies often dependent on South Africa, linked in a customs union, and the threat of destabilisation, the extent of their intervention was severely limited.*

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SECTION B EXTENDED WRITING

QUESTION 4

Explain how tensions in the Cold War developed between 1945 and 1955 by answering the following questions:

(a) What led to Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union by 1945?
(b) What actions did the United States and the Soviet Union take in Europe between 1945 and 1955 which worsened Cold War tensions?
(c) What impact did Cold War tensions have on Europe by 1955?

[Expected/ core content is indicated in **bold**.]

- Early tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union
  - **Ideological conflict** between capitalism and communism.
  - The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact caused suspicion.
  - Soviet Union became part of the Grand Alliance against Germany, but tensions between the allies remained.
  - The United States **kept the creation of the Atomic Bomb secret** from the Soviet Union, which angered Stalin.
  - Kennan's Long Telegram and **Churchill's Sinews of Peace/ Iron Curtain speech** both increased the distrust of the USSR from the West.
- Conferences at the end of World War Two
  - **Yalta and Potsdam**.
  - Decisions on ending the war and the post-war settlements.
  - Increasing distrust between the leaders at these conferences and conflicting opinions of how the post-war situation in Europe should be handled.
  - Yalta and Potsdam finalised the **division of Germany and occupation by the Allied Powers.**
  - Agreements about territorial changes – especially around Poland and Germany.
  - Agreements for liberated countries to have free elections – although this was interpreted quite differently by the Soviet Union vs the Western allies.
  - Decisions about reparations from Germany.
  - The vagueness of many of these agreements led to increasing tension.
- **Soviet creation of satellite states**
  - As they liberated Eastern European countries from Nazi rule in the latter part of the war, the USSR gained significant influence.
  - Despite agreements at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, **the USSR installed puppet governments in Eastern European states, creating the Satellite States**.
  - Churchill dubbed this division between capitalist Western Europe and Communist Eastern Europe the 'Iron Curtain'.
- Truman Doctrine and Marshal Plan
  - In an attempt to prevent the spread of communism, the **United States under Truman pledged to intervene in European affairs** to support governments under threat.
  - Intervention in Greece and Turkey under the Truman Doctrine allowed those countries to resist communist insurgencies.
  - The Marshall Plan gave **extensive aid to Western Europe** to rebuild, deepening the divide between the East and West.
  - This difference in lifestyle was particularly evident in the divided Berlin.

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- Berlin Blockade and Airlift
  - The Allied Control Council was supposed to coordinate the occupation and administration of the German-occupied zones, but **currency issues and disagreements c**aused it to be ineffective.
  - Currency crisis led to **Stalin implementing a blockade around Berlin** in an attempt to force the Western powers out.
  - **West responded with the Berlin Airlift**, and Stalin **lifted the Blockade after 11 months.**
- Divided Germany – FDR, GDR
  - Cold War tensions led to the **permanent division of Germany into the Federal Republic of Germany and German Democratic Republic in 1949**.
  - FDR was led by Konrad Adenauer and allied with the United States.
  - GDR (DDR) was led by Walter Ulbricht and became a satellite of the USSR.
  - Tension continued between these two new states, especially in Berlin's capital.
- NATO and the Warsaw Pact
  - Fear of further Soviet expansion after the Berlin Blockade led the United States to create the **North Atlantic Treaty Organisation as a collective security measure**.
  - NATO was the United States's first peacetime military alliance and significantly strengthened its military capabilities, including being able to station missiles in NATO countries in close proximity to the USSR.
  - NATO increased suspicion and distrust.
  - This was particularly worsened when the **FDR joined NATO in 1955.**
  - **In response, the USSR created the Warsaw Pact**, a military alliance of the USSR and her Allies.
- Impacts of Cold War tensions on Europe
  - The Cold War **essentially divided Europe into two armed camps**.
  - Travel between the East and West was increasingly limited, and **suspicion was increased.**
  - **Western Europe benefitted from US aid** and was able to rebuild after World War Two and became increasingly prosperous.
  - **Eastern Europe came under a high degree of control from the USSR**, and freedoms were severely curtailed.
  - East Germany, in particular, suffered from reparations demanded by the USSR, and in general, **Eastern Europe could not recover** to the same extent as the West.

OR

QUESTION 5

Explain the impact of the Black Power Movement in the United States in the 1970s by answering the following questions:

(a) What led to the rise of the Black Power Movement in the United States in the 1970s?
(b) What methods did the Black Power Movement use to uplift African American communities in the 1970s?
(c) How successful was the Black Power Movement in the United States in the 1970s?

[Expected/ core content is indicated in **bold**.]

- Origins of the Black Power Movement
  - **Frustration with the slow pace of change** and the non-violent stance of the Civil Rights Movement.
  - Legislative change had been achieved, but this had **not necessarily caused societal change or sufficient improvement in everyday life, especially in the Northern ghettos**.
  - Growth of Black Nationalism, influenced by Marcus Garvey, Pan-Africanism, and the **philosophies of Malcolm X.**
  - **Economic dissatisfaction and police brutality** had led to a number of riots in Northern ghettos, notably the Watts Rebellion.
  - Early Black Nationalist and separatist groups such as the **Nation of Islam began organising black resistance**. Malcolm X became prominent in the NoI before splitting from it to create the OAAU. His views on Black Nationalism became an important influence on the rise of Black Power.
  - **Stokely Carmichael** of SNCC was the first to popularise the term 'Black Power' after his release from arrest during the 1966 Meridith March Against Fear.
- Tactics and strategies of the Black Power Movement
- Organisations
  - In contrast to the CRM, Black Power groups expelled white members and were, to varying degrees**, separatist.**
  - SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee - optional)
    - SNCC had been an important part of the CRM and was largely driven by the youth.
    - Towards the mid-1960s, they became more radical, expelled white members, and identified with a Black Nationalist/Black Power philosophy.
    - Stokely Carmichael took over the leadership of SNCC in 1966 and moved them away from non-violence as a guiding principle and rather to a stance that accepted force as an acceptable tactic in self-defence.
  - **Black Panther Party (for Self-Defence)**
    - Created by Huey Newton and Boby Seale in 1966.
    - Began as a community organisation and neighbourhood watch – particularly to **guard against police brutality through ghetto patrols ('police the police').**
    - Socialist and willing to work with white radicals, the BPP believed an armed revolution was needed to change American society and politics.
    - The **10-Point Programme outlined their demands**, which centred around improved conditions for Black Americans, changes to the justice system, health care, education, and employment.
    - Made use of marches, rallies, and vigils, e.g. during the Free Huey Campaign.
- **Community Programmes**
  - Aimed at **self-determination and self-reliance.**

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  - **Community schools**/ education initiatives, e.g. in Oakland.
  - **Free Breakfast for Children Program** – to feed impoverished children and preach Black Pride and worth.
  - Free ambulance services, health clinics, and sickle cell anaemia testing.
  - **Programmes to provide free food, clothes and other necessities to poor ghetto communities.**
- Other methods/actions
  - Ghetto patrols and 'policing the police'/ **self-defence to respond to police brutality**.
  - Publication of newsletters and magazines, e.g. *The Black Panther.*
  - Smith and Carlos protest at the 1968 Mexico Olympics.
  - Voter registration drives and attempts to get black representation in local and city governments.
- Impact of the Black Power Movement
  - Community **programmes impactful within their communities**, increasing pride, visibility, and **some degree of self-reliance**.
  - The radical nature of the BPP helped to **convince the Government of the need for more intervention** to prevent further radicalisation – such as the passage of the Fair Housing Act and the introduction of school feeding schemes.
  - The FBI saw the BPM as a significant threat to US internal security and, under J Edgar Hoover, **extended the COINTELPRO programme to surveil, infiltrate, and disrupt BPM activities**. This had a significant negative impact on BPM organisations – especially the BPP, which began to disintegrate by the early 1970s.
  - **Violence, shootouts with police, and arrests** further limited the impact of Black Power organisations.
  - BPM's focus on political power did manage to **increase the number of black elected officials.**

OR

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QUESTION 6

Explain the importance of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa in the 1970s by answering the following questions:

(a) What led to the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa by the 1970s?
(b) How did the Black Consciousness Movement challenge apartheid in the 1970s?
(c) What was the impact of Black Consciousness in South Africa in the 1970s?

[Expected/ core content is indicated in **bold**.]

- Early influences
  - **Bantu Steven Biko**, the main driving force.
  - Influenced by Black Power in the United States, newly independent African nations, Robert Sobukwe and Pan-Africanism.
  - Influenced by increasing student protests worldwide.
  - **Reaction to apartheid** and the oppression of black South Africans both physically and mentally – a new approach that **put psychological liberation at the heart** of the liberation struggle.
  - A response to the **leadership void of the 1960s**, with the main liberation organisations having been banned and driven underground and into exile.
  - University Christian Movement and the beginnings of Black Theology also influenced the growing politicisation of the youth.
- Creation of SASO
  - BCM had its origins in the segregated universities, e.g. Fort Hare, University of the North, University of Zululand.
  - Student Representative Councils at these universities became increasingly active.
  - Biko led the SRC at the University of Natal from 1966, under the umbrella of the anti-apartheid multi-racial student union NUSAS.
  - **Growing frustration with the White leadership of NUSAS and their paternalism**.
  - Grahamstown Conference 1967 – separate accommodation cemented the conviction that a Black union was needed (Black defined as all those oppressed by apartheid, and so included Coloured and Indian members).
  - Biko and others (Strini Moodley, Saths Cooper, Mamphela Ramphele, Barney Pityana) walked out of the conference and **split from NUSAS to form a new, black-only student union, the South African Students' Organisation.**
  - **SASO became the leading vehicle for Black Consciousness** in South Africa.
- The ideology of BCM challenged apartheid
  - **Mental liberation as a precondition for physical liberation** – a new and inspiring philosophy.
  - **Black pride** and refusal to accept inferior status.
  - Powerful philosophies to **reinspire dignity** and pride amongst the oppressed and fire new protest.
- **Black Community Programmes** and the **Black People's Convention** [candidates may select examples]
  - BPC was an umbrella organisation with Trade Unions, SRCs, and community organisations as affiliates.
  - Spread ideas through Black journals, community newspapers.
  - Black Parents' Association formed after 1976.
  - Zimele Trust Fund for political prisoners.

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  - Zanempilo Community Clinic.
  - Home-based industries and co-operatives, community day-care centres, community organisation, and education.

- SASM and the Soweto Uprising
  - Inspired by Black Consciousness in universities, school children began to organise along similar lines. **The South African Students' Movement was created as an umbrella body for school SRCs and was modelled on SASO**.
  - Black consciousness filtered down into schools through older siblings at university, teachers who were part of the movement (e.g. Onkgopotse Tiro).
  - BCM gave students the language and the psychological liberation to take protest into their own hands when the government made the Afrikaans Medium Decree.
  - **SSRC formed to organise a march in Soweto that would be the beginning of the Soweto Uprising,** a massive challenge to the apartheid state.
- Government repression and impact of BCM
  - Although, **at first, the apartheid government saw BCM as aligning with ideas of separate development**, they soon came to recognise it as the threat to white power that it was.
  - **Repression of BCM materials**, banning and arrest of leaders, e.g. 1973 banning of 8 BCM leaders, including Biko.
  - Increasing repression after the 1976 uprising, with a State of Emergency imposed and BC leaders particularly targeted.
  - The 1976 SASO-BPC trial ended with nine main leaders being found guilty under the Terrorism Act and **sentenced to Robben Island**. The next year, all **BCM-aligned organisations were banned**, including the BPC, SASO, and SASM.
  - **Biko was murdered in detention** in September 1977.
  - Government repression managed to cut off the leadership of the BCM but was unable to quash the ideology.
  - BCM **continued to inspire increased protest** throughout the rest of the struggle against apartheid.

Total: 100 marks

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