NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
MAY 2024

# HISTORY: PAPER II

## SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C

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## SOURCE A

**This is an extract which describes the effect in the USA, of an attack in 1968, on US forces and the towns that they were protecting, during the Vietnam War. The attack was known as the Tet Offensive. The article was written by Katie Lang in 2023 for the US Department of Defense.**

… The Tet Offensive ended in early April 1968 as a military defeat for the communists … At the same time, though, it was a huge loss for the U.S. cause. The shocking images coming out of Vietnam vividly showed the horrors of the war, and many were shocked by the enemy's resilience*. Tet made it clear that a U.S. victory in Vietnam was not imminent*, and the American public's support began to wane … **(Paragraph 1)**

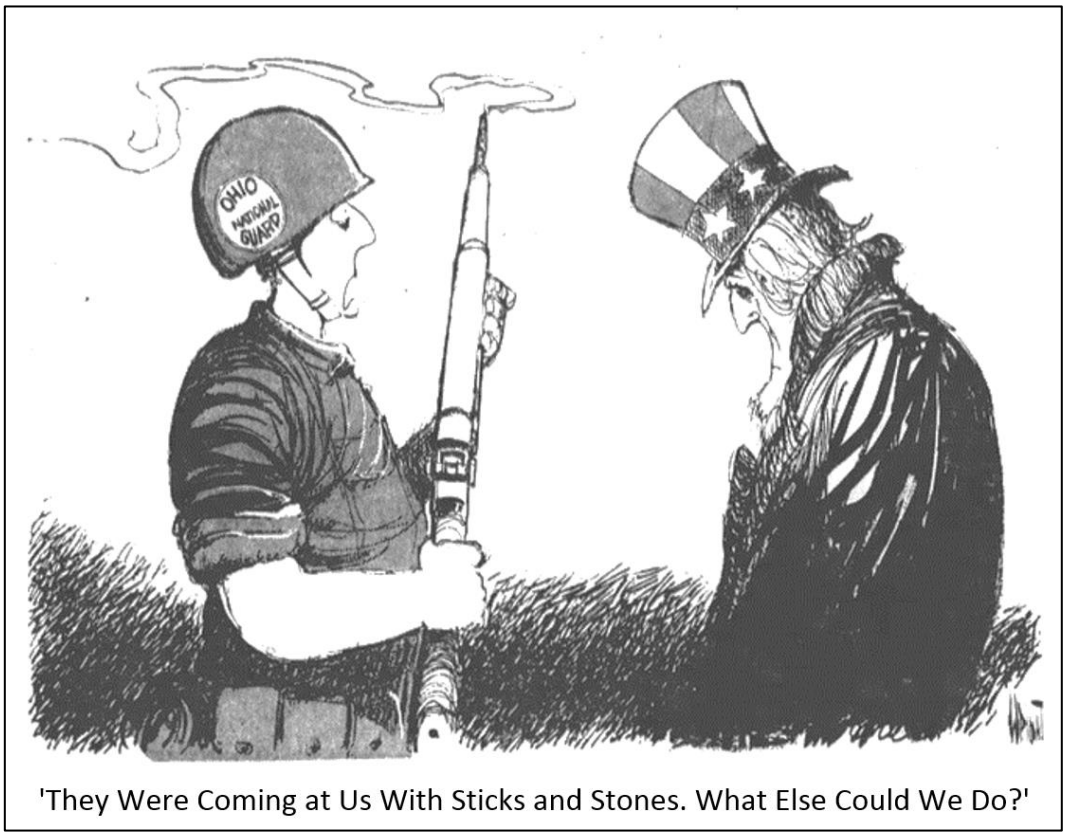
After Tet, U.S. generals … asked to add to the more than 500 000 troops already in Vietnam, … But President Lyndon B. Johnson and other leaders, taking note of growing anti-war sentiment at home, chose to do the opposite. Troop limitations were announced, and there was a halt on bombings. De-escalation began … **(Paragraph 2)**

[Adapted and available ONLINE: <https://www.defense.gov/News/Feature-Stories/story/Article/3291950/highlighting-history-how-tet-began-the-end-of-vietnam/> (Accessed: 25 March 2023)]

*resilience – the ability to recover quickly from difficulties
*imminent – about to happen

## SOURCE B

**This is a cartoon published on the 8th of May 1970, drawn by Don Wright of the *Miami News*. The cartoonist is commenting on the shooting of anti-war protestors at Kent State University in 1970. The figure on the right is 'Uncle Sam' i.e., the USA.**




'They Were Coming at Us With Sticks and Stones. What Else Could We Do?'

[Available ONLINE: <https://twitter.com/DerfBackderf/status/1300862205580238849> (Accessed 20 March 2023)]

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## SOURCE C

**This extract appeared in SLATE online news and culture magazine in 2007 and was written by Gideon Rose, a former editor of *Foreign Affairs* magazine and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.**

Coming into office in January 1969, Richard Nixon and his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, understood that part of their mandate* was to end the war in some way, and they wanted to do so for their own geopolitical* reasons, as well … By late 1969, the Nixon team settled on a new approach, combining gradual withdrawal, temporary protection of the regime of South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu, and intense diplomacy to enshrine these elements in a negotiated settlement … The Nixon administration's courting of the North's key patrons* began to pay off, meanwhile, as Russia and China now sought to dampen the flames rather than fan them. **(Paragraph 1)**

So, negotiations began to move forward, and by mid-October Kissinger and his North Vietnamese counterpart worked out a draft agreement that called for the removal of the remaining U.S. troops and the return of U.S. prisoners of war … they [US] ordered a massive quick infusion* of aid to the South and promised to continue support after the agreement was signed; meanwhile, to get the North Vietnamese back to the table, they ordered devastating airstrikes. The 'Christmas bombing' succeeded in compelling Hanoi's assent *… **(Paragraph 2)**

… It is true that Congress restricted U.S. operations and cut aid to the South, and these moves did indeed facilitate the eventual Northern victory. …, in June 1973, Congress ordered all U.S. military operations in Indochina to cease by the end of the summer, … Congress also cut U.S. aid to Saigon, from about $2.3 billion in 1973 to about $1 billion in 1974 and still less after that...In late 1974, the North Vietnamese leadership … launched a campaign to win the war once and for all. Their initial victories in the spring of 1975 came easily … (**Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted from*: How Vietnam Really Ended Events abroad—not domestic anti-war activism—brought the war to an end*, Gideon Rose*.* 2007. Available ONLINE: <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2007/01/how-the-vietnam-war-really-ended.html> (Accessed 20 March 2023)]

*mandate – the instruction given to them, their task or mission
*geopolitical – refers to how geography and political factors interact with each other to shape the relationships between different countries
*North's key patrons – North Vietnam's key politicians
*infusion – introducing something extra to the situation
*Hanoi's assent – North Vietnam's agreement

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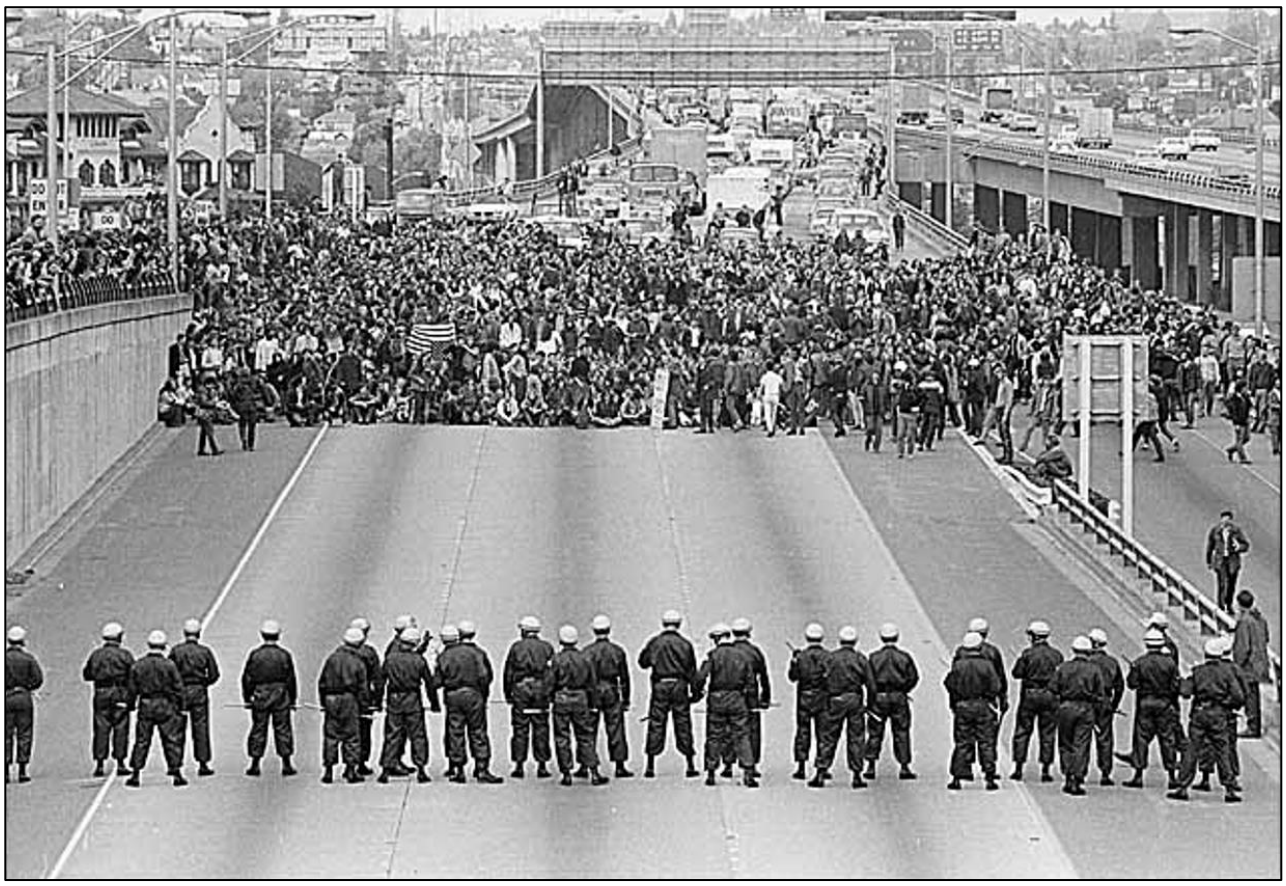
## SOURCE D

**This photograph was taken by Paul Thomas (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*) in Seattle, USA in 1970. Thousands of protesting University of Washington students and faculty members blocked Interstate 5 for nearly an hour as they marched to a rally at the U.S. Courthouse downtown. About 30 state troopers in riot gear blocked the crowd at the Roanoke interchange.**



[Available ONLINE: <https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/1614> (Accessed 20 March 2023)]

## SOURCE E

**This is an extract written by a historian, on the impact of protest action on President Nixon and the soldiers fighting in Vietnam in 1970.**

… In the wake of Kent State, President Nixon took tactical measures aimed at appeasing* the protesters. He limited incursions* into Cambodia to no more than 35 kilometers inside the border. He also kept the campaign at two months maximum. None of this, however, even began to address the combined anger and malaise* oozing through American communities. It infected the American military itself. During that month of May, more than 500 United States soldiers deserted each day. In South Vietnam some U.S. Army units mutinied, to a man, refusing direct orders to cross into Cambodia. Many soldiers added improvised black arm bands to their combat uniforms, tokens of mourning for the slain students, and some of these troops flatly declared their intention to refuse anymore combat orders in Vietnam …

[Adapted from: *The Real History of the Vietnam War.* Alan Axelrod. Sterling Publishing. 2013. Page 259.]

*appeasing – action which makes people less hostile
*incursions – an invasion or attack, usually very sudden
*malaise – a feeling of discomfort or unease

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## SOURCE F

**This extract is from the introduction to a research collection compiled by the University of Pennsylvania from sources from the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library in Austin, Texas, USA. The general editor was William Leuchtenburg.**

… Martin Luther King Jr. took a prominent part in the anti-war movement. In April 1967, he led a march of over 100,000 people from New York City's Central Park to the United Nations headquarters … Prominent news reporters and television commentators revealed their views on America's policy in Vietnam, and the respected *New York Times* began, during 1967, to call for a halt in the bombing and the beginning of peace negotiations ... lawmakers risked their political future by opposing President Johnson's Vietnam policy … the position of Senator J. William Fulbright was particularly important. In 1964, … he was demonstrating his unhappiness with the president's policies by sharp questioning of administration advisers.

… Within the Johnson administration* itself there was a rising undercurrent of doubt … misgivings were shared by such men as Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Nitze and Under Secretary of the Air Force Townsend Hoopes … In 1968, … Secretary of Defense McNamara, one of the most influential figures in the history of the Vietnam War … lost faith in the American effort and pushed the president for a negotiated settlement to the war … the president caved in to the peace views of several of his closest advisers, … President Johnson announced that he was establishing a ceiling on the U.S. troop commitment while preparing the South Vietnamese to take over their own defense …

[Adapted and Available ONLINE: RESEARCH COLLECTIONS IN AMERICAN POLITICS Microfilms from Major Archival and Manuscript Collections General Editor: William Leuchtenburg The Johnson Administration's Response to Anti-Vietnam War Activities <http://www.lexisnexis.com/documents/academic/upa_cis/16501_lbjadminanti-vietnamactspt1.pdf> (Accessed 20 March 2023)]

*administration – refers to the executive branch of government: President and his cabinet Secretaries (ministers)

## SOURCE G

**Charles Kaiser wrote this in 2023, as part of a review of a new documentary on President Nixon and Anti-war protests. He is a writer for the online publication: *The Guardian*.**

… The truth is, while the Vietnam demonstrations did reduce [the dangers of the draft]*, there is almost no evidence they shortened the war. When Nixon took office, 31 000 Americans had been killed in Vietnam, plus hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese. By the time the last American combat troops left in March 1973, two months after the draft was abolished, 58 220 US soldiers had died – plus as many as 2 million Vietnamese civilians and 1,3 million Vietnamese soldiers …

[Adapted and Available ONLINE: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/mar/27/vietnam-war-documentary-nixon-nuclear-weapons-pbs> (Accessed 20 March 2023)]

*From 1969, President Nixon started a process to lower the annual number of US men who would be drafted into the army.

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## SOURCE H

**This extract shows an opinion on the role of the media in ending the Vietnam War. It was written by Angie Dahm, a scholar at McKendree University in the USA.**

… Scholars disagree to what extent the media deserves the responsibility for causing the shift in public opinion from one of support to one of intense vocal opposition against America's involvement in Vietnam. Undoubtedly, it played a significant role but to what degree? … Evidence indicates the press is responsible for revealing the naked, uncensored truth regarding war to the American public. As news reports became increasingly negative, public opinion compelled the government to downsize troop deployment; therefore, forcing an adjustment to America's policy in Vietnam …

[Adapted and available ONLINE: *Angie Dahm: The Media and Vietnam.* <https://www.mckendree.edu/academics/scholars/issue3/dahm.htm> (Accessed 25 March 2023)]

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