



NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION  
NOVEMBER 2013

**HISTORY: PAPER I**

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<p><b>SOURCE MATERIAL FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C</b></p>
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**SOURCE A Western historiography\* of the origins of the Cold War****The Traditional\* View**

At first Western historians blamed the USSR. They said Stalin was trying to build up a Soviet empire.

**The Revisionist\* View**

Later, however, some Western historians blamed the USA. Some revisionists argued that America's chief aim in the years after the war was to make sure that there was an 'open door' for American trade, and that this led the American government to make sure that countries remained capitalist like the USA.

**The Post-Revisionist View**

Later still historians think that BOTH the USA and the USSR were to blame – that there were hatreds on both sides. Most recent historians agree that the Cold War was primarily a clash of beliefs – Communism versus Capitalism.

[Adapted from <[www.johndclare.net/cold\\_war3\\_answer.htm](http://www.johndclare.net/cold_war3_answer.htm)> Accessed 19 July 2012]

\* historiography = the study of different writings or interpretations of history

\* traditional = original or accepted view

\* revisionist = changing existing theories or interpretations

**SOURCE B An extract from the book *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* by the American historian William A Williams**

Who said that capitalism is meek and mild? Capitalism is by nature aggressive. Businessmen want to dominate the world market, and think it is good to want to do so. After 1946 American businessmen had the American government enthusiastically behind them. And together they set about systematically destroying 'the opposition' – which, in global terms, meant the Soviet Union. It was American capitalism that caused the Cold War, and it had the additional advantage that the Communists (since they used political means to assert themselves) could so easily be made to look oppressive\* and tyrannical\*. They didn't stand a chance.

[Williams, William A. *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, Norton, 1959, page 39]

\* oppressive = cruel and unjust

\* tyrannical = cruel and giving harsh punishment to those who disobey orders

**SOURCE C Soviet historiography**

Soviet historiography was based on the standard Marxist line that conflict was inevitable\*, given the hostility\* of capitalism towards the USSR, which was seen as the bastion\* of communism. Soviet writers highlighted the actions of Soviet foreign policy as attempts to safeguard the Revolution against the aggressive capitalist powers in the West. In the *Official History of the USSR* (1959), B Ponomarev described the Truman Doctrine as a smokescreen\* for US expansion and Marshall Aid as a tool of US power and influence. It was not until Gorbachev's refusal to support unpopular communist regimes\* in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s that Soviet writers could be critical of Soviet dominance over the Eastern bloc.

[Phillips, Steve *The Cold War: Conflict in Europe and Asia*, Heinemann, 2001, page 143]

\* inevitable = unavoidable

\* hostility = opposition

\* bastion = stronghold

\* smokescreen = cover-up

\* regimes = governments which do not have the support of the majority

**SOURCE D**

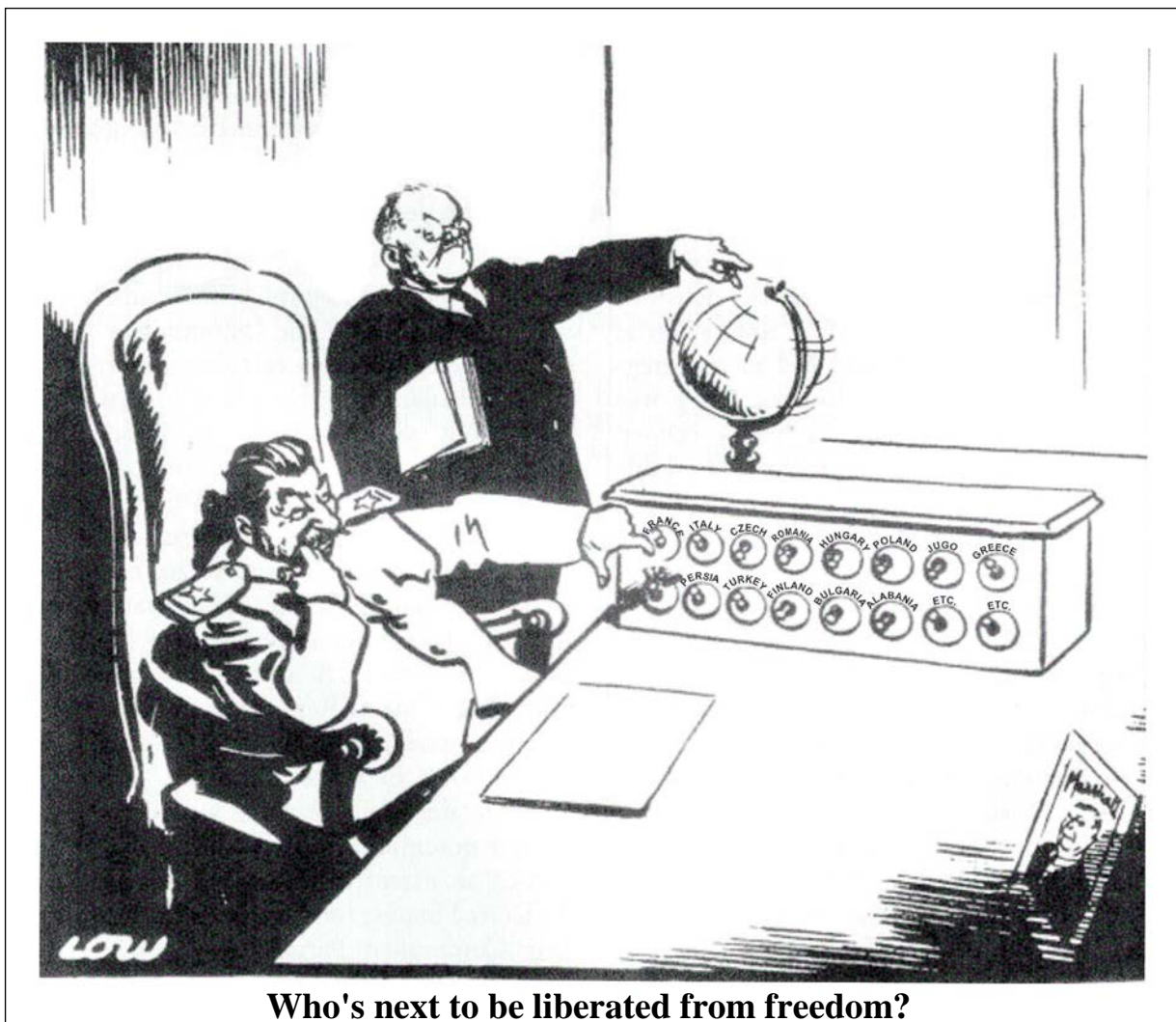
**Simon Willis was born in England in 1946 to a British mother and an American father. He moved to the USA in 1950 and recalls his childhood in that country**

We were brought up to hate the communists – 'Commies' we called them, both the Chinese and the Russians. With the Ruskies [Russians] it was the atomic bomb we feared most. My worst, recurring nightmare was nuclear war. I used to wake up in a sweat thinking that it had started and wondering where we were going to hide. I dreamed of those great mushroom clouds of A-bombs [atom bombs] going off somewhere in the distance, waiting for the blast, then the radiation. We'd been told that we'd have four minutes warning of an A-bomb attack – four minutes from the time the siren sounded to the moment the bomb went off – and my friends and I used to discuss what we'd do in those last four minutes. We joked about stuffing ourselves with ice-cream, but really I think that deep down we were really scared. Quite a few of us really thought the world was going to end – blown to bits by the Commies. It would be their fault of course.

[Ross, Stewart *Witness to History: The Collapse of Communism*, Heinemann, 2004, page 13]

**SOURCE E**

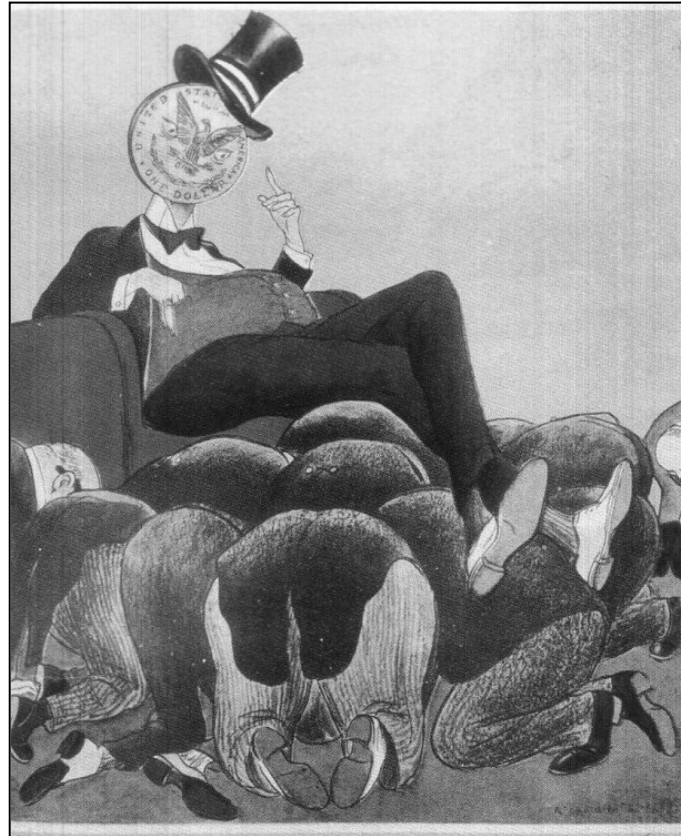
**A cartoon entitled *Who's next to be liberated from freedom?* by David Low, a British cartoonist, and published in March 1948. Stalin is seated while his Foreign Minister, Molotov, stands spinning the globe. On Stalin's desk is a photograph of the United States Secretary of State George Marshall**



[Condon, Christopher *The Making of the Modern World*, Macmillan, 1987, page 465]

**SOURCE F**

**A Soviet cartoon by Krokodil published in 1948 shows European countries on their knees worshipping their US paymaster**



[Waugh, Steven *Essential Modern World History*, Nelson Thornes, 2001, page 239]

**SOURCE G**

**An extract from a speech delivered by former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill speaking in the presence of President Truman in Fulton, USA on 6 March 1946**

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended. Behind that line lie the states of central and eastern Europe. The Communist parties have been raised to power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian\* control. This is certainly not the liberated\* Europe we fought to build. Nor is it one which allows permanent peace.

[Walsh, Ben *Modern World History*, John Murray, 1996, page 249]

\* totalitarian = authoritarian and dictatorial

\* liberated = freed

**SOURCE H**

**Stalin's response to Churchill's speech (1946)**

Mr Churchill now takes the stance of warmonger\* and he is not alone. He has friends not only in Britain, but in the United States. As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union's loss of life has been several times greater than that of Britain and the USA put together. And so what can be surprising about the fact that the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, is trying to see that governments loyal to the Soviet Union, should exist in the countries through which the Germans made their invasion. We are not expansionist.\*

[Waugh, Steven *Essential Modern World History*, Nelson Thornes, 2001, page 233]

\* warmonger = aggressor; looking to start a war

\* expansionist = empire building