



INTERNATIONAL SECONDARY 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.**

---

## SECTION A DISCURSIVE ESSAY

Answer **ONE** question from this section.

A discursive essay showing evidence of analysis, interpretation, explanation and argument is required. It should be approximately 800–900 words in length. **(You do not need to include a word count.)**

### QUESTION 1 COLD WAR

'The Cuban Missile Crisis was the closest the world has come to nuclear war and was characterised by acts of brinkmanship.'

To what extent is the above statement accurate?

**Markers must consider, and credit, ALL arguments presented by candidates where the evidence provided is significant and valid.**

#### Context (Briefly)

- Tension between the superpowers stretched beyond Europe into Latin America.
- The crisis which came closer than any other to a war between the superpowers was the Cuban Missile Crisis, which happened in Latin America.
- Cuba is an island which lies about 160 kilometres off the coast of the United States.
- The country had traditionally been dominated by its more powerful neighbour.
- The USA maintained a large naval base on the island, at Guantanamo Bay.
- American companies controlled much of the economic wealth of Cuba.
- In addition, the USA bought the bulk of Cuba's main export crop, sugar.
- At the same time most Cubans lived in extreme poverty.

#### Content:

- In 1952 a dictator called Batista seized power.
- He abolished the constitution, closed parliament and brutally suppressed all opposition.
- But his government had support from the army, large landowners and wealthy industrialists and bankers.
- It also had the support of the USA because Batista was anti-communist.
- The crisis developed after a communist revolution in Cuba gave the USSR uncomfortably close access to the USA.
  - **This was a direct challenge to the determination of the USA to contain the spread of communism.**
- A group of revolutionaries, led by Fidel Castro, built up enough support to overthrow the government of Batista.
- Castro and his forces were welcomed by huge demonstration in the capital, Havana, in **January 1959**.
  - **A feature of the Cold War was the tactic of 'brinkmanship' – each side tried to see how much it could get away with before the opposing side would react, pushing the opponent to the edge/brink.**
  - The US government was suspicious of the new Cuban government under Castro, especially after Castro started introducing **socialist reforms**, such as the redistribution of land, the **collectivisation** of agriculture, and the **nationalisation** of transport and some industries.

- Many of the reforms affected mainly American investors.
- The USA responded by banning Cuban Sugar imports to America and breaking off all **diplomatic** relations with Cuba in order to force the Cuban government to change its policies.
- The USA became more hostile when Castro began trade negotiations with the USSR.
  - In addition, thousands of Soviet technicians and advisors started arriving in Cuba.
  - The US became convinced that the Castro regime was communist.
  - **At the height of the Cold War, the Americans certainly did not want a communist country so close to the United States.**
- They also feared that the Soviet Union would use Cuba to spread its ideology through Central and South America.
- They therefore secretly started planning to invade Cuba and overthrow Castro.
- Many middle-class Cubans, who were also opposed to the socialist reforms, had fled from Cuba and gone to live in the USA.
- With the backing from the CIA, an armed force of these exiles invaded Cuba.
- They landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba in April **1961**.
- But their attempt to overthrow Castro's government was a total failure.
  - After this, Castro announced that he was a communist and turned increasingly to the USSR for economic and diplomatic support.
- To prevent another US-backed invasion of Cuba, and to co-operate with his new ally, Castro agreed to allow the USSR to build missile bases in Cuba.
- In October 1962 an American spy plane photographed these missile bases on the island.
- The missiles were being transported by ship from the USSR.
  - This created great alarm in Washington, because, once they were in place, every major US city would be in range of the missiles.
  - Kennedy set up EXCOM – advised on a number of possible responses: invasion/air strike/diplomacy/withdrawal/blockade.
- To avoid direct confrontation, JFK set up a naval blockade to prevent the Russian ships from reaching Cuba.
- For a tense few days, the world awaited the Soviet reaction.
  - **Brinkmanship in play**
  - **US forces were placed on full alert and the world waited to see whether there would be a clash at sea which would lead to a nuclear war.**
- However, once they reached the blockade the US ships turned back.
- The Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, was not willing to risk war and was prepared to negotiate.
- The superpowers then reached an agreement: the USSR would dismantle the missile bases, if the USA lifted its blockade and guaranteed not to invade Cuba.
- The USA also agreed, secretly, that it would remove its own missile based from Turkey.
  - **The Cuban Missile Crisis was 'brinkmanship' in action.**
- **It showed that neither superpower was willing to risk a nuclear war.**
- However, when realised just how close to war they had come, the two leaders agreed to set up a 'hot-line', a direct telephone link between the **Kremlin** and the **White House**.
- They also signed a **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**, agreeing not to test nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.
- Cuban Missile crisis resulted in **Détente**.

[70]

OR

**QUESTION 2 UHURU: AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

'Jomo Kenyatta, father and founder of the Kenyan nation was individually responsible for Kenya attaining its independence in 1963.'

To what extent is the above statement accurate?

**Markers must consider, and credit, ALL arguments presented by candidates where the evidence provided is significant and valid.**

**Context (briefly)**

- Large-scale British involvement in Kenya was part of the scramble for Africa.
- Britain granted control over the East African Coast.
- British East African Protectorate becoming an official colony in 1905.
- Kenya became a British colony in 1895. Large numbers of white settlers occupied the most fertile agricultural land in the Kikuyu Highlands at the expense of the Kikuyu people.
- Africans resisted British rule at the time of occupation (Primary Resistance) but were defeated.
- Mistreatment of Kenyans continued after the first World War.
- Continued to resist colonial rule through organisations like the Kikuyu Association (KA) established in 1920 and Young Kikuyu Association (YKA), in 1921, and the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1924.
- Prelude to the role of Kenyatta and KANU.

**Content:****Early Resistance to 1939**

- **Harry Thuku**, one of Kenya's earliest nationalists was, by 1916, keenly following the developments in America
- Influenced by the philosophy of Marcus Garvey as were other nationalists after World War I.
- Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Jomo Kenyatta and Nelson Mandela.
- When Thuku formed the **East African Association (EAA)** in 1921 these ideals were uppermost in his mind.
- The EAA tried to extend beyond ethnic groups and tried to represent Kenya as a whole. However, its membership was mainly Kikuyu including **Kenyatta**.
- Set up to rival the Chief dominated Kikuyu Association.
  - The organisation passed resolutions on **kipande** system (all men forced to wear identity discs), forced labour, taxation and education. Thuku cabled these resolutions directly to the Colonial Office in London.
  - Thuku was arrested on 14 March 1922. This arrest sparked a mass demonstration in Nairobi. Police opened fire killing 21 Africans.
- **Thuku was deported and his organisation largely collapsed.**
- **The Kavirondo Tax Payers and Welfare Association**
  - Formed in 1922. Passive resistance by educated elite.
- Had the following demands:
  - Kenya to remain a protectorate and not a colony.
  - Reduction of hut taxes – women to be exempt
  - Provision of education in Central Nyanza

- Title deeds to be given to African land owners
- Abolition of forced labour and the **kipande** system (document that details basic information, finger prints and employment).
- Establish administrative structures to replace the paramount chiefs who were seen as collaborators.
- Better wages
- **Lack of early success**
  - They lacked a national outlook since they were ethnic (tribal based/oriented/urban based).
  - Most of them were confined to one or two ethnic communities except EAA. (East African Association).
- Most of them received material and moral support from the Asians
- Mission-Educated African young men led them. For example, Harry Thuku, Okwiri and Mwambichi.
- They were formed in response to socio-economic and land problems of various ethnic groups.
  - **They all agitated for an end to European exploitation and oppression rather than demand for political independence.**
- **Achievements**
  - Trans-ethnic. First nationalist organisation.
  - Gained mass attention especially when Thuku was arrested.
  - Replaced by Kikuyu Central Association led by Kenyatta.
- **Role of mass political parties**
- Token representation in Kenyan Legislative Council – Eliud Mathu first African to be nominated.
- Led to rise in protest. **Kenyatta** became President of **the Kenyan African Union** in 1947. Initially an extra-parliamentary support group for Eliud Mathu in 1944.
  - **Instrumental in politicising the Kenyan youth.**
- **Role of the Mau Mau rebellion.**
- **Role of Kenyatta and his involvement in Mau Mau**
- Used their recent military experience to organize guerrilla resistance groups amongst the landless **Kikuyu** squatters who had been evicted from the best farming areas to make way for white settlers.
- **Kenya African Union (KAU)** from 1944 to 1952.
- The Kenyan Federation of Registered Trade Unions came into being in 1952. Became known as the Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL).
- **Roles of women** in Kenya during the struggle for independence in Kenya.
- They supported political associations for example they supported Harry Thuku and the East African Association (EAA)
  - **KAU** was banned by the colonial government from 1952 to 1960.
  - **Was militant and advocated African Nationalism.**
  - It was re-established by James Gichuru in 1960 and renamed **KANU** on 14 May 1960 after a merger with **Tom Mboya's Kenya Independence Movement.**
- 1960 talks at Lancaster House conference Kenya's constitutional framework and independence negotiated.
- **Kenyatta was in favour of a nationalist solution but other representatives wanted a federalist solution as they feared domination by the Kikuyu.**
- KANU and KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union) coalition.

- 1962 Kenyatta is released and joins **KANU**.  
**Kenyatta** was the leader of KANU. He favoured a strong Central Government in a Socialist society.
- 1963 Elections for independence. KANU won a majority vote. Kenyatta became Prime Minister and then President in 1964.
- Combination of political groups not just one individual that was responsible for Kenya's independence.

**SECTION B EXTENDED WRITING**

Answer **ONE** question from this section.

The extended writing should be approximately 350–400 words in length. You should use your knowledge, and you may refer to the stimulus to answer the questions. **(You do not need to include a word count.)**

**QUESTION 3 COLD WAR**

The cartoon below, drawn by Ed Waltman and published in 1964, shows the irony of the conflict in Vietnam. The United States had the most advanced nuclear arsenal when this cartoon was created.



[Source: <<https://iowaculture.gov/history/education/educator-resources/primary-source-sets/cold-war-vietnam/stick-em-june-9-1964>> (accessed 16 March 2022)]

Explain the impact of President Johnson's policy of escalation in Vietnam between 1964 and 1969 by answering the following questions:

- (a) Why did the United States Congress pass the Tonkin Resolution in 1964?
  - (b) What impact did the United States military strategy have on the Vietnamese people?
  - (c) How successful was the United States in defeating the Vietcong by 1969?
- Kennedy succeeded by his vice-president Lyndon Johnson in 1963.
  - Johnson was an enthusiastic supporter of increased American involvement in the Vietnam war.
  - By end of 1963 there were 1500 American soldiers in Vietnam.
    - August 1964 Johnson claimed that North Vietnamese gunboats had attacked American warships on two occasion in the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of North Vietnam.

- Used **'these incidents'** as an excuse to pass the **Gulf of Tonkin** Resolution through the United States Congress.
- Resolution gave Johnson the right to do almost anything to protect American forces in Vietnam.
- Introducing the policy of escalation.
- Possibly both incidents did not take place.
- **Operation Rolling Thunder**
  - Name given to the American bombing campaign directed at North Vietnam.
  - **America claimed it was only for industrial and military targets, many civilians were killed.**
  - Failed as North Vietnam was mostly farming country.
- **The 'search and destroy' policy**
  - Find the enemy and destroy them.
  - Problem to identify the enemy and destroy them.
  - Innocent civilians were the victims of the bombs.
  - Led to atrocities.
- **Technological weapons**
  - Science to warfare problem finding the VC in the jungle.
  - 'Agent Orange' destroyed more than a million hectares of forest.
  - Caused deformities in babies being born and cancer in the soldiers who had fought in the war.
  - 'Agent Blue' sprayed over crops to deprive the guerrillas of food but the peasants starved land remained infertile for many years.
  - Use of napalm on civilians damage the image of the Americans.
  - **Tet offensive briefly** in terms of impact on the civilian population. \*
- **The Mai Lai Massacre**
  - March 1968 American troops belonging to a particular unit entered the village of Mai Lai.
  - Americans had been informed that it was a VC base and the entire population was massacred.
  - Consisted mainly of women, children and old men. Raped women before killing them.
  - American military strategy was to raise the body count.
  - Between 347 and 504 were estimated to have been killed of which only three were known members of the VC.
- **Anti-War Movement**
  - BY 1967 anti-war movement had grown.
  - Civil Rights Movement- Martin Luther King Jr became an outspoken critic of the Vietnam War. Many black and white students.
  - 1967 Muhammed Ali refused to join US armed forces on religious grounds. Member of the Nation of Islam and stripped of his title.
  - A significantly higher proportion of black than white men in the armed forces.
  - More difficult to avoid the draft.
  - Draft burning became a regular feature of anti-war demonstrations.
  - First televised war came to American people's homes.
  - **1967** – 100 000 anti-war protestors marched to the Pentagon.
  - **1967** – Woodstock music festival 'hippie' culture slogan 'Make love, not war'.
- **By 1969 military strategy was not successful.**
- **Did not win 'hearts and minds' of the Vietnamese.**
  - Images of napalm victims were seen throughout the world.
  - Did much damage to the American cause in Vietnam.
  - Tet Offensive **1968** propaganda victory for the Communists.
  - The American people had been told by their leaders that the war was being won.

- Disillusionment and opposition to the war set in.
- 1969 Mai Lai massacre sent waves of shock and horror around the world and in the United States.
- **1969 Johnson does not stand for re-election.**

OR

#### QUESTION 4 UHURU: AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The photograph below, published by National Archives UK, Shows the harvest processing of cocoa beans in Ghana in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



[Source: <[https://Cocoa\\_production\\_in\\_Ghana#/media/File:The\\_National\\_Archives\\_UK-CO\\_1g1069-46-5.jpg](https://Cocoa_production_in_Ghana#/media/File:The_National_Archives_UK-CO_1g1069-46-5.jpg)> (Accessed 16 March 2022)]

Explain the significance of the cocoa farmers' strike and consumer boycott in the Gold Coast in 1937 by answering the following questions:

- (a) What were the causes of the cocoa farmers' strike and consumer boycott of 1937?
- (b) Explain the methods of resistance used by the African cocoa farmers?
- (c) How successful was the cocoa farmers' strike against British colonial authority by 1938?

- **Cocoa** was essential to the economy of the British colony in the Gold Coast which is now Ghana counted for over 60% of exports.
- **However, the European-dominated trade and the exploitative patterns of trade they faced often frustrated the many Africans involved in the process.**
  - In attempts to achieve more equal relationships Africans held large 'holdups' in the Gold Coast in 1924 and 1930-1931, during which they refused to sell their cocoa to European firms. Neither attempt succeeded.
  - In mid-1937, the two large firms buying cocoa in the Gold Coast, Cadbury and the United African Company, initiated an agreement regarding the terms of cocoa purchases.

- Ultimately, 13 firms, comprising 94% of cocoa purchasers in the Gold Coast joined the agreement.
- Firms felt that African brokers were abusing their power as they would often demand advances from the farmers and manipulate prices to get a larger profit.
- **To reduce the power of the brokers – firms agree to lessen competition and set prices.**
- **August 1937 firms inform the colonial authorities of the agreement, hope to get support from Governor Sir Arnold Hodson, but he was concerned that it would cause protest among the Gold Coast Residents.**
  - Agreement became public in early October and was met with widespread dismay.
  - Nothing to stop them from being exploited.
  - Over 5 000 cocoa farmers signed the petition opposing the agreement within the first week.
  - Notable decline in cocoa sales as holdups began to take place.
- **African organisers held a conference on 28th October and 4th November to organise resistance.**
  - **Agreed to boycott European goods**, although they excluded necessities including sugar, kerosene, matches and tobacco.
- **Farmers that produced cocoa, the brokers that served as middlemen and chiefs who also served as producers and brokers all participated in the resistance.**
  - Holdup extended throughout the Eastern Province, Ashanti and part of the central province.
  - **Colonial authorities chose to remain neutral.**
  - Saw this as purely commercial and expected both sides to cave in quickly- colonial authorities tried to mediate an end to the holdout.
  - Africans were moderately pleased but Hodson recommended a one year period to test the agreement.
  - **Protesters reacted furiously and held conferences on 25th and 26th of November to ensure continued refusal to sell to European firms.**
  - Boycott well enforced by the leaders of the movement who primary consisted of brokers and chiefs.
  - **Already by October sales of cocoa were down by 60%and by February the following year 90%.**
  - However, the poorer farmers began to feel the strain of refusing sales.
  - Lacked income and had little to fall back on.
  - Cocoa stored began to rot, risking future profits.
- **Holdup had benefitted the interests of brokers and chiefs that acted as brokers for the farmers.**
- **Chiefs and brokers prevented farmers from defecting.**
  - Some financial support and created a few methods of sale bypassing European firms.
  - Unity among African helped farmers to remain firm but chiefs often used intimidation and traditional authority to ensure compliance.
  - **Firms tried unsuccessfully to persuade Africans to abandon the campaign.**
  - Towards the end of the holdup farmers began burning stores of cocoa to demonstrate their continued opposition to the buyer's agreement.
  - **Hodson** became concerned about the holdup and created a commission in 1938 to explore resolutions to the conflict.

- **The commission released the Nowell report in September 1938.**
- Placed the bulk of the blame on brokers and acknowledged legitimate grievances for both farmers and European firms.
- **Brokers never adopted the report's recommendations** and protests did not resume.
  - Did recommend the end of the buyers' agreement.
  - **Buyers' agreement did officially end, the colonial authorities created a Cocoa Marketing Board that did little to change the underlying problems.**

**Total: 100 marks**