This addendum consists of 14 pages.
QUESTION 1:  HOW DID EAST AND WEST BERLINERS RESPOND TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BERLIN WALL IN 1961?

SOURCE 1A

This extract was written by JL Gaddis, an American historian, in 2005. It outlines the reasons for the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the reaction of both Nikita Khrushchev and John F Kennedy.

By 1961 some 2,7 million East Germans had fled through the open border to West Berlin and then on to West Germany. The overall population of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) had declined since 1949, from 19 million to 17 million.

This was a major crisis for communism itself, as Soviet Vice-Premier, Anastas Mikoya, warned the East Germans in July 1961, '... If socialism does not win in the GDR; if communism does not prove itself as superior and vital here, then we have not won. The issue is this fundamental to us ...'

Khrushchev (the Soviet leader) admitted that 'more than 300 000 people, in fact the best and most qualified people from the GDR, left the country ... The East German economy would have collapsed if we hadn't done something soon against the mass flight ... So the (Berlin) Wall was the only remaining option.'

It went up on the night of 12 to 13 August 1961, first as a barbed wire barrier, but then as a concrete block wall some twelve feet (about four metres) high and almost a hundred miles (almost 155 km) long, protected by guard towers, minefields, police dogs and orders to 'shoot to kill' anyone who tried to cross it. Khrushchev's decision did stabilise the situation as far as the Cold War superpowers relationship was concerned. With West Berlin isolated from East Berlin and East Germany, he had no further need to try to force the Western powers out of the city ...

'It's not a very nice solution,' Kennedy (President of the United States of America) acknowledged, 'but a wall is a lot better than a war.' The President could not resist observing, though, when he himself visited the Berlin Wall in June 1963 that 'we never had to put up a wall to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us'.

[From: The Cold War by JL Gaddis]
The following extract focuses on the events in Berlin after 13 August 1961, the day the East German government started to build the Berlin Wall. It is an eyewitness account by John Wilkes, a 19-year-old serviceman in the United States Air Force who was stationed in Berlin during 1961.

The atmosphere in West Berlin up until this fateful day was positive, even carefree, despite the fact that Berlin was located well inside East Germany and was surrounded by East German and Soviet army barracks and airfields ...

Owing partly to this upbeat atmosphere and partly to my youthful naivety (innocence), I could not believe the East German border guards would actually shoot civilians if they tried to escape East Berlin once the [Berlin] Wall was under construction. For a few days after 13 August they didn't. But East Germans knew they had to act fast if they wanted to get out.

The first to jump the barbed wire, on 22 August, was an officer in the East German army. Almost immediately, East Berliners trying to reach West Berlin were jumping out of upper-floor apartment windows and swimming across the rivers and lakes in the city. The first East Berliner to be shot to death by a border guard, on 24 August, 11 days after the [Berlin] Wall was begun, was a man swimming across a downtown canal.

After that incident, shootings became common. The most widely publicised killing was that of Peter Fechter, an 18-year-old East German bricklayer. On 17 August 1962 he was shot just as he was climbing over the second wall and about to reach safety. A crowd quickly gathered on both sides of the Wall. Mortally wounded, Fechter had fallen back into no-man's land. Worried about starting a shooting war, the East German border guards and the United States soldiers who arrived at the scene dithered (hesitated).

No one moved to help Fechter, who lay moaning (groaning) and begging for water. He bled to death in an hour before hundreds of people on both sides of the Wall.

SOURCE 1C

This cartoon was drawn by an American, Don Wright. It shows the Soviet leader, Khrushchev, standing on top of the Berlin Wall with his hands reaching out over the barbed wire and dead bodies, claiming, 'See How Many are Staying on Our Side.'

[From: The Cold War: Opposing Viewpoints by W Dudley (ed.)]
This is an extract from an article that was published on 23 August 1961 in Der Spiegel (a West German newspaper) entitled 'City Commanders: they did not hear a thing'. It focuses on how West Berlin citizens protested against the building of the Berlin Wall.

Applause followed the young men as they made their way slowly through the packed crowd to the podium (stage). The words on their large signs were visible from a distance: 'Doesn't the West know what to do?', 'Where are the protective powers?' and 'Betrayed by the West?'

The questions remain unanswered. Even West Berlin Mayor, Willy Brandt, a speaker at the protest rally against sealing off the eastern sector, failed to comfort the crowd of 250 000. Unable to conceal his bitterness over the West's failure to react, the mayor shouted hoarsely (roughly) into the microphone: 'Berlin expects more than just words!'

... Both the border crisis and the crisis of trust (between West Berliners and the Allies) began almost simultaneously (at the same time), in the early morning hours of 13 August, Berlin's Black Sunday, when Soviet army tanks rolled towards the sector borders and the Western powers were hardly able to conceal their lack of concern for the latest Berlin crisis. The American, English and French militaries took little notice of Ulbricht's (the East German leader) gathering troops.

... The disappointment of the embittered (angered) Berliners over the tepid (weak) reaction of their Western protectors grew so great that last Wednesday ... 88 hours after the transformation of the Soviet zone into a concentration camp ... special security measures were implemented to control the protest rally arranged by West Berlin's Senator for the Interior, Joachim Lipschitz, at the Schöneberg district town hall.

Some 12 000 West Berlin police were ordered to use water cannons and rubber truncheons (batons) to stop demonstrations (by West Berlin citizens) that cropped up (happened) at Potsdamer Platz, the Brandenburg Gate and even at the American headquarters in the district of Zehlendorf.


SOURCE 2A

The following extract describes the involvement of Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the Soviet Union in the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale that was fought in 1987 and 1988.

In August 1987 Angolan and Cuban brigades (units of soldiers) under a Russian commander began a large-scale attack on UNITA. The South African troops who were rushed to the rescue made use of tanks for the first time since World War II. The fighting that raged to the north of Mavinga has been called the greatest battle to date in Africa south of the Sahara. The South Africans, supported by UNITA, halted the Angolans’ advance on the Lomba River and then drove them back towards Cuito Cuanavale, where the Angolan soldiers dug in and resisted obstinately (stubbornly). They also began to get increasing support from their air force while the South African air force began to lose air control. The Chief of the South African Defence Force (SADF) thought that Cuito Cuanavale could be taken, but that it would cost the lives of about 300 white soldiers as well as a great number of black soldiers from the South West African Territorial Force and UNITA. Such a price was regarded as too high and it was decided to leave Cuito Cuanavale in Angolan possession ...

... Cuito Cuanavale was a turning point in the history of Southern Africa. The stalemate there led all parties to think again. It was clear to all that victory was not in sight and that to continue the war would lead to continually greater losses. South Africa found it ever more difficult to justify the enormous (huge) cost of the war in Angola, amounting to over R1 million a day. Above all, the lengthening list of young men dying in Angola and the increasing militarisation of South Africa was arousing opposition. At the same time Angola yearned (desired) for peace so that her war-damaged economy, infrastructure and human relations might be repaired.

[From: South Africa in the 20th Century by BJ Liebenberg and SB Spies (eds.)]
General Geldenhuys said that the South African Defence Force (SADF) had strictly limited objectives when its forces became substantially engaged with UNITA in south-eastern Angola in July 1987. 'It was not our intention to start a war that might end in Luanda and go on forever. We did not want to make Angola our Vietnam. Our aim, after crossing into Angola, was to achieve certain limited tasks and then get out.'

Geldenhuys denied that Cuito Cuanavale was ever an objective of strategic importance for the SADF. 'Cuito Cuanavale was put into the limelight by the Cubans. I actually forbade the Chief of the Army [Kat Liebenberg] to take Cuito Cuanavale. I made just one concession: If our operations so developed that Cuito Cuanavale fell into our lap and we could capture it without fighting for it, then our troops could occupy it.

'Additionally we had to be sure we would be able to defend it, because there is no point in capturing a place if you cannot hold it.'

Geldenhuys said there were several ways in which to argue about who won the war for Africa. The best way was to look at the initial objectives of each side. 'The Cuban-FAPLA objective was to capture Mavinga and Jamba. They didn't accomplish it. Our objective was to prevent them from taking Mavinga and Jamba. We succeeded.'

[From: The War for Africa – Twelve Months that Transformed a Continent by F Bridgland]
SOURCE 2C

The following statistics were provided by General Geldenhuys. It shows the military losses that Cuba/FAPLA and the SADF suffered during the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale (1987 to 1988). No figures were available for the UNITA forces that, at the time, fought alongside the SADF.

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[From: The SADF in The Border War: 1966–1989 by L Scholtz]
SOURCE 2D

The following extract is taken from an article, 'Cuito Cuanavale, Angola – 25th Anniversary of a Historical African Battle', that was written by Ronnie Kasrils on 24 April 2008. Kasrils was a member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) during the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

A master stroke was the rapid construction of airstrips by Cuban engineers at Cahama and Xangongo, within 300 kilometres of the Namibian border, which brought the strategic Ruacana and Calueque hydroelectric dam systems on the Cunene River within striking distance. Soviet MIG-23s (war planes), flown by Cuban pilots, had demonstrated their superiority over South Africa's aged Mirage fighters (war planes) and now that they commanded the skies the network of SADF bases in northern Namibia was at their mercy ...

The end for the SADF was signalled on 27 June 1988. A squadron of (Soviet) MIGs bombed the Ruacana and Calueque installations, cutting the water and power supply to Ovamboland and its military bases, and killing eleven young South African conscripts (recruits) ...

The Cubans could have marched into Namibia but exercised restraint (self-control). All parties, including the United States and Soviet Union, were looking for compromise and a way forward in negotiations that had previously been going nowhere. Castro was not looking for a bloody encounter which would have cost many lives on both sides, and neither were apartheid's generals and political leaders. They could afford casualties even less than the Cubans, considering the popular mass struggle, escalating armed operations within South Africa by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), and a growing resistance amongst white conscripts against military service.

QUESTION 3: HOW DID CONSERVATIVE WHITE AMERICANS RESPOND TO THE INTEGRATION OF CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL IN LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, IN 1957?

Background information:

Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, was built for exclusive use by white American students. This was in line with the policy of segregation that was practised in the Southern States of America. Some African Americans challenged these segregatory policies in terms of the Supreme Court ruling in the *Brown versus Board of Education* case of 1954, which stated that ‘separate educational facilities are inherently unequal’. In response, the Board of Central High School accepted this court ruling and began the process of integration in September 1957.

**SOURCE 3A**

This source outlines how the Little Rock Nine from Arkansas were recruited as the first African American students to attend Central High School in September 1957. They were prepared and orientated for school integration by Daisy Bates, the president of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP).

Despite the opposition, nine students registered to be the first African Americans to attend Central High School. Minnijean Brown, Elizabeth Eckford, Ernest Green, Thelma Mothershed, Melba Patillo, Gloria Ray, Terrence Roberts, Jefferson Thomas and Carlotta Walls had been recruited by Daisy Gaston Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP and co-publisher, with her husband, LC Bates, of the *Arkansas State Press*, an influential African-American newspaper.

Daisy Bates and others from the Arkansas NAACP carefully vetted (evaluated) the group of students and determined if they all possessed the strength and determination to face the resistance they would encounter.

In the weeks prior to the start of the new school year, the students participated in intensive counselling sessions, guiding them on what to expect once classes began and how to respond to anticipated hostile (unfriendly) situations. The group came to be known as the Little Rock Nine.

SOURCE 3B

This is an extract from a speech that the Governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, delivered on 2 September 1957. In this television address he told the people of Arkansas how he felt about the integration of white public schools in Little Rock, Arkansas.

We are now faced with a far different problem, and that is the forcible integration of the public schools of Little Rock against the overwhelming sentiment (feeling) of the people of the area. This problem gives every evidence and indication that the attempt to integrate forcibly will bring about widespread disorder and violence.

There is another aspect which I must recognise, and that is the fact that this particular problem and its solution is not only statewide, but nationwide in scope. This, of course, is most unfortunate, but it is a situation not of my making.

The plan of integration now being forced upon us by the federal courts was set up by the Little Rock School Board and its superintendent, and approved by a federal court prior to expressions of the people, which have been made manifest (clear) since that time. These expressions of the people have been clearly indicated by the greatest, time-honored principles of democracy, by the exercise of the franchise (right) of the ballot box, and the expressions of the members of the legislature who are elected by and are the representatives of the people.

SOURCE 3C

This extract focuses on an interview that Daisy Bates conducted with Dr Benjamin Fine, former education editor of The New York Times. He gave an account of what occurred on the first day of integration at Central High School, 4 September 1957.

A few days after the (Arkansas) National Guard blocked the negro* (African-American) children’s entrance to the school, Ben showed up at my house.

'Daisy, they spat in my face. I've been a marked man ever since the day Elizabeth tried to enter Central. I never told you what happened that day. I tried not to think about it. Maybe I was ashamed to admit to you or to myself that white men and women could be so cruel.

I was standing in front of the school that day. Suddenly there was a shout: "They're here! The niggers* are coming!" I saw a sweet little girl who looked about fifteen, walking alone. She tried several times to pass through the guards. The last time she tried, they put their bayonets (sharp knife attached to the barrel of a rifle) in front of her. The women were shouting, "Get her! Lynch her!" The men were yelling, "Go home ..." She finally made it to the bus stop. I sat down beside her and said, "I'm a reporter from The New York Times, may I have your name?" She just sat there, her head down. Tears were streaming down her cheeks from under her sunglasses. Daisy, I don't know what made me put my arm around her, lifting her chin, saying, "Don't let them see you cry."

There must have been five hundred around us by this time. I vaguely remember someone hollering (shouting), "Get a rope and drag her over to this tree."

The irony of it all, Daisy, is that during all this time the National Guardsmen made no effort to protect Elizabeth or to help me. Instead, they threatened to have me arrested for inciting to riot.'

Elizabeth, whose dignity and control in the face of jeering mobsters had been filmed by television cameras and recorded in pictures flashed to newspapers over the world, had overnight become a national heroine. During the next few days newspaper reporters besieged (surrounded) her house, wanting to talk to her.'

* Nigger/Negro: A derogatory (offensive) term used to refer to African Americans

[From: The Long Shadow of Little Rock by D Bates]
SOURCE 3D

This visual source is a leaflet that was designed and distributed by the Capital Citizens Council (CCC). It was an organisation that was established by conservative white Americans who lived in Little Rock, Arkansas. Their aim was to oppose the integration of Central High School in 1957.

National Guardsmen that were deployed by President Eisenhower in 1957.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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


http://monthlyreview.org/2013/04/01/cuito-cuanavale-angola/ (12 November 2014)

http://southerncolloqhrhetoric.net/web/resources/Faubus570902.pdf (1 November 2014)

http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=718# (2 November 2014)

http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/central-high-school-integration (1 November 2014)

http://www.santacruzsentinel.com/ci_18674221 (8 November 2014)

