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SESSION NO: 1  
TOPIC: THE COLD WAR  
QUESTION FOCUS: ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

Learner note: This is section one in Paper 1 and it will be set as source-based questions.

SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 14 minutes  (Taken from NSC Additional Exemplar 2008 Paper 1)

Learner Note: Consider the mark allocation. Facts x Marks = Total marks. Ensure that you write enough in order to obtain full marks. For question 1.1.5 you need to write a well-substantiated answer in order to receive full marks.

Learner note: When you read through the sources ensure that you look for key words and underline or highlight these words to make it easier when you refer back to the source when you answer the questions.

SOURCE A

The following source is part of an interview that was conducted with Charles Wheeler, a West German citizen. He gives his views on the conditions that prevailed in East Berlin and West Berlin in the early 1960s. Adapted from www.gwu.edu/nsarchiv/coldwar/interviews.


... East Berlin struggled to recover from the effects of the Second World War and was feeling the effects of Russia extracting reparations (payments) from East Germany. In fact very little rebuilding took place and despite a huge housing shortage, no building of houses took place, yet money was spent on building prestigious projects like the Communist Party headquarters. The standard of living was poor compared to the West, wages were low, and there were no consumer goods in the shops, only endless jars of pickles. What production there was, was either going to the Soviet Union or being exported in the interests of the Soviet Union. Conditions here were desperate and people were indeed left destitute.

2. Conditions in West Berlin in the early 1960s as viewed by Wheeler.

On the other hand West Berlin was a prosperous Western city that was rebuilt as a result of assistance from the Marshall Plan and assistance from other European states. The result of this was evident in a number of ways such as, many people I knew were employed, they enjoyed a good quality of life, most shops were well stocked with several goods and services and they bustled with shoppers. Moreover,
there was freedom to travel and unemployment was really very low. Many people were happy with this state of affairs. It was difficult to disentangle politics from economics. West Berlin thrived as a democracy and enjoyed the fruits of freedom, while East Berlin could not develop because of communist influence.

**Learner note:** For Question 1.3 you can choose 'justified' or 'not justified'. You need to support your choice with relevant supporting evidence. A mark is not given for saying 'justified' or 'not justified.' You need to substantiate/support your answer. You must write supporting evidence in order to obtain full marks despite the mark allocation indicated as 1 x 3.

**Learner note:** For Question 1.4 "...to what extent" means that you have to state how propaganda might have influenced Wheeler's response. Note that he is from West Germany. How would that influence him?

**Learner note:** For Question 1.6 you must compare the lives of people in East Berlin with that of people in West Berlin. You must look for similar or different aspects in the source. When you answer clearly state if there are differences e.g. "In West Berlin...as opposed to in East Berlin." However, if there are any similarities you can refer to the sources as "Both sources indicate..."

1.1  What were the TWO reasons for the poor economic state of East Germany according to Wheeler? (2 x 1)(2)

1.2  Whom does Wheeler hold responsible for the conditions in East Berlin? (1 x 1)(1)

1.3  Comment on whether people were justified in leaving East Berlin. (1 x 3)(3)

1.4  Explain to what extent propaganda was the motive for describing the levels of prosperity between East Berlin and West Berlin by Wheeler. (1 x 3)(3)

1.5  Explain the reliability of this source to a historian studying Cold War tensions in Europe. (1 x 2)(2)

1.6  Compare how the lives of people in East Berlin and West Berlin were influenced by the role of the USSR and USA respectively. (2 x 2)(4)

[13]
QUESTION 2: 16 minutes

(Taken from NSC Nov 2009 Paper 1)

SOURCE B

This is an article from Revealed: Tragic Victims of the Berlin Wall, taken from the website http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi.

Siegfried Noffke was a 22-year-old who had been separated from his family by a momentous, tragic event that took the world by surprise.

Noffke, an East Berliner, had been visiting relatives in capitalist West Berlin that evening. Like hundreds of others, he returned to a crossing point into East Berlin on the morning of 13 August but found it barred by border police with machine guns. His only chance of contact with his wife and daughter, left in the East, was to wave at them across the barbed-wire divide.

He decided that his only chance was to smuggle his family into the West. He joined a group that had started to dig a tunnel from West Berlin's Sebastian Strasse in the rundown district of Kreuzberg that aimed to break through under the Wall into East Berlin's Heinrich Heine Strasse, a distance of some 200 yards. On the morning of 28 June 1962, the tunnel diggers had almost reached their goal. Less than a yard of earth separated them from a cellar in a house in the East Berlin street. But when Noffke and his team broke through, they were met by East Germany's notorious Stasi secret police.

Noffke, one of the first out, was instantly machine-gunned to death. His colleagues were arrested and put on trial for 'anti-state provocation'. Unbeknown to the tunnel-diggers, Jurgen Henning, a Stasi mole, had joined the group early on and had kept the East Berlin authorities fully informed of their activities. Noffke's wife was jailed in East Germany for 'anti-Communist conspiracy'.

Learner note: When you see a difficult word such as "subservient" e.g. in Question 2.5 note that there is usually an adjective in brackets directly after the word.

2.1 How did Noffke become separated from his wife and daughter on 13 August 1961? (1 x 2)(2)

2.2 Explain whether Noffke's decision to smuggle his family into the West can be justified. (1 x 2)(2)

2.3 What does this source reveal about the East German Stasi secret police? (2 x 1)(2)

2.4 Why, do you think, the actions of the East German secret police cannot be justified? (1 x 3)(3)

2.5 In what way were the people of East Germany made subservient
(compliant/obedient) to a political ideology?  

2.6 Explain how reliable this source is to a journalist reporting on atrocities (evil deeds) committed by the East German secret police. 

[15]

QUESTION 3: 15 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Feb-March 2010 Paper 1)

Learner note: Cartoon analysis usually relates to cartoonist portraying or commenting on contemporary events. A cartoon is a biased look at a certain situation and the cartoonist usually makes a social comment about a person or a topic. Every aspect in a cartoon is important. Use the following key features as a guideline in order to analyze a cartoon:

- What is the cartoon about?
- Can you identify the people in the cartoon?
- How are the figures drawn? Are they exaggerated?
- Identify the objects in the cartoon e.g. the hammer and the circle in Source C on Molotov’s hat. What does this symbol mean?
- What is the meaning of the caption in the cartoon?
- Are there speech bubbles or other words in the cartoon?
- Where and when was the cartoon published?
- Who is the cartoonist?

SOURCE C

This cartoon by David Low illustrates Madam Molotov's School for Satellites.
3.1 Who are the learners in 'Madam Molotov's School for Satellites'?

3.2 What does the 'Hot-Dog Stand' represent?

3.3 In what way were the learners attracted to the 'Hot-Dog Stand'?

3.4 What is implied by Madam Molotov's comment: 'Noses Left'?

3.5 Explain whether the cartoonist is justified in illustrating Molotov in that manner.

**SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT**

**Learner note:** When you start to study, start with the definitions first. Write a list with all of the words that you need to study. Then write down an explanation for each from what you can remember. Check your answers and see which words you could not define properly. By studying the definitions first you will be able to understand the content better and it will also help you with source analysis within the exam.

**Essential Cold War Terminology**

Terminology taken from:
- http://history1900s.about.com/od/greateventsofthecentury/a/cwglossary.htm
- http://alphahistory.com/coldwar/cold-war-glossary/

**Arms race** Massive military build-up, especially of nuclear weapons, by both the Soviet Union and the United States in an effort to gain military superiority.

**Berlin airlift** A massive program using aircraft to supply Western zones of Berlin with food, fuel and coal, during the Soviet and East German blockade of the city.
**Berlin blockade**  Joseph Stalin and East Germany’s closure of land corridors and entry points to the Western zones of Berlin in 1948-49, an attempt to starve the Western allies out of the capital.

**Berlin Wall**  A fortified wall constructed around the Western zones of Berlin in 1961, to prevent the escape and defection of East Germans to the West. It remained a symbol of Cold War division until 1989.

**Brinkmanship**  Purposely escalating a dangerous situation to the limit (brink), while giving the impression that you are willing to go to war, in the hope of pressuring your opponents to back down.

**Checkpoint Charlie**  A crossing point between West Berlin and East Berlin when the Berlin Wall divided the city.


**Cold War**  The struggle for power between the Soviet Union and the United States that lasted from the end of World War II until the collapse of the Soviet Union. The war was considered "cold" because the aggression was ideological, economic, and diplomatic rather than a direct military conflict.

**Comecon**  Abbreviation for the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, a Soviet-led council that facilitated trade, economic, technical and scientific cooperation between Soviet bloc nations. It was formed in 1949 and disbanded in 1991.

**Cominform**  Abbreviation for the Communist Information Bureau, a committee of delegates from communist countries that met between 1947 and 1956. One function of Cominform was to ensure conformity and unity between Soviet bloc governments.

**Communism**  The form of government in the Soviet Union in which the state owned all means of production and was led by a centralized, authoritarian party. This was viewed as the antithesis of democracy in the United States. An economic theory in which collective ownership of property leads to a classless society.

**Containment**  Fundamental U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War in which the U.S. tried to contain Communism by preventing it from spreading to other countries.

**Detente**  The relaxing of tension between the superpowers.

**Deterrence theory**  A theory that proposed a massive build-up of military and weaponry in order to threaten a destructive counter-attack to any potential attack. The threat was intended to prevent, or deter, anyone from attacking.

**Espionage**  The practice of using agents and spies to advance government policy, through secret activities such as information-gathering, sabotage or assassination.

**Fallout shelter**  Underground structures, stocked with food and other supplies, that
were intended to keep people safe from radioactive fallout following a nuclear attack.

**Federal Republic of Germany** (also FRG or BRD) The formal title of the Western-aligned nation of West Germany between 1949 and 1990.

**German Democratic Republic** (also GDR or DDR) The formal title of the Soviet-aligned East Germany between 1949 and 1990.

**Grepo** East German armed police, responsible for guarding the Berlin Wall and other borders.

**KGB** ‘Committee for State Security’, formed 1954. The Soviet Union intelligence-gathering and espionage agency and secret police; the broad equivalent of the CIA.

**Isolationism** A foreign policy position, where a nation refuses to commit to alliances or ‘take sides’ in international disputes.

**Iron curtain** A term used by Winston Churchill to describe the growing divide between western democracies and Soviet-influenced states.

**Marshall Plan** A plan devised by President Harry S Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall that committed over $10 billion to rebuilding Western Europe after World War II. Although the Soviet Union fiercely opposed the plan, Truman knew that rebuilding the region would provide stability and prevent another world war. The Marshall Plan was highly successful and enabled British, French, Italian, and German factories to exceed prewar production levels within just a few years.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** An organization formed in 1949 that bound the United States, Canada, most of Western Europe, and later Greece and Turkey together in a mutual pact of defense against the USSR and Eastern bloc countries. The treaty had the additional effect of permanently tying American interests to political and economic stability in Europe.

**Politburo** The executive council or cabinet of ministers in the Soviet Union and other communist nations.

**Red Scare** Two periods of anti-communist hysteria in the United States, the first following the Russian Revolution (1918-19), the second in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

**Socialism** An ideology and political system, with the objective of transitioning from capitalism to communism. Socialist economies do not permit private ownership of capital, profit or other elements of capitalism.

**Soviet bloc** Term describing the communist nations of Europe, under the influence of the Soviet Union.

**Stasi** An abbreviation for the Ministry of State Security, an East German secret police agency responsible for security and intelligence-gathering. The Stasi was one of the Cold War’s most repressive and brutal security forces.
**Superpower** A country that dominates in political and military power. During the Cold War, there were two superpowers: the Soviet Union and the United States.

**Truman Doctrine** A doctrine articulated by President Harry S Truman that pledged American support for all “free peoples” fighting Communist aggression from foreign or domestic sources. Truman announced the doctrine in 1947, then convinced Congress to grant Greece and Turkey $400 million to help fight pro-Soviet insurgents. Besides committing the United States to the policy of containment, the language of the Truman Doctrine itself help characterize the Cold War as a conflict between good and evil.

**U.S.S.R.** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.), also commonly called the Soviet Union, was a country that consisted of what is now Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

**Warsaw Pact** A pact signed by the USSR and Eastern European countries under Soviet influence in 1955. By signing the pact, they pledged mutual defense in response to the formation of NATO.

**Explanatory notes**
Content taken from:
http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/what%20was%20the%20cold%20war.htm
http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/causes%20of%20the%20cold%20war.htm
http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/1945-1950.htm
http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/berlin_1945.htm

So why were these two superpowers so distrustful of each other?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>America</th>
<th>Soviet Union</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free elections</td>
<td>No elections or fixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>Autocratic / Dictatorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalist</td>
<td>Communist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Survival of the fittest’</td>
<td>Everybody helps everybody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richest world power</td>
<td>Poor economic base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal freedom</td>
<td>Society controlled by the NKVD (secret police)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of the media</td>
<td>Total censorship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This lack of mutually understanding an alien culture, would lead the world down a very dangerous path - it led to the development of weapons of awesome destructive capability and the creation of some intriguing policies such as MAD - Mutually Assured Destruction.
Causes of the Cold War in 1945:

- American fear of communist attack
- Truman's dislike of Stalin
- USSR's fear of the American's atomic bomb
- USSR's dislike of capitalism
- USSR's actions in the Soviet zone of Germany
- America's refusal to share nuclear secrets
- USSR's expansion west into Eastern Europe + broken election promises
- USSR's fear of American attack
- USSR's need for a secure western border
- USSR's aim of spreading world communism

This feeling of suspicion lead to mutual distrust and this did a great deal to deepen the Cold War

Berlin after 1945:

Berlin, and what went on in Berlin from 1945 to 1950, seemed to symbolize all that the Cold War stood for. Berlin was to become the centre of the Cold War again in later years with the building of the Berlin Wall.

The victorious forces at the end of the war divided Germany into four zones. They also divided Berlin into four zones. Each of the victorious nations controlled one zone and one sector of Berlin.

The Allies (Britain, America and France) ran their zones differently to the areas controlled by Russia. Russia wanted to keep Germany as weak as possible to ensure that Russia itself was never attacked again by Germany. They also took from their zones whatever was needed by Russia so that it could be used in Russia itself. This way, Russia could start to rebuild itself at Germany's expense and the Germans would be kept poor.

The Allies believed that a strong Germany would enable democracy to prosper after the years of Nazi dictatorship. They also believed that Europe needed a strong Germany so that their economies would prosper. To enable their zones to work more effectively, the British, Americans and French decided to amalgamate their zones into one unit and introduced into that one unit a new currency - the Deutschmark. All four occupying forces had agreed to inform one another if changes were going to be made in their respective zones. The Allies failed to do with regards to Russia.

The biggest problem for Stalin was that the German people of the Russian controlled block could not see the prosperity that was occurring in the other zones - but they could see the difference in Berlin as three of the zones in Berlin were controlled by the Allies and prospered accordingly. Therefore, to Stalin, the Allies being in Berlin was the problem. He needed to remove them from Berlin and have a Russian controlled city as opposed to a segment of that city.

Stalin could not forcibly remove the Allies - he still had to reckon with America having the A-bomb and Russia did not in 1948. He therefore ordered the closing of all rail lines, canals and roads that entered west Berlin through the Russian sector. This cut off supplies of food and fuel. The only way for the Allies to supply their sectors in Berlin was to fly in supplies. Stalin would not dare to shoot down Allied planes with...
America’s atomic supremacy. Flights into Berlin lasted for 11 months and when it became clear that the Allies would stand firm, Stalin gave in. The Allies remained in their sectors in Berlin.

1945-1950:

By the summer of 1945 Europe was very different to the Europe that had existed at the start of World War Two in September 1939. The Allies (USA, Britain and France) had started to fall out with Stalin’s USSR during the war itself. Stalin had wanted the Allies to start a second front in 1943 to take some of the strain off his forces on the Eastern Front. This, the Allies claimed, was not possible. Stalin got it into his mind that the Allies were deliberately allowing the USSR to take on the might of two-thirds of the Wehrmacht in Eastern Europe. Such a military campaign, he believed, would leave the USSR so weakened once the war was over that the Allies would have major military superiority over the Soviet Union almost immediately hostilities ceased.

This distrust also came out in the war conferences that were held during the war. At Casablanca, Yalta and Potsdam, the one thing that clearly united the Allies and the USSR was a common enemy - Nazi Germany. Little else did unite them. In fact, Stalin was not invited to Casablanca, which increased his belief that the Allies were planning things behind his back. The Casablanca meeting only concerned the West European front, so there was no need to invite Stalin. However, Stalin interpreted this differently.

The three war leaders - Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin - did meet at Yalta in February 1945. They agreed on the following:

- The people freed from Nazi rule in Europe should be allowed to set up their own democratic and independent governments.
- Germany should be divided into four zones at the end of the war. USA, USSR, GB and France would occupy one zone each. Berlin would also be divided into four sections for the Allies. Half the $20 billions that would be collected from Germany as reparations would go to Russia.
- The eastern part of Poland would go to the USSR so that the Soviet Union could build up her defenses. Land would be taken from eastern Germany and given to Poland in compensation.
- Soviet forces would be used against Japan in the Far East.
- A United Nations would be set up to promote world peace.

A key issue at Yalta was how to treat those nations that had been under Nazi occupation. It became clear to the Allies, that Stalin’s idea of free and democratic governments was different to theirs. In Stalin’s mind a free and democratic government should be subordinate to Moscow and have pro-Soviet people in power so that those nations would do as Moscow wished. There was little that the Allies could do as the huge Red Army advanced into Eastern Europe towards Berlin. By 1945, the Red Army was a well-equipped and well-led army that had got very used to victory.

By May 1945, the month of Nazi Germany’s surrender, the Red Army and therefore Moscow, effectively controlled the bulk of Eastern Europe. Initially, the people of
Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary saw the Red Army as their liberators. But the murder of anti-Moscow political leaders soon tainted their new found freedom. The death of Roosevelt led to Harry Truman becoming American president. He was far less sympathetic to the USSR than Roosevelt had been. He was also president of a country armed with a new and fearsome weapon - the atomic bomb.

After the Nazi surrender, the Allies and the USSR met at Potsdam, a suburb of Berlin. They discussed what to do with the newly surrendered Germany. Half-way through the conference, Winston Churchill was replaced with the new British Prime Minister Clement Atlee, the leader of the Labour Party. Despite the celebrations of victory, a number of issues were not fully addressed at Potsdam. There was a failure to re-confirm the promise made at Yalta - of free and independent elections in Eastern Europe. The new border between Poland and Germany was also missed out.

Stalin was also told at Potsdam about a new weapon America new possessed. However, very little information was given to him. When the atomic bombs were used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it became clear to Stalin that the USSR was years behind America in terms of modern weaponry. Though the Red Army was huge in terms of manpower and its tanks were some of the most modern in the world, this new weapon made all this conventional power of less value.

By the end of 1945, the seeds of the Cold War had been well and truly sown. A common enemy no longer linked both sides. One side had massive conventional forces while the other had an unknown number of atomic bombs, which could be used against Moscow - as Stalin knew. By the time World War Two ended in the Far East, two very discernible camps had developed: the USA and her allies against the USSR and her enforced allies.

The tone of what was to be called the Cold War was clearly set out by the British wartime leader, Winston Churchill, when he gave a speech on March 5th 1946 in Fulton, Missouri. The speech was titled “The Sinews of Peace”. But it is better remembered as the “Iron Curtain” speech. The part most remembered is:

“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an "iron curtain" has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.”

Marshall Aid also divided Europe in two – between those nations that accepted US aid and those nations that had it refused on their behalf by Moscow. Stalin simply could not allow what he believed was American influence to seep into those Eastern European nations that were now very much in his control. But two Europe’s developed – one part, the west, that benefitted from US aid and rebuilt accordingly while the eastern sector remained reliant on whatever support the USSR gave it.

Between the end of World War Two and the end of 1950, events, particularly in
Europe, pushed both Cold War sides to the limit. No actual fighting occurred between the two but the five years set a tone that was continued until the Cold War was formally ended in the 1980’s. One city that seemed to symbolise what the Cold War was all about was Berlin.

Stalin had agreed that Berlin should be quartered and divided among the victorious Soviet, American, British and French forces. Each nation had the right to place into their Berlin zones their own troops. Yet Berlin was very much in the Soviet-occupied part of the former Nazi Germany that had been given to her during the Potsdam conference. Here were three nations that had made it as clear as was possible at the time that they did not share the beliefs of the USSR. Yet they had their own troops in Soviet-controlled Germany. It was a situation that Stalin was not willing to tolerate.

To supply their troops and staff in their respective Berlin zones, the former wartime allies used either road or rail links that physically crossed Soviet-controlled Germany. In 1948, the major rail and road lines into Berlin were shut for “maintenance”. There was little France, GB or the USA could do other than protest. The three Allied occupied zones in Berlin faced the prospect of being starved out. Stalin simply hoped that the aggravation would be too much for the three nations and they would pull out of Berlin leaving the three zones to the Soviet Union. He was wrong. In 1948 the Berlin Airlift took place to supply the three Allied-controlled Berlin sectors. The USSR had yet to acquire the atomic bomb so it was inconceivable that Stalin would order his air force to shoot down the aircraft bringing supplies into Berlin’s primary airports, especially as they were transport aircraft and unarmed. Stalin had to watch as a vast amount of supplies were unloaded in Berlin and distributed among the civilians who lived in the three Allied-controlled sectors. Defeated, Stalin ordered that the road/rail routes be re-opened into Berlin and the Allies lifted the flights in to the city. It was the first real ‘battle’ in the Cold War and Stalin lost. However, his powerbase in Moscow was far too strong for anyone to take advantage of this. Stalin knew that he could only fight the former Allies on equal terms if he had access to the same weapons as they had. In 1949, this parity occurred.

The Soviet Union had breached the security of the US atomic research facility at Los Alamos. The information passed on by the likes of Klaus Fuchs and David Greenglass meant that the Soviet Union exploded her first atomic bomb on August 29th, 1949, thus bringing weapons equality with the USA. It was now that the Cold War took a more dangerous turn, as no one in the West knew if Stalin would use such a bomb. There were those in America who had advocated using their atomic bombs against the USSR while the US held the upper hand as a demonstration of its power. But Truman saw no reason to do this. Some in the West did not believe that Stalin would be as seemingly cautious.

Once both sides had the atomic bombs, much energy and money was poured into developing the next super weapon – the hydrogen bomb was to dominate the Cold War of the 1950’s onwards.

Ostensibly on paper, the USSR had an ally in 1949 when the communists seized power in China under Mao Zedong. To the West this appeared very threatening as two of the world’s largest nations now shared the same political beliefs. We now know that Mao was suspicious of Stalin and the USSR in general and the feeling was
mutual in Moscow with regards to Mao and China. However, this was not known at the time. When the Korean War broke out in 1950, it seemed obvious to the West that this was a Moscow/Beijing based plan executed by North Korean communist puppets and one that the West had to respond to.

SECTION C: HOMEWORK QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 19 minutes

(Taken from NSC Feb-March 2009 Paper 1)

SOURCE A

This extract from President Truman's speech highlights the concerns of the US government. Taken from: http://www.learningcurve.gov.uk/coldwar/G3/cs3/s1.htm

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, and guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation (control) by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

1.1 What were the TWO ‘ways of life’ referred to by President Truman? (2 x 1)(2)

1.2 Why do you think the USA had to make frequent protests? (1 x 2)(2)

1.3 Using the information in this source and your own knowledge, explain how the Yalta agreement was violated. (2 x 2)(4)

1.4 Explain whether Truman's belief that ‘it must be the policy of the USA to support free peoples’ can be justified. (2 x 2)(4)
1.5 Why do you think Truman made references to totalitarian regimes?  
1.6 Explain the limitation of this source to a historian studying the Cold War in Europe.  

**QUESTION 2  10 minutes  (Taken from NSC Feb-March 2010 Paper 1)**

**SOURCE B**  
The following extract on the Marshall Plan is taken from *The Cold War* by D Taylor.

On 5 June the US Secretary of State, General Marshall, published his Marshall Plan of massive financial aid to the war-damaged countries of Europe. The American idea was to restore the economies of Europe and so destroy the conditions of deprivation and hopelessness, which could stimulate the growth of communism. Under the Marshall Aid Programme, the US gave $13,150,000,000 to sixteen European states, but the USSR refused to join in the scheme. The Soviets did consider the Marshall Plan carefully; Foreign Minister Molotov and a large team of experts went to Paris at the end of June 1947 to confer with their British and French opposite numbers. Meanwhile, to retain the option of rejecting the plan, the Soviet press kept up a constant barrage of hostile criticism, denouncing it as 'foreign interference' and preparing Soviet and world opinion for Moscow's rejection of Marshall Aid. On 2 July, Molotov withdrew from the Paris conference, and any prospect of large-scale East-West economic cooperation was at an end. One by-product of the Soviet decision was that Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia who had shown interest in the Marshall Plan also had to withdraw.

2.1 Using the source and your own knowledge, explain why the USSR refused to 'join in the scheme'.  
2.2 Explain whether the USSR was justified when it denounced the Marshall Plan as 'foreign interference'.  
2.3 Why, do you think, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia had to withdraw from participating in the Marshall Plan?

**SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A**

**QUESTION 1:**

1.1  
• Effects of World War Two ✓  
• East German satellite state was exploited [extracting reparations] for the development of USSR [wasting money on the building of Communist headquarters / Russia extracted reparations from East Germany] ✓  

1.2  
• Russia ✓ / Soviet Union ✓ / Communist Russia ✓ / Communist Party ✓  

© Gauteng Department of Education
1.3
JUSTIFIED
• Little chance of economic recovery while Russia extracted reparations
• Realization that life in East Berlin would be hard under communism
• Promise of better standard of living/improved quality of life in West Berlin
• Any other relevant response

NOT JUSTIFIED
• Wheeler’s view is one-sided, lacks objectivity
• Were anti-communist
• Showed no allegiance to their country
• Any other relevant response

1.4
Propaganda was used in the following ways:
• Wheeler was a citizen of West Germany and therefore pro-West
• Wheeler was anti-communist, an advocate of capitalism and therefore negative about Russia
• Wheeler could be the spokesperson for the West
• Any other relevant response

1.5
Reliable because:
• Wheeler gives a western viewpoint of the contrasting conditions between East and West Berlin
• Any other relevant response

1.6
Candidates must be able to give a comparative response (referring to both USA and USSR) and for each response two (2) marks must be given:
• USA played a significant role in shaping the situation in West Berlin while the USSR influenced developments in East Berlin
• USA provided financial assistance via the Marshall Plan enabling West Berlin to recover while the USSR provided no assistance but continued to extract reparations and exploited other resources
• USA played a role in ensuring the development of democracy, free enterprise and the flourishing of capitalism while the USSR ensured the entrenchment of communism/Soviet influence which led to the violation of people’s basic rights.

QUESTION 2:
2.1
• Noffke following a visit to his relatives in West Berlin
• East German authorities prevented access to East Berlin
• Berlin by posting border police with machine guns
• Start of the construction of the Berlin Wall
• Any other relevant response
2.2 Candidates can state either justified or not justified and support their answer with valid substantiation

JUSTIFIED
- Did not want to be separated from his family √√
- Better living standards in West Berlin √√
- Advantages of capitalism in West Berlin √√
- Family lived in West Berlin √√
- Greater freedom in West Berlin √√
- This was his only choice √√
- Any other relevant response

NOT JUSTIFIED
- He should have realized the consequences of such an action √√
- It was dangerous to undertake such an action √√
- Rash decision knowing the military standoff √√ (any 1 x 2)(2)

2.3
- Ruthless and inhumane/notorious √
- Determined to eliminate opposition √
- Well organised and well informed √
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 1)(2)

2.4
- Inhumane treatment √√√
- Escaping does not warrant death √√√
- Family should not be separated by force √√√
- Violation of human rights √√√
- Escaping does not mean should be charged for anti-state provocation √√√
- Not sympathetic to people’s plight √√√ (any 1 x 3)(3)

2.5
- Police brutality/intimidation √√
- Fear/force √√
- Indoctrination √√
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

2.6 Candidates can state either reliable or not reliable and support their answer with valid substantiation

RELIABLE
- It reveals what happens to people who try to escape √√
- Depicts the atrocities committed by the East German police √√
- Any other relevant response

NOT RELIABLE
- Biased account/one sided viewpoint √√
- Anti-Communist propaganda √√
- Source taken from a website √√
- Any other relevant response (2 x 2)(4)
QUESTION 3:

3.1
- Satellite countries that belonged to the Warsaw Pact ✓✓
- Countries under USSR influence and communism ✓✓
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

3.2
- USA’s Marshall Plan/Aid ✓✓
- Any other relevant response ✓✓ (1 x 2)(2)

3.3
- Aroma of hot dog stand attracted the learners ✓✓
- Hot dogs popular with learners ✓✓
- Offer of assistance through Marshall Plan ✓✓
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

3.4
- Not to be drawn to the aid ✓✓
- Not to be taken in by USA’s attraction ✓✓
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

3.5
JUSTIFIED
- Being the Foreign Minister of the USSR – had to appear stern and rigid in policy implementation ✓✓
- Had to ensure that the satellite countries are kept out of USA influence and attraction ✓✓
- Any other relevant response

NOT JUSTIFIED
- Cartoonist is biased ✓✓
- Some Eastern countries (Communist) accepted Marshall ✓✓
- Aid Any other relevant response (2 x 2)(4)
SESSION NO: 2
TOPIC: EXTENSIONS OF THE COLD WAR
QUESTION FOCUS: VIETNAM

This is section B in Paper 1 and the focus will be on a case study. This section will be asked in the form of an essay question.

SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 50 minutes (Taken from NSC Nov 2010 Paper 1)

Learner note: Remember that this is an essay question. It is expected that you should formulate an argument based on Historical evidence. It is a good idea to analyse the question first and briefly plan your essay before you start to write.
- Do not write headings in your essay
- Do not use bullet points
- Provide Historical evidence in order to prove your argument
- Look carefully at the marking Matrix and note that marks are awarded to content (Historical facts), presentation (style and structure) as well as the formulation of an argument

Essay question:
1. Explain the consequences of the USA’s involvement in the Vietnam War. (50)

Learner note: Use the following writing frame to plan your essay.

(Taken from CAPS orientation manual Grade 12 2013)
One method to use when planning your essay is the acronym PEEL.
- **Point** The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.
- **Explain** The next few sentences in your paragraph should explain the point you have just made.
- **Evidence** The next few sentences should provide evidence to substantiate (support) the statement (point) you have made in the first sentence. The evidence will include dates, details, Historical facts and figures that you gathered from reading your textbook and other source material.
- **Link** At the end of your paragraph you must link back to the essay question and or forward to the next paragraph.

Learner note: use the following essay writing frame to plan your essay.

(Taken from CAPS orientation manual Grade 12 2013)

**Question: Analyse the essay question**
- Underline the key 'instruction' words
- Underline any terms/ names/ dates
- These terms/names/ dates must be addressed in your answer and this is how
you will stay focussed on the question

**Introduction**
- The introduction should contextualise the question (who? what? where? when?)
- Give a direct answer to the question

**Paragraph 1 (body of the essay)**
1) The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point
2) Develop or explain the point
3) Use evidence to support your argument
4) Check if you referred back to the question/ linked the point explicitly to the question
5) Link to the next paragraph/ point

**Body of the essay**
- Repeat steps 1 to 5 for each paragraph in your essay

**Conclusion**
- Tie up your argument and state your final conclusions on the topic
- Your conclusion should mirror the introduction
- Do not introduce new ideas in the conclusion

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**SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT**

**Terminology:**
Terminology obtained from the following sources:
http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/coldwar/terms.html
Source: http://alphahistory.com/coldwar/cold-war-glossary/
http://www.1stcavmedic.com/glossary.html

**A-team:** basic ten man team of the U.S. Special Forces. The A-teams often led irregular military units, which were not responsible to the Vietnamese military command

**B-52:** U.S. Air Force high-altitude bomber

**Base camp:** a resupply base for field units and a location for headquarters of brigade or division size units, artillery batteries and air fields. Also known as the rear area

**Boonies:** infantry term for the field; jungles or swampy areas

**Bouncing Betty:** antipersonnel mine with two charges: the first propels the explosive charge upward, and the other is set to explode at about waist level

**Charlie:** Viet Cong or NVA

**Cherry:** slang for a soldier who has never been under fire.
Chicom: Chinese communist

Chopper: helicopter

Chuck: the Viet Cong or NVA

Conscription (also draft) Compulsory military service, especially in times of war.

Defensive: used or intended to defend or protect.

Domino Theory The belief that if the United States allowed one country to fall to Communism, then many more would follow suit, like a row of dominoes. Many foreign policy thinkers subscribed to this theory at the height of the Cold War, and this led the United States to support anti-Communist regimes throughout the world, whether or not they upheld democratic ideals. The domino theory also provided the primary rationale behind Lyndon Johnson’s massive escalation of the conflict in Vietnam to full-scale war.

Escalation: Lyndon B. Johnson - 36th U.S. president; escalated U.S. troop levels in Vietnam drastically after Gulf of Tonkin incident. February 1965 Pleiku Raid kills eight U.S. soldiers U.S. forces begin Operation Rolling Thunder bombing campaign; June 1965 United States reaches 75,000 troops in Vietnam; July 1965 Johnson authorizes an additional 100,000 troops, allocates 100,000 more for 1966

Friendly fire: accidental attacks on U.S. or allied soldiers by other U.S. or allied soldiers

Guerrilla warfare: the use of hit-and-run tactics by small, mobile groups of irregular forces operating in territory controlled by a hostile, regular force.

HQ: headquarters

Iron Triangle: Viet Cong dominated area between the Thi-Tinh and Saigon rivers, next to Cu Chi district

Nam: Vietnam

Napalm: a jellied petroleum substance, which burns fiercely, used against enemy personnel.

NLF: National Liberation Front

NVA: North Vietnamese Army

Offensive: an attacking military campaign.

Operation rolling thunder: was the name given to America’s sustained bombing campaign against North Vietnam during the Vietnam War. Operation Rolling Thunder was a demonstration of America’s near total air supremacy during the Vietnam War.
It was started in an effort to demoralize the North Vietnamese people and to undermine the capacity of the government in North Vietnam to govern. Operation Rolling Thunder failed on both accounts.

**PF:** Popular Forces. South Vietnamese National Guard-type local military units

**POW:** prisoner of war

**Proxy war** A conflict where larger nations support and supply smaller nations involved in a war or civil war, without becoming directly involved.

**Punji stakes:** sharpened bamboo sticks used in a primitive but effective pit trap. Often smeared with excrement to cause infection.

**Purple Heart:** U.S. military decoration awarded to any member of the Armed Forces wounded by enemy action. Any soldier who was awarded three Purple Hearts was allowed to leave Vietnam.

**Recon:** reconnaissance. Going out into the jungle to observe for the purpose of identifying enemy activity.

**Red alert:** the most urgent form of warning. Signals an imminent enemy attack

**ROK:** soldier from the Republic of Korea

**Search and destroy:** an operation in which Americans searched an area and destroyed anything which the enemy might find useful

**SEATO:** Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

**Shrapnel:** pieces of metal sent flying by an explosion

**Tet Offensive** A major campaign launched by communists in Vietnam in January 1968, suggesting that a US victory was years away.

**Viet Cong** A popular term for the National Liberation Front, or NLF, a group of communist guerrillas who fought against the South Vietnamese and American forces between 1959 and 1975. South Vietnamese Communist.

**Vietnamization:** U.S. policy initiated by President Richard Nixon late in the war to turn over the fighting to the South Vietnamese Army during the phased withdrawal of American troops.

**Viet Minh** Vietnamese communist-nationalist group, led by Ho Chi Minh, which defeated French colonial forces in 1954.

**Vietnamese Popular Forces:** South Vietnamese local military forces.
**Vietnam War**  A south-east Asian conflict (1959-75) between communist North Vietnam and the *Viet Cong* (backed by China and the USSR) and non-communist South Vietnam (supported by US military aid and involvement). It ended with the 1975 takeover of Vietnam by communist forces.

**Explanatory notes**
Information obtained from:
http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/vietnam_war0.htm
http://www.historytoday.com/viv-sanders/turning-points-vietnam-war

**The Vietnam War:**
The Vietnam War pitted America against communism and was a classic example of Cold War conflict. The western allies had been victorious in Berlin, but communism had taken root in China. Eastern Europe remained under Russian control and in Vietnam the American feared threat of the spread communism seemed to be real.

Before World War Two, Vietnam had been part of the French Empire. During the war, the country had been overrun by the Japanese. When the Japanese retreated, the people of Vietnam took the opportunity to establish their own government lead by Ho Chi Minh. However, after the end of the war, the Allies gave back south Vietnam to the French while the north was left in the hands of the non-communist Chinese. The Chinese treated the north Vietnamese very badly and support for Ho Chi Minh grew. He had been removed from power at the end of the war. The Chinese pulled out of north Vietnam in 1946 and the party of Ho Chi Minh took over - the Viet Minh.

In October 1946, the French announced their intention of reclaiming the north which meant that the Viet Minh would have to fight for it. The war started in November 1946, when the French bombarded the port of Haiphong and killed 6,000 people. The French tried to win over the people of the north by offering them 'independence'. However, the people would not be allowed to do anything without French permission! A new leader of the country was appointed called Bao Dai. The Russians and Eastern Europe refused to recognize his rule. They claimed that Ho Chi Minh was the real ruler of Vietnam.

The French had got themselves into a difficult military position. Despite huge American help, the French could not cope with the Viet Minh's guerilla tactics. The Viet Minh were by now receiving help from Communist China - Mao Tse Tung had taken power of China in 1949. The fact that two sides had developed was classic Cold War history.

The country was meant to be ruled by Bao Dai who was supported by the west. The Russians, Chinese and Eastern Europe - all communist, supported Ho Chi Minh.

In November 1953, the French sent their crack paratroop regiment to Vietnam. It was naturally assumed by the French that this unit would sort out the untrained Viet Minh guerillas. They were sent to Dien Bien Phu in the north. In May 1954, the regiment surrendered which came as a terrible blow to the French people. The French pulled out of Vietnam in the same month.

In April 1954, the world's powers had met at Geneva to discuss Vietnam. In July 1954, it was decided to divide the country in two at the 17th parallel. Bao Dai was to lead the south and Ho Chi Minh the north. The meeting also decided that in 1956,
there would be an election in both the north and south to decide who would rule the whole country. Neutral countries would supervise the election. This election did not take place and the split had become permanent by 1956.

North Vietnam had a population of 16 million. It was an agricultural nation. The Viet Minh trained guerillas to go to the south to spread the word of communism. Their weapons mostly came from communist China. To the surprise of the South Vietnamese, those Viet Minh who went to the south helped them on their farms and did not abuse them. They had become used to fearing soldiers. Instead, the Viet Minh were courteous and helpful.

South Vietnam also had a population of 16 million. Its first proper leader was Ngo Dinh Diem who was a fanatical catholic. As communism hated religion, Diem hated all that communism stood for. This is why he got America's support - he had a poor record on human rights but his rule was in the era of the "Domino Theory" and anybody who was anti-communist in the Far East was likely to receive American backing - regardless of their less than savoury background. Ngo ruled as a dictator along with his brother - Nhu. Their government was corrupt and brutal but it was also backed by America.

After the non-election of 1956, the Viet Minh became more active militarily. Their guerillas - now called the Viet Cong - attacked soft targets in the south. They used the Ho Chi Minh trail, which was a 1000 mile trail along the border with Laos with heavy jungle coverage so that detection from the air was very difficult. The Viet Cong were trained by their commander Giap who learned from the tactics used by the Chinese communists in their fight against the Nationalist Chinese forces. He expected his troops to fight and to help those in the south. He introduced a "hearts and minds" policy long before the Americans got militarily involved in Vietnam.

**America and Vietnam**

During the 1950's, America had developed her Domino Theory. This was the creation of John Foster Dulles, America's Secretary of State. He believed that if one country was allowed to fall to communism, the country next to it would be the next to tumble just as when one domino falls the rest go with it if they are connected. In view of the fear in America of communism spreading throughout the world, the thought of Vietnam starting this process of turning to communism and then it spreading was unacceptable.

America had already sent "special advisors" to South Vietnam since 1955. By 1961, there were 1,500 special advisors in the country. These were men from America's Special Forces who were there to train the South Vietnamese Army in how to fight the Viet Cong. By 1963, there were 16,000 special advisors in South Vietnam.

Regardless of their presence and attempts by the west to demonize the Viet Cong, it is probable that by 1962, over 75% of all south Vietnamese peasants supported the Viet Cong as they were seen as liberators from the unacceptable government of Diem. To "save" the peasants from the Viet Cong, Diem organised a system whereby whole villages were moved into defended camps - known as fortified villages. This policy backfired as the peasants did not want to be removed from their land and as such the policy played into the hands of the Viet Cong who were promising the peasants more land once communism have taken root in the south.
Diem's unpopularity was so great that in November 1963, the South Vietnamese Army overthrew and killed him. The confusion at a political level in South Vietnam and the abuse of peasants rights within the agricultural community were two reasons for the spread of communism within the south. Such a development alarmed the American president, Lyndon Johnson, who had asked his military chiefs to formulate plans should a full-scale war break out. The one proviso the chiefs-of-staff had was that America had to be seen as the victim rather than the aggressor.

In August 1964, the Tongking Incident occurred when two American destroyers were attacked by North Vietnamese gunboats while they were in international waters. In response to this, the American Senate gave Johnson the power to give armed support to assist any country requesting help in defense of its freedom. In March 1965, the first American ground troops landed in South Vietnam and by December 1965, there were 150,000 stationed in the country. The bombing of North Vietnam had already started in February 1965.

**American involvement in Vietnam:**

This was at its peak from 1965 to 1969 when a maximum of 500,000 American troops were in Vietnam. A number of the front line troops were conscripts and not professional troops. They were young, usually from lower social groups and frequently from America's minority groups. They were trained in conventional warfare whereas the Viet Cong used guerilla tactics - hitting the enemy and then moving away; not wearing a standard uniform; merging into village life with ease etc. It was difficult for these young American troops to know who was the enemy and who they could trust amongst the South Vietnamese population.

The Viet Cong had had years to perfect their tactics whereas the American soldiers in Vietnam had only had their basic training. The Viet Cong used no tanks and frequently moved by foot. US troops responded with the use of helicopter gun ships and they tended to treat all civilians alike as potential enemy. Both sides killed innocent civilians. The Viet Cong killed those villagers they believed were helping the Americans while US troops killed those who they believed were helping the Viet Cong. The most infamous case of the latter was the Pinksville Massacre - better known as the My Lai massacre. The village of My Lai was considered friendly by US troops but 109 civilians were murdered here as the US troops investigating the village believed that they were conspiring with the Viet Cong.

America had total control of the air. Planes could be used to back-up ground troops by using napalm. Defoliation chemicals were also used to destroy the jungle cover given to the Viet Cong along the Ho Chi Minh trail. Agent Orange killed large areas of jungle disguising this trail but those using it, simply moved further inland or further into Laos thus avoiding the defoliated areas. To hinder the supply of US troops, the Viet Cong blew up bridges, roads and destroyed canals.

American front line troops were nicknamed 'grunts'. This is because every time they sat down, the straps on the heavy packs they were carrying tightened into their chests thus forcing out air in the lungs causing a sound like a grunt. The average age of a 'grunt' was 19 and they knew that the land they operated in was littered with booby-traps. Each step they took in the jungle or in the long grass that was common in South Vietnam could result in serious injury. This had a devastating psychological effect on the conscripts.
The Viet Cong used mines called "bouncing bettys" - these were on springs and when tripped would spring up to about waist height and explode. They were not usually fatal but the victim would need immediate medical aid and 3 to 4 men to look after him. The noise of the explosion would also attract the attention of the Viet Cong. Punji traps were also used by the Viet Cong - these were pits in the ground with spikes in them, which were covered in grass, and leaves and left all but invisible to an advancing soldier. The tips of the spikes were usually covered in poison or dirt. Punji traps were also found in rivers and streams where troops had to make crossings.

Though the Viet Cong did not fight full-scale battles, in January 1968, they changed tactics with the Tet Offensive. This was a massive attack by the North Vietnamese Army, which took the Americans by surprise. All the major South Vietnamese cities were attacked, as were all major US military bases. However, the attack was never decisive and eventually the Americans forced the North Vietnamese back though both sides had suffered serious losses. 160,000 civilians were killed and 2 million were made homeless.

By May 1968, the North Vietnamese were willing to start talks that would lead to a peace settlement. Talks started in Paris and very slow progress was made over 5 years. The major sticking points were that Ho Chi Minh wanted all foreigners out of Vietnam and he wanted the country to be internationally accepted as a united country. America was still hampered by her support of the domino theory but the war had become very unpopular at home and the politicians were aware of the views of the voting population.

In 1969, the American president, Richard Nixon, agreed to reduce the number of American troops in South Vietnam. He pursued a policy called "Vietnamisation" whereby the South Vietnamese would be assisted in material matters by the Americans but the fighting would be done by the South Vietnamese Army. In December 1970, there were 350,000 American troops in South Vietnam. By September 1972, there were just 40,000.

The South Vietnamese Army could not cope with the North Vietnamese forces. Once the bulk of the American troops had pulled out, the North Vietnamese changed their tactics by launching a full-scale attack against the South, which all but wilted under the onslaught.

In January 1973, all sides agreed to a cease-fire during which the remaining American troops would have to be withdrawn and all POW's would have to be released. It was agreed that Vietnam would be "eventually reunited".

America's involvement in Vietnam ended in 1973. The war had cost her one billion dollars a day at its peak; she had dropped 7 million tons of bombs - more than the entire total of all participants in World War Two. The cost of the war in 1968 alone was $88,000 million while the combined spending on education, health and housing in that year was $24,000 million.

The ceasefire lasted no time at all and the North attacked what was left of the South's army. By April 1975, Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam had fallen. It was renamed Ho Chi Minh City and a united Vietnam came into being.
SECTION C: HOMEWORK QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 50 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2011 Paper 1)

'… all the military might of a superpower could not defeat a small nation of peasants.'

Do you agree with this statement? Discuss the statement critically in the light of the USA’s involvement in Vietnam in the period 1963 to 1975. (50)

Learner note: Make use of the PEEL writing frame to plan your essay. Use about 10 minutes to plan your essay and 40 minutes to write. Your response must be at least three pages long.

Learner note: Stick to the given timeframe of the question, in this case 1963-1975. You can refer to two years before or two years after the given timeframe, but if you go beyond that, marks will be deducted on account of irrelevant information.

SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

SYNOPSIS Candidates need to focus on the consequences of the USA’s involvement in the Vietnam war.

MAIN ASPECTS Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

Introduction: Candidates should give a brief outline on the reasons for US involvement in the Vietnam war and focus on the consequences.

ELABORATION

- Background information (Reasons for participation in the Vietnam war (policy of containment);
- Highlight reasons for failure (Use of young and inexperienced US soldiers; Lack of understanding of the Vietnamese terrain; Overconfidence in USA’s military superiority; Vietnamese tactics and strategies on the ground were far superior to that of the USA);
- USA unfamiliar with non-conventional guerrilla tactics of the Vietnamese (the effective use of underground tunnels, etc.);
- Reaction of the USA public regarding participation and the heavy loss of lives of USA soldiers in Vietnam;
- Approximately 700 000 USA veterans suffered from psychological effects of fighting in Vietnam;
- International reaction and public opinion on USA participation in the Vietnam war and atrocities committed.
• Humiliation suffered by the USA as a superpower by withdrawing from Vietnam
• Failure of USA to achieve its objective of saving Vietnam from coming under communist rule
• Economic setback suffered by the USA/Vietnam
• In 1975 North and South Vietnam became a single republic under the communist Vietcong
• Relations between the USA and Vietnam remained hostile
• Any other relevant point
• Conclusion: Candidates need to tie up the discussion by drawing on the consequences of the USA’s involvement in the Vietnam war.

(50)

Use the Matrix on the next page to assess this essay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESENTATION</th>
<th>LEVEL 7</th>
<th>LEVEL 6</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

LEVEL 7 Question has been fully answered. Content selection fully relevant to line with argument

<p>| | 47-50 | 43-46 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL 6 Question has been answered. Content selection relevant to the line of argument.</th>
<th>43-46</th>
<th>40-42</th>
<th>38-39</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 5 Question answered to a great extent. Content adequately covered and relevant.</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>36-37</td>
<td>34-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 4 Question is recognizable in answer. Some omissions or irrelevant content selection.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 3 Content selection does relate to the question, but does not answer it, or does not always relate to the question. Omissions in coverage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 2 Question inadequately addressed. Sparse content.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 1 Question inadequately addressed or not at all. Inadequate or irrelevant content.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15-17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SESSSBION NO: 3
TOPIC: AFRICA IN THE COLD WAR
QUESTION FOCUS: CASE STUDY ON ANGOLA

Learner note: This question will be Question 2 in Paper 1 and it will be set as source-based questions. You need to be able to engage with the sources and analyse the sources carefully in order to answer the questions.

SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 12 minutes  (Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2013 Paper 2)

SOURCE A
This source comprises a written source and a visual source which focus on the first peace agreement that various Angolan political organisations signed in Bicesse on 31 May 1991.

Written Source: This extract describes the Angolan peace process that unfolded in Bicesse, 1991.
Following independence and throughout the 1980s, Angola became a pawn (tool) in the Cold War. The Soviet Union provided loans, military advisers and weapons to support the MPLA government in Luanda. The Cubans sent troops numbering, at their height, fifty thousand. South African forces crossed Angola's borders periodically to attack SWAPO bases in Angola ... Real progress in resolving the Angolan conflict came in 1990. At that time Portugal, assisted by the United States and the Soviet Union, participated in a new round of talks with the MPLA and UNITA in Bicesse, Portugal. Motivating the negotiations were the simple but critical facts that neither side could foresee military victory and that their traditional patrons (followers) were now determined to push for a political settlement. The negotiations were difficult but ultimately successful. In May 1991, UNITA and the MPLA signed the Arcordos de Paz para Angola or the Bicesse Accord. A cease-fire took effect two weeks later. In addition to the cease-fire, the peace agreement called for the integration of the two armies into a single national army and the holding of internationally monitored elections between September and November 1992. The military forces were to be integrated before the elections. The accord also established what was known as the 'triple zero' clause, under which the United States, the Soviet Union and Portugal agreed not to provide the combatants with lethal material and promised to encourage others to follow suit.
[From: Angola's Last Best Chance For Peace: An Insider's Account Of The Peace Process by P Hare]

Visual Source on the next page.

Visual Source: This photograph was taken after the Bicesse Peace Agreement was signed in 1991. It depicts Jonas Savimbi in Jamba with Jeremias Chitunde, vice president of UNITA and Miguel Nzau Puna.
1.1 Why, according to the source, did Angola become a pawn in the Cold War? (Written source) (2 x 2)(4)

1.2 Use your own knowledge and explain why Portugal was present at the peace negotiations in Bicesse. (Written source) (1 x 2)(2)

1.3 What factors prompted the MPLA and UNITA to begin negotiations? (Written source) (2 x 1)(2)

1.4 Name TWO stipulations that were outlined in the Bicesse Accord. (Written source) (2 x 1)(2)

1.5 What message does the photograph convey about the leaders of UNITA? (Visual source) (1 x 2)(2)
1.6 Compare the written source and the visual source. Explain in what ways they contradict each other regarding the peace negotiations in Angola.

(2 x 2)(4)

[16]

QUESTION 2: 8 minutes  *(Taken from NSC Nov 2012 Paper 2)*

SOURCE B
This extract is about the conflict between Eduardo Dos Santos, leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and Jonas Savimbi, leader of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Beyond the dividing context of the Cold War, a deep distrust between MPLA and UNITA leaders undermined two peace processes based more on consensus (agreement) and accommodation than international constraints (restrictions). The hopes brought by the 1991 Bicesse Peace Agreement were dashed when Savimbi’s UNITA resumed the war after refusing to acknowledge his electoral defeat in 1992 by President Dos Santos' MPLA, and the latter retaliated by indiscriminate killings of UNITA supporters. The ensuing (following) two years of warfare led to more devastation than had occurred throughout three decades of the independence struggle and Cold War conflict.

As President Dos Santos decided in 1998 to resume the war, Angola became one of the worst conflict resolution failures of the 1990s. About two thirds of the half million war victims died since resumption of the conflict in 1992, the majority due to the collapse of food security and health services, and an estimated 1,5 million people were internally displaced, while 330 000 fled the country.

[From: *Angola’s Political Economy of War: The Role of Oil and Diamond, 1975–2000* by P le Billon]

2.1 What prevented the leaders of the MPLA and UNITA from reaching consensus? (1 x 2)(2)

2.2 Explain in what ways the 1991 Bicesse Peace Agreement was significant for Angola. (2 x 2)(4)

2.3 Comment on whether President Dos Santos was justified in resuming the civil war in Angola. (2 x 2)(4)

[10]

QUESTION 3: 5 minutes  *(Taken from NSC Nov 2013 Paper 2)*

SOURCE C
This cartoon by Zapiro appeared in the Sowetan on 17 November 1994. It depicts the impact of the civil war on Angolan citizens.
Learner note: The subheading in the newspaper states: Angola worst amputee nation.

3.1 What messages does Zapiro convey regarding the devastation caused by the civil war in Angola? (2 x 2)(4)

3.2 What do the words: 'I'd give an arm and a leg for the war to end!' tell you about the attitude of Angolans to the civil war? Support your answer with relevant reasons. (2 x 2)(4)

[8]

QUESTION: 20 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Nov 2013 Paper 2)

SOURCE D
This source consists of a written and a visual source on the effects of civil war on Angola.

Written Source: The following extract focuses on the devastation that the years of civil war had on Angola's infrastructure.
It is almost impossible to describe the devastation (destruction) produced by more than 30 (thirty) years of continuous conflict. Everything needs to be reconstructed: bridges, streets and roads, communications systems, airstrips, hospitals and schools. Hundreds of thousands of people live in shantytowns of utmost squalor (dirtiness) and misery on the outskirts of the capital. Luanda now has four million inhabitants, but only about 20 000 (twenty
thousand) of them have running water or modern toilets. Whole sections — always the poorer — of its capital are a vision of hell, 'ringed by mountains of garbage' and 'soaked by rivulets (rivers) of human waste'. As far back as 1994 it was estimated that it would require 22 000 (twenty-two thousand) dump trucks to remove Luanda's accumulated refuse, and that was when the city was just half its current population of 4.5 million.

The government could easily afford to build a sewage treatment plant and pipe drinking water from nearby rivers to the city. In the absence of such services, millions of Luanda's poor pay up to 10 000 (ten thousand) times more for drinking water — transported by expensive private delivery trucks — than the elite, who merely open a tap.

[From: Africa 2007 by C Cutter]

**Visual Source:** This photograph was taken by LJ Bothma in October 2010. It shows bridges over the Cuchi River.

![Photograph of bridges over the Cuchi River](image)

Explanation: A new bridge can be seen on the left of the photo and in the middle is the old bridge. On the right is a temporary bridge.

[From: Anderkant Cuito, 'n Reisverhaal van die Grensoorlog by LJ Bothma]

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**Learner note:** Remember to use the PEEL writing frame to write the paragraph for Question 4.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point</th>
<th>The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explain</td>
<td>The next few sentences in your paragraph should explain the point you have just made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence</td>
<td>The next few sentences should provide evidence to substantiate (support) the statement (point) you have made in the first sentence. The</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Evidence will include dates, details, historical facts and figures that you gathered from reading your textbook and other source material.

**Link**

At the end of your paragraph you must link back to the essay question and/or forward to the next paragraph.

**Learner note:** Read the instructions of the questions carefully. If you look at Question 4.6 you will note that you have to choose only one of the sources that you think would be most useful to an historian. Usually you will be expected to refer to more than one of the sources within a paragraph, however, Question 4.6 is an exception to the rule.

**Learner note:** For a paragraph you have to refer to the sources within the paragraph. You can either write: “As seen in Source 1B” or you can indicate the source that you used in brackets e.g. (Source 1B) after you made a point/statement that you deducted from the source.

4.1 According to the written source, how did Angola attempt to reconstruct itself after years of civil war? (2 x 2)(4)

4.2 Explain what the words 'it would require 22 000 dump trucks to remove Luanda's accumulated refuse' tell you about the effects of the civil war on Angolans living in this city. (1 x 2)(2)

4.3 Explain whether the visual source gives a fair depiction of how Angola re-imagined itself after the 1990s. (2 x 2)(4)

4.5 Compare the information in both the written source and the visual source. How do these sources support each other regarding the civil war in Angola? (2 x 2)(4)

4.6 Using the information in the relevant sources (A-D) and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining which ONE of the sources you think would be most useful to a historian writing about the effects of the civil war in Angola. (8)

**SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT**

**Explanatory notes:**

Information obtained from the following sources:
http://www.flashpoints.info/CB-Angola.html
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13036732

Few parts of the world would appear as sheltered from Cold War politics as southernmost Africa, yet as Angola fought its way to independence from colonial Portugal, it soon became a focal point in the international battle for power and influence. The US, South Africa and Cuba appeared as key players, backing various rebel groups, fueling the conflict and spreading death and destruction. Since 1975, as many as 1 million people have been killed and Angola remains a flashpoint for continued civil war. Despite gaining UN recognition, demonstrating popular support...
and prevailing in UN-monitored elections, the leftist MPLA has faced constant US interference and efforts to destabilize the government, resulting from MPLA relations with Cuba.

Prior to the colonial period, Angola was ruled by two highly centralized native kingdoms, the Bantu in the North and the Mbundu in the south. The Portuguese arrived in 1483, established colonies and developed a lucrative slave trade. When the native people’s resisted, the Portuguese clamped down killing, capturing and exporting the natives, whose population declined dramatically until the mid-18th century. The Berlin Conference of 1884 officially allocated African regions to colonial European states, Portuguese settlement accelerated, as did the military campaign to subdue the kingdoms. Colonial exploitation continued until the mid-20th century.

Although Britain and France had been abandoning their colonial empires, the Portuguese resisted attempts for peaceful de-colonization. In 1956, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) emerged as a coalition of nationalist rebel groups, fighting for independence and against racial and imperialist exploitation. By the time the Portuguese government was overthrown in April 1974, three major rebel factions had developed, the MPLA, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA.

Under the Alvor Accords, these groups laid plans for a transitional government that never materialized. Each rebel group attracted external support. The socialist ideology of the MPLA led the US and Zaire to support the FNLA, whose strength was in northern Angola. South Africa backed UNITA, whose strength was in the south, bordering on Namibia, which was annexed by South Africa in contravention of United Nations agreements. Meanwhile, socialist nations were sympathetic to the MPLA, which had the greatest popular support. Angola was attacked from the north by Zaire and FNLA, from the south by UNITA and South Africa, with the MPLA caught in the middle.

However, the MPLA held the capital of Luanda and declared independence on November 11, 1975, followed by widespread celebration and official recognition by the UN in 1976. Jose Eduardo dos Santos became president. Cuba sent 15,000 troops to help the MPLA repel South African forces. In its attempts to rebuild the colonial economic infrastructure, decimated by the war, the MPLA pronounced its Marxist outlook, ensuring it would further attract Washington’s negative attention, while undertaking this daunting task. In 1981, South Africa, with armor and air support again invaded the South, this time in pursuit of SWAPO guerrilla forces active in Namibia, with bases in Angola. This aggression also served to help the UNITA rebels secure territory. Supporting the legitimate Angolan government, Cuba responded with additional forces, blocking the South African and UNITA advances. The warfare continued until 1989, when Angola, Cuba and South Africa concluded a Tripartite Agreement. This pact granted independence for Namibia, and called for the withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces.

UNITA, under Jonas Savimbi, agreed halt the rebel campaign in 1991 and the MPLA agreed to hold multi-party elections. While the MPLA initiated a series of progressive reforms, the US continued attempts to destabilize the leftist government by
maintaining an economic embargo, supporting UNITA and withholding diplomatic recognition until after open elections were held. In the 1992 UN-monitored elections, dos Santos and the MPLA defeated UNITA and, the rejected Savimbi, ignoring the election results, resumed the guerrilla war.

In 1994, a UN peacekeeping force arrived and another peace deal was struck, this time, allowing Savimbi to be the vice president, decommissioning UNITA forces and allowing UNITA rebels to join the Angolan army. Despite the concessions to UNITA, divisions remained and trouble festered. Facing prospects of renewed fighting, the UN withdrew in 1997 and Savimbi refused participation in further negotiations.

Beyond the terrible loss of lives, one of the most regrettable aspects of the Angolan war has been the failure to recognize and implement many of the valuable reforms and compromise solutions developed during the various negotiations. Despite the failures in Angola, the conditions of the peace agreements could serve as a viable model for conflict resolution in other situations.

**The Angola Crisis 1974–75**

After a successful military coup in Portugal that toppled a long-standing authoritarian regime on April 25, 1974, the new rulers in Lisbon sought to divest the country of its costly colonial empire. The impending independence of one of those colonies, Angola, led to the Angolan civil war that grew into a Cold War competition. The Angola crisis of 1974–1975 ultimately contributed to straining relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Three main military movements had been fighting for Angolan independence since the 1960s. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was a Marxist organization centered in the capital, Luanda, and led by Agostinho Neto. The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), led by Holden Roberto, was based in the north of the country and had strong ties to the U.S. ally, Mobutu Sese Seko, in neighboring Zaire. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), an offshoot of the FNLA, was led by Jonas Savimbi and supported by the country’s largest ethnic group, the Ovimbundu. Following the Portuguese coup, these three revolutionaries met with representatives of the new Portuguese Government in January 1975 and signed the Alvor Agreement that granted Angolan independence and provided for a three-way power sharing government. However, trust quickly broke down among the three groups, and the country descended into civil war as each vied for sole power.

The crisis in Angola developed into a Cold War battleground as the superpowers and their allies delivered military assistance to their preferred clients. The United States supplied aid and training for both the FNLA and UNITA while troops from Zaire assisted Holden Roberto and his fighters. China, also, sent military instructors to train the FNLA. The Soviet Union provided military training and equipment for the MPLA. During the summer of 1975, the Soviet-supported MPLA was able to consolidate power in Luanda and oust the U.S.-supported FNLA from the capital, but the FNLA continued to attack. The remaining Portuguese troops failed to stem the violence. When MPLA leader Neto announced November 11, 1975 as the day of Angolan
independence, Lisbon decided to withdraw its troops on that day.

The MPLA also had long-established relations with Fidel Castro’s Cuba. Before November 11, the MPLA had negotiated with Castro for Cuban assistance. At the same time, UNITA, which enjoyed U.S. support, approached the Apartheid government in South Africa for military reinforcement. Pretoria, with the aim to end the use of Angola as a base for rebels fighting for the independence of South Africa-occupied Namibia, contributed forces that entered southern Angola in October and made rapid progress toward the capital. In response, Castro sent Cuban Special Forces to halt the South African advance and succeeded in drawing attention to the fact that the United States had provided support to a group that now accepted assistance from an Apartheid government.

The U.S. Government had encouraged the South African intervention, but preferred to downplay its connection with the Apartheid regime. However, once Pretoria’s involvement became widely known, the Chinese withdrew its advisers from the region, and the Ford Administration was faced with domestic resistance to the U.S. role in the Angolan conflict. President Gerald Ford had requested Congressional approval for more money to fund the operation in Angola. However, many members of Congress were wary of intervening abroad after the struggle in Vietnam, others wished to avoid the South Africa connection, and still others did not believe the issue was important. In the end, Congress rejected the President’s request for additional funds. South Africa withdrew its forces in the spring of 1976 and the MPLA remained as the official government of Angola. Still, Jonas Savimbi and UNITA continued an insurgency until his death in 2002.

During the period of the Angolan crisis, the United States and the Soviet Union were still enjoying a brief thaw in their relations, in an era referred to as détente. During this time, Washington and Moscow had reached a series of agreements that aimed to reduce tensions between the two superpowers. However, by 1974, strains on bilateral relations had already compromised U.S. support for détente and the crisis in Angola served to accelerate this trend. From the U.S. point of view, one of the aims of détente was to draw the Soviet Union further into the international system so that Washington could induce Moscow to show restraint in its dealings with the Third World. The Ford Administration believed that Cuba had intervened in Angola as a Soviet proxy and as such, the general view in Washington was that Moscow was breaking the rules of détente. The appearance of a Soviet success and a U.S. loss in Angola on the heels of a victory by Soviet-supported North Vietnam over U.S.-supported South Vietnam continued to erode U.S. faith in détente as an effective Cold War foreign policy.

The U.S. failure to achieve its desired outcome in Angola raised the stakes of the superpower competition in the Third World. Subsequent disagreements over the Horn of Africa, and Afghanistan contributed to undoing the period of détente between the Soviet Union and the United States. Additionally, the Angola crisis also ended a recent thaw in U.S.-Cuban relations.

**Angola profile:**
At a glance
- **Politics**: President has been in power for 30 years. Oil-rich enclave of Cabinda has been embroiled in a long-running independence struggle.
- **Economy**: One of Africa's leading oil producers, but most people still live on less than US $1 a day. Experiencing a post-war reconstruction boom
- **International**: China has promised substantial assistance to Angola, one of its main oil suppliers

**One of Africa's major oil producers, Angola is nonetheless one of the world's poorest countries.**

It is striving to tackle the physical, social and political legacy of a 27-year civil war that ravaged the country after independence.
The governing Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the rebel group Unita were bitter rivals even before the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

The Soviet Union and Cuba supported the then-Marxist MPLA, while the US and white-ruled South Africa backed Unita as a bulwark against Soviet influence in Africa. Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

After 16 years of fighting that killed up to 300,000 people, a peace deal led to elections. But Unita rejected the outcome and resumed the war, in which hundreds of thousands more were killed. Another peace accord was signed in 1994 and the UN sent in peacekeepers. But the fighting steadily worsened again and in 1999 the peacekeepers withdrew, leaving behind a country rich in natural resources but littered with landmines and the ruins of war.

The connection between the civil war and the unregulated diamond trade - or "blood diamonds" - was a source of international concern. The UN froze bank accounts used in the gem trade.

**Peace**
The death of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in a gunfight with government forces in February 2002 raised the prospect of peace and the army and rebels signed a ceasefire in April to end the conflict. The government has overseen a transition to democracy, although Unita continues to complain that the opposition faces intimidation and lack of transparency at elections.

Angola is gradually rebuilding its infrastructure, retrieving weapons from its heavily-armed civilian population and resettling tens of thousands of refugees who fled the fighting. Landmines and impassable roads have cut off large parts of the country. Many Angolans rely on food aid.

But oil exports and foreign loans have spurred economic growth and have fuelled a reconstruction boom. There have been allegations - denied by the government - that oil revenues have been squandered through corruption and mismanagement.

Much of Angola's oil wealth lies in Cabinda province, where a decades-long separatist conflict simmers. The government has sent thousands of troops to subdue
the rebellion in the enclave, which has no border with the rest of Angola. Human rights groups have alleged abuses against civilians.

SECTION C: HOMEWORK QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 15 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2013 Paper 2)

SOURCE 1A
This extract describes how Eduardo Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi exploited their positions in Angola after the Bicesse Peace Accord in 1991.

Extract 1: This extract focuses on how Dos Santos used his position to enrich his family and friends.
Throughout the rollercoaster (up and down) years of war and peace, Dos Santos and his entourage (followers) prospered greatly. From his headquarters at Futungo de Belas, Dos Santos ran a presidential patronage (support) system that rewarded his family, friends and colleagues, and the futungos (elite families) with government contracts, business opportunities, diamond concessions, land titles, import licenses, trade monopolies and cheap credit. Arms purchases for the war provided a favoured few with large kickbacks (refunds). The government's privatization programme enabled high-ranking army officers and senior officials to acquire state-owned properties, farms and businesses for nominal sums or sometimes for no payment at all…

The stark (sharp) contrast between the rich elite and the mass poverty of the rest of the population was nowhere more evident than in Luanda. Its streets were packed with the latest models of Mercedez-Benz and Toyota Land Cruisers; jet skis circled the bay; prices in air-conditioned shopping malls were equivalent to those in London. But milling around on street corners were groups of street children and mutilados (injured people) begging from the passing traffic. Half of the city's population of 4 million had no access to clean water and survived on untreated water from the Bengo River bought by the bucketful from informal vendors. Most Angolans subsisted (survived) on less than seventy cents a day.
[From: The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence by M Meredith]

Extract 2: This extract gives an account of how resources were exploited by Savimbi during Angola's civil war.
UNITA's control of such backyard diamond diggings across the country had doubtless contributed its share to Savimbi's coffers … It was above all by capturing diamond fields in these two provinces that UNITA had managed to keep funding a war after 1992 … By the 1990s, there was no question of the Angolan war being about ideology or about anybody's freedom. It was about money. Analysts have used the term 'resource war' to describe this very contemporary kind of conflict … Colonial officials were free to grab what they wanted from the earth or from the people of the conquered territory, provided that they rendered a predetermined tax to the Portuguese crown each year. Wartime Angola echoed the colonial past. The FAA (Angolan Armed Forces) generals who won back territory from UNITA could do more or less what they liked with it, as long as enough of a cut went back to Luanda. When it suited them, government and UNITA generals would trade with each other.
[From: An Outbreak of Peace: Angola's Situation of Confusion by J Pearce]
1.1 Explain how the years of war and peace were exploited by Dos Santos. (Extract 1) (2 x 2)(4)

1.2 In what ways were the following affected by Dos Santos's rule of Angola:
(a) The rich elite (futungos) (1 x 2)(2)
(b) Poverty-stricken Angolans (1 x 2)(2)

1.3 Give ONE example of how Savimbi exploited Angola's resources. (Extract 2) (1 x 1)(1)

1.4 Why, according to Extract 2, was the war in Angola 'about money'? (2 x 2)(4)

[13]

QUESTION 2: 18 minutes (Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2010 Paper 2)

SOURCE 2B

Angola was a pawn in the Cold War struggle: Russia and Cuba supported the MPLA Marxist regime in Luanda and America supported Jonas Savimbi’s rebel UNITA movement. The end of the Cold War changed the situation.

The following is an adapted excerpt from *Africa – Altered States, Ordinary Miracles* by Richard Dowden.

In Angola, as soon as the Cold War ended, the Americans began to organize a peace agreement as if the Angolan civil war had simply been an extension of the Cold War. The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] dropped the façade of Marxist-Leninism, and called an election. It was held in December 1992 and America backed UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] to win. The MPLA was declared the winner; Savimbi rejected the result and war restarted.

The Americans, realizing Savimbi could not win, switched sides and began to help the MPLA win the war.

In the mid 1990s, anxious to secure Angolan oil, the US abandoned its previously stated mantra [view] that the war in Angola was not winnable by either side. Having changed sides, the Americans helped the government launch an offensive in 1999 to drive UNITA from its heartland in Central Angola. Abandoned by the Americans, it lost support outside Angola. In 1996 its main ally in Africa, President Mobutu Sese Seko of the Congo (Zaire), was overthrown. The Angolan army blocked supplies crossing the border. The Angolans bombed a power station in northern Zambia to warn the Zambian government of its support for UNITA.

**Learner note:** For Question 2.7 when they refer to "limitations of the source" you have to look at factors such as:
- Are there any lacking information
- Is the source Biased or one-sided?
- Why was this source created? E.g. was it created for propaganda purposes?

2.1 Which TWO superpowers had vested interests in Angola? (2 x 1)(2)
2.2 Explain how these two superpowers became involved in Angola. (2x2) (4)

2.3 What consequences did the ending of the Cold War have on Angola? (2 x 2)(4)

2.4 Explain why you think Savimbi restarted the war after the election defeat. (1 x 2)(2)

2.5 How did Angola's resources, especially oil, influence political changes in the country? (1 x 2)(2)

2.6 Quote evidence from the source to show that Savimbi lost support from his former allies. (1 x 2)(2)

2.7 What are the limitations of this source to a historian researching this period in Angola's history? (1 x 2)(2)

SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

QUESTION 1:

1.1 • The Soviet Union provided loans, military advisers and weapons ✓✓
  • The Cubans sent troops to Angola ✓✓
  • Angola had abundant resources that both the USA and the USSR needed ✓✓
  • To spread either communist or democratic influence in Angola ✓✓
  (any 2 x 2)(4)

1.2 • Portugal was the former colonial power of Angola ✓✓ (1 x 2)(2)

1.3 • Military victory was not envisaged as a possibility by both the MPLA and UNITA ✓
  • Angola had endured a great deal of destruction because of the civil war ✓
  • Ideologically communism collapsed in the USSR and Dos Santos was no longer supported by the Soviet Union ✓
  • Any other relevant response (any 2 x 1)(2)

1.4 • Military forces would be joined ✓
  • No more weapons would be provided by the USA, the USSR and Portugal ✓✓
  • No more fighting would occur in Angola ✓
  • Any other relevant response (any 2 x 1)(2)

1.5 • The photograph shows that UNITA was still in a fighting mood ✓✓
  • The leaders of UNITA were still wearing military uniforms ✓✓
  • The leaders of UNITA were still carrying weapons ✓✓
  • Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)
1.6
Candidates need to refer to both sources in their response:
- According to the Bicesse Peace Accord no lethal weapons should be provided anymore but in the photograph, Savimbi is seen with heavily armed men √
- According to the Bicesse Peace Accord the two armies would be integrated into a single national army but according to the photograph UNITA was still dressed in military uniform and were ready to resume the civil war √
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

QUESTION 2:

2.1
- Deep distrust between them √
- Interference of the USA and USSR in Angola's domestic affairs √
- Extension of the Cold War in Angola √
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

2.2
- It temporarily ended the civil-war and brought peace to Angola for the first time since 1975 √
- It led to the 1992 elections/Democracy √
- It gave hope for Angola to re-imagine itself √
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

2.3
Candidates need to comment on whether President dos Santos was JUSTIFIED or NOT JUSTIFIED in resuming the civil war in Angola. Candidates should use the following to support their viewpoint.

JUSTIFIED
- Had to neutralise UNITA who returned to civil war √
- Had to defend his government and the people of Angola √
- Savimbi not prepared to accept defeat √
- Any other relevant response

NOT JUSTIFIED
- It would lead to more economic, political and social instability √
- It would be difficult for his conventional army to fight against the UNITA guerrillas √
- Any other relevant answer (any 2 x 2)(4)

3.1
- Angola had many landmine victims √
- Many Angolans became amputees √
- Angolans desired peace √
- Any other relevant response √

3.2
- Angolans were tired of the war because it affected their lives √
- Angolans wanted an end to war √
- Angolans desired peace and stability √
- Any other relevant response √ (any 2x 2)(4)
QUESTION 4:

4.1
- Reconstruction of bridges, streets, hospitals, schools and other infrastructure ✓ ✓
- Ensure access to running water and other services ✓ ✓
- Rebuilt sewage treatment plants ✓ ✓
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

4.2
- Lots of waste because all systems came to a standstill during the war ✓ ✓
- Unhealthy/poor living conditions after years of non-collection of refuse ✓ ✓
- The infrastructure was destroyed such as bridges, roads, hospitals etc. ✓ ✓
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

4.3 Candidates can either AGREE or DISAGREE that the visual source gives a fair depiction of Angola re-imagining itself and support their response with relevant evidence.

AGREE:
- Temporary plans that were made to use roads/new bridge built ✓ ✓
- The rebuilding of bridges as depicted in the visual source ✓ ✓
- Shows government involved in the re-building of infrastructure ✓ ✓
- Any other relevant response

DISAGREE:
- The photographer could be biased/government propaganda ✓ ✓
- It only shows one aspect of the rebuilding process ✓ ✓
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

4.4
- Both sources refer to the damaged infrastructure/bridges ✓ ✓
- Both sources indicate the effect that the civil war had on Angola ✓ ✓
- Both sources refer to the reconstruction of Angola ✓ ✓
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

4.5 Candidates must focus on the following aspects:
Candidates must select one source (A, B, C or D) and indicate why it is USEFUL. When answering this question, candidates need to show that the source is relevant to the investigation and reliable by interrogating the provenance (origin) and level of bias.

Source A is useful because:
- Negotiations was difficult
- Negotiations and peace agreement
- Angola was a pawn during the Cold War
- Triple zero clause

Source B is useful because:
- Distrust between MPLA and UNITA
- Consensus were reached, however it would be short lived
- UNITA resumed the war
A further 2 years and the consequences were severe – high death rate

Source C is useful because:

- It depicts Angolans desire for peace
- It depicts the devastation that the civil war had on ordinary Angolans
- It depicts the effects that the landmines had by showing the amputees
- It was drawn at the time of civil war in Angola
- The visual elements in the cartoon confirms the atrocities of the civil war in Angola
- Any other relevant response

Source D is useful because:

- Provides statistical information about the lack of running water and toilets
- Gives evidence about the effects of the war
- The written source gives information about Angola and how it could re-imagine itself
- It gives evidence of the destruction of the civil war/need for reconstruction
- Photograph shows Angola re-imagining itself
- Gives information about the outcome of a research done in Angola about the effects of the civil war
- Destruction of infrastructure
- Any other relevant response

Use the rubric on the next page to allocate a mark:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL 1</th>
<th>Uses evidence in an elementary manner e.g. shows no or little understanding of explaining which ONE of the sources would be most useful to a historian writing about the effects of the civil war on Angola</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses evidence partially to write on the topic or cannot write on topic</td>
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<td></td>
<td>MARKS: 0–2</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>LEVEL 2</th>
<th>Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent to the topic e.g. shows some understanding of explaining which ONE of the sources would be most useful to a historian writing about the effects of the civil war on Angola</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses evidence in a very basic manner</td>
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<td>MARKS: 3–5</td>
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<tr>
<th>LEVEL 3</th>
<th>Uses relevant evidence e.g. shows a thorough understanding of explaining which ONE of the sources would be most useful to a historian writing about the effects of the civil war on Angola</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MARKS: 6–8</td>
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</table>
SESSION NO: 4  
TOPIC:  CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS FROM THE 1950s TO THE 1970s  
QUESTION FOCUS: THE USA CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

This is the third section in Paper 1 and will contain source-based questions.

SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 15 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Nov 2012 Paper 1)

SOURCE A

The source below comprises a written and a visual source on the activities of the Civil Rights Movement.

Written Source: This account by Ruby Doris Smith, a seventeen-year-old African American student, describes her experience at the Spelman College in Atlanta, 1960.

When the student committee was formed, I told my older sister to put me on the list. And when two hundred students were selected for the first demonstration, I was among them. I went through the food line in the restaurant at the State Capitol with six other students, but when we got to the cashier, she wouldn't take our money. The lieutenant-governor came down and told us to leave. We didn't and went to the county jail.

Visual Source: A photograph showing black and white activists being harassed by white Americans while embarking on a sit-in at a segregated restaurant in Jackson, Mississippi, June 1963.
1.1 What evidence in the written source suggests that Ruby Doris Smith wanted to be a civil rights activist? (2 x 1)(2)

1.2 In what way were the reactions of both the cashier and the lieutenant-governor towards Ruby Doris Smith similar? (Written source) (1 x 2)(2)

1.3 Define the concept segregation in your own words. (1 x 2)(2)

1.4 Explain the messages conveyed by this photograph. (Visual source) (2 x 2)(4)

1.5 After studying the visual source, comment on the mood of the following people:

(a) White Americans that were standing (2 x 2)(4)

(b) Black and white activists that were seated (2 x 2)(4)

1.6 Explain in what ways the written and visual sources are similar regarding the treatment of the activists. (2 x 2)(4)

[18]
QUESTION 2: 25 minutes  

(Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2011 Paper 1)

SOURCE B
This source comprises two photographs, which depict scenes from the Selma–Montgomery marches.

Photograph 1: This photograph, taken on 7 March 1965, is entitled 'Bloody Sunday'. It shows state troopers using violence to stop the marchers.

Photograph 2: This photograph shows Martin Luther King Jr leading the march from Selma into Montgomery on 25 March 1965.
Learner note: For Question 2.4 you need to select ONE source and support your response with reasons. You must state why the source is USEFUL.

2.1 Refer to Photograph 1. Why is this photograph entitled 'Bloody Sunday'? (2 x 2)(4)

2.2 Photograph 2 shows marchers carrying the American flag. What can you learn about the marchers and the Civil Rights Movement from this photograph? (1 x 3)(3)

2.3 Compare Photograph 1 and Photograph 2.
(a) Explain the differences between the Selma–Montgomery marches. (2 x 2)(4)
(b) How can you account for these differences? (2 x 2)(4)

2.4 Refer to Sources 3A and 3B. Explain which ONE of the two sources you think would be most useful to a historian writing the history of the Civil Rights Movement. (2 x 2)(4)

2.5 Use Source B and your own knowledge to write a paragraph of about SIX lines (about 60 words) to explain why the Selma–Montgomery marches were necessary. (6)

[25]

Question 3: 5 minutes  (Taken from NCS Nov 2013 Paper 1)

SOURCE C
This source outlines the march to Washington where Martin Luther King Junior delivered his 'I have a Dream' speech.

The march on Washington, a culminating (ending) event of the movement, drew a larger number of people to the Capitol than ever before – about a quarter of a million. Estimates are that 20 to 30 per cent of them were white; many interracial northern groups attended. The 28 August 1963 march was a peaceful demonstration, a rally – perhaps an extension of the thousands of packed mass meetings that had taken place in black churches all over America and especially the South. Civil rights leaders had felt that the events of 1963 required a significant climax. It was the veteran A Philip Randolph, who now proposed a march that would really take place. A main objective was to demonstrate to Congress that public opinion was on the side of desegregation and voting rights and that a considerable number of whites strongly supported these goals.
Unity and goodwill prevailed for the day, at least on the surface, as noted entertainers, black and white, performed and a series of leaders addressed the crowds. The programme was long but the final speaker, Martin Luther King Jr., provided an inspirational ending that out-did any of his previous oratory (speech-making). King marched on the state capital and delivered his now-famous 'I have a Dream' speech, calling for equal treatment for all Americans. As a result of the march and the speech, the citizens of the nation began to put growing pressure on the presidential administration of John F Kennedy, encouraging the president to push for civil rights laws to pass through Congress and become recognized on a national level.

[From: Civil Rights March On Washington by S Ross]
3.1 Explain to what extent the march to Washington was a success. (1 x 3)(3)

3.2 Comment on the significance of Martin Luther King Junior's 'I have a Dream' speech in the context of the Civil Rights Movement. (Written source) (2 x 2)(4)

SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT

Terminology and key events:

Terminology and key events obtained from the following source:
http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/civilrights/terms.html

**Birmingham Campaign** A peaceful protest organized by Martin Luther King Jr. and the SCLC in Birmingham, Alabama. By protesting, King hoped to provoke violent reactions by racist whites and win national media attention. The tactic worked, as city commissioner “Bull” Connor ordered police to use force to end the protest, and northern whites watched the violence unfold on national television. While serving a short jail sentence in Birmingham, King wrote his famous “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” in which he explained the civil rights movement to his critics. The Birmingham campaign also convinced President John F. Kennedy to endorse the movement fully and pressure Congress to pass more civil rights legislation.

**Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas** A Supreme Court ruling that desegregated public schools. The NAACP’s chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall, won a major victory for black Americans when he convinced the Supreme Court to hear *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, in 1954. Chief Justice Earl Warren, who supported desegregation, then convinced the justices to hand down a unanimous ruling that overturned the “separate but equal” doctrine the Court had established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* sixty years earlier. President Dwight D. Eisenhower personally opposed the decision and therefore refused to comment on the ruling or endorse the blossoming civil rights movement.

**Civil Rights** - The rights of individuals to be free from unfair or unequal treatment (discrimination) in a number of settings, when that negative treatment is based on the individual's race, gender, religion, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, age, or other protected characteristic.

**Civil Rights Act 1964** - A federal law that prohibits discrimination in a number of settings: Title I prohibits discrimination in voting; Title II: public accommodations; Title III: Public Facilities; Title IV: Public Education; Title VI: Federally-Assisted Programs; Title VII: Employment.

**Civil Rights Movement** - Historically, the term "Civil Rights Movement" has referred
to efforts toward achieving true equality for African-Americans in all facets of society, but today the term "civil rights movement" is also used to describe the advancement of equality for all people regardless of race, sex, age, disability, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, or other protected characteristic.

**Civil Rights Act of 1957** An act that nominally outlawed racial segregation and created a civil rights division within the Justice Department. Congress passed the act in the wake of the Montgomery bus boycott and the Little Rock crisis. However, the act had more of a symbolic impact than a legal one; President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the bill only reluctantly and assured southern politicians that the law would not bring about any major changes in daily life.

**Civil Rights Act of 1964** An act that outlawed discrimination in public places and the workplace on the basis of race, religion, nationality, or gender. The act also created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to ensure that people would abide by the law. President Lyndon B. Johnson used all his political power to push the bill through Congress, because he knew the bill would allow him to take control of the divided Democratic Party. Interestingly, the incorporation of the word *gender* into the law helped the feminist movement gain momentum in the late 1960s.

**CORE** - The Congress of Racial Equality U.S. civil rights organization played a pivotal role in the Civil Rights Movement of the 20th century. Membership in CORE is stated to be open to "anyone who believes that 'all people are created equal' and is willing to work towards the ultimate goal of true equality throughout the world." The Congress of Racial Equality sought to apply the principles of nonviolence as a tactic against segregation.

**Desegregation** - This is the breaking down of imposed racial separation. Desegregation has always been a fundamental aim of the civil rights movement in this country and was given special impetus by the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

**Discrimination** – This the act, practice, or an instance of discriminating categorically rather than individually; prejudiced or prejudicial outlook, action, or treatment.

**Freedom Rides** A series of protests aimed at the desegregation of buses in the South. Beginning in 1961, CORE and the SNCC organized several interracial Freedom Rides to win sympathy from whites in the North by provoking racist southerners. Freedom Riders met violent mobs throughout Alabama who burned buses and nearly beat several of the riders to death. Southern police also arrested riders for inciting violence and disturbing the peace.

**Freedom Summer** An SNCC-sponsored event that sent nearly 1,000 people—mostly young, white student volunteers from the North—to Mississippi in 1964 to provoke southern white ire. Volunteers helped register tens of thousands of black voters, formed the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and taught civic classes to poor blacks. Unfortunately, these volunteers paid a heavy price: hundreds were arrested, scores were stabbed and shot, and several died in their efforts to empower black Mississippians. The Freedom Summer campaign helped convince the U.S. Congress to ratify the Twenty-Fourth Amendment and pass the Civil Rights Act of
1964.

**Greensboro Sit-In** A 1960 protest in which four black college students sat at an all-white lunch counter in a Woolworth’s store in Greensboro, North Carolina, and demanded service. When the clerks refused, the students continued to sit quietly at the counter and refused to leave. The students returned each subsequent day with additional supporters until hundreds of people had joined them. City officials eventually agreed to desegregate Woolworth’s and other local stores, but only after blacks had waged a long and costly boycott. The Greensboro sit-in encouraged other student leaders to form the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and inaugurated the sit-in movement that spread across the country.

**Jim Crow Laws** A term for racist laws and social orders in the South that kept blacks separate from and subordinate to whites. The Jim Crow laws that appeared after the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling of 1896 forced blacks to sit, eat, sleep, study, and work in separate facilities (although these Jim Crow laws were not as harsh as the black codes of the Reconstruction era). In 1955, Rosa Parks challenged one of the Jim Crow laws of Montgomery, Alabama, when she refused to give up her bus seat to a white man. Blacks went on to protest these laws effectively with boycotts and sit-ins during the civil rights movement. The federal government also helped the movement with the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

**King Jr., Martin Luther** A civil rights leader during the 1950s and 1960s who fought to protect the rights of blacks in the South. King rose to national fame after he took charge of the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. An amazing speaker, he quickly became the de facto leader of the civil rights movement. He hoped to desegregate the South and protect blacks’ political rights through “love and nonviolence” and peaceful protest. In 1957, he founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to rally southern churches behind the movement. On countless occasions, he purposefully incited violence by racist southerners against blacks in order to win sympathy from moderate white Americans. A talented writer, King penned many of the finest essays about the movement, including his 1963 “Letter from Birmingham Jail.” He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, which boosted global awareness of the civil rights movement and put pressure on the federal government to address racial inequality in the United States. However, King’s efforts were cut short when he was assassinated by James Earl Ray in Memphis in 1968.

**KKK** - The Ku Klux Klan is the name of a number of past and present fraternal organizations in the United States that have advocated white supremacy, anti-Semitism, racism, anti-Catholicism, homophobia, and nativism. These organizations have often used terrorism, violence and acts of intimidation such as cross burnings to oppress African Americans and others.

**Lynching** - The term is derived from the “vigilante justice” practiced by Captain William Lynch and his neighbors in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, in the late 18th century. In the 19th century, lynching -- usually associated with hanging but also including tar and feathering, burning and other methods of killing -- became increasingly directed against African Americans. In the last 16 years of the 19th
century, there were some 2,500 reported lynchings. The quest for federal laws against lynching was among the first crusades of the NAACP in the early decades of the 20th century.

**Little Rock Crisis** A crisis that occurred in 1957 when the governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, defied a federal court order to integrate public high schools in the state and federal troops were sent in to enforce the law. In the hopes of winning votes from his white constituents, Faubus flouted the law and ordered the Arkansas National Guard to prevent nine black students from entering Central High School in the state’s capital, Little Rock. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, though not a supporter of the civil rights movement, placed the National Guard under federal authority and sent 1,000 army troops to escort the students to class and uphold U.S. law.

**March on Washington** One of the largest political rallies in American history, during which more than 200,000 blacks and whites gathered in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963, to demonstrate their support for more civil rights legislation from Congress. Empowered by their success in Birmingham, SCLC leaders joined forces with the SNCC, CORE, and the NAACP in organizing the march. Martin Luther King Jr. ended the rally with his famous “I have a dream” speech.

**Montgomery Bus Boycott** A yearlong boycott beginning in 1955 in which blacks avoided city transportation in Montgomery, Alabama, to protest the arrest of Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white man. Martin Luther King Jr. became a national figure when he took charge of the boycott and protest. The Supreme Court ended the boycott the following year, forcing the city of Montgomery to desegregate public transportation.

**National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)** An organization founded by W. E. B. Du Bois and several white northerners that sought to achieve legal victories for blacks, especially the reversal of the “separate but equal” doctrine established by the Supreme Court in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. After decades of legal battles, the NAACP’s top lawyer, Thurgood Marshall, finally achieved several victories, including *Morgan v. Virginia*, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, and *Sweatt v. Painter*. The NAACP’s greatest victory, however, came when the Supreme Court reversed *Plessy v. Ferguson* with the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, ruling in 1954.

**Parks, Rosa** A college-educated seamstress who effectively launched the first peaceful protest of the civil rights movement. The peaceful protest began when Parks boarded a Montgomery, Alabama, city bus on December 1, 1955, and refused to give up her seat to a white man who was looking for a seat because the “white” section was full. Police arrested her for defying the city’s law, prompting outraged blacks to start the Montgomery bus boycott later that year.

**Racism** – This is a belief in the moral or biological superiority of one race or ethnic group over another or others.
Segregation - The separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, by barriers to social intercourse, by separate educational facilities, or by other discriminatory means.

Sit-in – This is a form of direct action that involves one or more persons nonviolently occupying an area for protest, often political, social, or economic change. In a sit-in, protesters seat themselves and remain seated until they are evicted, usually by force, or until their requests have been met. Sit-ins have been a highly successful form of protest because they cause disruption that draws attention to the protest.

Selma Campaign
A black voter-registration drive in the small town of Selma, Alabama, that became a focal point for the civil rights movement in 1965. When police attacked thousands of peaceful black protesters petitioning the government for the right to vote, national controversy ensued. “Bloody Sunday,” as the incident came to be called, shocked northerners, Congress, and President Lyndon B. Johnson, who asked Congress to help protect black voting rights. Congress complied and passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
A coalition founded in 1957 by Martin Luther King Jr. and nearly one hundred other southern ministers to rally church support for the blossoming civil rights movement. King and other SCLC leaders preached a way to integrate black and white America through “love and nonviolence.” Although the SCLC did not launch the widespread peaceful protest movement that King originally envisioned, it did play a prominent role in most of the nonviolent campaigns that took place between 1957 and 1965.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
A civil rights organization founded in 1960, after the highly successful Greensboro sit-in, whose goal was to organize students on campuses across the country. The SNCC was one of the most active groups of the civil rights movement and participated in nearly every major peaceful campaign. Ironically, disillusioned SNCC members such as Stokely Carmichael formulated the philosophy of “black power” to advocate violence in order to break away from white society rather than bring about peaceful integration.

Twenty-Fourth Amendment
An amendment to the U.S. Constitution that outlawed the payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections. The Twenty-Fourth Amendment was ratified in 1964.

Voting Rights Act
A 1965 act that outlawed literacy tests as a voting prerequisite and sent federal election officials into the South to help blacks register to vote. Congress passed the act partly in response to racial violence in Selma, Alabama. Because the new law drastically increased the percentage of black voters in the South, some historians have claimed that it marked the true end of Reconstruction, which had begun exactly one hundred years earlier.
The American Civil Rights Movement notes
Information obtained from the following sources:
http://library.thinkquest.org/07aug/00117/civilrights.html
The Civil Rights Movement in the United States took place from the 1950's-1970's. It was a period of time when many reform movements took place to stop racial discrimination and racism against African Americans.
In the United States most Americans think of their civil rights as those rights given to them as written in their Constitution:
- freedom of religion,
- freedom of speech,
- freedom of the press,
- the right to due process of law, and
- the right to equal protection under the law
When talking about the Civil Rights Movement, most Americans will discuss the movement that was started during the 1950's and lasted through the early 1970's, but The American Civil Rights Movement actually began as far back in American history as 1783; the year when Massachusetts legally outlawed slavery within its borders.

Starting in the 1950's, African Americans came together in a series of nonviolent protests known as the Civil Rights Movement. African Americans had fought very hard until now for their right to be treated as equal citizens in the United States, yet segregation still existed.

In 1951, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) along with Thurgood Marshall decided to fight for the rights of African American children who were still forced into schools that were completely segregated yet still considered "equal." They believed that segregated schools dehumanized African Americans just as much as slavery had done, and used the case of a seven year old girl from Topeka, Kansas, Linda Brown. She was forced to travel many miles away from her home in order to go to her black-only school, even though a white-only school existed close to her home. The Brown family filed a lawsuit which would later be known as Brown V. Board of Education. The U.S. Supreme Court finally ruled in 1954 that schools in all states had to be "desegregated" or integrated. This court decision sent the message that segregation in America would not be tolerated.

In 1955, Rosa Parks entered a crowded Montgomery, Alabama city bus and took a seat near the front. When she was asked to move to the back, she refused. The police were called and Rosa found herself in jail. Rosa's actions inspired the black community to support the Civil Rights Movement by arranging boycotts. By deciding as a large group not to ride the bus, bus companies would lose money and the African American community would make their point known that segregation in busses was unfair and would not be tolerated.

Dr Martin Luther King Jr. led these boycotts, stating:
"We are tired...of being segregated and humiliated... For many years we have shown amazing patience...But we come here tonight to be saved from that patience that

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makes us patient with anything less than freedom and justice."

King believed that peacefully fighting segregation was the right thing to do, and for more than a year African Americans continued to boycott the bus. In 1956, a ruling by the Supreme Court finally ended segregated seating on busses throughout the country.

In 1960, four students from a black college sat down at the "whites only" section of a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. The waitress did not know how to react. She did not take their order so the students sat there until the restaurant closed. This began a series of sit-ins across restaurants in the South. People reacted in many different ways to these protests. Some protesters were threatened with violence, food was dumped over their heads, and some were arrested. These sit-ins led to "wade-ins" at public swimming pools, "kneel-ins" at segregated all-white churches, as well as demonstrations in front of department stores and movie theatres. The protesters found it difficult to remain peaceful and courteous especially since white crowds seemed to grow increasingly angry and more violent. The protesters found their strength within the spirit of brotherly love and within their belief that their nonviolent protests were the only way to fight for their freedom.

In 1963, a march was planned on Washington D.C. to focus on the need to pass the Civil Rights Bill. Leaders also felt as though it was a good time to tell the government how little it had done to end segregation. Led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., over 250,000 people gathered to walk in organized, orderly groups toward the Lincoln Memorial. It was at this march where protestors heard King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech in which he stated, "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed, 'We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal.'" This became one of the largest civil rights demonstrations in the history of the United States.

In 1965, Dr. King Jr. organized a march from Selma to Montgomery Alabama, to protest how black voters were being treated. Almost 30,000 black and white Americans joined together to demonstrate the unfairness of forcing blacks to have to pay a tax to vote, or having to face harassment that would prevent them from voting. As a result, the Voting Rights Act was passed that year, and made a huge difference in just one year. By 1966, 60% of African Americans were registered to vote and also were starting to be elected to offices and positions within the government.

After nearly 100 years since the end of the Civil War, the American people and its government had finally ended legal segregation. All the laws that allowed the separation between white and black Americans no longer existed.
SECTION C: HOMEWORK QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 19 minutes  (Taken from NSC Feb-March 2013 Paper 1)

SOURCE A

This source consists of a written and a visual source. It focuses on the methods that the Civil Rights Movement used to bring about the desegregation of facilities in the south of the USA.

Written Source: This source outlines Charlayne Hunter-Gault’s experiences as a student at the University of Georgia.

On 6 January 1961, Federal Judge Bootle ordered Hamilton and me admitted to the University of Georgia, forthwith (immediately).

We finished registering that day and began classes the following day. Tuesday night, a crowd gathered outside my dormitory (hostel). It grew increasingly agitated ... The boisterousness (unruliness) gave way to a mean-spiritedness (nasty behaviour) that resulted in bricks being thrown through my window, the only one with a light on in the dormitory, thanks to the word that had gone out to the other residents throughout the day to turn off their lights when it got dark. My room was also the only residential room on the first floor. The University, resisting the desegregation order at every turn, had turned the Women's Student Government Office on the first floor into my 'suite,' next to the lobby, while all other rooms were on the second floor. This made it very convenient for the girls upstairs to take turns pounding on the floor above my head.

Eventually, despite their late arrival, the police broke up the mob. The tear gas that was used was floating into the dormitory as the dean came in and informed me that Hamp (Hamilton Earl Holmes) and I were being suspended 'for our safety'. I began to cry, not from the gas, as was the case with some of the girls upstairs, but because I was seized with a feeling of failure. I packed quickly, ignoring the shards of glass that now lay on my clothes from the first brick that came sailing through my window. As the dean escorted me out, the girls from upstairs had formed a semi-circle in the lobby, in front of which I had to pass. As I walked past, one threw out a quarter that landed in front of me. 'Here nigger,' the voice called out, 'change my sheets.'

[From: Sisters in the Struggle edited by B Collier-Thomas]

Visual Source: This headline appeared on the front page of The Southern Courier newspaper. It was published on 4–5 September 1965.

Negro and white children leave Hayneville School
Photograph caption: Negro and white children leave Hayneville School

Main headline: Alabama Integrates Its Schools

Sub-headlines: 5 Counties Start Private Schools  Switch Peaceful in Most Schools: Trouble in Greene County, Marion


1.1 Why, do you think, Judge Bootle ordered the admission of both Hamilton and Hunter-Gault to the University of Georgia? (Written source) (1 x 2)(2)

1.2 Use the source and your own knowledge and define the term desegregation. (1 x 2)(2)

1.3 Explain how the human rights of Hamilton and Hunter-Gault were violated. (Written source) (2 x 2)(4)

1.4 Use the information from the newspaper headline (Written source) and your own knowledge and explain how the following would have reacted to the newspaper headlines:

(a) The Ku Klux Klan (1 x 2)(2)
1.5 Compare the visual and written sources. Comment on how the information in the written source contradicts (goes against) the information in the newspaper headlines (Visual source). (2 x 2)(4)

[16]

QUESTION 2: 13 minutes  (Taken from NSC November 2013 Paper 1)

SOURCE B
The extract below focuses on the formation of the Civil Rights Movement (date unknown).

After scattered efforts to repeat the success achieved by the Montgomery Improvement Association in 1955–56, a second major event occurred early in 1960 in Greensboro. Four first-year students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College took seats at a segregated lunch counter and refused to move until they were served. They adopted the non-violent tactics and philosophy advocated by Martin Luther King Jr. and previously practiced by a then little known organization, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Their return each day to the segregated lunch counter, despite increasingly hostile treatment, drew the support of other black and some white students throughout the South as well as adult leaders, and sparked repetitions of their actions in hundreds of cities. Sympathetic demonstrations occurred throughout the nation. The movement proceeded in full force.

The Deep South of the USA responded with massive resistance. Civil rights workers and black citizens were arrested, beaten, jailed, deprived of (denied) their jobs, intimidated (threatened), and killed. The federal government was ultimately forced to take unprecedented (unusual) action to protect black Americans and to guarantee their rights ... As a result important court decisions were handed down, major federal legislation was passed, public facilities such as transportation and waiting rooms were desegregated, and black citizens gained better access to the polling booths.

[From: Civil Rights: The 1960s Freedom Struggle by RL Blumberg]

2.1 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, define the term segregation. (1 x 2)(2)

2.2 Why do you think the students from the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College embarked on protest action? (1 x 2)(2)

2.3 Quote evidence from the source that suggests students were harassed. (1 x 1)(1)

2.4 Explain why the author refers to the 'South'. (1 x 2)(2)
2.5 How did the federal government respond to African Americans living in the ‘Deep South of the USA’? Support your answer with relevant reasons. 

(2 x 2)(4)

SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

Remember to include the mark allocations and ticks. The memos from the past NSC exams will include the ticks.

1.1 • Wanted to join the student committee ✓
• Wanted to be part of the demonstration ✓
• Any other relevant response (any 2 x 1)(2)

1.2 • Both were racists ✓
• Both practiced and displayed discriminatory tendencies ✓
• Both were reluctant to embrace freedom loving Americans ✓
• Any other relevant response (any 2 x 1)(2)

1.3 • To keep people apart in terms of their race ✓✓
• Treated people differently with regard to where they stayed, play etc. □ ✓✓
• Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

1.4 • To highlight the practice of discrimination/harassment ✓ ✓
• To show the lack of tolerance and respect for other human beings ✓ ✓
• Shows the attitude of the civil rights activists ✓ ✓
• Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

1.5 (a) • Confrontational ✓✓
• Disrespectful ✓✓
• Ill-mannered ✓✓
• Lacked tolerance ✓✓
• Intimidatory ✓✓
• Abusive/aggressive ✓✓
• Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

(b) • Showed strong commitment and challenged segregatory laws by staying and refusing to leave ✓✓
• Strong opposition to segregation √√
• Brave in fighting for freedom and justice √√
• Non-confrontational and peaceful √√
• Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

1.6
Both sources are similar in the following ways:
• Showed that civil rights activists were not welcomed in the restaurant √√
• Wanted the civil rights activists to leave the restaurant √√
• Showed that civil rights activists were discriminated against √√
• Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

QUESTION 2
2.1
• The 1965 march was met with violence and opposition from state troopers √√
• The troopers used brutal force on the marchers √√
• Sunday is a day of Sabbath yet it turned to be ugly and violent √√
• Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

2.2
• The marchers identified with the USA flag which symbolized unity and freedom √√√
• They were united in achieving a common objective √√√
• The march was peaceful and appeared as a happy event of togetherness √√√
• Any other relevant response (any 1 x 3)(3)

2.3
(a)
• Photograph 1- shows marchers being attacked by state troopers √√
• Photograph 1-Use of violence to stop the peaceful marches √√
• Photograph 2 - shows civil rights activists marching peacefully √√
• Photograph 2 – shows marchers not being intimidated by state troopers √√
• Any other relevant response (2 x 2)(4)

(b)
• Greater resistance from the USA authorities to the Selma–Montgomery √√
• March of 1965 which appeared very disorganized and violent (photo 1) √√
• Photo 2 was peaceful and well organised and was led by Martin and Coretta King √√
• Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

2.4
Source 3A
• Gives information about the march from Selma to Montgomery √√
• Highlights the role played by Luther √
• Information taken from National Geographic – esteemed publication √√
• Any other relevant response
Source 3B
- Highlights the historical nature of the march √√√
- Gives information on the multi-racial composition of the march √√√
- The role of women in the march √√√
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

2.5
Candidates must focus on the following aspects:
- Selma, southern town, – still practiced racial segregation
- Afro-Americans denied the right to vote
- Civil rights Act passed- natural flow of events – right to vote
- African Americans loyal citizens who contribute to American society- deserve the right to vote
- Exposed the die-hard attitude of the South
- South persisted with discrimination and segregation
- Reference to Montgomery being the capital of Alabama
- Any other relevant response

Use the following rubric to allocate a mark:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL 1</th>
<th>Uses evidence in an elementary manner e.g. shows no or little understanding of why Selma–Montgomery marches were necessary</th>
<th>Marks: 0 – 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses evidence partially to report on topic or cannot report on topic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 2</td>
<td>Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent to the topic e.g. shows some understanding of why Selma–Montgomery marches were necessary</td>
<td>Marks: 3 – 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses evidence in a very basic manner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 3</td>
<td>Uses relevant evidence e.g. shows a thorough understanding of why Selma–Montgomery marches were necessary</td>
<td>Marks: 5 – 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QUESTION 3:
3.1
The march on Washington was successful:
- Quarter of a million people were involved in the march √√√√
- Interracial march √√√√
- Peaceful march √√√√
- Pressure was put on the US administration to pass civil rights laws √√√√
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 3)(3)
3.2

- Speech united most black and white Americans
- Speech became catalyst for change/inspirational speech that brought about change Put pressure on the US government to introduce the Civil Rights Acts of 1964
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)
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SESSION NO: 5
TOPIC: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS FROM THE 1950S TO THE 1970S
QUESTION FOCUS: BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

Learner note: This is question six in Paper 1 and it will be set as an essay question.

SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 50 minutes

Source:
(https://www.pearsonschoolsandfecolleges.co.uk/Secondary/History/16plus/EdexcelGCEHistory/Samples/PursuingLifeandLibertyEqualityintheUSA,1945-1968SampleEssayandMatchingChart/D5%20Sample%20essays_Black%20Power.pdf)

Learner note: Remember that this is an essay question. It is expected that you should formulate an argument based on Historical evidence. It is a good idea to analyse the question first and briefly plan your essay before you start to write.
- Do not write headings in your essay.
- Do not use bullet points.
- Provide Historical evidence in order to prove your argument.
- Look carefully at the marking Matrix and note that marks are awarded to content (Historical facts), presentation (style and structure) as well as the formulation of an argument.

Essay question:
1. Critically discuss to what extent the Black Power Movement were successful in achieving civil rights for the African Americans. (50)

Learner note: Take about 10 minutes to plan your essay according to the PEEL writing frame before you start to write your essay.

(Taken from CAPS orientation manual Grade 12 2013)
One method to use when planning your essay is the acronym PEEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point</th>
<th>The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explain</td>
<td>The next few sentences in your paragraph should explain the point you have just made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence</td>
<td>The next few sentences should provide evidence to substantiate (support) the statement (point) you have made in the first sentence. The evidence will include dates, details, Historical facts and figures that you gathered from reading your textbook and other source material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link</td>
<td>At the end of your paragraph you must link back to the essay question and or forward to the next paragraph.</td>
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</table>
Learner note: use the following essay writing frame to plan your essay.

(Taken from CAPS orientation manual Grade 12 2013)

Question: Analyse the essay question
- Underline the key 'instruction' words.
- Underline any terms/ names/ dates.
- These terms/names/ dates must be addressed in your answer and this is how you will stay focussed on the question.

Introduction
- The introduction should contextualise the question (who? what? where? when?).
- Give a direct answer to the question.

Paragraph 1 (body of the essay)
1) The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.
2) Develop or explain the point.
3) Use evidence to support your argument.
4) Check if you referred back to the question/ linked the point explicitly to the question.
5) Link to the next paragraph/ point.

Body of the essay
- Repeat steps 1 to 5 for each paragraph in your essay.

Conclusion
- Tie up your argument and state your final conclusions on the topic.
- Your conclusion should mirror the introduction.
- Do not introduce new ideas in the conclusion.

SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT

Learner note: When you start to study, start with the definitions first. Write a list with all of the terms that you need to study. Then write down an explanation for each from what you can remember. Check your answers and see which words you could not define properly. By studying the definitions first you will be able to understand the content better and it will also help you with source analysis within the exam.

Learner note: An alternative way to study definitions is to make flash cards. Write the word on the one side of the card/ piece of paper and the definition on the other side. When you pick up the card and see the word, try to define it and check if you were correct. If you picked up the card and you see the definition, link it to the correct term and check if you were correct. To help you remember the term and definition better, create a symbol representing the term. Draw the symbol on both sides of the card. E.g. for Civil Society Protest draw a few stick figures holding posters.
**DEFINITIONS**

**Activism:** an intentional action to bring about social or political change. It can take a wide range of forms, from writing letters to newspapers or politicians, to rallies & street marches, direct action or even guerrilla tactics.

**Black Power:** was a political slogan and a name for various associated ideologies aimed at achieving self-determination for people of African/Black descent. African Americans in the United States of America used the term ‘Black Power.’ The Black Power Movement was prominent in the late 1960s and early 1970s, emphasizing racial pride and the creation of black political and cultural institutions to nurture and promote black collective interests and advance black values. Black Power expresses a range of political goals, from defense against racial oppression, to the establishment of social institutions and a self-sufficient economy.

**Civil disobedience:** peaceful refusal to obey unjust laws; when people deliberately break the law as part of a political campaign. Civil disobedience is a symbolic or ritualistic violation of the law, rather than a rejection of the system as a whole.

**Civil Society:** is composed of the totality of voluntary civic and social organisations and institutions that form the basis of a functioning society as opposed to the force-backed structures of a state (regardless of that state's political system) and commercial institutions of the market. The collective term given to voluntary organisations that does not form part of the formal government. Civil Society refers to the social & economic arrangements that counterbalance the powers of the state by providing an alternative source of power & prestige to that offered by the state itself. They include a complex web of “intermediate institutions”...such as charities, book clubs, volunteer agencies & human rights chapters.

**Civil Rights:** the rights belonging to individual citizens. In the USA, these fundamental freedoms and privileges were guaranteed by the 13th and 14th Amendments to the US Constitution and by subsequent Acts of Congress. They included Civil liberties, equal protection of the laws, and freedom from discrimination.

**Civil Rights Movement:** to promote the rights of citizens Civil Rights Movement in the United States, mass movement starting in the late 1950s that, through the application of non-violent protest action, broke the pattern of racially segregated public facilities in the South and achieved the most important breakthrough in equal-rights legislation for blacks since the Reconstruction period (1865–77).

**Civil Society Protest:** ordinary citizens take action against government policies that they consider unjust in a non-violent way. Forms of civil society protests include mass rallies & demonstrations, strikes, the wearing of distinctive clothes or logos, using posters, pamphlets or music to advertise their cause.
Desegregation: is the process of ending racial segregation, most commonly used in reference to the United States. Desegregation was long a focus of the American Civil Rights Movement, both before and after the United States Supreme Court’s decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, particularly desegregation of the school systems and the military. Racial integration of society was a closely related goal.

Disarmament: reduction or withdrawal of military forces and weapons.

Discrimination: the action of discriminating against people.

Human Rights: Rights that are believed to belong justifiably to every person.

Jim Crow laws: were laws passed in the southern states (USA) that imposed segregation between black & white people.

Passive resistance/ non-violent protest: Passive resistance refusal to obey the demands or commands of a government or occupying power, without resorting to violence or active measures of opposition; its usual purpose is to force concessions from the government or occupying power. Civil disobedience has been a major tactic and philosophy of nationalist movements in Africa and India, in the civil rights movement of US African Americans, and of labour and anti-war movements in many countries.

Resistance: the action of resisting that can be either passive or armed and violent opposition.

Segregation: the practice of restricting people to certain circumscribed areas of residence or to separate institutions (e.g. schools, churches) and facilities (parks, playgrounds, restaurants, restrooms) on the basis of race or alleged race. Racial segregation provides a means of maintaining the economic advantages and superior social status of the politically dominant group, and in recent times it has been employed primarily by white populations to maintain their ascendancy over other groups by means of legal and social colour bars. Historically, however, various conquerors—among them Asian Mongols, African Bantu, and American Aztecs—have practiced discrimination involving the segregation of subject races.

Sit-ins: organised protest demonstrations where students would occupy a particular place and refuse to move.

Suffrage: the right to vote e.g. the Suffragette movement who wanted to claim voting rights for women in Britain.

Teach-ins: extended sessions held at colleges and universities where important discussions and lectures on controversial issues took place.

**Learner note:** The following diagram indicates the basic freedoms and civil rights that all citizens should have. African Americans were denied these basic rights in some of the states of the United States of America.
Basic Freedoms

- Freedom of worship
- Freedom from fear
- Freedom to vote
- Freedom of assembly
- Freedom from want
- Freedom of speech

References
Friedman, M. et al., 2007: *Focus on history looking into the past grade 12*. Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman (Pty) Ltd.
Graves, F. et al. 2007: *Moments in history*. Cape Town, Juta Gariep (Pty) Ltd.

Summary:

**Learner note:** The following is a summary of the Black Power Movement. After studying the definitions, study these notes and then use your textbook. Go back to the definitions and these notes and revise. See if you can add information to these notes that you remember from the textbook.

**Black Power Movement**

**Many African Americans (AA) were concerned about:**
- Continuing discrimination
- Slow pace of reform in USA
- Felt that a more militant action - needed
Poor living conditions – black ghettos
AA should take pride in themselves & their culture
Malcolm X & Carmichael argued that AA should meet violence with violence
Did not want to integrate AA with whites – give AA freedom, justice & equality

AA joined Black Power Movement
1965 onwards:
- African Americans dissatisfied with slow pace of change
- Wave of race riots in US cities

Causes of the riots:
- Poor living conditions
- Police brutality in ghettos
- White racism
- Wave of riots from 1965-1967 in American cities – many AA who took part in these riots – influenced by racial ideas of the Black Power Movement

Features of Black Power:
- Leader: Malcolm X
- Speeches & writings of Malcolm X inspired violent protest against racial discrimination
- Used violence for self-defence
- Used violence to confront white racists
- Wanted to establish a separate America for AA & whites
- Pride in black heritage
- Emphasis on black separation, self-respect & self-reliance
- Promoted black participation in public affairs & business

Black Panthers
- A paramilitary (organized on the same lines as a military force) group formed in California
- Armed themselves
- Considered violence as inevitable consequence in the fight for freedom
- Self-help schemes in black neighbourhoods
- Violent confrontations with the Police

Stokely Carmichael
- At first Carmichael supported Martin Luther King and passivism
- Carmichael became impatient with the non-violent approach
- Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) – became radical & focused on Black Power
- Carmichael popularized the term ‘Black Power’
- Became the ‘Honorary Prime Minister’ of the Black Panthers
- Promoted ‘Black is Beautiful’
- Married to Miriam Makeba
- Changed his name to Kwame Ture

Black Power Movement
Malcolm X was arrested for stealing, gangsterism and drugs
Malcolm X was inspired by his faith and he became an excellent orator under the guidance of Elijah Muhammad
The Nation of Islam wanted African Americans to become Muslim and defend themselves if demonstrations turned violent
Malcolm X found his calling when he was in jail, educating himself and under the guidance of Elijah Muhammad preparing to become the spokesperson for the Nation of Islam
Equal rights for African Americans, but Malcolm X wanted a separate ‘Black state’
At the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement and especially in the late 1950s and early 1960s students supported the movement and they were positive about the change to come. However, because change did not happen fast enough, some started to question the non-violent tactics that were used and opted to join the Black Power Movement.
Malcolm X did not agree with passive resistance and felt that African Americans should use violence against white racists.
The use of violence would force the whites to change unjust laws.
Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam encouraged African American students to rather attend African American schools where they would learn more about the African heritage.
The younger generation of African Americans was becoming impatient with the slow pace of transformation.
Stokely Carmichael became disgruntled with the slow pace of change and he wanted to move away from peaceful protests and he encouraged more violent tactics like Malcolm X.
Malcolm X was critical about one African American (James Meredith) being used as an example of integration.
Malcolm X did not trust whites, not even liberal whites.
Malcolm X wanted complete separation with the whites and a separate ‘Black state’.
1964 Race Riots in New York
1965 - Malcolm X was assassinated
1965 Watts Riot in Los Angeles
Protestors were met with violence from the police, state troopers and white racists e.g. KKK
Stokely Carmichael who initially was a believer in passivism stated after King’s assassination (1968) that the time for ‘intellectual discussions’ was over and that the African Americans should defend themselves.

References
Graves, F. et al. 2007: Moments in history. Cape Town, Juta Gariep (Pty) Ltd.

Enrichment sources:
Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam
Source: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/malcolmx/peopleevents/e_noi.html

Taking over from the organization's founder, Elijah Muhammad helmed the Nation of Islam during a period of limited growth. Malcolm X's arrival in 1952 ushered in a time of dramatically increased membership and his significant national profile. The only question was: could the Nation of Islam have two leaders?

Beginnings
A traveling silk seller named W.D. Fard appeared in the Detroit ghetto on July 4, 1930. Fard said he had come from Mecca, and he proclaimed a new belief, a variant of traditional Islam. God was black, Fard taught, and so was the first man created in His image some 66 trillion years ago. The world was run by 24 black scientists; a rogue scientist created the white race, and these devils were given dominion over the earth for 6,000 years. According to Fard, their time would be up in the 20th century, so the black man needed to create a separate Nation of Islam within an America run by whites.

The Messenger
In 1931 Fard established the first Nation of Islam temple in Detroit. Imprisoned for a time, he vanished in 1934. This left the Nation in need of a new leader. The man who emerged was born Elijah Poole in 1897 in rural Georgia. Like Malcolm X's father Earl, Poole left Georgia and came north in search of opportunity and to escape Southern racism. He met Fard and one day heard from him that Fard was in fact Allah; or more precisely, the latest in a series of Allahs. Re-named Elijah Muhammad and referred to him as God's Messenger, Poole established a new temple in Chicago, the city that would become the Nation of Islam's headquarters. Pale and wiry, Elijah Muhammad ate only once during his 18-hour days. He preached in the worst parts of town, drawing blacks with a message that mixed racial pride, hatred of the white devil, and the need for economic self-sufficiency. Islam, in Muhammad's words, gave "the so-called American Negro...that qualification that he can feel proud and does not feel ashamed to be called a black man."

The Movement
Operating from a former animal hospital, the Nation had only a handful of temples and a few hundred members when Malcolm X joined in 1952. But with Elijah Muhammad's blessing, Malcolm X helped the Nation of Islam dramatically raise its profile. His message of personal pride and economic self-reliance was attractive to many blacks, as was the notion that they did not need any favors from white America. The Nation of Islam set up its own schools, stores, and restaurants; men learned history and religion, while women were taught nutrition and child rearing. Strict discipline and distinctive uniforms helped set members apart. The Muhammad
Speaks newspaper, created by Malcolm X, spread the Messenger's teachings.

The Rift
Elijah Muhammad had encouraged Malcolm in his ministry, appointing him the Nation of Islam's national representative. "I want you to be well known," Muhammad said, because "it will make me well known." But "people get jealous of public figures," the Messenger warned, and as Malcolm increasingly became the Nation of Islam's public face, some sought to prevent him from becoming Elijah Muhammad's heir. Tensions between the two men grew; Malcolm chafed at the Nation's cautious response to the shooting of Los Angeles Temple secretary Ronald Stokes in 1962, and became unnerved by repeated reports of the Messenger's adulteries. For his part, Elijah Muhammad reacted angrily to Malcolm's comments on the assassination of President Kennedy and forbade him to teach or speak to the press for 90 days.

Cassius Clay
In early 1964, during his "silencing," Malcolm and his family spent a week at Cassius Clay's compound in Miami. The boxer, who was preparing to fight heavily favored Sonny Liston for the heavyweight championship of the world, had been visiting Muslim temples for a couple of years and sought Malcolm's spiritual guidance. Malcolm offered to convince Clay to join the Nation of Islam in exchange for Malcolm's reinstatement, but the Nation refused. Then, after Clay won the fight, Elijah Muhammad officially enrolled him into the Nation of Islam and re-named him Muhammad Ali at the Nation of Islam's annual convention to which Malcolm was not invited. Soon Malcolm broke with the organization that had made him a Muslim. He formed his own group, while the Messenger's loyalists, including Malcolm's brother Philbert, denounced him. Less than a year later he was dead, gunned down by members of the Nation of Islam. Elijah Muhammad would always disclaim any responsibility for the murder.

Article explaining the Black Power Movement
Source: http://www.ushistory.org/us/54i.asp
Black Power

On June 5, 1966, James Meredith was shot in an ambush as he attempted to complete a peaceful march from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi. Meredith had already made national headlines in 1962 by becoming the first African American to enroll at the University of Mississippi. Civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr., Floyd McKissick of CORE, and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC rushed to Meredith's hospital bed. They determined that his march must be completed. As Carmichael and McKissick walked through Mississippi, they observed that little had changed despite federal legislation. Local townspeople harassed the marchers while the police turned a blind eye or arrested the activists as troublemakers.

At a mass rally, Carmichael uttered the simple statement: "What we need is black power." Crowds chanted the phrase as a slogan, and a movement began to flower. Carmichael and McKissick were heavily influenced by the words of Malcolm X, and rejected integration as a short-term goal. Carmichael felt that blacks needed to feel a sense of racial pride and self-respect before any meaningful gains could be achieved. He encouraged the strengthening of African American communities without the help of whites.
Chapters of SNCC and CORE — both integrated organizations — began to reject white membership as Carmichael abandoned peaceful resistance. Martin Luther King Jr. and the NAACP denounced black power as the proper forward path. But black power was a powerful message in the streets of urban America, where resentment boiled and tempers flared.

Soon, African American students began to celebrate African American culture boldly and publicly. Colleges teemed with young blacks wearing traditional African colors and clothes. Soul singer James Brown had his audience chanting "Say it loud, I'm black and I'm proud." Hairstyles unique to African Americans became popular and youths proclaimed, "BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL!"

The Black Power movement turned popular fashion and aesthetics on end. In the 1930s, skin lighteners and hair straighteners were used by fashionable black women in an effort to look whiter. By the end of the 1960s, being proud of the African heritage dictated that afros and dark skin were desirable.

That same year, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale took Carmichael's advice one step further. They formed the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California. Openly brandishing weapons, the Panthers decided to take control of their own neighborhoods to aid their communities and to resist police brutality. Soon the Panthers spread across the nation. The Black Panther Party borrowed many tenets from socialist movements, including Mao Zedong's [China] famous creed "Political power comes through the barrel of a gun." The Panthers and the police exchanged gunshots on American streets as white Americans viewed the growing militancy with increasing alarm.

In 1966, the Black Panther Party offered a list of their wants and beliefs. Drawing from the language of the Declaration of Independence, the document made a powerful statement about the state of race relations in the United States at the time.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY Platform & Program October 1966 WHAT WE WANT WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
WE BELIEVE that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. WE WANT full employment for our people.
WE BELIEVE that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.
WE BELIEVE that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black
people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings. WE BELIEVE that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. WE WANT education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society. WE BELIEVE in an educational system that will give to our people knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. WE WANT all black men to be exempt from military service. WE BELIEVE that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. WE WANT an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people. WE BELIEVE we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. WE WANT freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails. WE BELIEVE that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. WE WANT all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States. WE BELIEVE that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.
10. WE WANT land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

WE HOLD these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness endows them. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

The peaceful Civil Rights Movement was dealt a severe blow in the spring of 1968. On the morning of April 4, a white assassin named James Earl Ray gunned down King. Riots spread through American cities as African Americans mourned the death of their most revered leader. Black power advocates saw the murder as another sign that white power must be met with similar force. As the decade came to a close, there were few remaining examples of legal discrimination. But across the land, de facto segregation loomed large. Many schools were hardly integrated and African Americans struggled to claim their fair share of the economic pie.

SECTION C: HOMEWORK QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 50 minutes

1. Explain to what extent African Americans opted to rather join the Black Power Movement.

(50)

Learner note: Refer to Black Power, Black Panthers and Malcolm X in your answer. After you have explained each of these topics you have to link it back to the question and state why African Americans wanted to rather follow a more violent approach to obtain their freedom.
SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

Introduction:
- African Americans were dissatisfied with Martin Luther King’s policies of peaceful protest.
- African Americans were growing impatient of the slow pace of change, leading to the emergence of the Black Power Movement.
- Black Power collapsed in the 1970s and achieved very little for black people, apart from improving their self-esteem.

Learner's note: This is a very sound and focused introduction that summarises the rise and fall of Black Power in a few sentences. It also suggests that the achievements of Black Power were not very extensive. Thus remember to give a direct answer to the question and outline your answer within the introduction.

Body:
- Nation of Islam (NOI) led by Elijah Muhammad.
- Elijah Muhammad believed in a strong moral code, and disapproved of drinking, gambling and abusing women.
- He believed that black people should be completely independent from white people, and that blacks should protect themselves with force against whites. This attitude divided the NOI from King (who was called an ‘Uncle Tom’ by the NOI) and from the Civil Rights Movement.
- Inspired African Americans from poorer communities. Malcolm X was also inspired by the teachings of Elijah Muhammad.
- This NOI made the Civil Rights Movement as less effective and meant that all blacks could not work together. The NOI did not achieve very much at all, but it did inspire many blacks in the poor parts of the cities.

Learner note: A good selection of information that explains the nature of the Nation of Islam and its policies.

- Malcolm X became a member of the NOI while he was in prison for burglary.
- Malcolm X was an important speaker for the movement until he left it in 1964 because he did not like the corruption and expensive lifestyles of its leaders.
- Malcolm was an inspiring orator who criticised King and advocated racial hatred and violence.
- Malcolm X persuaded Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali) to become a member of the NOI.
- In 1964 he went on the Haj, where he saw all Muslims behaving as equals, and he realised that Islam could bring people of different races together. This experience made him change some of his more extreme views. Malcolm X was murdered by the NOI in 1965 just when he was making his moderate views known.
Malcolm X did not achieve much for black Americans, but he did increase the profile of Black Power by appearing on television and in the press. He also highlighted the problems of the inner cities, and he became a role model for many young blacks to follow.

Learner Note: Precisely selected information summarises the importance of the role of Malcolm X. Note how effective the PEEL writing frame is applied by making the link back to the original topic.

Black Power became very radical in the mid-1960s because the problems in the inner-city ghettos became more widely known in the USA. Every summer there were inner-city riots when many people died and houses and stores were set on fire. King wanted to help these people, but he was unable to achieve very much, and so the African Americans who lived in the ghettos turned against the Civil Rights Movement. This led to the development of Black Power.

Black Power rejected King’s peaceful policies, and made blacks believe that they could control their own communities. One aspect of Black Power was the radicalisation of both the SNCC and CORE. Stokely Carmichael became the leader of the SNCC, and was the first to use the phrase ‘Black Power’.

Floyd McKissick became the leader of CORE. These new leaders were much more radical than the people they replaced. They expelled all whites from their organisations and began to call for ‘black power’, which meant confrontation with whites. Black Power did not last for very long, and did not achieve much for black people. Instead, it only increased the division among blacks.

Learner note: Write precisely selected and detailed information on the mid-1960s and the rise of Black Power radicalism. Focus on how Stokely Carmichael changed his stance from passive resistance to active resistance.

Another group that became prominent in the late 1960s was the Black Panthers. They were led by Huey Newton, who had a very radical policy of revolutionary communism.

Newton had links with revolutionary and liberation movements in the rest of the world, and he wanted confrontation with whites, especially with the police, who often mistreated black people with violence and brutality.

Many Black Panthers were armed, and there were often shootouts with the police that caused many deaths. The violence of the Black Panthers shocked many whites, and the government decided to destroy the Panthers before they became too powerful. This policy succeeded in the early 1970s. The Black Panthers achieved nothing for African Americans, but only alienated moderate African Americans and whites, and gave a bad name to the whole of the Civil Rights Movement.

Learner note: The role and significance of the Black Panthers are clearly understood. Some positive achievements might be mentioned, such as the promotion of self-esteem and self-reliance.

Conclusion:
• Black Power declined very quickly in the late 1960s because its organisation was very poor and it had little money to support itself.
• Black Power also declined because the government preferred King’s peaceful methods to the violence and hatred of Black Power. Thus it seemed as if Black Power had not achieved anything of real importance for African Americans, and was a factor in the ending of the Civil Rights Movement as a whole.
• However, it can be said that Black Power did manage to achieve something for African Americans as a whole. Black Power leaders did try to help the people in the inner-city ghettos, and they did increase black pride and a sense of Black Nationalism. Malcolm X in particular was very important in raising the morale of many black people, and became a hero to young black people in the USA and around the world.

Learner note: You have to write a strong conclusion that does not simply repeat the points made in the body of the answer. The concluding paragraph tries to weigh up and evaluate the achievements of Black Power in the 1960s. Remember that you should not introduce new evidence or ideas in your conclusion.
### QUESTION 1:

Use the Marking Matrix to mark the essay.

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<td>Question has been fully answered.</td>
<td>Very well planned and structured essay. Good synthesis of information. Developed an original, well balanced and independent line of argument with the use of evidence, sustained and defended the argument throughout. Independent conclusion is drawn from evidence to support the line of argument.</td>
<td>Very well planned and structured essay. Developed a relevant line of argument. Evidence used to defend the argument. Attempts to draw an independent conclusion from the evidence to support the line of argument.</td>
<td>Planned and constructed an argument. Evidence is used to some extent to support the line of argument. Conclusion drawn from the evidence to support the line of argument.</td>
<td>Shows some evidence of a planned and constructed argument. Attempts to sustain a line of argument. Conclusions not clearly supported by evidence.</td>
<td>Attempts to structure an answer. Largely descriptive, or some attempt at developing a line of argument. No attempt to draw a conclusion</td>
<td>Little or no attempt to structure the essay.</td>
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**SESSION NO: 6**

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QUESTION 1: 12 minutes (Taken from NSC Nov 2012 Paper 1)

SOURCE A
This extract focuses on the influence that the philosophy of Black Consciousness had on the Soweto Uprising of 1976. It was written in 1978 by John Kane-Berman, who was a member of the SRC at the University of the Witwatersrand.

One of the principal factors explaining the new mood of assertiveness (self-confidence) so evident among black youth in many parts of the country is the growth of the Black Consciousness philosophy. This is one of the most important developments in South Africa in recent years... At about the same time, black students, after much soul-searching, broke away from the multi-racial but white-dominated National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) to form the South African Students' Organisation (SASO). After that, numerous organisations espousing (standing for) Black Consciousness were formed, including the South African Students' Movement (SASM) among schoolchildren and the Black People's Convention (BPC), a political organisation, of which Steve Biko was honorary president at the time of his death ...

The extent of allegiance (loyalty) to SASM and the degree to which schoolchildren in general identify with Black Consciousness are not readily measurable. Again, it appears as if the impact on both African and Coloured schoolgoers, and particularly on their leaders, has been very considerable. A small but telling example of how blacks' self-images have been changing and of their growing readiness to act was provided by pupils at a Coloured high school in the Cape. In November 1976 more than 100 of the 180 pupils boycotted an examination on a book called Swart Pelgrim by FA Venter. In the past they had not objected to this book, but now they said it was biased because it showed blacks in an inferior light, and that it was frustrating and humiliating. The only good thing about it was that it showed how whites had been exploiting blacks. The students tore up and burnt copies of the book.

[From: SOWETO Black Revolt, White Reaction by J Kane-Berman]

Learner note: Question 1.2 asks you to write a definition for Black Consciousness. Note that although the mark allocation indicates (1 x 2)(2) meaning that you have to write 1 fact that will count 2 marks does not mean that you can write a one-word answer. You must clearly define the term in full sentences, otherwise you will not receive marks.
1.1 According to the source, what was the fastest growing philosophy among the black South African youth? (1 x 1)

1.2 Explain the term *Black Consciousness* in your own words. (1 x 2)

1.3 What factors, do you think, motivated black South African students to break away from NUSAS? (1 x 2)

1.4 Name TWO organisations that were formed to instill the philosophy of Black Consciousness in black South African students. (2 x 1)

1.5 Explain how the philosophy of Black Consciousness influenced African and Coloured school children in the Cape in 1976. (2 x 2)

[11]

QUESTION 2: 10 minutes (Taken from NSC Nov 2012 Paper 1)

SOURCE B
This cartoon by Abe Berry that appeared in *The Star* newspaper, depicts the reasons for the Soweto Uprising of June 1976. (Date unknown)

![Cartoon Image]

[From: *Act by Act 40 Years of Nationalist Rule in South Africa. A Cartoon History of Apartheid* by A Berry]

**Learner note:** Cartoon analysis usually relates to cartoonist portraying or
commenting on contemporary events. A cartoon is a biased look at a certain situation and the cartoonist usually makes a social comment about a person or a topic. Every aspect in a cartoon is important. Use the following key features as a guideline in order to analyse a cartoon:

- What is the cartoon about?
- Can you identify the people in the cartoon?
- How are the figures drawn? Are they exaggerated?
- Identify the objects in the cartoon e.g. the poster with 'skool' [school] that is scratched out and the torch. What does this mean? Why is 'skool' scratched out and replaced by Soweto? What is the meaning of the torch?
- What is the meaning of the caption in the cartoon?
- Are there speech bubbles or other words in the cartoon?
- Where and when was the cartoon published?
- Who is the cartoonist?

2.1 The Afrikaans word 'skool' (school) is crossed out in the cartoon. Using this information and your own knowledge, explain the messages that the cartoonist intended to convey. (2 x 2)(4)

2.2 How does the cartoonist Berry use the visual element of the flame/torch to convey his message? (2 x 2)(4)

2.3 Study Sources A and B. Comment on how these sources support each other regarding the Soweto Uprising. (2 x 2) (4)

[12]

QUESTION 3: 12 minutes

(Taken from NSC Nov 2013 Paper 1)

SOURCE C

The source below comprises two extracts on the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

Learner note: Difficult words or foreign words e.g. *ipso facto* in sources are usually explained just after the word. The meaning is indicated in brackets.

Learner note: Note that both of the following extracts are Biko's own words.

Extract 1: The following outlines Steve Biko's definition of Black Consciousness. Taken from a paper delivered by Steve Biko at a SASO leadership conference, 5 to 8 December 1971 in Pietermaritzburg.

Any man who calls a white man 'Baas', any man who serves in the police force or Security Branch is *ipso facto* (as a result) a non-white. Black people – real black people – are those who can manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their souls to the white man.

Briefly defined therefore, Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group in order to rid
themselves of the shackles that bind them in perpetual servitude (oppression).
[From: I Write What I Like by S Biko]

Extract 2: The following is an extract from an interview (date unknown) between Biko and an American businessman. This interview was held before Biko's final detention and death. It was only printed in The New Republic newspaper on 7 January 1978 because the apartheid government imposed a media ban related to Biko's death.

You are either alive and proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can't care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicising thing ... So if you can overcome the personal fear of death, which is a highly irrational thing, you know, then you're on the way.

My attitude is, I'm not going to allow them to carry out their programme faithfully. If they want to beat me five times, they can only do so on condition that I allow them to beat me five times.

So I said to them: 'Listen, if you guys want to do this your way, you have to handcuff me and bind my feet together, so that I can't respond. If you allow me to respond, I'm certainly going to respond. And I'm afraid you may have to kill me in the process even if it's not your intention.'

[From: I Write What I Like by S Biko]

Learner note: Question 3.2 refers to the extract and prompts you to use your own words. Note that you should not rewrite the source; the marker will not give you marks for merely rewriting a source. You need to interpret the source and show the marker that you understand the statements that are made in the source.

3.1 Who, according to Extract 1, were ‘real black people’? (1 x 2) (2)

3.2 Use the information in the source (Extract 1) and use your own words to explain how a black person must implement Black Consciousness to challenge apartheid. (1 x 2) (2)

3.3 How did Steve Biko react to the threat of police interrogation and death? (Extract 2) Support your answer with relevant reasons. (2 x 2) (4)

3.4 Explain whether you agree with Steve Biko's attitude towards police interrogation and death. Use the information in the source and your own knowledge to support your answer. (2 x 2) (4)

3.5 Compare the information in Extracts 1 and 2. Explain how these extracts support each other regarding the philosophy of Black Consciousness. (2 x 2) (4)

[16]
SOURCE D

Below is an artwork by Birgit Walker. The artwork is based on the famous Sam Nzima photo.

(Source: http://www.pinterest.com/sweetpea121978/masters/)

Point

The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.

Explain

The next few sentences in your paragraph should explain the point you have just made.

Evidence

The next few sentences should provide evidence to substantiate (support) the statement (point) you have made in the first sentence. The evidence will include dates, details, Historical facts and figures that you gathered from reading your textbook and other source material.

Link

At the end of your paragraph you must link back to the essay question and or forward to the next paragraph.

Learner note: Read the instructions of the questions carefully. If you look at Question 4.6 you will note that you have to choose only one of the sources that you think would be most useful to an Historian. Evaluate the other sources as well and state why these sources would not be the most useful sources for an Historian.
Learner note: For a paragraph you have to refer to the sources within the paragraph. You can either write: “As seen in Source D” or you can indicate the source that you used in brackets e.g. (Source D) after you made a point/statement that you deducted from the source.

4.1 To what significant event is Source D referring? (1 x 1)(1)

4.2 Identify who the person is that is being carried? (1 x 1)(1)

4.3 Explain what the artist means by stating 'crimes against humanity.' (2 x 2)(4)

4.5 Compare the written information in Source C with the visual Source D. How do these sources support each other regarding how Black Consciousness challenged apartheid? (2 x 2)(4)

4.6 Using the information in the relevant sources (A-D) and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining and evaluating all of the sources to determine which ONE of the sources would be most useful to a historian writing about the role that Black Consciousness played in protesting against apartheid. (8)

SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT

Definitions

Bantu Homelands: those territories reserved for black people & around which the principle of segregation in SA was organised; sometimes called the Bantustans. The homeland system was made up of 10 ethnic areas. Four of these eventually became “independent”, known as TBVC or Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda & Ciskei.

Black Consciousness: a political movement & ideology seeking to unite black people in affirming their common identity. Ideology developed primarily by black students after 1968, that blacks had to liberate themselves psychologically from the effects of white racism. Active in the 1970s. Promoted black pride. Steve Biko was a prominent leader of this movement.

Boycott: to abstain from using, buying or dealing with a person/group/organisation/country, as a protest or means of coercion.

Civil Protest: Ordinary citizens protest against unjust and unfair laws.

Defiance Campaign: Attempt in 1952 by groups opposed to apartheid to overburden law enforcement machinery by contravening discriminatory laws.

Ideology: Form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as
prominent as theoretical ones. It is a system of beliefs.

**Necklacing:** killing people by setting alight car tire, hung around their neck & filled with petrol or diesel.

**Resistance:** An underground organization engaged in a struggle for national liberation in a country under military or totalitarian occupation.

**Rolling Mass Action:** general strikes, mass demonstrations & stayaways.

**Sabotage:** the act of deliberately trying to damage something.

**State of Emergency:** gave government wide powers to arrest & interrogate people, search buildings, stop meetings & censor news. Army was sent in to patrol townships. When government believes the country is in crisis. The government gives the police & army extra powers. They can arrest people, and seize property without having to follow the usual procedures, such as getting a warrant. A condition in a country in which martial law is applied and certain civil liberties are taken away temporarily. Martial law is when the military replaces the civilian government to keep order. The military is allowed to rule temporarily without having to stick to democratic principles or having to protect civil rights. A state of emergency is usually declared by the government when there is much unrest and there is danger of a revolution or civil war breaking out.

**Self-determination:** the ability to determine or decide one’s own fate or course of action without interference from other sources.

**Uprising:** an act of resistance or rebellion.

**References**
- Graves, F. et al. 2007: *Moments in history*. Cape Town, Juta Gariep (Pty) Ltd.

**Civil Society Protests in South Africa**

**Background**
- Sharpeville Massacre
- Banning of the PAC & ANC
- ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe
- PAC’s military wing Poqo
- Guerrilla campaigns
- Armed Struggle
- Separate Amenities Act
- Bantu Education – inferior system of education ensuring that students will be subservient
- Terrorism Act – any person suspected of being a terrorist could be detained for an indefinite period of time

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)
- Increasingly difficult to organise resistance – because of police brutality
- 1967 Terrorism Act allowed for indefinite detention without a trial
- Black people had no control over the social, economical or political institutions
- Black people were regarded as second-class citizens
- Increase in political activity led to increase in number of people being arrested
- Influenced by Pan Africanist ideas
- Influenced by American Black Power Movement
- Influenced by Malcolm X & the Black Panthers who refused to submit to the racism & discrimination

Changes in South Africa in the early 1970s
- Apartheid state showed weakness & disintegration
- Little economic growth
- Administration & management of apartheid was costly
- Shortage of skilled labour
- No foreign government recognised the homelands
- Government experienced opposition from whites & blacks that they never experienced before
- Enlightened Afrikaners began to see apartheid as immoral & inefficient

Aims of Black Consciousness (BC)
- Biko advocated black pride & values
- Ideas became popular on the campuses of ethnically separated universities
- ‘Black’ included Africans, Coloureds & Indians – all who were discriminated against
- Non-collaboration with whites
- Rejected non-racial philosophy of Freedom Charter
- Refused to join the UDF
- Part of National Forum
- Unite & strengthen black people to overcome feelings of inferiority
- Black people should help each other & not expect whites to help them
- Fight against apartheid was rejuvenated
- Black Peoples’ Convention (BPC) formed 1972 as umbrella organisation for BC
- BPC was not a political party but consist of many different cultural, educational & religious organisations
- Self help projects e.g. Zanempilo Community Health clinic near King William’s Town – First black owned black-run clinic in SA
- Develop self-confidence & self-determination
- ‘Black man, you are on your own’
- Pride in black culture, history & achievements
- Challenged white power structure
• BC ideas gave rise to –revival of trade unionism & worker militancy
• Black Allied Workers Union formed in 1973

**Steve Biko**
• Born in King William’s Town
• Studied medicine @ University of Natal
• Became disillusioned by white-led NUSAS
• Read writings of Black Power Movement in USA
• Said that blacks have been oppressed for 300 years they developed an inferiority complex
• Felt strongly that Africans in SA should have their own liberation organisation
• Biko felt that Africans lost confidence in themselves
• Africans should take charge in their own liberation & be proud of being black
• Biko established the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO) in 1972
• SASO boycotted classes
• SASO established branches for school students e.g. SASM
• Biko was banned in 1973
• Black high school students formed the South African Students’ Movement (SASM)
• Political journal – *Black Review*
• Biko’s house was regularly raided
• 24-hour police watch
• Detained 137 days
• 1976 detained for 101 days
• Many students arrested & detained for weeks & even months
• 1977 arrested again

**Steve Biko & the Black Consciousness Movement**
• Biko & other black leaders – inspired by Black Power ideas of USA
• SA version = Black Consciousness Biko dropped out of university
• Became a full time political activist
• Founded the Black People’s Convention (BPC), however, it was banned.
• BPC was a political organisation, setting up community programmes e.g. health & welfare services
• Students who participated in the Soweto Uprising were influenced by BC ideas.

**Expression of Black Consciousness**
• Develop skills & empowerment, decision making & critical thinking
• Implement practical programmes
• The term ‘black’ was a direct challenge to the apartheid term ‘non-white’
• The term ‘black’ referred to anyone who was oppressed under the apartheid laws, this included Indians and Coloureds.

**Impact of the philosophy of BCM on student movements**
• Inspired the culture of fearlessness & resistance
• SASO students staged a walk-out at black universities early in 1973 & they became teachers at Soweto schools who had a profound influence on their students
• Encourage self-assertion
• Opinions differ to the impact that BC & SASM had on the school children that participated in the Soweto Uprising
• 1973 SASM had branches in 9 schools in Soweto
• SASM branches functioned as forums for discussions of educational & political matters – produced militant newspaper, *Thrust*
• BC began to spread among school student activists
• Some historians believe that BC was never as influential at schools as it was at universities
• Inspired by decolonisation of Mozambique
• SASM organised public meetings where military speeches were given
• Analysts have debated that BCM never attracted a large membership & that activities were restricted by insufficient funds & government repression

**Reasons for the Soweto Uprising**

• Transkei was due for independence & urban Xhosa would lose their SA citizenship
• Mozambique & Angola gained independence
• Economic recession in 1970s mainly affected Black workers
• Low wages
• 1973 strikes & oil crisis
• Soweto was overcrowded & had inadequate services
• Influx control prevented Africans from moving freely
• Not enough houses & police stations were built
• More repressive laws e.g. to detain a person without a trial
• African trade unions were not recognised & African workers had no rights
• Bantu Education schools were inferior
• Too few teachers for high school students
• Too few schools for all the students
• Lack of opportunities for high-school graduates
• 1974 government ordered that high school Biology, Mathematics & History should be taught in Afrikaans
• Most teachers did not speak Afrikaans well & students did not understand Afrikaans
• Poor exam results in 1975
• SASM were influenced by BC ideas
• SASM played an important role of black activism & militancy
• SASM organised protests against Afrikaans & the inadequate school facilities

• Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) was set up to organise demonstrations against the implementation of the Afrikaans language policy

**The Soweto Uprising**

• SASM wanted to deliver a list of grievances to the Education Department on 16 June 1976
• 20 000 students marched to Orlando Stadium
• The uprising started as a protest against education policies, it became a general uprising against the whole system of apartheid
• Teachers, parents & workers supported the students
• March was initially peaceful, however, police stopped the marchers & violence broke out
• Police on duty had no special training in crowd control & did not have a loudhailer
• Police tried to use dogs & teargas, however, students killed 2 dogs & most of the teargas canisters were defective
• Police claimed that students had thrown stones & that the police did fire warning shots in the air
• Police opened fire, apparently without firing warning shots (according to some sources), & Hector Pieterson (13 years old), Hastings Ndlovu were killed & a few others were wounded
• Sergeant Hattingh fired the first fatal shot & chaos ensued
• Marched transformed into violence, marked by stoning, burning & damaging police vehicles, busses, railway lines, beer-halls, liquor stores, shops & offices
• People targeted places that symbolised apartheid
• Students killed 2 white officials, one was a social worker
• Afternoon – parliamentary police arrived & their instructions were to maintain law & order ‘at any cost’
• Another 11 people were shot before evening

Consequences of the Soweto Uprising
• Soweto Uprising was the largest incident of civil protest & civil disobedience of the anti-apartheid movement
• Violence – erupted in Soweto spread to other townships & resulted in a nation-wide protest
• Between June 1976 & February 1977 600 young people & adults died in confrontation with government forces
• Protests in Soweto were led by Soweto Students’ Representative Council (SSRC)
• Marches, stayaways & a boycott of the end of year exams
• Government was not in total control of the situation
• Soweto Uprising was a turning point in the liberation struggle as the protest by the youth encouraged many people & organisations to become involved in anti-apartheid activities
• 160 black communities participated in a national uprising known as ‘the Uprising of 1976’
• Biko felt that no specific organisation could take credit for the Soweto Uprising
• Despite Biko’s death (1977), BC still remained a powerful influence, however, some historians claim that BC became ineffective after Biko’s death
• Many new civil society organisations were established
• 12 000 students left the country to join the ANC in exile & receive military training
• 16 June – became powerful symbol of resistance
• International community put increasing pressure on SA government
Multi-national companies began to disinvest in SA while business leaders urged the government to find solutions to the growing resistance
SA government responded by implementing the Riotous Assemblies Act to ban all outdoor public meetings
In 1977 SASO, SASM, BPC & SSRC were banned

Different interpretations of the Soweto Uprising
- Initiated by school children who protested against Afrikaans & community also started to participate to protest against apartheid as a whole
- Black Consciousness raised the expectations of the youth & contributed to their rebellious mood & it also gave them the courage to oppose apartheid
- Education system – unequal education, less government spending on black students, some subjects taught in Afrikaans
- African working class militancy – some historians argue that BC had little impact on school children, however, worker militancy influenced the students more
- Poor communication – people in authority were not fully aware of student dissatisfaction

Reaction of apartheid state to the BCM & Steve Biko
- Biko was arrested in 1977 in Port Elizabeth, detained & beaten
- Biko was dying, but transported to Pretoria where he died in a police cell
- Government imposed a clampdown & arrested or banned members of the BPC & SASO

Impact of BCM & Biko on SA politics
- After Biko’s death – focus on police brutality
- Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger’s reaction – ‘It leaves me cold’
- BC became very popular
- Africans became more radical in their demands
- Biko’s death attracted world attention & strengthened the pressure for international sanctions against SA

References
Graves, F. et al. 2007: Moments in history. Cape Town, Juta Gariep (Pty) Ltd.

Enrichment sources
Books
Biko, S. I write what I like.
Biko, S. Steve Biko: Black Consciousness in South Africa.
Wilson, L. *Steve Biko.*
Woods, D. *Biko – Cry Freedom.*

**Movies**
Cry Freedom, Director: Richard Attenborough

**Websites**
http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/stephen-bantu-biko
Steve Biko speaks on The BCM
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ZHDPTE4TXk

### SECTION C: HOMEWORK QUESTIONS

**QUESTION 1: 15 minutes** *(Taken from NSC Nov 2008 Paper 1)*

**SOURCE 1A**

This source comprises of two parts: a written source and a visual source. Both focus on reaction to the death of Steve Biko.

**Written Source: The following statements were made by the Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, after the death of Steve Biko.**

*The Cape Times* reported on 14 September 1977 that 'The political leader Mr. Stephen Biko died while in security police custody, eight days after he began a hunger strike', the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, said yesterday [13 September].

Mr. Kruger detailed how Mr. Biko, 30, refused meals and water from September 5th, and how he was examined by various doctors, then sent to a prison hospital in Port Elizabeth, taken back to police cells and finally transferred to Pretoria where he died on the night of his arrival.

On 14 September 1977, at the Transvaal Congress of the National Party, Kruger, who had the reputation as a hawk, stated at the Transvaal Congress that 'I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr. Biko ... He leaves me cold' he told an appreciative audience of cabinet ministers, MPs and other pillars of the party. Later a delegate from Springs, capturing the mood of the gathering, drew roars of laughter when he praised the minister for granting Biko 'his democratic right to starve himself to death'.

**Visual Source: A cartoon of Jimmy Kruger by Abe Berry**
1.1 What explanation did Kruger give at the Transvaal Congress of the National Party for the death of Biko? (Written Source) (1x 2)(2)

1.2 Using the information from the source and your own knowledge, explain whether Kruger provided an accurate account of events leading to the death of Biko. (Written Source) (2 x 2)(4)

1.3 What do the words 'He leaves me cold' tell you about Kruger's attitude towards Biko? (Written Source) (1 x 2)(2)

1.4 (a) What event led Berry to draw this particular cartoon? (1 x 2) (2)
(b) Why do you think Kruger is depicted in that posture with his mouth sealed? (1 x 2)(2)

[12]

**QUESTION 2: 15 minutes** *(Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2011 Paper 1)*

**SOURCE 2B**

The extract below, taken from *Biko* by D Woods (Biko's friend), explains the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

```
Basically Black Consciousness directs itself to the black man and to his situation, and the black man is subjected to two forces in this country. He is first of all oppressed by an external world through institutionalised machinery (apartheid government forces) and through laws which restrict him from doing certain things, through heavy work conditions, through poor pay, through difficult living conditions, through poor education; these are all external to him. Secondly, and this we regard as the most important, the black man in himself has developed a certain state of alienation (isolation), he rejects himself precisely
```
because he attaches the meaning white to all that is good, in other words, he equates (views) good with white. This arises out of his living and it arises out of his development from childhood. When you go to school, for instance, your school is not the same as the white school, and the conclusion you reach is that the education you get there cannot be the same as what the white kids get at school. ... The homes are different, the streets are different, the lighting is different, so you begin to tend to feel that there is something incomplete in your humanity, and that completeness goes with whiteness.

Learner note: Donald Woods was a white South African journalist and anti-apartheid activist. He was editor of the Daily Dispatch newspaper that was based in East London. Woods and his family had to go into exile after Security Police served him with a banning order.

2.1 What do you understand by the concept Black Consciousness? (1 x 2)(2)
2.2 Explain the TWO forces that the black man, according to Biko, was subjected to in this country. (2 x 1)(1)
2.3 What, according to the source, are the factors that oppressed the black man? (3 x 1)(3)
2.4 Using the source and your own knowledge, explain why Biko's philosophy that the 'black man in himself has developed a certain state of alienation' can be justified. (1 x 2)(2)
2.5 Explain the usefulness of this source to a historian studying the history of the Black Consciousness Movement. (2 x 2)(4)

QUESTION 3: 12 minutes (Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2011 Paper 1)
SOURCE C

The following is part of an interview with Murphy Morobe, a student activist at Morris Isaacson School, Soweto. He recalls the influence of Black Consciousness on his thinking. Taken from Soweto A History, by P Bonner et al.

[Because of Black Consciousness I became] more conscious of the situation of black people in this country and this township. I was able to go into town; I was able to see the contrast, the differences and all that raised questions in my mind. Amongst us, we began to develop a keen sense for wanting to discover more ideas about struggles, not only in this country, but also about what happened in other areas. There was always a list published of books that were banned and for us it meant that whatever the government banned must be something good and it was part of our adventure as youngsters to actually go out to actively look for those books. The 1970s were not long after the major student uprising in France, Europe and the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement of the United States. 1974 was, of course, the year of the Portuguese defeat in Mozambique and Angola and, when that happened, I think it had a major boost on us. I remember trying to organise a meeting when many people were on the run, with the police all out to detain people. We all pretended to be swimmers and we had the meeting at the swimming pool in Orlando,
dressed only in bikinis and swimming trunks. I must say it wasn't the most comfortable way to have a serious meeting but it was out of sight of the authorities.

3.1 How, according to Morobe, did the philosophy of Black Consciousness influence his thinking? (1 x 2)(2)
3.2 Explain why the apartheid government was opposed to the Black Consciousness Movement. (1 x 2)(2)
3.3 How did the Black Power struggle in the USA influence the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa? (2 x 2)(4)
3.4 Why, do you think, it became necessary for activists to have meetings in secret? (1 x 2)(2)

SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

QUESTION 1:

1.1
• Black Consciousness

1.2
• Black people should be proud of themselves
• Black people should do things on their own without the help of white people
• Aimed to educate mainly black South Africans about their political, economic and cultural rights
• Any other relevant response (1 x 2)(2)

1.3
• NUSAS did not fight for the rights of black South Africans
• NUSAS was a white-dominated organisation
• Black students were not satisfied with separate accommodation facilities for white and black students
• White South Africans were not able to fight for the cause of black South Africans
• It was not radical enough
• Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

1.4
• SASM
• BPC
• SASO (any 2 x 1)(2)

1.5
• They became aware about the philosophy of Black Consciousness
• They stood up for their rights and demanded equal education
• Black Consciousness encouraged them to target inferior education
• Defied the imposition of Bantu Education by boycotting exams on the Swart Pelgrim
• It influenced them to be self-reliant
QUESTION 2:

2.1
- The torch represent the success of Afrikaner culture in terms of language
- Students in Soweto rejected being taught in Afrikaans
- Refers to the Soweto uprising against the use of Afrikaans
- The crossing out of the word ‘skool’ symbolises the rejection of formal schooling
- Any other relevant response

2.2
- The flame/torch symbolises the celebration of Afrikaans in 1975
- The flame/torch symbolises the uprising that occurred in Soweto against the issue of Afrikaans and inferior education
- The flame/torch symbolises the burning of schools, buildings, cars, etc.
- The flame/torch symbolises the anger that the students felt about Bantu Education and the apartheid government
- The flame/torch symbolises the rejection of Bantu Education and the imposition of the Afrikaans as a language on black South African students
- Any other relevant response

2.3
- Source A refers to the burning of books and Source B shows the smoke/flame
- Source A refers to the boycotting of the Afrikaans exam and Source B symbolises the rejection of Afrikaans as a language
- Sources A and B highlight the need to resist Afrikaans as a language of instruction and the rejection of Bantu Education
- Any other relevant response

QUESTION 3:

3.1
- Those who can manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their souls to the white man
- Those who rid themselves of the shackles that bind themselves of perpetual servitude

3.2
- Acceptance of oneself as black, with pride and self-esteem
- Having a strong mental attitude
- Working together to achieve liberation/self development
- Any other relevant answer

3.3
- Was not afraid of death/prepared to die for his beliefs/fearless
- He would only hit back (respond) if he was tortured during interrogation
- Would not co-operate with his interrogators
- Any other relevant response
3.4
Candidates must indicate whether they AGREE or DISAGREE with Biko's attitude towards police interrogation and death.

AGREE
- Citizens/people should not be scared of the police because they (police) must defend peace and the constitution
- Police did not have to beat people when they questioned them
- Police should have a professional way of collecting information from political activists
- The apartheid police were too harsh which made Biko's attitude towards equally harsh
- One cannot run away from death – Biko was ready to die for a just cause
- He was challenging the system and was not willing to be intimidated
- Any other relevant answer

DISAGREE
- An unarmed individual cannot fight against armed police
- Police defended the constitution
- Interrogation was a way of getting information from political activists that were arrested
- Any other relevant answer

(4)

3.5
Extracts 1 and 2 support each other in the following way:
- In Extract 1 reference is made to real black South Africans as those who can hold their heads high which in Extract 2 is addressed by the word proud
- Extract 1 indicates that a real black South African would not surrender to a white man and Extract 2 supports that by indicating that he did not fear death and would not allow the police to beat him
- Both extracts refer to black South Africans as being proud and holding their heads high
- Any other relevant answer

(2 x 2)(4)

QUESTION 4:
4.1
- Soweto Uprising

(1 x 1)(1)

4.2
- Hector Pieterson

(1 x 1)(1)

4.3
- The artist is referring to the violent clash with police on 16 June 1976
- Hector Pieterson and Hastings Ndlovu were killed by police
- Soweto Uprising would lead to a countrywide uprising
- Protests were launched overseas against apartheid for not respecting human rights
- Criticism against government for condoning shooting of innocent youths
- It was a peaceful protest that turned violent

(2 x 2)(4)

4.5
Source C
Steve Biko clearly defines his ideas about Black Consciousness of dignity and pride in being 'black'.

Biko states that the black people must break free from oppression and the presumptions of the whites that the blacks are only good enough for a life of servitude - thus Biko is implying that the blacks should strive for more - this would inspire the youth to rally a protest against Bantu Education.

Biko promotes self-reliance and self-worth in both extracts.

Biko was willing to suffer at the hands of racists and even die. In Source D Hector Pieterson died for the cause.

Source D
- The visual source depicts the iconic photograph that captured Hector Pieterson being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubo.
- The visual source shows the consequences when learners wanted to protest against Bantu Education.
- The visual source emphasises the violence and human rights abuses that were experienced during the Soweto Uprising.
- The source has limitations - there is no background to the event depicted in the artwork and the reader must have background and know the original photograph in order to understand this visual source.

Source A
- Shows the direct link between Black Consciousness ideals and the Soweto Uprising
- The formation of SASO and drop-out students returning to be teachers in Soweto spreading ideas of Black Consciousness
- The formation of SASM that was a learner organisation at school level that would lead to the formation of the SSRC in Soweto
- Source A would be the most reliable source to use to describe the role that Black Consciousness played in the Soweto Uprising

Source B
- This is a cartoon by Berry indicating the dissatisfaction with Bantu Education
- This source is limited due to little background on the topic
- The source must be studied in correlation with other sources
- This source will not help the Historian to determine what role Black Consciousness played in the Soweto Uprising

Source C
- Provides the Historian with primary evidence discussing the ideology of Black Consciousness
- First-hand account from Steve Biko
- Source C would be a reliable source to study the ideology of Black Consciousness, however it does not show the correlation to the Soweto Uprising and must be studied together with other sources to determine to what extent Black Consciousness influenced the Soweto Uprising

Source D
- Source D has limitations due to that a Historian needs to have the background about the Soweto Uprising and Sam Nzima's photograph to fully grasp the
- Source D does not give any background or link Black Consciousness to the Soweto Uprising, it only focuses on the human rights abuses that were experienced in Soweto.
- Any other relevant response (8)

Use the rubric on the next page to allocate a mark:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL 1</th>
<th>• Uses evidence in an elementary manner e.g. shows no or little understanding of explaining which ONE of the sources would be most useful to an Historian writing about the role of Black Consciousness in South Africa. • Uses evidence partially to write on the topic or cannot write on topic.</th>
<th>MARKS: 0–2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 2</td>
<td>• Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent to the topic e.g. shows some understanding of explaining which ONE of the sources would be most useful to an Historian writing about the role of Black Consciousness in South Africa. • Uses evidence in a very basic manner. Does not clearly indicate the limitations of the other sources.</td>
<td>MARKS: 3–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 3</td>
<td>• Uses relevant evidence e.g. shows a thorough understanding of explaining which ONE of the sources would be most useful to an Historian writing about the role of Black Consciousness in South Africa. Clearly indicates the limitations of the other sources. • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic.</td>
<td>MARKS: 6–8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECONDARY SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMME (SSIP) 2015

GRADE 12

SUBJECT: HISTORY

LEARNER NOTES

(Page 1 of 43)
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SESSION NO: 7
TOPIC: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA
QUESTION FOCUS: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

Learner note: This topic is a question in Section B, Paper 2. It will be set as an essay question.

SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 50 minutes

Learner note: Remember that this is an essay question. It is expected that you should formulate an argument based on Historical evidence. It is a good idea to analyse the question first and briefly plan your essay before you start to write.
- Do not write headings in your essay.
- Do not use bullet points.
- Provide Historical evidence in order to prove your argument.
- Look carefully at the marking Matrix and note that marks are awarded to content (Historical facts), presentation (style and structure) as well as the formulation of an argument.

Essay question:
1. ‘In May 1983, in an effort at reform, Prime Minister P. W. Botha introduced a constitutional amendment that created a tri-cameral parliament.’

Critically discuss to what extent the apartheid governments' attempts to reform were effective. (50)

Learner note: Take about 10 minutes to plan your essay according to the PEEL writing frame before you start to write your essay.

(Taken from CAPS orientation manual Grade 12 2013)

One method to use when planning your essay is the acronym PEEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point</th>
<th>The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explain</td>
<td>The next few sentences in your paragraph should explain the point you have just made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence</td>
<td>The next few sentences should provide evidence to substantiate (support) the statement (point) you have made in the first sentence. The evidence will include dates, details, Historical facts and figures that you gathered from reading your textbook and other source material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link</td>
<td>At the end of your paragraph you must link back to the essay question and or forward to the next paragraph.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Learner note: use the following essay-writing frame to plan your essay.

(Taken from CAPS orientation manual Grade 12 2013)
Question: Analyse the essay question
- Underline the key 'instruction' words.
- Underline any terms/ names/ dates.
- These terms/names/ dates must be addressed in your answer and this is how you will stay focussed on the question.

Introduction
- The introduction should contextualise the question (who? what? where? when?).
- Give a direct answer to the question.

Paragraph 1 (body of the essay)
1) The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.
2) Develop or explain the point.
3) Use evidence to support your argument.
4) Check if you referred back to the question/ linked the point explicitly to the question.
5) Link to the next paragraph/ point.

Body of the essay
- Repeat steps 1 to 5 for each paragraph in your essay.

Conclusion
- Tie up your argument and state your final conclusions on the topic.
- Your conclusion should mirror the introduction.
- Do not introduce new ideas in the conclusion.

SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT

Learner note: When you start to study, start with the definitions first. Write a list with all of the terms that you need to study. Then write down an explanation for each from what you can remember. Check your answers and see which words you could not define properly. By studying the definitions first you will be able to understand the content better and it will also help you with source analysis within the exam.

Learner note: An alternative way to study definitions is to make flash cards. Write the word on the one side of the card/ piece of paper and the definition on the other side. When you pick up the card and see the word, try to define it and check if you were correct. If you picked up the card and you see the definition, link it to the correct term and check if you were correct. To help you remember the term and definition better, create a symbol representing the term. Draw the symbol on both sides of the card. E.g. for Total Onslaught draw the hammer and sickle to indicate communism to help you remember that it was out-dated Cold War 'red scare' propaganda used by Botha to 'prove' that South Africa was under communistic attack.
## Definitions

**Bantu Homelands** – those territories reserved for black people & around which the principle of segregation in SA was organised; sometimes called the Bantustans. The homeland system was made up of 10 ethnic areas. Four of these eventually became “independent”, known as TBVC or Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda & Ciskei.

**Black Consciousness** - a political movement & ideology seeking to unite black people in affirming their common identity. Ideology developed primarily by black students after 1968, that blacks had to liberate themselves psychologically from the effects of white racism. Active in the 1970s. Promoted black pride. Steve Biko was a prominent leader of this movement.

**Boycott** - to abstain from using, buying or dealing with a person/ group/ organisation/ country, as a protest or means of coercion.

**Civil Protest** – Ordinary citizens protest against unjust and unfair laws.

**Defiance Campaign** - Attempt in 1952 by groups opposed to apartheid to overburden law enforcement machinery by contravening discriminatory laws.

**Ideology** - Form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones. It is a system of beliefs.

**Necklacing** - killing people by setting a car tyre alight, hung around their neck & filled with petrol or diesel.

**Referendum** - a vote where voters state either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to a given question.

**Resistance** – An underground organization engaged in a struggle for national liberation in a country under military or totalitarian occupation.
Rolling Mass Action – general strikes, mass demonstrations & stayaways.

Rubicon- a point of no return. (Historical Terms) (Place name) a stream in N Italy: in ancient times the boundary between Italy and Cisalpine Gaul. By leading his army across it and marching on Rome in 49 BC, Julius Caesar broke the law that a general might not lead an army out of the province to which he was posted and so committed himself to civil war with the senatorial party

Sabotage- the act of deliberately trying to damage something.

State of Emergency - gave government wide powers to arrest & interrogate people, search buildings, stop meetings & censor news. Army was sent in to patrol townships. When government believes the country is in crisis. The government gives the police & army extra powers. They can arrest people, and seize property without having to follow the usual procedures, such as getting a warrant.

A condition in a country in which martial law is applied and certain civil liberties are taken away temporarily. Martial law is when the military replaces the civilian government to keep order. The military is allowed to rule temporarily without having to stick to democratic principles or having to protect civil rights. A state of emergency is usually declared by the government when there is much unrest and there is danger of a revolution or civil war breaking out.

Self-determination- the ability to determine or decide one’s own fate or course of action without interference from other sources.

Total Onslaught- P.W. Botha’s theory that South Africa was being threatened by communism.
Total Strategy— P.W. Botha’s plan to eliminate opponents of apartheid & keep the country under the control of the National Government.

Tri-cameral parliament – means three (tri-) chambers (cameral). This parliament consisted of three chambers – white, coloured & Indian. Coloureds & Indians were given limited political rights, but Africans were still denied the right to vote. Each of the three chambers determined laws which related to their own racial group. South African Blacks had no such representation.

Uprising - an act of resistance or rebellion.

Timeline

**Learner note:** If you struggle to remember events in chronological order [the sequence of events], you can write down a few key dates and events to create a timeline. It will give you a better understanding of 'cause and effect' with regard to events in History.

- **1979** P.W. Botha takes over from Vorster
- **1980** Mass uprisings in townships take place
- **1982** Strikes take place throughout the country
- **1983** New Constitution devised for SA Launch of the UDF
- **1984** Tutu awarded the Nobel Peace Prize
- **1985** ‘Crossing the Rubicon’ speech – Botha Botha declares a State of Emergency Church groups issue ‘Kairos’ document
- **1986** Bishop Tutu new Bishop of Cape Town Pass Laws abolished
- **1987** NP wins general election
- **1989** De Klerk & Mandela meet UDF & COSATU United Democratic Movement
Summarised notes of the content:

Apartheid SA in the 1980s
- Attempts by – NP to adapt & modernise apartheid failed.
- Internal unrest generated by protest groups, civil disobedience & township insurrection threatened peace & stability.
- The ANC-in-exile supported the internal unrest by launching cross border guerrilla attacks on SA.
- UDF – challenge apartheid regime.

PW Botha
- Botha replaced Vorster as prime minister in 1978.
- New era of ‘reform apartheid.’
- Introduced limited reforms.
- Intensified repression.
- In response to mounting pressure, Botha announced a ‘total strategy’ to clamp down on all opposition to apartheid.

Tri-cameral Parliamentary system
- Constitutional reform to win Coloured support.
- Coloureds & Indians could participate in central government.
- Africans excluded from this – since they were expected to exercise political rights in the Bantustans.
- Africans had local community councils.
- 3 houses of parliament: a House of Assembly for whites; a House of Representatives for Coloureds & a House of Delegates for Indians.
- Coloureds & Indians were given limited political rights.
- A whites-only referendum held in 1983 showed that whites were in favour of the new constitution.
- 1983 Constitution Act

Total Onslaught
- Government propaganda.
- Belief that communists (including USSR & China) wanted to seize power in SA through military attacks, protests & international criticism.
- Out-dated Cold War propaganda.
- Botha referred specifically to the attempts by the ANC & PAC to destabilise SA.

Total Strategy
- Forceful counter-attack to fight against communist onslaught.
- Strategy to deal with unrest.
- Increase security
- Extended powers of the military & police.
- Constitutional reform
- Compulsory conscription for white males – extended – 2 years.
- Expenditure on military – increased.
- SA defence force launched attacks on ANC bases in neighbouring countries.
Reaction & challenges to Botha's policies
- First elections for Coloured & Indian representatives were boycotted.
- NP split between *verligtes* (enlightened) who wanted a new parliament and the *verkramptes* (narrow minded) who did not want a new parliament.
- *Verkramptes* formed the Conservative Party.

NUSAS
- National Union of South African Students.
- Liberal English-speaking universities.
- Dominated by white English-speaking activists.
- More radical after universities were segregated in 1959.
- Critical of government policies.
- Campaigns against apartheid.

Black Sash
- Initially started by white middle class women protested against injustices of apartheid by holding vigils, demonstrations & petitions.
- Wore black sashes to mourn the 'death of the Constitution.'
- Defended civil rights & demonstrations against unjust laws.
- Worked with UDF & FEDSAW at exposing injustices.

AZAPO
- 1978
- Azanian People’s Organisation
- Kept Black Consciousness ideas alive.
- Promote black liberation.

UDF
- United Democratic Front was formed in response to the forming of the Tricameral Parliament.
- Under the leadership of Dr Allan Boesak.
- Federation or umbrella organisation of many anti-apartheid organizations.
- Incorporated 400 organisations including civil society, trade unions, church groups, women’s groups & student organisations.
- Accepted the Freedom Charter.
- Supported the ANC-in-exile.
- Coordinate opposition & protest.
- Opposed Koornhof Bills that provided for African representation in local councils.
- Wanted to build a broad front with Indians & Coloureds to reject the state’s reforms.
- Intensified revolts in townships.
- Consumer boycotts because of rent increases, poor education & health problems.
- UDF leaders were detained or forced into hiding.
- 1988 UDF banned, however, continued under guise of Mass Democratic Movement.
• Inspired & mobilised people.
• Organisational structure for local & national level.
• Promoted non-racial & democratic ideas.
• Unable to stop Tricameral Parliament & local councils to be formed.

**MDM**
• Mass Democratic Movement
• UDF & COSATU acted under this new name, MDM.
• 1989 launched the Defiance Campaign to challenge community facilities where segregation still prevailed e.g. hospitals, schools, beaches.
• Government desegregated many of these facilities, although government was in the process of repealing many petty apartheid laws.

**National Forum**
• Response to Botha’s ‘reform.’
• Launched by AZAPO.
• Adopted ‘Manifesto of the Azanian People.’
• Umbrella organisation & represented approximately 200 organisations.
• Most of the organisations allied with the BCM.
• NF objected to UDF’s multiracial approach, white participation & controlling role of underground ANC activists.
• Protest against Tricameral Parliament.
• Band of organisations that believed in BC.
• Exclusively black organisation.
• Basis of struggle was a class struggle between workers & capitalists.
• Socialist core

**Civic organisations e.g. National Education Crisis Committee; End Conscription Campaign (ECC)**
• ‘Civics’ became part of residence movement.
• Pressure groups joined boycotts & stayaways.
• Civics targeted black councillors & police officers; often they were murdered by ‘necklacing.’
• NECC – ‘Education for Liberation.’
• NECC suspended school boycotts – use knowledge & skills to empower students.
• ECC protested against compulsory conscription of white men into SADF.

**Trade Union Movements**
• Durban the centre of African worker activism.
• Dock worker strike in 1972.
• 1973 – 160 strikes
• Membership increased.
• Legal in 1979
• Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) formed in 1985.
• Strikes crippled economy.
Student Organisations e.g. COSAS; AZASO; NECC; SASO
- Congress of South African Students (COSAS) – students organised school boycotts.
- COSAS slogan – ‘no education before liberation.’
- Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) represented university students.

Religious Organizations e.g. South African Council of Churches
- Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Frank Chikane, Rev Allan Boesak & Dr Beyers Naude were church leaders who condemned apartheid.
- Churches provided meeting places for anti-apartheid groups.
- Helped the families of detainees.
- SACC supported the anti-apartheid struggle.
- Objection to serving in SADF.
- Called on foreign companies to oppose to job reservation.
- Supported sanctions.

Impact of internal resistance on apartheid
- ANC guerrilla attacks of sabotage e.g. rocket attack on the SASOL Oil Refinery in 1980; disabling of Koeberg nuclear plant in 1983 & car bomb outside the SA Air Force’s headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria in 1983.
- Sabotage attacks were aimed at government installations.
- ANC gained support from overseas governments.

References
Graves, F. et al. 2007: Moments in history. Cape Town, Juta Gariep (Pty) Ltd.

Websites:
http://africanhistory.about.com/od/glossaryt/g/def-Tricameral.htm
http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01828/05lv02005/06lv02006.htm
http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/tricameral-parliament-inaugurated

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SECTION C: HOMEWORK QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 50 minutes

1. Explain to what extent the internal resistance were effective to oppose the National Party Government.

Learner note: Take about 10 minutes to plan your essay according to the PEEL writing frame before you start to write your essay.

Learner note: There are quite a few resistance groups that you can refer to in your answer. Choose the groups that would have a major influence amongst a majority of people such as the UDF, National Forum and the South African Council of Churches.

SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

Introduction:
- Give a direct answer to the question.
- Tricameral parliament - showcased as radical reform.
- However, only limited reforms were introduced.
- Prompted widespread reaction.

Learner's note: Remember to 'outline' your answer within the introduction. Refer to a few key facts that you will discuss further in the body of the essay.

Body: Elaborate on the following
- Botha's Rubicon speech.
- Initially people were exited about prospects of reform.
- Tricameral parliament
- Representatives: whites, Coloureds and Indians.
- Africans were excluded.
- No real power given to Coloureds and Indians.
- Further entrenched ideas of apartheid.
- Botha just wanted to increase support for National Party.
- Total Onslaught and Total Strategy propaganda used to justify apartheid.
- Coloureds and Indians boycotted the elections.

Learner note: Provide a good selection of information to discuss the nature of the reforms that were introduced. There are a lot of groups that reacted to the injustice of the Tricameral parliament. Choose a few of these groups and discuss how they reacted. Remember to link it back to the question and show how their reactions proved that the reforms that were introduced were limited. The reactions by the UDF...
and the National Forum would form a basis for a strong argument proving the people’s discontent with the Tricameral parliament.

- Elaborate on some of the following groups:
  - NUSAS
  - Black Sash
  - AZAPO
  - UDF
  - National Forum
  - ANC guerrilla attacks

**Conclusion:**
- Despite initial hope for change - Botha introduced further repression.
- Africans were denied basic human rights and were not even seen as citizens of South Africa.
- Umbrella organisations e.g. UDF and National Forum united people in a common cause against the injustice of the apartheid system.

**Learner note:** You have to write a strong conclusion that does not simply repeat the points made in the body of the answer. The concluding paragraph must weigh up and evaluate the limitations of reforms that were introduced by Botha. State why the people were justified to react negatively and boycott the elections. Remember that you should not introduce new evidence or ideas in your conclusion.
**QUESTION 1:**

Use the Marking Matrix to mark the essay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presentation</th>
<th>LEVEL 7</th>
<th>LEVEL 6</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
<th>LEVEL 4</th>
<th>LEVEL 3</th>
<th>LEVEL 2</th>
<th>LEVEL 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very well planned and structured essay. Good synthesis of information. Developed an original, well balanced and independent line of argument with the use of evidence, sustained and defended the argument throughout. Independent conclusion is drawn from evidence to support the line of argument.</td>
<td>47-50</td>
<td>43-46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question has been fully answered. Content selection fully relevant to line of argument.</td>
<td>43-46</td>
<td>40-42</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question has been answered. Content selection relevant to a line of argument.</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>36-37</td>
<td>34-35</td>
<td>30-33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question answered to a great extent. Content adequately covered and relevant.</td>
<td></td>
<td>30-33</td>
<td>28-29</td>
<td>26-27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question recognisable in answer. Some omissions or irrelevant content selection.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content selection does relate to the question, but does not answer it, or does not always relate to the question. Omissions in coverage.</td>
<td></td>
<td>26-27</td>
<td>24-25</td>
<td>20-23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question inadequately addressed. Sparse content.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20-23</td>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>14-17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question inadequately addressed or not at all. Inadequate or irrelevant content.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14-17</td>
<td>0-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established in 1995 to investigate human rights violations since 1960. It was authorised to grant amnesty to those perpetrators who made full disclosure. The commission also had to foster reconciliation and unity among South Africans. The TRC's mandate charged it with the responsibility to be even-handed, but its composition was hardly balanced. The chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was a patron of the United Democratic Front, the ANC internal front since the early 1980s ...

The commission received some 21 300 victim statements that recorded some 38 000 gross violations of human rights. More than 1 000 perpetrators received amnesty after full disclosure. Instead of concentrating on the context of a deed the commission focused on the perpetrator or victim, with the result that the context was in most cases only scantily sketched. Cross-examination of victims was not allowed in the victim hearings, but hearsay evidence was.

On the positive side the TRC performed an important therapeutic (healing) role, giving victims the opportunity to tell their story and have their suffering acknowledged. It revealed the truth in some notorious cases. Vlakplaas operatives or local security policemen asked for amnesty for the murders of Mathew Goniwe and three friends outside Port Elizabeth, the 'Pebco Three', the 'Gugulethu seven', and several other 'targeted killings': ANC operatives asked for amnesty for the Church Street bomb in Pretoria, where eighteen people were killed.
1.1 Identify the THREE mandated tasks of the TRC? (3 x 1)(3)

1.2 What were the conditions that enabled the TRC in the granting of amnesty? (1 x 2)(2)

1.3 Using the source and your own knowledge, explain how the mandate of the TRC limited it from functioning as a court of law. (1 x 2)(2)

1.4 Explain why the Vlakplaas operatives sought amnesty. (2 x 2)(4)

[11]

QUESTION 2: 10 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Feb-March 2012 Paper 2)

SOURCE B
This is a cartoon by Zapiro, which appeared in the Sunday Times on 2 August 1998. It depicts the amnesty process of the TRC. Taken from Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 Years On by F du Toit.

Learner note: Cartoon analysis usually relates to cartoonist portraying or commenting on contemporary events. A cartoon is a biased look at a certain situation and the cartoonist usually makes a social comment about a person or a topic. Every aspect in a cartoon is important. Use the following key features as a guideline in
2.1 What message does the cartoon convey? (1 x 2)(2)

2.2 Explain whether the cartoonist accurately captures the work of the TRC. (2 x 2)(4)

2.3 Explain to what extent you agree with Tutu's statement: 'You should have seen the ones that got away ...' (2 x 2) (4)

[12]

QUESTION 3: 6 minutes (Taken from NSC Nov 2013 Paper 1)

SOURCE C
This extract by former President Thabo Mbeki focuses on the importance of telling the truth at the TRC hearings.

Learner note: Difficult words or foreign words e.g. animosity in sources are usually explained just after the word. The meaning is indicated in brackets.

The great crevices (gaps) in our society, which represented the absence of a national consensus about matters that are fundamental to the creation of the new society are also represented by the controversy which seems to have arisen around the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The hatred and animosity (hostilities) of the past will not go away unless the truth is told about what happened. The telling of the truth is painful to all of us. Where gross violations of human rights have occurred on either side of the conflict, they cannot but diminish anyone of us who were the perpetrators.

We are diminished by the acts, which occurred, and not by their recounting to the Commission and the nation. Something of what we are worth will be restored by the courage we show by telling the truth and admitting that a wrong was done where it was done.

[From: The Life And Times Of Thabo Mbeki by A Hadland and J Rantao]
Learner note: Question 3.2 refers to the extract and prompts you to use your own words. Note that you should not rewrite the source; the marker will not give you marks for merely rewriting a source. You need to interpret the source and show the marker that you understand the statements that are made in the source.

3.1 According to Mbeki, why was the formation of the TRC regarded as controversial?  

(1 x 2) (2)

3.2 Explain why you think it was important for people who appeared before the TRC to 'tell the truth'.  

(1 x 2) (2)

[4]

QUESTION 4: 17 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Nov 2010 Paper 2)

SOURCE D
This source comprises three perspectives on the TRC.

The following two perspectives are from G Simpson Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories.

Perspective 1: Mrs Mlangeni

... the mother of Bheki Mlangeni – whose son was killed by a South African Police Security Branch bomb hidden in the earphones of a walkman tape player. Despite her status as survivor, Mrs Mlangeni described herself as dead when she said: 'You kill one member of the family and the whole family is dead ... as we are dead now.'

Perspective 2: Mr Sithole

... the father of an ANC guerrilla killed in action – similarly made no mention of forgiveness. He acknowledged that his son was a former combatant – a fighter – and did not express any surprise or anger at the fact that he was killed: 'I understand why he was killed. He fought to achieve what we have today, democracy, and change.'

But Mr Sithole went on to say: 'What I want is that the world should know that the people he fought for are now in positions of real power and I am nothing. What will they do for me now?'

The following perspective is taken from S Nuttal Negotiating the Past.

Perspective 3: Mr Uys  
The ideal of the TRC to contribute to the ANC’s objective of building one nation, is an ANC-inspired ideal. The ANC wants to build one nation out of a large variety of peoples and tribes....

We oppose the concept of one nation; one nation does not exist in this multi-racial country, and the more the ANC forces its policies down the throats of the citizens, the more they object to ANC policies. The TRC seeks not only to give the people a common memory; they want to rewrite history....

We will not accept their version of history.
4.1 Explain why Mrs Mlangeni described her suffering at the TRC hearings in the manner that 'we are dead now'. (Perspective 1) (1 x 2)(2)

4.2 How did Mr Sithole react as the father of an ANC guerrilla killed in action? (Perspective 2) (1 x 2)(2)

4.3 Explain why Uys opposed the work of the TRC. (Perspective 3) (3 x 1)(3)

4.4 Apart from testifying, what was Mr Sithole's main purpose for attending the TRC hearings? (Perspective 2) (1 x 2)(2)

4.5 How do the views of Uys differ from those of Mlangeni and Sithole? (2 x 2)(4)

SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT

Definitions

Mandates - A command or an authorization given by a political electorate to its representative.

Human rights violations - The basic rights and freedoms that all humans should be guaranteed are violated or infringed upon, such as the right to life and liberty e.g. death in detention and no freedom to vote during apartheid, the right freedom of thought and expression e.g. no freedom of speech nor press freedom, and the right to equality before the law e.g. no legal representation, could be detained for years without a trial.

Reparation - something done or paid in expiation of a wrong; "how can I make amends". Refers to compensation to somebody who has suffered loss in the form of family or land. People are compensated in the form of money or land.

Pardon - a warrant granting release from punishment for an offence.

Amnesty – immunity from prosecution by means of removal of any criminal or civil liability, an official pardon. During the hearings of the TRC the perpetrators’ actions had to be politically motivated in order for him/her to be granted amnesty.
Rehabilitation - TRC helped to restore victims and perpetrators to a normal life after gross human rights violations during apartheid.

Reconciliation - To acknowledge the wrong doings of the past, accept it, find out the truth and forgiving the perpetrators. To restore relations between the different races and political groups and to help with nation building.

Perpetrators - In the parlance of criminal justice, a suspect is a known person suspected of committing a crime.

Victim - a person harmed, injured or killed as a result of a crime.

Commissions – is a body that is established to undertake an enquiry of national importance. It usually reports its findings.

Violators - someone who violates the law in the case of South Africa this will include human rights violations.

Summarised notes on the content:

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)
- A number of truth commissions emerged after dictatorships in Latin America.
- In SA the TRC is linked to amnesty
- The perpetrators wanted a blank amnesty, while the ANC did not want the perpetrators to get away with their crimes.
- Established by – Government of National Unity.

Reasons for the formation of the TRC
- Aim: reveal truth of the past in order to deal with injustices & reconcile – former enemies.
- Truth should be known to – broader public.
- Healing and Reconciliation
- Deal with gross human rights violations.
- New constitution required TRC should be established.
- Perpetrators & victims were encouraged to tell stories.
- If perpetrators did not voluntarily disclose information – TRC liable for prosecution.
- TRC – make proposals for compensation to victims.

Structure of the TRC
- TRC set up under leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu to try & deal with mental & emotional scars left by apartheid.
- Tutu – Chairperson
• Dr Alex Boraine – Vice Chairperson
• 19 commissioners
• Legislation setting up TRC required it to establish ‘as complete picture as possible of the causes, nature & extent or the gross violations of human rights committed in SA from 1960-1994, including the circumstances, factors and context of such violations, as well as the perspectives of the victims & the motives & perspectives of the people responsible.’
• Those who set up the TRC did not want a rewriting of the history of the recent past – no historian was appointed.
• Wanted to promote reconciliation as much as establishing historical truth.

Work of the TRC

1) Hearings
• Hearings in every province throughout the country
• Heard people from all political parties
• Focused on victims of human rights abuses
• Listened to confessions of torture & abuse
• Encouraged people to seek truth & to forgive

2) Committee on Human Rights Violations
• Public hearings
• Broadcasted so that all South Africans may know about the wrong doings of the past.
• Victims could tell their stories.
• Investigate gross human rights violations.
• Ascertain who was responsible.

3) Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation
• Investigated cases
• Establish the harm that was done to the victims.
• Emotional support for victims & witnesses.
• Decided if there was justification for reparation.
• If so – reparation granted.
• Recommended to President what type of reparation should be made.
• Advise as to how people could be helped to recover from experience.
• Ensure violations would not be repeated.

4) Committee on Amnesty
• Evidence from perpetrators who committed human rights violations e.g. murder, torture, rape & kidnapping.
• Decided if perpetrators should be granted amnesty.
• In order for amnesty to be granted – confession had to be full, there had to be repentance & the motivation had to be political – not criminal.
• Those not granted amnesty could still be arrested & tried in a criminal court.

Evaluating the work of the TRC

1) Successes
• 1998 TRC gave Mandela its five-volume final report.
• TRC continued for another 2 years.
• 7 000 applicants for amnesty – 1 000 were successful.
• TRC’s work continued until 2003 – another 2 volumes were published.
• Human rights violations on both sides of the struggle.
• Set out the truth.
• Detailed record – as warning for future generations.
• Talking about suffering – brought relief to many.
• Hearings solved previously unsolved crimes.
• Many people forgave perpetrators.
• SA came to understand their history better.
• TRC congratulated & hailed for – healing the past & building a united nation.
• More than 21 000 victims – TRC showed understanding of pain, humiliation & suffering.
• 7 years of hearings.
• Cost 70 million rand.
• 2003 – 2 volumes of reports – consisting of the victims’ statements which related to 38 000 incidents & 14 000 killings.
• Main finding – atrocities conducted by agents of apartheid regime including planting of bombs, murder of political activists & deaths in detention.
• Also – those who fought the apartheid regime also committed gross human rights violations e.g. necklacing & the killing of innocent people.
• MK camps in Angola – MK members executed those who mutinied.
• 19 144 victims (majority Africans) – subjected to apartheid era atrocities.
• All victims were given a once-off reparation payment – R 30 000.
• Invaluable attempt at humanising & healing SA.
• If there were no amnesty it might have led to a civil war.

2) Criticisms
• Many incidents not investigated.
• It was not always fair – amnesty too easily given, though only 1/7 was granted amnesty.
• Many felt it would be better to forget & forgive than to dig up the past.
• Inadequate compensation given.
• ANC alleging that TRC attempted to criminalise a significant part of the struggle for liberation.
• TRC responded to ANC accusation that even though they were fighting for a just cause that is no reason to violate human rights.
• De Klerk stated that TRC was wasteful process because it tried to link him to the ‘Third Force’ while some senior leaders within the ANC refused to apply for amnesty.
• De Klerk stated that when he learned about atrocities, he acted against them.
• Other leading figures of the apartheid regime – cabinet ministers, generals, judges – largely escaped the net of the TRC – few testified & none was punished.
• Perpetrators pointed to the fact that the politicians who gave the orders were not being tried or even asked to appear before the TRC.
• Criticism that TRC was subverting justice & rule of law because criminals were not tried – The Constitutional Court found that a special kind of justice was appropriate in the interests of reconciliation.
• TRC’s findings on who was responsible for certain atrocities remain controversial.
• Some argued that uncovering the evil deeds made reconciliation more difficult.
• Many felt that perpetrators who did not seek amnesty or had been refused amnesty should have been tried – it was said that the justice system did not have the capacity.
• A few who were tried – often escaped conviction e.g. Wouter Basson a former head of biological & chemical weapons’ programme.
• Some victims appealed to foreign courts especially the UN to redress against multinational companies that had operated in SA under apartheid.

3) Limitations
• TRC Report is sketchy on what happened outside SA.
• Failed to deal with human rights violations in Namibia (South West Africa).
• Atrocities involving the IFP – largely ignored.
• Broader consequences of apartheid such as forced removals & earlier forms of racial discrimination were ignored.
• The report describes ‘what’ happened and not ‘why’ it happened.
• Report failed to analyse the structures of apartheid & to show how it changed over time – it provides a misleading picture of the nature of the main cause of cross human rights violations.

The role and impact of the TRC in nation building
How did the TRC help with nation building?
• Tutu felt that the only way to true reconciliation & nation building the truth about past human rights violations had to be known.

References
Graves, F. et al. 2007: Moments in history. Cape Town, Juta Gariep (Pty) Ltd.
SECTION C: HOMEWORK QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 15 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Feb-March 2009 Paper 2)

SOURCE 1A

The following source is a poem, by Christopher van Wyk. He speaks of the many deaths in detention that occurred at the notorious John Vorster Square police precinct in Johannesburg. The poem underscores the ridiculous 'reasons' given by the police for the deaths.

He fell from the ninth floor
He hanged himself
He slipped on a piece of soap while washing
He hanged himself
He slipped on a piece of soap while washing
He fell from the ninth floor
He hanged himself while washing
He slipped from the ninth floor
He hung from the ninth floor
He slipped from the ninth floor while washing
He fell from a piece of soap while slipping
He hung from the ninth floor
He washed from the ninth floor while slipping
He hung from a piece of soap while washing

Learner note: This poem represents the reasons given by police for death in detention. Note that the poem becomes more ridiculous the further you read it, until it does not make sense at all. Van Wyk does this intentionally, because he wants to convey that some of the reasons given by the police to explain death in detention does not make sense. Think about e.g. the death of Steve Biko in 1977. The police claimed that he fell and hit his head on a rock. A post mortem investigation would prove that this was not the case. The autopsy also revealed that there were burn marks on the soles of his feet, indicating torture.
1.1 How does this poem reflect life under apartheid? (1x 2)(2)

1.2 The theme of 'death' forms the basis of this poem. Explain the poet's purpose in doing so. (2 x 2)(4)

1.3 After having read the poem, explain whether there was a need for the TRC. (2 x 2)(4)

1.4 Explain the usefulness of this source to a historian researching the work of the TRC. (2 x 2)(4)

QUESTION 2: 15 minutes (Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2009 Paper 2)

SOURCE 2B

The following cartoons are taken from Truth & Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 years on. The book was edited by Charles Villa-Vicencio. The cartoons represent Zapiro’s views on the work of the TRC.

**Perspective 1:** This cartoon by Zapiro shows Archbishop Tutu, together with perhaps a perpetrator, a victim/survivor and the media. They have followed the map only to find a gulf between truth and reconciliation.

![Perspective 1 Cartoon](image)

**Perspective 2:** In this cartoon Zapiro shows that the leader of National Party also appeared at the TRC hearings. Archbishop Tutu felt that the National Party’s submission was a mockery, extremely vague and did not take responsibility for the atrocities that were committed by their operatives.

![Perspective 2 Cartoon](image)
Learner note: The TRC section usually will include a source where you have to analyse a cartoon. There is a great variety of cartoons on the TRC. The cartoons are usually critical about the process of the cartoon and that many perpetrators managed to escape. Also note that many of the cartoons would portray a concern that reconciliation will be difficult to reach due to the atrocities, regarding human right abuses that came to light during the TRC hearings.

2.1 What message is conveyed by Zapiro in Perspective 1? (1 x 2)(2)

2.2 What do you think caused the gulf between 'Truth' and 'Reconciliation' as indicated? (Perspective 1). (2 x 2)(4)

2.3 Explain the importance of the person in the wheelchair and the journalists. (Perspective 1). (2 x 2)(4)

2.4 What does the 'hole' in the NP's (National Party) submission represent (Perspective 2)? (1 x 2)(2)

[12]

QUESTION 3: 12 minutes  
(Taken from NSC Feb-Mar 2011 Paper 2)

SOURCE C
This cartoon appeared in the Sowetan, 29 October 1998. It evaluates the work of the TRC.
3.1 What message does the cartoonist wish to convey about the work of the TRC? (1 x 2)(2)

3.2 How do the cowboy's words 'Attacked from left, right and center, Sir, but we made it' relate to the arrows depicted in the cartoon? (1 x 2)(2)

3.3 Explain whether this source is a positive or negative representation of the TRC. (1 x 2)(2)

3.4 Explain to what extent the information in Source C is an accurate depiction of the reactions of political parties towards the TRC. (2 x 2)(4)

[10]
1.1
- It served to expose human rights violations and crimes committed by the apartheid regime √
- It provided a platform for ordinary people to reveal their stories of how they were affected by the apartheid regime √
- Granting of amnesty in some instances for crimes committed √ (3 x 1)(3)

1.2
- Clear and open confession of the wrongs committed √
- Remorse for the crimes committed √
- Serve as an exercise in reconciliation √
- Fear of prosecution √
- Would not bring about the desired hope for reconciliation √
- Did not like to open old wounds √
- It would have exposed the apartheid regimes violation of human rights √
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 1)(2)

1.3
- The TRC did not have the power to prosecute √ √
- TRC was to help the victims as well perpetrators of crime to undergo a cleansing experience √ √
- It could not mete out punishment to the culprits/offenders √ √
- Any other relevant response (any 1 x 2)(2)

1.4
- They were involved in the murders of the Pebco three, the Gugulethu seven and other killings and atrocities √ √
- Wanted to avoid prosecution and imprisonment √ √
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

QUESTION 2:

2.1
- Amnesty process √ √
- Some people appeared before the TRC √ √
- Others escaped the TRC √ √
- Tutu is amazed/shocked that many prominent people did not appear before the TRC √ √
- Any other relevant response (any 2 x 2)(4)

2.2
Candidates can either choose ACCURATE or INACCURATE and substantiate their response with valid reasons.

ACCURATE
Some people appeared before the TRC whilst others got away.

The prominent politicians (represented by the bigger fish) did not appear before the TRC.

Many people appeared before the TRC and received amnesty.

Any other relevant response

NOT ACCURATE

May be bias.

Many of the prominent politicians also appeared before the TRC.

By portraying the politicians as fish swimming in the sea may symbolise that at some stage they would be caught – not true – they did want to appear before the TRC.

Any other relevant response

CANDIDATES CAN EITHER AGREE OR DISAGREE AND SUBSTANTIATE THEIR RESPONSE WITH VALID REASONS.

AGREE

Because the TRC did not have the power to subpoena people, many people go away.

Especially the powerful politicians did not appear before the TRC.

Any other relevant response

DISAGREE

Not all got away.

May be bias.

Any other relevant response

QUESTION 3:

3.1

There was no national consensus/absence of national consensus.

It was not accepted by all South Africans/great gaps in our society.

Any other relevant response

3.2

Hatred and animosities of the past would go away/heal the wounds of the past.

It would restore the respect (worth) of the South African nation.

It would be an admission that something wrong was done.

Bring about reconciliation/unity.

Any other relevant response

QUESTION 4:

4.1

Her son’s death resulted in them having no breadwinner.

No means to generate income to sustain her family.

Emotionally and spiritually hurt/sorrow/one member hurt whole family is
4.2
• He was not prepared to forgive the perpetrators for his son’s death
• He was disappointed that the government did not financially support him
• He did not express any anger or surprise
• He wanted justice/recognition for his son
• Any other relevant response

4.3
• Uys viewed the TRC as a front for the ANC
• Uys does not support a one nation concept in a multi-racial country
• Uys viewed the TRC as an attempt to re-write history
• Any other relevant response

4.4
• To tell the whole world that he is still suffering
• Nothing has been done to improve his life since 1994
• He wanted justice/recognition for his son
• Any other relevant response

4.5
Candidates must refer to both viewpoints:
• Mlangeni and Sithole came on behalf of their children who were victims of state repression / Mlangeni and Sithole wanted to know the truth behind the killings of their children

Opposing point of view:
• Uys concerned about the Afrikaner community not wanting to be absorbed in the one nation concept / Uys regarded TRC as a political tool of the ANC
• Any other relevant response

SESSION NO: 9
TOPIC: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Learner note: This topic is a question in Section B, Paper 2. This topic will be asked in the form of an essay question.
SECTION A: TYPICAL EXAM QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: 50 minutes  (An adaptation from NSC Nov 2012 Paper 2)

Learner note: Remember that this is an essay question. It is expected that you should formulate an argument based on Historical evidence. It is a good idea to analyse the question first and briefly plan your essay before you start to write.

- Do not write headings in your essay.
- Do not use bullet points.
- Provide Historical evidence in order to prove your argument.
- Look carefully at the marking Matrix and note that marks are awarded to content (Historical facts), presentation (style and structure) as well as the formulation of an argument.

Essay question:
1. "It was the fall of the Berlin Wall coupled with the statesmanship of FW de Klerk that paved the way for political change in South Africa.'

Assess to what extent the statement can be substantiated. (50)

Learner note: Take about 10 minutes to plan your essay according to the PEEL writing frame before you start to write your essay.

(Taken from CAPS orientation manual Grade 12 2013)

One method to use when planning your essay is the acronym PEEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point</th>
<th>The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explain</td>
<td>The next few sentences in your paragraph should explain the point you have just made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence</td>
<td>The next few sentences should provide evidence to substantiate (support) the statement (point) you have made in the first sentence. The evidence will include dates, details, Historical facts and figures that you gathered from reading your textbook and other source material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link</td>
<td>At the end of your paragraph you must link back to the essay question and or forward to the next paragraph.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Learner note: use the following essay-writing frame to plan your essay.

(Taken from CAPS orientation manual Grade 12 2013)

Question: Analyse the essay question
- Underline the key 'instruction' words.
- Underline any terms/ names/ dates.
- These terms/names/ dates must be addressed in your answer and this is how you will stay focussed on the question.

**Introduction**
- The introduction should contextualise the question (who? what? where? when?).
- Give a direct answer to the question.

**Paragraph 1 (body of the essay)**
6) The opening sentence of your paragraph must make a clear statement or point.
7) Develop or explain the point.
8) Use evidence to support your argument.
9) Check if you referred back to the question/ linked the point explicitly to the question.
10) Link to the next paragraph/ point.

**Body of the essay**
- Repeat steps 1 to 5 for each paragraph in your essay.

**Conclusion**
- Tie up your argument and state your final conclusions on the topic.
- Your conclusion should mirror the introduction.
- Do not introduce new ideas in the conclusion.

### SECTION B: NOTES ON CONTENT

**Definitions:**

- **Ideology**: Form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones. It is a system of beliefs.

- **Détente**: (a relaxation or easing of tension) with the USA and limitations of arms development. USSR could no longer afford to continue the arms & space races.

- **Perestroika** – (restructuring) of the Soviet economy to get workers to work harder & more efficiently. This allowed a degree of decentralisation to take place. Some private ownership of small business was also allowed.

- **Glasnost** – (openness or transparency) allowed people to criticise the government and to express their ideas on all issues.

- **Democratisation** – came about as a result of glasnost: the people were now able to make demands & form other political parties. Elections in the different Soviet republics led to nationalist
governments, many of which demanded independence from the USSR.

Summarised notes on the content:

The collapse of the USSR

USA:
- Reagan strongly anti—communistic
- Would continue to support anyone who wanted to overthrow communist regimes.
- Mid-1980s USA gave $15 million to Angola rebel group UNITA for covert military aid (remember SA’s participation in the Bush War also fighting against the expansion of communism – into South West Africa – Namibia).
- 1981 – Reagan promised a defence system that would knock enemy missiles out of the sky.
- Ronald Reagan (US President) new “Star Wars” (nickname) defence system known as Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) that was a massive anti-ballistic missile programme.
- The idea behind “Star Wars”:
  1. To set up a giant (laser) shield in space
  2. Use lasers to shoot down Russian missiles
- A new arms race began
- Soviets feared a nuclear war and installed new long-range missiles in Eastern Europe.
- Reagan called the Soviet an ‘evil empire.’

USSR in 1985
- 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the USSR.
- Poor economy because of major spending on arms race.
- Low standard of living
- Food shortages
- Import grain from USA
- Poor health standards
- Inadequate housing
- People dissatisfied
- Alcoholism enormous problem under Russian men – reducing their life expectancy.
- Supporting wars of liberation cost the USSR a lot of money – Gorbachev wanted to withdraw.
- Gorbachev – not a typical hardliner communist – he had new ideas.
- Gorbachev wanted radical reforms.

Gorbachev’s reforms
Gorbachev introduced 4 new policies to bring USSR back to superpower status:
1. Détente – 1985-1991 between Reagan & Gorbachev- agreed on the following:
   - Reduction of NATO & Warsaw Pact armed forces.
   - Gorbachev convinced USA to cut spending on nuclear weapons, however, some historians claim that it was pressure from Reagan that led to the end of the Cold War.
- 1991 – Strategic Arms Reduction Talks – reduce number of weapons.
2. Perestroika – economic restructuring; allowed for incentives & competition; buy and sell for profit; reduce party control of economy; modernise economy in order to maintain communism.
3. Glasnost – openness; transparency of government & allow public opinion; honesty to resolve Soviet problems.
4. Democratisation – allow some form of elections.
   - Reduced military spending.
   - Encourage Western companies to invest in the USSR.
   - Adopt a less confrontational way of dealing with the USA.
   - Reagan agreed to meet Gorbachev & four summit meetings were held between 1986 & 1988.
   - Gorbachev allowed elections, however, real power stayed in the hands of the communists.
   - Gorbachev did not want to send more troops to support communist regimes in Eastern Europe.
   - USSR would not use the Red Army to keep Eastern European states.
   - Soviet troops withdrawn form Afghanistan.
   - Settle conflict over Angola and Namibia (South West Africa).
   - Gorbachev prepared to see the states break away from the Soviet Union.
   - Gorbachev recommended reforms to Eastern European communist states.

**Collapse of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe**
- Eastern European states opted for democratic reforms.
- Greater freedom of movement allowed between East Germany & other Warsaw Pact countries e.g. Hungary.
- From Hungary East Germans could pass into Austria that was not a Soviet satellite state.
- By autumn of 1989 thousands of East Germans were travelling through Hungary & Austria to the West.
- Between 5 000 and 10 000 people left per day & Eastern German economy were weakened.
- Gorbachev visited Eastern Germany – demonstrations throughout country.
- Gorbachev implored Honecker (East German communist leader) to allow reform.
- Honecker rejected all requests for change & ordered troops to fire on demonstrators.
- Demonstrators refused to disperse – this act of defiance forced Honecker to resign.
- 1989 – communist bloc of Eastern Europe did not exist.
- November 1989 thousands of East Germans marched to the Berlin Wall & the guards also joined demonstrations.
- Berlin Wall- symbol of communism were dismantled in 1989.
- With the destruction of the Berlin Wall West and East Germany were unified.

**Impact of reforms**
- More freedom for individuals.
Reform needed, because military spending led to a lack of basic consumer goods.
- Reforms in the Soviet economy – buy & sell for a profit.
- Many welcomed reforms.
- Unrest against communist philosophy.
- People from all sides criticised Gorbachev.
- Traditional communists objected.
- Conservative communists attempted a coup in 1991.
- Communists arrested Gorbachev for being a traitor & held him in his home in Crimea.
- Boris Yeltsin saved Gorbachev.
- Yeltsin led a demonstration against coup – climbed on a tank & convinced the soldiers to mutiny against the hard-line communists.
- Yeltsin demanded the reinstatement of Gorbachev as leader of the Soviet Union.
- Yeltsin was the people’s hero.
- Open elections held & Yeltsin became new leader.

Yeltsin was newly elected president of Russian republic
- Yeltsin encouraged Soviet Union to break up.
- December 1991 – USSR dissolved by a conference of leaders.
- Communist Party disbanded by Yeltsin.
- 12 of the 15 republics formed the Commonwealth of Independent States – never achieved much.
- Fall of the USSR led to Gorbachev fading from the political scene.

Reasons for the collapse of the USSR
1. Massive spending on military.
2. Result – bankruptcy of economy.
3. Perestroika
4. Glasnost
5. Gorbachev thought that socialism would be restructured & not dismantled.
6. Yeltsin disbanding the Communist Party.

Dominance of the USA
- USA – only superpower.
- China was focused on expanding their economy.
- EU – not a military power.
- Russia – wanted to develop economy and solve their problems.
- USA assumed the role of ‘the world’s policeman.’
- 1991 Iraq invaded Kuwait.
- Saddam Hussein thought that US would not respond.
- US gained UN support – for expulsion of Iraq’s forces from Kuwait.
- American troops invaded & Iraq troops forced out – Gulf War.
- The Gulf War 1990-1991
- Bombing of Serbia in 1999
- Invasion of Afghanistan in 2001
- USA often acted as part of NATO (e.g. bombing Serbia) but did not always agree with - European allies.
• Russia – accepted in the international community.
• Yeltsin attend ‘G7’ meetings.
• USA became sole “superpower.”
• USA leader of international affairs.
• “unipolar order” – US ideology is dominant in the world.
• Economic blockade – Cuba.
• However, USA wanted to share in China’s economic growth.
• US companies set up subsidiaries in China.

Why - USA become dominant?
• WWII USA seen as ‘saviour.’
• WWII USA indispensable leader – with the defeat - Nazis.
• UNO hoped US would become involved – global leadership.
• Cold War – USA involved in world affairs.
• Truman Doctrine
• World expected American leadership.
• World accepted – bulk of - burden of international security & stability should be left to USA.

Ideologically
• It seemed as if communism failed…
• Democracy
• Capitalism
• Equal opportunity
• ‘American Dream’

Economic and military control
Military strength:
1. Spent more on the military than most of the world put together.
2. Most sophisticated equipment

Economic strength:
1. Largest economy in the world

Advanced technology:
1. Microsoft
2. Approximately 90% of all computers run Microsoft programmes

Political influence:
1. Influence on foreign affairs – greater than any other country
2. Domination of IMF & World Bank

Cultural influences:
1. Hollywood
2. Music
3. Fashion
4. Food

World dominance/ new world order
Gorbachev & George Bush (senior) used the term ‘new world order’ to define the post Cold War era.

Gorbachev & Bush hoped for an era of co-operation.

New world order supposed to replace policy of containment with co-operation.

Based on principals of political liberty, self-determination & non-intervention.

End to sponsoring military conflicts in third world.

Restrictions on global arms sales.

Greater engagement in – Middle East.

In reality of the new world order saw the USA emerging as the single greatest power (unipolar order).

Russia was crippled by internal problems.

USA was unchallenged as world leader.

**Ending apartheid in South Africa**

**South Africa in the 1980s**

- NP used Cold War propaganda to maintain apartheid.
- SA portrayed as – stable member of the free world.
- NP warned against leaving Africa open to communist infiltration.
- ANC portrayed as communistic.
- Communists blamed for uprisings.
- Africa not controlled by Europeans & SA was isolated.
- Most neighbouring countries – independent black states.

1989:

1. USSR disintegrate.
2. Communist governments in Eastern Europe- collapsing.
3. Berlin Wall was destroyed.

These changes contributed to end apartheid:

1. Fall of communism – liberation movement lost support.
2. SA’s ‘communist threat’ became unrealistic.
3. Western dominated world powers supported SA in its attempts at reform & the move to democracy.

- Van Zyl Slabbert of PFP acknowledged new realities – PFP wanted democracy.
- NP could not maintain white supremacy.
- Some NP leaders realised apartheid was straining the needs of white capitalists & reforms were needed.
- After Soweto Uprising – clear that repression would not lead to political stability.
- NP wanted to include black middle class in reforms.
- NP hoped that black middle class would act as defence against a revolution.

**Late 1980s:**

1. SA militarised
2. Strain on economy.
3. Emergence of conservative right-wing parties.
4. No meaningful reform for Africans.
Communist threat to SA
- USSR did champion interests of the third world against Western imperialism.
- USSR supplied arms & ammunition to resistance movements.
- Armed & transported Cuban troops to help MPLA in Angola.
- Helped MPLA to resist SA invasion.
- FRELIMO, the socialist ruling party in Mozambique, received support from the Soviet Union, however, by the end of the 1980s FRELIMO turned away from socialism.
- USSR & allies had close links to ANC:
  1. Education & military training – refugees
  2. Arms for MK
  3. ANC included communists in its party
  4. Mandela stated that ANC is not communist, but the SACP supported struggle, therefore they were seen as allies.
  5. ANC close working relationship with SACP supported some principles.
- SA never a high priority of USSR
  1. Not practical to risk military confrontation with West in SA.
  2. Soviet trade with southern African countries was insignificant.
  3. USSR focused on preserving control of Eastern Europe & increase influence in Southeast Asia.
- SA’s propaganda against communism – successful.

Internal and external pressure
- During Cold War - West assumed that economic growth would erode apartheid system.
- Unrest in SA led to a state of emergency.
- All organised meetings banned by government.
- Increased drive for liberation struggle shift in loyalty among urban Africans – ‘one person one vote.’
- ANC support grew.
- IFP lost support to UDF, COSATU & NUM (National Union of Mineworkers).

Reforms of the NP
- Total Strategy – also to stimulate economic growth.
- Tricameral constitution – to maintain apartheid.
- Inadequate reform.
- NP admitted – homeland policy was – failure.
- PW Botha had not intention of giving Africans political rights within a white government.

Reforms of FW de Klerk
- Independence of Namibia – positive influence.
- Gorbachev agreed to pull out Cuban troops from Angola if SA were to withdraw from Namibia.
- SWAPO won the elections in Namibia – peaceful transition.
- February 1990 De Klerk announced the unbanning of ANC, PAC & SACP.
- Release of Mandela & other political prisoners.
- Some believed that collapse of USSR detrimental effect on ANC.
ANC had to restructure.
Collapse of Berlin Wall meant that West would no longer support SA’s ‘communist threat’ policy.
Support for ANC to combat racism & oppression became universalised – including the USA.
ANC had new Western allies.
Mandela visited USA after his release.
American public honoured Mandela.

Reactions of the liberation movements
- National Forum
- UDF
- Townships ungovernable
- Resistance throughout the country- attacks on police stations, bombings & mass action.
- Declining economy

Impact of foreign pressure on SA
- Economic pressure
  - EEC (European Economic Community) placed restrictions on economic ties with SA.
  - Botha’s Rubicon speech led to a further entrenchment of apartheid.
  - International banks wanted immediate repayment of their loans.
  - 1987 – foreign companies withdrew.
- Economic stagnation
- Rise in unemployment
- NP lost support
- Businessmen, clergymen, academics & politicians believed that there should be talks with the ANC.
- Total Strategy was a failure.
- Negotiations between the ANC and the NP were inevitable.

Road to transformation and reform:
- Impact of collapse of Soviet Union on SA
  - Collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe changed NP thinking.
  - NP could no longer claim ‘Red Scare’ tactics.
  - NP thought ANC weakened after withdrawal of Soviet support.
  - USA now had closer ties with ANC.
  - NP – reform & transition.
  - Move towards democracy.

References
Question 1: 50 minutes (An adaptation from NSC Nov 2009 Paper 2)

1. The collapse of the Soviet Union left the ANC and the NP (De Klerk’s government) with no choice but to agree to a negotiated settlement.

Explain to what extent the above statement is valid. Support your answer by using relevant examples.

(50)

Learner note: Take about 10 minutes to plan your essay according to the PEEL writing frame before you start to write your essay.

Learner note: The key to the formulation of your argument would be that the ANC could not rely on support from the Soviet Union anymore. Furthermore the National Party could not use the Total Onslaught and Total Strategy as an excuse to endorse apartheid anymore.

SECTION D: SOLUTIONS FOR SECTION A

SYNOPSIS
Candidates should either agree or disagree with the statement. In agreeing with the statement they should discuss whether it was the statesmanship of De Klerk and the fall of the Berlin Wall that opened the way for political changes in South Africa. If they disagree with the statement they must support their argument.
with historical evidence.

MAIN ASPECTS
Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:
• Introduction: Candidates should agree or disagree with the statement and substantiate their answer. Provide a brief outline of the main argument.

ELABORATION
In agreeing with the statement, candidates could have the following points in their elaboration:

FALL OF BERLIN WALL
• Policy of Glasnost and Perestroika paved the way for both the ANC and NP to reform.
• Disappearance of Marxist-Leninist states and the fall of the Berlin Wall affected the ANC.
• There was pressure from major powers for political foes to work towards a peaceful settlement in South Africa.
• The fall of Berlin Wall affected both the NP and the ANC.
• The ANC had to redefine its position and began to seek recognition from Western countries.
• De Klerk desired reform after the fall of the Berlin Wall.
• USSR's economy unable to support/sustain aid to Africa and the ANC.

STATESMANSHIP OF DE KLERK
• De Klerk's government saw the ANC's loss of support as an opportune time to dictate change.
• New political climate and mood in South Africa Internal and external pressure opened talks with the ANC.
• The ANC and the apartheid government had to find a peaceful and workable solution.
• Release of political prisoners – a political strategy of De Klerk.
• The apartheid government took the opportunity to negotiate with the ANC because there was no longer a threat from the Soviet Union. Both the NP and the ANC took cognisance of internal factors.
• (Economic stagnation, unrest, financial crisis, etc.) to save the country's future.
• South Africa's economy experienced a downturn in 1989
• Any other relevant response.

Learner Note: If you disagree with the statement, you need to support your argument with relevant evidence. This is a more difficult argument to make, thus you must have enough factual evidence to support your answer. Factors that you could consider: Botha replaced by De Klerk, internal pressure on the National Party, external pressure on South Africa e.g. sanctions. You will have to state though, that apartheid could no longer be justified by using the Total Onslaught and Total Strategy since communism collapsed. By making this statement you show the marker that you recognise the effect of the collapse of communism, but you do not
acknowledge that this would be the main factor that would end apartheid.

**Conclusion:** Candidates should tie up their argument providing a final analysis and restatement of their argument.

**Use the Matrix on the following page to mark your essay**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presentation</th>
<th>LEVEL 7</th>
<th>LEVEL 6</th>
<th>LEVEL 5</th>
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<th>LEVEL 3</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very well planned and structured essay. Good synthesis of information. Developed an original, well balanced and independent line of argument with the use of evidence, sustained and defended the argument throughout. Independent conclusion is drawn from evidence to support the line of argument.</td>
<td>Very well planned and structured essay. Developed a relevant line of argument. Evidence used to defend the argument. Attempts to draw an independent conclusion. Evidence to support the line of argument.</td>
<td>Well-planned and constructed an argument. Evidence used to support the line of argument. Conclusion drawn from the evidence to support the line of argument.</td>
<td>Planned and constructed an argument. Evidence used to some extent to support the line of argument. Conclusions not clearly supported by evidence.</td>
<td>Attempts to sustain a line of argument. Conclusions not clearly supported by evidence.</td>
<td>Attempts to develop a clear argument. Evidence used to some extent to support the line of argument. Evidence that supports the argument.</td>
<td>Little or no attempt to structure the essay.</td>
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<td>LEVEL 1</td>
<td>Question inadequately addressed or not at all. Inadequate or irrelevant content.</td>
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