Ace it! STUDY GUIDE

HISTORY
GRADE 12

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Shuter & Shooter
PIETERMARITZBURG  JOHANNESBURG  KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
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Study Skills

Here are some handy hints and tips to get you through the stressful examination time and to help you to Ace your exams!

**BEFORE THE EXAMINATION**

**Manage your time carefully**
Draw up a revision schedule so that you have enough time to revise. Sit down with your exam timetable, and make sure that you allocate enough time for revision to each subject, paying particular attention to those subjects you might be struggling with. Give yourself two hours each day to cover a certain subject or area of the curriculum.

Break the work down into manageable sections or topics that you can cover in the time allocated. Reward yourself if you complete a section successfully and have done well in the revision questions.

Don’t be distracted by the radio, television or your cell phone or computer. Switch these devices off, and make sure that you are able to focus without interruption.

When managing your time, remember to also make sure that you have some leisure time to spend with friends and family. Spending time relaxing with your friends can help reduce stress, but you must make sure that you keep on top of your studies!

**Ask for help**
If you are struggling with a particular subject or topic, don’t be afraid to ask for help. Remember that your teacher is there to help you understand your subject. Alternatively, you may want to have a look at the Internet which can help you with video tutorials. Also ask your friends or fellow learners. They may have a way of explaining the problem that will help you understand it better.

**Practice makes perfect**
Your Ace-it Study Guide will be a great help in preparing for your examinations by giving you practical examples, revision questions and hints and tips for exam success.

Try to access copies of past examination papers so that you can exercise your skills. Your school library may have copies of past papers, but alternatively you could have a look at the Department of Basic Education website: www.thutong.doe.gov.za, which has copies of past papers, together with marking memoranda.

**Get enough exercise**
Getting plenty of regular exercise not only helps you to keep healthy, it also has been proven to lower stress levels and leads to better sleep. Even if you are not a sportsman or sportswoman, a quick walk around the block during a study break will help you to de-stress, and clear your head.

**Eat a healthy diet and drink plenty of water**
It is extremely tempting to keep snacking on chips, sweets and chocolates while studying, but these snacks won’t help your body in the long term. Try to eat foods that will keep you fuller for longer. Aim for a balanced diet, with lots of fruit and vegetables, and wholewheat or wholegrain bread.

Drink plenty of water. Your brain and your body need water to function properly. Make sure that you drink plenty of water while you are studying. Research suggests that drinking water can help improve exam results by lowering stress levels.
Above all, DON’T PANIC!!
Try to keep a clear head. Getting into a panic is a sure recipe for disaster when you are preparing for an exam. Try meditating for 10 minutes every morning and evening to help you relax and think clearly. If you are struggling with a particular topic, put it aside for a while, revise another subject before going back to the problem area. You may very well find that if you approach it after a break, it doesn’t seem quite so frightening after all.

Remember
If you are feeling deeply depressed and anxious at this stressful time, make an effort to seek help from a parent, teacher or counsellor. There are plenty of people out there who are willing and able to help!

ON THE DAY
☐ Pack your bag with all your stationery, calculator, ruler and any other items you may need the day before. Make sure that you have extra pens and pencils, and double-check them before you leave for the examination venue.
☐ Have a good night’s sleep. Cramming the night before will just make you tired and unable to think clearly during the exams.
☐ Get up in good time. Ask your family to wake you earlier than usual, or ask a friend to give you a wake-up call.
☐ Leave plenty of extra time when travelling to the venue, in case there are traffic or other hold-ups.

WRITING THE EXAMINATION
☐ Keep calm and relaxed and have confidence in what you have learned and revised.
☐ When you receive the paper, you are given time to read through the paper. Make use of this time by identifying all the questions you know you can easily finish.
☐ Read all questions carefully, making sure you know what is being asked. Underline the key words that will tell you what type of answer is required.
☐ Don’t write a long paragraph when only a brief list is required. Conversely, don’t write a bulleted list when a detailed description or explanation is required.
☐ Start with the questions you know best, but keep the numbers in the correct order. If you can’t answer a question, don’t waste time. Move on and come back to it later. Sometimes a later question will remind you about something to help answer an earlier one.
☐ Keep an eye on the time. Each question has a mark allocation. Work out how much time you need for each question or section, and stick to it, or else you won’t get to the other questions.
☐ Always leave your weakest topic for last so that you don’t waste valuable time struggling with the answers.
☐ Do not leave the exam room before the time is up until you have completed the entire paper and make sure that you have attempted all questions.
How do YOU learn History?

Each of us is an individual, and we all have different ways of learning. Some people like to write everything down when revising, others draw huge colourful mind maps, still others recite lists and facts. Some learners need to walk up and down or be physically active when learning.

It can be very useful for you to find out what kind of a learning style you have. You can then learn techniques to help you when revising the large amount of content in History Grade 12.

Take the quiz below to see what type of learning style you have.

Question 1
When you read a book for relaxation, which do you prefer?

a) a travel book which has a lot of photographs  
b) a crime mystery which has a lot of dialogue  
c) a book where you need to solve problems or answer questions

Question 2
When you listen to music, do you?

a) daydream or create pictures in your mind that go with the music  
b) sing or hum along with the music  
c) dance, move to the music, or tap your feet

Question 3
As an out-of-school activity, which of these would you prefer?

a) an art class  
b) a music class  
c) an exercise class

Question 4
When you see the word ‘c – a – t’ what is the first thing you do?

a) get a mental image or picture of a specific cat  
b) say the word ‘cat’ to yourself  
c) get the feeling of being with a cat, for example feeling its fluffy fur or playing with it

Question 5
You are struggling to spell a word. What are you most likely to do?

a) write it out to see if it looks right  
b) sound it out phonetically  
c) write it out to see if it feels right

Question 6
You are waiting in a long queue at the movies. What are you most likely to do?

a) look at the posters up on the walls advertising other films  
b) talk to the person next to you  
c) move around, fidget or tap your foot

Question 7
You have a new smartphone. To figure out how it works, which would you rather do?

a) watch a YouTube video on the features of the phone  
b) listen to someone explain it to you  
c) fiddle with the phone yourself to figure out how it works
Question 8
If you are really angry, what are you most likely to do?
   a) frown or have a thunderous expression on your face
   b) shout and lose your temper
   c) slam doors, punch a pillow and stomp around

Question 9
You are visiting a history museum for the first time. What do you do first?
   a) look around for a map or guide book showing the location of the various exhibits
   b) talk to a museum guide and ask them about the different exhibits
   c) go into the first exhibit that looks interesting and worry about directions later

Question 10
You are trying to concentrate on doing your homework. What is most distracting for you?
   a) visual distractions
   b) noise
   c) sensations like feeling hungry, having an itch, feeling your shoes are too tight

Question 11
You have been to a party. What are you most likely to remember the next day?
   a) the faces of the people you met, but not their names
   b) the names of the people you met, but not their faces
   c) the things you did and said while you were there

Question 12
When learning for a history test, what would you rather do?
   a) read notes, read headings in a book, look at photos and illustrations
   b) ask a friend to ask you questions, or repeat facts silently to yourself
   c) write things out on index cards, or make diagrams or models

Results:
A. If you answered mostly a’s you may be a visual learner. You tend to learn by seeing and looking.

B. If you answered mostly b’s you may be an auditory learner. You tend to learn by hearing and listening.

C. If you answered mostly c’s you are probably a kinaesthetic learner. You tend to learn best by touching and doing.

Remember that nobody is all visual, all auditory or all kinaesthetic. You may find that you are a combination of the three, or you might find that you will use different learning styles for different tasks.

Throughout this study guide you will see tips to help you learn the content, based on your learning style. Look out for the icons above to help you as you work through Grade 12 History.
TOPIC 1: THE COLD WAR

Key question: How did the Cold War period shape international relations after the Second World War?

The origins of the Cold War

Between 1941 and 1945 the USA and USSR were close allies in the fight against Nazi Germany. However, because of the ideological differences between communism and capitalism neither side really trusted the other. Both countries emerged from World War II with superpower status and in possession of nuclear technology (Russia 1949). As a result, a struggle, known as the ‘Cold War’, developed and lasted for forty years. Although nuclear technology prevented outright ‘hot’ warfare between them, there were nevertheless periods of tense crisis.

CHECKLIST:

To answer questions on this topic you should be able to explain the following:

- the Grand Alliance and why it collapsed
- spheres of interest created by the USSR and USA
- installation of Soviet-friendly satellite states in central Eastern Europe
- USA’s policy of containment: Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan
- Berlin Crises from 1948-1961
- opposing military alliances: NATO and Warsaw Pact
- brinkmanship during the Cuban crisis
- who was to blame for the Cold War; different viewpoints.

KEY CONCEPTS:

The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

Berlin Blockade – USSR blocked all the roads, railways and canals leading to West Berlin hoping to force the West to give up West Berlin.

Brinkmanship – Acts that lead two sides to brink of war, in an effort to try and outdo each other, without actually engaging in conflict.

Communist bloc – Group of states under Communist control in Eastern and Central Europe.

Cuban Missile Crisis – Resulted from USA blockade of access to Cuba by USSR ships. Kennedy had demanded the removal of Russian missiles from Cuba.

Iron Curtain – Term used by Winston Churchill to describe the guarded border between the Soviet-controlled communist satellite countries of Eastern Europe and the West.

Policy of Containment – Included both the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. Intended to contain communism by supporting countries in need of aid.

Proxy wars – Provision of support by USA and USSR to opposing sides in a country but not directly involved in the conflict e.g. Asia (Korea, Vietnam) and Africa.

Satellite States – Term used to describe those countries in Eastern Europe controlled by the Soviet Union.

Spheres of influence/interest – Country, or countries, dominated by the presence of one of the superpowers to the exclusion of the other.

Superpower – Independent country powerful enough to influence events on a world-wide scale.
Why did the Cold War develop?
The Cold War was a struggle between two ideologies, capitalism versus communism. It was also a struggle of superpower rivalry.

**Capitalism**
1. Belief in the right to private property. Private enterprise and profit-making. Great differences in wealth but most people well off.
2. Democracy Multi-party government.
3. The West feared the spread of communism and totalitarian rule.
4. The USSR army occupied, and did not withdraw from large parts of central Europe.

**Communism**
1. No private property; state-owned. Wealth more equally shared; generally less than USA.
2. Totalitarianism One party government.
3. The USSR saw capitalism as the ideological enemy.
4. Stalin did not trust the West. The USA dropped the atom bomb on Japan without giving the USSR much warning.

What were the features of the Cold War?
1. It was never a direct ‘hot war’ between the two superpowers.
2. Conflict through proxy wars in Asia and Africa.
3. Espionage and propaganda.
4. Technological rivalry and space and nuclear race.

**USSR and USA and the creation of spheres of interest**

Why did the Grand Alliance break down?
1. The allies met in 1945 to plan the future of Europe after the defeat of Germany. They agreed on important issues but ideological differences created tension and finally the breakdown of the Grand Alliance.
2. Arrangements made regarding Germany and Eastern Europe also caused tension.
3. The division of Europe into spheres of interest led to the bipolar world of the 20th century.
### Decisions and actions of the Western Nations and USSR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yalta Conference – February 1945</th>
<th>EASTERN EUROPE</th>
<th>POLAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin</td>
<td>1. Divided into four zones each controlled by one of the powers – USA, Britain, France, Russia.</td>
<td>1. Allies agreed that the Soviet Union would have stronger influence in Central and Eastern Europe except Greece.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Berlin also divided into four zones each controlled by one of the four powers.</td>
<td>2. Agreed that free and fair elections would take place in these countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Berlin inside the Soviet zone.</td>
<td>3. 1945 USSR liberated Poland. Stalin agreed to include the London Poles (exiled democratic government) in the Lublin (communist) government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Germany to be governed by a council of the four powers.</td>
<td>2. Stalin intended to extend the Polish border westwards into Germany as far as the Oder and Neisse rivers. Roosevelt and Churchill refused.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potsdam Conference – August 1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlee, Truman, Stalin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Roosevelt (USA) died in April 1945 and was replaced by Truman; Churchill lost the General Election in August 1945 and was replaced by Atlee. Stalin claimed he was the only negotiator who understood what had been agreed upon at Tehran (1944) and Yalta (1945).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. West reluctantly agreed to reparations from Germany. West Germany industrial; East Germany agricultural – would provide one another’s needs. However this did not happen. |
2. Red Army did not withdraw from East Germany. |

1. Soviet troops had liberated many countries but had not withdrawn. |
2. Truman opposed establishment of pro-Soviet governments in these countries. |
3. Truman was suspicious of Soviet intentions and adopted a ‘get tough’ attitude towards Stalin. |

1. Red Army remained in Poland. |
2. The agreement to consult with the London Poles in exile was not honoured. |

### HOW WAS GERMANY DIVIDED?

Map showing the division of Germany in 1946.

**TOPIC 1: THE COLD WAR**
How were Soviet-friendly governments installed in satellite states?

1945-1948 communist-controlled governments emerged in the countries of Eastern Europe. The same three-stage pattern was followed in all of the countries.

**Stage one:**
The Soviet Union co-operated in setting up coalition or ‘Popular Front’ governments.

**Stage two:**
Communists were given key positions in government.

**Stage three:**
All non-communist leaders were removed.

In 1946 Churchill made his Fulton Speech in Missouri, USA. Some historians see this speech as the start of the Cold War. Churchill described the border between the West and Soviet-controlled countries as an ‘Iron curtain’ dividing Central and Eastern communist Europe from Western capitalist Europe.

**Soviet occupation of East European countries from 1947**

1. 1947 Communists banned other parties and took power in Poland.
2. 1947 Hungarian Communist party banned other parties and formed a government.
3. 1947 Romanian and Albanian Communist party banned other parties and forced king to abdicate.
4. 1947 Bulgarian Communist party banned other parties and formed a government.
5. 1948 Communist coup in Czechoslovakia.

Under the 1955 Austrian State Treaty, British, French, Russian and American occupying troops withdrew from Austria, which became an independent and neutral country.

### DIVISION OF THE WORLD INTO TWO SPHERES OF INTEREST

**USA’s policy of containment: Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan 1947**

1. 1944 Greek royalists were fighting communist guerillas.
2. 1947 the British, exhausted by war, had to abandon assistance to them.
3. 1947 Truman Doctrine - aimed to contain the spread of communism - a response to the British appeal for assistance.
   Communities under threat of communism would be assisted: $400 million was promised in economic and humanitarian aid, military supplies and weapons.
4. 1947 (June) The Marshall Plan put the Truman Doctrine into action - billions of US dollars in aid were given to Europe. It was open to all countries in Europe, including the Communist bloc.

**Response of the USSR to Truman Doctrine and Marshall Aid**

1. USSR refused assistance and ordered the satellite states to do the same.
2. 1947 Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) provided economic aid from the Soviet Union to the satellite states. Also set up a military force to counter any anti-communist forces.
3. 1947 Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) included the Soviet Union and the satellite states.
4. 1948 Yugoslavia expelled for accepting Marshall Aid and refusing to be restricted from trade with Europe. All European communist parties were controlled by Cominform.
5. 1948 Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia.

The world was divided into two spheres of interest: those supporting the USA and the capitalist West; those supporting the Soviet Union and the communist East.
Berlin crises from 1948-1961

Between 1948 and 1961 tension grew between the USSR and the West. This was caused by the growing economic differences between the Russian and the Western sectors. West Germany flourished under Marshall Aid. By 1948 Germany had become the focal point of the Cold War in Europe. Three major crises took place in Berlin – in 1948-1949; 1953 and 1958 and in 1961 when the Berlin Wall was built.

What caused the Berlin crises and what were the results?

**CAUSES:** Soviets blockaded Berlin – closed all road, rail and canal links between West Berlin and West Germany. Aimed to force the West out of West Berlin.

1948 (June) to 1949 (May) West airlifted supplies into West Berlin. Stalin realised that the West would not abandon West Berlin and called off the blockade.

**CAUSES:** Workers demanded better working conditions, union with the West and political freedom.

**RESULTS:** East Germans fled to West Germany via West Berlin.

1953

1948/1949
Berlin airlift

1958

**CAUSES:** West Berlin thrived and thousands of East Germans continued to cross into West Berlin. 1961 Krushchev again demanded that the West withdraw from West Berlin. Kennedy refused.

**RESULTS:** 1961 August the Soviets built a wall to divide Berlin. The aim was to prevent East Berliners escaping to the West. The wall remained a symbol of a divided Germany until it was pulled down in 1989.

**RESULTS:** 1949 Germany was divided into two states and remained that way until 1989. The West set up the German Federal Republic (West Germany) with Bonn as the capital and the USSR set up the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) with East Berlin as its capital.

**CAUSES:** Workers demanded better working conditions, union with the West and political freedom.

**RESULTS:** East Germans fled to West Germany via West Berlin. Krushchev demanded that West Berlin be handed over to East Germany. When this failed he demanded that the West recognise the GDR. The West refused.

**CAUSES:** Workers demanded better working conditions, union with the West and political freedom.
NATO and WARSAW PACT: the division of the world into two opposing military alliances

Ten years after World War II the world was divided into two huge power blocs.

NATO

1. **1949** the USA and its allies formed NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation).
   Members were Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg (Brussels Defence Treaty 1948), Benelux countries, were joined by USA, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Ireland, Italy and Norway. **1952** Iceland, Greece, Turkey joined NATO.

2. All members agreed that an attack on one member was an attack on all.
3. This development was significant as the USA abandoned the traditional foreign policy of isolation and committed to military action in Europe.

WARSAW PACT

1. **1955** the Soviet Union joined with the satellite states, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania, to form the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (Warsaw Pact).
2. This was a mutual defence agreement and the Soviet Union had the right to station troops in any of the member states. It was intended to prevent any internal or external threats to communism.

Containment and Brinkmanship: The Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

The Cuban Missile Crisis brought the world to the brink of nuclear war and Cuba into the frontline of the Cold War.
Background: The USA was determined to contain the spread of communism. They had nuclear bases in Turkey and Italy and these threatened the USSR as US U-2 spy planes flew over the USSR. The USSR was determined to test the USA.

1961/1962
J.F. Kennedy President of USA
Nikita Krushchev leader of USSR
Fidel Castro Cuban revolutionary leader

What had happened in Cuba:
1959 overthrow of Batista by Fidel Castro in Cuba; US cut links with Cuba
USSR offered Cuba trade and weapons
Bay of Pigs fiasco as US supported Cuban rebels against Castro; mission a failure

1962 American U-2 spy planes photographed Russian nuclear missile bases on Cuba.
A tense period of 13 days of fear of a nuclear war followed.
Kennedy announced blockade of Cuba.

U-2 shows missile bases still being constructed: Soviet ships halted and turned back by the blockade.
Krushchev’s response was crucial – would he back down or order the ships carrying missiles to break through the blockade? This is known as brinkmanship. Kennedy received letter from Krushchev. Russians shot down a U-2.

Both sides realised how close they had brought the world to the brink of nuclear warfare.
1963 hotline was established between the Kremlin in Moscow and the White House in Washington. Kennedy appeared the hero while Krushchev ruined and dismissed from office in 1964. August 1963 America, Britain and the Soviet Union signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Intervention of Robert Kennedy – assured Krushchev USA will remove missiles in Turkey. Krushchev accepted deal. He agreed to dismantle and withdraw missiles on condition that America did not invade Cuba. President J.F. Kennedy secretly agreed to dismantle missiles in Turkey and Greece.
Who was to blame for the Cold War? (Interpretation: differing points of view)

Answers to this question depend on one’s point of view; and who one blames depends on how events are interpreted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthodox view</th>
<th>Revisionist view</th>
<th>Post-revisionist</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>– blames Stalin. He was intent on spreading communism throughout the world. The West was forced to defend democratic principles.</td>
<td>– blames the USA and states that they overreacted to Stalin’s actions. He was securing the safety of the USSR.</td>
<td>– argues that both sides were responsible: the Cold War was a result of mutual suspicion and over-reaction.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USSR</th>
<th>USA</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Communism &amp; totalitarianism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Premiers: Stalin; Khrushchev; Brezhnev</td>
<td><strong>Capitalism &amp; liberal democracy</strong>&lt;br&gt;Presidents: Truman; Eisenhower; Kennedy; Johnson; Nixon; Ford; Carter &amp; Reagan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EUROPE**

Stalin: was convinced that the USA and forces of capitalism wanted to invade USSR and thus he needed to be surrounded by the satellite states that were friendly towards communism – “sphere of interest”.

Cominform (1947) = organisation set up to coordinate the activities of Eastern European Communist parties.

Comecon (1949) = SU provided economic aid to satellite states.

Iron Curtain: behind was Romania; Poland; Bulgaria; Czechoslovakia; Hungary; E Germany.

**The Berlin Wall** (1961) divided Germany.

**German Democratic Republic (E Germany)**

- **Warsaw Pact** (1955)
- USSR got the atomic bomb in 1949. MAD = Mutually Assured Destruction = arms race.
- Espionage & counter espionage KGB.

**German Federal Republic (W Germany)**

- NATO (1949) = North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
- USA had atomic weapon first which was dropped on Japan (1945).
- Espionage & counter espionage CIA – e.g.: U-2 Spy Plane Incident (1960).

**CUBA**

- 1959: Cuba = communist under Castro.
- 1962: Sent nuclear/ground-to-air missiles to Cuba.
- 1962: Cuban Missile Crisis – USSR ships turned around to avoid direct conflict with US Naval Blockade at Cuba.

- 1960: Cuba – Bay of Pigs Invasion = embarrassing for USA as they failed to topple Castro.
- 1962: Cuban Missile Crisis = victory for USA.

Truman: “Stalin’s control of E Europe was evidence that he was building an Empire”. Communism must be contained.

**Truman Doctrine** (1947) = foreign policy whereby the USA “would support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation”.

**Marshall Aid** (1947) = money given to countries threatened by the popularity of communism.

**First Berlin Crisis & Berlin Airlift** (1948-1949) = victory for the West.
QUICK QUIZ

1. Name the leader who attended both the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences.
2. Give the full name for the acronym NATO.
3. Which country in Europe was divided into four zones?
4. Name the capital city of West Germany.
5. What was the policy of containment called?
6. What East European country had its western border moved to the Oder and Neisse rivers?
7. In what year did the Berlin Blockade end?
8. In what year was the Berlin Wall built?
9. Name the leader of America at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis.
10. Name the leader of the Soviet Union at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

MY OWN NOTES
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to answer source-based questions

A source is historical evidence that an historian uses to construct a picture of the past. Sources are either Primary or Secondary. A **Primary Source** is something which comes from the time an historian is studying (e.g.: letter, diary). They are often useful but more often than not are limited and biased. But they do give ordinary people's insights into events. **Remember that just because a source is primary does not make it reliable!** A **Secondary Source** is produced after the time the historian is studying, (e.g. school textbook) and is often the product of a number of primary sources. They often contain more facts than opinions and might focus on the Great Men of History (famous people) rather than contain insights into how ordinary people felt.

Is this a useful source? (All sources are useful as long as they provide information on the topic that the historian is investigating) BUT a useful source is not necessarily a reliable source.

Is this a biased source? Bias = ‘one-sidedness’ in sources. It occurs when a source gives one particular view of an event, (identify what the writer’s intention might be). Look out for emotive (biased) words.

What is the origin of the source? This refers to when the source was produced; by whom and where.

How to analyse a source (answering source-based questions)

What is the intention of the source? This refers to why the source was produced. It also refers to what the writer/producer of the source hopes to achieve.

Is this a valid source? A valid source, however, should contain no contradictions; show no evidence of tampering or forgery; should be reliable; should be useful and should not be limited.

What limitations are there of this source? (What is missing?) What does this source NOT provide? An eyewitness or photographer will only be able to see a limited view of an event; a graph only gives numbers and no insight into feelings; by its nature a political cartoon is biased. Primary sources are more limited than secondary.

How to evaluate the reliability of a source:

A reliable source contains no bias; should take into account as many perspectives as possible (but give some info into how people felt) and provide objective (mostly facts and few opinions) & comprehensive information on an historical event. In order to answer a reliability question you will need to include the following components in your answer:

- The origin of the source
- The intention of the source
- The bias within the source (and support your answer with a quote showing evidence of the bias within the source)
- The limitation of the source.

If the intention of the source is to provide comprehensive and objective (mainly facts) information on the topic; if there is no bias and is the product of many perspectives then it is likely to be a reliable source.
Here is an example of how to analyse and evaluate an historical source:

This is an extract from a speech delivered by US President Harry Truman to the American Congress on 12 March 1947:

At the present moment nearly every nation has to choose between alternative ways of life. One way is based on the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and election 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 election and the suppression of personal freedom.

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

Is this a reliable source for historians studying the origins of the Cold War?

Suggested answer:

This source is an extract from a speech delivered by President Harry Truman to the US Congress in 1947. His intention was to gain the support of the US Congress for his initiative to send military and financial aid to foreign governments being threatened by Communist forces. To achieve his intention he makes use of biased words such as “terror and oppression” to warn the US Congress of the threat posed by the forces of Communism. The source is limited because it is just an extract and the full speech has not been provided. Because the source is biased and limited, if used on its own, it is unreliable.

Who initiated the tension that led to the Cold War?

In examinations you will be given a number of sources to interpret and analyse. You will need to practise the skills of source analysis as often as you can. You can start by answering these source-based questions.

SOURCE A

Winston Churchill, Britain’s former Prime Minister, made a speech in Fulton, Missouri, USA on 5 March 1946. US President Harry Truman was present at the delivery of this speech.

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 ... all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject ... to Soviet influence ... and control from Moscow. ...The communist parties, which are very small in all of these Eastern States of Europe have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. ... this is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

SOURCE B

This extract is from an interview with Stalin in Pravda. It was published in the New York Times, 14 March 1946.

‘Mr Churchill now takes the stand of the warmongers and he is not alone. He has friends not only in Britain, but in the United States .... As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union’s loss of life has been several times greater than that of Britain and the USA put together. And so what can be surprising about the fact that the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, is trying to see that governments loyal to the Soviet Union should exist in the countries throughout which the Germans made their invasion? How can anyone who has not taken leave of his senses describe these peace loving peoples of the Soviet Union as expansionist?’
Refer to Source A

1. What is the origin of this source? (2)

2. What was Churchill’s intention in delivering this speech? Support your answer with ONE quote from the source. 2x2 (4)

3. Define the following historical concepts:
   3.1 totalitarian (2)
   3.2 liberate (2)

4. What does Churchill mean by an ‘iron curtain’ and explain whether you believe that it is an appropriate description. (4)

Refer to Source B

5. Write down ONE biased word that Stalin makes use of in reference to Churchill and explain his intention in using that word. (2x2) (4)
6. Write down TWO statements used by Stalin to justify Soviet actions in Eastern Europe. 

7. Write down ONE limitation of this source as historical evidence for historians studying the origins of the Cold War. 

8. Evaluate the reliability of this source for historians studying the origins of the Cold War. 

For answers, please see page 129.
Extension of the Cold War
Case Study: CHINA

Key Question: How did China rise as a world power after 1949?

World War II left China weak and politically unstable. However, in 1949 the Communist People’s Republic of China, was established by Mao Zedong and was immediately recognised by the USSR. China has a population of nearly 600 million and a steadily growing economy. Over the years it has gained international influence and status as a world power.

CHECKLIST:
To answer questions on this topic you will need to know about the following:
- how Communist China was established in 1949
- the impact of the Cultural Revolution
- relationships with the Soviet Union and USA from 1949-1973
- whether China was a superpower by the time of Mao’s death
- the impact of China’s expanding economy on the rest of the world since Mao’s death.

KEY CONCEPTS:
The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

The Great Leap Forward - Policy to reform agriculture, industry and social aspects.
The Cultural Revolution - A series of political campaigns led by the Red Army in China to extend the work of the original Chinese Revolution. Destruction of traditional Chinese culture and arts.

Mao-Marxism - The way that Mao interpreted the original concepts of Marx in his version of communism and how it conflicted with Soviet Marxism.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:
CCP: Chinese Communist Party
GMT: Guomintang

KEY FIGURES:
Chiang Kai Shek – Leader of the Guomintang
Mao Zedong – Leader of the Communist Party

What led to the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949?

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was established in 1921 with Mao Zedong as one of its founder members. The most serious challenge to the communists came from the nationalist Guomintang (GMT) led by Chiang Kai-Shek after 1925. To escape from the GMT the communists set off on the 10 000 km Long March to Yenan in northern China. There they established the Chinese Soviet Republic. However, in 1937, when the Japanese invaded China the communists and the GMT worked together to defeat them. Later there was open aggression between the two groups. The GMT retreated to Taiwan where they were recognised by the western capitalist powers as the legitimate government of China until 1971.

In 1949 the Communist People’s Republic of China was established on the mainland.
HOW WAS COMMUNISM ESTABLISHED IN CHINA?

Map of Asia in 1950

At first the form of communism in China was similar to that in the Soviet Union. China was industrially undeveloped and had a large peasant population. Change would have to start in the rural areas with the peasants. However, Chinese communism increasingly diverged in policy from Russian communism. Communist change in China was called Maoism.

- Social reforms: women’s status and rights improved; better education; rate of literacy increased.
- Political changes: new constitution; strong central government and planning committee.
- Industrialisation: capital from agriculture used to develop industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Reform 1950-1956</th>
<th>Great Leap Forward April 1956-1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agriculture:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Agriculture:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim: create capital for industrialisation; increase food production; uplift peasants and feed industrial workers.</td>
<td>This policy was designed to meet conditions in China – Maoism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China transformed from a country of small inefficient private farms into one of collective farms like those in Russia. Land was confiscated from the wealthy and redistributed among the peasants. By 1956, 95% of all peasants belonged to communes. Crop production increased.</td>
<td>26 000 communes were established. An average of 30 000 people lived in one commune. They were divided into groups with different tasks. Each commune drew up a Production Plan. A fixed quantity of agricultural produce was sold to the state at a low price. The surplus was kept to pay commune members. Each family also had a private plot.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial changes: Five year plan 1953-1958</th>
<th>Industry:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Businesses and banks nationalised. Prices and wages were fixed. Taxes on businesses increased.</td>
<td>A complete change took place in industry. Smaller factories also were set up in the countryside to provide machinery for agriculture. Mao talked of 600 000 ‘backyard steel furnaces’ organised by the communes. The communes would also build roads, dams and reservoirs and irrigation channels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of heavy industry (steel, iron, chemicals, coal) undertaken. Russia helped with cash, equipment, advisers and scientists.</td>
<td>Great Leap Forward a failure – resulted in famine and drop in industrial production.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What was the Cultural Revolution: 1966-1969?

1959 - Mao Zedong resigned as Chairman of the People's Republic of China but remained Chairman of the Communist Party.

The Cultural Revolution was an attempt by Mao to reassert the values of communism which he believed were being forgotten in both China and Russia.

Students were organised as the new militia or Red Guards. They toured the country purging 'impure' elements or 're-educating' people; thousands were killed.

By the late 1960s the Cultural Revolution began to show signs of failure.

Mao died in 1976 – the Cultural Revolution had delayed the modernisation of China.

Cultural Revolution

They based their activities on the 'Little Red Book' (The Thoughts of Chairman Mao); they forced schools and universities to close down.

Chinese art and culture was destroyed as a result of the 'war against the old ways', old thinking, old customs, old habits and old culture.
**Why did Chinese relations with the Soviet Union and the USA change between 1949 and 1973?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>China and the Soviet Union</th>
<th>China and the USA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1949-1960s</strong></td>
<td><strong>1949-1960s</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Chinese ideology different from Russian – China under Mao never deviated from the goals of the peasant revolution and the classless society.</td>
<td>1. 1949 – Relations hostile with America. USA supported Chiang Kai-shek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 1949 – Signed a Treaty of Friendship with Russia but China followed its own foreign policy.</td>
<td>2. 1950 – the Korean War created further enmity. China’s role in Indo-China challenged American presence there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Under Stalin relations deteriorated – Mao regarded the Soviets as having abandoned the revolution.</td>
<td>3. SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organisation) signed with Taiwan (eastern equivalent of NATO).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 1968 – Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia intensified split between the two countries.</td>
<td>5. 1960s – stalemate – USA involved in Vietnam and revolted by the violence and militancy of the Cultural Revolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 1969 – Sino-Soviet border clashes – Mao believed that the USSR was the greater threat.</td>
<td>6. 1964 – China a major world power after testing the first atomic bomb.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LATE 1960s AND 1970s: RE-EXAMINED RELATIONS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1970s</strong></th>
<th><strong>1970s</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China feared isolation if the USA and USSR improved relations in the 1970s. Mao wanted to improve China’s Industry and needed western technology.</td>
<td>relations with the USA greatly improved. The tone of the Cold War changed as the USSR and China vied for American support.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DÉTENTE RELAXED RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICA and USSR.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1971</strong></th>
<th><strong>1971</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
China's changing relationships with neighbouring states: Tibet, India, Vietnam, Taiwan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIBET</th>
<th>INDIA</th>
<th>VIETNAM</th>
<th>TAIWAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1950</strong> occupied by China. Leader Dalai Lama in exile.</td>
<td>Open conflict threatened borders of India. 1962 China withdrew when US supported India.</td>
<td><strong>1960s and 1970s</strong> relations deteriorated as Vietnam competed for paramountcy in the area. 1979 China invaded Vietnam and since then both countries have fortified their borders.</td>
<td>Both China and Taiwan declared themselves the legitimate government of united China. America ended its blockade of Taiwan and in 1953 China 'liberated' Taiwan. Threat of war faded in the 1960s. Taiwan remains independent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To what extent was China established as a superpower by the time of Mao's death?

**Criteria of a superpower:** large area and population; industrialised; natural resources; military strength; political ideology; alliances; international regard; independent.

1. By the time of Mao's death in 1976 China was regarded as a world power.
2. 1971 China became a member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council.
3. China is the fourth largest country in the world and has the largest population in the world.
4. Under Mao China's economy had been developed.
5. The Five-Year Plans transformed the peasant economy into an industrial power.
6. By 1976 China was developing nuclear weapons.
7. Mao's successor, Deng Xiaoping transformed China into a global economic and political power especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.
What impact has China’s economic liberalisation had on relations with the rest of the world since Mao’s death until present?

1. China plays a significant role in the globalised world.
2. Deng Xiaoping adapted communism to market economy.
3. China is one of the world’s largest economies. Chinese manufactured goods dominate the global market.
4. 1980 China joined the IMF and World Bank.
6. 1997 Hong Kong returned by Britain to China.
8. 2010 together with other emerging economies China is a member of BRICS.

**QUICK QUIZ**

1. What name was given to the movement of the Communists to Yanan in 1934?
2. Who led the Communists?
3. In what year was the CCP established?
4. Which country recognised Communist China in 1949?
5. Give the full name of the acronym GMT.
6. Name the leader of the GMT.
7. What was the Communist revolution of industry and agriculture called?
8. What was the name of the book on which the Cultural Revolution was based?
9. Which war affected relations between the USA and China in the 1950s and 1960s?
10. In what year did China join the United Nations?

**MY OWN NOTES**
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to analyse photographs as historical sources

Photographs are useful historical sources as they provide a great deal of information about the past. They are primary sources that are produced by eyewitnesses to historical events or turning points in history. However, photographs are limited historical sources for the following reasons:

- They only show the photographer’s view of the event.
- They only show a ‘snap-shot in time’ – we do not know what happens before or after the photograph was taken.
- Photographs can be altered or doctored.

This is how you go about answering source-based questions on photographic sources:

SOURCE A
A photograph of President Nixon of the USA meeting Mao Zedong in February 1972.

What is the photographer’s intention? In order to be able to answer this you need to identify the main focus (centre) of the photograph. In this case the main focus is on the two figures shaking hands.

Facial features are further evidence to support the photographer’s intention as they provide information on the mood that existed at the time that this photograph was taken. In this case the mood was friendly as both figures are smiling.

Now it’s over to you. Practise your photograph-analysing skills by answering the following questions:

SOURCE B
A photograph of Chairman Mao lying in state in Beijing on Sept 12, 1976. The photographer is unknown. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese peasants were made to walk past his body and to show their sorrow at his passing.
1. What was the photographer’s intention in taking this photograph? Support your answer with ONE visual clue. (4)

2. By referring to TWO visual clues explain the mood of the photograph. (6)

3. Identify the symbol on the flag covering Mao’s body and explain why it has been placed over his body. (6)

4. Write down TWO limitations of photographs as evidence for historians. (2x2) (4)

For answers, please see page 129.

TOPIC 1: THE COLD WAR
Case Study: VIETNAM

Key Question: How was a small country like Vietnam able to win a war against the USA (1954-1975)?

The Vietnam War lasted close to thirty years and led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people. It was fought in two stages: first against France from 1945-1954; secondly against America between 1954 and 1975. It was unique in that it consisted of a number of wars extended into one: a war for independence from foreign rule, a civil war, and a Cold War conflict. America’s involvement in Vietnam cost millions and forced Americans to reconsider their policy of containment. After the Americans withdrew, the Communists took over Vietnam in 1975.

CHECKLIST:

To answer questions on this topic you will need to know about the following:

- background – struggle against colonial powers and the period immediately after World War II
- stages of the war: why did the US become increasingly involved in Vietnam?
- 1957-1965 – struggle in Vietnam between the South Vietnamese army and the communist-trained rebels (Vietcong against the USA)
- the war from a Vietnamese and USA perspective: why did the US fail in Vietnam?
- the war as a global issue
- 1969-1975 – USA withdrawal from Vietnam (impact on USA politics; student movements)
- Conclusion: how the war is remembered today in the USA and Vietnam.

KEY CONCEPTS:

The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

Agent Orange – A chemical used to deforest large areas of jungle.

Domino Theory – Eisenhower Doctrine - belief that if Vietnam fell to the communists then other south-east Asian countries would fall like a row of dominoes.

Ho Chi Minh Trail – The route through Laos and Cambodia used to supply the Vietcong.

My Lai – Notorious example of US soldiers treatment of Vietnamese peasants.

Military Advisers – Military men sent by America to Vietnam to help the South Vietnamese army.

Strategic Hamlet Programme – A hamlet is a village. The Vietnamese peasants were moved into fortified villages; Vietcong were locked outside.


Vietminh – The armed forces of the Vietnamese Independence Movement.


Vietnamisation – President Nixon’s plan to make the South Vietnamese soldiers ready to take over the role of the US army.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

DRV: Democratic Republic of Vietnam
SEATO: South East Asia Treaty Organisation

KEY FIGURES:

North Vietnam: Ho Chi Minh
South Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem
American presidents in office during the Vietnam war:
Harry Truman 1945-1953;
Dwight D. Eisenhower 1953-1961;
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Overview of the struggle immediately after World War II

Vietnam is situated in South East Asia. It is shaped like an elongated “S” and stretches the length of the Indochinese Peninsula. It is bordered by Laos, Cambodia and China.

Post-war period – why was there conflict in Vietnam?

1. Vietnam had been a French colony until the Japanese invaded in 1941. After the Japanese were defeated at the end of World War II the French returned to Vietnam. In 1954 they were defeated by the Vietminh at Dien Bien Phu. At an international conference in Geneva, Vietnam was temporarily divided into North and South along the 17th parallel. The country would be reunited after elections in 1956.

2. North Vietnam was ruled by the communists known as the Vietminh. Their leader was Ho Chi Minh. South Vietnam was anti-communist and led by Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem’s government was corrupt and repressive and hated by the South Vietnamese peasants. Most peasants were Buddhists and Diem’s government was city-based and Catholic.

3. Many peasants supported the Vietcong who were communist guerrillas operating in South Vietnam. They aimed to overthrow Diem. The Vietcong were supported by the North Vietnamese government.

4. The South Vietnamese army was unable to defeat the Vietcong and was afraid of an attack from the North. Diem’s government received aid from the Americans. US policy was based on President Eisenhower’s ‘Domino Theory’ (1952). They believed that the Vietcong intended to spread communism to the South. If South Vietnam fell to the communists then other south east Asian countries would also fall to the communists like a row of dominoes. Vietnam became part of the US containment policy of the Cold War.
US involvement in Vietnam and actions of North Vietnamese and Vietcong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>America</th>
<th>North Vietnam and Vietcong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961 President Kennedy increased number of advisers to 11 000.</td>
<td>1963 North Vietnamese successfully occupied 40% of South Vietnam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963 President Johnson decided to increase American involvement.</td>
<td>1964 US Congress agreed to fight the North Vietnamese. They passed the Tonkin Resolution which gave the president wide military powers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964 NV ships attacked a US destroy in the Gulf of Tonkin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1965-1969 North Vietnamese-USA struggle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>America</strong></th>
<th><strong>Vietnam</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>1965 Full scale US military involvement launched ‘Operation Rolling Thunder’. Hundreds of thousands of bombs were dropped. Bombing was unsuccessful and did not destroy NV or Vietcong. US sent 180 000 ground troops, later rose to 500 000.</td>
<td>1968 January: Tet Offensive – This was a surprise offensive by the Vietcong. It was uncharacteristic in that this was an open attack in which they captured 35 major cities. They also captured American bases in South Vietnam and the US embassy in Saigon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1968 Tet Offensive</strong> had a major effect on Americans. Although US troops regained towns and cities the war was costing an enormous amount of money and seemed hopeless. Demonstrations against the war started in America. Protest groups forced the government to consider human rights and the cost of the war.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>March: My Lai Massacre</strong> – a group of American soldiers failed to find a Vietcong group so rounded up villagers and shot them – 300 were women and children. Americans were shocked at the suffering.</td>
<td><strong>Saigon under attack during the Tet Offensive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New tactics</strong> were adopted by the US troops – fire power in the form of napalm and Agent Orange, a chemical that defoliated the jungle. Often innocent villagers were killed. The Strategic Hamlet (villagisation) programme moved whole villages behind barbed wire fences to keep out the Vietcong. Unsuccessful – the Vietcong came and went as they pleased.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace talks begin in Paris.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### 1969-1976 USA withdrawal from Vietnam

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<td>1969 President <em>Nixon</em> undertook to end the war. He ended the draft and introduced policy of ‘Vietnamisation’: training and rearming the South Vietnamese army. Start of troop withdrawals.</td>
<td>Vietcong in control of large parts of South Vietnam.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WHAM</strong> - winning the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese.</td>
<td><strong>Death of Ho Chi Minh.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970 US invaded Cambodia and Laos to destroy NV bases.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anti-war demonstrations</strong> throughout America. Four student demonstrators shot dead at Kent State University. Lieutenant Colley was tried for the My Lai Massacre and murder of 109.</td>
<td><strong>1972 North Vietnamese launch an attack on the South.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secret peace talks held in Paris.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971 South Vietnamese army attempt to destroy Ho Chi Minh Trail to prevent supplies getting through to the Vietcong. Attempt failed.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1975 US troops withdrew.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1974</strong> US sent supplies but no troops. The American policy of containment in south-east Asia was a failure.</td>
<td><strong>1975</strong> US troops withdrew.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The nature of the war-strategies used by the different sides

The Americans had superior weapons and would have won a conventional battle in the open. Yet they could not win the war in Vietnam. The Vietcong did not follow conventional fighting strategies but instead used guerrilla warfare. The war was fought in the jungle and this gave the Vietcong the advantage. They had the support of most ordinary peasants and after an attack would slip back into village life. The Americans could not distinguish between the peasants and the Vietcong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vietcong strategies</th>
<th>American strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>![Vietcong Image]</td>
<td>![American Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Vietcong were fighting for survival and freedom.</td>
<td>1. America’s approach was conventional – search and destroy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. They were no match for American technology, but were familiar with the terrain and knew the jungle. They were ruthless and effective.</td>
<td>2. Operation Rolling Thunder: over the years massive tonnage of bombs dropped but was not successful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. They used guerrilla tactics: did not fight in the open; small units, ambush and surprise attack, assisted by peasants.</td>
<td>3. Americans were not accustomed to jungle warfare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The jungle was vast; they used a network of underground tunnels for protection against bombing.</td>
<td>4. They aimed to counter the threat of guerrilla warfare:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. They specialised in setting booby traps. These tactics were highly successful against the large American forces.</td>
<td>- destroy the Ho Chi Minh Trail so that supplies could not reach the Vietcong;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- destroy the jungle so that the enemy could not hide.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The War from a Vietnamese and USA perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vietnam</th>
<th>America</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. War of liberation against corrupt South Vietnamese regime and foreign oppression.</td>
<td>1. At first supported by the public as seen as protecting democracy and preventing the spread of communism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. They were passionate about the justice of the war.</td>
<td>2. Later lost public support. Disillusionment at television footage of the destruction of villages and wounded people; enormous US casualties; human rights issues; cost and hopelessness of situation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. The war was supported by the Vietnamese people.</td>
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The war as a global issue
1. The war in Vietnam was part of the Cold War as America attempted to prevent the spread of communism. 1954 America established the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO).
2. Did not prevent the spread of communism - communist governments established in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.
3. Attitude towards communist states changed after the war and America attempted to improve relations with China.
4. Lifted veto on Chinese membership of the UN. Relations with the USSR improved under détente.
5. Cold War relations eased after Vietnam.

The impact on USA politics, student movements and civil protests
America’s continued involvement in Vietnam had a serious impact on America’s international image and relations.

**International view:**
1. Seen as a failure of the policy of containment and a victory for communism. The US failed to defeat the communists in Vietnam.
2. Many countries criticised the use of chemical weapons on innocent Vietnamese civilians.
3. America’s reputation undermined by atrocities committed.

**Domestic view:**
At first the Vietnam War was supported by the majority of people in America. Young men were conscripted and sent to Vietnam. It was a TV war and all American citizens were aware of what was happening.

1. **Political opposition** began as people shocked by the atrocities they witnessed, questioned the morality of America’s involvement. They questioned the human rights issues. They realised the politicians and generals were wrong when they said victory was near.
   Johnson was heavily criticised. As a result he ended the bombing of North Vietnam and did not stand for office in 1968.

3. **Civil protesters** were critical of the behavior of American soldiers in their ill-treatment of the Vietnamese. In particular they criticised the use of napalm and the My Lai Incident.

**2. Student movements** started protests on university campuses during the 1960s. In the 1970s anti-war movement grew and violence often broke out. Students taunted Johnson with chants.

**Expense** – the war was very costly and money that should have been spent on welfare was used. The cost in human lives and money was excessive.
QUICK QUIZ

1. Which colonial power ruled Vietnam from the late 19th century?
2. Name the site where the Viet Minh defeated the French army in 1954.
3. What was the name of the communist group active in South Vietnam?
4. Name the trail from the North to South Vietnam down which arms and supplies were transported.
5. Name the president of South Vietnam.
6. Name the president of North Vietnam.
7. Give the name of the USA theory that stated that the fall of one East-Asian country to communism would lead to the fall of all countries.
8. Name the American president who in 1965 committed the US to a full scale war in Vietnam.
9. What was the name of the fighting tactics of the Vietcong?
10. What chemical did the Americans use to expose the Vietcong?

MY OWN NOTES
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to analyse an iconic photograph

Some photographs associated with historic events have, over time, become famous and in turn have come to symbolise an entire historical era as they highlight various issues associated with that era. The term we use for these symbolic photographs is iconic.

There are numerous photographs that have come to be associated with the Vietnam War as they effectively portray the many issues associated with this war. They portray in particular the contradictory role played by the USA.

SOURCE A
This famous photograph by Eddie Adams was taken on 1 February 1968 of police chief General Nguyễn Ngọc Loan executing a Vietcong prisoner, Nguyễn Văn Lém, on a Saigon street during the opening stages of the Tet Offensive.

What is the main focus of this photograph? The main focus of this photograph is the gun pointing to the head of the Vietcong prisoner and his facial expression of real fear.

What is the photographer’s intention in taking this photograph? His intention is to shock the viewer into seeing the South Vietnamese police chief executing the prisoner on the street of Saigon in the full view of the public and press. There has been no trial in which the prisoner can try and prove his innocence.

Why has this photograph become iconic of the Vietnam War?
When asked to answer this question you should focus on the historical context of the photograph. By this we mean time and place. The photograph was taken at the height of the Vietnam War in 1968 (time) in the capital of South Vietnam (place). The USA had always justified its actions in Vietnam as protecting the human rights abuses of the South Vietnamese at the hands of the Communist Vietcong. However, here the police chief of South Vietnam (with whom the USA is associated) is committing a shocking human rights abuse by executing a prisoner on the streets of Saigon without a trial. It suggests that the USA and its ally (South Vietnam) were not the protectors of human rights that they claimed to be.

Your turn to practise analysing an iconic photograph.

SOURCE B
This famous photograph, taken on June 8, 1972, shows 9-year-old Kim Phuc (centre) running down a road near Trang Bang, Vietnam after an aerial napalm attack has destroyed her village. US soldiers are shown walking behind the children. The photographer is unknown.
1. What is the photographer’s intention in taking this photograph? Support your answer with ONE visual clue from the photograph

2. What impact is this photograph likely to have had on the US public had it appeared in US newspapers in 1968? Explain your answer.

3. Explain why you think that this photograph has become so iconic of the War in Vietnam. Use the photograph as well as your knowledge to explain.

4. Evaluate the reliability of this photograph for historians studying the US’s involvement in the War in Vietnam in the late 1960s.

For answers, please see page 129.
TOPIC 2: INDEPENDENT AFRICA

Key question: How was Independence realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?

Comparative Case Studies: THE CONGO AND TANZANIA

In the 1960s many independent African states emerged. These were a result of nationalist movements formed after World War II. To deal with the political, economic, social and cultural challenges, newly-independent states adopted different forms of government. The Democratic Republic of Congo became involved in the Cold War while Tanzania developed a socialist state with the emphasis on African socialism.

CHECKLIST:
To answer questions on this topic you will need to know about the following:
- The ideas that influenced independent African states
- Different forms of government they established
- Case study: comparative studies 1960-1980:
  Congo became a tool of the Cold War and Tanzania introduced African Socialism
- Successes and challenges: political, economic, social and cultural

KEY CONCEPTS:
The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

African Socialism – Adopted by most African countries on becoming independent. Supported socialist ideas and considered to be a deviation of Marxist-Leninism.

‘Authenticity’ – Mobutu’s policy of abandoning Western cultural norms in favour of ‘authentic’ Congolese culture. Among other things, this involved the adoption of traditional dress in the form of hats and shirts.

Homegrown Capitalism – Though it can be recognised as capitalism it has peculiarities that make it specific to that country.

Kleptocracy – Government that uses public funds for private undertakings; corruption.

Nationalisation – State control of industry and mines.

Ujamaa – Swahili word for ‘neighbourliness’; the name of collectivised peasant village in Tanzania.

Zaireanisation – The economic equivalent of ‘authenticity’. The removal of foreign influence and ownership from Zaire’s economy.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:
TANU – Tanganyika African National Union
NPR – Movement Populére de Revolution

KEY FIGURES:
Julius Nyere President of Tanzania
Mobutu Sese Seko President of the Congo
Patrice Lumumba Prime Minister of the Congo

IDEAS THAT INFLUENCED THE INDEPENDENT STATES
Independent African states had to choose a form of government and economy that would lead to stability.

Different forms of government: political ideologies and economic systems

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<tr>
<th>Different ideologies and forms of government</th>
<th>Different economic systems</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>One-party state</strong>: one political party runs for election. Believe that single party would prevent ethnic wars. Nation-building was most important. Examples: Tanzania, Ghana, Ivory Coast. The influence of the Cold War and supply of arms to particular groups led to military coups: Uganda and Congo.</td>
<td><strong>Capitalism</strong>: Private enterprise; believed that capitalism would grow the economy; create jobs and improve living standards. Examples: Kenya and Ivory Coast.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparative Case Studies: (1960-1980)

The colonial past had an impact on the way independent countries developed

**The Congo: first steps to independence**
The Congo was a Belgian colony until 1960. No preparations were made before independence. It was further complicated by Cold War interference. Civil war followed:

1960 June Stage one: Independence elections announced and several parties formed along ethnic lines. A coalition government as no one party had a majority. Patrice Lumumba, prime minister wanted strong central government and Joseph Kasavubu, president wanted federation. Superpower attention – Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) offices established.


1960 August-September Stage three: Lumumba called for UN intervention. Belgian forces were removed but UN refused to interfere in Congo’s internal affairs. Lumumba turned to the USSR for assistance. The Congo fell under the influence of the Cold War. The CIA planned to have Lumumba assassinated. Plan supported by Tshombe.

1960 September Stage four: New government – Kasavubu as President and Tshombe as Prime Minister. Country named Democratic Republic of Congo. President Kasavubu announces that Lumumba no longer PM.


The Congo is a mineral-rich country and is situated strategically in central Africa. Attention from the superpowers drew it into the Cold War.

Tanzania introduced African socialism, Ujamaa.

**Tanzania: first steps to independence**
Tanzania was a British Colony until 1961.
1954 TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) formed with Julius Nyerere as President.
1961 Independence from Britain December.
    Transition to independence peaceful.
    **Julius Nyerere** Prime minister.
1963 Zanzibar and Tanganyika united to form Tanzania.
1970 Tanzania is a one-party state.
    Tanzania not regarded as strategically important and was never caught up in the Cold War.
The following information provides an overview of the sections to be covered.

**THE SUCCESS AND CHALLENGES FACED BY INDEPENDENT AFRICA**

The KIND OF STATE that emerged – their aims and visions (political ideologies)

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<tr>
<th>POLITICAL</th>
<th>ECONOMIC</th>
<th>SOCIAL AND CULTURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Types of leaders</td>
<td>1. Types of economies (as Third World countries)</td>
<td>1. Benefits of independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Legacies of colonialism</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Types of government</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Africanisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Political stability and instability</td>
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</table>

**The successes and challenges faced by independent African countries**

1. The **aim** of independent African states was to develop the economy and stabilise the country.
2. This meant making political, economic and social choices that would achieve these aims.

1. In most cases, government decisions were dominated by the aims and vision of the **leader**.
2. The political **ideology** of the leader influenced the country's policies and plans.

**The kind of states that emerged**

The **aims** of Mobutu and Nyerere were similar.

1. A strong state and nation.
3. One-party states: **Congo** a military dictatorship; **Tanzania** TANU only party.

**However, Congo and Tanzania were very different states and followed different policies to achieve their aims**

**Mobutu and Capitalism in Congo**

Mobutu adopted a capitalist economy for Congo. He and his officials abused the system, became wealthy through corruption – known as ‘kleptocracy’. He almost destroyed the economy.

**Nyerere and African Socialism in Tanzania**

1967 Julius Nyerere: African Socialism was introduced with the Arusha Declaration; described the policy as **Ujamaa** meaning ‘neighbourliness’. Chosen because he believed that **equality** was the most important political goal.

**Features:**

Cooperation and self-reliance.

**Ujamaa** villages set up on communally-owned land (traditional African practice). Wage labour curtailed.

Later nationalisation of the Tanzanian economy included banks and commercial buildings.
Political successes and challenges

Whether or not African states achieved their aims depended on three issues: the role played by the leaders; the legacies of colonialism and the types of government introduced.

Types of leaders:

Leaders played an important part in choosing political policies. The kind of state established depended on the qualities of the leader. During the 1960s leaders came from many different backgrounds. Even leaders with the best intentions for their countries did not achieve their goals.

**Patrice Lumumba 1925-1961**

He was a popular, strong nationalist leader. He was democratically elected but failed to establish a strong united government. The crisis in Katanga was a legacy of colonialism. He was murdered before he had a chance to make any progress.

**Mobuto Sese Seko 1930-1997**

Renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zaïre during his rule (1965-1997). Manipulated opportunities during the Cold War. The Authenticity Movement was supported – people wore African clothing and revived musical instruments. Created a personality cult. His rule a kleptocracy; lived a lifestyle of affluence while people lived in extreme poverty. The country was in debt and he was abandoned when the Cold War ended. He failed as a leader.

**Julius Nyerere 1922-1999**

First president of Tanzania (1961-1985) Highly respected both at home and internationally as a leader for his ideas, his integrity and his stand against corruption. He was an experienced politician. Tanzania was a one-party state. He introduced African Socialism – to support the poor. Despite his good intentions Ujamaa failed and Tanzania became one of the poorest African countries; deeply in debt.

**Legacies of colonialism**

Legacies of colonialism were both political and economic.

1. European powers grew wealthy by stripping colonies of raw materials and exploiting cheap labour. Economies were underdeveloped and no secondary industries were built.
2. Politics was in the interest of the ruling colonial power. They often encouraged ethnic rivalry. Borders were often randomly drawn and different ethnic groups forced together.

**Congo:**

1. The change to independence was sudden. There was no political infrastructure and no experienced political parties.
2. Rivalry over resources increased among the many separate ethnic groups.
3. This was exploited by Cold War powers.

**Tanzania:**

2. Nyerere and TANU united the country.
3. No resources for development at independence. Believed that Ujamaa would allow Tanzania to avoid dependence on Western powers.

**Types of government**

Both Nyerere and Mobutu were heads of one-party states but they had very different reasons for setting up this type of government.

**Congo:**

No one party had an overall majority. The rapid withdrawal of Belgium left many competing groups and ideologies. 1960 Mobutu’s first coup. 1965 Second coup. He believed that by ending political competition he would bring peace to the Congo. Under Mobutu, Congo government became a dictatorship and everyone had to belong to the Movement Populaire de la Revolution (MPR).

**Tanzania:**

1960 TANU won the multi-party elections. Nyerere believed many parties would not promote development goals; and would divide the people instead of stabilising the country. 1966 Instituted one-party system of government. Limited democracy as election of list of TANU candidates. The state that resulted was one based on African socialism, a centralised government, nationalised industries and radical reform.
Political stability and instability

**Congo:**
Political instability was a major factor in the early years of independence. To stay in power, Mobutu kept strict control over his government. When the West withdrew its support in 1989, Mobutu’s government faced rebel attacks. His government was overtaken by a coup in 1997. Apart from internal issues, outside interference added to instability in the Congo during the Cold War.

**Tanzania:**
Stability in Tanzania was based on Nyerere’s popularity as a leader and majority support for TANU. Even though it was a one-party state, corruption was not tolerated. Members of parliament signed a Leaderships Code and could be voted out of office. He rejected elitism and inequality and focused on narrowing the division between the rich and the poor. In Tanzania, there were no separatist movements and in 1964, Zanzibar joined the mainland.

Economic successes and challenges

**Types of economies:**
- The First World – capitalist and democratic countries aligned with the USA.
- The Second World – communist countries aligned with the USSR.
- The Third World referred to countries dependent on the USA and USSR for support.
- Third World countries are mostly in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

**Third World countries:**
- Underdeveloped; poor, lack skilled workers, high disease levels; unindustrialised; no secondary industries and generally unstable; large foreign debt; no middle class.
- Most Third World countries have adopted their own interpretation of capitalism, sometimes referred to as state-capitalism or developmental capitalism.

**Congo:**
Adopted capitalism. Mobutu sold off mineral wealth of the Congo to encourage investment. He wanted Congo to be industrialised. Hydro-electric power was produced by building dams.

Later introduced nationalisation:
**Mobutu** wanted greater economic control for Zaire.
Foreign-owned companies were seized after 1971 and control of them handed to his family and friends. Within a short time the economy collapsed.

**Tanzania:**
The economy was mostly agricultural. Under colonialism cash crops had been grown and food had been imported. Nyerere wanted to make Tanzania self-sufficient and introduced *Ujamaa* in 1967. The co-operative villages were owned by groups of people who shared their produce. Food production was a primary aim. By 1981 evident that *Ujamaa* had failed.

Introduced nationalisation:
**Tanzanian** nationalised banks and insurance firms in the late 1960s. Nyerere defended this on grounds of halting the widening gap between the rich and the poor.

---

An *Ujamaa* village, 1974.
Social and cultural issues: the benefits of independence

Independence meant that the racism of colonialism was in the past. Africans were able to look to their own culture for inspiration.

Education:
Colonial powers had neglected education. Mission schools had taught colonial values. Independent states provided an Africanised education: textbooks had to reflect the reality of children's life in Africa and not Europe.

Congo:
1. After independence education was a priority. In 1958 there were only 30,000 students in secondary schools and less than 1,000 received higher education.
2. After ten years of independence secondary school enrolment had risen to hundreds of thousands and several thousand were in higher education.

Tanzania:
1. Primary school enrolment and adult literacy increased considerably. Nyerere believed that by spending money on education Tanzanians would acquire skills and knowledge that would benefit the country.
2. He believed that adults should be educated first as this would benefit the country. He believed it was important for people to understand and support the government's plans. After that the focus of education would be on children.

Africanisation:
The aim of 'Africanisation' was to make government and politics more African. This applied to names as well - personal and place names were changed as part of the African identity.

Congo:
1971 Joseph Mobutu launched a movement he called 'Authenticity'. It aimed to give the Congo an African identity. The country was renamed Zaire. Western dress was abandoned in favour of African-style clothes. They created a specifically Congolese identity.

Africanisation is another example. All foreign investments in land, industry and business were nationalised.

Tanzania:
Nyerere introduced policy of Ujamaa based on a traditional African way of life. The idea of the nation as a family where African communities could live together and help one another without payment. He did not want a class of capitalists who would exploit others.

The discovery of the Olduvai Gorge site in Tanzania helped to change the way Africans were perceived by the western world. It is a World Heritage Site.

QUICK QUIZ
1. Give the African name for the system of collectivised communal villages in Tanzania.
2. What other name can be applied to this system?
3. Name the political party that ruled Tanzania in 1960.
4. Who was the first president of Tanzania?
5. Name the first democratically elected prime minister of the Congo.
6. What happened to him?
7. Give ONE reason why Congo became involved in the Cold War.
8. Name the movement introduced to the Congo by Mobuto Sese Seko.
9. What name is given to a multi-party government that holds regular elections?
10. Give the name of the cultural movement introduced in Congo after independence.

MY OWN NOTES
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to write a discursive essay

The ABC of writing history essays

A  ANALYSE THE PROBLEM
1. Underline all the key words in the question.
2. Circle the instruction words (discuss/explain/state your opinion etc).
   For example: Explain...

B  BUILD YOUR RESPONSE
1. Jot down a rough plan of how you will answer the essay topic. You can do this as a spider diagram or a point form list.
2. List the main points/events which will help you to solve the problem set.
3. Arrange these points in a logical order which will help the development of your argument.

C  CHECK THE RESULT
Before you start writing:
1. Look for important omissions of facts.
2. Look for flaws in the logical flow of your essay plan.

D  DISCUSS THE ANGLES
As you write:
1. If there are differing viewpoints over certain events or historical characters, mention them. Your essay should be a balanced discussion.
2. Be sure to reach some sort of conclusion about the differences which shows why you have taken the line you have.

E  EXPLAIN
1. When stating a fact, try to explain briefly how it came about.
   Anticipate the question “why?” from your reader.
2. Explain the consequences of the things you describe. Anticipate the question “what happened next?”.
3. Always write in the PAST TENSE.
4. Always write in the THIRD PERSON. Never write “I” or “we”, “my” or “our”.

F  FOCUS EVERY PARAGRAPH
There are 2 important aspects that must be present in a history essay: FACTS and FOCUS.

G  GOALS: The goal of your essay is your FOCUS. Always AIM for it with every paragraph you write.

MAKE EVERY SHOT COUNT – GO FOR THE GOAL!

INTRODUCTION
The opening sentence of your introduction must focus directly on the question. The way you write your introduction will indicate to your reader what your point of view is of the statement or your answer to the question in the essay topic. You should also explain in your own words the meaning of any key word or phrases.

BODY OF THE ESSAY
This is a paragraph by paragraph discussion of the main points or facts of your essay. Never state an opinion without backing it up with evidence. Explain fully the point(s) you are making by referring to events/actions in the period being discussed. The last sentence of each paragraph should focus back to the question or topic. This ensures your essay maintains FOCUS.

CONCLUSION
This need only be a few lines and should sum up or draw together the strings of your argument, again focusing fully on the question – the topic. Your conclusion should show that you have indeed supported the point of view which you stated in your introduction.
Do not include new points and do not start your conclusion with the words “To conclude…”, just make the connection!
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to write a discursive essay

The ABC of writing history essays

**A** ANALYSE THE PROBLEM
1. Underline all the key words in the question.
2. Circle the instruction words (discuss/explain/state your opinion etc.). For example: Explain...

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1. Jot down a rough plan of how you will answer the essay topic. You can do this as a spider diagram or a point form list.
2. List the main points/events which will help you to solve the problem set.
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**CONCLUSION**
This need only be a few lines and should sum up or draw together the strings of your argument, again focusing fully on the question – the topic. Your conclusion should show that you have indeed supported the point of view which you stated in your introduction. Do not include new points and do not start your conclusion with the word “To conclude...”, just make the conclusion!
Here is one example of a possible essay topic:

The 1960s were a time of optimism as Africans enjoyed their new independence. Within the next few years, however, the high hopes of the 1960s had been dashed. Discuss.

Before you start writing any history essay, you should always have a plan. Your plan should contain the blueprint of your factual content as well as the focus of your essay.

Here is the plan that could be designed to write the essay above:

**Problems to be solved:**
- Dismantling of colonial structures.
- Lack of wealth—economically dependent on Western countries; raw materials exported, imported manufactured goods expensive, industrial development limited.
- Economies vulnerable to changes in world markets.
- Lack of food for population.
- Natural resources e.g. mining were controlled by Western companies in Western countries.
- Inexperienced governments.
- Lack of skilled administrators.
- Clashes of ethnic groups.

**1960s successes**
- 1963 OAU.
- Oil price increases in 1960s benefited some economies e.g. Nigeria.
- Economy:
  - Gabon—annual growth of 6%.
  - South of Sahara real growth of about 3% pa.

**Two parts to the essay:**
- 1960s—optimism: relative prosperity, attempted to tackle political and economic problems in their own way. By 1990s—failures and high hopes were dashed.

**Focus**
- OPTIMISM / HIGH HOPES / POSITIVE INDEPENDENCE
- DISAPPOINTMENT / DASHED HOPES

**1970s problems:**
- Oil prices increased.
- Global inflation.
- Increased population.
- Drought.
- Failure of Govt to provide market incentives.
- High debt repayments.
- Dependent on World Bank Loans.
- Wealth in hands of elite.
- Tendency for political opposition.

Now it’s your turn to practice.

**Essay topic:** To what extent was the colonial legacy the underlying cause of many of the political and economic challenges confronting African countries?

Discuss with reference to the Congo and Tanzania.

For answers see page 129.
Africa in the Cold War: USSR, USA, Cuba, China and South Africa

Case Study: ANGOLA

The focus of this Case Study is the southern African state of Angola which was drawn into the Cold War. Each of the two opposing parties in the Angolan civil war was supported by one of the superpowers. The Soviet Union and Cuba supported the MPLA on the one side. On the other, the United States of America, South Africa and to a lesser extent China supported the FNLA and UNITA.

CHECKLIST:

To answer questions on this topic you will need to know about the following:

- how Angola was drawn into the Cold War
- reasons why a civil war started in 1974
- reasons for and nature of involvement of USSR, USA, Cuba and China in Angola
- the significance of the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale 1987 and 1988
- the changing nature of international relationships after 1989.

KEY CONCEPTS:

The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

Proxy wars: Provision of support by USA and USSR to opposing sides in a country but not directly involved in the conflict ie Asia (Korea, Vietnam) and Africa.

Spheres of influence: A country, or countries, dominated by the presence of one of the superpowers to the exclusion of the other.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

FNLA – National Front for Liberation
MPLA – People’s Liberation Movement of Angola
UNITA – National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
SWAPO – South West African People’s Organisation

KEY FIGURES:

Jonas Savimbi leader of UNITA
Jose Eduardo Dos Santos leader of the MPLA

How Africa was drawn into the Cold War

1. African countries were drawn into the sphere of the Cold War after independence in the 1960s.
2. Their need for development aid made them vulnerable.
3. This opened the door to USSR and USA gaining control over the country’s resources.
4. USSR and USA never engaged in open warfare.
5. Used liberation struggles in Africa to fight proxy wars.

The two superpowers attempted to carve out spheres of influence from newly-independent African countries in a number of ways:

Trade
1. Competition and strict control over natural resources in their sphere of influence.
2. Angola is rich in diamonds and oil.
3. Dominating the resources could lead to winning the Cold War.

Conflict and Aid
1. Influence by supporting an internal movement.
2. Provided aid and military support to proxies.
3. Between 1975 and 1988 Soviet Union provided military equipment to the MPLA and the United States supported its allies, including South Africa, the FNLA and later UNITA.
Angola: Colonialism and Independence

1485 Angola a source of slaves for Portugal.
1885 Little development in colony; exploitation of African people, loss of farm land.
1956 MPLA formed. Leader, Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Links to communism after USA hostility.
1961 Resistance to Portuguese rule began. Liberation struggle started in Angola.
1962 FNLA formed, led by Holden Roberto.
1964 UNITA formed – broke from the FNLA led by Jonas Savimbi; military training in China.
1974 Coup in Portugal ended colonial rule.

OUTBREAK OF CIVIL WAR 1975
1. January FNLA, MPLA and UNITA signed the Alvor Agreement to share rule in Angola. Date for independence November 1975. Agostinho Neto declared President.
2. Struggle began among MPLA, FNLA and UNITA supported by their Cold War sponsors.
3. November 10 MPLA and UNITA main contenders for control. Battle of Quilungando a major defeat for FNLA.

COLD WAR INVOLVEMENT
1. MPLA backed by Soviets, Cuba and China. Supplied money, weapons and Cuban troops in charge of central Angola and most cities.
2. UNITA backed by South Africa – Operation Savannah. SA attacks on MPLA strongholds at first successful.
4. African leaders gave support to MPLA. 1978 MPLA signed treaty with Mobutu so northern areas were secured.

PROGRESS OF CIVIL WAR
1. 1976 South Africa withdrew from Angola in February. US barred sale of arms to UNITA.
2. 1981 Operation Protea – the South Africans returned to support UNITA.
3. 1985 MPLA offensive against UNITA.
4. 1987 Battles around Cuito Cuanavale started. SA and Cuban troops involved.
5. 1988 June Last battle of war at Caleque.

NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT
1. December 1988:
   - SA to withdraw from South West Africa (renamed Namibia).
   - Independence for Namibia under the SWAPO government of Sam Nujoma.
   - All Cubans to have left Angola by July 1991. ANC required to leave Angola.
   - MPLA/UNITA talks aimed to bring about multi-party democracy in Angola.
2. 1989 Cold War ended.
3. 1992 MPLA won the elections. Savimbi (UNITA) rejects results and second phase of war began.
4. 2002 Savimbi killed. UN negotiated a cease fire which later led to a peace treaty. Civil War in Angola finally

TOPIC 2: INDEPENDENT AFRICA
Why was the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale (1987-1988) a turning point in the Angolan War?

The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale has led to a great deal of controversy. To some it was a major defeat for the South African forces and led to the significant changes in southern Africa between 1990 and 1994. For others, Cuito Cuanavale was more a military stalemate and had little effect on negotiations that were taking place at the time. In order to understand the controversy surrounding the battle, we need to study what happened in the Angolan bush around the town of Cuito Cuanavale.

1. **1977-1985** UNITA fought a guerrilla war against FAPLA. There were an estimated 31,000 Cubans in Angola. 1985 (September) the MPLA launched a major campaign against UNITA’s headquarters in Mavinga. The road to Mavinga crossed the Cuito River at a town called Cuito Cuanavale – became the main base for MPLA operations against UNITA.

2. **1985 (September)** UNITA’s position in Mavinga threatened. MPLA advance was pushed back. Heavy fighting took place. 1987 (March) massive increase in Cuban and Soviet military support – advisers and equipment. FAPLA forces together with Cuban troops took up positions at Cuito Cuanavale. (August) – In response to the threat to UNITA, South African forces moved back into Angola. (September) – heavy fighting. MPLA advance pushed back.

3. **1988 (February)** – MPLA forced into the Tumbo Triangle, a small area on the eastern side of the Cuito river. Angolan army trapped in Cuito Cuanavale by UNITA and SADF. Additional 15,000 Cubans entered the conflict and took command of the fighting.

4. **1988 (March)**: After three unsuccessful attempts to push back MPLA forces the South Africans and UNITA were content to prevent any further advance of the MPLA towards Mavinga. Stalemate: neither side made progress; neither side surrendered.

5. The battle was a turning point in the Angolan war and led to a peace treaty being signed. The South African government, reluctantly, accepted that militarily the war had reached a stalemate and it was willing to negotiate Namibian independence.

6. **1988 (June)**: New York Accords signed by Angola, Cuba, South Africa and USA: South Africa would withdraw its forces from Angola and Namibia and Cuba would withdraw from Angola.

7. Over the next few years negotiations led to independence for Namibia; the Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Talks between the MPLA and UNITA aimed at bringing about a multi-party democracy.
**Reasons for and nature of the involvement of foreign powers in Angola: 1975-1989**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1. Early years: China joined the Soviets and supported the <strong>MPLA</strong>.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. After the Sino-Soviet split in 1962 the Chinese supported <strong>UNITA</strong>. Jonas Savimbi had been trained at the Nanking Military Academy in China.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cuba</th>
<th>1. Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader supported the <strong>MPLA</strong>. Cuba's contribution was in the form of personnel.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Castro supported the MPLA in his own right to express influence on the world stage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Support for communist state and spread of socialism in Africa. To oppose the US who supported UNITA.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>1. The government of B. J. Vorster was directly involved in Angola.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. <strong>1976</strong> South Africa retreated south of the border.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Under P. W. Botha South Africa's support for <strong>UNITA</strong> reached a high level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Botha's <strong>total strategy</strong> aimed at what he saw as <strong>total onslaught</strong> by communist forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Policy aimed to destabilise neighbouring countries opposed to South Africa. You will learn more about this in Topic 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Key factor was <strong>South West Africa</strong> (now Namibia).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Angola provided bases for the South West African People's Organisation (<strong>SWAPO</strong>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. South Africa provided weapons and materials; and direct intervention of South African troops.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. Two major aims:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- seek and destroy SWAPO bases.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- support UNITA against communist-backed MPLA – this would weaken the support the MPLA gave to SWAPO and the ANC. The ANC had set up training camps for Mkonto weSizwe recruits in Angola.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USA</th>
<th>1. USA first supported the FNLA but switched to UNITA; the US aimed to contain the spread of Soviet influence.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. <strong>1980</strong> strongly anti-communist. President <strong>Ronald Reagan</strong> increased US support for UNITA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. <strong>1986</strong> Savimbi visited the White House.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. The role of the US in the war was not clear cut because American companies ran Angola's oil industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. This meant that although the US was ideologically opposed to the MPLA and was working to get them out of power, they paid large sums of money to the MPLA government in the form of oil revenues. This money was used by the MPLA to pay for weapons and Cuban support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. US foreign policy was less consistent than that of the Soviet Union and China. As a democracy, policy changed with the change of government.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USSR</th>
<th>1. Soviets supported the <strong>MPLA</strong>. An MPLA-controlled Angola would encourage other socialist states in Africa.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Soviet Union supplied weapons, military armaments and training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. <strong>1980s</strong> Soviet funding kept the MPLA afloat: the oil price had dropped.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Refugees fled from the fighting to other countries and many had to be relocated after the war.

2. Surrounding countries were destabilised.

3. Numbers of landmines placed - still coping with the casualties caused by them.

4. Economy collapsed and infrastructure was destroyed.

5. No established government to deal with the problems.

**Impact on regional stability**

During the Civil war in Angola:

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**The changing nature of international relations after 1989**

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union brought about major changes in international relationships after 1989:

1. The US was the only remaining superpower.
2. Soviet backing for third world liberation movements came to an end.

**Angola** is an example of how the changes played out:

1. Superpower support for UNITA and the MPLA was withdrawn.
2. Cuba could no longer afford to fight on in Angola without support from the Soviet Union.
3. Resistance to Apartheid in South Africa and crippling sanctions led to increasing condemnation of the war in Angola.
4. The MPLA gave up socialism in favour of free-market capitalism. 1992 multi-party elections were held for the first time.
5. When the MPLA gained the majority, UNITA restarted the Civil War. The USA now backed the MPLA against UNITA.
6. South Africans who had fought against the MPLA now fought as mercenaries on their side.

---

**QUICK QUIZ**

1. Give the full name for the acronym UNITA.
2. Give an example of a country where a proxy war was fought.
3. Name the leader of the MPLA.
4. Name the leader of UNITA.
5. Which group did Cuba support?
6. Which side did South Africa support?
7. Give the present name for South West Africa.
8. In what year was the peace agreement signed that ended the civil war?
9. Name the battle that is seen as a turning point in the war.
10. Which group won the elections in 1992?
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to compare different points of view: secondary versus primary sources

One of the strengths of **secondary sources** is that they show us different interpretations. There is no one correct view about most historical events and issues. Instead, there are many views, all of which need to be considered and analysed. These views keep developing as new ideas and evidence are found. This makes history dynamic. It also makes debates about what happened in history more relevant to us today.

Good secondary sources are based on extensive research and reliable evidence. They can explain broad trends, provide summaries, make comparisons and give overviews. They try to give balanced accounts and to be objective. They are created after the event takes place and their analysis therefore has the benefit of hindsight (looking back on events). However, secondary sources can be one-sided; they may reflect the point of view of the writer. They usually show little emotion. They are written after the event and may lack first-hand knowledge of what happened.

**Primary sources** tell us the actual words used at the time (e.g. in a speech or an official document). They often tell us about ordinary people’s lives (e.g. a diary or letter). They give us information about attitudes and views at the time (e.g. from a cartoon or a letter). In addition they can provide new perspectives which might otherwise have been ignored or silenced. However, primary sources can be altered, deliberately changed, or broken. Accounts in oral history may be one-sided, or parts of them may have been forgotten over time, so they may be inaccurate. Remember that primary evidence reflects only an immediate response made at the time. You can’t generalise from a few examples. Primary sources seldom give an overview or an objective perspective.

---

**Evaluate different viewpoints on the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale 1987 and 1988**

**SOURCE A**

**A historian’s viewpoint**


The most simplistic Cuban propaganda in print and on video is that the South African Defence Force over-extended itself and became surrounded by FAPLA and Cuban forces at Cuito Cuanavale. South Africa therefore entered negotiations brokered by the USA from May 1988 onwards to extract the beleaguered troops, tanks and armoured cars from Pretoria’s own Dien Bien Phu.*

The Cuban assertion was nonsense. No one can surround anyone in south-eastern Angola. The vastness, wilderness, tangled vegetation and sparse population of the terrain make that impossible. The limited number of troops committed to battle by the SADF, Cubans, FAPLA and UNITA – in relation to the huge extent of the forested area over which the fighting took place – make it even more inconceivable.

* Dien Bien Phu – the battle where the French were defeated by the Vietnamese in 1954

1. What, according to this source, was the view put out by the Cubans about the outcome of the fighting around Cuito Cuanavale? (2 x 1)
2. Evaluate the reliability of this source for an historian studying the outcome of the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

SOURCE B
The Cuban Viewpoint

Castro in speeches in Havana on 26 July 1988 and 14 February 1989 reported in Bridgland’s The War for Africa. Castro is explaining why they had to reinforce the Cuban troops in Angola.

“It was necessary to be strong enough to avoid defeat. (Bridgland has put the word in italics in order to emphasise it.) We had to get into Cuito Cuanavale to support the Angolan forces and, at their side, wage the historical actions where the enemy was stopped; where it really crumbled ...

26 July 1988

We were not looking for military glory, or military victory. We were looking for a just political solution to the conflict. That was the main objective, and that’s why the possibilities of negotiation were not discarded.”

14 February 1989

3. What according to Castro were the reasons for the decision to reinforce the Cuban troops in Angola? (2 x 2)
4. Explain why Bridgland has emphasised the word “avoid”. (2 × 2)

5.1 The extracts from speeches by Castro would have originally been in Spanish. How might this have affected their reliability? (1 × 2)

5.2 What else might have affected their reliability? (1 × 2)

SOURCE C
The South African Viewpoint

General Jannie Geldenhuys, head of the South African Defence Force, quoted in F. Bridgland's *The War for Africa* (1993). Geldenhuys is giving his views on the controversy as to who won the war.

"The best way [to work out who won the war] is to look at the initial objectives of each side. The Cuban-FAPLA objective was to capture Mavinga and Jamba. They didn't accomplish it. Our objective was to prevent them from taking Mavinga and Jamba. We succeeded.

The Cubans and FAPLA had to do something subsequently to shore up morale, so they presented the war to the outside world as though it was a matter of who captured or who held Cuito Cuanavale."We wanted the Cubans out of Angola. That was our chief objective. Nothing could help to stabilise the situation in southern Africa as a whole more than the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

We agreed that we must not make statements that would humiliate the Cubans. We had studied and come to understand their *machismo* thought processes. We saw that they could not afford to go out of Angola as a defeated force."

*Stereotypical masculine attitude emphasising physical strength and courage*
6. What argument does Geldenhuys use to explain why he thinks South Africa won the war? (2 × 2) (4)

7. What according to Geldenhuys was South Africa’s chief reason for fighting the war? (1 × 2) (2)

8. What does Geldenhuys mean by the “machismo thought processes” of the Cubans and how did this affect the way in which South Africa handled the situation? (2 × 2) (4)

9. Sources A, B and C are all from Bridgland’s book. What do these sources suggest about Bridgland’s bias? (2 × 2) (4)
SOURCE D
An historian's point of view

In Angola, the South African government interpreted Soviet-American détente and the renewed US support for Jonas Savimbi’s UNITA as a renewed license to attempt to topple the MPLA regime. The right wing of the National Party, firmly in power under President P. W. Botha, hoped to see Angola disintegrate and the Cubans removed or beaten, so that it could arrange a similar settlement over Namibia as it had organised for the so-called “independent bantu homelands”. Botha wanted to concentrate his efforts on destroying the ANC inside South Africa itself and preventing it from having bases at its borders.

The MPLA, on its side, hoped to drive UNITA out, in order to reunify the country and prepare the ground for domestic reform and normalisation with the United States. The MPLA and Cuban offensive ground to a halt near Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola, when a force of more than 5 000 South African soldiers attacked across the border. By November 1987 the largest battle in Africa since the Ethiopian-Somalian war was raging around Cuito, with the FAPLA and Cuban forces cut off from the north by the attacking South Africans. To the horror of his Soviet advisers, Fidel Castro in January to March 1988 sent 15 000 of his best troops to Angola to launch a counterattack, signaling to Pretoria that Cuba was ready to begin fighting inside Namibia if the South Africans did not withdraw from Cuito Cuanavale.

While dismayed by Castro’s actions, the Americans and the Soviets worked together to make use of the momentum for negotiations that the Cuban leader had created by his willingness to confront the South Africans. The number of South African soldiers killed at Cuito Cuanavale and at the Namibian border was increasing, and some of the leaders of the National Party and of the South African Defence Force began favouring a withdrawal.

10. Westad gives a different version of South Africa’s goals in fighting in Angola from that given by Geldenhuys. Explain how they differ. (2 × 2)

11. Why, according to Westad, was the intervention of Cuba crucial to the eventual negotiated settlement? (2 × 2)
SOURCE E
Another historian’s point of view

In November 1987 a growing battle developed around the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale in south-east Angola to which South African forces in support of UNITA were laying siege. By January 1988 about 6 000 South African troops were deployed against 10 000 MPLA supported by Cubans. The battle became one of the biggest set pieces in Africa since World War II. The South Africans lost air superiority to the Cubans and their force was in danger of being trapped. The battle marked a turning point for the region since it destroyed the myth of South African military invincibility and persuaded Pretoria that it could not dominate the region by military means.

... Crocker’s top priority was to stop Soviet encroachment in Africa and he spoke of the Soviet Union aiming to thwart goals of shared future prosperity through its surrogates in the region. In this regard he became almost mesmerised by the Cuban presence in Angola. It was Crocker who invented the concept of ‘linkage’ whereby Namibian independence would depend upon the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola while his policy of ‘constructive engagement’ did not also include any contacts with the ANC or other anti-apartheid groups. However, despite eight years of constructive engagement Crocker was only able to broker the 1988 settlement as a result of two factors out of his control: the first, the military setback suffered by South Africa that convinced Pretoria it could not prevail militarily; and second the decision of Mikhail Gorbachev to end confrontation with the United States and disengage from Angola.

12. How does Arnold’s view of the outcome of the fighting around Cuito Cuanavale relate to Source A? (1 x 2) 

13. Write a paragraph of about 6 lines (60 words) explaining Arnold’s views of Crocker as a negotiator. (6)

For answers, please see page 132.
TOPIC 3:
CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS 1950s-1970s

Key Question: What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s to 1990?

This topic focuses on the different forms of civil protest that emerged around the world during the 1960s-1970s. They were in response to feelings of anger and dissatisfaction that grew in the decade after the Second World War. People had fought for democracy and freedom; they also wanted equality. There were mass protests by ordinary people in the 1960s.

CHECKLIST:

To answer questions on this topic you will need to know the following:

- the importance of the decision concerning black students at Little Rock
- the reasons and origins of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA
- the role, impact and influence of Martin Luther King Junior
- forms of protest: the Montgomery bus boycotts; sit-ins and marches
- why these events were a turning point in the history of American civil protest
- reasons for the Black Power Movement
- roles of Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael
- the Black Panther Party
- short-term and long-term gains of both the CRM and the Black Power Movement.

KEY CONCEPTS:

The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

**Activist** - Campaigner for rights, person who protests or objects against unfair practices.

**Desegregation** - Bringing an end to the separation of people according to race.

**Discrimination** - Treating people as inferior because of race or other differences.

**Ideology** - Ideas, or a set of beliefs.

**Non-violent protest** - Passive resistance.

**Militant** - Military in attitude; assertive, achieving goals by using force.

**Radical** - Wanting immediate change.

**Segregation** - Separation of people according to their race and gender.

**White supremacists** - Radicals who believed in absolute separation of races.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

**CRM**: Civil Rights Movement

**NAACP**: National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People

**SCLC**: Southern Christian Leadership Conference

**CORE**: The Congress of Racial Equality

**SNCC**: Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee

**BPM**: Black Power Movement

**BPP**: Black Panther Party

KEY FIGURES:

- **Rosa Parks** – bus boycotts
- **Martin Luther King Junior** – leader CRM
- **Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael** – leaders of Black Power Movement
- **Bobby Searle and Huey Newton** – leaders of the Black Panther Party
**WORLD WAR II 1945**
*Fought for freedom from oppression*

Growing dissatisfaction, discontent and anger in 1960s and 1970s

- **Black People**
  - Freedom/Equality/Segregation
  - Civil Rights Movement

- **Students**
  - Anti-war/Peace
  - Protests

- **Women**
  - Liberation/Equality
  - Marches

**Civil society protests in America**

The Civil Rights Movement was mainly a southern American movement. Black people did not have equality in the USA even though they had been freed from slavery after the Civil War. They had been taken to America as slaves to work on the cotton plantations of the South.

The Ku Klux Klan, a militant segregationist group, was violently opposed to racial equality and their attacks and lynching sparked off the Civil Rights Movement.

In 1863 the Federal Government abolished slavery. It changed the Constitution and introduced racial desegregation. Blacks were given full civil rights including the right to vote.

White state governments in the South refused to carry out the Federal Government's law. They passed their own laws to enforce segregation – the Jim Crow Laws. Blacks had to use separate facilities and services from whites. The principle was expressed as 'separate but equal'.

**Case Study: LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1957**

1. In 1954 a court ruled that segregated education was unfair.
2. In 1957 the Little Rock Board of Education admitted nine Afro-Americans to the Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. They were known as the 'Little Rock Nine'.
3. White mobs protested and prevented the black students from entering. The Afro-American students narrowly escaped physical harm.
4. The police did little to protect them.
5. After 10 days President Eisenhower intervened. National troops were sent to protect the students and ensure compliance with federal ruling of desegregation of public schools.
6. Under the protection of the troops the students completed the year.
7. The next year all the schools in Little Rock were closed. Scholars had to take correspondence courses.
8. Why is this case study so important? It highlighted the inequality in schools and the stand taken by the black students in the face of laws being passed to ensure that discrimination ended.

By the late 1950s and 1960s black Americans were demanding equal treatment with whites. Demonstrations, boycotts and marches were organised to protest the racial injustices black people suffered.

The role, impact and influence of Martin Luther King Jnr

The Civil Rights Movement was led by Martin Luther King Jnr.

He was a Baptist minister in Montgomery, Alabama. He adopted the pacifist ideas of Mahatma Gandhi—satyagraha ('soul force'). King was impressed by the success of Gandhi’s non-violent protests or passive resistance. Ghandi had used this means to protest against British presence in India. King thought this method would work in the USA. In 1957 King and other ministers formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beliefs</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Impact and Influence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power of mass non-violent direct action.</td>
<td>Minister in a Baptist Church – used the pulpit to raise social issues.</td>
<td>Provided a role model of determination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power of love and reconciliation.</td>
<td>Effective orator – powerful speeches motivated people.</td>
<td>United the people with a common goal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ultimate integration with whites in a common society.</td>
<td>Good leader of SCLC for eleven years/always took the initiative.</td>
<td>Achieved a multiracial society in the USA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-racial integration.</td>
<td>Peaceful – knew it was futile to react with violence/did not carry a weapon and would not allow his followers to do so.</td>
<td>Approached presidents for support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need to attract attention to the plight of the black man.</td>
<td>Was prepared to suffer for his beliefs – imprisonment, attack on his home.</td>
<td>Lobbied congress for changes in unfair laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need to build pressure on the federal courts to change laws.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laws changed to give equality for all races in the USA.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Timeline: Demonstrations of Civil Rights Movement and Martin Luther King Jnr

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstration</th>
<th>Persons Involved</th>
<th>Aims/Objective</th>
<th>Response of local authorities</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960s Sit-ins. The deep South at Woolworths, Greensboro, North Carolina. Visited in-store lunch counters.</td>
<td>Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Black students.</td>
<td>Protest against white-only facilities in stores. Spread to restaurants, swimming pools and libraries.</td>
<td>Arrested and imprisoned but sit-ins continued.</td>
<td>Lunch counters in Nashville and many other towns were desegregated. Very successful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>Persons Involved</td>
<td>Aims/Objective</td>
<td>Response of local authorities</td>
<td>Outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1961 Freedom Riders Washington – Southern States.</td>
<td>Organised by Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Black and white travelers on interstate buses.</td>
<td>Wanted segregation on buses and at stations dismantled. To bring media’s attention and pressureise government to change the laws in the South.</td>
<td>KKK opposition: attacked the riders and police did not intervene. Buses were forced off the road and set alight. Riders continued their protests.</td>
<td>1961 on the insistence of Attorney General Robert Kennedy interstate travel was officially desegregated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963 April: ‘Birmingham, Alabama March. Alabama centre of white opposition to CRM.</td>
<td>Leaders of the SCLC including Martin Luther King Jnr. Peaceful although King knew it was provocative.</td>
<td>Local businesses to have facilities desegregated and improve job opportunities for blacks.</td>
<td>Violent reaction: marchers attacked with police dogs, cattle prods, water cannons, imprisonment. Hundreds of blacks arrested and imprisoned. King arrested.</td>
<td>Brought national and international media coverage; was what King wanted. Pictures shocked the world. Success at exposure in the press and on TV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965 Selma–Montgomery, Alabama March.</td>
<td>Martin Luther King Jnr. called in to lead the demonstrations.</td>
<td>Desegregation and to protest against delays in registering black voters. To focus and draw attention to the persecution of black people in Alabama.</td>
<td>Sheriff stalled attempts to implement programme to register black voters. The March attempted three times. Protesters were attacked violently. Called Bloody Sunday. Many arrested.</td>
<td>Peaceful but met with violence – international coverage. August – National Voting Rights Act signed; and passing of the Education Act.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Other important events:

1964
- **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** with SNCC and NAACP.
- **Freedom Summer Campaign** to educate Afro-Americans to vote.
- Thirty Freedom Summer Schools in South, 1,000+ students.
- Targeted by KKK. Three Civil Rights Workers murdered: one black and two whites.
- **King** travelled US to inspire and promote CRM.
- **Civil Rights Act** passed.

1968
- **King** supported Garbage Workers Strike.
- **King assassinated**.
- Riots – Planning Poor People’s March – 20 April, postponed.
- **Second Civil Rights Act** passed.

### What were the short-term and long-term gains of Civil Rights Movement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short Term</th>
<th>Long Term</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1963:</strong></td>
<td>1. Demonstrated the success of non-violent mass protest e.g. during the Sit-ins. Resulted in desegregation of facilities and buses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. September: J.F. Kennedy Federal troops to make Governor of Alabama desegregate public facilities and transport.</td>
<td>2. Gained the attention of the media which publicised the violence against black Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. President JFK proposed a new Civil Rights Bill. It would end segregation in schools; create job opportunities and blacks would get the vote.</td>
<td>3. Drew attention to the racial injustices of discrimination and intolerance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Banned discrimination on all interstate buses.</td>
<td>4. Gained public sympathy and support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Prohibited discrimination in govt housing.</td>
<td>5. Increased confidence and self-esteem among black people led to respect from many whites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1963 July 2:</strong> President L.B. Johnson (Kennedy murdered 1963) signed Civil Rights Act.</td>
<td>6. Focus on discrimination spread to other parts of the world e.g. South Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1964 Civil Rights Act</strong> passed by the American Congress.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1965
- **Voting Rights Act** passed – outlawed obstacles to exclude black voters.
- **Education Act** passed – equality of education.

1968 **Second Civil Rights Act** passed. Achieved a multi-racial society in America; laws were changed to give equality to all races.

In theory: these Acts outlawed discrimination and gave black people equality. In reality social and economic life remained unchanged.

* Tip for auditory learners: Read the points in this table on to a recording function on your cellphone or tape recorder. Play the recording back two or three times.*
Case Study: BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

This case study looks at the Black Power Movement in America in the 1960s and 1970s. This was mainly a US Northern States movement. It was more extreme than the Civil Rights Movement which took place in the South. Whilst the Civil Rights Movement advocated a peaceful (pacificist) approach to protest, the Black Power Movement advocated a militant (assertive) approach to achieve their ends.

What were the reasons for the Black Power Movement?
1. There was dissatisfaction with the non-violent methods of the Civil Rights Movement. Many Black Americans were impatient with the speeches Martin Luther King Jr made and the fact that he did not focus on black interests and needs.
2. The Black Power Movement started in the ghettos of the big cities in the North. These ghettos were crime-ridden and the police provided little help; often the police themselves were responsible for the violence.
3. Afro-Americans were still poor and unemployment was high; education was inferior and the youth did not have the same opportunities as white Americans. This dissatisfaction gave way to expressions of anger.

What were the roles of Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael?

Malcolm X

1925 Born as Malcolm Little. came from a poor family.
1946 Sentenced to jail for theft. joined the sect Nation of Islam.
1952 rose to become one of its leaders.
1964 disillusioned with the Nation of Islam.
Travelled in Africa and the Middle East, founded the Muslim Mosque Incorporated.
1965 shortly after repudiating the Nation of Islam, he was assassinated by three of its members.

Beliefs
1. Black Nationalism – felt the need for black people to regain sense of pride and self-respect.
3. Black people should take control of their own lives.
4. Hostile to the methods of CRM – criticized King’s non-violence.
5. Not willing to work with whites.
6. Advocated self-defence against white oppression.
7. Later changed views and supported co-operation with whites.

Stokely Carmichael

1941 Born in Trinidad but educated in USA.
1960 University student and supported Ideas of CRM.
1961 Involved in the Freedom Rides, arrested 27 times.

Beliefs
1. Admired Malcolm X.
2. First person to use term ‘Black Power’.
3. Emphasised racial pride – equality ‘Black is Beautiful’.
4. Called for black schools and black police force to give protection from white police brutality. Armed members to confront police brutality.
5. Non-violence was not working and should be abandoned.
6. Critical of CRM because they were prepared to work with whites. Disagreed with working with white activity.
7. His ideas rejected by NAACP and SCLC as black separatism.
Malcolm X (cont)

**Action**
1. Visited universities and debated ideas with other CRM activists.
2. Gave speeches.
3. Appeared on television.

**Role**
1. Orator, inspired black people.
2. Spread ideas such as freedom, justice and equality.

**Impact and Influence**
1. Emphasised importance of black culture and heritage.
2. Boosted the confidence and self-esteem of black people.
3. Encouraged black people to stand up against white authorities.
4. Role model for young blacks.

Stokely Carmichael (cont)

**Action**
2. 1966 Chairman of the SNCC.
3. Involved in March against Fear.
4. Instituted a variety of community support programmes designed to alleviate poverty and improve health care among inner city Afro-American communities.
5. Left SNCC and joined the Black Panthers.

**Role**
1. Motivated young people.
2. Involved in university protest.

**Impact and Influence**
1. Promoted black pride.
2. Encouraged a certain black style and fashion Afro hairstyle.


The black panther was chosen as their symbol as the animal represents power.

Started by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton. Their slogan was "Freedom by any means necessary".

**Beliefs**
1. Believed in socialist ideas.
2. Adopted Mao's revolutionary teachings.

**Political and social goals**
1. Wanted to establish socialism without racism.
2. Advocated the rise of the working class.
3. Wanted economic, social and political equality.
4. Aimed to protect communities from police brutality and racism.

**Action**
1. Started a newspaper The Black Panther in 1967; by 1969 it had a circulation of 250 000.
2. Began a variety of community social programs to alleviate poverty.
3. Started community feeding schemes such as breakfast for school children in inner city areas.
4. Encouraged confrontation with whites, especially the police.
5. Patrolled the streets armed with guns to protect the black inhabitants.
What were the short-term and long-term gains of the Black Power Movement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short Term</th>
<th>Long Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. <strong>Education Act</strong> passed — gained equality of education.</td>
<td>2. Developed pride in ethnic roots and closer identification with Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <strong>1968 Second Civil Rights Act</strong> outlawed discrimination and gave equality to all races.</td>
<td>3. Made black Americans aware that they could stand up for themselves and provide for their own communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The race riots in Watts, LA made the government aware of the seriousness of the dissatisfaction among black Americans.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Drew attention to the plight of black Americans living in the inner-cities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Programmes to improve housing and facilities were put in place.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Black businesses and entrepreneurship were encouraged to promote equality.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Raised black morale.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What different forms of protest were used by the CRM and Black Power groups?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-confrontational CRM (peaceful)</th>
<th>Militant CRM (non-violent)</th>
<th>Threat of violence Black Power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petitions</td>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>Self defence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delegations</td>
<td>Demonstrations</td>
<td>Confrontations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobbying</td>
<td>Civil disobedience</td>
<td>Riots - in response to brutal police action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litigation (applying to legal courts)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and consciousness raising</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QUICK QUIZ

1. Give the name of the group represented by the following acronym – CRM.
2. What resulted from the action of Rosa Parks?
3. What name was given to the protests that took place at refreshment counters in stores?
4. Which civil rights activist received the Nobel Prize in 1964?
5. Name the white group in the South that was against integration.
6. Which leader was the first to use the term ‘Black Power’?
7. What method of protest did the CRM use?
8. What method of protest did the BPM use?
9. Give an example of a BPM protest.
10. Name the political party started by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton.

TOPIC 3: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS 1950s-1970s
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to analyse propaganda and identify propaganda techniques

Propaganda is publicity or selected information used to make people believe something and to gain support for a cause. Propaganda involves the spreading of ideas through techniques of persuasion. Although people today associate propaganda with manipulation, lying and deliberately altering the minds of listeners or readers often by concealed or underhand means, propaganda or persuasive techniques need not be negative or underhand. However, the persuasive techniques of propaganda always involves manipulating people’s opinions or ideas on a particular topic. Persuasive techniques will usually, but not always, be linked to sources connected with political figures or political organisations. They will often be found in speeches, but they could also be in letters to the press, interviews or newspaper articles.

How to recognise persuasive techniques:
Someone spreading propaganda might use some or many of the following techniques (this is not a definitive list of all propaganda techniques but contains the more common ones):

1. Use of emotive or biased words.
2. Repetition of the same words or phrases.
3. Identifying a clear enemy - comparisons made between “us” and “them”. This might also involve “name calling” of the enemy.
4. Playing on an audience’s fear.
5. Appealing to the audience’s sense of guilt.
6. Making use of rhetorical questions (these are questions that require no answer from the audience as the answer has already been provided).
7. Appealing to patriotism or the need to “do the right thing” - either for religious or moral reasons or because they feel it is their duty to serve and protect their country.
8. Passing off one-sided information as the truth.
9. Appearing to be an authority or expert on the topic by making use of “pseudo-scientific facts”.
10. Making use of stereotypes or generalisations.

TOP 10 PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

Let’s analyse the propaganda techniques used in one famous speech:

SOURCE A

This is an extract from the ‘I have a dream’ speech that Dr Martin Luther King Jr delivered on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial during the historic march on Washington, 28 August 1963. Taken from Generation of Change: The Civil Rights Movement in America by G. Pergyl

I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. 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”. I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin, but by the content of their character ... [So that one day] all of God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing the words of the old Negro spiritual ‘Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last’.

I USE OF REPETITION – the word “dream”

I PERSONAL DISCLOSURE – by sharing his own, personal dream, the speaker hopes to get the audience on his side.

I USE OF BIASED WORDS – negative words such as “sweltering” and “oppression” and positive biased words such as “oasis” and “freedom”.

I APPEALING TO MORAL CONSCIENCE – to do the right thing and right the wrong of the past.

I REPEITION OF THE WORD “free”.

58 TOPIC 3: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS 1950s-1
Now it is your turn to practise answering the following source-based questions:

**Black Power Movement**

**SOURCE B**

This extract is from a speech called *A Declaration of Independence* given by Malcolm X on March 12th 1964

The political philosophy of black nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organise, and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.

Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers' solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves.

Concerning non-violence: it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

1. What according to Malcolm X are the THREE most important steps to black nationalism?  

2. In what ways could this source be useful to an historian studying the attitude of the BPM towards non-violence?  

3. What do you think was Malcolm X's intention in calling his speech the *Declaration of Independence*?  

4. Write down ONE propaganda technique that Malcolm X makes use of. Support your answer with ONE quote from the source.
SOURCE C
This extract is from a speech by Stokely Carmichael 29 October, 1966, University of California, Berkeley

We are now engaged in a psychological struggle in this country about whether or not black people have the right to use the words they want to use without white people giving their sanction. We maintain the use of the words Black Power - let them address themselves to that. We are not going to wait for white people to sanction Black Power. We’re tired of waiting; every time black people try to move in this country, they’re forced to defend their position beforehand. It’s time that white people do that. They ought to start defending themselves as to why they have oppressed and exploited us.

If we were to be real and honest, we would have to admit that most people in this country see things black and white. We live in a country that’s geared that way. White people have to admit that they are afraid to go into a black ghetto at night. They’re afraid because they’d be “beat up,” “lynched,” “looted,” “cut up,” etc. It happens to black people inside the ghetto every day, incidentally. Since white people are afraid of that, they get a man to do it for them - a policeman. Figure his mentality. The first time a black man jumps, that white man’s going to shoot him. Police brutality is going to exist on that level. The only time I hear people talk about nonviolence is when black people move to defend themselves against white people. Black people cut themselves every night in the ghetto - nobody talks about nonviolence. White people beat up black people every day - nobody talks about nonviolence. But as soon as black people start to move, the double standard comes into being. You can’t defend yourself. You show me a black man who advocates aggressive violence who would be able to live in this country. Show him to me. Isn’t it hypocritical for Lyndon to talk about how you can’t accomplish anything by looting and you must accomplish it by the legal ways? What does he know about legality? Ask Ho Chi Minh.

5. According to Stokely Carmichael what is the psychological struggle going on in the country? (2)

6. What is Carmichael’s argument against non-violence? 2x1 (2)
7. Explain Carmichael's reason for calling Lyndon Johnson hypocritical.  

8. Write down TWO propaganda techniques that Carmichael uses in this speech. Support your answer with ONE quote from the source to support EACH of the techniques.  

For answers, please see page 133.
The Peace Movements: STUDENTS, DISARMAMENT AND ANTI-WAR MOVEMENTS

You will remember from Topic 1 that a Cold War existed between the USA and the USSR from the late 1940s. These superpowers were involved in a massive ‘arms race’ to build up nuclear weapons. Tension was at a peak throughout the 1950s and 1960s. People feared that nuclear weapons would lead to a devastating war. Many ordinary people joined protest movements throughout the world.

CHECKLIST:
To answer questions on this topic you will need to know the following:
- why protest movements started and who was involved
- the kind of demonstrations that took place
- whether their protests were successful
- what other protest movements were started in the USA, Britain and Europe

KEY CONCEPTS:
The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

**Atom bomb** - A new category of weapon: a bomb based on the explosion of atoms into energy, capable of devastating damage. Developed in America in the 1940s.

**Draft (conscription)** - Mandatory military enlistment.

**Disarmament** - To dismantle nuclear weapons, reduce armaments and troops to a peace level.

**Dissent** - To differ in thought or opinion, refuse to conform, or accept an established way of thinking or behaving.

**Civil disobedience** - To refuse to comply with certain civil laws, usually as a matter of moral conviction and by means of passive resistance.

**Environmentalists** - People concerned about the environment especially the effect of nuclear testing on the oceans.

**Pacifism** - To oppose military ideals, war, or military preparedness and support the idea that all civil and international disputes be settled by arbitration.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

**CND** – Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Student movements

The rise of a well-educated class of young people led to a generation that criticised the established way of their societies. They were a post-war birth explosion known as the ‘baby boomers’. The protests started on the university campuses of America where students were critical of existing conditions. They were also supportive of the Civil Rights Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protests were against</th>
<th>Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Parental authority – critical of values – saw parents as too conformist.</td>
<td>1. Rebellious about dress, music. Held rock concerts such as Woodstock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. University authorities – wanted to be part of decision-making.</td>
<td>2. Formed Students for a Democratic Society. Held marches and sit-ins on campuses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Disarmament Movement

The logo was adopted by the campaign for nuclear disarmament in 1958. Nicknamed the "chicken track" it was later adopted by the anti-war movement world-wide.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Protest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1945 Fear of nuclear power after bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. | 1. Stop development and storage of nuclear weapons.  
2. Organise marches to publicise the danger of nuclear weapons.  
| 1949 USSR nuclear bomb | | |
| 1950 France and Britain test nuclear bombs.  
Testing continues.  
1958 The Vietnam War began.  
1962 The Cuban Missile Crisis.  
1968 UN passed a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.  
Nuclear testing in atmosphere banned but allowed underground. | CND branches set up in other countries. Anti-nuclear protests held in 80 different countries. Focus started to shift to Vietnam. Aim was to stop the war. Marches held. Greenpeace – concern about impact of weapon testing on environment. 1980 Greenham Common protest against storing of nuclear cruise missiles. |
The Anti-War Movement

In America the major issue was the Vietnam War. Many students opposed America’s involvement in a war so far from home.

1. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke out against the war.
2. Heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali refused to serve in the American Army. He was stripped of his title and found guilty of draft evasion.
3. 1964: 12 young men burnt their draft papers, a symbol of refusal to serve in the US army.
4. The protests increased and spread to university campuses. Many anti-war marches were held in over 80 cities throughout the world. Many emigrated to avoid being drafted into the army.
5. 1965: Norman Morrison set himself alight outside the Pentagon in protest, copying the actions of the Vietnamese monk, Thich Quang Duc.
6. 1967: a demonstration in Washington DC protested against the war. Many of the protestors were anti-establishment hippies. There was also involvement from many other groups including clergy, academics, journalists, war veterans and ordinary Americans.
7. 1968: there were student protests throughout the world. Students targeted governments and authorities and demanded a stop to racism, sexism and an end to human rights violations. They challenged university authorities and demanded the right to participate in the administration of their campus. Some of these protests turned violent.
8. 1970: 4 students were shot dead at the Kent State University. These protests throughout the world showed that people were no longer prepared to accept authority without question.

Events to be remembered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arms Race and Crises</th>
<th>Disarmament Movements</th>
<th>Peace and Anti-war</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atomic bomb developed in America.</td>
<td>1958 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) started in Britain.</td>
<td>1964 American university students oppose America’s involvement in Vietnam and burn their draft papers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* TIP for visual learners: Before you read the points in this table, take time to really look at this table. Focus on the fact that this table has three columns. Try and remember the headings of the columns. Now start learning the points in each column.

MY OWN NOTES
WOMEN’S LIBERATION

Women’s Liberation and feminist movements in the 1960s and 1970s

The women’s liberation movement started in the USA and spread to other industrialised countries like Britain, France and Australia. Women were fighting to end gender discrimination and to improve the position of women in society.

Some leading feminists:

Simone de Beauvoir
Betty Friedan
Germaine Greer

CHECKLIST:

To answer the question on this topic you will need to know about:

- women’s liberation and feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s
- why women’s liberation and feminist movements became part of the liberation struggle in South Africa
- different identities for black and white women in South Africa

KEY CONCEPTS:

The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

Feminism – Belief in the need to secure rights and opportunities for women equal to those of men.

Male sexism – The belief that males are superior.

Oral contraception – Birth control pill.

Women’s Liberation – A movement that worked towards equality for women.

Banning orders – Government issued edict preventing a person from socialising with others.

Human Rights – Basic rights of each human being to freedom and equality.

Influx control – Control of people moving into the cities from rural areas.

Pass – Officially a reference book which had to be carried by all black people and produced on demand by the police.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

FEDSAW: Federation of South African Women
NOW: National Organisation of Women
ERA: Equal Rights Amendment

KEY FIGURES:

Ray Alexander – South African trade unionist
Simone de Beauvoir – French feminist
Dora Tamana – South African activist
Betty Friedan – American feminist
Helen Joseph – South African activist
Germaine Greer – United Kingdom feminist
Lillian Ngoyi – South African activist

TOPIC 3: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS 1950s-1970s
Women in the 1950s

1. During the Second World War women worked in factories and did men’s jobs. After the war, women returned to the home to look after families. Their role was stereotyped as mother and home-maker.

2. Professions open to women were teaching, nursing and secretarial work. When women married they often lost their jobs.

3. Women were paid less than men in the work place. They were often harassed and discriminated against. They could not get promotions.

4. Women were presented in movies and magazines as stereotypes fulfilling a male dream often as sexual objects e.g. beauty pageants.

5. In communist countries women were given more freedom to choose careers and were supported by childcare facilities.

Women in the 1960s and 1970s

Feminism:

1. Women became more militant – fueled by the publication of books by feminists:
   - Simone de Beauvoir The Second Sex;
   - Betty Friedan The Feminine Mystique;
   - Germaine Greer The Female Eunuch

2. Betty Friedan founder member of National Organisation for Women (NOW) set up to raise the status of women and end discrimination. Organised marches and protests took place; political pressure and court cases.

3. The birth control pill became available – women could have control of their lives and choose a career. More women entered the workforce.

‘Women’s Lib’:

1. Younger, more radical feminists were known as the Women’s Liberation Movement or ‘Women’s Lib’.

2. Many women burnt their bras – the symbol of restriction and lack of freedom.

Actions and Reactions

1. 1968 picketed Miss World Beauty Contest in Atlantic City arguing that the contest treated women as objects.

2. Campaigned to legalise abortion and the contraceptive pill arguing that women had the right to choose what happened to their bodies; court case Roe vs Wade.

3. Conservative women attacked the extremes of feminism – their campaign was known as STOP ERA. This was aimed at the Equal Rights Amendment which would outlaw sex discrimination. They argued that feminists devalued women’s role.

Achievements and successes


2. NOW secured 30 million dollars in back-pay to women who had not received equal pay with men.

3. 1967 Executive Order extending full Affirmative Action rights to women; (1972 and 1975) Women’s Equity Act; 1974 Equal Credit Opportunity Act; 1978 Pregnancy Discrimination Act; the legalisation of marital rape and the legalisation of no-fault divorce in all states; 1975 law requiring the US Military Academies to admit women; and many Supreme Court cases.
Women’s identity in South Africa from the 1950s-1970s

**Black women in South Africa**
1. Largely rural, uneducated, impoverished by Apartheid; concerned about survival in the homelands – husbands work in cities or on mines.
2. Many women migrated to the cities to earn money for their families. They worked in garment factories, laundries, as domestics and nannies.
3. Dealt with two inequalities – racial injustice under Apartheid and sexual inequality in a male dominated world.

**White women in South Africa**
1. Conditions were different. Many were privileged, educated, allied with global feminism. Married with stable homes, bringing up children with the help of black nannies.
2. There were a few white women who worked with their black sisters to bring about a more just and equal society e.g. FEDSAW and Black Sash.

**Trade Unions: Activities**
1. **1954** FEDSAW – The Federation of South African Women established. This non-racial organisation united women from all races.
2. **1955** - Women’s Charter produced. Called for the vote for all; equal opportunities and pay for women; equal rights for women in property, marriage and children; maternity leave; childcare for working mothers; free and compulsory education for boys and girls.
3. **1956** Government plan to extend pass system to women.

**Methods of Protest**
1. Women involved in the founding of FEDSAW became leaders and organisers of women. Held meetings around the country and advised and encouraged women to become involved.
2. Travelled around South Africa holding meetings and encouraged women to speak up for themselves.
3. Organised protest meetings.

**Black Sash: Activities**
1. Protested against the government Apartheid policies.
2. Helped people affected by Apartheid laws.
3. Represented people in court who had been arrested for pass offence.
4. Monitored court proceedings to make sure that people got a fair hearing.

**Methods of Protest**
1. Silent vigils outside public places like town halls, universities, train stations.
2. Wore the black sash to represent the death of the Constitution.
3. Carried placards with reminders of the government’s unfair legislation and action.

**Leading South African women activists in the 1950s and 1960s**

**Ray Alexander**

**Dora Tamana**

**Lilian Ngoyi**

**Helen Joseph**

*TIP for kinaesthetic learners: Pace or walk around the room when reading the points on this page.*
QUICK QUIZ

1. Name the group represented by the acronym CND.
2. Which war was the focus of the Anti-War Movement?
3. How did young American men demonstrate their refusal to join the army?
4. Name the American who, in 1967, was jailed for 5 years for refusing to join the army.
5. What name was given to anti-establishment protesters in the 1960s?
6. Give the name of the book written by Simone de Beauvoir.
7. What revolutionised women's lives in the 1960s by making it possible for them to choose a profession?
8. Name the group represented by the acronym FEDSAW.
9. In what year was FEDSAW established?
10. In what year did the Women’s March to Pretoria take place?

MY OWN NOTES
TOPIC 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA 1970s-1980s

Key question: What was the nature of resistance by the civil society movements after the 1960s?

In this topic you will learn about the wide-ranging internal resistance to Apartheid in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s. One of the people who led the resistance was Steve Biko. At the same time international Anti-Apartheid movements put pressure on the government.

CHECKLIST:

To answer questions on this topic you will need to know the following:

- what was the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)
- the role of Steve Biko with the emphasis on his ideas and writing
- the challenge posed to the state by the ideas of Black Consciousness
- the 1976 Soweto Uprising – debates relating to the influence of BCM on the students
- the legacy of Black Consciousness on South African politics

KEY CONCEPTS:

The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

Apartheid – System of social, political and economic separation based on race.

Black Consciousness – Ideology developed after 1968 that blacks (African, Indian and Coloured) had to liberate themselves psychologically from the effects of racism and to reject all ‘white’ values.

Civil disobedience – When people deliberately break the law as part of a political campaign.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

BC: Black Consciousness
BPC: Black People’s Convention
BCM: Black Consciousness Movement
SASO: South African Students’ Organisation
SCM: Students’ Christian Movement

KEY FIGURES:

Steve Biko: founder of the Black Consciousness Movement and SASO

The challenge of Black Consciousness to the apartheid state

After the 1964 Rivonia Trial many political leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki were sent to prison on Robben Island. Other leaders of the ANC, PAC and SACP went into exile. All resistance was silenced. The government introduced restrictive laws. It developed a powerful security police force and extended its use of imprisonment and detentions without trial. It was in the restrictive environment of the late 1960s that the Black Consciousness Movement was born.

Nature and aims of Black Consciousness

1. This was a positive philosophy that gave value and dignity to black South Africans.
2. The Apartheid system had made black people feel inferior and unworthy.
3. Black Consciousness aimed to:
   - overcome the feeling of inferiority
   - encourage black pride and self-respect.
4. These ideas were influenced by Pan-Africanism and the Black Power Movement.

Nature of the Apartheid state in the 1970s and 1980s

Aimed to entrench Apartheid doctrine:
1. introduced restrictive laws
2. no opposition tolerated
3. state control intensified
4. powerful security police
5. imprisonment without trial, detentions.

The Apartheid System aimed to keep Black people subservient.
What was the role of Steve Biko?

The emphasis here is on Biko’s ideas and writing. He believed that people are confined by their own personal complexes and that it is up to individuals to empower themselves. His writing is important in that it reveals the way he thought about conditions in South Africa. His book, *I Write What I Like*, was the title under which he first published his writings in the SASO newsletter. In the newsletter he wrote under the pseudonym Frank Talk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Steve Biko was born near King Williamstown, Eastern Cape. Mother a domestic, father a policeman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Completed matric at St Francis College, Mariannhill in Natal. He was a bright student and started medicine at University of Natal Medical School (for non-whites). Became involved in student politics – influenced by the American Black Power Movement and the Civil Rights Movement in America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Laid the plans for a black student organization called SASO (South African Students’ Organisation) at Mariannhill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>In Turfontein launched SASO and the BPC (Black People’s Convention) grew from that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>First definition of Black Consciousness in the SASO manifesto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Biko expelled from Medical School for being involved in politics. BFC officially launched in Edendale. Wrote a political journal, <em>Black Review</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

**Black Consciousness Movement:**
- Provided a set of ideas around which black people could rally.
- Widespread appeal and quickly grew into a formidable force.
- It was an umbrella body which included cultural, educational and religious organizations. Over 70 organisations were affiliated to BCM.
- Organisations that spread BC ideas were SASO and the Students’ Christian Movement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beliefs of BCM</th>
<th>Aims and Actions</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Rejected the term ‘non-white’ and promoted the term ‘black’.
2. Blacks must be proud of their heritage and identity.
4. They must develop skills.
5. Blacks must eliminate inferiority. Inferiority complexes prevent people from having confidence to assert themselves. | 1. Restore self-esteem and dignity among black people.
2. Free black people from the psychologically oppressed mindset of Apartheid and white superiority.
3. Advocated equal rights for all.
4. Set up links with the ANC in exile.
5. Revived the politics of resistance.
6. Set up various organisations such as health projects, student groups and community projects to promote their aims.
7. Supported trade unions.
8. Published and circulated material on Black Consciousness.
9. Two newspapers – *The World* and *Weekend World* popularised BC ideas. | 1. Increased the confidence of black people – gave them a sense of pride and purpose.
2. United people in a common goal to overthrow the oppression of the SA Apartheid.
3. Became powerful on university campuses and in urban communities.
4. Biko’s death while in detention (1977) had an enormous effect in both South Africa and overseas.
5. Growing criticism of the Apartheid Government.
6. Sanctions applied more vigorously. |
Events in South Africa 1972-1977

1972: Biko set up Black Community programmes, clinics and daycare centres; National High School Student Movement established by SASM.

1973: BC support from black businessmen and white intellectuals like Donald Woods; Black Allied Workers’ Union formed; workers strikes gripped South Africa; Government clamped down on BCM, SASO and BCM members detained and Biko arrested.


1974: In August rallies were held in support of the black government in Mozambique. Many leaders arrested.

1975: Minister of Bantu Education M.C. Botha announced black students would study half their subjects in Afrikaans (hated Apartheid language), and half in English. Poor matric results at end of 1975 plus lack of job opportunities resulted in discontent.

1976: By June SASM inspired by BC ideas decided to hold a mass rally. Action committee formed to plan rally for June 16. Police retaliated harshly – unleashed a wave of violence in other townships.

1977: 18 August following widespread unrest, Biko was detained at a roadblock in Port Elizabeth. He was interrogated by police and taken to Pretoria.
12 September: Steve Biko died in detention.

The Black Consciousness Movement and the government

Black Consciousness was at first perceived by the government as in agreement with Apartheid theories of ‘own affairs’. BCM emphasised the idea of black people working for themselves. This fitted in with the government’s idea of separate development and self-government in the homelands. The government soon realised that BCM aimed to end white domination in South Africa. It tried to end the influence of BCM by:
1. using the Terrorist Act to ban and arrest people
2. preventing the circulation of BC material by banning newspapers and journals
3. killing those people considered a threat – letter bombs
4. curbing freedom of speech.
THE 1976 SOWETO UPRISING – Debates relating to the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement on the students

There are several different interpretations of the reasons for the student rebellion in 1976. There can be no doubt that the argument for the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement is valid. However, other arguments emphasise the many hardships and influences that black students were exposed to on a daily basis.

1. **Youth** – were disillusioned with the low standard of the education offered to them. This led to a new youth culture of questioning and defiance of authority in the townships.

2. **Bantu Education** – was seen to be inferior – the government spent fifteen times more on a white pupil than on a black one.

3. **Black Consciousness** – had raised the expectations of youth and contributed to their rebellious mood.

4. **Poor communication** – Government officials were unaware of the problems and suffering of urban black people. Officials were unaware of student dissatisfaction.

5. **Afrikaans** – was seen as the language of the oppressor and was automatically rejected by the black youth.

6. **African working class** – had been growing more militant over the years. The success of strike action had convinced the youth of the success of mass action.

7. **Unemployment** – led to despondency and disillusionment with their lot in life. The lack of education did not equip people for competition in the labour market.

8. **Overcrowding** – had been taking place in townships for decades. As no money was spent on upgrading living conditions for black people.

Impact of the Soweto Riots

**On Black People**

1. Became more determined to resist Apartheid.
2. This gave protests more energy and strength.
3. Younger people became more confident.

**On the SA Government**

1. Had to use more force to control the anger.
2. Sent troops into townships.
3. Shocked and disgusted the global community.
4. Applied sanctions more vigorously.

*TIP for kinaesthetic learners: Write each of the points in the spider diagram above on flashcards. Position each card around the floor space in your room in the same position as they appear in the spider diagram. Place the cards face down. Now move in a clockwise direction to each card trying to remember the points on the card before turning it over.
The legacy of Black Consciousness on South African politics

1. Filled the void left by the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960.
2. Provided a rallying point for black activists.
3. New leaders and new direction for the struggle.
4. Many community projects were introduced which benefited the people.
5. Provided education and new ideas.

By the late 1970s the nature of civil protest was changing. It was becoming more confrontational. Often the protests turned into riots. Police and army presence in the townships enraged the people.

QUICK QUIZ

1. Give the name of the ideology developed by Biko.
2. Which American Movement inspired BCM?
3. Which African movement inspired BCM?
4. Give the full name for the acronym SASO.
5. In which province was Steve Biko born?
6. Give the name of Steve Biko’s book.
7. In what year was Afrikaans introduced as a medium for teaching at black schools?
8. In what year did the Soweto Uprising take place?
9. When did Steve Biko die?
10. Where did he die?

MY OWN NOTES
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to answer an extended writing task (required for IEB Exams)

In this question you are expected to write a response to the question set, by:

- Describing and explaining.
- Your response is NOT expected to be more than 1½ to 2 pages in length.
- The short extended writing task is meant to reward those who have taken the time to learn historically relevant facts.
- You will be rewarded for selecting relevant facts.
- You will be rewarded for answering the question as directly and comprehensively as possible.
- You should not penalise yourself if you write too much or too little. Be guided by the marks allocated.
- You should complete the extended writing task in 25-30 minutes.

Preparing to answer the response question:

More often than not you will be given a picture. In your pre-writing planning it is suggested that you try and answer the following questions:

- What do you see?
- Who is involved?
- Why is this picture/scene important historically?
- Where does this scene take place?
- When was this picture taken?

Try your hand at this Extended Writing Task:

Sam Nzima’s famous June 16, 1976 photograph of Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying the dying 13 year old Hector Pieterson, accompanied by Hector’s sister, Antoinette, can be seen at the Hector Pieterson memorial in Soweto.

Explain the significance of the Soweto Uprising by answering the following questions:

1. What were the causes of the Soweto Uprising?
2. What role did Steve Biko and Black Consciousness play in the Soweto Uprising?
3. What was the impact of the Soweto Uprising on South African politics?
The crisis of Apartheid in the 1980s

This topic picks up the aftermath of Soweto 1976. In the 1980s, under P. W. Botha, the attitude and actions of the state changed. Botha became Prime Minister in 1978 and State President in 1983. Both internal and international resistance to the state increased. It was this mounting pressure that brought an end to Apartheid in 1989. Internal resistance came from trade union action, community resistance within the townships and mass action led by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). International resistance included the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and sanctions applied by the UN, the OAU and other governments.

CHECKLIST:
To answer questions on this topic you should be able to explain the following:
- government attempts to reform Apartheid
- the Bantu Authorities Act and the Tri-cameral System
- Internal resistance to reforms:
  - the power of black trade unions from 1973 and rolling mass action
  - the part played by mass civic action and the UDF
- anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and Ireland
- disinvestment and sanctions
- sanctions applied by the UN, OAU and other governments
- frontline states.

KEY CONCEPTS:
The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:
Conscription – Enforced military service.
Conscientious objector – Person who refuses to do military service because of moral and/or religious convictions.
Civics – Civic organisations which fought for basic rights.
Mobilisation – Assembling and preparing people for action.
Politicised – Become very politically aware and be guided by one’s political beliefs.
State of Emergency – The rule of law was suspended and Police and Defence Force were given the power to arrest anyone believed to be a threat to the state.
Total Onslaught – The belief by P. W. Botha that there was a Communist inspired international campaign to isolate South Africa to force it to accept black majority rule.
Total Strategy – The South African government’s response to Total Onslaught.
Tri-cameral parliament – Government representing white, coloured and Indian (but not African) voters in racially segregated houses.
Disinvestment – When international groups remove financial support from selected companies in order to promote certain behaviour and policy changes.
Exile – Forced to live outside your country, for political reasons.
Sanctions – Punishments or rules designed to make people behave in a certain way. Financial sanctions against South Africa involved the banning of both investment and lending of money to the country.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:
MDM: Mass Democratic Movement
UDF: United Democratic Front
MK: Mkhonto weSizwe
ECC: End Consccription Campaign
COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Unions
NUM: National Union of Mine Workers

KEY FIGURES:
P. W. Botha: President of South Africa
Alan Boesak: UDF leader
Albertina Sisulu: UDF leader
Oliver Tambo: exiled ANC President
Desmond Tutu: Anglican clergyman later Archbishop of Cape Town
Trevor Huddleston: Anglican clergyman
Beyers Naude: Dutch Reformed Church minister
Government attempts to reform Apartheid

The government believed in

**Total Onslaught**
Repress any opposition to Apartheid. According to Botha, South Africa was facing a ruthless onslaught from Communists who wanted to seize power.

To counteract this Total Onslaught, Botha adopted

**Total Strategy:**
Reform Apartheid – but tough counter-measures to fight the Communist threat:
1. increased the army and enforced 2 year conscription (introduced 1969)
2. banned all anti-Apartheid organisations
3. banned all meetings – Riotous Assemblies Act
4. introduced detention without trial
5. State of Emergency declared and police given more power
6. newspapers critical of the government were closed down
7. ANC bases in neighbouring countries were attacked
8. friendly relations with SA’s neighbouring countries, e.g. Kabora Basa Dam in Mozambique but at the same time to keep them destabilised (Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique).

Contradictions of Apartheid emerge

Reforms introduced between 1979 and 1986 exposed contradictions in the Apartheid system:

1. **1979** Rickert Report recommended reforms: removed most restrictive aspects of the pass system = black urbanisation increased as did dissatisfaction with living conditions.
2. **1979** Wiehahn Report recommended black trade unions be legalised = intensified unrest. Trade union movement became a powerful, major force opposing Apartheid. Economy dependent on black labour.
3. **1986** Mixed Marriages Act and Separate Amenities Acts repealed as part of the reform of petty Apartheid = people were no longer segregated and could meet and talk.

The 1982 Urban Bantu Authorities Act

This Act supposedly gave black people in the townships power but, in fact, led to greater frustration and tensions within the Apartheid system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Result</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. To employ black people as Community Councillors – this would give them power to run affairs in the townships.</td>
<td>Communities were against the Councillors Their job was to collect rents and taxes – this made them unpopular. Seen as agents of the state – benefitting from black oppression. Attacked and killed in many cases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To give black people limited powers at local level.</td>
<td>People set up their own street committees and civics – this gave them structures to organise resistance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To reduce demands for political rights and accommodate political aspirations of blacks.</td>
<td>They also set up people’s courts to administer justice.</td>
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**What was the Tri-cameral System?**

In line with Botha’s reform plan was his policy of ‘divide and rule’. Three houses within parliament were constructed to cater for three groups – Indians, whites and coloured people. Black people were excluded from the new parliamentary system in 1983. This new arrangement increased the already existing tensions in the country.

![Tri-cameral System Diagram](image-url)

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<td>Responsible for own affairs, not for national and international issues.</td>
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**The impact of the tri-cameral system**

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<td>1. People thought this system was a farce.  2. It was racist and undemocratic.  3. Mass resistance led by trade unions, students and church.</td>
<td>Black people lost all political rights in SA. Formation of the United Democratic Front.</td>
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<td>Keep power in white hands by having ‘own affairs’ and ‘general affairs’.</td>
<td>1. Many did not register – only 20% of Indian and Coloured voters voted in the first election.</td>
<td>Resistance intensified. Government had to use stronger measures to repress people.</td>
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<td>Blacks would vote in the homelands.</td>
<td>1. Blacks frustrated by their exclusion.</td>
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Internal resistance to reforms

The so-called reforms led to bitter frustration and the reaction was an increase in violence:
1. New methods of mobilisation.
2. Mass civic action to make the country ungovernable.
3. Formation of the UDF – an alliance of anti-Apartheid movements: MDM and ECC.
4. Labour’s ‘rolling mass action’. The activities of the Trade Unions.

Growing power of the Trade Union Movement from 1973

Blacks made up the vast majority of industrial workers and strikes could cripple industry. There was dissatisfaction with high food prices, low wages and unemployment. They wanted to affect the economy so that business leaders would put pressure on the government. They hoped that this would force the government to reconsider its policies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Black trade unions officially recognised by government – had 70000 members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Rapid growth of trade union membership – had 320 000 members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-1984</td>
<td>Many strikes organised 300 days lost to strike activity. National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) became the biggest trade union in South Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions formed COSATU – threat to NP – front for ANC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Organised 780 strikes. May 1. 1¼ million workers responded to Cosatu’s call for a stay-at-home. These strikes had a crippling effect on the South African economy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Actions:
1. Alliances formed with communities and liberation movements.
2. Demanded democracy and end to Apartheid.
3. Called for political parties to be unbanned.
4. Organised stay-aways and boycotts.

*Tip for visual learners: Redraw the timeline above as a flow diagram.
The role of the civics
Township organisations or civics played an increasingly important role.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Government response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. School committees</td>
<td>1. Tackled the black councillors accusing them of collaboration</td>
<td>1. Proclaimed a State of Emergency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women’s organisations</td>
<td>2. Tackled civic issues such as housing, rent and services.</td>
<td>2. Sent army into townships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Youth groups</td>
<td>3. Protested to authorities to improve conditions in the townships.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Residents’ associations</td>
<td>4. Mobilised people to take action to improve lives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Joined stay-aways, rent boycotts, bus boycotts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Organised consumer boycotts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Took over administration of the townships.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Funerals became spaces of protest when township rallies banned.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The role of the church
Church leaders became the voice of the oppressed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Government Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Made South Africans aware of the injustices of the Apartheid system.</td>
<td>1. Spoke out against Apartheid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aimed to arouse the conscience of the nation.</td>
<td>2. Led protest marches through cities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Defied the laws.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Huddleston led Anti-Apartheid movement in Britain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Campaigned for release of political prisoners.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Formed the South African Council of Churches (SACC). Archbishop Tutu urged people to support the liberation struggle.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The role of the UDF
The UDF was formed in 1983 at a meeting at Mitchell’s Plain in response to Botha’s ‘reforms’. By 1985 it had three million members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Unite the opposition – made up of 40 smaller organisations.</td>
<td>1. Campaigned against the tri-cameral parliament.</td>
<td>1. United the struggle on a national level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Oppose the Black Community Councils.</td>
<td>2. Urged Indians and coloureds to boycott the elections.</td>
<td>2. Co-ordinated protests of all the anti-Apartheid movements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Organise as a loose alliance so that the government could not ban it.</td>
<td>3. Organised public meetings, marches, and protests.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cause the country to become ungovernable.</td>
<td>4. Publicised protest by creating posters, T-shirts and slogans like ‘UDF unites Apartheid divides’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Organised consumer boycotts of white-owned shops.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The role of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)

In 1989 ANC called for a ‘Year of Mass Action’. An alliance of anti-Apartheid organisations was formed around the UDF and COSATU.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Government response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. They called for a Defiance Campaign.  
2. Called on the government to end social segregation. | 1. Organised stay-aways to protest the tri-cameral elections.  
2. As time passed demonstrations became bolder – organised freedom marches through cities. | 1. Banned meetings; arrested leaders.  
2. Declared a State of Emergency. |

The role of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC)

1983 Black Sash called for an end to conscription – young men were being sent to Angola to support the UNITA forces against the communist backed MPLA. They were also sent to the townships to put down protests.

1984 ECC formed as part of the UDF. Mostly young university students.

1988 Government banned ECC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Government reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Opposed conscription for national service.  
2. Opposed the war in Angola and troops in the townships. | 1. Ran publicity campaigns.  
2. Created graphic posters to awaken the conscience of white people. | 1. Arrested those who refused military service. By 1983 13 had been jailed.  
2. ECC forbidden on Afrikaans university campuses.  
3. ECC not allowed to receive funding from overseas. |

International response to Apartheid

As Apartheid continued to be applied more rigorously, the mass media broadcast the suffering of the black people to the world. South Africa was regarded as an outcast in the international arena. In reaction to the violence many countries withdrew their ambassadors. There were calls for sanctions but Britain’s PM, Margaret Thatcher and the USA President, Ronald Reagan preferred the idea of ‘constructive’ engagement.

Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| From 1960 the AAM campaigned for an end to Apartheid in South Africa. It demanded sanctions and for the total isolation of Apartheid South Africa. For 35 years, hundreds of thousands of people in Britain joined AAM campaigns. These continued until the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994. | 1. Campaigned for the release of people detained without trial.  
2. Forced the cancellation of the 1970 Springbok cricket tour.  
3. Encouraged Barclays Bank and other British companies to sell their South African subsidiaries.  

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Ireland (IAAM)

This was founded in 1963 to support the people of Southern Africa in their struggle for liberation from white minority rule. Kader Asmal was the founder member and served as chair until 1990. After Apartheid ended in South Africa, he was a member of the South African Parliament and member of the Cabinet. IAAM was replaced by a successor organisation called the Ireland South Africa Association.
What were the activities of the AAM and the IAAM?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sports Boycott</th>
<th>Cultural Boycott</th>
<th>Academic Boycott</th>
<th>Consumer Boycott</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA teams barred from international competition.</td>
<td>1960s ban on music, plays and other forms of art being performed in South Africa.</td>
<td>Initiated in 1960s by the ANC.</td>
<td>1962 UN passed a resolution to impose a trade boycott.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s Peter Hain led the Stop the 70s tour against rugby and cricket teams in Britain.</td>
<td>1976 British Actors’ Union Equity stopped the broadcast of any TV program involving its members.</td>
<td>Boycotts of South African Institutions – degrees not recognised.</td>
<td>Many consumers refused to buy SA goods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977 Glencalonde Agreement called on Commonwealth countries to cut sporting ties with SA.</td>
<td>1985 Artists United against Apartheid formed in US. They refused to perform in SA including Sun City.</td>
<td>Scholars refused to travel to SA or to collaborate with SA scholars.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980 UN compiled a list of sports people and officials who participated in events in SA.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Local publishers refused to publish SA writers who criticised Apartheid and whose books were banned.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sanctions and Disinvestment

The Disinvestment Campaign began on American university campuses. Students demanded that companies disinvest in South Africa. In 1986 the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act was passed in an attempt to put pressure on the South African government.

Many companies withdrew their investments – this adversely affected the South African economy.

Many American companies applied sanctions in 1987. This meant that:

1. Investment in, and loans to, South Africa were banned.
2. Large international companies such as Kodak, IBM, General Motors, Mobil and General Electric closed their factories in South Africa.
3. South African planes were not allowed to land at US airports.
4. The importation of certain raw materials from South Africa (uranium, coal, iron, steel, agricultural products) was banned.

Sanctions and Disinvestment

- Instrumental in forcing leaders to negotiate towards ending Apartheid.
- The loss of financial support from overseas markets.
- Upturn in unemployment as many people lost jobs.
- Lack of financial security.
- Brought the National Party to near bankruptcy.

Release Mandela Campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Started by Oliver Tambo. 2. In South Africa led by Desmond Tutu.</td>
<td>1. To release Mandela as leader. 2. Keep alive the fact that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were still in prison.</td>
<td>1. Organised a concert in London’s Wembley Stadium to celebrate Mandela’s 70th birthday – 70 000 attended. 2. Had the concert broadcast on television around the world.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Role of international trade unions
1. Gave support to the efforts of trade unions in South Africa.
2. 1973 International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid.
3. They played an important role making countries in Europe aware of what was happening in South Africa.
4. They called for a boycott of South African goods.

Support for the anti-Apartheid struggle in Africa
The ANC was banned in 1960 and many African countries gave sanctuary to ANC members. The Organisation for African Unity (OAU) assisted by:
1. Providing bases from which exiles could operate: get military training and political education.
2. Pressurising organisations like the World Health Organisation (WHO) to expel South Africa.

Frontline States
These states were dependent on South Africa economically but were supportive of the anti-Apartheid struggle. They could not afford to alienate the SA Government but many secretly invited the ANC and PAC to establish military bases within their borders. The South African government targeted these states to destabilise the governments.

Beginning of the end
1. South African economy in trouble feels the bite of international sanctions.
2. Disinvestment and boycotts coinciding with internal mass resistance.
3. Fighting a frontier war in Angola was crippling the country.
4. No longer could afford the cost of maintaining the Apartheid structure within the country.
5. Secret negotiations with the ANC-in-exile and negotiations with Mandela to give up armed struggle.
6. White capitalists negotiate to protect their interests.
QUICK QUIZ

1. What name was given to the belief that South Africa was threatened by Communists?
2. Name the State President in 1983.
3. Name the parliamentary system introduced in 1983.
4. Give the full name for the acronym COSATU.
5. What were township organisations called?
6. In what year was there a call for ‘a year of mass action’?
7. Name the British group who called for sanctions and total isolation of South Africa.
8. Who launched the ‘Release Mandela’ campaign in Britain?
9. Who started the ‘Release Mandela’ campaign in South Africa?
10. Name the organisation that assisted exiled ANC members.

MY OWN NOTES
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to interpret posters as historical evidence

Posters are often used as a powerful tool to educate, inform and persuade. The civil protests in South Africa were mass-based. Spreading information about resistance and increasing people’s awareness were therefore important. In South Africa, posters were used a lot for this purpose.

Posters are useful as a political tool because they are visually powerful and make a direct appeal. They are easy to understand, they increase awareness and they stimulate action. People do not have to be literate to understand them, so they can reach the masses.

Posters must grab the viewer’s attention. To do this, they use certain techniques. You need to know how to identify and apply these techniques. Here are some things to look out for.

**SOURCE A**
A poster produced by the UDF in 1985

- **How do the illustrations support the intention?** The large image shows a mass movement of workers – the banner contains an extract from the Freedom Charter.

- **What is the origin of this source (i.e.: who produced it?)** The UDF.

- **To whom is this poster appealing?** Ordinary people to support the consumer boycott.

- **What symbolism has been used in this poster?** Hammers: spanners: picks are all symbols of workers.

- **What is the intention of this source?** (i.e.: why was it produced?) To support the consumer boycott.

Now try your hand at answering the following source-based questions:

**SOURCE B**
This poster was produced by the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1985 to support the sporting boycott of South African cricket:

If you could see their national sport, you might be less keen to see their cricket.

Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1.
1. What is the origin of this source?

[Blank space for answer]

2. What is the intention of this poster? Support your answer with ONE visual or written clue from the source.

[Blank space for answer]

3. Comment on how the main visual supports the source’s headline.

[Blank space for answer]

4. Write down ONE limitation of this poster as historical evidence.

[Blank space for answer]

5. Evaluate the reliability of this source for historians studying the external pressures placed on the South African government in the 1980s.

[Blank space for answer]

For answers, please see page 134.
TOPIC 5:
THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

Key question: How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s and come to terms with the apartheid past?

Between 1990 and 1994 far-reaching changes took place in South Africa. In February 1990, after secret talks with the ANC-in-exile and with Nelson Mandela, the Apartheid government unbanned the ANC, PAC and SACP. However, negotiations that followed were threatened by the ongoing violence. People feared a civil war. In the end, both the government and the ANC agreed that in order to go forward, the country had to come to terms with the violations of the past. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up for this purpose. A settlement was finally reached and the first democratic elections in South Africa took place on the 27 April 1994.

CHECKLIST:
To answer questions on this topic you will need to know about the following:
- when the ANC was unbanned
- what led to the release of Nelson Mandela, political prisoners and the return of exiles to South Africa
- why CODESA talks broke down
- the debates around both the negotiations and the violence.

KEY CONCEPTS:
The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

Negotiations – Discussions to reach arbitration or agreement.

Referendum – A vote by the electorate on a specific question put to it by government.

Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes – ‘Talks about talks’ to prepare the way for full-scale discussions.

Sunset Clause – Suggestion by Joe Slovo that the ANC and NP share power for five years.

Third Force – A secretive, unofficial group which was trying to destabilise the situation in the country.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

| CODESA: Convention for a Democratic South Africa |
| GNU: Government of National Unity |
| ANC: African National Congress |
| PAC: Pan-African Congress |
| SACP: South African Communist Party |

KEY FIGURES:

| Nelson Mandela – First president of the Democratic South Africa |
| Joe Slovo – Responsible for the Sunset Clauses |
| Chris Hani – Chief-of-Staff Mkhonto weSizwe |
| President P.W. Botha |
| President F.W. de Klerk |

The negotiated settlement and Government of National Unity

The beginning of the solution: secret negotiations with the ANC-in-exile and negotiations with Mandela

Secret negotiations with the ANC-in-exile and with Mandela took place before Mandela’s release from prison in 1990.

* TIP for kinaesthetic learners:
Before studying this topic first take a look at the pictures and then read the end-of-topic quiz and answers. Then look over the headings and bold faced words. Get a feel for the whole topic before you start learning the specific facts.
Steps taken towards negotiations

1. **1982-1988** - Mandela moved from Robben Island to Cape Town; secret talks with Botha; Mandela rejected conditional release; moved to Victor Verster Prison.

2. **1985-1987** - secret negotiations between ANC-in-exile, businessmen (Zambia) and Liberal Afrikaners (Senegal).

3. **1985** - No agreement between Mandela and Botha on how negotiations to take place.

4. **1989** - de Klerk president; negotiations with Mandela in December; several political prisoners released. Speech: the ANC to be unbanned and new constitution to be written; regarded as a turning point in South African history (1990).

5. **1990** - Negotiation begins - debate: government to lift the State of Emergency and ANC to abandon the Armed Struggle.

6. **Talks about talks** discuss the way forward, Groote Schuur Minute - the definition of ‘political prisoners’ and granting immunity to returning exiles.

7. **Talks called off after Sebokeng shootings**. Sets the pattern to negotiations: talks on/talks off.

8. Senior members of the ANC arrive home from exile: Slovo, Modise, Nzo, Mbeki, Hani. Hani impatient with ‘talks about talks’. As Chief-of-Staff of Unkhonto weSizwe he finally agrees to call off the armed struggle, but warns that violence could not be ruled out.

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9. 1991 start of CODESA I.
### Timeline of events occurring in South Africa between 1990 and 1994

**NEGOTIATIONS / SOLUTIONS**

Unbanning of organisations; release of political prisoners; release of Mandela.

2 **February**: de Klerk – speech to parliament announced reforms – political organisations ANC, PAC, SACP unbanned; release of political prisoners; release Mandela unconditionally 11 February 1990.

11 **February** – Mandela would not give up armed struggle until “a climate conducive to political settlement” was created; visited African and European countries and USA.

Before negotiations government and ANC to sort out internal problems; **government had to lift the State of Emergency and ANC had to agree to abandon the armed struggle.**

ANC issues: differences within party regarding strategy and ideology; NP issues: right-wing CP and AWB.

**May**: Groote Schuur Minute – start of the first round of negotiations.

“Talks about talks” prepared the way for full-scale negotiations. Chris Hani (Chief of Staff of Mkhonto weSizwe) criticised the ‘talks about talks’; agrees to call off the armed struggle but warns violence could not be ruled out. Both parties committed to continued talks.

**May**: Release of prisoners and immunity for returning exiles; repressive laws removed.

**August**: Pretoria Minute – State of Emergency lifted (except Natal). Mandela announced the suspension of armed struggle.

### YEAR

**SET-BACKS**

Several obstacles had to be dealt with before agreement could be reached.

Trouble in the townships. This continued throughout the period and especially in Natal. Clashes between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

April ANC called off talks after many people were killed in Sebokeng.

### 1990
### NEGOTIATIONS / SOLUTIONS

#### 20 December

**CODESA I** talks begin at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park.
Called for establishment of an interim government. Negotiations towards a new constitution begin.

#### January

**CODESA I** – Government and 19 parties (no CP and AZAPO) sign a Declaration of Intent aimed at the creation of a non-racial, non-discriminatory South Africa – 5 working groups created to draw up an interim constitution.
New era of negotiation and reform.
Tripartite Alliance formed between ANC, SACP and COSATU.

#### March

**Referendum** among white voters – to gauge support for de Klerk’s reform process after CP win in by-election. Conservative Afrikaners believe government is selling out white interests. Overall support for reform.

### YEAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>1991</strong></th>
<th><strong>SET-BACKS</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **January** | **CODESA I –** Government and 19 parties (no CP and AZAPO) sign a Declaration of Intent aimed at the creation of a non-racial, non-discriminatory South Africa – 5 working groups created to draw up an interim constitution.
New era of negotiation and reform.
Tripartite Alliance formed between ANC, SACP and COSATU. |

#### 1992

**June:** Boipatong Massacre – IFP supporters from hostels. Many believed government was supporting Inkatha.

**CODESA I** followed by **CODESA II** in May 1992 – collapses over majority rule / power sharing / regional powers.

**Rolling Mass Action** – strikes and demonstrations as talking appeared to have failed.

**COSAG**, a conservative grouping, emerged.

### TIP for auditory learners:

Try and sing the events in each column aloud to the tune of a well-known song. Choose a happy tune to sing the ‘Solution’ events and then a sad tune to sing the events under the ‘Set-Backs’ heading.

---

On-going violence between ANC and Inkatha – many argued that the government was behind the disturbances; many thought that the exclusion of Inkatha from the discussions as behind the violence.

**ANC Rolling Mass Action** runs into trouble in **Bisho** (September 1992) persuading the ANC to go back to talks.
Talks break down over % needed to change interim constitution.

**September:** Record of Understanding as a result of talks between Ramaphosa and Meyer.
**NEGOTIATIONS / SOLUTIONS**

Concessions made: government agreed to ban ‘traditional weapons’, release political prisoners. ANC agreed to a Government of National Unity.

**Sunset Clauses** proposed by Joe Slovo: Government of National Unity for 5 years after elections.

COSAG

**April 1993:** Multi-party Negotiating Forum recommenced talks at World Trade Centre; joined by PAC and CP. Reached agreement on several issues.

**July:** Date for election set: 27 April 1994.

**YEAR**

**SET-BACKS**

10 April – Assassination of Hani by far right leads to extremely violent demonstrations; significance: caused racial tension; but made government and ANC aware of urgency for a settlement.

**June:** Storming of World Trade Centre in Kempton Park by AWB.

1993

**PAC** agrees to “moratorium on violence” following incidents such as the St James’ Church shooting and the death of Amy Biehl.

Final agreement reached.

December: Tri-cameral Parliament ratifies Interim Constitution which includes a Bill of Rights.

**South African citizenship granted to all homeland citizens.**

March 1994: Collapse of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, which were resisting Incorporation.

Rightwing Afrikaner party – Freedom Front agrees to participate in election.

**ELECTION – 27 March 1994** - a success owing to late decision of IFP to take part.

1994

Freedom Alliance formed.
Rolling Mass Action of IFP: **clashes between** IFP and ANC supporters in Natal.

March 1994: IFP marchers fired on from Shell House (ANC headquarters).

**Right-wing violence** – car bombs – one at Jan Smuts Airport.

**The Government of National Unity**

A coalition Government of National Unity was to govern South Africa for next five years; Nelson Mandela as leader of the majority party President, Thabo Mbeki and F.W.de Klerk Deputy Presidents. Mangosutho Buthelezi Minister of Home Affairs. Role of the GNU was to transform South Africa.

10 May 1994 – Nelson Mandela inaugurated as president.
QUICK QUIZ

1. Give the full name for the abbreviation CODESA.

2. Give one word for ‘a vote by the electorate on a specific question put to it by government’.

3. In what year did informal talks with Mandela begin?

4. Name the State President who had a stroke in 1989.

5. Name the State President who unbanned the ANC, PAC and SACP.

6. Give the full name of the Minutes that led to the start of the negotiations.

7. Where were the CODESA talks held?

8. What actions, taken by the Labour Unions, impacted on the negotiations?

9. Name the Clauses proposed by Joe Slovo that led to the formation of the GNU.

10. Give the date of the first democratic elections in South Africa.

MY OWN NOTES

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TOPIC 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to understand historiography

Historians who support a particular view will interpret history in one way, and those who support another view will interpret it another way. Groups of historians might share the same interpretation, and it is often possible to tell which interpretation an historian favours when you read what he or she has written. The study of differing views, or schools, of history is called historiography.

There are a number of different interpretations of the history of South Africa in particular:

1. The Nationalist Interpretation:

A nationalist is someone who believes in a particular nation. The word ‘nation’ refers to a group of people who usually share the same land, language, religion and culture. A nation can be a very large group or a small group. History that is written from a national point of view will regard one nation as more important than others and will take the side of that nation. Everything will emphasise the role of the nation. Nationalist history often stresses the part played by women and men who are seen as heroes – people who are looked up to as examples to follow.

Afrikaner Nationalist historians, for example, have seen the role played by Afrikanders in a favourable light. They saw Apartheid as necessary to preserve the Afrikaner nation. It also provided Afrikaner people with their own state, under the control of an Afrikaner nationalist party. Prime Ministers such as Malan and Verwoerd were regarded as heroes of the Afrikaner nation. At the same time these historians might see de Klerk in a negative light for beginning the process of ending Apartheid.

African Nationalism includes many groups of people, of many languages and cultural backgrounds. After 1955 the term African nationalism was used generally in South Africa to describe those who supported the view of the Freedom Charter. Another term which was used in the same way was the word ‘Charterist’. African nationalist historians have emphasised the role of the African National Congress in particular and of the leaders of the ANC who were often seen as heroes.

2. The Liberal Interpretation:

The word ‘liberal’ and the word ‘liberty’ both come from a word which means ‘free’. A liberal is someone who believes in freedom, specifically political freedom and human rights. Historians who follow a liberal interpretation are opposed to racial discrimination and opposed to interference of the government in the lives of people and in business. They usually supported capitalism. The right to vote, the right to a fair trial, freedoms of speech, religion and the press, are examples of the issues which were particularly important to liberals.

3. The Revisionist Interpretation:

‘Revisionist’ indicates that there is something which needs to be revised, or changed. Revisionist historians, therefore, don’t support either a nationalist interpretation or a liberal interpretation. Their approach instead explains the history of Apartheid and the end of Apartheid and the coming of democracy in economic terms. The most important questions are like: ‘Who owns the land?’, ‘Who does the work?’ and ‘Who works for whom?’ Revisionist historians have used social classes as the way to find the answers to these questions. History has been explained as being a struggle between the capitalist class (also known as the ruling class/middle or bourgeoisie class) and the working class.
You have just learnt about some of the interpretations of South African history. Now see if you can identify the historian by what he/she has written. Use a ruler and pencil to connect the ‘history’ to the ‘historian’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HISTORIAN</th>
<th>HISTORY/INTERPRETATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaner Nationalist</td>
<td>Apartheid came to an end because it no longer could support the oppressive capitalist system. Economic sanctions placed on the South African government made capitalism incapable of working.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Nationalist</td>
<td>The Boipatong Massacre focused attention on the injustices of the continued intimidation policies of the National Party in supporting the Third Force.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>F.W. de Klerk turned his back on his heritage and his people, unleashing a series of events that would take South Africa to the depths of the abyss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revisionist</td>
<td>Years of persistent resistance to the policies of the Apartheid government both within and outside the country saw the ANC succeeding in putting pressure on the South African government to end Apartheid and embark on the journey of negotiations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Cold War also has various historiographies associated with it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Traditional View</th>
<th>The Revisionist View</th>
<th>The Post-Revisionist View</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At first Western historians blamed the USSR. They said Stalin was trying to build up a Soviet empire.</td>
<td>Later, however, some Western historians blamed the USA. Some revisionists argued that America’s chief aim in the years after the war was to make sure that there was an ‘open door’ for American trade, and that this led the American government to make sure that countries remained capitalist like the USA.</td>
<td>Later still historians think that BOTH the USA and the USSR were to blame – that there were hatreds on both sides. Most recent historians agree that the Cold War was primarily a clash of beliefs – Communism versus Capitalism.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let’s practise answering some historiography questions.

**SOURCE A**

An extract from a book written by the South African political scientist and historian David Welsh in 2009.

For negotiations to succeed, the principal antagonists (rivals or opponents) must keep their constituencies (supporters) in line. Both the National Party (NP) and the ANC managed to achieve this, despite having to make concessions, which was especially so for the NP. It is extraordinary that neither side suffered any significant defections. It is hardly less significant that, with the conspicuous exception of Chris Hani, no major political figure was assassinated in the course of the transition.

Deeming Mandela to have iconic status has become a cliché (over-used term), although it is true, as clichés invariably are. His heroic qualities are legendary: courage in the face of a possible death sentence, unflinching commitment to principle when offered conditional release from prison, generosity of spirit and lack of bitterness are testimony to a remarkable human being. These qualities played a significant role in inducing a majority of whites to accept, or at least to agree to majority rule.
1. What, according to the writer, was needed for negotiations to succeed?

2. Write down TWO aspects of the negotiation process that the writer found to be “extraordinary”.

3. Write down THREE biased words that the writer uses that are evidence to prove his support of Nelson Mandela.

4. What historiography does the writer of this source support? Use ONE quote from the source to back up your answer.

5. How might an Afrikaner Nationalist historian respond to this source? Explain your answer.

For answers, please see page 135.
How has South Africa chosen to remember the past?

In 1994, South Africa emerged not only from forty years of Apartheid, but from four hundred years of racism and segregation. Much that was done in the past would need to be forgiven before a stable democracy could be established. The country had to experience a new beginning as the Rainbow Nation.

CHECKLIST:
To answer questions on this topic you will need to know about the following:
- the reasons for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- different forms of justice: retributive and restorative
- debates concerning the TRC
  - the TRC as an instrument of reconciliation
  - amnesty and problems with amnesty
  - focus on human rights of 1980s
  - reparations
- responses of political parties to the final report of the TRC

KEY CONCEPTS:

Amnesty – Granted an official pardon for crimes committed

Reconciliation – Understanding of an incident so that people can be brought to a settlement with what happened

Retribution – Punishment for something that somebody has done wrong

Truth – True facts

Truth and Reconciliation – A committee led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, set up after the 1994 elections in South Africa so that the truth about crimes committed during the Apartheid years could be told.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

KEY FIGURES:

Archbishop Desmond Tutu – Chairman of the Commission
Dr Alex Boraine – Deputy Chairman

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

Although South Africa’s emergence as a democracy was a miracle, there was a need to come to terms with the conflict, injustice and oppression of the past.
Reasons for the TRC
1. To give victims and perpetrators a safe place to tell the truth.
2. To give people the space to face the past; to heal their wounds and move on to the future.
3. To bring about national reconciliation and unity.

In 1995 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Act was passed. Mandela’s government set up The Truth and Reconciliation Commission under the leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Alex Boraine.

The Commission had three specific tasks
2. Identify victims with a view to paying reparations.
3. Allow amnesty to those who fully disclosed their involvement in politically-motivated human rights violations.

To accomplish these tasks three committees were established


2. The Amnesty Committee – perpetrators applied for amnesty from prosecution for crimes committed. Crimes had to be politically motivated and the truth had to be told.

3. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee – victims were assisted to come to terms with their pain. Some were paid reparation for their losses.

Various forms of justice:
The differences between retributive justice and restorative justice are:
- **Retributive justice** seeks to punish crimes against humanity e.g. the Nuremberg Trials. Victims gain a sense of justice and relief that the perpetrators of crimes have been punished; they feel a sense of closure.
- **Restorative justice** focuses on forgiveness and reconciliation. Victims are encouraged to tell their stories and to take an active part in the process. Perpetrators are encouraged to tell their stories and to take responsibility for their actions. After which they could request amnesty.

EITHER

1. Nuremberg-type trials: rejected – no victims as this would ruin the chances of a negotiated new South Africa. Too expensive (time, money and personnel).

AIMS OF THE TRC

OR

2. Ignore the past: rejected – bad to let past fester as it denied victims right to tell their story.

FINAL DECISION

TOPIC 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA
The TRC was a compromise
1. The hearings were limited to gross violations of human rights: murder / abduction / torture.
2. Ignored wider injustices of Apartheid: forced removals / imprisonment for pass-law violations / detention without trial.
3. TRC Court could subpoena, search, sift evidence. Held in public but not court of law – couldn’t prosecute or punish.
4. Also to investigate violations by liberation movements.

The Amnesty Committee

Amnesty provisions
1. In order to be granted amnesty perpetrators of human rights violations had to appear before the Amnesty Committee.
2. They had to prove that the crimes they had committed were politically motivated.
3. It was important that they acknowledge the crime and agree to tell the whole truth. It was expected, though not required, that they show remorse for the pain they had caused.

Problems with amnesty
1. Many people within the anti-Apartheid movement opposed amnesty – they wanted people to pay for their crimes.
2. Some felt that because amnesty allowed crimes to go unpunished the victims did not receive justice.
3. The Commission could not always know whether the perpetrator was telling the truth. This meant that in some extreme cases perpetrators were granted amnesty and not charged.
4. Many felt that the perpetrators should ask for forgiveness or feel remorse for what they had done.
5. Certain people were not forced to testify – Chief Buthelezi and P.W. Botha.

The TRC hearings were broadcast on national radio and television. Hundreds of victims told their stories about horrendous and violent crimes.

1. Different thoughts on the kind of justice to be meted out – whether it should be retributive or restorative.

2. Some felt that the past should remain the past.

3. Others thought that it was a witch-hunt.

4. Others believed that it failed to bring justice to the families of the victims.

Positive aspects: as an instrument of reconciliation
Many believed that reconciliation, national unity and the reconstruction of South African society could be achieved through the TRC hearings. The aims were to:
1. Understand what had taken place under Apartheid without seeking vengeance.
2. Accept a need for reparation but not retaliation.
3. Acknowledge the need for Ubuntu but not for victimisation.
Focus on human rights of 1980s and ignoring institutional violence and the human rights abuses of Apartheid

1998 Report completed: 5 volumes with 21,000 statements. 2,000 told story at public hearings. In its report the TRC agreed with the UN decision that Apartheid was a crime against humanity and declared Apartheid a gross violation of human rights.

Commission Report:
1. The Commission found that during the 1980s human rights abuses had been carried out by both the government and the liberation armies.
2. They did not distinguish between institutionalised abuses carried out by government agents and those perpetrated in the fight against Apartheid.
3. They maintained that no matter what the justification for acts of violence, the people killed or injured by such violence were all victims of gross violation of human rights.

Government:
1. Botha government was guilty of ‘criminal misconduct’ – killing opponents not just repression of previous governments but also guilty of torture, arson, sabotage.
2. Blamed Botha and de Klerk - latter for not disclosing human rights violations by senior members of government.

ANC
1. ANC were guilty of bombing, land-mines, civilian casualties. Gross human rights violations: killed more civilians than security force; assassination of state informers and witnesses.
2. Set up climate of violence against opponents: urban councillors, rural headmen. Saw IFP as government collaborators.

Reparations
The TRC was criticised for the lack of reparations. Once off payment in 2004 for families who suffered – highly unsatisfactory.

Many felt that the TRC favoured the perpetrators and was not supportive of the victims. Those who had suffered violence and were not rehabilitated.

On the other hand, memorials were erected to remember those who had lost their lives in the struggle. These memorials referred to as Symbolic Reparation, include places like the Constitutional Court building and Freedom Park.

Responses of political parties and reasons for the responses to the TRC and the final report of the TRC

The National Party:
- P.W. Botha was defiant and refused to appear before the Commission. F.W. de Klerk was angry but apologised for Apartheid.
- However he refused to accept responsibility for ‘third force’ elements.
- He appealed to the High Court to prevent publication of a 30-page passage on him but failed to get changes made.
- De Klerk said that the TRC sought vengeance and not reconciliation.

Inkatha Freedom Party:
- TRC Report found that the IFP had received funding from the government and had collaborated with the government against the UDF/ANC alliance.
- That it had played a significant role in the violence of 1990-1994.
- Buthelezi was responsible for inciting violence through his inflammatory speeches. Buthelezi pretended to support the TRC but said it was misguided and he blamed the ANC for the violence.
- He accused the TRC of being biased and incompetent.
African National Congress

- President Mandela welcomed the findings.
- President Mbeki felt that the TRC was too even-handed. He accused it of being wrong and misguided.
- He argued that human rights abuses committed by the ANC were not the same as those committed by the government. He argued that they were justified. Mbeki applied to the High Court to prevent the publication of the report but failed.
- He argued that to deny the legitimacy of the struggle was to condone those carried out by the government. Accused TRC of ‘criminalising anti-Apartheid struggle’.

Results of the TRC

**Criticism:**

**Negative:**
1. Politicians got away and only lower ranks appeared before the TRC.
3. There were few signs of reconciliation.

**Positive:**
1. TRC had established the existence of a third force.
2. Chain of orders for human rights violations came from highest levels of government.
3. Solved many murders and disappearances - gave closure.
4. Confronted liberation movements with crimes of murder and torture.
5. 7,116 applicants but only 1,167 granted amnesty

**White South Africans** distanced themselves from TRC revelations -
70% of whites felt TRC not helped reconciliation, TRC biased – vote of no-confidence.

**Black South Africans** followed TRC avidly -
60% Blacks felt TRC fair to all sides
62% felt it had not helped reconciliation
80% felt TRC helped South Africans to live together harmoniously.

**Tutu** said: Reconciliation is ‘not being crazy’. It’s about revealing the truth and there could be ‘no genuine reconciliation without truth’.

Despite the criticisms, the TRC played an important role in South Africa’s post-Apartheid attempts to deal with the past. It began the process towards reconciliation which was essential to building a nation in South Africa.

**Remembering the past**
Memorials serve an important role in helping people to deal with the past by offering them a space to engage with their memories and to mourn.

**How has the struggle against Apartheid been remembered?**
National Museums and memorials play an important part in nation building as they contribute towards creating a national identity.

- **Freedom Park:** On Salman near Pretoria. Contains a list of names of those who died in the South African War I and World War II as well as during Apartheid. Heroes of the liberation struggle are also listed – Albert Luthuli, Steve Biko, Helen Joseph etc.
The Apartheid Museum: This museum opened in Johannesburg in 2001 and the exhibits paint a picture of everyday life under the Apartheid regime.

Thokoza Monument: Between 1990 and 1994 the people of Thokoza suffered extreme violence. The Thokoza Monument commemorates the memory of the 800 people who died and 600 families who lost their homes and were displaced.

Quick Quiz

1. Give ONE word for the following definition – ‘Understanding of an incident so that people can be brought to a settlement with what happened’.

2. Give the full name for the acronym TRC.

3. Who chaired the TRC?

4. Between which years did the Human Rights Violations Committee listen to people’s stories and human rights abuses?

5. What form of justice was adopted by the TRC?

6. Which aspect of the TRC caused the most discussion and debate?

7. What was the most positive aspect of the TRC?

8. In what year was the TRC Report published?

9. Who said that the ‘TRC sought vengeance not reconciliation’?

10. Who accused the TRC of ‘being misguided and wrong’?

My Own Notes

*Tip for visual learners:* Doodle the emblems of each of the political parties on a page and write down events that appear on pages 99 and 100.
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to analyse cartoons

Cartoons are primary sources in which the cartoonist (artist) gives his interpretation (point of view) of a particular topic or event. The cartoonist’s intention is to convey a serious message by satirizing (making fun) of a political figure. As a result, cartoons are limited as they are biased in nature and require context (understanding of the historical event and people involved) to understand them. However, cartoons are useful to historians as they provide insight into how some people at the time felt about a particular event or political figure.

The way that the cartoonist portrays the people in the cartoon will indicate whether he or she likes or dislikes the people. Cartoons are both literal and figurative in nature. In order to be instantly recognizable a cartoonist will draw a political figure literally (realistically). However, to create the humour in the cartoon he may exaggerate a personal or distinctive feature of the figure. For example PW Botha was famous for the use of his wagging index finger and he is often shown in cartoons with an exaggerated finger. In order to convey his or her intention (or message) a cartoonist may also make use of various symbols – an old man representing the past; a baby represents the future; the figure of the Grim Reaper represents death as does a skull and crossbones. The facial features drawn on the political figures may also provide the reader with evidence to further support the cartoonist’s opinion of the political figure and the message that he or she is attempting to convey in the cartoon.

Let’s take a look at an example of how to analyse a political cartoon.

SOURCE A

The following cartoon, drawn by the famous South African cartoonist Zapiro, was published in The Sunday Times newspaper on 27 April 1994 – the day of the first democratic South African general elections.

Who is the political figure in the cartoon? It is Nelson Mandela. How has he been portrayed? He has been portrayed as a beaming/smilng rising sun.

What is the cartoonist’s opinion of Mandela? The cartoonist sees Nelson Mandela as bringing life and light to South Africa. He brings hope. Mandela has been portrayed with a smiling, friendly face. The cartoonist therefore has a positive attitude towards Mandela.

What is the cartoonist’s intention? Support your answer with TWO visual clues from the cartoon. The cartoonist believes that the first democratic election in SA is a new dawn for SA. It is Mandela who has brought this new dawn to SA and he is bringing new life to SA. This is indicated by Mandela being drawn as a large sun. With the first democratic election the rubbish associated with the old SA has been thrown out into the rubbish bin indicating a new start for SA.

Why does the cartoonist make use of symbolism to achieve his intention? The dustbin is symbolic of throwing away something that has no worth. Inside this dustbin is rubbish as well as the old South African flag. This suggests that everything associated with the old South Africa is trash and has been thrown away.

Explain the use of the symbolism of the flags in the cartoon. Flags often appear in cartoons to indicate different countries. In this cartoon they have been used to indicate the old (pre-1994) and new South Africa.
Now is your chance to practise answering a cartoon analysis question.

**SOURCE B**
This cartoon seems to sum up the opinions of many people. It was published in The Sowetan, a black newspaper published in Soweto, a township on the outskirts of Johannesburg, on the 27th May, 1997.

1. Explain why the cartoonist has drawn figures such as the person in the wheelchair and journalists alongside Archbishop Desmond Tutu. (4)

2. What is the cartoonist's opinion of Archbishop Desmond Tutu? Support your answer with one visual clue. (4)
3. What message does Zapiro convey about the work of the TRC? Support your answer with TWO visual clues from the cartoon.

4. How useful is a cartoon such as this for an historian studying the work of the TRC?

5. Write down TWO limitations of cartoons such as this one as historical evidence.

For answers, please see page 136.
3. What message does Zapiro convey about the work of the TRC? Support your answer with TWO visual clues from the cartoon.

4. How useful is a cartoon such as this for an historian studying the work of the TRC?

5. Write down TWO limitations of cartoons such as this one as historical evidence.

For answers, please see page 136.
TOPIC 6:
THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: 1989-THE PRESENT

Key question: How has the world changed since the 1960s?
1989 was a momentous year in global history – the Berlin Wall came down. For more than thirty years the Wall had symbolised the East-West division of the world. The event had profound international significance. The collapse of the USSR meant that communism appeared to have failed; that Western capitalism was now unchallenged. In Eastern Europe Soviet influence declined. This had an impact on South African politics. President F. W. de Klerk announced reforms that led to democratic elections in 1994.

The end of the Cold War: the events of 1989

CHECKLIST:
To answer questions on this topic you will need to know about the following:
- whether it was Gorbachev’s reforms that triggered the disintegration of the Soviet Union
- events in Poland and the effect on Soviet control in Eastern Europe
- the significance of the fall of the Berlin Wall
- how the decline of communism affected global relations

KEY CONCEPTS:
The following concepts will help you understand the topic:
Brezhnev Doctrine – 1968 foreign policy that gave Soviet Union complete power over the satellite states in the Eastern bloc - could send in troops to quell any uprising in an European Communist State.
Glasnost – Policy of openness and willingness to engage in closer relations with the West.
Perestroika – Restructuring of the USSR government and economic system in the 1980s.
Demokratizatsiya – Democratization.

KEY FIGURES:
Mikhail Gorbachev – leader of the Soviet Union
Lech Walesa – Leader of Solidarity and President of Poland 1989
President F. W. de Klerk 1989-1994
President Nelson Mandela 1994-1998

The USSR was led by an authoritarian communist government from 1918. During those years the government convinced the Russian people that no political or social change was necessary. In terms of the Brezhnev Doctrine all opposition was suppressed. So why did communism collapse in 1989? What had changed?
**Gorbachev’s reforms in the Soviet Union**

1. Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985.
2. The economy was in serious trouble; there were social problems and industrial and agricultural production had declined.
3. The USSR was bankrupt – the Arms Race with the USA had overstretched the budget.

### Reasons for Reform

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASONS FOR REFORM</th>
<th>REFORMS</th>
<th>IMPACT OF REFORMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
2. Began talks with the US government over disarmament.  
3. New Russian approach to East European satellite states. | 1. Led to the end of the Cold War as relations with western countries improved.  
2. Meetings took place between Gorbachev and US President Reagan.  
3. Led to the break-up of the USSR. |
| 2. The economy was in serious trouble; there were social problems and industrial and agricultural production had declined. | Three new concepts:  
**Perestroika**  
Reconstruction/reform  
1. The intention was to revive and reform the Russian economy.  
2. State central planning would continue but small businesses would develop slowly and people were allowed to make a profit.  
**Glasnost**  
Openness/transparency  
1. Allowed people to speak out and encouraged them to be critical.  
2. Gave the media greater freedom.  
**Demokratizatsiya**  
Democratization  
1. People would have a say in government. | Under perestroika people suffered hardship as the cost of living increased and Gorbachev began to lose support.  
Under glasnost people criticised the government and the Communist state began to collapse.  
The Communist party lost support as people voted against it. |
The disintegration of the Soviet Union: to what extent were Gorbachev’s reforms responsible?

The reforms raised expectations of further political changes.

Also led to an upsurge of nationalism in the republics of the USSR.

Demanded an end to communist rule and the establishment wanted full democracy.

The central government was unable to control the rate at which change was taking place.

In 1991 the USSR disintegrated as satellite states set up democratic governments.

Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev

MY OWN NOTES
### Poland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Brezhnev Doctrine</td>
<td>Economic problems Prevented protest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Election of Polish Pope John Paul II</td>
<td>His visit to Poland (1979) inspired demand for change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>The birth and significance of Solidarity</td>
<td>1. Trade union formed by Lech Walesa makes 21 demands to the Polish government: demanded an end to censorship. 2. Polish government agreed to demands. 3. Solidarity threatens Soviet control of Poland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Second visit of the Pope (had first visited his homeland in 1979 when he became Pope).</td>
<td>Walesa released but continued to work underground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Free elections.</td>
<td>Solidarity becomes a political party and wins elections and Walesa became President.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Significance of events in Poland for the decline of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe**

- Poland’s success in making revolutionary changes spread to the other satellite states. In East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania demonstrations against communist rulers.
- Replaced communist dictatorships with democratically elected governments.
- Resulted in an end to communist rule.
- 1989 Hungarian government removed the iron curtain between Hungary and Austria.
Germany: the fall of the Berlin Wall

1989 August  
East Germans were escaping to the West through Hungary.

October  
- Gorbachev visited East Germany and warned leaders to introduce reform as USSR would not assist.  
- East German leader resigned.

November  
- Huge demonstrations in centre of East Berlin criticise the government.  
- Government announced regulations allowing people to leave the GDR permanently  
- Protesters gathered on the borders between East and West Berlin.  
- Guards refused to fire on them. Gates opened.  
- Thousands crossed the borders; people began to break down the Wall.

The impact of events in Germany on Cold War relations

1. The Berlin Wall had been a symbol of the Cold War.  
2. East and West Germany were free to unite.  
3. Tension between the USA and USSR eased.  
4. 1989 Cold War over.

Germans standing on top of the Berlin Wall in front of the Brandenburg gate shortly before the wall was torn down.
Turning point in South Africa: The collapse of the Soviet Union and its impact on South Africa

Repercussions from the fall of the Berlin Wall were felt in South Africa. The end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the USSR meant that communism was no longer a threat.

CHECKLIST:

To answer questions on this topic you will need to know about the following:

- how the collapse of the USSR affected the South African government
- the war in Angola and how this impacted on South Africa
- the South African government (National Party)
- the African National Congress (ANC)

The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale and its impact on South Africa

The collapse of the Soviet Union had important consequences for South Africa. South Africa had been caught up in the Cold War. The USA supported the National Party government’s foreign policies – especially after Angola and Mozambique gained independence and were supported by USSR and Cuban troops.

Overview of events 1985 to 1989

1985 Mikhail Gorbachev becomes USSR Premier. He introduces glasnost and perestroika.
1988 South African Defence Force withdraws from Angola and peace negotiations begin. TURNING POINT.
1989 F.W. de Klerk becomes President of South Africa – he announces that the ANC will be unbanned and that Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders will be released from prison.

- NP government supported UNITA and it seemed as though UNITA would take control of Angola.
- Cuban troops supported the MPLA.
- The battle for Cuito Cuanavale (1987) ended in a stalemate.
- After peace negotiations both South African and Cuban troops were withdrawn.
- At the time the USSR occupied with protests in their satellite states.
- Neither superpower wanted to be involved in wars in southern Africa.
- The South African government realised that the war in Angola would cost lives and money – it was dealing with unrest inside South Africa.
- The withdrawal from Angola was a significant turning point in South African history.
The collapse of the Soviet Union and its impact on South Africa: de Klerk and the unbanning of organisations and release of political prisoners in 1989 and Nelson Mandela in 1990

This timeline will remind you of the events that happened in South Africa between 1976 and 1990. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe was a critical factor that had an impact on both the ANC and the government and led to changes in South Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1976</th>
<th>Soweto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978-1989</td>
<td>P. W. Botha: Total Strategy (dismantling of Apartheid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Onslaught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>External pressure on South Africa: sanctions, trade, loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internal pressure on South Africa: Black Trade Unions, COSATU and UDF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ANC and PAC international pressure = boycotts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arms boycotts and military pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South Africa bankrupt – economic and big business pressure to negotiate with the ANC.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|        | Cubans leave Angola; ANC lost training camps. |

Collapse of the USSR: Gorbachev's reforms weakened USSR control of Satellite States and East Germany

| 1989   | Fall of the Berlin Wall – significance: changes and upheaval in USSR/Eastern Europe, showed people wanted greater freedom. |
|        | ANC and SAPC close alliance (Joe Slovo). Communists had provided military training, funding and weapons. |
|        | Appointment of President de Klerk. |

Impact of the collapse of the USSR on South Africa

| 1989   | National Party, de Klerk realised communism was a spent force and introduced reforms. |
|        | Negotiated with ANC, PAC, SAPC. |
|        | South Africa was no longer able to hide behind the Cold War and the threat of communism for support of the West (USA and Britain). |
|        | De Klerk felt freedom movements were weak, deprived of financial backing, training, arms. He believed he could control negotiations and that this was the best time to negotiate a settlement. |
|        | This was a miscalculation as Black South Africans made up the overwhelming majority of South African population. |
|        | Signaled that the government was prepared to meet the ANC halfway. |
|        | Removal of Cubans from Angola meant that the ANC lost training camps and were forced to move to Central Africa. No longer posed a threat to South African borders. |
|        | Pressure on the ANC to negotiate with the NP from African states; USSR, USA and Britain. |
|        | ANC accepted de Klerk’s offer. |
|        | Negotiations acceptable alternative to violence – conveyed to townships which were the real body of resistance to Apartheid. |
|        | De Klerk could claim to South Africa that he was not negotiating with the communists – fall of the USSR. |
|        | Mandela wrote to de Klerk suggesting meeting. |

| 1990   | Apartheid laws scrapped. |
|        | Groote Schuur Minute – discuss way ahead: South African politics could be normalised; all parties and races to participate; unbanning of ANC, PAC, SAPC. Release of political prisoners and Nelson Mandela released from prison. |
|        | NO TURNING BACK. |

The Impact on the National Party

1. Came to power during the Cold War.
2. Had US backing and was supported by non-communist groups in neighbouring Angola and Mozambique.
3. With collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 the NP could no longer justify policies that used the threat of communism.
4. American and western powers put pressure on the NP to begin negotiations with the ANC.
5. USA and capitalism had ‘won’ the Cold War.

The Impact on the ANC

1. No longer had Soviet economic and military backing.
2. Unable to continue the struggle.
3. Pressure on ANC to negotiate with the NP from African States, Britain, USSR and USA.
4. Willing to negotiate with the NP and ultimately to end the armed struggle.
QUICK QUIZ
1. In what year did Gorbachev become president of the Soviet Union?
2. Give the Russian word meaning reconstruction.
3. Give the Russian word meaning openness or transparency.
4. Name the leader of the trade union Solidarity.
5. Name the first East European country to hold free elections.
6. What symbol of the Cold War was destroyed in 1989?
7. Give the name of the battle that was a turning point for South African politics in 1988.
8. In what year was the ANC unbanned?
9. Name the document that initiated the negotiations in 1990.
10. Name ONE country that supported South Africa during the Cold War.

MY OWN NOTES
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to write a source-based essay

- The Source-Based Essay question addresses a controversy by posing a question, for example, “To what extent did the collapse of Communism in the USSR have an impact on South Africa?”
- You are required to construct an argument FOR or AGAINST the idea by using the sources provided for your use.
- This is just like being a lawyer in a court of law presenting your case to the judge and backing up your argument using the available evidence.
- Your answer should be in ESSAY FORMAT (paragraphs) of between 2 and 3 pages in length.

The source-based essay tests the following skills:

- Advancing an argument.
- Consistent focus on the topic throughout.
- Selection of relevant, accurate evidence from sources to support the argument.

You should do the following before writing your source-based essay:

- Decide what your answer to the question is.
- Go through all the sources and place a ✓ alongside those sources that support your opinion and a ✗ alongside those sources that support the other side of the argument.

Getting started

1. Write the introduction in which you must answer the question and where your stand point is clear. However, acknowledge that there is also another side to the debate. (counter-argument)
2. Refer to all the sources at your disposal and in particular the sources which support your stand point. In your main body ensure that you ‘group’ these sources. In addition be sure to:
   - Advance your argument (make your point) and then quote from the sources to support your argument.
   - Use the sources to focus on the topic question.
3. Acknowledge the source by writing it in brackets after the quote. (for example, Source A)
4. You must keep your argument sharp which means you must always FOCUS on the topic.
5. As this is a balanced discussion, you must acknowledge the sources which support the opposing view:
   - Start your new paragraph with “However” or “On the other hand” and again ‘group’ these sources.
   - Quote from the sources.
   - Acknowledge the sources by writing them in brackets after the quote (for example, Source C).
6. In your conclusion you should reiterate your stand point.
   ~ If you are running out of time remember that your conclusion need not be more than 1 sentence long. ~

HINTS

- DO NOT just summarise what is in the source!
- DO NOT just describe what is in the source. USE the source to support your argument.
- DO NOT write these sources you are using as a LIST. Rather GROUP them and WEAVE them into your discussion/argument.
- In the exam be sure to do the Source-Based Essay question after your Source Based (Section B) questions.
- You should spend no more than 30 to 40 minutes writing the essay question.
- DO NOT WRITE IN THE ‘FIRST PERSON’ (“I”)

Now it is your turn to write a source-based essay.

Use Sources A to H to write a source-based essay on the following topic:

To what extent did the collapse of Communism in the USSR affect South Africa in 1989 and the early 1990s?

Be sure to use the sources provided to construct your argument and remember to reference the sources by letter.
To what extent did the collapse of Communism in the USSR affect South Africa in 1989 and the early 1990s?

**SOURCE A**
An extract from a book written by the South African historian John Pampallis in 1991

The Soviet ‘new thinking’ on international relations emphasised cooperation to overcome problems rather than stressing the antagonisms between states with different social systems. This led to a relaxation of international tensions and an emphasis on solving international problems by political rather than military means.

One result of these changes, particularly as they resulted in part from the economic weakness of the Soviet Union and its consequent inability to sustain high military expenditures, was the sharp decline of what many in the capitalist world had seen as the ‘Soviet threat’. The overthrow of most of the Communist-led governments in Eastern Europe in 1989, and the virtual collapse of the Warsaw Pact, finally removed any remaining fears. In South Africa, the regime thus found itself no longer able to win support in the West by posing as a ‘bulwark against Communism’ and a counter against ‘Soviet expansionism in Southern Africa’.

**SOURCE B**
An extract from a history book commissioned by the South African Department of Education in 1994

It was in 1988 that Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev called for a ‘new world order’, and reconfirmed his commitment to ‘glasnost’ and ‘perestroika’. Ronald Reagan, who in the previous year had met Gorbachev to agree on reducing the superpowers’ nuclear arsenals, visited Moscow. The Cold War thaw had set in. Within another year Berliners would break down the dreaded symbol of the Iron Curtain – the Berlin Wall – and the ‘Communist threat’, so long exploited by successive South African governments, would lose its potency. This would have a significant bearing on South Africa.

**SOURCE C**
An extract from an article that was published in *The Guardian* – a British newspaper – on 23 May 2008

Some people argue that the protests of the anti-Apartheid movement helped to bring about change in South Africa, although it is more likely that the end of Apartheid owed more to the collapse of communism and the Berlin Wall. This meant that the fear of communism was removed and Nelson Mandela was released after the sanctions which had been imposed by the US crippled the economy. It is important to note, of course, that Britain failed to impose sanctions regardless of the fact that this was what the ANC and the unions had called for.

**SOURCE D**
An extract from a history book written by the South African economist Francis Wilson in 2009

And then, quite unexpectedly, the Berlin Wall came down in 1989. For some analysts, this was a necessary and sufficient event for the ending of apartheid. It is true that once the Cold War ended the CIA no longer felt obliged to protect South African racists as opponents of Marxism. The white government felt more isolated than ever and also, so it claimed, was more willing to talk to a liberation movement that no longer had the might of the Soviet Union behind it. However, it would seem more accurate to describe the ending of the Cold War as something which facilitated the process of change in South Africa, but which did not cause it.

**SOURCE E**
An extract from a book written by the South African historian David Welsh in 2009

One factor that was helpful to de Klerk in pushing for inclusive negotiations was the steady unravelling of the Soviet Union and the roll-back of its domination over much of Eastern Europe, which was symbolised by the destruction of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 ... For some time the South African government’s strategy had been to try to drive a wedge between the ANC and the SACP, in the belief that there was a potential cleavage between African nationalists and communists. It had not succeeded: the relationship was far too strong. Despite this failure, the collapse of communism created an opportunity for a much more adventurous approach than had previously been conceivable: a gap had opened and de Klerk took it.
SOURCE F

A photograph of the newly released Nelson Mandela (centre) with his wife Winnie (left) and Joe Slovo, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party (right) at an ANC rally in 1990. The Communist flag appears behind them.

SOURCE G

An extract from an article entitled The Impact of the Fall of the Berlin Wall on South Africa and the World written by F.W. de Klerk and published in 2009 by the F.W. de Klerk Foundation, an organisation established by the former South African State President to promote his political aims and achievements.

The collapse of the Soviet Union helped to remove our long-standing concern regarding the influence of the South African Communist Party within the ANC Alliance. By 1990 classic socialism had been thoroughly discredited throughout the world and was no longer a serious option, even for revolutionary parties like the ANC.

At the same time the ANC was reaching a similar conclusion that it could not achieve a revolutionary victory within the foreseeable future. The State of Emergency, declared by the South African government in 1986, and the collapse of the Soviet Union – which had traditionally been one of the ANC’s main allies and suppliers – led the organisation to adopt a more realistic view of the balances of forces. It concluded that its interests could best be secured by accepting negotiations rather than by committing itself to a long and ruinous civil war.

SOURCE H

A South African Communist Party (SACP) poster from the early 1990s asking for financial assistance in order to achieve its aims. It suggests that these aims will not be easily achieved.
A new world order emerged when the USSR collapsed and communism was seen to have failed. With the end of Russia as a superpower, the USA remained the major political, economic and military power and western capitalism was dominant in the global economy. This new world order, however, is not without problems.

CHECKLIST:
To answer questions on this topic you should be able to explain the following:

- definition of globalisation
- impact on Africa: North-South and South-South relations
- dominance of global western capitalism
- emerging economies of BRICS countries
- South Africa's reconciliation as an inspiration
- unfinished liberation – challenges of poverty, redress and nation-building
- responses to globalisation

KEY CONCEPTS:
The following concepts will help you to understand the topic:

Balance of power – A political term referring to the relationship between world powers.

Free trade – No restrictions placed on trade. Any country is free to buy from and sell to any other country.

Globalisation – The removal of barriers to free trade and the closer integration of world economies and societies.

IT revolution – Development in information technology that revolutionised world-wide communication; encompasses personal computers, computer networks—internet, email, mobile phones; but also television and telephones.

Multinational corporation – Large businesses that link the global economy; also known as transnational corporations.

New world order – Consequence of the end of the Cold War and the collapse of Soviet communism. The dominance of America as the remaining superpower.

Structural Adjustment Programme – Policy of the IMF – loans dependent on reduced state spending, cut back on government employees, privatise government enterprises and increase export.

Westernisation – The spread of western culture – in particular American, including industrial and economic capitalism; political institutions like democracy and cultural symbols of materialism.

IMPORTANT ACRONYMS:

AU: African Union
BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
G8: Group of eight countries: Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, USA
G20: A forum for the central bank governors and governments from 20 major economies: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mexico, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States and the E.U.
IMF: International Monetary Fund
WTO: World Trade Organisation
A New World order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is globalisation?</th>
<th>The main features of globalisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Globalisation</strong>: the continuous exchange of information, business and goods around the world; political, economic, social and cultural interchange.</td>
<td><strong>Communication</strong>: internet, satellite television and cell phone. Instant contact. <strong>Travel</strong>: is quick: movement of tourists, migrants and refugees. <strong>Culture</strong>: western values, ideas, tastes and fashions. <strong>Economies</strong>: linked: local, national and international. <strong>International corporations</strong>: dominate the global economy.</td>
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The balance of power and the impact on Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cold War</th>
<th>New World Order</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Balance of power between East and West. 2. African states with strategic value or rich in minerals became tools in the Cold War.</td>
<td>1. Collapse of Soviet communism left America and western capitalism dominant. 2. African countries lost their strategic importance, support and aid and have to compete on the open market.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

North-South and South-South relations

- In the New World order a **North-South** division has replaced the bipolar, East-West division of the Cold War.
- The North-South division is not geographic but refers to the political, social and economic differences between the northern and southern hemispheres.
- The **North** includes Europe, North America and Japan.
- The **South** includes the developing economies of Latin America, Africa and some countries in Asia. India and China are the exception and have the fastest growing economies in the world. They are referred to as emerging economies.

What problems have been created by the North-South divide?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern Hemisphere</th>
<th>Southern hemisphere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Developed, wealthy, industrialised; high standard of living; dominate the global economy. 2. Farmers in Europe and America subsidised – able to produce cheap food.</td>
<td>1. History of colonialism; ravaged by proxy wars during the Cold War. 2. Under-developed economies based on agriculture and export of raw materials; lack infrastructure (roads and communication) and skills to compete on the open market. 3. No subsidy for farmers in developing countries. 4. Most in debt to World Bank.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

What role do Southern states play in global institutions?

Represented in the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN); two Secretaries were from Africa: Boutros Boutros-Ghali was from Egypt (1992-1997); and Kofi Annan was from Ghana (1997-2006). 2003 the G20 (Group of twenty nations) was formed. Brazil, Argentina, China, India and South Africa are members and have a voice in global affairs.

South-South relations

To counteract the imbalance of North-South relations the South work together through various organisations. **Southern African Development Community** (SADC) (1979), **African Renaissance** (1998), **African Union** (AU 2002), **NEPAD** (New Partnership for Africa’s Development 2001), **BRICS** (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa 2002).
The dominance of global western capitalism

When the USSR collapsed capitalism was seen to have triumphed over communism and democracy over totalitarianism. America is now the global power. The features of western capitalism are:

- Competition and profit
- Free trade and consumerism
- Speculation on the stock market
- Multinational or transnational corporations

Bretton Woods and the emergence of a global economy

1. 1944 the Allied leaders (Britain, France, America) met at Bretton Woods in America to discuss the future of the world economy.
2. Believed European economic recovery depended on an increase in world trade.
3. Structures for growth were there, all countries needed was finance.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) (1944)
Headquarters Washington DC, USA; primary role to stabilise the international monetary system and financial markets; control international exchange rates.

World Bank (1944)
Headquarters Washington DC, USA: established to assist with the reconstruction of Europe after WWII. Loans to countries for development require acceptance of the ‘Structural Adjustment programme’; provides funds for projects, such as dam building, in developing countries.

Established as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs in 1947: established to regulate free international trade – this affects banking, travel and goods. Dominated by the G8 countries but some input from the G20.

1. These institutions were responsible for establishing the new global economy and they promote capitalism and ‘free trade’.
2. They argue that there should be no government interference in the economy and that a free market economy promotes democracy.

The IT revolution

Access to global communication has changed our lives:

Modern technology and the global communications network is the reason why globalisation took place so quickly over the past decades. Most significant development is the computer and internet, e-mail and the ‘World Wide Web’. This technology transformed global communication and introduced the ‘information age’.

The internet has facilitated protest demonstrations.

IT has influenced the speed with which business takes place: major cities around the world are connected. The use of new technology has enabled wealthy companies, transnationals or multinationals to dominate the world markets.

The division between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ is increasing. English has become the international language of communication.
## Civil society resistance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil society resistance to global capitalism</th>
<th>What have the protests achieved?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Resistance to globalisation is a worldwide phenomenon.</td>
<td>1. Demonstrations continue to be held at venues where financial institutions meet. Common targets are the meetings of the G8, World Bank, IMF, WTO and free trade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A turning point was reached when a mass rally took place in 1999, in Seattle in America.</td>
<td>2. The ‘Make Poverty History’ campaign is aimed at persuading developed countries to cancel the debt of the ‘Third World’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Demonstrators protested against the impact of global capitalism and profit-making; against the power of the WTO and transnational companies.</td>
<td>3. ‘Fair Trade’ ensures fair prices to developing countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. They focused on the lack of concern for workers and the poor; the general increase in unemployment; and debt repayment and poverty in developing countries.</td>
<td>4. Condemnation of ‘sweat shops’ where workers produce cheap goods in harsh conditions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## South Africa's success in avoiding outright civil war and Mandela's policy of reconciliation

The ANC won the 1994 elections and a new non-racial, multiparty democratic South Africa was established; successful transfer of power from the NP to the ANC and the formation of a Government of National Unity; the creation of a liberal constitution.

**Mandela’s policy of reconciliation:**
1. To defuse ANC/IFP violence appointed Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a senior Cabinet post.
2. Afrikaner Freedom Front persuaded to form a political party.
3. Personal visit to Percy Yutar, the prosecutor at his trial.
4. Tea with Betsie Verwoord whose husband was the architect of Apartheid.
5. Supported South African sport.
6. Stood down as president at the end of his first term.

### The process of liberation in South Africa is unfinished

1. South Africa is politically united in a democracy.
2. It has entered the global economy; it has the potential for growth and development.
3. However the promise of a better life for all South Africans has not materialised.

### The ANC government inherited a country that was almost bankrupt

1. Apartheid had created a huge imbalance.
2. Poverty and inequality was along racial lines.
3. Major task was to create jobs and redistribute wealth.

## Challenges of poverty and gross inequality and government attempts to redress past injustices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenge</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Land ownership</strong></td>
<td>A key issue. The 1913 Land Act removed land ownership from the vast majority of the black population. 1994 the Restitution of Land Rights Act was passed and a Land Claims Commission established to investigate land claims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Redistribution of wealth</strong></td>
<td>1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Planned to provide housing, water and electricity; improve health and education and state welfare services. Government lacked funds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Growth, Employment and Redistribution</strong></td>
<td>1996 (GEAR) Government focus on growing the economy. The economy opened to international trade; competition on the global market not successful; led to an increase in job losses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Employment Equity Act</strong></td>
<td>1998 The private sector obliged to give preference to black candidates and undertake to train them. Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) was aimed at growing the black middle class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Redress past injustices</strong></td>
<td>The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was appointed to investigate past human rights violations and assist in coming to terms with the past.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Steps were taken towards nation building

- Created a common national identity.
- Transformed South Africa into a non-racial democratic society.
- Ten Bantustans integrated and nine provinces each with its own premier created.
- Six metros and mega-cities replaced multitudes of local authorities
- Schools, public areas and workplaces integrated.
- Heritage projects like Freedom Park and Constitutional Hill established.
- A new flag, coat-of-arms and national anthem, was adopted.

* TIP for kinaesthetic learners:
When studying take breaks as frequently as you need. Just be sure to get back on task. A reasonable schedule is 30 minutes of studying and then a five minute break.

Temptations of a liberation movement in power

Members of the newly-elected ANC government had returned from years in prison or exile. They had fought for the liberation and upliftment of black people and now had to meet the expectations of the mass of South Africans: basic needs of lights, water and sanitation.

Within the ANC alliance, COSATU and the SACP support a socialist economy. They had to consolidate and centralise economic policy and impose discipline; appointed ANC cadres to key positions in government.

The developmental state as an attempt to solve the problems of poverty and inequality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aim</th>
<th>Role of the state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Grow the economy but maintain social development. | 1. Play a moderating but active role in the economy and ensure business cooperation.  
2. Prevent the growth of inequality between wealth and poverty.  
3. In line with the Asian developmental model, the South African government is moving into closer partnership with private enterprise: The National Development Plan (NDP). |
Response to Globalisation

1. Economic insecurity
Western global capitalism based on consumerism and profit-making; stock market = cycles of boom and bust result in unemployment. People blame global institutions WB, WTO, banks and multinational corporations: ‘Occupy Wall Street’ protest movement.

2. Nationalism
Fear of loss of identity, culture and values, control over country’s economy and independence; breakup of the USSR. Measures to prevent refugees and migrants crossing borders, threat to security and jobs.

3. Localisation – break-up of Yugoslavia
Different national and ethnic loyalties surfaced: Yugoslavia between 1992 and 1995. Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats fought a series of civil wars. Ethnic rivalry led to incidents of genocide, rape and mass murder in Bosnia. These wars broke up Yugoslavia into the separate states of Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia.

4. Extremism such as fundamentalism – including the Christian right wing and Islamic fundamentalism
Christian conservatism a force in American politics since the 1980s. Blame globalisation and materialism for the moral decline of the country. Islamic fundamentalists resent the changes imposed by modern Westernisation, or Americanisation and its consumer culture.

5. 9/11 and its consequences

6. The war on terror, Iraq
Response to the 9/11 attack President George W. Bush declared a ‘war on terror’. Worldwide security tightened. Anyone suspected of terrorism arrested – led to objections to human rights violations. American-led forces invaded Afghanistan, Al Qaeda members captured were held in prison on American bases or Guantanamo Bay. 2003 American-led forces invaded Iraq and overthrew Saddam Hussein. Believed he was stocking ‘weapons of mass destruction’. None were found and resentment against America increased especially as the USA remained in occupation of Iraq.

QUICK QUIZ

1. Give one word for ‘the removal of barriers to free trade and the closer integration of world economies and societies’.
2. Give the full name for the following acronym – BRICS.
3. Name the G8 countries.
4. What term is used for the political, social and economic differences between the two world hemispheres?
5. Give the name of the town where world leaders met in 1944 to discuss the world economy.
6. Give the full name for the acronym WTO.
7. What phenomenon has made globalisation possible?
8. What name is given to extreme right wing Christian and Islamic groups?
9. Give the date of the attack on the Twin Towers in the USA.
10. What group did American-led forces aim to defeat when they invaded Afghanistan in 2003?
1.1 What comment is Zapiro making about the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2009? Explain your answer with reference to the visual clue of the wall in the cartoon. (4)
1.2. Refer to TWO other visual clues that the cartoonist uses and explain how they convey the cartoonist’s intention.


1.3. Place the cartoon in its historical context by explaining how the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 resulted in the development of the global economy.
1.4. ‘Poor people and poor countries do not benefit from globalisation. They become poorer.’
Is this a fair assessment of the world today? Use your knowledge and the cartoon to justify your answer.

[20]

SOURCE B
The original source was published in 2004 and appeared on the Solidarity Philippines Australia Network website www.cpcabrisbane.org

2004 Is the 60th Birthday of the World Bank and IMF ... but ...

Send an Unhappy Birthday Card to the IMF and the World Bank

On Your 60th Birthday We Call on You to Cancel 100% of the Debts of Impoverished Countries Without Harmful Conditions!

We want to bring attention to the devastating legacy that unjust IMF/World Bank policies and ever-growing debt have had on countries of the Global South. We will also make it clear that the debt crisis has not been resolved! While the World Bank and IMF continue to drag their feet with their limited and conditional debt relief program, thousands continue to die needlessly from preventable diseases like HIV/AIDS.
2.1 What is the intention of this source?

2.2 What is the 'debt' referred to in this source? Use your knowledge to explain briefly how this 'debt' came into being.
2.3 Provide TWO quotes of bias from the source that are evidence of its disapproval of the IMF and World Bank.  (4)


2.4 Use your knowledge to explain the role of the following financial institutions in the world economy:

2.4.1 World Bank  (2)
2.4.2 IMF  (2)


2.5 Use your knowledge to explain whether the claim that the World Bank and IMF are responsible for the deaths of thousands from preventable diseases and HIV/AIDS is valid.  (4)


For answers, please see page 137.
ANSWERS TO SUCCESSFUL SKILLS

TOPIC 1

SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: Interpreting evidence from primary sources

1. It is an extract of a speech delivered by Winston Churchill, Britain’s former Prime Minister, in Fulton, Missouri, USA on 5 March 1946.
2. His intention was to warn the world – through delivering this speech to this audience – of the growing threat posed by the USSR: “all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject ... to Soviet influence ... and control from Moscow”. OR “The communist parties, which are very small in all of these Eastern States of Europe have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. ...”
3. Totalitarian = dictatorship; one party state.
4. Liberation = to make free.
5. “Warmonger” = suggests that Churchill is wanting to go to war.
6. The USSR is “anxious for its future safety” and “is trying to see that governments loyal to the Soviet Union should exist in the countries through which the Germans made their invasion”. OR “As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union’s loss of life has been several times greater than Britain and the USA put together.”
7. This is just an extract from the interview and the context of the speech may have been altered as a result. The speech has been translated from Russian into English and the original meaning may have changed in the translation. This source is biased as it only gives Stalin’s opinions and version of the events. [ANY ONE]
8. The origin of this source is an extract from an interview with Stalin in Pravda. It was published in the New York Times, 14 March 1946. The intention was to focus on Stalin’s response to Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech. The source is therefore biased as it only provides Stalin’s version of the events. He also makes use of emotive or biased words such as “warmongers” and suggests that Churchill has “taken leave of his senses” to pass negative comments on Churchill. The source is also limited as it is only an extract of the original. Therefore if used on its own without consulting any other sources this is an unreliable source.

SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to analyse a photographic source

1. The photographer’s intention was to show the Chinese people’s reaction to the death of Mao. The visual clue is the body of Mao lying in state OR the crying and clearly upset faces of those passing by the body of Mao.
2. The mood of the photograph is somber or of extreme sadness. The visual clue is the extreme sadness and crying clearly visible on the faces of those passing Mao’s body. The other visual is Mao’s body in the foreground which is the focus of the Chinese people’s sadness.
3. It is the symbol of Communism – the hammer and sickle. It has been placed over Mao’s body as a sign of respect as it was Mao, as Chairman/leader of the Communist Party of China who established China as a Communist Party.
4. Any TWO of the following: Photographs only show us the photographer’s view of the event. They only show a ‘snap-shot in time’. Photographs can be altered or doctored.

SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to analyse an iconic photograph

1. The photographer’s intention was to show how innocent victims such as children were affected by the war in Vietnam. This is supported by the facial features of the child in the centre and her look of complete fear.
2. It is likely that this photograph would have shocked the US public. They would have been horrified by suffering of innocent children.
3. This photograph has become iconic as it has come to symbolize the issues involved in the War in Vietnam. The American people were told that the reason for the US’s involvement in Vietnam was to fight the evil threat imposed by the Vietcong. However, in time it was clear that it was the USA who too was committing evil atrocities such as the burning of innocent Vietnamese children with Napalm.  

4. This photograph was taken on June 8, 1972 and the photographer is unknown. The intention was to show the suffering of innocent Vietnamese children at the hands of the US army. The photograph is biased in that it only shows a snapshot in time – we do not see what occurred before this scene took place or what took place thereafter. It also does not show any of the atrocities committed by the Vietcong. In addition the source is limited as the photographer is unknown. Because of the bias contained in the photograph as well as the limitation, if used on its own this source is unreliable. 

**TOPIC 2**

**SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: Writing a discursive essay**

**Essay topic:**

To what extent was the colonial legacy the underlying cause of many of the political and economic challenges confronting African countries? Discuss

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**COLONIAL LEGACIES**

Legacies of colonialism were both political and economic.

1. European powers grew wealthy by stripping colonies of raw materials and exploiting cheap labour. Economies were underdeveloped and no secondary industries were built.

2. Politics was in the interest of the ruling colonial power. They often encouraged ethnic rivalry. Borders were often randomly drawn and different ethnic groups forced together.

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**Congo:** The change to independence was sudden. There was no political infra-structure and no experienced political parties. Europeans controlled the wealthy mineral resources. Rivalry over resources increased among the many separate ethnic groups. This was exploited by Cold War powers. In July 1960 Katanga broke away and created political instability in the Congo. Tshombe’s attempt to gain independence for Katanga failed.

**Tanzania:** Tanganyika won independence in 1961. Britain made preparations for independence by introducing local ‘native’ administration branches. Nyerere and TANU united the country. No resources for development at independence. It was intended that Ujamaa would allow Tanzania to avoid dependence on Western powers. With the failure of Ujamaa foreign aid was sought and Tanzania had to accept the terms and conditions of the WTO and the Structural Adjustment Programme. Tanzania’s debt increased.
**POLITICAL CHALLENGES**

Both Nyerere and Mobutu were heads of one-party states but they had very different reasons for setting up this type of government.

**Congo:** No one party had an overall majority. The rapid withdrawal of Belgium left many competing groups and ideologies.

1960 Mobutu’s first coup.
1965 Second coup.

He believed that by ending political competition he would bring peace to the Congo. Under Mobutu, Congo government became a dictatorship and everyone had to belong to the Movement Populaire de la Revolution (MPR).

**Tanzania:** 1960 TANU won the multi-party elections.

Nyerere believed many parties would not promote development goals; and would divide the people instead of stabilising the country.

1966 Instituted one-party system of government.

Limited democracy as election of list of TANU candidates. The state that resulted was one based on African socialism, a centralised government, nationalised industries and rural reform.

**POLITICAL STABILITY AND INSTABILITY**

**Congo:** Political instability was a major factor in the early years of independence. To stay in power Mobutu kept strict control over his government. When the West withdrew its support in 1989, Mobutu’s government faced rebel attacks. His government was overthrown by a coup in 1997. Apart from internal issues, outside interference added to instability in the Congo during the Cold War.

**Tanzania:** Stability in Tanzania was based on Nyerere’s popularity as a leader and majority support for TANU. Even though it was a one-party state, corruption was not tolerated. Members of parliament signed a Leadership Code and could be voted out of office. He rejected elitism and inequality and focused on narrowing the division between the rich and the poor in Tanzania. There were no separatist movements and in 1964, Zanzibar joined the mainland.

**ECONOMIC CHALLENGES**

**Types of economies:**
- the First World – capitalist and democratic countries aligned with the USA
- the Second World – communist countries aligned with the USSR
- the Third World referred to countries dependent on the USA and USSR for support
- Third World countries are mostly in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

**Third World countries:**
- underdeveloped; poor, lack skilled workers, high disease levels; unindustrialized; no secondary industries and generally unstable; large foreign debt; no middle class
- Most Third World countries have adopted their own interpretation of capitalism, sometimes referred to as state capitalism or developmental capitalism.
**Congo:** adopted capitalism. Mobutu sold off mineral wealth of the Congo to encourage investment. He wanted Congo to be industrialised. Hydro-electric power was produced by building dams.

Later introduced **nationalisation:**  
**Mobutu** wanted greater economic control for Zaire. Foreign-owned companies were seized after 1971 and control of them handed to his family and friends. Within a short time the economy collapsed.

**Tanzania:** the economy was mostly agricultural. Under colonialism cash crops had been grown and food had been imported. Nyerere wanted to make Tanzania self-sufficient and introduced *Ujamaa* in 1967. The cooperative villages were owned by groups of people who shared their produce. Food production was a primary aim. By 1981 evident that *Ujamaa* had failed.

Introduced **nationalisation:**  
Tanzanian nationalised banks and insurance firms in the late 1960s. **Nyerere** defended this on grounds of halting the widening gap between the rich and the poor.

### SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: How to compare different points of view: secondary versus primary sources

1. The South African Defence Force over-extended itself and became surrounded by FAPLA and Cuban forces at Cuito Cuanavale.

2. This is an extract from The War for Africa – Twelve Months that Transformed a Continent – by Fred Bridgland, and written in 1990. Its intention was to explain the SADF’s defeat In Angola. The writer makes use of biased words to describe the reasons provided by the Cubans for the defeat of the SADF such as “nonsense” and “incalculable”. Although the writer attempts to highlight both sides’ version of the events in Angola, because of the biased words as well as the fact that the source is limited due to it being an extract and not the entire source; it is unreliable.

3. The two reasons were that the Cubans had to get into Cuito Cuanavale to support the Angolan forces and, wage the historical actions where the enemy was stopped.

4. He has emphasised the word avoid by placing it in italics in order to draw attention to the fact that this was the Cuban’s real intention – to not want defeat.

5.1 Meaning or intention is lost when a passage is translated from one language into another

5.2 These are merely extracts from the speeches and without the entire speech the meaning of the extracts could be different from the entire source.

6. The SADF’s objective was to prevent the Cubans from taking Mavinga and Jamba. They succeeded. On the other hand the Cubans’ objective was to capture Mavinga and Jamba. They didn’t accomplish it.

7. To get the Cubans out of Angola.

8. Machismo thought processes is a stereotypical masculine attitude emphasizing physical strength and courage. In order to get the Cubans out of Angola the SADF was prepared to allow the Cubans to think that they had won the war so that they could feel masculine and not “lose face”.

9. The writer is anti-Communist/anti-Cuban and supports the SADF’s version of events.

10. According to Westad’s version the South Africans wanted to have the Cubans removed or beaten, so that they could arrange a similar settlement over Namibia as it had organised for the so-called “independent bantu homelands”. In addition Botha wanted to concentrate his efforts on destroying the ANC inside South Africa itself and preventing it from having bases at its borders.

11. It caused the Soviets and Americans to work together to force the Cubans into negotiations with the South Africans.

12. Source E: Arnold states that the battle was a turning point as the belief in the strength of the SADF was destroyed by Cuban air superiority. Source A states that South Africa entered negotiations in order to be able to withdraw the troops and equipment surrounded by FAPLA and Cuban forces.

13. Arnold questions Crocker’s negotiating skills. Initially Crocker focused on preventing the spread of Soviet influence in the region. He linked Namibian independence to the removal of the Cubans from Angola.

However, importantly, he failed to communicate with the ANC or other anti-apartheid groups.

The settlement in 1988 was based on issues out of Crocker’s control: first, the SA government’s realisation Cuito Cuanavale that is did not have regional military superiority; secondly, as Cold War tensions ended the Cubans withdrew from Angola.
TOPIC 3

SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: Analysing propaganda & identifying propaganda techniques:

1. The three steps to Black Nationalism are firstly to control the politics and the politicians of their community. Secondly to no longer take orders from outside forces and finally to organize, and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces. (3x1) (3)

2. It is useful in that it gives insight into the Black Power Movement’s attitude towards violence as being one of self defence – using violence only if violence is used against the black man (2)

3. Just as the original Declaration of Independence was a declaration of the independence of the USA from Britain and marked the start of Americans’ independence, this speech marked a break of the black people from dependence and subservience to white people. It marked the start of black emancipation and independence. (6)

4. He makes use of inclusive language to appeal to solidarity and unity: “There can be no workers’ solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves”. He also makes repetitive use of “we” to refer to black people but also exclusive words such as “they” to refer white people. In so doing he also identifies an enemy – the white man. (4)

5. The psychological struggle is about whether or not black people have the right to use the words they want to use without white people giving their sanction. (2)

6. He feels that the only time he hears people talk about nonviolence is when black people move to defend themselves against white people. He feels that nobody talks about nonviolence when white people beat up black people every day. He feels that it is a double standard. He feels that black people can’t defend themselves. (2)

7. Johnson said nothing could be achieved from looting – yet Johnson has ‘looted’ Vietnam by sending in the American troops. Johnson is therefore a hypocrite telling black Americans not to loot but doing the same thing in Vietnam. (3)

8. He makes repetitive use of the word “we” to encourage inclusivity and solidarity.

He makes use of rhetorical questions: “Isn’t it hypocritical for Lyndon to talk about how you can’t accomplish anything by looting and you must accomplish it by the legal ways? What does he know about legality?” He makes use of repetitive phrases: “Black people cut themselves every night in the ghetto – nobody talks about nonviolence. White people beat up black people every day – nobody talks about nonviolence.” In so doing he also identifies the enemy. He makes use of biased/emotive language such as “beat up,” “lynched,” “looted,” “cut up.” (2x4) (8)

TOPIC 4

SUCCESSFUL SKILL: How to write an extended writing task (Required for IEB Exams)

(a) What were the causes of the Soweto Uprising?

• The SA government’s decision that certain subjects be taught through the medium of Afrikaans sparked the protest.

• Growing influence of Black Consciousness – saw a resurgence of protest against the SA government after “the silent 60s” in which dissent was squashed.

• Growing worker militancy – strikes in the work force – spilled into the townships and into the classrooms influencing the school children to protest.

• Poor conditions in the townships (housing and lack of basic amenities) were also cause for the unrest.

• Poor communication – the government maintained that they did not know of the extent of the dissatisfaction in Soweto.

ANSWERS TO SUCCESSFUL SKILLS
What role did Steve Biko and Black Consciousness play in the Soweto Uprising?

- The Black Consciousness Movement was an attitude rather than a political movement.
- The use of the term ‘black’ was a direct challenge to the Apartheid term ‘non-white’.
- Movement included black, Indian and coloured people.
- Black Consciousness was a philosophy based on the belief that liberation for black people would only be accomplished if they removed the shackles of fear and inferiority.
- The driving force behind Black Consciousness was the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO) established in 1968 under the leadership of Steve Biko.
- Black pride in identity, culture and history was emphasised.
- Movement aimed to promote a degree of separatism, by encouraging black people to stop working with white liberals in multi-racial organisations. Instead, white liberals should educate other white people to change their attitudes.
- Movement worked to promote unity amongst black people.
- Students joined organisations to voice their anger and share their ideas. The South African Students Movement (SASM) grew rapidly from 1973 onwards, especially in Soweto.
- The SASM branches functioned as forums for discussion of educational and political matters.
- SASM produced a militant newspaper, Thrust, to spread the ideas of Black Consciousness amongst students, encouraging activism.
- The government ban of the newspaper resulted in the SASM establishing secret links with the ANC in exile.
- In 1976, when students started to boycott classes, the SASM supported the protests and called for a complete boycott of the June examinations.
- SASM formed an Action Committee renamed the Soweto Students’ Representative Council (SSRC).
- It planned a march for 16 June 1976 as a mass demonstration to protest against the enforced use of Afrikaans in schools. It was on this date that the Soweto Uprising started.
- The Soweto Uprising refers to the widespread student protests that took place in Soweto and in many towns throughout South Africa. It started as an uprising against education policies, but became a general uprising against the whole system of Apartheid, with teachers, parents and workers supporting the students.

What was the impact of the Soweto Uprising on South African politics?

- The Soweto Uprising marked a turning point in South African history and was inspired by the Black Consciousness Movement.
- As a result of the Soweto Uprising, the government abandoned the Afrikaans language policy in schools. School protests continued.
- Many student leaders were detained or killed through police action.
- The harsh suppression of the Soweto Uprising resulted in negative criticism from the international community and pressure was placed on the government to reform.
- In 1977 the government banned 17 anti-Apartheid organisations, including the SASM and the SSRC.
- The government arrested Black Consciousness leaders, including Steve Biko, who died in police custody.
- Bannings suggest that the government viewed the ideology of the Black Consciousness Movement as a threat to white domination.

SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: Interpreting posters as historical evidence

1. This poster was produced by the London-based anti-Apartheid Movement in 1985.

   - The intention was to support the sporting boycott of South African cricket. The headline refers to the South African sports boycott "As a protest against the South African government’s policy of apartheid, the South African national cricket team.“ The visual shows a SA policeman beating up a protestor. This suggests that the sporting boycott would assist in ending this violence.

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3. The headline suggests that the South African national sport is beating up protesters and hence supporters of the anti-Apartheid movement should not support the cricket tour. This is illustrated in the poster with a SA policeman hitting a demonstrator/protestor with a baton.

4. Posters are biased as they are produced to further the aims of the organization. They are persuasive in nature and are open to interpretation by the reader.

5. The poster was produced by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1985 and intended to gather support for the sporting boycott of South African cricket. The poster is persuasive in nature and is therefore biased as it does not include the South African government’s version. The SA government is further portrayed in a negative light due to the biased visual of a SA policeman beating a protestor. As the poster is biased and limited, if used on its own it is an unreliable source.

TOPIC 5

SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: Understanding Historiography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HISTORIAN</th>
<th>HISTORY/INTERPRETATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaner Nationalist</td>
<td>Apartheid came to an end because it no longer could support the oppressive capitalist system. Economic sanctions placed on the South African government made capitalism incapable of working.</td>
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<tr>
<td>African Nationalist</td>
<td>The Bolipatong Massacre focused attention on the injustices of the continued intimidation policies of the National Party in supporting the Third Force.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>FW de Klerk turned his back on his heritage and his people, unleashing a series of events that would take South Africa to the depths of the abyss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Revisionist</td>
<td>Years of persistent resistance to the policies of the Apartheid government both within and outside the country saw the ANC succeeding in putting pressure on the South African government to end Apartheid and embark on the journey of negotiations.</td>
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SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: Historiography

1. For negotiations to succeed, the ANC and the NP had to keep their supporters in line.

2. The two extraordinary aspects are that neither side suffered any significant defections and equally extraordinary was the fact that with the exception of Chris Hani, no major political figure was assassinated in the course of the transition.

3. Heroic; courage; unflinching; generosity; remarkable [ANY THREE]

4. The writer supports the liberal historiography – his focus is on the peaceful negotiation process on the road to SA becoming a democracy – issues involved in political freedom and the human right to vote. He does not seem to favour any one side so cannot be thought of as a nationalist historian: “For negotiations to succeed, the principal antagonists (rivals or opponents) must keep their constituencies (supporters) in line. Both the National Party (NP) and the ANC managed to achieve this, despite having to make concessions.”

5. An Afrikaner historian might criticise the writer for not focusing enough on the role played by Afrikaners in the negotiation process – such as Botha or de Klerk. An Afrikaner historian might also criticise the writer for focusing too much on the role played by Mandela and not de Klerk.
SUCCESSFUL SKILLS: Cartoon analysis

1. The person in the wheelchair represents the victims of SA’s political past – perhaps someone injured following an interrogation at the hands of the security police or someone injured in an ambush organized by the security police. The journalists represent those who were tasked with covering the proceedings of the TRC.

2. The cartoonist is critical of Tutu – he has drawn Tutu small in stature/he has drawn Tutu as being directionless and with the speech bubble stating “oops” indicating that he does not seem to know where he is going/He is made to look stupid.

3. The cartoonist is critical of the work done by the TRC – there is a large divide between ‘Truth’ and ‘Reconciliation’ and one which cannot be united; the victims behind Tutu seem lost and dissatisfied; the work done by the TRC is like climbing a high cliff only to get to the top and be faced with a deep chasm. [ANY TWO visual clues]

4. This cartoon is useful as it gives insight into the criticisms leveled at the TRC at the time.

5. The limitations of cartoons are that by their nature they are biased and subjective – based on the cartoonist’s opinion of the events or the personalities; they are limited as the reader also has to have a sound knowledge of the context in which the cartoon was produced; the humour may be cryptic and difficult to understand. [ANY TWO]

TOPIC 6

SUCCESSFUL SKILL: Writing a source-based essay

Use Sources A to H in the Source Material Booklet to write a source-based essay on the following topic:

To what extent did the collapse of communism in the USSR affect South Africa in 1989 and the early 1990s?

Be sure to use the sources provided to construct your argument and remember to reference the sources by letter.

50 marks

Be sure to use the sources provided to construct your argument and remember to reference the sources by letter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LARGE EXTENT</th>
<th>LESSER EXTENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other focus words: great impact; major impact; significant impact; momentous; DID have an impact</td>
<td>Other focus words: limited impact; minor impact; no impact; insignificant impact; other factors played greater roles</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘One result of these changes, particularly as they resulted in part from the economic weakness of the Soviet Union and its consequent inability to sustain high military expenditures, was the sharp decline of what many in the capitalist world had seen as the ‘Soviet threat’. (Source A) In South Africa, the regime thus found itself no longer able to win support in the West by posing as a “bulwark against Communism” and a counter against ‘Soviet expansionism in Southern Africa’. (Source A)</td>
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<td>‘… the ‘Communist threat’, so long exploited by successive South African governments, would lose its potency. This would have a significant bearing on South Africa.’ (Source B)</td>
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<td>‘it is more likely that the end of Apartheid owed more to the collapse of communism and the Berlin Wall. This meant that the fear of communism was removed.’ (Source C)</td>
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<td>‘Some people argue that the protests of the anti-Apartheid movement helped to bring about change in South Africa…’ (Source C)</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Nelson Mandela was only released after the sanctions that had been imposed by the US crippled the economy.’ (Source C)</td>
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1.4 Own knowledge:
- INCs get rich by exploiting the poorer countries.
- They use their wealth and power to control poor people in poor countries – e.g. sweat shops.
- Globalisation increases demand for consumer goods and therefore tension between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’. An economic collapse in a rich country has dire consequences for poorer countries as they are so dependent on the strength of the richer country’s economy. (4)

Cartoon: Shows dependence of poor people on rich for employment/exploitation/poor people cannot rise above their circumstances. (2)

[20]

QUESTION 2 Media Analysis – Globalisation

2.1 The intention is to highlight Third World debt and promote the eradication of it. / Drop the debt. / Draw attention to the World Bank & IMF’s lack of decisive action in assisting Third World countries by cancelling the debt/to criticize the IMF and World Bank. (2)

2.2 It is Third World debt – it is a reference to the loans that developing countries took out from the World Bank and IMF to develop their economies and have been unable to pay them back because of the crippling interest on these loans, / conditions or structural adjustment programmes further cripple the undeveloped countries. (Any 3 comprehensive points x 2) (6)

2.3 Use of bias to show disapproval. ‘devastating legacy’, ‘unjust’, ‘debt crisis’, ‘die needlessly’, ‘send an unhappy birthday card’, ‘harmful conditions’, ‘no time for a party’. (Any 2 x 2) (4)

2.4.1 World Bank – provides loans to developing countries. (2)

2.4.2 IMF – ensures that countries applying for loans from the World Bank implement good governance (capitalism) or structural adjustment programmes. / IMF regulates the world economy. (2)

2.5 It is valid. In order to receive loans from the World Bank, developing countries had to agree to submit to structural adjustment programmes. One aspect was cutting back on civil service facilities such as health programmes which would lead to deaths from preventable illnesses. / The World Bank and IMF have done little to alleviate Third World debt, so these countries are too poor to deal with problems such as HIV/AIDS.

OR

No it is not valid. The source is exaggerated and unfairly critical. The IMF and World Bank provide loans to under-developing countries which allows for their economies to develop. However, it is the corrupt and ineffectual governments of these countries who are to blame for the deaths as they do not develop their countries’ infrastructure. (4)

[20]