



KWAZULU-NATAL PROVINCE

EDUCATION

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

CURRICULUM GRADE 10 -12 DIRECTORATE NCS (CAPS)

STEP AHEAD LEARNER DOCUMENT

HISTORY

GRADE 12

2024



FOREWORD

This resource pack was prepared and completed by the KZN Provincial History Subject Advisors and Lead educators. The intention is to prepare Grade 12 educators and learners for 2024. It is hoped that educators will find this document useful for better learner performance in 2024 and that learners will benefit by using this workbook.

The booklet comprises of TWO sections. Pages 1 - 5 deals with generic information addressing suggestions to strengthening teaching and learning in the classroom and pages 6 - 87 deals with sections of the Grade 12work. (Notes and informal assessment). It is suggested that educators use relevant parts of the documents to enhance Teaching and Learning in the classroom.

Provincial History Subject Advisors and Lead educators are to be commended for their contributions and cooperation during the preparation and production of this booklet.



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SOME GENERIC POINTS IN ANSWERING LEVEL 3 QUESTIONS

(a) Instil the following steps when teaching learners how to compare evidence in two sources to answer questions on either similarities or differences:

- Read the question thoroughly and underline the main point.
- Study the contextualisation of both sources and underline its main context.
- Check the author and the purpose of each source, after studying the contextualisation of the source. This will give a clue about the perspective and intention of the source, which could then be compared to the other source.
- Detect opposing viewpoints by identifying the rival organisations or ideologies that the two sources represent. If opposing viewpoints form part of the contextualisation of the two sources that are compared, learners must underline both viewpoints, because the different perspectives displayed by each source will already provide the learner with one option of the answer.
- Familiarise themselves with the information in the sources mentioned. The 5 Ws stated earlier can be used in this regard.
- Have a clear understanding of what a visual source entails by finding dates, numbers, historical figures, facial expressions, text or any other object relevant to the question.
 - Provide the required responses for the question in either of the following ways:
 - In answering a question about similarities, learners could use the following: *Both sources refer to ...* or *Source 1A mentions ...* and *Source 1B shows ...*
 - When comparing information for differences or contrast, it is crucial that learners state: *Source 1A says ... WHILE Source 1B states ...* or *In Source 1A we read... WHILE Source 1B shows ...* or *Source 1A is written from a communist perspective (Russian point of view) WHILE Source 1B is written from a capitalist perspective (US point of view).*

(a) SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING RELIABILITY, USEFULNESS AND LIMITATIONS OF A SOURCE:

For proper evaluation of these aspects, the **contextualisation of the source** should include the following:

- Who the **author (owner)** of the source is: this should not only address the name but also the position or profile of the author;
 - Identifying the author as a chairperson of an institution or as the President of a country enhances the *reliability* or *usefulness* of a source.
 - A source by an author from a rival ideology might suggest *NOT Reliable* or *NOT Useful* depending on the context of the question/If the source is biased/one-sided, that would be a *Limitation* of the source – again, depending on the context of the question.
- **When (date)** the source was written:
 - It is important to check whether the date of the source was at the time of the event or whether it was too far away from the time of the event; The date of a source that is very close to the event can be regarded as *Reliable* or *Useful*, though not always the case because the source can still be biased.
 - A source far removed from the time of the event, giving a perspective different from the original event might be a deliberate distortion, suggesting *Limitation* of the source.

- **Where (the venue/place)** the source was created:

- A speech given in an official venue, e.g. Parliament or at an official function held anywhere, would give credit to the *Reliability* or *Usefulness* of a source.
- Publications in the US national newspapers like *New York Times* or *The Washington Post* might be pro-capitalist (*Reliable* or *Useful*) or be anti-communist (*Not Reliable* or *Not Useful*) depending on the context of the question).
- Publications in newspapers from the Soviet Union, e.g. *Pravda* or *Izvestia*, might be pro-communist or anti-capitalist, depending on the context of the question).

- The **purpose** of writing (publishing) the source or **why** the source was published:

- If the purpose is to strengthen internal processes of an institution or to outline how a project would unfold, that could be positive (*Reliable* or *Useful*) but if it paints a negative picture about a rival ideology, it could be considered as full of propaganda and therefore be regarded as biased (having *limitations*).
- Is the source an opinion piece of writing (biased) or factual information (*Reliable/Useful*)?

- Can the information be independently **corroborated**?

Refer to other sources within the Addendum that corroborate information in the question (*Reliability* or *Usefulness*).

(b) Sharpen paragraph-writing skills by ensuring that learners do the following:

- Read the question and underline the key words.
- Study all sources to gain a thorough understanding of them.
- Underline the words in written sources and incorporate them in the writing of paragraphs.
- Start a paragraph with an opening statement that affirms or opposes the question and conclude the paragraph with a closing statement that supports the opening statement.
- Learners should not copy directly from the sources but use their own words, e.g. *According to Source 1A ...*
- Ensure that responses are concise and to the point by structuring short sentences to frame the paragraph.
- Do not summarise information from sources without responding to the question.
- Always refer to the question when writing a paragraph.

(c) Essay Writing

- Using the *PEEL* writing template to teach learners how to write an argumentative essay:
 - **Point:** State the main point by indicating a line of argument. Each paragraph should include a point that sustains the major point (line of argument) that was made in the introduction.
 - **Explanation:** Explain the point or line of argument by demonstrating how it relates to the question posed (line of argument).
 - **Example/Evidence:** Select and provide appropriate examples/evidence to support the line of argument.
 - **Link:** Ensure that the concluding statement in each paragraph is linked to the line of argument taken in the introduction.

- Training learners on the stages of essay writing:

Introduction: stance and contextualisation.

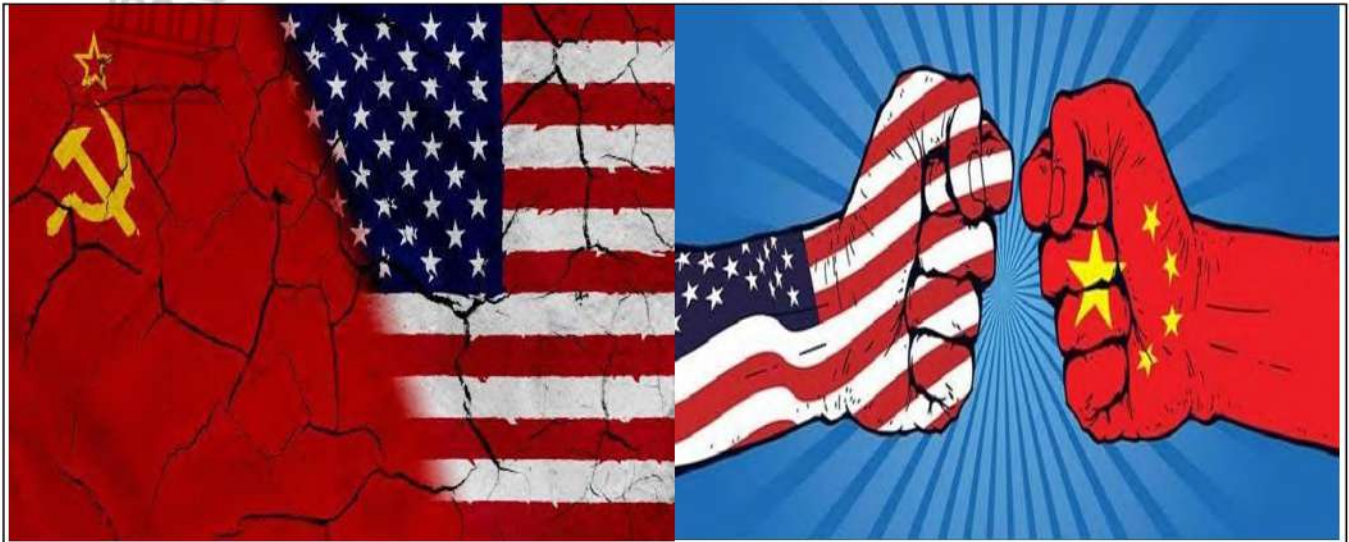
Peel method to be applied in the body of the essay – in each paragraph.

Line of argument: how the event contributed to the question (link).

This will prevent the learners from copying the question statement as a line of argument.

Conclusion to link with the introduction

THE COLD WAR



THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

- **The Cold War** was the struggle that developed between the USA and the USSR which had emerged as the **KEY CONCEPTS**
- **COMMUNISM**: is a doctrine that advocates a classless society in which private ownership has been abolished and the means of production belong to the community
- **CAPITALISM**: is an economic system based on the private ownership of the means of production and distribution of goods, characterised by a free competitive market and motivated by profit
- **DEMOCRACY**: a system of government in which leaders are chosen by the People
- **COLD WAR**: Ideological battle between capitalism and communism without getting involved in an actual war OR A period of conflict and competition between the capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union without getting involved in an actual battle
- **IRON CURTAIN** : A symbolic border between the communist bloc and western European countries during the Cold War
- **CONTAINMENT**: The policy of the USA to stop the spread of communism

TIME LINE OF EVENTS

DATE	EVENT
1945	Yalta Conference - Big Three (Russia, USA and Britain)
1945	Potsdam Conference
1947	Truman Doctrine
1947	Marshall Plan
1948 - 1949	Berlin Crisis: Berlin Blockade

1949	Formation of NATO
1955	Formation of Warsaw Pact
1961	Berlin Wall

What was the Cold War?

- Two strongest countries after the Second World War - they were referred to as the superpowers.
- In this struggle the USA was supported by other Western countries (the Western bloc) and the USSR was supported by other communist governments (the Soviet bloc).
- This created a world that was divided into two – one half supporting one superpower and the other half supporting the other.
- The Cold War was not simply a conflict between two powerful countries and their allies. It was also a clash between **competing social and economic systems** and **rival political ideologies** - a clash between capitalism and communism.
- The United States (and its allies) believed in capitalism, democracy and individual rights and freedoms. The Soviet Union believed in communism and its spread, and in the right of the state to rule strictly over its people, who should have few individual rights and freedoms.
- It was called a Cold War because it never developed into an actual war between the USSR and the USA, in spite of some very tense occasions.
- **A Cold War is a state of political tension and military rivalry that stops short of full-scale war.** But it lasted for over 40 years and caused political crises and military conflicts in many parts of the world.

THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR: WHY DID THE COLD WAR DEVELOP?

The Teheran Conference, 1943

- In 1943, Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, arranged a meeting between the UK, the USA (President Franklin D. Roosevelt) and the USSR (Stalin). The leaders of these three countries met at the Soviet Embassy in Iran, in the city of Teheran.
- They discussed how a British and American invasion of German-occupied France could be co-ordinated with a Russian offensive on Germany's eastern front.
- The **Big Three** decided that there would be no Anglo-American invasion of Germany through the Balkans. This left only Soviet troops and those from the Balkan nations to clear Eastern Europe of Nazi forces. By recognising Soviet supremacy in Eastern Europe, the Teheran Conference:
 - Limited the West's participation in the post-war political affairs in this area.
 - It also encouraged Stalin to believe that he had a free hand in Eastern Europe as a result of the agreements he negotiated with Churchill.
 - This also convinced him that the West would accept Soviet control in these areas.
- The post-war situation in Eastern Europe became a major reason for mistrust and tension between the West and the Soviet Union.
- Stalin's secret police also tapped the suites of Roosevelt and Churchill, gaining information that made him distrust the western leaders.

The Yalta Conference



- By the end of 1944 Germany was on the defensive – they had lost France to the American, British and Free French forces. They had also lost Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and the occupied Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republics to the Russians.
- In February 1945, the leaders of the Grand Alliance – **Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill** – met at Yalta in the USSR.
- At Yalta they discussed:
 - The formation of the United Nations
 - The trial of war criminals because the Allies wanted them to be brought to justice quickly
 - How to divide up Germany and measures to prevent Germany from becoming too powerful again.
 - The future of Eastern Europe, particularly Poland.
 - The entry of USSR forces into Japan.
- The Big Three agreed to the following:
 - To divide Germany into four zones, governed by Britain, the USA, the USSR and France.
 - To divide Berlin to four sectors with the USA, USSR, Britain and France each governing a sector.
 - A reparation commission was set up
 - Eastern Poland would be given to the USSR and Poland would receive territory from Germany in compensation.
 - And Russia would attack Japan after the war ended in Europe.
 - They also agreed that the countries in Eastern Europe should be allowed to hold free elections to determine the type of government they wanted.
 - No agreement was reached on the scale of the German payment of reparations. Stalin wanted a fixed sum, which the Western allies thought was too large.
- This 'treaty' relied heavily on the goodwill of the Russians, and Roosevelt has been criticised for allowing Stalin too free a hand in eastern Europe.
- This made it possible for the Russians to ignore the agreements and impose satellite states, friendly to Russia, in all the east European states.

- An important factor however was the Russian armies were physically in eastern Europe where the conference was taking place. They were helping the allies to win the war against Germany.
- How would it have been possible for Britain and the USA to have worked out a settlement that was not favourable to the USSR?
- In 1945, American and British troops invaded Germany from the West, while Russian troops invaded from the East.
- In April 1945 Hitler committed suicide, and in May 1945 Germany surrendered to the Allies.
- After Germany was defeated, there was no longer a need for the Grand Alliance.

The Potsdam Conference (July – August 1945)

- The distrust and suspicions which had been building up between the USSR and the West became more evident at another conference of Allied leaders held at Potsdam, in Germany in July 1945.
- The chief concerns of the Big Three were:
 - the immediate administration of defeated Germany
 - the demarcation of the boundaries of Poland
 - the occupation of Austria
 - the definition of the Soviet Union's role in eastern Europe
 - the determination of reparations
 - and the further prosecution of the war against Japan.

By this stage a number of changes had taken place which affected relationships between the three leaders:

- The Soviet Army was in control of much of eastern Europe – countries that had been liberated from German control.
- Stalin had set up a communist government in Poland, ignoring the wishes of the majority of the Polish people and he did not hold democratic elections as promised at Yalta.
- Roosevelt had died and been replaced by Vice-President **Harry Truman**, who was much more anti-communist and suspicious of Stalin than Roosevelt had been.
- The Americans had successfully developed and tested the first atomic bomb and planned to use it to end the war against Japan. Although the USA and the USSR had been wartime allies, the Americans did not inform Stalin about the development of this new weapon until the Potsdam Conference. Stalin was angry that he had not been told officially before this and in response he gave orders for Soviet Scientists to develop their own nuclear weapons
- Shortly after the conference started, Churchill was defeated in a general election in Britain, and was replaced by the new Labour Prime Minister, **Clement Attlee**. In the absence of Churchill, suspicion between Stalin and Truman dominated the conference.
- The four occupation zones of Germany conceived at the Yalta Conference were set up, The Soviet Union would administer the eastern Zone, while the USA, Britain and France would administer the three western zones.
- The city of Berlin, which was situated in the Soviet zone, would also be divided into four sectors. They also agreed that, although Germany was to be administered in four zones, it was to remain united and that economically they should work in cooperation with the long-term goal of keeping Germany one country

- Each Allied power was to seize reparations from its own occupation zones, although the Soviet Union was permitted 10–15 percent of the industrial equipment in the western zones of Germany in exchange for agricultural and other natural products from its zone.
- Stalin wanted Germany to pay reparations for the extensive damage that the German army had caused in the USSR during the war. He wanted to cripple Germany completely so that it would not be strong enough in the future to invade the USSR again.
- Truman, on the other hand, did not want to create a bitter and hostile Germany, which is what had happened after the First World War. This had helped Hitler and the Nazi Party to come to power in Germany
- The USA and UK recognised the communist Government in Poland in order to get Stalin to co-operate on other issues (Japan).
- Poland's boundary became the Oder and Neisse rivers in the west, and the country received part of former East Prussia. This meant moving millions of Germans in those areas to Germany
- The war with Japan ended in August 1945 when the USA dropped 2 atomic bombs on Japan: the first on Hiroshima on 6 August and a second on Nagasaki on 9 August. The Japanese surrendered unconditionally five days later. Stalin saw the dropping of the bombs on Japan as a move directed more at Russia than at Japan. He felt that the USA was trying to intimidate the USSR and as a result, his attitude became tougher towards the West.

THE USSR AND THE USA: THE CREATION OF SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

- In the atmosphere of tension and suspicion after the war, both superpowers tried to strengthen their control over parts of Europe: the USSR in Eastern Europe and the USA in western Europe. In this way they created **spheres of influence** (areas under the influence or control of a dominant country).



THE INSTALLATION OF SOVIET-FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS IN SATELLITE STATES

- The USSR feared another invasion by Germany, and wanted to create a barrier of states between the USSR and Germany
- The USSR also wanted to export the philosophy of communism to other countries to help the working class from being exploited by capitalists.
 - During the war, the USSR had annexed the independent Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and at the end of the war it annexed the eastern part of Poland— while Europe was concerned with the rehabilitation of their devastated countries.
 - In addition, the presence of the Soviet army which had liberated eastern Europe from the Nazis, ensured that Soviet friendly governments came to power in Poland (1944), Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania (1947) and East Germany (1949) after the war. These countries became known as Soviet **satellites** (a state under the strong influence of another country, they were economically and politically dependent on the Soviet Union).
 - The free elections, which the USSR had agreed at Yalta to hold in these countries, did not take place. The elections in Eastern Europe took place while the Red army still occupied those countries and Communist governments came to power.
 - A communist coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948 seemed to confirm Western suspicions that the USSR was trying to extend its control and influence— the coup overthrew the

democratic government and the Soviet Union gained a foothold in central Europe. Yugoslavia was the only communist country that remained independent of the Soviet Union.

- In the tense atmosphere that existed between the West and the Soviets, the Western allies interpreted Soviet defensive moves as a desire for expansion. They came to this conclusion as a result of the way in which the communists took control of the governments in Eastern Europe. This was evident by:
 - Initially coalition governments, which included non-communists were established in liberated territories of Eastern Europe. Before long non-communists began to be persecuted and the communists took control of key posts in these governments and were able to assert Russian dominance. This was followed by the elimination of non-communists. Eastern Europe was under Russian control.
- To the USA and Britain, it seemed that the USSR's main aim in joining the Grand Alliance during the war had been to increase Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe.
- They were also worried that communist governments would take control in the rest of Europe, especially Greece, Italy and France (where there were strong Communist parties).

THE USA'S POLICY OF CONTAINMENT: THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND THE MARSHALL PLAN

- Concerns about the extension of Soviet control led to a radical change in American foreign policy. The USA believed that the USSR wanted to establish communist governments throughout Europe and in other parts of the world.
- So, instead of returning to its traditional policy of **isolation** (US Foreign policy between the two world wars of not getting involved in world affairs), the USA became actively involved in world affairs.
- It adopted a policy of **containment** (foreign policy of the USA after the Second World War to contain the spread of communism), to contain or check the spread of communism.
- The American government believed that people who were poor and desperate were more likely to turn to communism, while people who were financially stable would embrace capitalism and the opportunities it offered.

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

- On 22 February 1946 George Kennan, an American diplomat in the USSR, send a telegram to the American government, saying that the USSR did not envisage 'permanent peaceful coexistence' with the West, and that the Soviet Government would only feel secure when the power of the USA was destroyed.
- Also, in 1946, President Truman invited Churchill, the UK's previous prime minister, to speak in the USA. Churchill expressed Western disapproval of the USSR's expansion in a speech at Fulton, Missouri.
- Churchill said: 'A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended. Behind that line lie all the states of central and eastern Europe. The communist parties have been raised to power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. This is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build. Nor is it one which allows permanent peace.'

- On 30 March 1946, the Greek Civil War broke out between communist-led guerrillas and the Greek government. Truman feared that Greece might become communist, and he was also concerned about communist movements taking control in France, Italy, Austria, Turkey and Iran.
- The Greek economy was close to collapse, and Britain and France were supplying economic aid. By 1946, Britain was no longer able to send aid to Greece and Turkey and the USA decided to take over as a similar situation had developed in Turkey. The USA believed that in both cases the USSR was supporting the communists.
- **President Truman announced the change in policy in March 1947.** In a speech to the US Congress, he said that it was the policy of the US government to actively support free people. He committed the USA to a policy of 'containment' of communism. In order to achieve this aim, the USA would have to take an active role to replace British influence. Britain had been economically crippled by WW2 and had left a large power vacuum behind, as it had to withdraw from many territories it had influenced. The USA would step into that vacuum.
- This policy of containment was called **THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE** and it became the basis of American policy during the Cold War.

THE MARSHALL PLAN

- The Marshall Plan was intended to put the Truman Doctrine into practice.
- The Marshall Plan was formulated by George Marshall, it was also called the European Recovery Programme.
- In June 1947 he unveiled the plan that would lead to the economic reconstruction of Europe under US auspices.
- The economies of most European states had collapsed after WW2. Marshall's plan was to build them up to prevent them from falling to the USSR which might take advantage of this economic chaos.
- Economic aid was thus given to all European states that wanted it. No strings were attached to the provision of this aid.
- The Marshall plan was an attempt to rebuild the economies of Western Europe to eliminate the dire economic conditions that might encourage people to turn to communism.
- Between 1948 and 1952, the USA gave 17 billion dollars of Marshall Aid to the countries of western Europe to help them to rebuild their economies.
- This included former allies, such as France and Britain, as well as former enemies, such as Germany.
- Marshall Aid helped to bring about a remarkable economic recovery in Western Europe. It was a success both economically and politically. Malnutrition disappeared in countries involved, industrial output increased and by 1953 Western Europe was flourishing and Communist parties had weakened.
- Although this plan may be seen as a charitable gesture, it was also intended to boost American trade with these states, and thus help the American economy.
- Its other main aim was to prevent the spread of Russian influence even in West Germany. Russia was seen as a greater threat to the USA than the defeated Germany was.
- Communist countries behind the Iron Curtain were also offered assistance if they wanted it. The Americans never expected this to be taken too seriously as it would allow heavy capitalist

involvement and allow America a free hand in these countries. The USSR forbade this in most cases.

CRISES IN GREECE AND TURKEY

- Britain, was in no financial position to help the Greeks after World War II, and despite a request from the Greek government for aid in 1947 was forced to turn it down.
- This prompted the US government to step in. President Truman assisted the Greek government with armaments, funds and advisors. (Truman doctrine)
- The US Congress, on hearing how the fall of Greece and Turkey might open the way for communist expansion, voted the sum of \$400 million for use in Greece and Turkey.
- The US also came to the aid of the Turkish government in opposition to the communist rebels. This ensured that the Turkish government remain in power.
- So, the US had replaced British influence in these areas, and the countries had been secured for the West.

THE SOVIET RESPONSE TO THE MARSHALL PLAN

- The Soviet Leader, Stalin, was suspicious of the aims behind the Marshall Plan. He saw it as a form of '**dollar diplomacy**' meaning that the USA was trying to buy support and political influence by having over large sums of money.
- He would not allow any of the Soviet satellites to accept it.
- The Marshall Plan increased the divisions between eastern and western Europe.

USSR'S COMINFORM AND COMECON

- Stalin wanted firm control over the Soviet's new satellite states.
- He placed Stalin loyalists in leadership positions.
- In 1947, in response to the speeches by Truman and then Marshall, Stalin created the **Communist Information Bureau**, or **Cominform**, to coordinate the communist parties of Eastern Europe in the post war years.
 - States were expected to trade primarily with Cominform members and all contact with non-communist countries was discouraged.
 - Communist parties from France and Italy were also members of Cominform.
- In 1949, in answer to the Marshall Plan, the USSR unveiled the Molotov Plan that offered Russian aid to communist countries in Europe.
- The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance or **Comecon** was formed in 1949, consisting of the USSR, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Although it went some way towards helping countries behind the Iron Curtain, it was not as successful as the Marshall Plan, simply because the USSR did not have as much money as the USA to contribute to European redevelopment.

THE BERLIN CRISES (1948 – 1961)

- Differences over Germany caused the first crisis of the Cold War.

- At Yalta/Potsdam, the Allies had agreed to divide Germany into four zones of occupation and that Berlin would also be occupied by the USSR, USA, UK and France in 4 different zones.
 - It had also been agreed that a general election would be held so that the Germans could democratically elect their own government.
 - To co-ordinate the rule of the different powers, an Allied Control Council was instituted. It was agreed that each power would collect its reparations individually from its own sector
 - The Soviet Union, whose land had been invaded and devastated twice in 30 years, wanted Germany to remain weak and divided.
 - The other Allied powers disagreed as they believed a united Germany would mean a stable Europe.
- At once a rift developed between the Allied attitude towards Germany and the Russian attitude.
 - The Allies using the Marshall Plan, began to build their sectors of Germany up.
 - Russia, having suffered badly in WW2 stripped its sector so as to recover some of its losses.
 - On 1st January 1947 the US and British zones merged into once economic unit known as Bizonia and in February 1948, the USA, Britain and France began talks to combine their zones in West Germany. This brought them into conflict with the USSR, which walked out of the Allied Control Council in March. In April, a new constitution for Germany was proposed.
 - The final dispute came over currency. There was a disagreement over which currency should be introduced in Germany and who should control it. The previous currency was worthless.
 - The Allies introduced the Deutschmark into their zones on 18 June 1948. The Russians responded with their new currency, the Ostmark. The two difference currencies were introduced into Berlin on 23 June 1948. This led to the largest crisis of post war years.

1948 – 49: The Berlin Blockade and Airlift

- Berlin was linked to the rest of Germany by roads, railways and canals.
- The Western currency became the dominant currency in Berlin and the Soviet zone currency lost its value.
- Stalin believed that this was clear evidence that the Western powers were waging economic warfare and that they had no intention of leaving Berlin.
- Stalin was angry that the USA had refused to hand over the sectors controlled by the Western powers, and the currency reform. He thought he could force the USA, Britain and France out of Berlin by cutting off all road, rail and canal supply routes to West Berlin.



- On 24th June 1948, the USSR closed all surface routes – road, rail and canal – linking Berlin to the West. This **Berlin Blockade** cut off the two and a half million citizens in West Berlin from supplies and contact with the Western zones.
- In its place the USSR sent generous rations into West Berlin in an effort to persuade its inhabitants to agree to Soviet control.
- The West did not want to risk war by forcing the USSR to lift the blockade – by using tanks to try and ram the roadblocks or railway blocks. On the other hand, they believed that to do nothing would be seen by Stalin as a sign of weakness, and would probably result in a communist takeover of the whole of Berlin.
- So they decided on a third alternative – the Berlin Airlift.
- Stalin had not closed the three air lanes through to Berlin, and so for nearly a year the West (Britain, France and America) supplied the Western sectors of Berlin by air with all requirements, including food, fuel, building materials and medical supplies.
- At the peak of the blockade, the West flew in over 1500 flights per day. On average over 4500 tons of food, medical supplies, coal and other fuel were being flown in on a daily basis.
- In May 1949, when it was clear to Stalin that the West would not give up Berlin, he called off the blockade and the land routes were reopened.
- The crisis established a tense balance between the superpowers. Berlin itself became a powerful symbol of Cold War tensions, and also a potential flashpoint of future crises.
- After this crisis, Germany was formally divided into two separate states:
 - In May 1949 the three Western zones became the German Federal Republic (or West Germany), with Bonn as its capital. West Berlin was included as part of West Germany, its first leader was Konrad Adenauer.
 - In October 1949, the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic (or East Germany), with East Berlin as its capital. Its first leader was Walter Ulbricht.
 - The allied aim of keeping Germany united had failed. Germany was to remain divided for the next 40 years.
 - In 1958 the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, demanded that the West hand over Berlin to East Germany. The West ignored these demands, and Khrushchev did nothing to enforce them.
 - Khrushchev's response seemed to indicate that relations between the USA and the USSR were improving.
 - In March 1960 Khrushchev and US President **Eisenhower** met in Paris to discuss the future of Berlin.
 - However, the USSR cancelled the meeting when an American spy plane was shot down while it was flying over the USSR. The plane had been photographing military installations there.



- At first the US government strongly denied any knowledge of such a plane, but when the Soviet authorities produced both the equipment and the pilot, the Americans were forced to admit their involvement.
- President Eisenhower refused to apologise for the incident, even though the USA was embarrassed at being caught spying.
- So Khrushchev stormed out of the Paris meeting in protest.
- Many people criticised American actions as irresponsible at such a sensitive time.
- The incident increased the tensions between the superpowers once again and left the issue of Berlin unresolved.

1961: the building of the Berlin Wall

- John F Kennedy was elected as the American president in 1961 and he resumed talks with Khrushchev in June 1961 but they could not agree on what to do about Berlin.
- The question of the movement across the border was raised again and Ulbricht appealed for the borders between East and West Germany to be closed.
- Khrushchev demanded that Western allied troops be removed by the end of 1961. Kennedy increased the size of the American armed forces.
- The West was determined to hold on to West Berlin as a bastion of capitalism.
- Since the creation of East Germany in 1949, over two million East Germans had fled to the West, many of them young and highly skilled.
- By July 1961 about ten thousand people a week were leaving for the higher standard of living and greater freedom which the West offered.
- The USSR viewed this as a challenge to Soviet control in Eastern Europe. It wanted to stop the loss of people, and the skills they took with them to the West. The exodus began to threaten the sustainability of East German industries, and therefore its economy.
- In August 1961, the East German authorities, with Soviet backing, sealed the crossing points between East and West Berlin were sealed with barbed wire and tanks, cutting the city in half overnight.
- They then began to build a wall to divide East and West Berlin.
- The West was powerless to prevent the building of the Wall, they realised that Russia could not be stopped legally from constructing a wall to keep its zone separate. They also realised that they could knock the wall down but this could lead to all-out war.
- But the status of West Berlin remained unchanged, an island of capitalism and democracy surrounded by East Germany.
- This high, fortified Berlin Wall, with its machine-gun posts and searchlights, stopped the flow of refugees.
- Over 5000 people tried to escape through, over and under the Berlin Wall in order to get out of East Germany and into West Berlin. More than 600 people were killed in the attempt.



- On 22 October 1961 there was a dispute at **Checkpoint Charlie** over the travel documents of an American diplomat, and tension was high as American and Soviet tanks faced each other 100 meters apart. However, a joint withdrawal was organised by both sides.
- In 1963, Kennedy visited West Berlin showing the USA's commitment to West Berlin. There he made a historic speech in which he uttered the now famous words, 'Ich bin ein Berliner!' (I am a Berliner).
- This speech was a major morale booster for the West Germans. It gave a strong message to the Soviet Union and dashed Moscow's hopes of driving the allies out of West Berlin.
- Two months later, Kennedy negotiated the first nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union, in what was seen as the first step towards improving relations between East and West.

OPPOSING MILITARY ALLIANCES: NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT

- The tension between the superpowers led to the creation of two military alliances.
- As part of its policy of containment, the USA formed a military alliance with its allies (Canada, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Norway and Iceland), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949.
- In response, the USSR and its allies formed the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (Warsaw Pact).

1949: THE FORMATION OF NATO

- After the Berlin blockade, the USA was even more concerned that the USSR wanted to extend communist control over western Europe. They were aware too that the military strength of the Soviet Union was much greater than the combined strength of the armed forces of western Europe, unless they had American support.
- So the US decided to form a military alliance with its western European allies, and commit to keeping US forces in readiness in these countries in case of a Soviet attack.
- As a result, in 1949, a joint Western defence alliance, **NATO**, was formed. NATO had its headquarters in Paris. The USA provided most of the forces and weapons for it and set up military bases in Britain, Spain, Italy, Greece and Turkey.
- NATO members agreed that an armed attack against any of the signature nations in Europe or North America would be deemed as an attack against all of them, and each nation could determine the form of support that it would provide.
- The West viewed NATO as a form of protection against Soviet expansion and the spread of communism – a defensive alliance.
- However, the USSR saw it as yet another attempt by the USA to increase its influence in Europe and, eventually perhaps, to attack the Soviet Union.
- Greece and Turkey joined NATO in 1952 and West Germany joined in 1955.
- France withdrew from NATO in 1966 - President de Gaulle withdrew because he wanted France to have its own nuclear weapons programme and a more independent foreign policy.
- As a result, NATO headquarters moved from Paris to Brussels in Belgium.
- **American foreign policy after WW2 had three main aims:**
 - The Truman Doctrine: the belief and plan that communists should be stopped.
 - The Marshall Plan: the economic plan to stop communism
 - NATO: the military force to stop communism

- The spheres of influence of the superpowers stretched beyond Europe. The West formed other anti- communist alliances, linked to NATO:
- **SEATO** (South East Asia Treaty Organisation) was formed in 1954. It included three Asian nations (the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan) together with the USA, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand. Other newly independent Asian states refused to be drawn in.
- **CENTO** (Central Treaty Organisation) was formed in the Middle East in 1955. It included pro-Western states such as Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey, together with the USA and Britain.

1955: THE FORMATION OF THE WARSAW PACT

- The USSR felt threatened when West Germany was allowed to join NATO in 1955. The USSR feared that this could lead to the growth of militarism in Germany once again.
- Shortly after this on 14 May 1955, the USSR arranged for its satellite states to sign the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.
- This treaty was commonly called the **Warsaw Pact**, as it was signed in Warsaw.
- The Warsaw Pact was signed by East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania.
- As part of the Warsaw Pact agreement, Soviet troops remained in most Warsaw Pact countries.
- It was estimated that the Warsaw Pact could raise six million men at any one time.
- The West saw the Warsaw pact as a necessary counter alliance to NATO and as means by which the Soviet Union could maintain its control over Eastern Europe.
- The USSR experienced problems when some Warsaw pact members later threatened to withdraw, as Hungary did in 1956.
- Hungarians protested against their government. The uprising was crushed by soviet troops and 2500 Hungarians were killed
- In 1962, the USSR placed nuclear missiles in Cuba, near the USA and for 13 tense days the world was close to a nuclear war. The USA and USSR reached an agreement and the USSR withdrew its missiles from Cuba and the USA promised not to invade Cuba. The USA also agreed to remove their missiles in Turkey but this agreement was never made public.
- In 1967 Israel and Egypt fought over territory in the Middle East. The USSR which had previously supported both regimes, took Egypt's side, and told its satellite states to break off relations with Israel
- In 1968, the Communist party in Czechoslovakia attempted to liberalise the communist regime in Czechoslovakia. Soldiers from other Warsaw Pact countries crushed this rebellion.
- In 1968, after suppressing the revolt in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet government announced the **Brezhnev Doctrine**, named after the Soviet leader at the time – this was the basis of Soviet Foreign policy, giving the USSR the right to intervene in satellite states.
- Brezhnev made it clear that any that is any Warsaw Pact country turned towards capitalism, the others would force it to return to communism.
- This defined a Soviet bloc country as a socialist one-party state belonging to the Warsaw pact. It stated that the Warsaw Pact had the right to intervene in any member state which threatened to break away from the block.



ADDENDUM

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE BERLIN CRISIS CONTRIBUTE TO COLD WAR TENSIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) AND THE SOVIET UNION (USSR) AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR?

SOURCE 1A

The source below explains how the United States of America (USA) and the Soviet Union (USSR) attempted to resolve the crises in Berlin in the 1960s.

Looking for a **way to stop the flow of people from east to west** and a means to check the growing military power of West Germany, Khrushchev insisted in his November 1958 speech that it was time for the United States to pull out of the city. The west interpreted his speech as an **ultimatum**, and U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower became determined not to give in to Soviet demands. Instead, the two sides opened a foreign minister's conference at Geneva in 1959 and attempted to negotiate a new Berlin agreement. Khrushchev wanted the Western garrisons out of West Berlin as a precursor (sign) to reunifying the city. Still, Eisenhower believed that protecting the freedom of West Berlin required an ongoing U.S. presence.

Although Khrushchev and Eisenhower made some progress toward mutual understanding during talks at Camp David in the United States in 1959, relations became tense after the Soviet Union shot down an American U-2 spy plane canvassing (campaigning) Soviet territory in 1960. In the wake of this incident, there appeared to be little hope for accommodation.

In the summer of 1961, President John F. Kennedy met with Khrushchev in Vienna to address the ongoing issue of Berlin and the countries' competing interests in Laos and disarmament. Although they agreed to further discussions on Laos, they found no solution to the Berlin problem.

Khrushchev once again gave the United States six months to withdraw from Berlin. Kennedy responded by activating 150,000 reservists and increasing defense expenditures in preparation for a potential conflict over the city's future. Unwilling to face a potential nuclear escalation over the city, Khrushchev prepared to take his own action form.

[From <https://www.history.state.gov/>berlin-crises-1958-1961>. Accessed on 11 February 2023.]

1.1 Use Source 1A.

1.1.1 State TWO reasons from the source why in 1958 Khrushchev insisted that the United States pull out of Berlin. (2 x 1) (2)

1.1.2 Define the concept *ultimatum* in your own words (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 Quote TWO pieces of evidence from the source to confirm how the following had different views on what should happen to West Berlin.

(a) Khrushchev (1 x 1) (1)

(b) Eisenhower

(1 x 1) (1)

1.1.4

Explain what is implied by the words, 'Unwilling to face a potential nuclear escalation over the city, Khrushchev prepared to take his own action form' in the context of the crisis in Berlin.

(1 x 2) (2)

SOURCE 1C1B

The source below is a part of the Berlin Wall speech that John Kennedy the President of United States of America (USA) delivered at Rudolph Wilde Platz, on 26 June 1963 in West Berlin. It focuses on how Kennedy expressed solidarity with the people of Berlin.

I am proud to come to the city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolised throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed. Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was 'civis Romanus sum.' (I am a Roman citizen) Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is 'Ich bin ein Berliner.' (I am a Berliner) I appreciate my interpreter translating my German!

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the Free World and the Communist World. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen. (Let them come to Berlin). Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us.

While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system, for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is, as your Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

[From [https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/berlin-w-germany-](https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/berlin-w-germany-rudolph-wilde-platz-19630626)

[rudolph-wilde-platz-19630626](https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/berlin-w-germany-rudolph-wilde-platz-19630626). Accessed on 11 February 2023.]



1.2 Refer to Source 1B.

- 1.2.1 Which sectors, according to the source were affected by East German authorities to regulate movement in Berlin? (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.2.2 Why do you think the United States rejected the Soviet's action of limiting the freedom of movement in Berlin? (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.3 Quote evidence from the source that suggests the reason why there was an exodus of people from East Germany. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.4 Explain the implication of the statement, 'The United States Government expects the Soviet Government to put an end to these illegal measures,' in Berlin. (1 x 2) (2)

SOURCE 1C

The source below is a part of the Berlin Wall speech that John Kennedy the President of United States of America (USA) delivered at Rudolph Wilde Platz, on 26 June 1963 in West Berlin. It focuses on how Kennedy expressed solidarity with the people of Berlin.

I am proud to come to the city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolised throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed. Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was 'civis Romanus sum.' (I am a Roman citizen) Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is 'Ich bin ein Berliner.' (I am a Berliner) I appreciate my interpreter translating my German!

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the Free World and the Communist World. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen. (Let them come to Berlin). Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us.

While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system, for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is, as your Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

[From <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/berlin-w-germany-rudolph-wilde-platz-19630626>. Accessed on 11 February 2023.]



1.3 Study Source 1C.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-------------|
| 1.3.1 | According to the source, why did President Kennedy visit the city of Berlin on the 26 June 1963? | (1 x 1) (1) |
| 1.3.2 | Explain the concept <i>communism</i> in the context of President Kennedy's Berlin Wall speech. | (1 x 2) (2) |
| 1.3.3 | Comment on what you think the statement implied, 'the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner" (I am a Berliner)', in the context of the United States' reaction to the building of the Berlin Wall. | boast |

(2 x 2) (4)

1.3.4 Identify THREE offenses according to the Mayor of Berlin that resulted from the construction of the Berlin Wall. (3 x 1) (3)

1.3.5 Explain the reliability of this source to a historian researching on the reaction of the United States of America to the construction of the Berlin Wall. (2 x 2) (4)

SOURCE 1D

The source below is an American cartoon by Don Wright, which was published in the *Miami Herald* in 1961. It depicts the Soviet leader Khrushchev standing on top of the Berlin Wall proclaiming that the East Berliners are happy to stay on the communist side.



1.4 Consult Source 1D.

1.4.1 Explain the messages conveyed by the cartoonist regarding the Berlin Wall. (2 x 2) (4)

- 1.4.2 Comment on the significance of the words, 'See how many are staying on our side' in the context of building the Berlin Wall.

(2 x 2) (4)

- 1.5 Study Sources 1C and 1D. Explain how the evidence in Source 1C supports the information in Source 1D regarding the United States' response to the construction of the Berlin Wall.

(2 x 2) (4)

- 1.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how the Berlin Crisis contributed to Cold War tensions between the United States of America (USA) and the Soviet Union (USSR) after the Second World War.

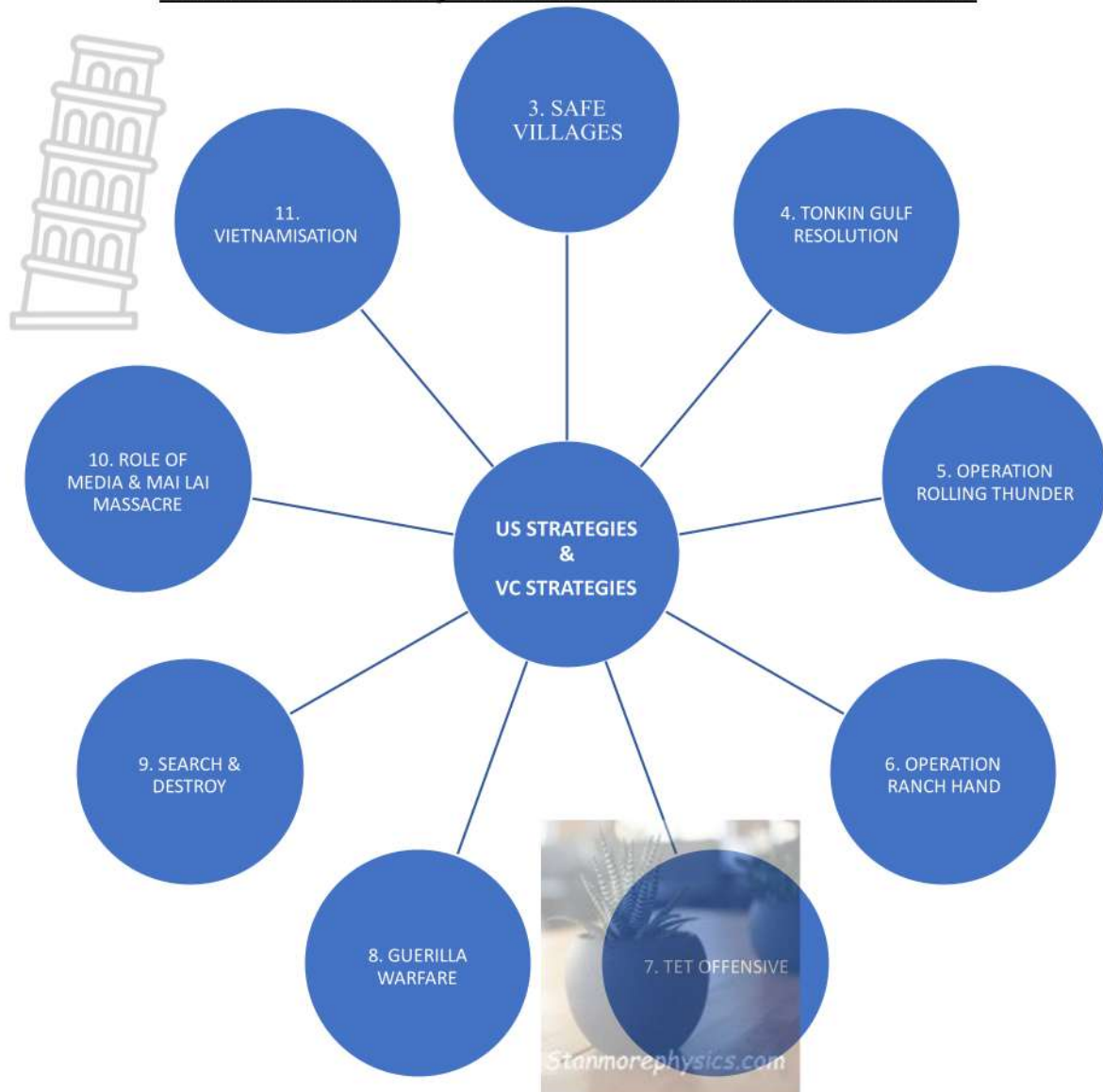
(8)

[50]

EXTENSION OF THE COLD WAR: CASE STUDY – VIETNAM



How a small country like Vietnam was able to defeat USA



REASONS FOR THE WAR

After the Indo China war, at the Geneva conference it was agreed that Vietnam would be **temporarily divided into North Vietnam and South Vietnam along the 17th parallel**, and that the country would be united after elections in 1956.

- N.V was under communist rule led by Ho Chi Minh with the S.V under capitalist rule led by a corrupt leader

A map showing the division of Vietnam as stated in the Geneva Accord.

Ngo Din Diem. America became involved in the Vietnam War because of the fear of 'Domino Theory'.



- This was a belief that if Vietnam became Communist, they were sure that neighbouring countries (e.g. Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Indonesia) would become communist also.
- Policy of containment was then implemented to stop this theory, using different strategies which were all a dismal failure **because of the VC unconventional tactics and strategies.**



Above: An illustration depicting the "domino theory" in South East Asia.

US FAILED STRATEGIES IN CONTAINING THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM

- **Safe village system/Strategic hamlet/Villagisation**

The USA and South Vietnamese government created new fortified villages for South Vietnamese peasants in an attempt to separate them from the communist forces. The 'safe village' system was a failure because **peasants were believing on ancestral worship**, and the Vietcong were able to **enter the safe villages and capture peasants weapons thus influencing them with communism**. This made this strategy to be ineffective and it was later abandoned in 1963.

- **Gulf of Tonkin resolution**

President Johnson took a completely different approach to Vietnam after the gulf of Tonkin incident. At first he just continued the policy of using military "advisers", and he believed that the war would be won more quickly with an increase in American involvement. Consequently, he sent over half a million US soldiers to Vietnam, however soldiers that were sent were **inexperienced, some were young and they were in fear moreover they were not familiar with the land and weather in Vietnam**. This was an indication that America was going to lose the war against a small country like Vietnam since their enemy the VC were used in the art of guerrilla warfare.

- **Operation rolling thunder**

In 1965, the US launched **Operation Rolling Thunder**. The aim was to end the North Vietnamese support for the Vietcong by bombing Ho Chi Minh trail and to bomb North Vietnamese military and industrial targets. As the war intensified selective bombing was replaced with **saturation bombing** – meaning bombs were dropped on everything. The bombing caused large numbers of civilian deaths and a great deal of damage to towns, cities and infrastructure. **This was not a success against the VC as they had underground bunkers** and the HO Chi Minh trail was underground covered by vegetation, so this strategy was a hit & miss. Furthermore, Russia and China replaced places that were destroyed during this bombing, **rendering this strategy to be ineffective** against a small country like Vietnam. Another major

contributing factor which led to this strategy to be a hit & miss was that the land in Vietnam had a thick jungle therefore the Ho Chi Minh trail and other supply bases were underground.

- **Operation ranch hand**

In order to flush out the VC, the US adopted *Operation Ranch Hand* in 1962. They would continue with it until 1971, using a chemical defoliant called **Agent Orange** to destroy the dense jungle around the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and an arsenical herbicide called **Agent Blue** to destroy their food supplies. **Napalm**, a chemical which burned flesh through to the bone, was also widely used by the US. The campaign proved to be **unsuccessful** as it failed to destroy the VC. It also led to the failure of the US policy to 'win the hearts and minds' of the peasants, who instead started to increase their support for the VC. Furthermore, the VC used underground bunkers as their hideout; they had storages, food and ammunition underground, **this made this strategy to be ineffective**. As a result, this strategy made the US to be unpopular as it **caused various diseases such as cancer** to the Vietnamese. This was a symbol that America as a superpower was going to fail dismally to defeat a small country like Vietnam because of the VC unconventional strategies.

- **TET offensive**

The surprise attack launched by North Vietnam and Vietcong to Americans was called the 'Tet Offensive' in 1968. Tet is a religious festival. During Tet there was an agreement of ceasefire. In January 1968 (during Tet festivities) the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese **launched a surprise attack on about 100 cities and towns**. They even **entered Saigon and captured the American embassy for six and half hours proving that the VC were very strategic**. These attacks were well planned and coordinated. The Americans South Vietnamese government was surprised by attack but fought back Tet Offensive is regarded as a turning point in the Vietnam War, because even though Viet Cong losses were high, but USA's commitment to the war changed Although the Americans and South Vietnamese fought back, they were shaken by the attacks. The attack showed that the Vietcong could strike in the heart of American-held territory and had **badly affected American military**.

- **Guerrilla warfare**

It became increasingly difficult to stop the VC. They did not use conventional war strategies. Instead, they adopted **guerrilla tactics**, operating in the thick, dense jungles, setting up a vast amount of **booby traps**, and killing many US soldiers. Their tactics were highly effective against the **young inexperienced US troops** who did not know the landscape, and were trained to fight in a conventional war. The VC were extremely difficult to find because they **did not wear uniforms**, they had **no bases or camps**, and they **disappeared into a network of tunnels**. The use of guerrilla tactics against the US resulted to the Americans **having low military morale and the booby traps inspired fear among the US soldiers**. The narrow tunnels made it difficult for the much bigger American soldiers to crawl into them. This proved to be hard for Americans to be able to defeat Vietcong.

- **Search and destroy**

America also got involved in a military strategy known as Search and Destroy Policy and it was **ineffective because of the VC tactics and strategies**. The purpose of this American policy was to find an enemy and destroy him. The problem, however, was that it was hard to identify the enemy from the locals. This policy was a failure because **Vietnamese and VC they look alike**, innocent civilians were often victims of the bombs while rebels escaped. The **VC contributed largely to the failure of this strategy because they were normal peasants during the day, but during the night they were guerrilla fighters**. All attempts by the mighty USA to contain communism were failing dismally because of the VC.

• **ROLE OF MEDIA**

The media played a crucial role in the Vietnam War by capturing mass killings that were done by the US soldiers at **Mai Lai village**. Pictures and videos of these killings were **spread all over and they tarnished the image of the USA**. American public responded negatively to the American involvement in the Vietnam War thus **making USA strategies ineffective**, they made protests and anti-war demonstrations for America to withdraw from the war. After much pressure from the American public and the failure to defeat the Vietcong, President Nixon came up with **WHAM policy** (Winning the Hearts and Minds of the Vietnamese) this signalled the failure of the USA to stop Vietnam from becoming a communist state. The withdrawal of soldiers from Vietnam was a sign that USA had failed to defeat a small country like Vietnam

• **VIETNAMISATION**

President Nixon's Vietnamisation policy (including WHAM) was an attempt by the USA to withdraw from the Vietnam War and 'save face' but still supply financial aid to the South Vietnamese. USA withdrew all troops by 1973 and North Vietnam took control of Saigon in 1975. **The North Vietnam and South Vietnam was united into a communist state** and this was a symbol that the policy of containment had **failed dismally to stop the domino theory**. Therefore, the Domino Theory happened because neighboring countries fell to communism after USA was defeated. In the war the Vietcong were fighting to liberate their country and to defend it against outside interference and unite it into a communist rule (**Vietnamese perspective**) whereas the USA was fighting to stop the spread of domino effect (**US perspective**) however the USA failed to defeat a small country like Vietnam because of the Vietcong creativity and unconventional strategies.

WRITING AN ESSAY

STEP 1

The conventional warfare strategy adopted by the United States of America was overpowered by the guerrilla tactics used by the Viet Cong during the Vietnamese War between 1965 and 1975.

Critically discuss the statement above and use relevant evidence to support your line of argument

- The statement highlight that USA used Conventional strategies.
- The statement also highlight that Vietcong were able to overpower the US strategies.

- Taking into consideration the above, one must decide using historical knowledge whether **the above statement is true or not and then take a stance.**
- It is of paramount importance to provide evidence of the **Conventional strategies by the USA** as well as the **Countermeasures by the VC that overpowered the Americans**
- Each and every paragraph **must highlight what both sides (US & VC) did**, that gave advantage one party over the other.

STEP 2

Writing an introduction

Always remember that a history essay should be **factual, not personal**. It is never about your opinion; therefore, you should never use the word “I”. Since you are using facts to support your argument, it makes it a fact and therefore no longer an opinion.

Example of introduction

Historians have proven that the conventional warfare strategy adopted by the United States of America was overpowered by the guerrilla tactics used by the Viet Cong during the Vietnamese War between 1965 and 1975, this was mainly because the Vietcong's were used and experienced in the art of guerrilla warfare and they fought an unconventional war on the terrain that they knew, as a result they were able to overpower the Americans using their strategies such as Tet Offensive and Guerrilla warfare. This essay will also outline the strategies that were made ineffective by the VC such as operation rolling thunder.

OR

One would agree with the statement that says the conventional warfare strategy adopted by the United States of America was overpowered by the guerrilla tactics used by the Vietcong during the Vietnamese War between 1965 and 1975, this is because all the strategies by the US were a dismal failure because of the VC, strategies such as Search and destroy policy was rendered ineffective by the use of guerrilla warfare strategy by the Vietcong who knew the land of Vietnam

STEP 3

Once your introduction is complete you have to elaborate on the proof that you presented in your introduction. The factual evidence included must be used **to motivate/prove your argument**. Remember, an essay is “extended writing”, which means you must include all relevant detail and information. The more detailed your information, the stronger your argument becomes. Therefore, you should not summarise the content for your essay, but rather include each and every date, name, and detail.

Chronology is important in History; therefore, dates are your way of showing chronological order. Make sure that your dates follow a logical sequence and are correct. Avoid emotive language and personalising content. You are writing as an objective and clinical academic and therefore your characterisations and opinions are irrelevant and, in this context, actually incorrect.

Each paragraph has **a central idea** which is **substantiated and linked to the question**. Write in full sentences, and do not use slang or your own abbreviations. You may use **legitimate abbreviations** after you have first used the full name and then inserted/introduced the abbreviation in brackets thereafter. You may then continue to use the abbreviation for the rest of your essay, for example, National Liberation Front (NLF).

You will always start your elaboration with a paragraph or two of important **background information** to allow the reader to understand the origins of the event/topic being argued

Body

An essay must have background information to allow the reader to understand the origins of the event/topic being argued.

Background information: **The learner must highlight why the Vietnam War broke out and elaborate about the state in Vietnam.**

Example of background information

After the Indochinese war it was decided that Vietnam be temporarily divided into North and South Vietnam along the 17th parallel and that the country would be united after elections in 1956. The Vietnam War was an extension of the Cold War; therefore, America became involved in the war because they were afraid of the **domino theory**. This was a belief that if one country falls to communism then all the neighbouring countries will fall to communism, consequently the US initiated a policy of containment to try and to stop communism in Vietnam by implementing different strategies, **however all their attempts were ineffective** because of the unconventional tactics by the Vietcong. **[LINK]**

At the end of each content paragraph, you must include a **linking sentence** that “links” that specific information back to the argument statement you made in your introduction. In other words, **you are explaining how the information in that paragraph helps to prove your argument statement**. This linking sentence is known as a **Line of Argument (LOA)**.

STEP 4

How to create a linking sentence?

Use your argument statement to help you create your linking sentence. If your argument states that “*the tactics and strategies that the United States of America used between 1963 and 1975 against the Vietcong during the war in Vietnam were, to a greater extent, a dismal failure*”, then you must ask yourself “**How does my evidence relate to this statement?**”. In order for you to answer this question, it is of the utmost importance that you know and understand the evidence you provide in each paragraph. When studying your essay, you should create summary key words to describe what each paragraph is about. This will help you to easily create your linking sentences

Example: Tonkin gulf resolution – increased American involvement in the war, young and inexperienced soldiers

If you look at the above, you will see that it focuses on the US increasing their military personnel in Vietnam, It also explains that soldiers **were not trained for the war on.**

You have still not yet explained how the tactics and strategies of America were a dismal failure; but you have mentioned that the American’s sent their army, so you can easily link it back to your introductory argument by stating that the Vietnamese would win this war, showing that America’s tactics and strategies failed and they were not effective because the young soldiers that were sent, were going to fight against experienced Vietcong who had fought the war before.

You will continue this pattern of linking the content of each paragraph to your introductory argument. **Please Note:** Because your linking sentences links the evidence from each paragraph to your argument, for each Vietnam essay that you write, your linking sentences will be different because the structure of the question will be different. **Remember, without your linking sentences, your Line of Argument (LOA) is not sustained and you will be penalised heavily for omitting it.** Your LOA begins with your introduction, threads through your essay in the form of links, and then ends with your conclusion.

STEP 5 WRITING CONCLUSION

Your conclusion is where you *re-establish your argument*; therefore, it should mirror your introduction in that it must show that your LOA has come to full circle. Remember, at this point you have adequately proven your line of argument and therefore you don’t need to present any new evidence in your conclusion, i.e. no new facts. Also remember, like in your introduction and proven evidence, you *never personalise your conclusion*, i.e. **do not use the word “I”**.

Your conclusion will look as follows:

In conclusion the above-mentioned evidence have proven that, the conventional warfare strategy adopted by the United States of America was overpowered by the guerrilla tactics used by the Viet Cong during the Vietnamese War between 1965 and 1975. This is evident not only in the fact that America withdrew from Vietnam; but Vietnam officially became a communist state in 1975.

ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. The conventional warfare strategy adopted by the United States of America was overpowered by the guerrilla tactics used by the Viet Cong during the Vietnamese War between 1965 and 1975.

Critically discuss the statement above and use relevant evidence to support your line of argument

2. "Search and destroy" was the only strategy that the USA used to contain communism in Vietnam.

Do you agree? Use your relevant evidence to support your line of argument.

3. Explain to what extent the USA lost the in Vietnam 1962 – 1975 due to the unconventional strategies of guerrilla warfare and environmental factors on the battlefield.

Example of using peel method for safe village system paragraph

(Point) Safe village system an American strategy that failed dismally, **(Explanation)** This strategy included the forceful removal of the peasants to the safe villages in order to isolate them from the influence of communism. **(Evidence)** Safe villages failed because the peasants believed on ancestral worship, and it failed because the VC were strategic as they were able to enter and continue influencing peasants with communism, rendering safe villages ineffective. **(LINK)** Indeed safe village system failed to contain communism in vietnam because of the VC tactics and strategies, moreover America increased their involvement in the war

Introduction:

- Respond to the question
- Contextualise your argument statement.

Example of Introduction

One would disagree with the statement that says, "Search and destroy" was the only strategy that the USA used in Vietnam to contain communism. The US in their attempt to contain communism in Vietnam implemented different strategies that were not successful because of the tactics and strategies of the Vietcong. Strategies such as Operation rolling thunder search and destroy and others were not effective against the trained guerrillas.

Paragraph 5: Operation rolling thunder

- US launched Operation Rolling Thunder (1965) to cut the VC off from their supplies via the Ho Chi Minh Trail.
- Policy of Bombing North Vietnam → where extensive bombing raids on military and industrial targets in North Vietnam took place until 1972.
- Unsuccessful → didn't stop the VC, it only slowed down their supplies.
- VC had underground bunkers

EXAMPLE OF PARAGRAPH 5

The mighty USA continuously tried to defeat the Vietcong by implementing Operation rolling thunder in 1965. This strategy aimed to destroy the supply bases, ports and Ho Chi Minh trail that were used to supply the VC with supplies (food, weapons). **Operation rolling thunder was a dismal failure because the Ho Chi Minh trail was underground covered by the jungle, it**

also failed because the VC were living underground as they had underground bunkers and they used a vast network of underground tunnels that moved all over Vietnam. Therefore, operation rolling thunder didn't stop the VC, it only slowed down their supplies.

LOA EXAMPLE

Indeed, the above information have proved that search and destroy was not the only strategy that USA used in their attempt to contain communism, however they did not give up but they opted to use another tactic.

Conclusion

- Tie up your argument with a relevant conclusion
- Restate your stance
- don't include new information

Example of conclusion

Conclusively the above information has proven that "search and destroy" was not the only strategy that the USA used to contain communism in Vietnam, but there were many strategies which were not effective against the strategic VC who knew the land in Vietnam, therefore the mighty USA failed dismally to defeat a small country like Vietnam.

Example of conclusion for essay 3

Therefore, the above information have discussed that indeed the USA lost the war in Vietnam 1962 – 1975 due to the unconventional strategies of guerrilla warfare and environmental factors on the battlefield, even though the VC had no weapons and artillery of their own but they were able to use knowledge of the terrain to their advantage.

THE US CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE 1960s

BASIC CONCEPTS APPLICABLE TO THIS CHAPTER

1. **Civil rights** – are the rights of citizen to political, social freedom and equality.
2. **Activists** – these are people involved in protest action.
3. **African American** –this term refers to any American of African descent living in America.
4. **Jim Crow laws**- these were the laws of segregation in the Southern states.

5. **Jim Crow Etiquette** – refers to the way in which African American were treated as if they were inferior.
6. **Ku Klux Klan**- an organisation in the USA that believes in white supremacy and uses violence to fight against integration.
7. **Integration** – the intermixing of people from groups that were previously Segregated.
8. **Civil Right Movement**- A movement in the USA working towards equal rights for Black Americans, active during 1960's.
9. **Human Rights**- A right which is believed to belong to every person from day of birth, e.g. the right to live
10. **Segregation**- Separation of races socially and politically
11. **Constitution**- A set of fundamental rules and regulations according to which a country is governed
12. **Discrimination**- Unfair /Unequal treatment of people

INTRODUCTION/BACKGROUND

Civil rights are protection and privileges given to all citizens by the law. Civil rights are given by nations to their citizens within their territorial boundaries.

Human rights, on the other hand are rights that individual have from birth. When citizens in the society find that their civil rights are not being granted, they may form civil rights movement, which are a series of protests to claim their rights, equal protection for all citizens. They may also call for new laws to stop the current discrimination. Protests may be in the form of boycotts, marches, stayaways, strikes, demonstrations and civil disobedience like sit-ins.



African Americans in the USA had been set free from slavery back in 1863, however they were still suffering discrimination and police brutality. They still lived under poor conditions, which led to them showing their dissatisfaction through a series of protests, which began in the late 1950s to the 1960s.

The US Civil Rights Movement (1955-1960)

1. Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955-1956)
2. Role of Martin Luther King Junior (1957-1960)
3. Sit-in and other form of protests: (1960. Freedom Rides (1961), The Birmingham Campaign (1963), March on Washington (1963), Freedom summer (1964). By the end of 1950s:
 - Most facilities in the South remained segregated.
 - African Americans impatient for change
 - Inspired by Anti-Colonial struggles in Africa

- Sit-in's Campaigns:
- Started by SNCC
- 1960, the first sit-in was in Greensboro, North Carolina
- Black students from colleges in North Carolina started a sit-in movement in the Woolworths department store. This store served white customers who sat at the lunch counter, but only served takeaways for black customers.
- The black customers sat at the Lunch counter and asked to be served coffee, but the store refused.
- So, they sat at the lunch counter the whole day and returned to sit the next day
- The Woolworths sit-in spread to other Woolworths stores in the south.

Sit-in were combined with boycotts which caused the store to lose lots of money in loss of sales.

Nashville also embarked on sit-in, Tennessee and other cities and town across the south. 70 000 students took part in similar protests (kneel-in in churches, read-in in libraries, play _in in parks, wade _in in beaches)

This became a nationwide campaign of no-violent protests



The Aim: desegregation of public facilities.



Freedom Rides

- In 1961 the group of white and African Americans called Freedom Riders started targeting segregated interstate buses.
- They sponsored by the CORE or

NSCC

- Many freedom riders were attacked by white mobs trying to preserve segregation and



this was often condoned (encouraged) by the police.

- Buy November 1961 all interstate buses and bus terminals were desegregated.

James Meredith

- The first black student to enrol at University of

Mississippi which racially segregated.

- Accompanied by 500 federal marshals
- Inspired by Kennedy's inaugural address, Meredith decided to exercise his constitutional rights and applied to the University
- His goal was to put pressure on Kennedy's administration and to enforce civil rights for the African American.

The Birmingham Campaign, 3 April 1963

- The Birmingham Campaign took place on 3 April 1963.
- It was organised by Martin Luther King Jr's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the local Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Organisers led the protests, sit-ins and a boycott of local businesses to highlight the injustice that African American citizens of Alabama and Birmingham faced.
- They demanded equal employment opportunities, desegregation of Birmingham downtown stores, as well as the establishment a bi-racial committee to deal with racial issues of Birmingham amongst other things.
- The local police led by Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene "Bull" Connor, responded violently, with mass arrests against peaceful non-violent protesters.
- The police used dogs, billy clubs, fire hoses and mass arrests to stop the protesters.
- These images of brutal police response led to national outburst, as well as sympathy from liberal Whites and internationally for the Civil Rights Movement.
- The media attention this campaign received forced the Government to make some concessions like releasing all the arrested protestors, desegregating Birmingham downtown stores as well as the establishment of the Birmingham bi-racial Committee to deal with racial issues.
- These concessions eventually led to passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

The Lincoln Memorial March, 28 August 1963

- The Lincoln Memorial March, or the Washington March for Jobs and Freedom as it is popularly known, took place on 28 August 1963.
- It was co-ordinated by Martin Luther King Jr, the SCLC and fellow rights activist, Phillip Randolph.
- Although they wanted to celebrate 100 years since emancipation, they also wanted to highlight inequality and injustices that African Americans experienced.

- About 250000 people attended the march, showing the big support the Civil Rights Movement had.
- Out of the twelve speakers, Martin Luther King Jnr became the keynote speaker, with his "I Have A Dream" speech, which spoke of equality and justice for all races.
- This eventually led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Freedom Summer Project

- Freedom Summer also known as Mississippi Summer Project ,1964
- A voter registration drive aimed at increasing the number of registered black voters in Mississippi
- Over 70 000 mostly white volunteers joined African Americans
- These events were covered on television
- Focus was also on the establishment of freedom schools and community centres to increase literacy, combat the lack of education
- Teach about black history and culture
- As well provide legal and medical advice.
- There was violent reaction from Southern whites.
- Black churches were bombed, volunteers beaten and some murdered and arrested.



The Selma to Montgomery Marches

- Voter registration had been very slow due to literacy tests and intimidation of black voters
- Alerted on 1st February 1965-250 people led by KING and Ralph Abernathy marched to Selma Courthouse
- Leaders were arrested and jailed for 5 days. On 2 March the march from Selma to Montgomery (capital of Alabama)
- Armed troops, instructed by **Jim Clark, - notorious brutal racist sheriff**, attacked with teargas, batons and whips.
- This was broadcast nationally,50 people injured on 9 March on reaching the Edmund Pettus Bridge, state troopers approached and King decided to turn back to avoid confrontation
- On 25 March 1965-3rd March was completed, made possible by protection provided by 4000 state troopers send by President Johnson.

On 06 August 1965- **Voting rights Act** was signed by Johnson-removing all obstacles to voting.

Short and long-term gains of the Civil Rights Movement

- As President Johnson signed Voting Rights Act into law in 1965.
- Martin Luther King Junior had mobilised thousands of black and white Americans to participate in campaigns of civil disobedience between 1955 and 1965.
- The signing of 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Act were important gains for Civil Rights Movement
- Civil Rights Movement arguably ended racial segregation in South.
- Prejudice did not disappear with new legislation and African Americans still faced racial discrimination.
- Many African Americans rejected Martin Luther King Junior's philosophy of nonviolence
- They believed that a more militant approach to white racism was necessary and adopted the slogan 'Black Power.'

About the Little Rock Nine

Minnijean Brown, Elizabeth Eckford, Carlotta Walls, Mayor Wagner, Thelma Mothershed, Gloria Ray, Terrance Roberts, Ernest Green, Melba Pattilo, Jefferson Thomas.

On September 23, 1957 in Little Rock, Arkansas, these nine African-American students quietly slipped into Central High School through the side door with the assistance of the city's police, while an angry white mob numbering 1,000 swarmed the front of the school to await their arrival. Upon learning of their entry, the crowd became unruly, confronting and overwhelming the city police. During the riot, two African-American journalists were physically harassed and attacked and then chased out of the area. School windows and doors were broken and the nine African-American students were escorted out of the school by police. Fearful of what may happen, the school administration had the Black students escorted out a side door. Central High School's integration efforts that day—which started in 1955 with the school board voting to gradually integrate—came to a quick close, all before lunch.

On September 25, 1957, under escort by the soldiers of the 101st Airborne Division, the nine Black students were escorted back into Central High. The brave efforts of the students, later known as the "Little Rock Nine," to gain equal access to education in the United States, established September 25th as an important date in the Nation and in the Civil Rights Movement.

School Integration: Success and Setbacks

Successes

After that fateful day the "Little Rock Nine" integrated Central High School, the U.S. Supreme Court contributed to advancements toward school integration, from such decisions as those in *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958) which overrode state government's ability to block desegregation, to *Keyes v. Denver School District No. 1* (1963) which established the right to desegregation outside the South and the right of desegregation for Latino students. As a result of such key court-ordered desegregation requirements, for the next three decades, school districts across the country implemented plans to desegregate their student bodies.

Setbacks

By the 1990s, most once-segregated schools had desegregated in accordance with the law, and thus fewer desegregation orders were deemed necessary by the courts. Unfortunately, however, the courts' decisions, in addition to existing residential housing patterns, have led to an increase of de facto segregation. For example, at its peak of integration in 1988, 44% of Black southern students were in majority-white schools, the kind of schools that provided strong potential opportunities for diverse learning experiences. By 2011, that number had declined to 23%, a drop by nearly half, and the decline has accelerated in recent years. The percentage of students in majority white schools is lower than it was in 1968. In addition, while white students are attending schools with slightly more students of colour than in the past, they remain the most isolated of all racial groups. The average white student attends a school where 72.5% of the student enrolment is white.

In addition to court-mandated plans, voluntary integration plans—plans implemented by schools rather than mandated by the courts to address de facto segregation—have also been under attack. In June 2007, the Supreme Court struck down two voluntary integration plans, one implemented in Seattle and the other in Louisville. Even though the decision confirmed that the government had a compelling interest in promoting racial diversity, the Court's decision finding the plans unconstitutional placed limits on the ability of school districts to take account of race but it did not rule out any consideration of race in student assignment. This left the window open for school districts to take race-conscious measures to promote diversity and avoid racial isolation in schools. But, this has discouraged some school districts from creating any integration plans, and may make racial isolation in our nation's schools an inevitability. After the court's decision, the Seattle school board declined to find alternate routes to integration, citing residential segregation as a barrier. The Seattle school board chairwoman told *The Seattle Times*, "It's not my job to desegregate the city."

School desegregation is on the rise, marked by factors such as changing racial demographics, redrawn school boundaries, new student-assignment plans, budget cutbacks and other factors.

QUESTION 3:

HOW DID THE FREEDOM SUMMER CAMPAIGN OF 1964 CONTRIBUTE TO THE GRANTING OF VOTING RIGHTS TO BLACK AMERICANS LIVING IN THE USA IN THE 1960s?

SOURCE 3A

The source below explains the reasons for the launching of the Freedom Summer Campaign in Mississippi in June 1964.

Mississippi had one of the lowest rates of registered black voters – just 1 in 20. With a statewide black population that made up 45 percent of the state's total population, blacks could have controlled politics in many Mississippi counties where they formed the majority. The state was notorious (famous) for its high number of random lynchings and attacks on blacks.

The campaign to "get out the vote" in Mississippi ... hit its stride in the summer of 1964. The campaign's activities involved volunteers from CORE, the SCLC, the NAACP, and

the SNCC, largely working together under a special umbrella organisation called the Council of Federated Organisations (COFO).

That summer, COFO members requested that Northern white students join them in their **voter registration campaign**. More than a thousand answered the call. ... Civil rights leaders believed that it would help the campaign receive greater media attention. ... Mississippi whites resented (hated) them, considering them meddlers, “problem brats, sexually promiscuous, addicted to interracial lovemaking, brainwashed on communist doctrines.”

Tragedy struck the campaign early that summer when, on June 21, two whites, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney, a 21-year-old black Mississippi civil rights worker, suddenly disappeared while organising voter registration.

[From *The Civil Rights Movement – Striving for Justice* by Tim McNeese]

Study Sources 3A, 3B, 3C, and 3D and answer the following questions:

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

3.1.1. List TWO reasons from the source why Mississippi had the lowest rate of registered black voters by 1964. L1 (2 x 1) (2)

3.1.2. Name TWO organisations from the source that worked together during the Freedom Summer campaign of 1964. L1 (2 x 1) (2)

3.1.3. Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why COFO members requested Northern white students to join them in their voter registration campaign. L2 (2 x 2) (4)

[The responses to this question should be in your own words, no extraction from the source]

3.1.4. Comment on the Mississippi whites' view that considered the activists as being brainwashed by communist doctrines. L2 (1 x 2) (2)

[The response to this question should be in your own words, no extraction from the source]

SOURCE 3B

The following source is an extract from an article written by journalist Jonathan Steele that was published in *The Guardian* on the 18th of June 1964. Jonathan Steele was a member of the Freedom Summer campaign in Mississippi in June 1964 when three of his co-activists were murdered.

The FBI was conducting a nationwide manhunt for three men who had disappeared in Mississippi. ... The missing men were three volunteer activists who had been helping black people stand up for their rights and register to vote in the Deep South's most violent state. They had been arrested by the deputy sheriff of Neshoba County on June 21, held for a few hours, and released after dark. Two days later their burned-out station wagon was discovered, but the men were nowhere to be found.

James Chaney, 21, was a black Mississippian, Micky Schwerner, 24, was a Jewish activist from New York City, and Andrew Goodman, 20, came from an upper-middle-class New York family. ... We immediately assumed that they had been lynched, as a warning to all outside agitators (protestors). Mississippi's law enforcement officials showed an unsurprising lack of concern at the news.

The families of Goodman and Schwerner demanded action. ... Lyndon Johnson was pressed to show he was a national and not just a regional politician. After several weeks James Jordan, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, decided to become a federal witness ... and led the FBI to a dam where the men's bodies were found. ... He had been on the scene when the murders occurred: ... The policemen shot them one by one.

The Freedom Summer campaign also gave a huge impetus to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which removed most of the artificial qualifications for registration.

[From <https://spartacus-educational.com/USAfreesummer.htm>. Accessed on 12 February 2023.]

Refer to Source 3B

3.2.1. Define the concept *activist* in the context of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA. L2

(1 x 2) (2)

[Question 3.2.1. is a level 2 question, it requires you to explain in your own words. Do not give the general definition of activist. Your definition should explain who were the activist in USA during the Civil rights Movement of the 1960s]

3.2.2. Why, according to the source, were the three activists arrested? L1 (1 x 2) (1)

3.2.3. Explain what is implied by the statement, 'Mississippi's law enforcement officials showed an unsurprising lack of concern at the news'. L2

(1 x 2) (2)

[Question 3.2.3 is a level 2 question. It requires you to interpret the statement using your own words. This question seeks to address:

What is the meaning behind the statement in the context of the topic in question.]

3.2.4. What conclusion can you draw about the presence of James Jordan during the assassination of the three activists by the police? L2 (1 x 2) (2)

[Question 3.2.4 is a level 2 question. It requires you to interpret the statement using your own words. This question seeks to address:

What is your opinion on the issue in question (Why was he there/? How do you think he felt, did he support or was he against what was happening on the scene]

3.2.5. Comment on the reliability of this source to historians researching the death of the three activists during the Freedom Summer campaign in Mississippi. L3

(2 x 2) (4)

SOURCE 3C

The source below is a poster issued by the FBI on 29 June 1964 about the disappearance of the three activists of the Freedom Summer campaign in Mississippi. Different organisations worked together



[From *Freedom Summer – The 1964 Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*

by Susan Goldman Rubin]

3.3

Consult Source 3C.

3.3.1 What do you think was the intention of the FBI in issuing this poster? L2

(1 x 2) (4)

3.3.2. What does the poster tell you about the support of the Freedom Summer campaign within the context of the Civil Rights Movement? L2

(1 x 2) (2)

3.4. Explain how the evidence in Source 2C supports the information in Source 2B regarding the disappearance of the three activists in Mississippi. L3

(2 x 2) (4)

SOURCE 3D

This source outlines the successes and challenges of the Freedom Summer campaign on African Americans living in the USA in the 1960s.

Americans all around the country were shocked by the killing of civil rights workers and the brutality they witnessed on their televisions. Freedom Summer campaign raised the consciousness of millions of people to the plight of African Americans and the need for change. Mississippi's black residents gained organising skills and political experience. Conditions

changed after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 legally empowered the federal government to send its own officials into local courthouses.

By the end of 1966, more than half of African Americans in southern states had registered to vote. In the years that followed, many were elected to local offices such as mayors, school boards, and chiefs of police. Many SNCC and CORE staff went on to important careers in public service. John Lewis of SNCC was elected to the U.S. Congress and Mary King of SNCC oversaw the Peace Corps and Vista under President Carter.

The refusal of the U.S. government to enforce its own civil rights laws disillusioned those who had hoped for federal intervention. ... Many activists were persuaded that traditional politics would not secure basic civil rights. Some national leaders, such as Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael, therefore began to urge African Americans to seize their rights “by any means necessary”. This sentiment helped create the Black Power Movement and organisations such as the Black Panthers.

[From <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS3707>. Accessed on 30 March

3.5. Study Source 3D.

3.5.1. What, according to the source, was the impact of the killing and Brutality of the Freedom Summer campaign on Americans? L1 (2 x 1) (2)

3.5.2. Quote TWO pieces of evidence from the source that suggests that the Freedom Summer campaign drastically improved the political position of Black Americans. L1 (2 x 1) (2)

3.5.3. Using the information in the source and your own knowledge explain why certain activists were not convinced that traditional politics would ensure basic civil rights. L2 (2 x 2) (4)

3.5.4. Define the concept of *civil rights* in your own words. L1 (1 x 2) (2)

3.5.5. Name TWO national leaders from the source who urged Black Americans to seize their rights ‘by any means necessary’. L1 (2 x 1) (2)

6. PARAGRAPH

Using the information from the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about eight lines (about 80 words) explaining how the Freedom Summer campaign of 1964 contributed to the granting of voting rights to Black Americans living in the USA in the 1960s. (8)
L3

In responding to the paragraph question, candidates should understand that this question is a level 3 question. No extraction of information is required. Information from the sources that is responding to the question, should not be extracted, but interpreted or put in your own words.

An example of responding to this paragraph would be as follows:

This paragraph will explain how the Freedom Summer Campaign of 1964 contributed to the granting of voting rights to Black Americans living in the USA in the 1960s. According to Source 3A

[50]

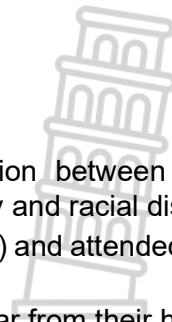


BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

REASONS FOR THE MOVEMENT

The Civil Rights Movement focused on cooperation and reconciliation between black and white Americans but inequalities remained. African American still faced poverty and racial discrimination as:

- Most African Americans in the cities lived in slum housing (ghettos) and attended under-resourced schools
- Inadequate public transport made it difficult for people take jobs far from their homes
- In 1967, one third of all black families lived below the poverty line as opposed to 10% white families
- Inadequate health care resulted in death rate for black babies being twice as high as that for white babies
- Unemployment, less educational opportunities and higher chances of going to jail



Some African Americans were disillusioned with the Civil Rights Movement and believed King was too moderate. They rejected the idea of non-violent protest as they wanted to accelerate the pace of change in the USA.

The struggle for civil rights took a new direction in the 1960's with the growing popularity of the **Black Power Movement**.

Black Power instilled a feeling of racial pride and self-worth in African Americans. They were encouraged to acknowledge their African heritage and take pride in their culture.

Malcolm X the leader of the Nation of Islam, was an eloquent advocator for Black Power. He maintained African Americans must use violence in the fight for equal rights. Young urban African Americans were drawn to his ideas.

THE BLACK PANTHERS PARTY(BPP)

Huey Newton and Bobby Seale formed the Black Panther Party (BPP) for self-defence in 1966. This group wanted to protect African American neighbourhoods from police brutality and racism. Black Panthers said that African Americans should carry guns to defend themselves. They were involved in police shoot-outs in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles in the late 1960s and early 1970s. When the state of California attempted to outlaw the carrying of loaded weapons in public, armed members of the BPP staged a protest. The idea of Black Power frightened many whites. The BPP was subjected to police harassment.

The Black Panther Party got involved in streets patrols; monitored police activities and defended themselves by carrying guns (militant approach) to stop the on-going police brutality and harassment of young urban black men.

The BPP instituted programmes to help alleviate poverty in black communities such as:

- A Free Breakfast Children Programme which fed thousands of poor and hungry black children daily

- Clinics where adults and children could get free medical care

- A tutoring scheme to help black learners succeed at school

The BPP drew up a 10-point programme that included the following demands:

- ✚ Full employment and an end to capitalism that disadvantaged the African Americans
- ✚ Decent housing and sound education for African Americans
- ✚ An end to police brutality
- ✚ The release of African Americans held in jail

The BPP was popular in the 60s as they were defending the rights of workers and ethnic minorities like the African American in the ghettos.

THE ROLES OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND MALCOLM X

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

. He became chairman of SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) in 1966 and decided to embrace the teachings of the Black Power Movement. In 1966 he popularised the Black Power slogan 'Black is beautiful' and advocated the principles of Black Power (do things for yourself; control politics in their communities; take pride in own culture and defend themselves against racial oppression and manipulation) . He believed in non-violence as a strategy that was not working because of on-going violence that was used by white Americans against African Americans. He advocated the exclusion of 'white' liberals as a philosophy for African Americans. Stokely Carmichael was in favour of African clothing and African hairstyles as a symbol of Black Pride. Carmichael joined the Black Panther Party (for Self - Defence) which put into action the Black Power/'Black Pride' philosophy. He was encouraged to become involved in the Civil Rights Movement after he noticed the bravery of those participating in the sit-ins. Carmichael became a member of the SNCC and a Freedom Rider.

His ideals to passive resistance changed in 1966 after the attack on James Meredith, a civil rights activist engaged on a Walk against Fear in protest against racism. Meredith was shot and wounded and Carmichael decided that SNCC members should complete his walk.

Carmichael urged African Americans to take pride in being black. He was in favour of African dress and Afro-hairstyles and wanted African Americans to recognise their heritage. He advocated the exclusion of 'white' liberals as a philosophy for African Americans

MALCOLM X

He played a crucial role in the Black power Movement as an eloquent speaker and dedicated civil rights activist. He was a member of the Nation of Islam (NOI) (a Muslim group which taught that white society was deliberately preventing African Americans from empowering themselves).

He was later expelled from the Nation of Islam when he changed his stance on integration as seen by the NOI. He then formed the Organisation of Afro-American Unity in 1964. He became less militant and adopted views such as, not all whites are evil, which were not popular with black nationalist. Malcolm X believed in black separation, self-determination (black nationalism) and he advocated self-respect and self-discipline. He believed in the concept of Black self-pride and self-esteem/self-respect/self-help - 'Black Pride'. He called for assertiveness (aggressiveness) in their revolution e.g. race riots at Watts, Detroit. He wanted African Americans to stand up against white authorities in pursuit of freedom, justice and equality by whatever means possible. He promoted the use of violence as a means of self-defence against those who attacked African Americans.

WHAT WERE THE RESULTS OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT IN THE 1960s?

- Their confrontational approach led to violence between 1965 and 1969. These race riots highlighted discrimination against African Americans in the northern states and led to change and reform.
- Rioting broke out in Watts - predominantly black neighbourhood of Los Angeles in 1965. This resulted in 34 deaths, nearly 400 arrests and destruction of property. With the worst violence in 1967 occurring at Newark and Detroit.
- President Johnson appointed a commission to investigate race riots. The commission found that unemployment, poor housing, inadequate schools and police brutality created frustration and a sense of hopelessness in African American communities. He warned that American society shall be divided into two societies, *one Black, one white-separate and unequal*
- President Johnson set about a reform programme aimed at eradicating poverty and discrimination. The Federal government introduced schemes to improve housing, promote education and training of poorer Americans for new and better jobs.
- Various self-schemes were set up in black communities by the Black Panthers.
- The Black Power Movement encouraged a feeling of Black Pride, an attitude that was captured by the singer James Brown in his song: 'say it loud-I'm black and I'm proud.'

1. It was the Black Power Movement that provided a bulwark against racial injustices and inequality for afro Americans in the USA in the 1960s.

Do you agree with the statement the relevant evidence to support your line of argument?

- Answer as a third person 'One would agree /disagree ...'

2. **Explain to what extent** Stokely Carmichael and other BPM leaders challenged the unfair and segregationist system of the USA in the 1960s.

- 'To a greater extent/to a lesser extent ...'

Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument.

3. **Critically discuss** the effectiveness of BPM in instilling the assertiveness and self-reliance amongst African Americans in the USA in the 1960s.

- Depends on the statement:
- Certainly ...
- Indeed ...
- One would state ...

Example for essay answering

QUESTION: The Ideas of Malcom X solely inspired African Americans to fight segregation and discrimination in the USA

Do you agree with the statement? Substantiate your response with relevant historical evidence (50)

Stance

One would disagree with the statement that 'the ideas of Malcolm X solely inspired the African Americans to fight segregation and discrimination in the USA, because Malcolm X and other leaders like Stokely Carmichael, Black Panther Party as well other activist like Angela Davis, Maya Angelo, Bertha Higgins all inspired African Americans to fight against segregation and discrimination in the USA. This essay will explain how Malcolm X and various activists inspired African Americans to fight against segregation and discrimination in the USA.

Paragraph 2:

Reasons for the formation of Black Power **Paragraph**

3:

What is Black Power?

Paragraph 4 The role of Malcom X

Point: Malcom X was one of the important figures within the Black Power movement the African American.
Explain: Malcom X's ideas of race pride, self-defense and use of violence became mainstays of the black power movement.
Evidence: His ideas were most popular amongst young urban black. One of his notable contributions was that African Americans needed to take control of their own lives and form and take leadership role in their own organizations. He formed the organization of Afro American Unity, became famous for his speech 'Ballot or a Bullet'
Link: the latter proves that Malcom X and other leaders inspired African Americans.

Paragraph 5

Stokely Carmichael

Paragraph 6

Black Panthers Party

Paragraph 7

Other activists (Maya Angelo, Bertha Higgins, Angela Davis)

Paragraph 8

BPM Short- and long-term gains

Paragraph 9

Conclusion:

NB: no new point/information in this paragraph

Example: the latter proves that.... /in conclusion.... /



CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA 1970S TO 1980S – INTERNAL RESISTANCE

KEY CONCEPTS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CONCEPT	EXPLANATION
Reforms	Slight Constitutional changes without really moving away from the principal idea
Referendum	A special election held by government where the entire or specific groups can vote for a particular issue
Total onslaught	Botha believed that there was a total communist attack on South Africa from outside and within the country
Total strategy	Botha's policy to make minor reforms to apartheid system to repress all opposition
Conscientious objector	A person who refuses to do military service for moral, or religious reasons
Hunger strike	Refusal to eat as a form of protest (usually by prisoners in jail)
Conscription	Compulsory enlistment for state service, typically into the armed forces.
Apartheid	a policy that discriminates people according to race, it was adopted by National party in 1948.
Internal resistance	refers to collective action by trade unions, political parties, civic organisations within the country (South Africa) to fight apartheid regime.
Mobilisation	An act of organising or preparing something, such as a group of people.
Colour Bar	segregation in the workplace; the reservation of certain categories of work for white workers.
Scab Labour	temporary workers brought in to do the work of workers who are on strike.
Rolling mass action	refers to a process whereby workers united and took action through method such as strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience in the 1980 in fighting the apartheid system.
Boycott	deliberate refusal to buy products/goods or refusal to deal with a person or organisation.
Sanctions	an economic and political pressure put on a country to transform its policies. Sanctions usually takes the form of ending economic ties, sport boycotts, ending trade links in order to force a country to transform / change. Economic sanctions: restrictions on trade such as not buying products from a country or refusing to export to the country.

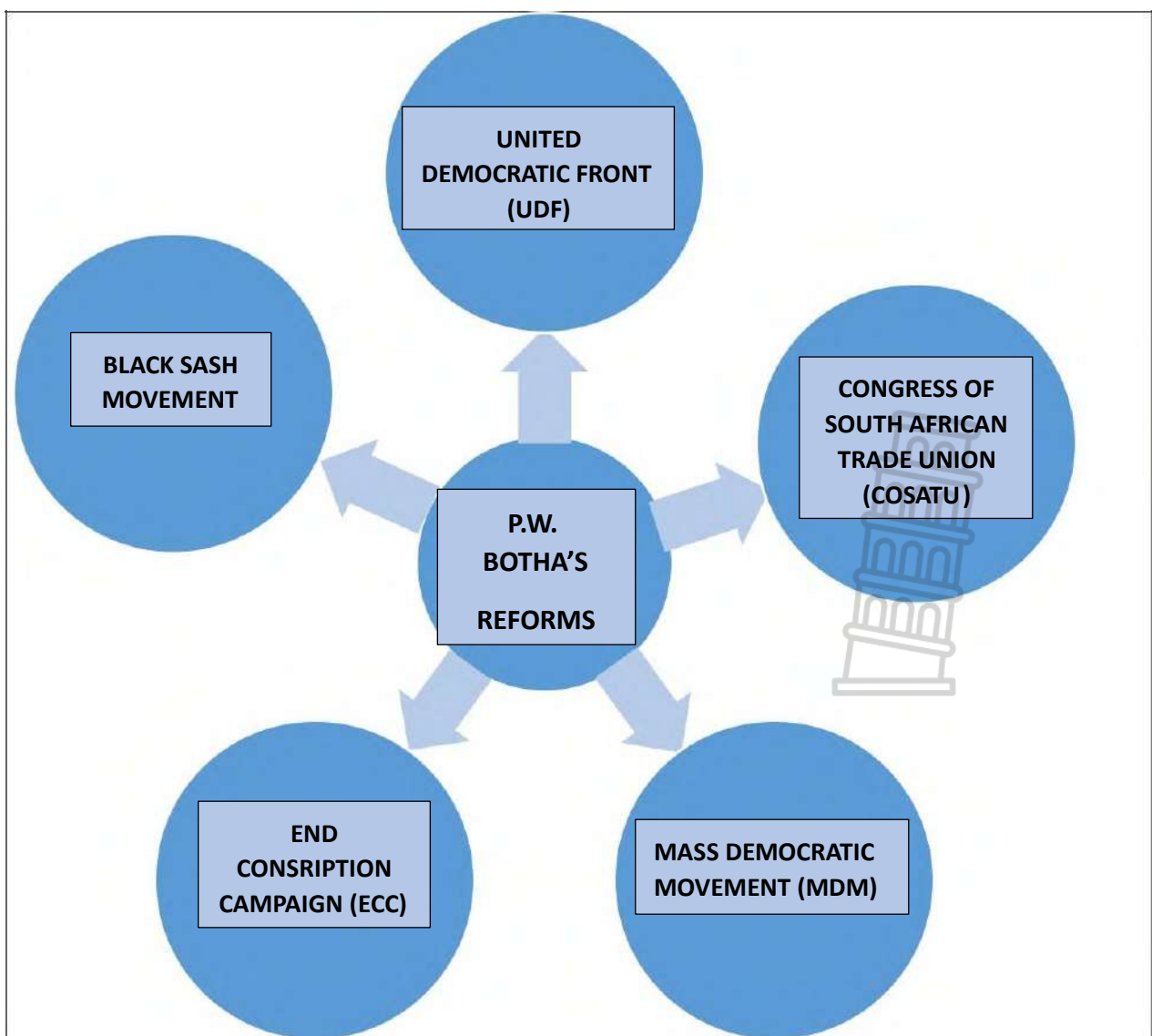
	
Black Sash	a group of white women who opposed discrimination against black and mixed-race South Africans. During their protests, members wore black sashes over one shoulder in symbolic mourning for the death of constitutional rights.

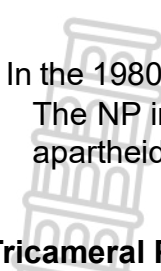
Civics	the rights and obligations of citizens in the society.
Tri-Cameral Parliament	a policy introduced by Botha in 1984 which consists of the legislature of South Africa with three chambers for the whites, Indians and coloureds.
End Conscription Campaign	an anti-apartheid organisation formed in 1983 to oppose the conscription of all white South African men into military service in the South African Defence Force.

ABBREVIATIONS

ECC	End Conscription Campaign
SADF	South African Defence Force
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions





- 
- In the 1980s the NP believed that there was a Total Onslaught against the NP government. The NP implemented their Total Strategy policy – they would make minor reform to the apartheid system and repress (crush) all opposition.

Tricameral Parliament

- The NP created a cosmetic Tricameral Parliament.
- It made provision for: House of Assembly (Whites); House of Representatives (Coloureds) and House of Delegates (Indians)
- It gave limited representation to Coloureds and Indians. Blacks were excluded.
- Blacks had to exercise their political rights in the 'homelands'. Real political power would remain concentrated in the House of Assembly, the representatives of the 'White' minority. Voters on separate ethnic voter's roles would elect the members of each chamber of parliament.

Growing power of Trade Union Movement

- Trade unions grew more rapidly in the early 1980s after black trade unions were recognised. Unions worked with community organisations to organise boycotts and stayaways. Unions encourage communities:
- To support workers by boycotting products from companies with poor labour practices. Secondly, refrain from “scab labour” when workers are on strike.
- After 1983 the trade unions became involved in wider politics.
- After 1985 the trade unions were involved in an increasing number of strikes to put pressure on employers and government.
- **1985 COSATU launched a Living Wage Campaign** – calling for higher wages to meet the costs of living.



- **1985 May Day** – The worker's day May Day was not enjoyed by workers in South Africa as other workers in the world celebrate it. In 1985 the Unions called for a stay away on the day to mark the importance of labour. By 1987, 2 and half million were supporting the day.
- **1987 COSATU** continued calls for rolling mass action Through the use of strikes, boycotts and stayaways, COSATU made it clear that the labour was a force to be reckoned with.
- **1987** – a series of ongoing strikes organised by COSATU threatened to cripple the economy.
- **1987** Mineworkers strike – in which 300 000 mineworkers went on strike.
- **1987** COSATU adopted the Freedom Charter and aligned itself with the democratic perspective of the UDF.



The End Conscription Campaign

- The South African Defence Force (SADF) claimed to be 'the protector of peace-loving people', but they were used to enforce the National Party government's racist policies. They were used:
- To act against the banned liberation movements within South Africa, as well as in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Angola, South West Africa (Namibia) and Mozambique
- To destabilise the majority governments in the southern African region
- Against fellow South Africans to quell civil war in the black townships
- To repress anti-apartheid activities Under the apartheid government, all white South African men were conscripted into military service in the SADF when they completed their school or tertiary education. This was referred to as "National Service" by the apartheid regime. In 1983,



the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was formed. It was an anti-apartheid organisation allied to the United Democratic Front (UDF). **Conscientious objectors** and their supporters joined the ECC to oppose the conscription of all white South African men into military service in the SADF. In 1985 they ran a 'Troops out of the Townships', campaign. Some ECC leaders went on **hunger strikes** to draw attention to their cause. In 1985, 1 750 conscripts who had been called up failed to report for military service, some escape to Europe. By 1988, the ECC was undermining the apartheid state to such an extent that the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, banned the organisation.

BLACK SASH



- The Black Sash was founded in 1955, by a group of white women. Black Sash wore black sashes over one shoulder as they stood in public to oppose Apartheid injustices. The Black Sash oppose all aspects of Apartheid laws in South Africa, were especially active against the pass laws.
- Black Sash focused on welfare issues such as child support and committed to

give humanitarian support to victims of Apartheid laws.

- Involved in issues affecting rural communities through projects such as Transvaal Action Committee and National Land Committee.
- Black sash gave free legal advice and practical support on issues such as housing, detention without trial, influx control and pensions.
- Black Sash ended its protests with the democratic reforms that began in 1990.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC) CHALLENGE THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT DURING THE 1980s?

SOURCE 1A

This source below explains the reasons for the establishment of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in 1983.

The End Conscription Campaign was established in 1983, after Black Sash decided in July of that year to establish an organisation for conscientious objectors. The main aim of the ECC was the broadening of the rights of conscientious (honourable) objectors and the creation of a system of alternative military service without the element of punishment. The ECC was formed as a coalition, spearheaded (led) by the existing Conscientious Objectors Support Groups, consisting of human rights, religious, student and woman's organisations opposed to conscription and militarisation and committed to working for a just peace in our land.

The ECC's opposition to conscription is based on the fundamental belief that no person can be forced against their will to take up arms and to take life. Because of the increasing involvement of the South Africa Defence Force (SADF) in operations against South African resistance organisations within and outside the country and in defending and upholding (maintaining) the apartheid system in the mid-eighties, a growing number of young men began to rebel against national service. Most of them fled from South Africa to avoid military service, while a minority were jailed after refusing to undergo military training. The ECC grew so rapidly that by the end of 1985 it had more than 4 000 members in seven branches.

[From <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/index.php>. Accessed on 13 May 2023.]

1.1 Refer to Source 1A.

1.1.1 Define the term *conscription* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

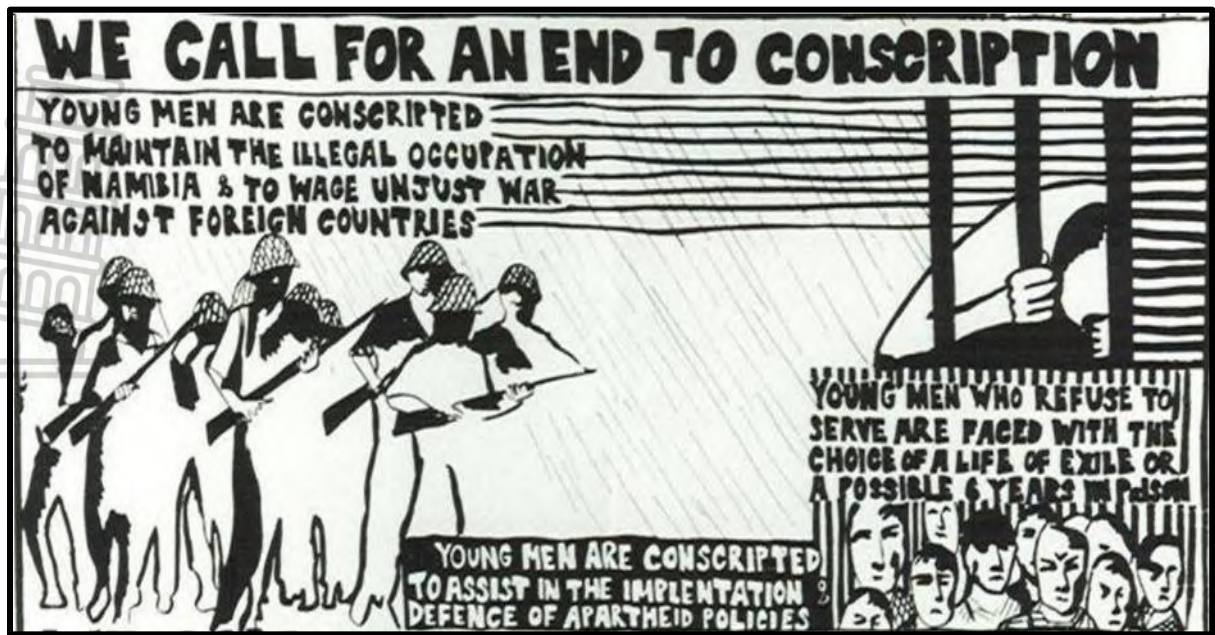
1.1.2 What, according to the source, were the main aims of the ECC? (2 x 1) (2)

1.1.3 Why, do you think, the ECC was opposed to conscription and militarisation? (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 Explain how the SADF defended and upheld the apartheid system inside and outside South Africa during the mid-eighties. (2 x 2) (4)

SOURCE 1B

This poster was designed by the ECC for its official launch at the Claremont Civic Centre, Cape Town, in October 1984.



[From <https://commonwealarchives.wordpress.com/2023/05/13/collections-of-the-month-anti-apartheid-action/>. Accessed on 13 May 2023.]

1.2 Study Source 1B.

1.2.1 Why, do you think, the ECC called for an end to conscription? (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2 What, according to the source, were young men faced with when they refused to serve in the military? (2 x 1) (2)

1.2 Compare Sources 1A and 1B. Explain how the evidence in Source 1B supports the information in Source 1A regarding the reasons the ECC held anti-conscription campaigns. (2 x 2) (4)

This is how your response to question 1.3 should look like:

- Source 1A says/mentions ... and in Source 1B we see ...
- Source 1A states ... while Source 1B shows/depicts ...
- Both sources refer to ...

NOTE THAT:

- Comparison of evidence from sources 1A and 1B to ascertain how they support each other is a level 3 type question.
- How sources support each other (**the evidence in both sources must relate to the question asked**)
- **2 X 2** = there must be **TWO** sets of comparisons that can be compared. **(1A+1B)** and **(1A+1B)**

- † Remember: The comparison can call for **similarities** (evidence that supports); or **differences** (evidence that contrasts) between the sources.
- † In a question that requires differences **you cannot use both sources...**

SOURCE 1C

This source explains the reason why a young white South African refused to serve in the SADF.

The first young man to stand trial (prosecution) for refusing to serve in the SADF was Anton Eberhard. He has completed his initial service in 1970. He was called up for camp again. He replied with a letter to his camp commander in which he wrote: "I acknowledge receipt of your call-up papers, but for reasons of conscience (principles) I am unable to attend. I have given the matter much thought and am fully aware of the consequences of refusing ... It is my belief that the present government has no right to remain in power and any organisation which enables it to do so cannot be supported."

His boss, in reaction which typifies (demonstrates) the prevailing white attitudes asked him in fury (angry). "So who will stop our daughters being raped?" A crucial factor in his decision was the fact that a friend was detained at the time of his call-up. In an interview he stated: "I befriended (supported) Vusi and got a taste what life was like for black South Africans. I knew I could not put on an SADF uniform." Eberhard was sentenced to 12 months in detention barracks (camps), of which he served two.

[From <https://core.ac.uk. >download>pdf 145042157.pdf>. Accessed on 9 August 2021.]

1.4 Read Source 1C.

1.4.1 Name the first young man from the source who refused to serve in the SADF.

(1 x 1) (1)

1.4.2 Comment on what Anton Eberhard implied by his statement, "It is my belief that the present government has no right to remain in power, and any organisation which enables it to do so cannot be supported", in the context of his opposition to conscription. (2 x 2) (4)

NOTE THAT:

- Question 1.4.2 is a L2 question; it requires you to **interpret the statement using your own words**.
- What is the meaning behind the statement in the context of the topic in question.
- Your response in interpreting Anton Eberhard's statement must be in line with the opposition to conscription (**in the context**).

- Avoid extracting/lifting/merely copying evidence from the source
- **2X2=** there must be **TWO** responses for 4 marks.

1.4.3 Quote evidence from the source that highlights the prevailing white attitude against objectors. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4.4 What crucial factors, according to the source, influenced Eberhard's decision not to adhere to his call-up? (2 x 1) (2)

SOURCE 1D

This source below explains the reaction of the National Party government towards the ECC in the 1980s.



By, 1985, the country was on fire. That year – shortly after the assassination (killing) of Matthew Goniwe and other Cradock leaders – the ECC hosted an international peace conference in Johannesburg. In 1985 it was announced in Parliament that 7 589 conscripts had failed to report for the January national call-up, compared to 1 596 for the whole of 1984. By then 7 000 war resisters (opposes) were living in Europe, but many others simply dodged (avoided) the call-up by evading the military police or prolonged their studies indefinitely (forever).

As the ECC grew in support, the government attempted to suppress its activities. It carried out a vicious (brutal) smear campaign against the ECC in an attempt to show that it was unpatriotic (untrustworthy) and dangerous. The ECC's offices were raided and over 75 activists were detained, while others were personally harassed or attacked. The then Defence Minister, Magnus Malan said: "The ECC is a direct enemy of the SADF.

It's disgraceful that the SADF, but especially the country's young people, the pride of the nation, should be subjected to the ECC's propaganda (publicity), suspicion-sowing and misinformation." He declared that the ECC was part of the 'revolutionary onslaught against South Africa'. The P.W. Botha government also increased the period of imprisonment from two to six years for refusing military service.

In August 1988, the ECC became the first white organisation in more than 20 years to be banned by the apartheid regime. In 1989 in response to a national defiance campaign the ECC 'unbanned' itself. Soon thereafter conscription was cut from two years to one year and after 1990 it was effectively phased out, officially ending in 1993. The ECC put pressure on the conscription system and in the end made it impossible for the state to enforce it.

[From <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/end-conscription-campaignn-ecc>. Accessed on 13 May 2023.]

1.5 Consult Source 1D.

1.5.1 How, according to the source, did the government suppress the activities of the ECC? (3 x 1) (3)

1.5.2 Why, do you think, the country was on fire in 1985? (2 x 2) (4)

1.5.3 Explain the term *assassination* in the context of opposition to the government's policies in the 1980s. (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.4 Comment on what Adriaan Vlok implied by his statement, "That the ECC was part of the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa." (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.5 Explain the usefulness of this source for a historian researching the reaction of the government to the formation of the ECC. (2 x 2) (4)

1.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge and write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how the End Conscription

Campaign challenge the apartheid government during the 1980s.

(8)

REMEMBER:

- Write only ONE paragraph using the relevant Sources and your own knowledge.
- If you write two paragraphs, the marker only marks the first part.
- **You would have seen the marking guideline uses bullet points. YOU MUST NOT!**
- Do not extract information from the Sources. Write the information from the sources in your own words.
- Read and analyse the sources and see what information / evidence they give regarding the KEY QUESTION.
- Note the KEY QUESTION is your subject line.
- Use own knowledge to add on the information that the sources give.

CIVIL RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA 1970S TO 1980S

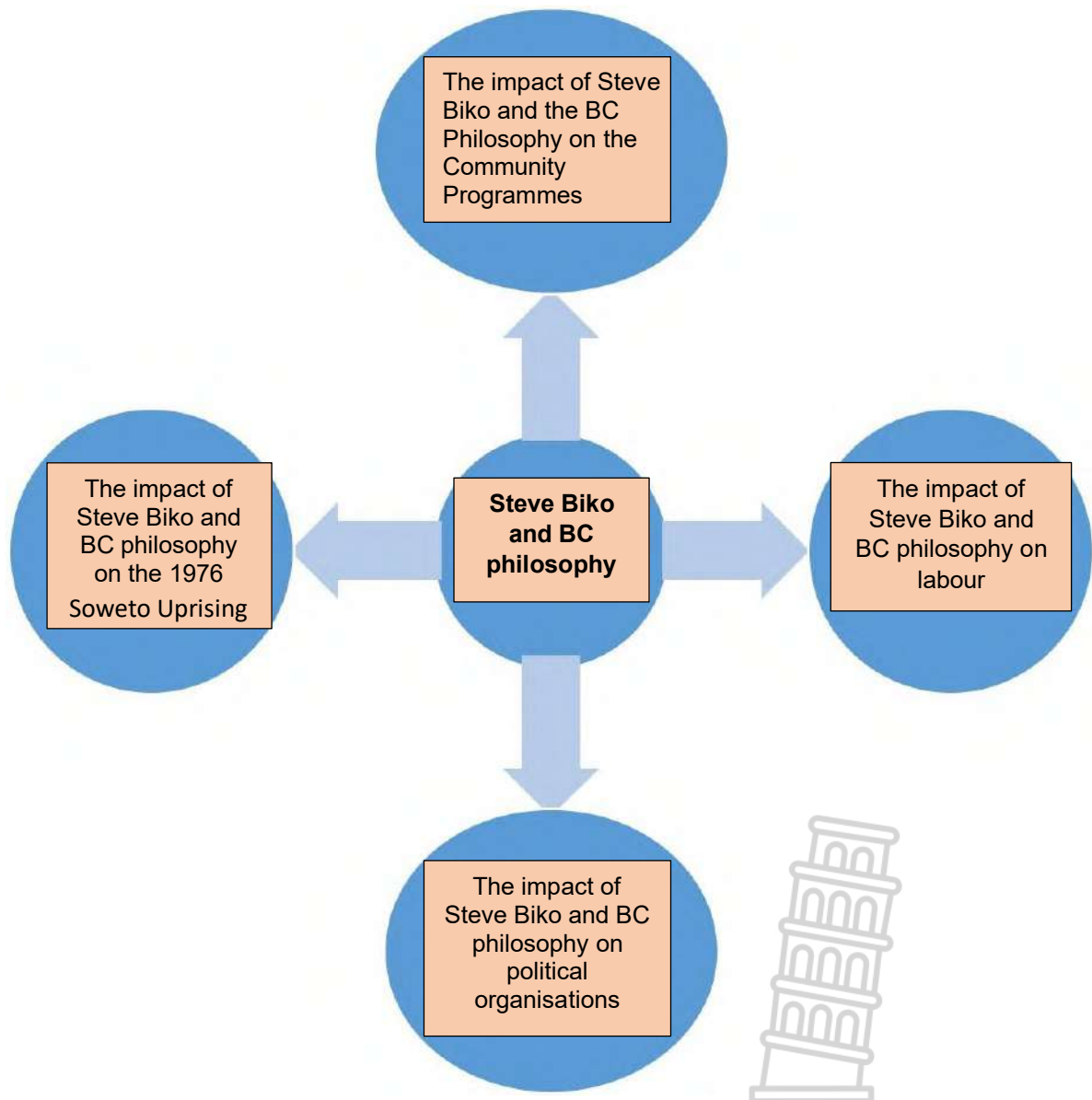
THE CHALLENGE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS TO THE APARTHEID STATE

Key Focus areas:

- The nature and aims of BC

- The impact of BC on Labour
- The impact of BC on Political Organisations
- The impact of BC on the 1976 Soweto Uprisings
- The impact of BC on Community Programmes

4.1 Mind-map



Year	Event
1946	The birth of Bantu Steve Biko
1966	Admission to the University of Natal Non-European Section (UNNE)

1967	NUSAS Conference at Grahamstown where black students were accommodated separately from their white counter-parts
1968	University Christian Movement Conference at Stutterheim where black students were accommodated separately from their white counter-parts
1968	Formation of the South African Council of Churches
1968	Steve Biko and others leave NUSAS and forms SASO
1969	Barney Pityana expelled from his law studies at Fort Hare
1969	Steve Biko is elected President of SASO
1972	Onkgopotse Tiro is expelled from the Turfloop University
1972	BPC is formed
1972	Death of Mthuli Shezi
1972	South African Students Movement (SASM) formed after its predecessor African Students Movement was enlarged
1972	The start of Black Community Programmes under Bennie Khoapa
1973	Steve Biko and other BC leaders are banned by the government
1973	The Durban Workers Strike organized/fuelled by SASO
1974	The Frelimo rallies organized by SASO, South Africans should take inspiration from the example of Mozambique, If the people Mozambique struggled successfully for their independence, what is stopping the Black South Africans
1977	Arrest of Steve Biko
1977	Death of Steve Biko in detention
1978	Formation of AZAPO by the supporters of BC

Important Abbreviations

Abbreviation	What it stands for
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
SASO	South African Students' Organisation
UCM	University Christian Movement
UNNE	University of Natal Non-European Section
SSRC	Soweto Students Representative Council
SACC	South African Council of Churches

4

BPC	Black Peoples Convention
ASM	African Students Movement
BCP	Black Community Programmes
SASM	South African Students Movement
NAYO	National Youth Organisation
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
Frelimo	Front for the liberation of Mozambique
NTCC	Northern Transvaal Council of Churches
BPA	Black Parent's Association
BAWU	Black Allied Workers Union
UBJ	Union of Black Journalists

Concepts	Definition
Black Consciousness	The Philosophy that advocated Black pride and wanted liberation for all Blacks
Conscientise	Raise the level of awareness
Durban Moment	The strike by the coronation brick and tile factory influenced by the BC
Medium of Instruction	A language used for teaching and learning.
Uprising	An act of resistance or rebellion
Liberation/Black Theology	Theology that focused on the injustices of the poor
Bantu Education	An apartheid system of education that condemned Blacks to inferior education
Ideology	A belief system. A set of ideas which shape one's actions
Civil Society Protest	Opposition to government policies by ordinary members of the society
Resistance	When a group or even one person works against domination
Black Communalism	An economic policy based on the principle of sharing and emphasized communal ownership of property and wealth.

Project	Focus
Publications and leadership training	Revival of cultural, political and literary (writing) activity

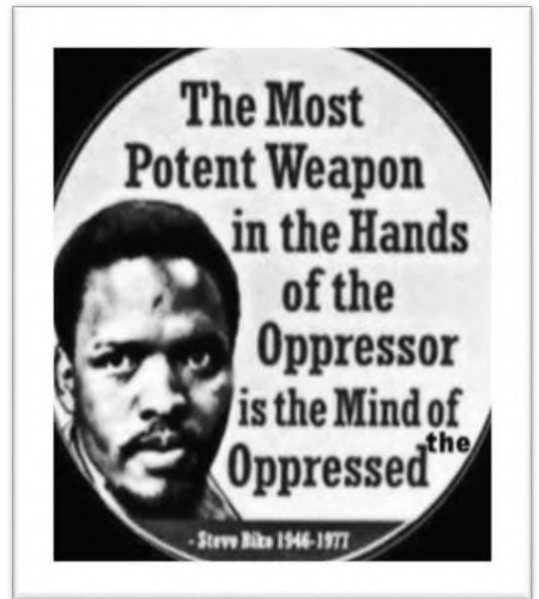
Zanempilo Community Health Centre	The first primary health care centre situated at Zinyoka outside King William's Town. One of the first primary health care initiatives outside of the public sector in South Africa which provided much needed community health education. It was also in this clinic where a successful production of leather goods was facilitated.
Solempilo Community Health Centre	A primary health care facility opened on the south coast of Natal
Ithuseng Community Health Programme	Women empowerment programme, encouraged women to establish vegetable gardens and other economic initiatives in Linyenye.
Zimele trust fund	Established by Biko in 1975 working together with religious leaders. Provided assistance to political prisoners and their families. Supported those who were detained, imprisoned, banned, banished or just released from prison. Those who had difficulty in finding jobs because they were perceived to be trouble-makers were assisted. The fund had particular success with a brick-making scheme in Dimbaza near King William's Town.
Winter School Project	Tutors were paid by the Northern Transvaal Council of Churches (NTCC), for the teaching of the Standard 10 learners during winter holidays.

Reasons for the emergence of Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s.

- The struggle for liberation in South Africa was the domain of liberation movements like the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azanian but this was to change in the 60s and 70s.



- Political inactivity came about as a result of the government's harsh reaction to the events of Sharpeville in 1960.
- The resulting lull in political activity and opposition to the Apartheid government allowed the government to further entrench repression due making opposition to its policies difficult.
- Arrests and harassment of leaders were to be intensified leading to a state of political apathy in South Africa
- Experiences of Biko and others within white led organizations like NUSAS and the University Christian Movement.
- Among the many issues that fuelled discontent among Black members of NUSAS was its apparent condonation of the status quo: Separate accommodation was arranged for students from different racial groups during the NUSAS conference of 1967 in Grahamstown and that of UCM at Stutterheim in 1968



Aims of Black Consciousness

- Biko and others who followed him believed that the struggle of Black Students was their responsibility and that they should not depend on other races who were sympathetic to their course.
- This is why Biko and those who supported him felt that

'The Blacks are tired of standing at the touchline to witness a game they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves all by themselves'

- The repressive Apartheid system seemed to have beaten Black people into submission and BC aimed to revive them and wake them from the long sleep.
- There seem to have been a realization that for Blacks to be able to launch an attack on the repression imposed on them by the Apartheid government they first have to realise that something was wrong and needed to be challenged.
- Black Consciousness aimed to work towards the following, among others:



Infuse the black community with a newfound pride in themselves, their efforts, their value system, their culture and their outlook to life

Promoted pride, black identity, culture and history.

Instilled feelings of self-reliance, self-esteem and to fight for own rights.

Instilled a feeling of pride amongst black South African Encouraged black South

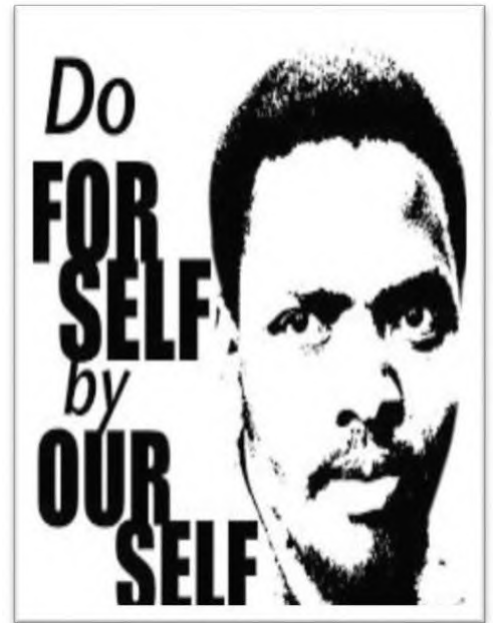
Africans to overcome the feeling of self-pity, self-alienation and domination by external forces.

To achieve mental liberation and emancipation.

To this end, BC stated that` as a prelude whites must be made to realise that they are only human, not superior. Same with Blacks, they must be made to realise that they are also human, not inferior`

THE IDEALS OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

- BC is a philosophy based on the belief that Blacks would only **liberate themselves** if they can **remove the shackles of inferiority and fear**.
- It advocates that **Blacks should conduct their own political campaigns** and help each other gain freedom rather than wait for Whites to grant them freedom.
- Biko believed that **Blacks have lost confidence** in themselves as a result of **living in a white dominated society**.
- He believed that in order to **regain their freedom, Blacks must regain their confidence** and end their dependence on Whites
BC **promoted a sense of identity and pride** amongst Black people.
-
- BC united supporters of the ANC and the PAC by creating an ideology for the liberation of S.A
- He wanted blacks to **understand why they were oppressed**. He quoted "The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed"
- In BC freedom for blacks was first and foremost a **freedom from the psychological oppression of their own inferiority complex**.
- Only **once the "mind of the oppressed" was free** could blacks fight for political and economic freedom.
- For Biko there was a difference between Blacks and non-whites



"**Blacks**" were people who **defied white oppression** and found solidarity with other black people
"**Non-whites**" were blacks who **collaborated with the Apartheid** government and **submitted to white authority**.

Political Organisations

- The early evidence of the impact of BC on political organisations became evident when Steve Biko and other leaders broke away from NUSAS in 1968 and formed SASO
- SASO focused on students at tertiary institutions. Several Universities and Colleges were established after the passing of the extension of University Education Act of 1959. Among the Universities that were to be fertile ground for the spread of BC ideology were the following: University of Durban Westville, Fort Hare University, University of Zululand University of the North, Turfloop
- Formation of Black Peoples Convention as a political vehicle for BC ideas. Having established SASO for the students and SASM for those at school, BC followers wanted a broader and bigger voice to articulate the demands and aspirations of Black people.
- Several unions and organisations aligned to BC was formed to give action to the ideology of BC. These included, among others, the following: Black Parents Association, Black Allied Workers Union, Azanian People's Organisation and others.
- The 'Viva Frelimo Rallies' of September 1974 were organized by the BC and SASO and took place regardless of the ban placed by the government.
- The theme of these celebrations was the achievement of the independence by the people of Mozambique
- The arrest of BC leaders and the ensuing courts cases served to heighten the level of political activism and consciousness in South Africa.



Black Community Programmes

- Steve Biko was to be banished to King William's Town and this led to the diverted focus to Black Community Programmes (BCP)
- Having been banned the focus of Biko now turned to the BC and the Black Community Programmes BCP
- To undertake projects for themselves e.g. The Zanempilo Community Centre
- Established various projects and trust funds were established to entrench the belief that blacks can achieve self-sufficiency
- These included the following: Publications and leadership training, Zanempilo Community Health



Impact on labour

- Influence of BC through SASO extended to labour resulting in the famous strike by the tile and factory workers in Durban (Durban Moment)
- The influence of BC did not end with the workers in 1973 but it emerged again with the 1976 Soweto Uprising
- The Black Allied Workers Union was among the labour formations that were formed through the influence of BC
- This was a watershed moment in trade unionism in South Africa because after his event many similar protests were to occur in South Africa.

1976 Soweto Uprising

- The government plan was to enforce the language policy that promoted Afrikaans to be the medium of instruction in Black schools
- These efforts to enforce Afrikaans as a medium of instruction came to people who have been exposed to the teachings of Biko and BC and it was going to be difficult for the government to have its way
- Even though the government was ultimately forced to back down on its language policy the killings, arrests and imprisonment continued
- Many young South Africans skipped the country to swell the ranks of the ANC and the PAC in exile.
- More repressive laws were passed and the anti-apartheid organisations with links to Black Consciousness were banned (SASO, SASM, BPC AND SSRC)

Biko's death

- Biko was re-arrested in 1977 and later died in



police custody

- The ideas that Biko stood for survived his death and this was true to his statement that 'It is better to die for an idea that will live, than to live for an idea that will die'



4.8 ACTIVITIES/QUESTIONS

Examples of essays using the common essay question verbs:

Do you agree with the statement ...?

To what extent ...?

Critically discuss ...?

Activity 1

Explain to what extent Steve Biko and Black Consciousness played a significant role in mobilising black South Africans against the Apartheid regime during the 1970s

Support your line of argument with relevant evidence

(50)

Activity 2

‘Steve Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness had played a major role in reviving political activism and organisations in South Africa in the 1970s’

Do you agree with this statement? Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument

(50)

Activity 3

Critically discuss how the philosophy of Black Consciousness influenced the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument

(50)

Possible Responses

Activity 1

Explain to what extent Steve Biko and Black Consciousness played a significant role in mobilising black South Africans against the Apartheid regime during the 1970s

Support your line of argument with relevant evidence.

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates needs to explain to what extent Steve Biko and Black Consciousness played a significant role in mobilising black South Africans against the Apartheid regime during the 1970s

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

- **INTRODUCTION:** Candidates needs to explain to what extent Steve Biko and Black Consciousness played a significant role in mobilising black South Africans against the

Apartheid regime during the 1970s. They need to demonstrate how they intend answering the question

ELABORATION



- **Background information:** The Sharpeville massacre (1960) led to the banning of the ANC and PAC

Resulted in a lull (vacuum) of political activity and opposition to the Apartheid government

allowed the government to further entrench repression for making opposition to its policies difficult.

- BCM emerged to fill up the vacuum

- **The emergence of the BC philosophy**

- Steve Biko and other leaders broke away from NUSAS and form SASO



SASO focused on students at tertiary institutions students. Several

Universities and Colleges were established after the passing of University Education Act of 1959.
f the extension



Among the Universities that were to be fertile ground for the spread of BC ideology were the following: University of Durban Westville, Fort Hare University, University of Zululand and the University of the North.

- **The essence of the Philosophy to prepare black South Africans to change their lives**



Black South Africans should not depend on other races who were sympathetic to their course.



This is why Biko and those who supported him felt that 'The Blacks are tired of standing at the touchline to witness a game they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves all by themselves'



BC is an ideology that plans to infuse the black community with a newfound pride in themselves, their efforts, their value system, their culture and their outlook to life (instilled a feeling of pride, selfblack South Africans) -reliance & self-esteem amongst

Encouraged black South Africans to understand the power of mental emancipation

- Encouraged black South Africans to overcome the feeling of self-pity, Self-alienation and external forces

• **Mobilisation through Political organisations**

- Establishment of SASO (from NUSAS)
- Formation of Black Peoples Convention (BPC) as a political vehicle for BC ideas
- Having established for the students and SASM for those at school, BC followers wanted a broader and bigger voice to articulate the demands and aspirations

of Black people

- **Mobilising workers:** ◦ Influence of BC through SASO extended to labour resulting in the famous

strike by the tile and factory workers in Durban (Durban Moment)

- Formation of BAWU
- This was a watershed moment in trade unionism in South Africa because after his event many similar protests were to occur in South Africa

- **Mobilising through Community Programmes:** ◦ Steve Biko was to be banished to King William's Town and this led to the diverted focus to Black Community Programmes (BCP)

- BC and the Black Community Programmes BCP – for self-empowerment
- To undertake projects for themselves e.g. The Zanempilo Community Centre

Various projects and trust funds were established to entrench the belief that blacks can achieve self-sufficiency

• **Mobilising students**

Efforts to enforce Afrikaans as a medium of instruction came to people who have been exposed to the teachings difficult for the government to have its way of Biko and BC and it was going to be

- Afrikaans laid fertile ground for the Soweto Uprising
- The Soweto Uprising (16 June 1976)
- Even though the government was ultimately forced to back down on its language policy the killings, arrests and imprisonment continued
- Many young South Africans skipped the country to swell the ranks of the ANC and the PAC in exile

□ Conclusion: Candidates should sum up their argument with a relevant conclusion

Activity 2

`Steve Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness had played a major role in reviving political activism and organisations in South Africa in the 1970s` Do you agree with this statement? Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates need to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statement that Steve Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness played a major role in reviving political activism and organisations in South Africa in the 1970s

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates could include the following aspects in their response:

Introduction: Candidates need to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statement that Steve Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness played a major role in reviving political activism and organisations in South Africa in the 1970s. They need to demonstrate how they intend answering the question

ELABORATION

- Political vacuum left by the banning of liberation movements (the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azanian) opened the way for the establishment of the BCM
- Experiences of Biko and others within white led organisations like NUSAS and the University Christian Movement
- Steve Biko and other leaders broke away from NUSAS and formed SASO because the feeling was that NUSAS was not vocal in its fight against the injustices suffered by the Black Students.
- SASO focused on tertiary institutions students. Several Universities and Colleges were established after the passing of the extension of University Education Act of 1959. Among the Universities that were to be fertile ground for the spread of BC ideology were the following: University of Durban Westville, Fort Hare University, University of Zululand University of the North, Turfloop
- Several organisations and unions were formed through the influence of BC and SASO to put pressure on the government from various directions (Union of African Journalists, Black Allied Workers Union, Black Parents Association and others)
- Formation of Black Peoples Convention as a political vehicle for BC ideas. Having established SASO for the students and SASM for those at school, BC followers wanted a broader and bigger voice to articulate the demands and

- Influence of BC through SASO extended to labour resulting in the famous strike by the tile and factory workers in Durban (Durban Moment) • This was a watershed moment in trade unionism in South Africa because after his event many similar protests were to occur in South Africa. • Steve Biko was to be banished to King William's Town and this led to the diverted focus to Black Community Programmes (BCP)
- To undertake projects for themselves e.g. The Zanempilo Community Centre
- Various projects and trust funds were established to entrench the belief that blacks can achieve self-sufficiency
- The role of SASM and the Soweto Students Representative Council in the 1976 Soweto Uprising
- More repressive laws were passed and the anti-apartheid organisations with links to Black Consciousness were banned (SASO, SASM, BPC AND SSRC)
- Biko was re-arrested in 1977 and later died in police custody
- The ideas that Biko stood for survived his death and this was true to his statement that 'It is better to die for an idea that will live, than to live for an idea that will die'
- Conclusion: Candidates should sum up their argument with a relevant conclusion.

If candidates disagree with the statement, they must support their line of argument with relevant evidence (50)

Activity 3

Critically discuss how the philosophy of Black Consciousness influenced the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument

[Plan and construct an original argument based on relevant evidence using analytical and interpretative skills]

SYNOPSIS

Candidates should critically discuss how the philosophy of Black Consciousness influenced the Soweto Uprising of 1976. Focus should be on how the philosophy was transmitted from structures at universities to those in schools.

MAIN ASPECTS

Candidates should include the following aspects in their response:

- Introduction: Candidates should critically discuss how the philosophy of Black Consciousness influenced the Soweto Uprising of 1976 and show how black South African students were inspired to fight for their freedom. They need to demonstrate how they intend answering the question.

ESSAY QUESTION:

QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970'S TO 1980'S: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISES OF APARTHEID

EXAMPLE 1

Explain to what extent the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) played an important role in challenging the apartheid state in the 1970's. [50]

INTRODUCTION:

To a greater extent the Black Consciousness Movement played an important role in challenging the apartheid state in the 1970's. This is evident through the role played by SASO, BPC and SASM. This essay will discuss the aims of Black Consciousness Movement, the role of organisations such as SASO, the role of Black Peoples Convention etc.

ELABORATION: (The body of the essay):

O PARAGRAPH 1:

PEEL METHOD:

POINT: Nature and Aims of BC

EXPLAIN: What was the nature and aims of BC

EVIDENCE: Give details about Steve Biko's role (Philosophy of BC)

LINK: Connect the information to the question and the upcoming paragraph. (Indeed the philosophy of BC challenged the apartheid state in the 1970s)

(POINT) During the 1960's there was a political vacuum in South Africa because political leaders and political organizations such as the ANC, SACP were banned and leaders were sent into exile. **(EXPLAIN)** to close the gap, Steve Biko introduced the philosophy of Black Consciousness which aimed to promote unity amongst black people by mobilizing them to fight against apartheid, in particular against the divisions caused by separate development. **(EVIDENCE)** BC encouraged blacks to stop working with liberals in multiracial organisations and called for engagement in welfare work and programmes of self-help run by blacks for blacks. As a result, the South African Student Organisation (SASO) was formed to encourage black students to liberate themselves from the oppression imposed by the apartheid regime in tertiary institutions. **(LINK)** Indeed the philosophy of BC challenged the apartheid state in the 1970s.

O PARAGRAPH 2:

POINT: Political mobilization (The role of SASO and other organizations)

- In 1968, Steve Biko and other black student leaders broke away from the white dominated National Union leaders broke away from the white dominated NUSAS because:
- Accepted separate residences and eating facilities for different races at its conference in 1967.
- This revealed that white liberals could not free themselves from their privileged position in society.

- Black students felt that their role as activists in their own struggle for freedom was marginalized.
- The South African Students Organization (SASO) the driving force behind Black Consciousness was established in 1968 under the leadership of Steve Biko.
 - SASO provided the foundation of political resistance in the absence of other liberation organizations.
 - SASO grew rapidly in black university campuses.
 - Students began to challenge university authorities on issues of apartheid and administration.
 - SASO organized boycott of classes at universities and established branches for school students in major centres, of which the Soweto based South African Students Movement (SASM) was one.
 - It promoted black unity and made students to be more politically aware.
 - It became a powerful force in challenging the injustices of apartheid.
 - At the third annual conference in 1972, SASO decided to establish a national trade union for black workers even though black trade unionism was illegal.
 - The Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) was formed and worker strikes became familiar in the early 70's.
 - SASO also formed Black People Convention (BPC) in 1972.

○ PARAGRAPH 3:

POINT: Community programmes: ...

- The BCM developed a number of political and community organizations to widen the struggle and mobilize supporters from the wider black community.
- One such organization, founded in January 1972 was (BCP), which focused on community development projects.
- Projects such as the **Black journals and community newspapers**.
- **Zanempilo Community Health Care**. The centre was not solely a health facility.
- It became a meeting point and a training ground for activists.
- Ramphela Mamphela formed the **Isutheng Community Health Programme**.
- Through Isutheng, she set about empowering women and encouraging them to establish vegetable gardens housed on church land.
- The **Zimele Trust Fund** was established by Biko in 1975
- The trust was used to cover the start-up costs of income-generating activities of families of political prisoners or those just released from prison.
- **Mhlonti Black Theatre** started in Alexandra Township in 1971 to provide a platform for drama reflected black history and experience.
- In line with the project to promote self-reliance, BCP was involved in building schools, clinics and day-care centres across the country.

○ PARAGRAPH 4:

POINT: Student mobilization

- BC did influence the thinking of many young people and leaders of school student organizations.
- School students in black schools were angry about the inferior system of bantu education.

It was the language issue—the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

- The language policy caused major difficulties for both teachers and learners.
- SASM, the Black Consciousness organization, grew rapidly from 1973 onwards, especially in Soweto.
- SASM produced a militant newspaper Thrust.
- The government response to SASM was to ban the newspaper and to imprison or ban many of its leaders.
- In 1976, when the students started boycotting classes, the leaders of SASM supported the protests and called for a complete boycott of the June examinations.
- On 13 June 1976, at SASM meeting, an Action Committee was formed.
- It planned a march for 16 June as a mass demonstration to protest against the enforced use of Afrikaans in schools.
- It was on 16 June that the Soweto Uprising started.
- A number of SASO members became teachers once they had graduated.

O PARAGRAPH 5:

POINT: Legacy of Black Consciousness on South African Politics: ... •

BC filled the emptiness in black resistance to Apartheid.

- It promoted new leadership and direction in resistance politics
- It undertook educational, health and community self-help projects that improved the lives of many
- About 12 000 young people left the country, most of them joining the ANC and MK in exile

CONCLUSION: In the final analysis the above information provide evidence that, it is to a greater extent that the Black Consciousness Movement played a major role in challenging the apartheid state in the 1970s. It filled the emptiness in black resistance to apartheid.

NB: Conclude by using the following: e.g In conclusion; Conclusively; In the final analysis.

ESSAY QUESTION 2

Critically discuss how Steve Biko and the philosophy of black consciousness mobilized black South Africans to challenge apartheid government in the 1960s to 1970s.

[50]

INTRODUCTION:

Indeed, Steve Biko and the philosophy of black consciousness mobilized black South Africans to challenge the apartheid government in the 1960s to 1970s. This is evident through the role played by SASO, BPC and SASM.

CONCLUSION: A learner may conclude by taking one point in any of the above paragraphs and write a summary accompanied by the line of argument.

NB: Conclude by using the following: e.g In conclusion; Conclusively; In the final analysis.

ESSAY QUESTION 3

It was mainly the role played by Steve Biko and Black Consciousness that mobilized the black South Africans to challenge the apartheid regime in the 1970s.

Do you agree with this statement? Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument. [50]

INTRODUCTION:

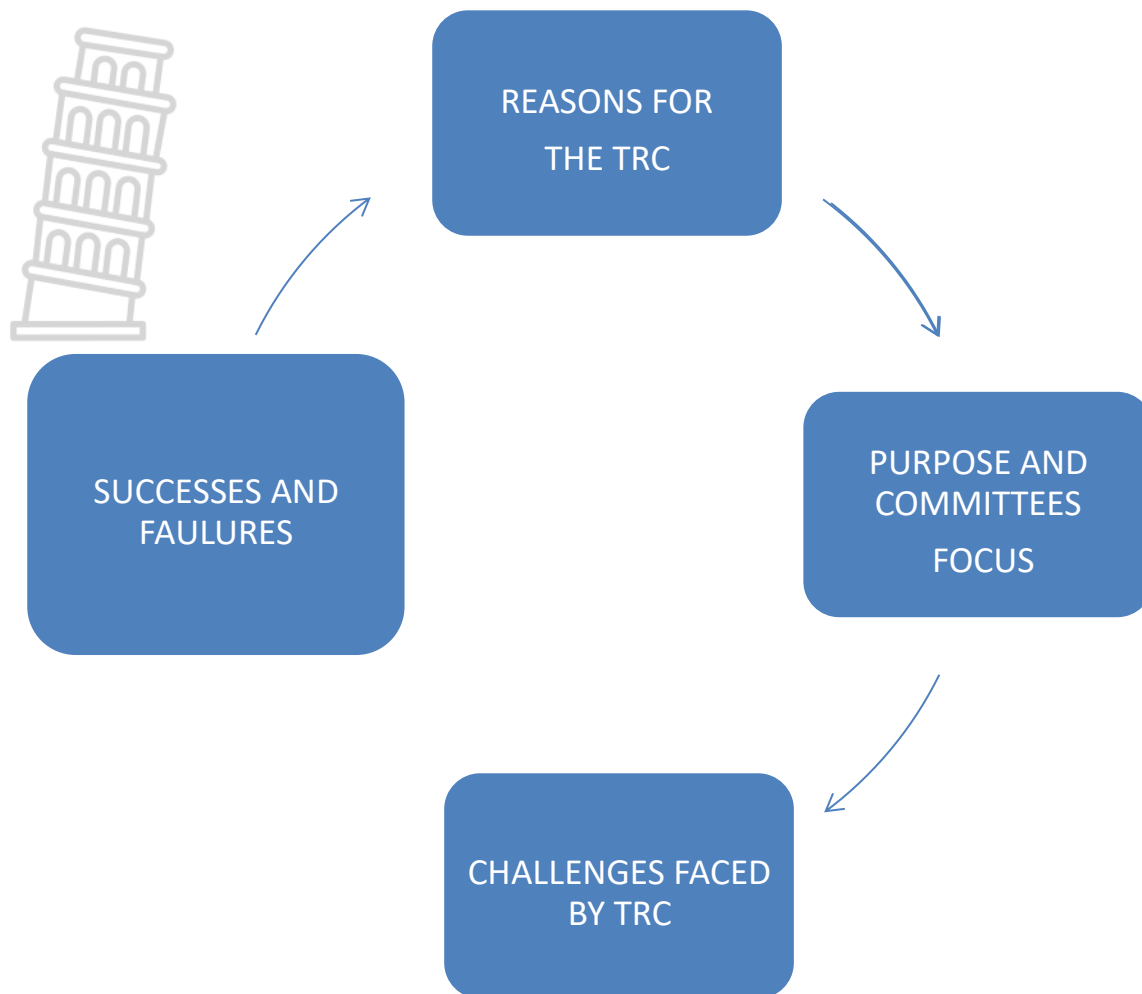
One may agree with the statement which says, it was mainly the role played by Steve Biko and Black Consciousness that mobilized the black South Africans to challenge the apartheid regime in the 1960's to 1970's. This is evident through the role played by SASO, BPC and SASM.

CONCLUSION: A learner may conclude by taking one point in any of the above discussed points and write a summary accompanied by the line of argument.

NB: Conclude by using the following: e.g *In conclusion; Conclusively; In the final analysis.*



THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC)



DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Reconciliation: It is a process through which friendly relations between two or more former enemies are restored.

Human rights violations: The abuse of the rights and freedoms to which all humans are entitled.

Restorative Justice: It is justice that seeks to restore peace between a perpetrator and the victim, as well as to rehabilitate the perpetrator so as to build a peaceful and united society.

Retributive Justice: Retributive justice is a legal punishment that requires the offender to receive a punishment for a crime proportional or similar to its offense. It is justice aimed at punishing the perpetrators or wrongdoers.

Reconciliation: Bringing together former enemies in a manner that promotes forgiveness and healing.

Reparation: Compensation paid to victims for the injustices of the past.

Amnesty: Pardon, forgiveness for political motivated crimes on condition the perpetrator makes a full disclosure and proves that the act was politically motivated

Blanket Amnesty: it is form of amnesty that is given to a group of activists who committed political crimes.

Victim: it is a person who was attacked, killed or injured during the apartheid era.

Cruelty: it is ruthless behaviour that inflicts pain or bodily harm to another person.

- After the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, there were still many unanswered questions.
- People wanted to know what happened during the apartheid period.
- Many people had simply 'disappeared', while others were murdered by unknown persons.
- It was believed that South Africa should deal with the past in order to move forward as a nation.
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established in 1995.
- It was established in terms of the **Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995**.
- Its purpose was to investigate human rights violations that occurred between 1960 and 1994, and to grant amnesty to those perpetrators who made full disclosure.
- The commission also had to foster reconciliation and unity among South Africans.
- It had to heal the wounds of the past.
- It had to create space for the victims and the perpetrators to reconcile.
- The chairperson of the commission was Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Alex Boraine was the deputy chairperson.
- The TRC was the first **restorative justice** process to conduct public hearings and provide space for survivors to tell their stories in their own words

THE COMMITTEES OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION (HRV) COMMITTEE

- The task of the HRV Committee was to investigate human rights abuses that took place between 1960 and 1994, based on statements made to the TRC.

Reasons

Because so many people were killed between 1960 and 1994

Because there were so many people who disappeared between 1960 and 1994.

Because the Apartheid government proved to be too cruel between 1960 and 1994.

THE COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION

THE COMMITTEE HAD TO DO THE FOLLOWING;

Establish the identity of the victims

Establish their fate or whereabouts

Establish the nature and extent of the harm they suffered

Establish whether the violations were the result of deliberate planning by the state or any other organisation, group or individual.

- Once victims of gross human rights violations are identified, they were referred to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.

REPARATION AND REHABILITATION (R&R) COMMITTEE

- The enabling act empowered the R&R Committee to:
 - provide victims support to ensure that the Truth Commission process restores victims' dignity,
 - formulate policy proposals and recommendations on rehabilitation and healing of survivors, their families and communities at large.
- A President's Fund, funded by Parliament and private contributions, has been established to pay urgent interim **reparations** to victims in terms of the regulations prescribed by the President.

AMNESTY COMMITTEE (AC)

- The primary function of the AC is to consider that applications for amnesty were done in accordance with the provisions of the Act.
- Applicants could apply for amnesty for any act, omission or offence associated with a political objective committed between 1 March 1960 to 6 December 1993.

PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES FACED BY THE TRC

- They had to deal with difficult people
- They had to work around the clock, investigating stories told by the perpetrators
- They had to do a daunting task, giving counselling to the victims
- They had to give perpetrators amnesty
- They had to try to create peace between the perpetrators and victims
- They had to weigh stories told by the victims
- They had to repatriate/ return dead bodies
- They had to unearth dead bodies

THE SUCCESSES OF THE TRC

- The victims came forward to tell their stories
- The victims were given a reparation of R30000/ compensation
- The cruelties of Apartheid were unearthed
- The killing of people in Angola were exposed
- Dead bodies of those who died in exile were returned
- Perpetrators came forward and applied for Amnesty
- The TRC revealed the major killings in the 1980s
- Perpetrators were granted Amnesty

THE FAILURES OF THE TRC

- Other perpetrators were given preferential treatment
- Some victims were not given the R30000/ compensation

Other cruelties of Apartheid were not unearthed

- More killings of exiles were properly addressed
- Some of the dead bodies of those who died in exile were not returned
- Other perpetrators did not come forward to tell their stories
- A number of major killings in the 1980s were not exposed

ACTIVITY 1 SOURCE 1 A

This extract explains the aims of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was established in 1995.

There are two crucial things that have come out of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The first is that it has achieved a remarkable and farranging public exposure of the human rights violations and crimes committed under the Apartheid regime... it has forced a previously reluctant population (though, of course, there is still denial at one level) to see that Apartheid was morally indefensible; that is a crime against humanity. It has produced an archive which allows people to examine their past and hopefully learn from it.

Secondly, it has allowed ordinary people to find expression for the suffering under the regime. It has had a completely cathartic (therapeutic or healing) function for many of the victims... It is in this sense that some form of reconciliation has already taken place.

[From: www.wits.ac.za Traces of Truth – The South African TRC] Accessed on 4

June 2015

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

1. Refer to Source A.

1.1 What, according to the source, were the TWO achievements of the TRC?

(2 x 1) (2)

1.2 Explain the concept Apartheid in your own words.

(1 x 2) (2)

1.3 Explain the concept Reconciliation in the context of the T.R.C.

(1 x 2) (2)

1.3 Explain why you think the TRC was seen as having a healing function for the victims.

(2 x 2) (4)

ACTIVITY 2

This cartoon by Zapiro evaluates the work of the TRC.



The Sowetan, 29 October 1998]

2. Study Source B.

- 2.1. Identify any FOUR political parties in the cartoon that attacked Tutu when he delivered the final TRC report to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October

1998. (4 x 1) (4)

- 2.2. Explain the messages conveyed in this cartoon regarding the final TRC report submitted to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October 1998. (2 x 2) (4)

- Identify elements or clues in the cartoon that speaks on the reaction to the final TRC report.

- 2.3. Explain the limitations of this source for a historian researching the shortcomings of the TRC (2 x 2) (4)

- Note that limitations would be what the source does not inform you about shortcomings of the TRC

ACTIVITY 3

The following extract evaluates evidence that was presented before the TRC.

Approximately 147 transcripts of confidential TRC hearings have been handed over to the South African Archives (SAHA) by the Department of Justice after the Archives' marathon decade-long struggle to obtain them. These documents are said to contain explosive details of specific human rights violations. The confidential TRC hearings were conducted under Section 29 of the Promotion of Nationality Act (1995). Former TRC investigative Unit Head, Dumisa Ntsebesa said "it was of utmost importance for the files to be accessible in the public domain, as these documents raise serious questions for the NPA about cases that were not followed up once the TRC closed its doors."

From the records, he said, it will be clear to everyone "that we confronted perpetrators with gruelling but polite examination where many had to amplify their amnesty applications rather than the sanitised versions they had earlier represented."

Now everyone can see that the investigative unit confronted perpetrators with damning prima facie evidence, and it boggles the mind that no one has been prosecuted when the Justice Department had this kind of information at its disposal.

He said that information obtained at the hearings should have been used by government to retrieve cash and assets that were funnelled to secret structures such as the Civil Co-operation Bureau, which had been fingered for participation in the killings of Anton Lubowski, David Webster, Dulcie September and many other abuses such as the bombing of Father Michael Lapsely.

[From: <http://mobi.iol.co.za/#!/article/trc-files-reveal-damning-truth-1.1843834>]

Accessed on 12 June 2015

3. Read source C

3.1. Why, according to the information in the source, did it take 10 years to hand over the 147 transcripts to SAHA? (1 x 2) (2)

3.2. Explain what Dumisa Ntsebeza implied by the statement "that we confronted perpetrators with gruelling but polite examination where many had to amplify their amnesty applications rather than the sanitised versions they had earlier represented" in the context of amnesty applications by the perpetrators. (2 x 2) (4)

- Implied relates to what the writer or examiner meant by the statement provided.
- You have to provide an interpretation of what the writer meant in your own words.
- Be prepared to provide two or three meanings.

3.3. Explain the usefulness of the source to a historian studying the work of the TRC. (2 x 2) (4)

ACTIVITY 4

The source below explains the reasons for the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1995.

The TRC was a product of the political compromises wrought (produced) during the negotiations that ended apartheid. The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act 34 of 1995) established the TRC to investigate politically motivated gross human rights violations perpetrated (committed) between 1960 and 1994. The intent was to prevent such atrocities from reoccurring and to unify a divided nation scarred (damaged) by past conflicts. South Africa's TRC was the first truth commission to offer amnesty to individuals who fully disclosed in public their involvement in politically motivated crimes. In doing so, the democratic government embraced the concept of 'restorative justice' instead of the 'retributive justice'.

President Nelson Mandela selected a diverse (different) group of 17 TRC commissioners, naming Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize laureate (winner) and anti-apartheid icon (hero), as its chairperson and the deputy chairperson, Alex Boraine. 'Certainly, amnesty cannot be viewed as justice if we think of justice only as retributive and punitive in nature,' said Tutu. 'We believe, however, that there is another kind of justice, a restorative justice which is concerned not so much with punishment, as with correcting imbalances, restoring broken relationships with healing, harmony and reconciliation and to also find out about political disappearance and killings of activists, such as Chris Hani in April 1993.

[From <http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/unit.php?id=65-24E-3&page=1>. Accessed on 11 July 2022]

4. Consult Source D,

4.1. Why, according to the source, was the TRC established? (1 x 2) (2)

4.2. Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why the democratic government opted for restorative justice rather than retributive justice. (2 x 2) (4)



This source is a photograph which appeared on the front page of the Sunday Times ON 11 April 1993. It is titled 'HOW HANI DIED'

WEEKEND WINNERS
ALL THE LUCKY
NUMBERS: PAGE 12

CAPE EDITION
Sunday Times
THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE APRIL 11 1993 PRICE R3 incl VAT 4 TIMES WEEKLY PUBLICATION

REJECTED
SURGICAL GLOVES
WITH SABS MARK
PAGE 2

Four shots kill SACP chief after lone drive

Tragedy strikes two days after peace call

HOW HANI DIED

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO, CHARLES LEONARD and CHARLENE SMITH

AS CHRIS HANI drove into his driveway just after 10am yesterday, a red Ford Laser pulled in close behind. The driver, a white man, followed Hani to his front door.

Four shots rang out. Hani was hit at point-blank range in the chest, behind the car and in his chest.

Mr. Hani, 46-year-old revolutionary turned parliamentarian, lay dead, clutching a newspaper to his chest.

Alerted by the sound of the gunshot, Mr. Hani's daughter, Nomakwe, 16, the only member of his family at home at the time, opened the front door to be confronted by the sight of her father's bloodied body in his blue track suit and running shoes.

Her screams alerted a neighbour, who ran to the Hani house from next door and found the 46-year-old father bent over his father's body.

"It was awful. The child was wailing. I quickly took her away from the sight of her dead father, bleeding all over the patio," said the neighbour, who did not want to be named for fear of reprisals.

Cordon

She took Nomakwe to the nearby home of the ANC's PWV chairman Tokyo Nkomo.

As the police drove away, a woman who lives nearby took down the registration number of the car and reported the killing to the police.

By 10.30am, police, SABC personnel and traffic police had cordoned off the entire block bordering Nkomo Street.

Mr. Hani's body was removed in a police mortuary van at 12.30pm.

ANC members formed a cordon on either side of the van and broke into an emotional rendition of the Jover's song for Father's Day, *Nkomo, Nkomo*.

As the van slowly drove through the large crowd, ANC national chairman Dr. Thabo Mbeki, his wife Adelaide and son Paul arrived. With them was the Mandela lawyer Bhebe Ngweni.

Mr. Mbeki, in black suit and white shirt, was walking slowly, looking on as a person forward to his front.

Alone

Soon afterwards, white-haired Walter Sisulu arrived alone, with a driver.

Mrs. Sisulu, who arrived with a three-car entourage, also paid her last respects.

This was to have been a rare weekend off for Mr. Hani, who broke his usual security routine to drive alone to the shop. His driver, who looks as he belongs, was sent to the house where the assassination took place.

He arrived later the evening had been quiet and broke down after a newspaper reporter told him Mr. Hani was dead.

Mr. Hani, who often addressed those to four letters a day, decided to have some time off over Easter.

He returned from Pretoria after a day-long visit with ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma to see General Butho Buthe for a second time, before returning to his home between Thabane and the SA government.

On Thursday night he appeared on SABC TV's *Journal* with ANC secretary-general Bhebe Ngweni.

On Friday he was in London's *Express*.

Police hold 'right-wing' immigrant

By DE WET POTGIETTER and EDDITH BULBRING

A FORTY-YEAR-OLD man of Polish extraction, allegedly with right-wing sympathies, has been arrested in connection with the killing of ANC Chairman Chris Hani.

Police sources yesterday identified the man as Mr. Jan Walshe.

They said Mr. Walshe had moved to South Africa 10 years ago to "get away from the communist regime".

Mr. Walshe, a right-wing, was described as a "well-known" member of the AWB and the CP.

Extreme

Three weeks ago, in the wake of the shootings of white vigilantes at Ekurhuleni, north of Johannesburg, AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche announced that an extremist, white group, unconnected with his organisation, was setting itself up to wage civil war.

It is not clear whether the man being held by the police is connected with this extremist group.

No official confirmation of the man's identity was available yesterday.

The man was arrested by police half an hour after his car was spotted leaving the murder scene. Police responded to an all-points

ANC calls for calm

By EDDITH BULBRING

THE ANC and the South African Communist Party yesterday appealed to their supporters to remain calm and restrained following the assassination of Chris Hani.

The ANC asked its members not to be provoked by those intent on wrecking the peace process.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said Mr. Hani, the leader of the SA Communist Party, was a martyr for the cause of justice and peace.

"His death demands of us that we pursue that cause with even greater vigour and determination," said Mr. Mandela.

"With all the solidarity at my command, I therefore appeal to all our people to remain calm and to honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace."

Their call for calm was reiterated by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. "I want to make a call to our people. Please, don't let them manipulate us. Don't let this tragedy even trigger reprisals. It is what somebody wants to see happen."

Blacks taunted in streets

Sunday Times Reporter ONLY hours after the slaying of SACP leader Chris Hani, four white cars in a white bubble crashed past the SACP headquarters in Johannesburg shouting "Ty with the AWB".

The race to the lack of the news bubble showed those at black protesters. Elsewhere, the common man leader's death was greeted with shock and, in some cases, anger.

The SACP reported spontaneous gatherings of supporters in the Eastern Cape and other major centres.

At the time of going to press, burning barricades were being put up in Kagiso in the Western Cape.

London's famous Consulate cigarettes IN TINS

5. Study Source E.

5.1. Why do you think the editor of the Sunday Times newspaper decided to publish this photograph (2 x 2) (4)

- Look at the importance of the photograph based on the information provided by the visual source

5.2. How, according to the source, did the ANC respond to Chris Hani's death?

(1 x
1) (1)

ACTIVITY 6

SOURCE F

This source is a newspaper article that appeared in *The Mail & Guardian* on 10 April 2018. It was titled 'Chris Hani: The men behind his killing' and focuses on how Chris Hani was killed

Chris Hani was the leader of the South African Communist Party and chief of staff of uMkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC). Chris was an ardent (passionate) advocate of peace, a man who oozed (was full of) warmth, zest (appetite) for life, tenderness and boundless optimism. He was a fierce opponent of the apartheid government, and was assassinated by Janusz Waluś, a Polish immigrant and sympathiser of the Conservative Party, outside his Boksburg home on April 10, 1993. He used a gun supplied by Derby-Lewis.

Former Conservative Party Member of Parliament (MP) Clive Derby-Lewis had conspired (plotted) to plunge (push) the country into a race war and set process ahead of the country's first democratic elections in 1994, with a series of assassinations. Janusz Waluś, was arrested soon after the shooting. When police searched Waluś's house they found a hit list which included the names of Mandela, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Joe Slovo, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj and Judge Richard Goldstone. A few days after Waluś's arrest, two Conservative Party parliamentarians Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye were charged with murder along with Waluś.

[From *The Mail and Guardian*, 10 April 2018]

6. Consult Source F

6.1. Quote evidence from the source that mentions when and where Chris Hani was killed. (2 x 1) (2)

6.2. Why do you think Chris Hani opposed the apartheid government? (2 x 2) (4)

6.3. Compare Sources E and F. explain how the information in Source E supports the evidence in Source F regarding the assassination of Chris Hani. (2 x 2) (4)

- Look for similarities in the information provided by both sources relating to the assassination of Chris Hani.
- Use the information you have identified as similar from both sources in your own words



ACTIVITY 7

SOURCE G

The source below explains how victims of apartheid demanded R1million each in reparations

A crowd of victims of apartheid gathered at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Tuesday, demanding an urgent meeting with President Cyril Ramaphosa. The group of aged people, with many using crutches to help them walk, was led by activist Nomarussia Bonase of the Khulumani Support Group – an organisation which supports apartheidera victims and activists.

"We are from Gauteng but what we have brought here is a mandate and the demands of the Khulumani Support Group nationally. It is now 25 years and we are still on this journey, trying to bring our government in to talk about our demands. We are a wounded society. We were wounded by apartheid. After 1994, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was formed, and that commission was meant to bring peace, rebuild and restore the dignity of humans violated by apartheid," Bonase told African News Agency.

"During the TRC, people who were victims of apartheid said they needed reparation ... The TRC came up with a recommendation that victims and their families should be given individual reparations. They recommended a package for each individual, which was financial and would not be less than R120 000 at that time. That was in 1998. They also said they would give the victims proper housing, help the victims with proper medication and also help them with education."

"The other was symbolic reparations which would be a symbol for not forgetting what transpired (happened) during apartheid. For us, it was about having our stories written, being in books and also have monuments and tombstones erected. This democracy we talk about today came as a result of blood which was shed. We have people who disappeared, their families are here," she said. "There are also people who are wounded here. They need help. All these things are part of what we are demanding. The government has since taken only about 22 000 stories and only 15 000 people have been repaired. Those people are also here, they were thrown a R30 000. Our government has unfinished business of the TRC."

Bonase said the victims are now demanding "an urgent proper reparation" which would help heal their wounds.

[From: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/victims-of-apartheid-demand-r1m-each-in-reparations>]

7. Study Source G.

7.1. Why, according to the source, did the victims of apartheid gather at the Union

Buildings?

(1x 2) (2)

7.2. Who, according to the source, was the leader of the Khulumani Support Group? (1 x 2) (2)

7.3. Explain why the victims demanded reparations from TRC. (1 x 2) (2)

7.4. Comment on the usefulness of the information in the source to a historian researching the reparations demands made by the victims of apartheid. (2 x 2) (4)

- What does the source say about reasons for the demands for reparations that make you understand the issue about reparations better?
- Remember to use the ideas in your own words.

ACTIVITY 8 SOURCE H

The following cartoon by Zapiro appeared in the Sowetan Newspaper on 29 October 1998. It evaluates the work of the TRC.



8. Consult Source H.

8.1. Explain the messages conveyed in the cartoon regarding reparations for victims (2 x 2) (4)

8.2 Explain how the cartoonist portrays the government's attitude to the reparations process. (1 x 2) (2)

8.3. Compare Sources F and H. Explain how the information in Source F supports the evidence in Source H regarding the reparations of the victims for human rights violations they suffered. (2 x 2) (4)

ACTIVITY 9

Paragraph writing

Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) dealt with the process of reparations for the victims of apartheid atrocities. (8)

- **Remember not all sources may provide useful information that may assist you in answering the question.**
- **Underline relevant information relating to the question from relevant sources.**
- **Construct sentences from relevant information in your own words.**





THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

- **Democracy**

a political system in which the people have a right to

- **Referendum**

It is a voting process whereby the voters vote in favour or against a certain motion.

- **Massacre**

It is the killing of in large numbers.

- **Sunset clause**

It was a clause/provision that the continuation of certain rights/benefits

- **Assassination**

A killing a political figure or a political activist

- **Third force**

People who work underground with the aim to undermine their opponent's efforts.

- **State of emergency**

It a situation whereby government suspends ordinary laws and replace them with strict measures so to stabilize the political situation.

- **Multi-lateral talks**

It is a negotiation process that includes a number of political parties.

- **Bilateral talks:**

It is a negotiation process that involves two parties.

BRIEF BACKGROUND

- The signs for the demise/end of apartheid started in the late 1980s.
- It was shortly after PW Botha had suffered a severe stroke.
- He was replaced by FW De Klerk in 1989, who suddenly took a path that led to democracy.
- 1989 was also the Cold War came to an end.
- Both the African National Congress (ANC) and the National party were forced to negotiate with each other.
- On 2 February 1990, FW De Klerk announced the release of Nelson Mandela.



- He also unbanned the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and all other banned organizations.
- On 11 February 1990 Mandela was released.

THE GROOTE SCHUUR MEETING (ANC/NP)

- On 4 May 1990 the two organizations met in Cape Town/ Groote Schuur.
- They agreed to end the violence.
- They also agreed on the process of negotiation.
- This agreement was called Groote Schuur Minute.
- The delegation of the ANC was led by Nelson Mandela and the National Party (NP) was led by F.W De Klerk. In this meeting the two parties agreed that they would work with unreserved energy to find answers to the violent behaviour that was threatening to derail the negotiations.
- They agreed that political prisoners who were still in prison would be released; they also agreed that exiles would be allowed to return to the country, censorship of the media would be removed and political parties would be unbanned. Temporary peace between the two parties was then established.

THE PRETORIA MEETING (ANC/NP)

- On the 6th of August 1990, the two parties met again in Pretoria to continue where they had ended in Cape Town.
- The ANC agreed that it would disband Umkhonto Wesizwe.
- Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible.
- The Government has undertaken to consider the lifting of the State of Emergency in Natal as early as possible in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord.
- There is still ongoing violence in many parts of the country especially in Natal as groups affiliated with the ANC and IFP attacked each other. This disturbed the process of peaceful negotiations

VIOLENCE IN SEBOKENG

- On the 26 March 1990, the Sebokeng residents staged a protest against high rents and racially segregated local facilities.
- They marched to the local offices of the ruling National Party (NP).
- The police opened fire on the crowd.
- The incident claimed eleven lives and more than 300 people were injured
- This disturbed and derailed the talks that had already started

THE CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA (CODESA 1)

- On the 20th of 1991, nineteen major political parties met at the World Trade Centre at the Kempton Park in Johannesburg.
- The aim of this meeting was to pave the way to the multi-party democracy.
- All political parties were invited.
- Unfortunately, the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the Conservative Party (CP) refused to attend this meeting.

The OR felt that De Klerk had betrayed the white population by opening the doors for the negotiations.

- On the other hand, the PAC believed that there was no need for them to discuss the way in which the land would be returned to the black people because they were the rightful owners of the country.
- The parties that took part in this meeting ended up signing the Declaration of intent.
- However, the independent Bophuthatswana and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) refused to sign the declaration of intent because they were not happy about certain issues.
- The IFP was not happy that the Zulu King was not invited to the negotiations.

WHITES ONLY REFERENDUM

- The voting process took place on the 17th of March, 1992
- The negotiations were disturbed by the fact that some of the white people felt that the negotiations had to stop.
- The Conservative Party in particular wanted the general elections for the white people.
- FW De Klerk in an act that showed leadership and commitment, he instead of organizing the general elections, he organized the whites' only referendum.
- This meant that the white people had to vote for or against the negotiations
- Fortunately, enough, the result of the referendum was a landslide 'yes'. And this gave De Klerk the right to continue with the negotiations.
- Then the process of negotiations continued

CODESA 2

- The meeting was held in May 1992.
- The major role players in this meeting were the ANC and the NP.
- These two parties tried by any means deemed necessary to find answers to the issues like majority rule, power sharing, regional powers in the Homelands and the issue of violence.
- Unfortunately, these role players failed to find answers to these issues, especially the issue of power sharing because the NP put their foot on the ground that power had to be shared.
- The ANC ended up threatening to reintroduce the armed struggle and walked out the meeting.

THE ON-GOING VIOLENCE AND THE RUMOURS OF A THIRD FORCE

- Acts of violence continued to spill blood across the country.
- In many black townships, violence between the IFP and ANC became uncontrollable.
- It was even rumoured that the government had donated R250 000.00 to the IFP so that they could kill the members of the ANC.

CODESA 2 CONTINUED

- On the 15th of May 1992, the political parties met again in Kempton Park.
- The major reason of these talks was to discuss the complete disbandment of MK.
- The second major issue was the question of the fact that SABC was biased or unfair.
- The ANC wanted SABC to be restructured. However, this meeting failed to produce any positive results because the parties could not see eye to eye.

THE BOIPATONG MASSACRE

- The Boipatong massacre occurred on 17 June 1992.
- The members of IFP attacked the residents of Boipatong.
- In this incident, 49 people were killed.
- The whole incident was then known as the Boipatong massacre.
- The massacre nearly derailed the negotiations because it forced Nelson Mandela to go and bury the innocent people who were killed.
- Reports came in that the IFP assailants were escorted by the police.
- In response to the massacre the ANC withdrew from the negotiations, blaming the NP government for the attack.
- Ramaphosa accused De Klerk and the police of complicity in the massacre.
- Then on the 19 June, religious figures Bishop Desmond Tutu and afterwards Ray Macauley visited the grieving families in Boipatong.
- Then on 20 June 1992 state President F.W De Klerk visited Boipatong under heavy police guard in an attempt to show "sympathy" for the victims but was not welcome and had to leave.
- After the departure of De Klerk, Winnie Mandela visited Boipatong and addressed residents.
- Lastly, on 21 June 1992 with Nelson Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa and other leading members of the ANC visited Boipatong.
- In response, Nelson Mandela then suggested that the government had to fence hostels of migrant workers, ban cultural weapons such as spears so as to end violence.
- This clearly suggests that Nelson Mandela played an important role during the negotiations.
- Rather than derailing the negotiation process, the Boipatong massacre seems to have strengthened the resolve of those seeking to reach a peaceful settlement

BISHO MASSACRE

- On the 7th of September 1992, the members of the ANC in Bisho marched nonviolently to protest against Oupa Gcozo.
- In response to this march Gcozo ordered his Defence Force troops to shoot to kill and Twenty-nine people were killed
- And over 200 more people were injured. De klerk then decided to set up a national peace accord/ agreement.
- This agreement was signed by 24 organisations, agreeing that they would try in their strongest possible terms to stop violence in the black township
- After massacres at Boipatong and Bisho, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate the violence.
- The Goldstone Commission found that the clashes were not only between the ANC and the IFP but that the government had played a role in the form of the covert operation of the Third Force, which consisted of apartheid power stakeholders who actively opposed a non-racial democracy in South Africa
- The right-wing was demanding an independent Afrikaner province or Volkstaat and the recognition of Afrikaans as the main official language.
- An impending change of Government raised fears that the minority Afrikaner identity, social standing and way of life would be lost within a racially integrated state.
- The AWB, the CP and the VF launched a number of protests and threatened war.

THE RECORD OF UNDERSTANDING

- The ANC then decided to hold a secret meeting with the NP.
- The ANC was represented by Cyril Ramaphosa and the NP was represented by Roelf Meyer.
- On the 26 of September 1992, the two parties finished drafting the record of understanding which was later signed by all the political parties who took part in CODESA 2.
- The document asserted a shared desire to reopen negotiations and reflected at least partial resolutions to many of the major disagreements which had led to CODESA's collapse.
- On political violence, the parties agreed to further engagements, to a ban on carrying dangerous weapons in public, and to security measures at a specific list of hostels which had been identified as "problematic".
- The government also agreed to further extend the indemnity granted to political prisoners and to accelerate their release.
- Most importantly, the Record of Understanding resolved the most obstructive disagreements between the parties about the form of the constitution-making process and the nature of the post-apartheid state.
- In a major concession, the NP agreed that the constitution would be drafted by a democratically elected body, though one bound by pre-determined constitutional principles.

THE SUNSET CLAUSE (JOE SLOVO)

- In February 1993, Joe Slovo, an influential SACP leader and negotiator urged the ANC-SACP alliance to take a long-term view on the transition.
- He proposed the making of strategic concessions to the NP's demands, including the incorporation of a "sunset clause" which would allow a transitional period of temporary power-sharing to appease white politicians, bureaucrats, and military men.
- The Sunset Clause guaranteed white civil servants a stake in the new South Africa, helped to break the deadlock on power sharing in the negotiations process

THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS

- After the parties had signed the record of understanding, there was a need for them to finalize the road to democracy.
- Therefore, on the 1st of April 1993 they met again at the World Trade Centre.
- However, this meeting was disturbed by the members of the AWB who stormed into the building while the negotiations were going on.
- Fortunately, the AWB failed to derail the negotiations.
- In protest at the perceived sidelining of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mangosuthu Buthelezi took the IFP out of the MPNF and formed the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG).
- Later, he renamed the "Freedom Alliance" together with traditional leaders, homeland leaders and white right-wing groups.
- A period of brinkmanship followed, with the IFP remaining out of the negotiations until within days of the election on 27 April 1994.

THE ASSASSINATION OF CHRIS HANI

- Again, the negotiations were disturbed by the sudden death of Chris Hani who was killed by Januzs Waluz on the 10th of April 1993.
- This assassination the giant intensified the violent situation in the country as mourners and marchers stoned and burned cars.
- This resulted to the death of 70 people.

MANDELA'S APPEAL TO SOUTH AFRICANS

- To prevent a highly possible civil war in the country, FW De Klerk, in a show of leadership and commitment, decided to call upon Nelson Mandela and asked him to appear on National TV so as to speak to black people, especially the youth just to bring a sense of calm after the assassination of Hani.
- Shortly after that, the situation started to change and the violent behaviour began to subside and the multi-party talks began again.
- The sun-set clause was signed and an interim constitution was drafted.

ON-GOING VIOLENCE

- King Williamstown Golf Club: November 1992, an attack on King William's Town Golf Club took place in November 1992 in which four people were killed.
- Azanian People's Liberation Army members claimed responsibility.
- During the Sunday evening service on 25 July 1993, a group of APLA (PAC) cadres attacked the St. James Church in Kenilworth. Using grenades and AK47s.
- They killed 11 members of the congregation and wounded 58
- Amy Biehl, a 26-year-old, American student, was stoned and stabbed to death by a mob in the township shouting anti-white slogans.
- An attack on the Heidelberg Tavern took place in Observatory, Cape Town in December 1993.

EARLY 1994 VIOLENCE BROKE OUT

- The shell house massacre on the 28th of March, a little less than a month before the elections, ANC security guards at Shell House killed nineteen IFP members following a tip-off that IFP marchers were planning to attack the building.
- Just two days before the election, Central Johannesburg suffered a bombing carried out by the white right-wing.
- The bomb went off outside the African National Congress regional and national headquarters.
- Nine people were killed (including ANC Johannesburg secretary-general Susan Keane, who was the 41st candidate on the ANC's regional election list) and 92 people were injured

1994 ELECTIONS

- The IFP decides to join the elections
- Despite the violent behaviour that threatened to derail the negotiations, the day of the general elections came on the 27th of April 1994. People came in their numbers to cast their vote.

The ANC won the elections and the Government of National Unity (GNU) was then formed. Nelson Mandela became the president and F.W De Klerk and Thabo Mbeki became deputies.

MAIN ASPECTS

- Opening of Parliament
- Sebokeng rent protests and Groote Schuur
- Pretoria Minute, Sebokeng + Third Force allegations
- CODESA 1 + Whites Only Referendum
- CODESA 2 + Boipatong + Ciskei (Bisho Massacre)
- Record of Understanding, Sunset Clause
- Multi-Party Negotiation, Chris Hani Assassination
- Violence late 1993 and early 1994

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Explain to what extent political leadership and commitment by key South African role players paved the way for the birth of a new South Africa in 1994.

INTRODUCTION

- Read the question and underline key words before deciding on the stand to take.
- Take a stand and be certain that the information you write provides a properly contextualized introduction.

EXAMPLE OF AN INTRODUCTION FOR THE ABOVE QUESTION

To a large extent political leadership and a high level of commitment by key South African role players like Nelson Mandela and many others enabled South Africa in spite of many challenges like political violence, political murders and assassinations were able to overcome them and lead South Africa on a journey to the birth of a new country. This essay will explore all those challenges and highlight how political leadership overcame each of those challenges.

LINE OF ARGUMENT WITH THE USE OF THE PEEL METHOD

- Make sure that a point is introduced at the beginning of the paragraph.
- Make sure that the point is properly explained so as to show its relevance to the question posed
- Provide evidence as to how the point and its explanation relates to the question posed
- Conclude your paragraph by indication how the information provided assists with answering the question.

EXAMPLE OF A PARAGRAPH

The release of Mandela early in 1990 led to renewed hope for a new era in the history of South Africa. The road to a democratic order in South Africa was not going to be an easy one as it was filled with many challenges that lay on the road to freedom. In order to end the violence that was engulfing the country, it was important for the A.N.C. to start negotiating with the apartheid government immediately. (BACKGROUND) The first taste

of negotiations began with the meeting in Cape Town that became known as the Groote Schuur Minute. **(POINT)** This was a meeting to plan a way forward for formal negotiations. The role of political leaders can be clearly seen because a number of resolutions were taken. **(EXPLANATION OF THE POINT)** At this meeting it was agreed that both parties would form a group to address the issue of political prisoners. In addition to that they agreed that there would be temporary immunity from prosecution for certain members of the A.N.C. They also agreed to open lines of communication so as to limit the upsurge of political violence. Lastly both parties agreed to meet for the second time for the beginning of formal talks. The start of negotiations led to an upsurge in political violence in the country. In spite of this, through the commitment of political leaders, the second meeting was held in Pretoria on 6 August 1990. At this meeting that became known as the Pretoria Minute, the A.N.C. agreed to temporarily suspend the armed struggle. The government also agreed to lift the state of emergency. Both parties also agreed to double their efforts to reduce violence in the country. **(EVIDENCE)** These agreements and everything that has been discussed above prove that political leaders showed leadership and commitment played a leading role that led to the birth of a new South Africa. **(LINK OR L.O.A.)**

POINT	The first taste of negotiations began with the meeting in Cape Town that became known as the Groote Schuur Minute .
EXPLANATION	This was a meeting to plan a way forward for formal negotiations. The role of political leaders can be clearly seen because a number of resolutions were taken.
EVIDENCE	At this meeting it was agreed that both parties would form a group to address the issue of political prisoners. In addition to that they agreed that there would be temporary immunity from prosecution for certain members of the A.N.C. They also agreed to open lines of communication so as to limit the upsurge of political violence. Lastly both parties agreed to meet for the second time for the beginning of formal talks. The start of negotiations led to an upsurge in political violence in the country. In spite of this, through the commitment of political leaders, the second meeting was held in Pretoria on 6 August 1990. At this meeting that became known as the Pretoria Minute, the A.N.C. agreed to temporarily suspend the armed struggle. The government also agreed to lift the state of emergency. Both parties also agreed to double their efforts to reduce violence in the country

HOW THE PARAGRAPH WILL BE ASSESSED

- A point will be ticked as an acknowledgement of meeting the requirements of the PEEL method.
- A second tick will be placed to show how the point has been explained to show its relevance to the question posed.
- A third tick will be placed on the evidence provided as supporting the point.
- A fourth tick will be placed as LOA to tie up or conclude your paragraph.