

MOPANI EAST**Grade 12 history****Essays contents 2021-2023 Cycle****SECTION A. PAPER 1****QUESTION 4: STAGES OF THE WAR BETWEEN VIETNAM AND USA/TACTICS**

The USA was surprised by the support received by Viet Cong from local citizens. They then became afraid of the Domino Theory (Domino Effect) which means that if one Asian country fell under communism the rest would also follow the same system. As a result the USA decided to take measures to contain communism.

The first step they took was to move the peasants into fortified villages called hamlets from 1961 to 1963. These villages would be developed economically, socially and politically. This was done in order to isolate the Viet Cong who got shelter from the peasants. Unfortunately this plan did not work for USA as most of the peasants were reluctant to move to these new villages. This was caused by the fact that most peasants worshipped their ancestors and they did not want to leave their traditional homes behind. In addition to this the Viet Cong managed to occupy many strategic hamlets and captured the peasants' weapons.

The USA also sent a number of advisors to Vietnam with the hope of strengthening the government in South Vietnam as it was facing political instability and military losses.

Lyndon B. Johnson, who succeeded Kennedy as president after his death in 1963, applied a different strategy against the Viet Cong. He then decided to increase America's involvement in Vietnam to win the war quickly. He justified his action by claiming that North Vietnam gunboats had attacked American warships on two occasions in the Gulf of Tonkin. This made the Congress to pass the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

This resolution empowered the president to apply whatever strategy possible to protect American forces in Vietnam. Consequently Johnson increased the number of soldiers in Vietnam. By 1967 there were about half a million American troops in Vietnam. The USA realised that in order to defeat the Viet Cong they had to cut their supplies which was from North Vietnam. As a result they used different strategies such as operation Rolling Thunder, Search and destroy policy and Operation Ranch Hand which was the spraying of chemicals to weaken the Viet Cong.

Operation Rolling Thunder was a bombing campaign that targeted the Ho Chi Minh Trail and industrial areas in North Vietnam. The first ground troops were sent in in March 1965, to protect the US air bases. Rolling Thunder caused significant damage to its targets. But Aid from China and the USSR was not targeted. The Ho Chi Minh Trail was constantly repaired, so supplies still got through to the South. The destruction it caused turned the Vietnamese people against the USA. It killed thousands of civilians, which was bad for the USA's image.

Search and destroy missions involved small units of US soldiers searching the jungle for Viet Cong camps, then ordering helicopters to bomb or spray them. The USA thought these missions were successful because they destroyed Viet Cong supplies and tunnels. However, they made big mistakes: The US troops usually left the area once it had been 'destroyed'. This allowed the Viet Cong to move straight back in. The bombing and chemical spraying harmed villagers and turned them against the Americans. During Operation Cedar Falls (1967), the US and ARVN moved thousands of villagers to refugee camps and burned their villages, then declared the area a 'free-fire zone' – but many villagers didn't understand this and returned to their homes in the firing line. Search and destroy became a hit and miss.

Operation Ranch Hand referred to the USA use of chemicals. The USA first used chemical weapons in Vietnam in 1961. They sprayed crops and jungle with herbicides to make the Viet Cong easier to find, and to cut off their food supply. **Agent Blue** was used to destroy crops. This was meant to deprive the Viet Cong of the source of food supply. **Agent Orange** was used to clear the jungle forests. This was meant to deprive the Viet Cong of their hiding places. One plane could spray 300 acres in 4 minutes. The chemicals were very strong. They poisoned the soil and rivers, causing health issues and birth defects. Killing crops led to starvation. People back home were outraged by the dangerous effects of spraying chemicals. The government stopped using them in 1971, but by then lots of damage had already been done.

The Tet Offensive was a series of attacks on cities and US bases by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. It began on January 30th 1968, which was the Vietnamese New Year (Tet). The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese attacked areas near the Demilitarised Zone, to lure US and ARVN troops away from cities and bases. They surrounded the US base at Khe Sanh. The North Vietnamese suggested they might be willing to enter peace talks, to lure the US into a false sense of security. The Tet Offensive wasn't the usual jungle fighting – instead the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese attacked cities and military bases. The attacks began with the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong capturing key sites in Saigon such as the US embassy and

ARVN headquarters. The attacks were on a much larger scale than usual. **84,000** communist troops took part. The USA fought back to regain the occupied territories. **The offensive was a tactical win for the US... but a political win for North Vietnam and the Viet Cong:** The Viet Cong suffered so many losses that they were almost wiped out. It was a huge propaganda victory for the VIET CONG – they had successfully caught the US off guard. People in America were shocked by the fighting, and lost faith in the government who said that the war would be won soon. Anti-war feeling increased as dead US soldiers returned to home in body bags.

In March 1968, US army unit identified My Lai village as Vietcong hideout. They rounded up unarmed women, children and elderly civilians, raped the women, forced them into ditches and killed the entire village of almost 500 and only three were Vietcong. The incident sent shock waves in US public and anti-war movement grew stronger and the shame of the massacre demoralized American troops even more. The incident was evidence of US frustration due to the Tet offensive.

The Vietcong had the home advantage – unlike the USA, they were familiar with Vietnam's jungle terrain and used it to their advantage. They fought a guerrilla war and They attacked with simple traps and sabotage e.g blowing up roads and bridges. They used hit and run tactics, attacking then disappearing back into the jungle. They only fought big battles occasionally so that when they did it was surprise attack as in Tet offensive. They dressed like normal people – they were 'shadowy enemy'. They used a complex system of tunnels to move around and surprise US troops.

Ho chi minh trail was also known as Truong Son Strategic Route, it was a system of tunnels or trails through the jungle along the borders between Laos and Cambodia and Vietnam, along which troops, vehicles and supplies were moved. The Trail also included roads, bridges, anti-aircraft weapons, barracks, workshops, hospitals, warehouses and fuel depots resourced by China and the USSR and constantly repaired if bombed and maintaining steady supply and frustrating US tactics

Nixon's ideas – known as the **Nixon Doctrine** - said that the US would **no longer provide troops to its allies**, only aid and training. This meant that the US would gradually withdraw and leave South Vietnam to fight their own war, a process called **Vietnamisation**. **Vietnamisation** meant shifting responsibility for fighting to the South Vietnamese Army (ARVN). US ground troops would withdraw (but not the Air Force). South Vietnam would remain a separate (non-communist) country. Most Americans were pleased about troops being withdrawn, because it meant fewer US deaths. However, many army generals thought that with the VIET CONG weakened after the Tet Offensive, the US should be sending in *more* troops to finish them off. Vietnamisation failed for several reasons:

In 1969 Nixon secretly ordered the bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail in neighbouring Cambodia, and in **1970** he sent in **30,000 US troops**. America achieved its aim of damaging the Ho Chi Minh Trail and preventing a communist government in Cambodia, but people back home were outraged at Nixon for expanding the war. Congress cancelled the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

In 1971 the US agreed to provide air support for an ARVN invasion of Laos, where communists were still using the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The ARVN attacked the city of Tchepone but were driven out by the communists – an embarrassment for the USA. In 1972 the North Vietnamese attacked the South in the **Easter Offensive**, so the USA responded with **Operation Linebacker** – heavy bombing of North Vietnam. North Vietnamese industry and communication was destroyed

By 1972 both sides felt pressured to make peace, and a ceasefire was agreed in the **Paris Agreement** in 1973. However, America never got what it had been fighting for all along - in March 1975 North Vietnam invaded the South, and Vietnam became united as a communist country.

QUESTION 5: CONGO (POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHALLENGES AND SUCCESSES)

Belgian Congo became independent on 30 June 1960 with Joseph Kasavubu as President and Patrice Lumumba as Prime Minister. The Congo crisis erupted immediately when Moise Tshombe declared Katanga an independent state. **Katanga was rich in minerals** especially copper and accounted for 50% of Congo's total revenue. Lumumba asked Russia for assistance. This angered Kasavubu and he subsequently removed Lumumba from his post as prime Minister. Encouraged by the USA, Joseph Mobutu, the leader of the army, seized power from Kasavubu through a coup d'état (*violent overthrow of an existing government*) in 1965.

Mobutu Sese Seko (Congo) came into power by a military coup. After holding multi-party elections Congo became a one-party-state within the first five years of attaining independence which lasted more than 30 years. Sese Seko argued that this form of government was more appropriate to Africa than western style democracy. Mobutu created political stability after he assumed power. He showed good leadership by upholding rule of law and looking after the interests of all citizens. He gained the support of some Western nations as he was seen as an ally who would prevent communist expansion in the Congo. Opposition parties were silenced and there was evidence of imprisonment and human rights violations of those who spoke against the leadership. The period after independence in the Congo was characterised by violence and political upheaval (disorder). The Congo was highly fragmented along ethnic lines with leaders competing against each other. Mobutu Sese Seko emphasised the importance of Africanisation of their political systems (they regarded democracy as 'un-African' and a western imposition)

Mobutu inherited **single product economy** from the colonisers. The economy relied heavily on agriculture and mineral extraction. He immediately implemented a very effective economic strategy to change the diversity of the economy and to develop an industrial and manufacturing sector. Inflation was halted, the currency was established, output increased and government debts were kept low. He was **pro-capitalist** and supported by the USA. The country's rich natural resources of copper, cobalt, diamonds and other materials attracted foreign investment. **Mobutu built a steel mill in Leopold**, a dam at the lower end of the Congo river and a long-distance power line from Inga to Katanga. Through these massive centralized projects, Mobutu instilled a strong sense of national unity and pride. Mobutu then nationalised the country's copper mining industry and farmlands. He introduced *Zaireanisation* - to rid the country of the influence of colonialism and western culture. He replaced experienced and skilled foreigners with inexperienced Zairean nationals. He sold these foreign companies to his friends and family members. The economy was now characterized by Nepotism (*favouring relatives and friends by giving them jobs*) Kleptocracy (*misappropriation of government funds*)

which led to the creation of a rich, powerful elite which owed its allegiance to Mobutu. Africanisation led to corruption, mismanagement and neglect. Infrastructure declined and the economy collapsed. Large gap between rich and poor emerged. After the failure of Zaireanisation Mobutu introduced **Retrocession (reversal of Zaireanisation)**. Very few foreign owners returned. The economy collapsed. Congo became dependent of foreign aid and loans

Mobutu then embarked on a policy of Authenticité to rid the country of the last remaining colonial influence. He renamed the Congo to Zaire in 1971 and instructed Zairians to abandon their Christian names for more “authentic” African names. Leopoldville became Kinshasa, Elisabethville became Lubumbashi, and Stanleyville became Kisangani. He banned the wearing of Western-style suits with shirt and tie to symbolise the break with their colonial past. The Congolese were encouraged to wear a collarless Mao-style tunic called anabacost, a lightweight short-sleeved suit, worn without a tie. This was done to create a more centralized and singular national identity. It stimulated local textile making, weaving, embroidery and dyeing industries. New elites chose a unique Abacost dress to highlight their status. European hairstyles were abandoned for authentic African hairstyles. Mobutu then developed a personality cult (*Mobutuism*) around himself. He was called the Father of the Nation and his deeds were endlessly praised in songs and dances. Places where he worked and lived were declared as national heritage points.

At independence the Congo only had 14 University graduates. French remained the language of instruction in the Congo. With revenues from its mineral resources, Congo expanded its educational system. They built new colleges, primary, secondary, and vocational schools. Between 1960 and 1974 the enrolment in primary education in the Congo rose from 1,6 million to 4,6 million. They covered full tuition and granted a stipend to all college and university students. Between 1962 and 1964 research centres and African language departments were started at many African universities. Many new universities started research on African traditions and languages. In another successful nation-building project, the state introduced a quota system to guide admission in institutions of higher learning and military academies. This was done **to correct the disparity (inequality)** in educational opportunities between provinces.

QUESTION 6: THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT IN USA IN THE 1960s

Black Power Movement was established because some African Americans were not satisfied with non-violent method used by Martin Luther King Junior. The situation of black people in America was really shocking. For instance, blacks lived in poverty in the overcrowded ghettos. Crime was very high in their areas and police took long time to respond. Health and education facilities were very much poor and this led to high mortality rate and unemployment. Police were also brutal when dealing with black people.

When Black Power Movement was formed it rejected non-violent, racial integration and assimilation. It believed in black pride and self-esteem. By rejecting racial integration Black Power wanted blacks to rely on themselves for liberation not white people. They also encouraged self-defense and the use of violence in order to achieve equal rights. They hoped to restore their identity and culture that were destroyed during the times of slavery. Despite difference with Civil Rights Movement they both had common goals, to get equal political and civil rights.

Malcolm X

One of the people who played important role in the Black Power Movement was Malcom X. Malcom X joined the Nation of Islam in 1952 when he was in jail serving sentence for burglary. This Muslim organization rejected racial integration. Malcom X promoted ideas of Black Power Movement. Unlike Martin Luther King Junior, Malcom X believed that blacks have to use violence in order to achieve equal rights. Consequently he got strong support from the urban African American youth who were very militant. He also rejected racial integration to ensure that blacks don't rely on whites for their freedom. Through his efforts membership of Nation of Islam increased from 500 in 1952 to 30 000 in 1963. He regarded whites as murderers and hypocrites. However in 1963 to 1964 Malcom X undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca. During his stay in Mecca he was able to interact with people from different racial groups. He then discovered that not all whites are evil people. On his return to America he changed his mind about racial integration. He was no longer militant like before. Later he broke out of Nation of Islam and formed his own organization called Organization of African American Unity. This organization was less radical and also accepted white people. This made Malcom X to be unpopular as Black Nationalist. Consequently members of Nation of Islam assassinated him. However his ideas continued to inspire most of the African American youth to fight for equality and freedom by means of violent method.

Stockey Carmichael

Another activist who played vital role in the struggle for equal rights in America was Stockey Carmichael. Like Malcom X Carmichael encouraged the use of violence in order to achieve political and civil rights. Initially Carmichael was a staunch supporter of Martin Luther King Junior who preferred non-violent to achieve equal rights. As member of Civil Rights Movement he took part during the Freedom Ride in 1961. He was the chairperson of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Carmichael changed his mind after James Meredith was shot when he was in a sole peaceful march against fear. Carmichael decided that Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee should

complete James Meredith's march. Unfortunately Carmichael was arrested. On his release he gave a speech using the slogan Black Power. He then started to include Black Nationalism in his philosophy.

Consequently Carmichael attempted to expel whites from Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. He did not succeed and this made him to break out of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. He then wrote a book called Black Power. This book encouraged militancy, self-reliance and self-defence. It also encouraged blacks to fight for their independence and strive for nationalism. He favoured African dress and Afro-hairstyle. His slogan was '*Black is beautiful*'. He even started a campaign to split United State into two states, one for blacks and the other for white people. He later joined Black Panther and promoted Black Power Movement as the speaker and writer.

Black Panther Party

Inspired by Macom X 's ideas, Bobby Seale and Huey Percy Newton formed a party called Black Panther Party in Oakland, California in 1966. The main aim of this party was for **self-defence** against police brutality. Members of this party armed themselves with guns and patrolled their neighbourhoods in order to monitor police activity. When a police man stopped and searched a black person, Black Panthers would go and monitor the police with their guns in display. This made it impossible for the police man to do his work with ease. The action of Black Panther made black communities to feel safe from police. Ultimately their action led to clashes with police in places such as New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. Edgar Hoover, head of Federal Bureau of Investigation saw Black Panther as a threat to internal security of the country. He therefore established Counter Intelligence Program to destroy Black Panther.

Apart from self-defence Black Panther was also aimed at **developing Black communities**. For instance, they introduced Free Breakfast For Children Program in order to feed thousands of hungry children. They also established clinics which gave children and adults free medical care. Children at schools were assisted through a program called Tutoring scheme. This program assisted in improving performance of black children at school. The money to fund these programs was obtained through donation from business people. Those who refused to donate their business were boycotted. These programs at least attempted to improve lives of black people in USA.

Despite its short life Black Power Movement **succeeded to achieve some positive goals** for African Americans. For instance riots that occurred in Watts, Newark and Detroit made the government to introduce a commission that investigated the causes of violence. It was discovered that poverty, police brutality, poor housing, lack of education and discrimination were some of the causes. As a result the government came up with programs and schemes to address those problems. Blacks were also able to participate in public affairs of the state. For instance, black mayors were elected in some of the cities in USA. Blacks were therefore able to take pride in themselves as blacks and this promoted their self-esteem.

SECTION B.

Paper 2**QUESTION 4: CHALLENGE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS TO THE APARTHEID REGIME, 1960S TO 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 by banning these political movements. The resulting lull in political activity and opposition to the Apartheid government allowed the government to further entrench repression due to making opposition to its policies difficult. The Black Consciousness Movement emerged to fill this gap under Steven Bantu Biko

Experiences of Biko and others within white led organizations like NUSAS and the University Christian Movement. Among the many issues that fueled 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. He and others came to realize that white liberals could not free themselves from their privileged position in society dominated by NUSAS. Biko became the first president of SASO when it broke away in 1968 and SASO became the springboard for spreading the philosophy 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 cause. 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 Africans. 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 also human, not inferior

In its inception, the apartheid government appeared to tolerate black consciousness because of its criticism of the ANC and Freedom Charter and the insistence on separate black organisations. To the government this was in line with apartheid policy of separate development. However, by 1973 the government's attitude has challenged and Biko and BC structures were regarded as threat against state security and Biko and seven others were served with banning orders that forced them to move to isolated locations across the country.

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 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 and the 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 Peoples 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.

Influence of BC through SASO extended to labour resulting in the famous strike by the tile and factory workers in Durban (Durban Moment). 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. Churches offered tutors to teach in BC winter projects and media highlighted the plight of black suffering and the World newspaper was banned by apartheid repressive regime.

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 (One of the first primary health care initiatives outside of the public sector in South Africa which provided much needed community health education in King William's town). 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 Centre in Lenyenye township in Tzaneen, Solempilo Community Health Centre, Ithuseng Community Health Programme, Zimele trust and Winter School Project.

Bantu education introduced Afrikaans as a compulsory medium of instruction in schools. SASO and SASM influenced the formation of Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) and planned mass demonstrations against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Both black teachers and students rejected Afrikaans as a language of the oppressor. Teachers and students were already exposed to Biko's ideas from universities. The departmental circular on Afrikaans (50/50) triggered the Soweto uprising. On 16 June 1976 students protested peacefully against the implementation of the circular. Police responded by shooting into the crowds of school children and in the process a 13 year old Hector Peterson was one of the first casualties of police brutality. Protesters became more angry and set fire to schools, government buildings and beer halls and soon the whole country was engulfed in protests and stay aways by the whole community. 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 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***.

QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1990 TO 1994.

On the 02 February 1990 F D De Klerk addressed the parliament indicating that he will unban political organisations such as ANC, PAC and SACP. He also stated that he will allow the exiles to return and release political prisoners including Nelson Mandela. This statement shocked most of the white people in the parliament. Indeed on the 11 February 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from Victor Verster prison in Cape Town. In March, immediately after Mandela was released, violence broke out in Sebokeng in which demonstrators were protesting against local council rent. This led to the death of about eleven people who were shot by the police. As a result **Mandela suspended** his scheduled meeting with National Party members.

In **May 1990 ANC** delegation led by Mandela and National Party delegation led by De Klerk met at Groote Schuur, De Klerk's residence, in Cape Town. The agreement reached during these negotiations was known as **Groote Schuur Minute**. De Klerk's government **agreed to release all political prisoners unconditionally and to allow all exiles to return**. He also **agreed to lift state of emergency and to remove repressive Apartheid laws**. The main obstacle, during this discussion, was that **ANC refused to suspend armed struggle**. Instead of suspending armed struggle, **Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils**, leaders of MK, introduced a secret operation called **Operation Vula**. The main aim was to prepare themselves for a war in case negotiations fail. In June this operation was discovered and its top leaders were arrested. However the arrested leaders were acquitted and later released.

Another major obstacle towards negotiation was the continuing violence in Rand townships. For instance, an armed group of IFP supporters attacked residents at **Sebokeng** and killed about **30 people**. Most of those who were killed were members of ANC. Consequently Nelson Mandela complained about the involvement of the Third Force, a group of whites who were assisting Inkatha Freedom Party. Due to this complaint, De Klerk established a commission led by Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate in this incident. Its finding was that it was true that indeed members of Military Intelligence were involved in these killings. Therefore, those who were found guilty were forced to retire and some were expelled from their jobs.

In **August 1990** ANC and National Party held another bilateral talk in Pretoria to speed up the process of negotiations. This led to the signing of an agreement called **Pretoria Minute**. The agreement reached was that government would **speed up the process of releasing political prisoners and giving indemnity to the exiles**. Finally **ANC agreed to suspend armed struggle**. Despite this breakthrough there was still widespread of terrible violence taking place particularly in **Kwazulu Natal, Vaal Triangle** and different townships. In order to stop these killings, in September 1990, twenty-four political parties signed an agreement called National Peace Accord.

Parties which signed this accord agreed to encourage their supporters not to cause violence anymore. These two agreements, Pretoria Minute and National Peace Accord, paved a way for multi-party negotiations.

In **December 1991 nine-teen (19) political organisations** met for the first time at **World Trade Centre, Kempton Park**. Their meeting became known as **Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I)**. **PAC and Conservative Party** did not take part in these negotiations. During discussion Mandela and De Klerk **did not agree on the issue of arm caches** which were in the hands of ANC. De Klerk wanted MK to be dissolved whereas Mandela indicated that he will dissolve it after elections were conducted. Despite this obstacle the negotiators were able to sign an agreement called **Declaration of Intent**. In this declaration, they agreed to work together for a peaceful democratic South Africa. However, **IFP did not sign** the declaration as their proposal of including their **King Goodwill Zwelithini** in the negotiations was turned down. This meant that CODESA 1 failed to yield expected results that could lead to elections. At the end CODESA I adjourned and left **five groups** to work-out on plans for next meetings scheduled for May 1992.

During the break of CODESA 1, ANC and COSATU launched massive rolling mass action in the form of strikes, marches and demonstration. The main intention of these campaigns was to pressurize National Party government to come up with the date for elections. In **March 1992 De Klerk** conducted a white only **referendum** to get the mandate from his people whether to continue with negotiations or not. People were supposed to vote either yes or no to negotiations. The outcome of the referendum indicated that majority voted in favour of continuation of negotiations. This meant that De Klerk was given a green light to continue with negotiations.

In **May 1992 another multi-party negotiations, CODESA 2**, was held at World Trade Centre. During this time the dispute was over **majority vote to take decisions, armaments in the hands of MK and the right to veto needed by whites**. National Party wanted decisions to be taken by 75% majority whereas ANC wanted 70% majority vote. The only agreement reached was that **SABC would be unbiased** when broadcasting news. Once again multi-party negotiations, CODESA 2, failed to find breakthrough to a democratically elected government.

While negotiations were busy continuing, on **17 June 1992 violence** broke out between **ANC and IFP** supporters in **Boipatong township**. This led to the killing of **49 people**, most of which were ANC members. Therefore, Mandela suspected that police and the Third Force were involved in these killings. Consequently he walked out of the negotiations and this meant that negotiators have reached the deadlock. By that time **ANC embarked on rolling mass action to pressurise the government to come up with the date for elections**. For instance, in **September 1992** about 70 000 unarmed ANC supporters marched to **Bisho, capital city of Ciskei**. The main intention was to convince Oupa Gqozo to agree to the incorporation of his homeland, Ciskei, into the new democratically elected South Africa. Unfortunately, when the marchers arrived at Bisho, police opened fire without warning and **killed 28 marchers** and wounded about

200. This made South Africa to experience violence all over the country. Leaders became aware that solution should be reached quickly in order to avoid further loss of human lives.

On 26 September 1992, **Cyril Ramaphosa** representing ANC and **Roelf Meyer** representing NP held a **secret meeting** in which they signed an agreement called **Record of Understanding**. The participants **agreed that Zulu hostels would be fenced** to prevent further violence and **all political prisoners would be released**. They also **agreed that date for elections would be 27 April 1994**. This paved a way for the second round of multi-party negotiations. The name CODESA, which has failed several times, was replaced with a new one called Multi-Party Negotiating Forum. Joe Slovo, leader of the Communist Party came up with a clause called **Sunset Clause**. According to this clause **the Government of National Unity would be established after elections. Jobs of white civil servants, soldiers and police, would be guaranteed for a period of five years. All parties that would obtain five percent or more would be part of the Government of National Unity.** This sunset clause was **aimed to convince the white to accept majority vote**.

On **1 April 1993 multi-party talks** resumed at World Trade Centre. While negotiations were in progress **Chris Martin Thembisile Hani**, the Chief of Staff of Mk, **was assassinated on 10 April 1993**. He was murdered by **Polish man, Janusz Waluz** who was hired by Conservative Party leader **Clive Derby Lewis**. This incident almost plunged South Africa into a terrible civil war between whites and blacks. Nonetheless Mandela was able to contain black anger through his speech on television. The two culprits were arrested and taken to jail. Angered by this arrest, **AWB and Afrikaner Volksfront stormed World Trade Centre on 25 June 1993**. They crashed through the glass door with their armoured vehicle and destroyed equipments that were being used during negotiations. These Afrikaners **demand their Volkstaat**. However, Mandela and De Klerk were able to manage the situation and negotiations continued.

On 25 July 1993 APLA, an armed wing of PAC, launched an attack on St. James Church in Cape Town. This led to the deaths of eleven worshippers and 58 injured. Later, Gcinikhaya Makoma, member of APLA, was arrested for these senseless killings. Once again, on 31 December 1993, APLA launched another surprise attack at Heidelberg Tavern. This time four people were killed and six injured. Amongst those who were killed there was a twenty three year old civil engineer student called Lyndi Fourie. All these incidents jeopardised the process of negotiation.

By the end of February 1994 violence broke out when civil servants in Bophuthatswana went on strike. These servants wanted their pension funds before Bophuthatswana could be incorporated into the new South Africa. AWB decided to go and assist the Prime Minister Lucas Mangope. On arrival these whites started to shoot at any black person on sight. Angered by this, Bophuthatswana soldiers retaliated by firing at them and killed two AWB members. Realizing that the situation was beyond his control, Mangope disappeared. Consequently there was looting and killings all over the country. At the end of the day more than 70 people were killed and more than 3000

wounded. This marked the end of Lucas Mangope's power as the leader of Bophuthatswana.

Once again violence broke out on 28 March 1994 when IFP supporters decided to march to Shell House, the headquarters of ANC. They were protesting against the coming democratic elections in South Africa. Approximately 20 000 to 30 000 IFP supporters, armed with traditional weapons marched to Shell House in Johannesburg. Consequently, a clash ensued between the marchers and ANC security guards outside Shell House. Shots were fired and eight people were killed. Ultimately this led to a violent chaos all over South Africa between ANC and IFP supporters. By the end of the day approximately 53 people were killed and 250 got injured. In order to restore peace, De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi held a peace summit. However, this summit failed because Buthelezi's demand of postponement of election date was rejected.

Despite all these obstacles, on the 27 April 1994, the first democratic elections were held in South Africa. These elections were administered by Independent Electoral Commission led by Justice Johan Kriegler. Nine-teen political parties, including IFP, took part and ANC emerged victorious. Therefore Nelson Mandela was crowned the first democratically elected president. As per agreement, Thabo Mbeki and De Klerk became two deputy presidents of South Africa. Thereafter the Government of National Unity was established to govern South Africa for the first five years.

QUESTION 6: WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF GORBACHEV'S REFORMS IN 1989 ON USSR DISINTEGRATION AND SOUTH AFRICA (ENDING OF APARTHEID)

The collapse of USSR in 1989 had great impact in ending apartheid government in South Africa and disintegration of the USSR. It also marked the end of the Cold War between USA and USSR.

This collapse was caused by reforms that were made by Gorbachev in order to address economic problems that were ravaging USSR. For instance he introduced Perestroika with an intention of restructuring economy by allowing free market and encouraging foreign investment in Russia. He also introduced Glasnost with intention of encouraging freedom of speech and expression. By so doing he was intending to encourage the public to come up with advices on how to improve the economy of Russia. He was unaware that this would ultimately bring an end to communism in Russia. Platforms created by reforms led to people demanding more reforms and freedoms while erosion of communism angered hardliners

Gorbachev's reforms encouraged spontaneous revolts in Eastern European Soviet satellites states. Poland, Hungary and East Germany started to demand independence away from soviet rule and communism. The polish and Hungarian governments had to introduce changes such as free and fair elections.in October 1989 Gorbachev visited East Berlin and stated that the Soviet Union could no longer support it financially and militarily. In November 1989,thousands of demonstrators marched to the Berlin wall and slowly started to destroy the wall, which was in existence for 28 years.in 1990 both East and West Germany voted overwhelmingly for both countries to be reunited and that marked end of the physical evidence of existence of communism.

He lost support at home – Unity of the Soviet Union was at risk and Socialism became under threat. He commanded a hero status to the West. His personal power and prestige increased. He earned a peace noble price in 1990.Many underlying differences existed amongst the 15 Republics. Old form of Nationalism emerged and led to new demand for independence especially inspired by the fall of Berlin wall. He tried to stop the disintegration by proposing establishing a Federation of States – which failed. In 1990, several Soviet states including Russia under Gorbachev's bitter rival, Boris Yeltsin, declared their independence. On 25 Dec 1991, the USSR was dissolved, the Communist Party disbanded. Each of the 15 Republics became independent and became members of the Commonwealth of Independent states. The disintegration symbolized the end of the cold war

Immediately when communism and Berlin Wall collapse in 1989, ANC and National Party government in South Africa were heavily affected. For so many years, National Party government was able to use communist threat as a means to perpetuate its repressive policy of apartheid on black people. She therefore claimed to be the bulwark against communism. As a result countries such as USA and Britain supported South African government because they were also anti-communism. They did these in order

to protect their investments in South Africa. They were also threatened by the communist take-over in former Portuguese colonies such as Angola and Mozambique. These countries were giving South Africa support despite pressure for economic sanctions from UN and AU because of its apartheid policy. So, the western powers no longer have reason to support apartheid because there's no longer communist threat and thus supported negotiations towards democracy

The outcome of the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola also forced the apartheid regime to rethink its strategy of 'total onslaught' and therefore was forced to begin negotiations with the ANC in exile. The apartheid regime realized that its security forces failed to deal with the sustained uprisings and revolts within the country during the 1980s. De Klerk realized that interests of Afrikaner capital was under enormous threat and began to accept that struggle of black South Africans against apartheid was not a conspiracy directed from Soviet Union, so all these internal and external pressures led to need for political reform by National party under De Klerk.

After the collapse of communism, De Klerk's government found itself in the lurch. The support that she used to get from the western countries was no longer there. The West started to support moves for peaceful and democratic changes in South Africa. This meant that South Africa would no longer be able to use communist threat in order to get support from the West. Therefore South African government was forced to come up with radical changes that would ultimately end apartheid. Indeed, immediately after his inauguration as the president F W de Klerk announced to the parliament that he was intending to unban political organization such as ANC, SACP, and PAC. This announcement shocked most of the National Party members. He further announced that political prisoners, including Mandela, would be released. De Klerk was compelled to do this as foreign pressure and internal pressure were mounting. His hope was that ANC would be weakened as its source of support collapsed.

Indeed the collapse of Soviet Union also adversely affected ANC. Before 1989, ANC was relying on USSR for financial and military support. After the fall of Berlin Wall, ANC could no longer rely on the Soviet Union for support. Soviet government had to curtail its spending on communist aligned governments and organizations all over the world. NC leadership also adopted a more realistic view of the balance of forces in the country as it realized that the interests of the black majority could best be secured by accepting negotiations rather than committing itself to a long and damaging armed struggle without sound financial and military support from foreign governments, especially USSR.

Consequently, on the 2th February 1990 De Klerk announced the release of DR Nelson Mandela and unbanned political parties such as ANC, SACP, and PAC. This was a historic moment for all South African people as it paved a way for the beginning of negotiations between different political parties and the National Party government. Ultimately these negotiations led to the end of apartheid regime and the beginning of peaceful democratic South Africa.