eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Sue Grové

Study Guide

Via Afrika History

Grade 12

Via Afrika Publishers

Our Teachers. Our Future.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Contents

Introduction 1

Topic 1: The Cold War 2
Unit 1: What were the origins of the Cold War? 3
The extension of the Cold War – Case study 1: China 7
The extension of the Cold War – Case study 2: Vietnam 13
SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS 19

Topic 2: Independent Africa 23
Unit 1: The ideas that influenced independent African states 24
Case study 1: Congo and Tanzania: A comparative case study 26
Unit 2: The impact of internal and external factors on Africa 34
Unit 3: Africa in the Cold War 35
Case study 2: Angola 37
SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS 45

Topic 3: Civil society protests: 1950s to 1970s 49
Unit 1: Overview of civil society protests 50
Case study 1: The US Civil Rights Movement 60
Case study 2: The Black Power Movement 67
SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS 71

Topic 4: Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s to 1980 75
Unit 1: South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s 76
Unit 2: Challenge of Black Consciousness to the apartheid state 80
Unit 3: The crisis of apartheid in the 1980s 83
SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS 94

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 5: Democracy in South Africa and remembering the past 99
Unit 1: Negotiated settlement and Government of National Unity 100
Unit 2: How has South Africa chosen to remember the past? 113
SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS 122

Topic 6: The end of the Cold War and a new world order 129
Unit 1: Events leading to the end of the Cold War 130
Unit 2: The End of the Cold War – The events of 1989 133
Unit 3: A new world order 140
SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS 149

Suggested answers 155

eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Examination hints

1 The underpinning context of history in Grade 12 is the politics of the Cold War. This is reflected in the multiple perspectives on the same events that occurred throughout the Cold War (e.g. multiple perspectives on the Cuban Missile Crisis). Keep this in mind when interpreting sources.
2 Always refer to the attribution of every source and try to again as much information as you can about the origins of the source, its purpose, when it was made or written.
3 Look for clues in all sources and place it in its correct historical context. If there is a date, use it to assist you to place it in context.
4 Use the glossary and textboxes in the Learner's Book to increase your understanding and vocabulary. Use historical terms and concepts confidently and in the correct context.
5 Try to identify leaders, symbols, clues, etc. and refer to these when you interpret sources. Ensure that you are able to link factions to the relevant leaders and their ideologies that shaped many Cold War conflicts (e.g. the Angolan Civil War).
6 Never assume the examiner, teacher or marker knows what you mean – state your point of view clearly.
7 Link sections to past knowledge. Your knowledge on the Cold War period and colonialism will be useful to interpret questions in this section.
8 Try to make the content knowledge your own and avoid merely memorising these summaries or sections from the Learner's Book. Use your own words and make simple summaries to help you with your memorisation.
9 The Learner's Book has many examples of types of questions to practise. By doing this regularly and consolidating daily, you will be successful.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Introduction

Who are you? Why are you here?

Where are you going? How will you get there?

These are some of the questions that History can help you to answer.

From studying the past, we can learn how to live in the present. We can see what mistakes were made and we can avoid repeating them in the future. By studying these mistakes made in the past, as well as many correct and courageous decisions, we can understand why our world is like it is today.

History is the study of people: famous people, notorious people and ordinary people, and how their decisions and actions shaped the future. Studying these people can inspire us to take a more active role in shaping our world and striving to achieve our individual potential. History is an exciting and dynamic subject. Studying History can help you to understand and speak intelligently about what is happening in the world.

History is full of details, such as events, dates and names of people and places. However, when you study History, don't worry about getting overwhelmed by all the details. Try to see the importance of the bigger picture.

To do well in History, here are some strategies that you can use:

- Listen carefully in class.
- Ask your teacher questions until you understand what is going on.
- Go over the work you did in class that day.
- Do your own extra research on the topic you are studying.
- Never leave your studying to the day before a test or exam.
- Make your own mind-maps and summaries.
- Never study without talking to yourself and giving yourself short tests.

In Grade 12 the key question you must investigate and answer is: What is the nature of the post-Second World War world?

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 1 The Cold War

Overview

In this topic you will revise:

- The origins of the Cold War at the end of World War II, the creation of spheres of influence by the two superpowers, containment vs. brinkmanship in Europe and the Caribbean (Cuba).
- The extension of the Cold War: Case studies: China and Vietnam.

TOPIC 1 Page 2–22
The Cold War

UNIT 1 Page 3
What were the origins of the Cold War ?

- Long-term and immediate causes
- Nature of the Cold War
- Installation of Soviet friendly governments in satellite states.
- USA's policy of containment: Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan
- Berlin Crises 1948 – 1961
- Opposing Military alliances: NATO and Warsaw Pact.
- Containment and brinkmanship: the Cuban crisis.

CASE STUDY 1 Page 7
The extension of the Cold War – CASE STUDY 1: China

- The events leading to the establishment of Communist China in 1949 (non-examinable background information)
- The Cultural Revolution
- Chinese relations with the USSR and the USA from 1949 to 1973
- China's foreign relations with her neighbouring states
- China's world power status by the time of Mao's death
- Improved relations between China and the USA after 1970
- The impact of economic liberalisation on foreign relations since Mao's death.

CASE STUDY 2 Page 13
The extension of the Cold War – CASE STUDY 2: Vietnam

- Background to the struggle against the colonial powers.
- Stages of the war.
- How is the Vietnam War remembered today?

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 1

What were the origins of the Cold War?

Key question: Why did a Cold War develop at the end of World War II and why was it called the Cold War?

Definition of the concept COLD WAR

- What was it?
  - It is a state of military rivalry and political tension.
- What methods were used?
  - Espionage, propaganda, backing up allies in conflicts, e.g. the Middle East, Europe, the Far East, Africa, etc.
- Who was primarily involved?
  - The two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, and their respective allies.
- When did it occur?
  - 1945 to 1989 – accepted as the official dates but some consider the start to be 1917 when the Russian Revolution led to the establishment of the Soviet state and that it ended when the Soviet Union collapsed and Germany was reunited.
- Where did it happen?
  - It began in Europe and spread to other parts of the world.
- Why did it happen?
  - There were many long-term and short-term causes:

Causes of the Cold War

- World War II itself – the rift widened between the USA and the USSR.
- Stalin encroached on Eastern Europe during the last months of the war and the Red Army reached Berlin first.
- Poland was occupied by the USSR and Germany was split into four zones of occupation as the Allies could not reach consensus.
- Nuclear weapons deepened the suspicion and rivalry.
- It led to an arms race and development of deadly weapons of destruction.
- Two spheres of influence were established in Europe as Communist regimes were established in the occupied states – these were termed satellite states.
- Rival ideologies (Communism vs. Capitalism) led to increased suspicion.
- Leadership rivalry: Truman was a hardliner who did not want to concede to Stalin and despised Communism.

- How did it happen?
  - It was not a 'hot' conflict between the superpowers or direct, open, conventional warfare, but it operated through proxy wars and liberation struggles where vulnerable states were manipulated to further ideologies and to extend the sphere of influence of the two superpowers.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What was Truman's policy of containment?

- It was Truman's policy after 1946 to use specific strategies to prevent the spread of Communism.
- It consisted of two components:
  - the Truman Doctrine
  - the Marshall Plan (or European Recovery Plan).

Re-cap the decisions made at Potsdam and Yalta with regard to Berlin and make sure you understand the threat of open hostility between the two superpowers.

The Truman Doctrine

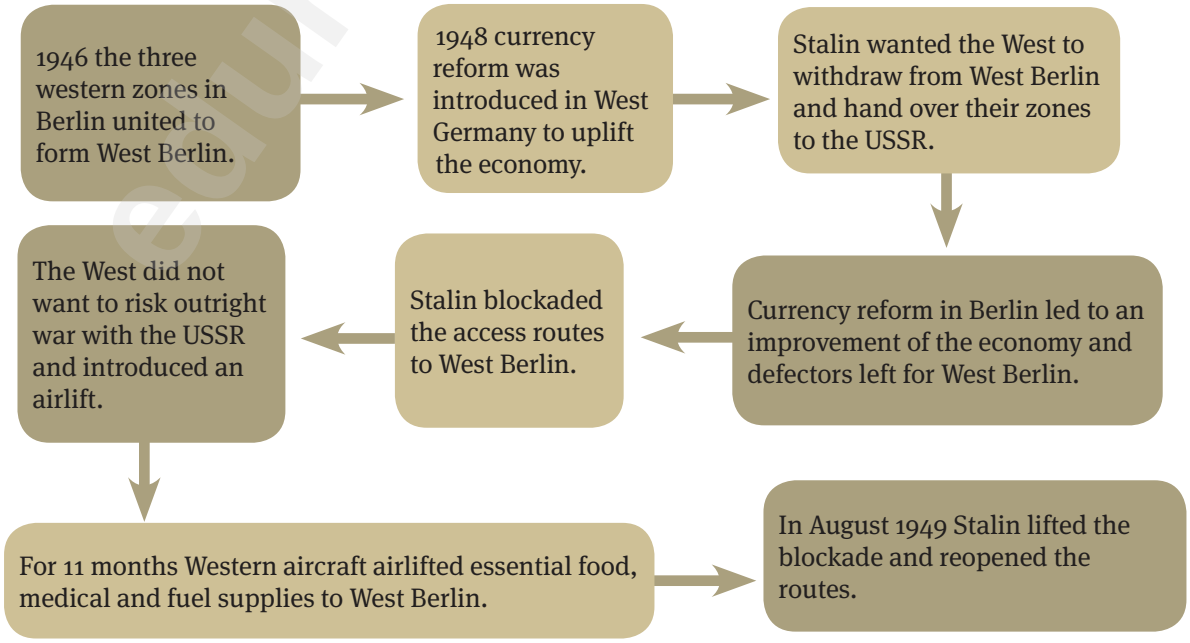
Crisis in Greece 1946	European Recovery Plan (Marshall Plan)

• In March 1947 Truman announced that the US would assist Greece against the Communists.
  • Military and financial aid = change in US foreign policy.
	• In June 1947 Marshall announced the European Recovery Plan to contain Communism in Europe.
	  • Aid was offered to any European state for industrial and economic recovery.
	  • This would eradicate poverty and economic distress
	  • = would prevent the spread of Communism.

The USSR prevented the satellite states from accepting Marshall aid and formed the Communist Information Bureau or COMINFORM to counter the US policy of containment.

Revise the map of Berlin and the division of Germany in the LB before studying this section.

The Berlin Crises 1948–1961



Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

West Germany became known as the German Federal Republic while East Germany became known as the German Democratic Republic.

Standard of living low in GDR: led to migration to West Berlin and strikes.

- Revolts crushed by authorities.
- Leader of GDR, Walter Ulbricht, closed the border between East and West Berlin in August 1961 and soldiers erected a wall, guard towers and armed guards to stop defectors.

The Berlin Wall

After the Berlin Crises, two powerful military alliances were formed that effectively divided Europe into two armed camps by 1955:

NATO was formed in 1949 by 12 countries that agreed to unite the armed forces of the Allies in case of a nuclear threat or attack from the East.

After West Germany joined NATO in 1955, the USSR and its allies formed a second powerful military block called the **Warsaw Pact**.

SIGNIFICANCE: The spheres were entrenched into two defence pacts and an arms race began to build between the superpowers.

Containment and brinkmanship: The Cuban Crisis

Another tactic developed during the Cold War was **brinkmanship**. This is the practice of pushing dangerous events to the edge (or brink) of disaster in order to gain an advantage. Posturing and discrediting the opponent was used to portray the enemy in a negative light. These strategies were applied during the events in Cuba that led to the extension of the Cold War beyond Europe.

Background to the Crisis

- Until 1959 US commercial farmers and businessmen had interests in Cuba. It was a poor country, dependent on US sugar imports. The US turned a blind eye to the brutality of the Cuban dictator, Batista.
- In 1959, Castro led a revolution and overthrew Batista's regime.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- Castro announced plans to nationalise land in Cuba and indicated that he needed loans from the USA.
- The US refused to lend money to Castro as he was viewed to be Marxist. The US threatened to cut sugar imports from Cuba.
- Cuba turned to the USSR and signed a trade agreement with Russia.
- In retaliation to US trade cuts, Cuba nationalised all American-owned companies.
- The CIA assisted a group of exiles with planning a counter- revolution against Castro's government.
- This invasion was a disaster and an embarrassment for Kennedy's administration.
- Castro asked for weapons from the USSR to defend itself against the USA and he declared himself a Marxist.
- The US viewed Cuba as another Soviet satellite state.
- In June 1962, Cuba received shipments of arms and MIG-21 fighter jets from the USSR.
- Medium range missiles and bombers arrived.

The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

- On 14 October 1962, an American spy plane detected a nuclear missile base on the island.
- Kennedy set up a special committee to advise him on the way forward.
- On 22 October, Kennedy announced a blockade of the island, which placed the island under quarantine until the missile sites were removed.
- Khrushchev defended Soviet actions as an act of self-defence on Cuba's side due to the role of the USA in the Bay of Pigs disaster.
- Khrushchev accused the US of piracy and did not turn the warships around that were en route to Cuba.
- Letters were exchanged between the two leaders and the world waited anxiously to see what would happen.
- Khrushchev offered to dismantle the Soviet nuclear missile bases in Cuba in return for the dismantling of US missile bases in Turkey.
- The crisis was averted by means of diplomacy.
- Once the crisis was averted there was a thaw in the Cold War: a hotline telephone link was set up between Moscow and Washington as a direct line of contact.
- In August 1963 a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed to end nuclear testing above ground.

In 1968 a **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** was signed, which aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to countries that did not have them.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Case Study 1

The extension of the Cold War – CASE STUDY 1: China

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

In this case study you will revise the following:

- The events leading to the establishment of Communist China in 1949 (non-examinable background information)
- The Cultural Revolution
- Chinese relations with the USSR and the USA from 1949 to 1973
- China's foreign relations with her neighbouring states
- China's world power status by the time of Mao's death
- Improved relations between China and the USA after 1970
- The impact of economic liberalisation on foreign relations since Mao's death.

NB: Check if you must study China or Vietnam for your exam!

The establishment of Communist China in 1949 (Background information only)

- Britain gained control of Hong Kong after the defeat of the Chinese imperial army in 1842.
- The Chinese Emperor had to concede to increased control of trade by the West through five treaty ports.
- Feudal warlords rose in revolt as the power of the emperor declined and China was subjected to decades of conflict.
- European powers and Japan took advantage of the instability e.g. France drove out the Chinese and colonised Vietnam, Russia occupied land in the north and Japan colonised Korea and annexed Taiwan.
- Change began to occur in the treaty ports as a new generation of Chinese leaders who had been educated in the West assumed control, but the rural areas were still under strict imperial control.
- Between 1910 and 1912, Chinese nationalists rose up and declared their independence from the empire.
- A provisional government was set up under Sun Yat Sen in 1912, but it did not last long.
- China was engulfed in a civil war, which was exploited by Russian Communists who wished to expand their ideology.
- Although the Chinese Communists were part of the Nationalist alliance, this partnership collapsed and after 1927 the Communists were targeted by the troops of Chiang Kai-Shek (he had replaced Sun Yat Sen).
- The Communists withdrew to the countryside and it became a party focussed on the needs of rural peasants rather than industrial workers.
- The Nationalists got aid from the West while the Communists turned to the USSR.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- The Communists undertook the Long March in 1934 and Mao became the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).
- Matters became more complicated for the Nationalists when the Japanese attacked Chiang Kai-Shek's armies in 1936 and occupied Manchuria.
- After Japan's defeat in 1945, a civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists intensified.
  - With the aid of Soviet support and support in the rural areas, the Communist forces were victorious.
  - The Nationalists (Guomindang) fled to Taiwan and set up a democratic, capitalistic state.
- Mainland China became the People's Republic of China in 1949, under the leadership of Mao Zedong.

The Cultural Revolution

GOVERNMENT	LAND	INDUSTRY
• Authoritarian • Executed up to 1 million warlords.	• Most of the richer peasants could keep their land. • Land taken from warlords was divided amongst the landless peasants.	• CCP nationalised heavy industry and foreign firms • Light industry could be privately owned. • Led to rapid growth.

The Great Leap Forward

- WHY?
  - Mao wanted to transform Chinese society to overtake capitalist countries and become one of the richest and most powerful countries in the world.
- HOW?
  - The CCP forced individual farmers into Agricultural Cooperatives or rural communes where all land was communally owned and workers were paid according to the amount of work they did. About 5 000 households were supposed to start large-scale farms and backyard factories.
- WHAT happened?
  - Many local party officials became corrupt and authoritarian. Initially the Chinese supported the Great Leap Forward enthusiastically. Government propaganda projected data that showed the programme to be successful.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

CONSEQUENCES:

= ***A spectacular failure:***

WHY?

- Poor planning and poor support for farmers.
- Corrupt local officials.
- Farmers were taxed on production, therefore production soon fell.
- Backyard factories consumed large amounts of raw materials and produced inferior goods.
- This was exacerbated by bad weather and failed harvests in 1961.

FAMINE: 20-30 million Chinese people died.

Mao allowed the moderates in the CCP to return to earlier policies to restart the economy.

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

- IN MID-1960S ECONOMY BEGAN TO RECOVER BUT CLASS DIVISIONS BEGAN TO RE-APPEAR.
- MAO WANTED TO RE-ASSERT HIS AUTHORITY.
- MAY 1966 MAO LAUNCHED MASSIVE CULTURAL RENEWAL MOVEMENT.
- HE MOBILISED THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS TO FORM THE RED GUARD TO ATTACK TEACHERS.
- CAMPAIGN SLOGANS ATTACKED OLD IDEAS, TRADITIONAL CULTURE, CUSTOMS AND HABITS.
- RED GUARDS MOVED INTO SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, FACTORIES AND FARMING COMMUNES IN AN ORGY OF VIOLENCE.
- MAO PURGED THE CCP OF RIVALS: THOUSANDS TORTURED AND KILLED.
- MAO USED THE RED GUARDS TO SET UP A REIGN OF TERROR, BUT BY THE LATE 1960s THE CULTURE OF VIOLENCE HAD SPUN OUT OF CONTROL.
- BY 1970 MAO USED THE ARMY TO BRING THE RED GUARDS UNDER CONTROL.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

China's Foreign Policy

USSR

- Mao wanted to maintain a close relationship with Stalin and the COMINTERN.
- Stalin mistrusted Mao's ambitions within the COMINTERN and tried to limit his power. National interests dominated relations.
- Feb 1950 USSR and China signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship: China gained railway interests in northern China and joint industrial projects began.

USA

- When the USSR assisted North Korea with its invasion of South Korea in 1950, the USA used the UN to send in troops to launch a counter-attack.
- Mao sent over a million troops to fight in Korea to gain prestige. He seized grain and produce from Chinese farmers to feed the soldiers.
- About 900 000 Chinese troops died and there was much suffering. Mao blamed the US. He therefore supported Ho Chi Minh against the US in the Vietnam War.

The Sino-Soviet split

Mao's initial economic policies led to classes and inequality. To counter this he reverted to true Marxism, collective and state ownership (known as Maoism) and mobilised the peasantry.

Khrushchev applied deStalinisation policies and denounced Stalin's oppression. He allowed managers to use capitalist methods to generate growth. He allowed more freedom of thought and debate. This threatened Communism in China according to Mao.

- Ideological differences led to further alienation between Khrushchev and Mao.
- Serious territorial conflicts in Asia added to the tension e.g. Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia.
- Mao threatened the leadership of the USSR in the COMINTERN.
- Khrushchev thought he could control Mao.
- The USSR sent advisors to China to help develop an atom bomb.
- In 1959, the USSR broke off ties and withdrew the advisors and technicians.
- In 1964, China developed its own atom bomb.
- The USSR began to form alliances against China.
- The USSR and China did support Cuba in the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Case study 1

China's relations with neighbours

China's foreign relations in Asia

TIBET	VIETNAM	INDIA	TAIWAN
• 1950 – Red Army occupied Tibet. • Forced the Dalai Lama to sign a treaty recognising Chinese control. • 1959 – uprising against Chinese rule = cruelly suppressed. • Tibet was incorporated into China. • More than 6 000 monasteries were destroyed and thousands of monks and nuns were killed.	• 1945 – Mao put pressure on the revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh to apply Maoism in North Vietnam. • In the 1960s China remained a close ally of the Communists in the war. Tensions increased in the 1970s when China seized oil resources in the Gulf of Tonkin and when Vietnam helped overthrow China's ally, the Khmer Rouge, in Cambodia.	• India recognised the People's Republic of China in 1949 • BUT China was not happy with the border drawn up by Britain between the two countries. • In 1962 China attacked India as a show of strength. • In 2004 China recognised Indian rule over Sikkim while India recognised Chinese control of Tibet.	• In 1949 Chiang's nationalists fled to Taiwan and set up the Republic of China. • A state of war existed between the two China's until 1972. • The USA backed Taiwan and protected the island during the Korean War. • In 1971 Mao persuaded the UN to make Red China one of the permanent five on the Security Council.

Was China a Superpower when Mao Zedong died in 1976?

TWO POINTS OF VIEW:

YES	NO
• Exceptionally large state. • Massive population. • Large in terms of land. • Has great military, political, economic and cultural influence.	• The economic destruction and cultural repression did not make it a superpower. • Its arsenal of weapons was not as strong as that of the USA or the USSR.

Why China tried to improve relations with the USA after 1970

1. To counter Soviet political and military pressure in Asia.
2. To increase its stature as a leading state in world affairs.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Evidence of improved relations:

- UN dropped her support for Taiwan as a member of the Security Council.
- 1972: President Nixon visited China:
  - US technical staff and writers visited China
- Some Western literature was allowed into China, but was not widely distributed.

Impact of China's economic liberalisation since Mao's death

What is economic liberalisation?

In this context it would refer to the changes introduced after Mao's death that showed a deviation from true Communist principles.

Impact within China: introduced market socialism

- many of the state controlled farms were divided into individual family units again
- private citizens were encouraged to establish light consumer industries
- encouraged an open door policy with the West to foster trade
- abolished central planning and price controls
- privatised inefficient state-owned enterprises.

Results:

- A new prosperous middle class developed in the cities, while richer peasant farmers arose in the rural areas. China's economy has grown phenomenally.
- These new policies have also caused hardship for many: poorer farmers have been forced off the land by richer farmers as the land has been consolidated. Unemployment has grown in the cities due to the migration from rural to urban areas. Food prices have increased.
- China is still not democratic, and the authorities have dealt harshly with pro-democratic marches.

Impact on rest of world

- West: Investment = friendly policies and low wages to Chinese workers attract investment to China.
  - Capital and technology have led to massive growth and productivity in China, making the West wary.
- Africa: China has expanded her interests in Africa and the BRICS countries. It is interested in the countless raw materials in Africa as well as agricultural products.
  - China provides a huge market for commodities and raw materials. This has often led to agreements with brutal dictators.
- Developing economies: China has invested in many developing economies and has extended the infrastructure and markets there.
  - It has also formed the China–Africa Forum to influence African leaders.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Case Study 2

The extension of the Cold War – CASE STUDY 2: Vietnam

Key question: How was a small country like Vietnam able to win the war against the USA? (1945 to 1975)

In this case study you will revise the following:

- Background to the struggle against the colonial powers.
- Stages of the war.
- How is the Vietnam War remembered today?

NB: Check if you must study China or Vietnam for your exam!

Background: Vietnam's struggle against the colonial powers

China ruled the area that became known as Vietnam for thousands of years. In the 10th century Vietnam gained independence that lasted until the French colonised the region after 1858. French missionaries helped to introduce French language, education, customs and religion. By 1864 a colony was established in the south called Cochinchina. China became involved in the region and it led to the Sino-French War 1864–1885. China had to withdraw and the French established three regions of control in Vietnam. The control of the French was extended when it also occupied Laos and Cambodia.

- French colonial rule was politically repressive and economically exploitative.
  - The French claimed to modernise Vietnam with a network of infrastructure, but they also introduced forced labour, heavy taxes and a centralised government. Life for the Vietnamese peasants was hard.
- Vietnamese resistance was initially passive in nature, but as nationalism grew, resistance grew too.
  - After World War I, Ho Chi Minh began coordinating the resistance:
    - went to live in Paris in the 1920s where he became active in the French Communist Party.
    - visited Moscow in 1924 and became convinced that a Communist inspired revolution was needed in Vietnam to shake off the yoke of colonialism.
    - realised that nationalism would awaken an anti-colonial revolt.
    - he operated from a base in China close to the border of Vietnam (faced arrest in his own country).
    - organised Vietnamese nationalist exiles = Vietnam Revolutionary League.

Japan occupied Vietnam during World War II and the natural resources were used to fuel the Japanese war effort.

- He returned to Vietnam (1941) → set up Viet Minh (Vietnam Independence League).
- He formed an alliance with the US to fight the Japanese in the Vietnam jungle.

When Japan was defeated in 1945, the occupied territories were returned to France as French colonies.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- Ho Chi Minh's guerrilla fighters occupied Hanoi and proclaimed a provisional government and he declared himself president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam → The US refused to recognise his state.
- After World War II: In September 1945 about 1 400 French soldiers freed from Japanese internment camps went on the rampage attacking and killing many Viet Minh guerrillas as well as innocent civilians.
  - The Viet Minh retaliated by organising a general strike → shut down commerce and electricity and water supplies.
    - In October 1945 French reinforcements helped to restore French control. → For four months Ho Chi Minh tried to negotiate full independence for the Vietnamese.
    - BUT → French ships bombarded and occupied the port of Hai Phong. → Led to the start of a guerrilla campaign against the French by the Viet Minh.

The French Indochina War: 1946–1954

The first few years consisted of low-level guerrilla wars against the French. Once China was taken over by the Communists in 1949, Ho Chi Minh's guerrillas could count on Chinese support against the French.

- The war became more conventional as the USA backed the French and the USSR assisted Ho Chi Minh's troops.
  - In 1949 the French backed Bao Dai as the leader in the South but he was weak.
  - The Vietnamese National Army was set up in the South.
  - China continued to back the Viet Minh in the North.
  - Truman authorised $15 million to contain communism in Vietnam.
  - Eisenhower replaced Truman in 1953 → increased US military aid to the French.
  - General Giap – a brilliant military strategist – led the Viet Minh.
    - The French set up a defensive complex at Dien Bien Phu, but Genl Giap introduced a siege that lasted for 57 days before the French were forced to surrender. The US did not get involved in rescuing the French and, as a result, French colonial rule ended.

In 1954 the Geneva Peace Accord was signed between France and Vietnam.

- This Accord agreed to a temporary division of the country along the 17th parallel:
  - Ho Chi Minh gained control of the North while Ba Dai controlled the South.
- Elections were to be held within two years to reunify the country.
- Ho Chi Minh set up a ruthless Communist state in the North and imposed a cleansing of the countryside. Land was confiscated and made into communes. Landowners were tried and brutally executed by people's tribunals.
- In 1955 Diem replaced Bao Dai as president.
  - The USA formed SEATO – a regional organisation to contain communism.
    - The USA wanted to entrench capitalism and democracy in the region to counter the spread of communism.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Stages in the Vietnam War

After their defeat at Dien Bien Phu and the Geneva Accords, the French withdrew their troops to fight the anti-colonial struggle in Algeria. President Diem appealed to the US for aid against the People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF also known as the Viet Cong) who were Communists. The Communists in the North supplied the Viet Cong with weapons, guidance and reinforcements.

PHASE 1: **Struggle between the South Vietnamese army and the Viet Cong**

January 1957: the USSR proposed the division of Vietnam into two parts → plan rejected by the USA.

- Oct 1957 Viet Minh (Communists from the North) launched a campaign of destruction, bombings and assassinations in the South.
- The Viet Cong backed by the US were too strong and Ho Chi Minh adapted his strategy to guerrilla warfare.
- The Ho Chi Minh Trail became the major supply route to the South and guerrillas sometimes crossed the border into Laos and Cambodia.
- Corruption, autocracy and low morale led to support for the Viet Cong in the South.
- Increased opposition grew from the intellectuals, Buddhists, peasants and students against Diem's regime.
- After two unsuccessful coup attempts, Kennedy increased the number of US troops in the South to prop up Diem's regime. 1962 = over 11 000 US troops in Vietnam.
- Meanwhile the USSR began airlifting supplies to the Viet Minh in the North.

1963: Crisis year

WHY?

- Diem's oppression of the Buddhist community, which was denied religious freedom.
- Buddhist marchers were targeted and in protest a Buddhist monk set himself alight.
- The US tried to intervene to get the rights of the Buddhists restored, but government troops raided religious sites.

Some of Diem's generals launched a coup on Diem's regime with US consent, and arrested Diem and his brother. Diem and his brother were assassinated November 1963.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

After Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson became the US president.

GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION

In Aug 1964 North Vietnam launched an attack on an American ship in the Gulf of Tonkin. The US bombed North Vietnam in retaliation after the US Congress passed the Tonkin Resolution. The US used the Tonkin Resolution, backed by the DOMINO THEORY to enter the war more fully to counter the spread of Communism.

PHASE 2:

The North Vietnamese–USA struggle

Many juntas succeeded Diem's government. Eventually Nguyen van Thieu became president in 1965.

- China and the USSR supplied arms and support to North Vietnam.
- March 1965 – 3 500 US marines arrived in South Vietnam.
- The USA did not have enough volunteer soldiers and introduced conscription (known as the draft).
- After another attack on US bases in the south in 1965, Johnson ordered Operation Rolling Thunder to bomb the Communists into surrendering.
- This operation lasted three years and the US dropped one million tonnes of bombs on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.
- Despite destruction of major military targets the North Vietnamese would not surrender.
- 1967 = new constitution set up in the South
  - = civilian government under Thieu
- The US introduced Operation Ranch Hand, a chemical warfare strategy to defoliate the jungles and expose the Ho Chi Minh trail.

What were Agent Orange and Agent Blue?

- Agent Orange was a chemical that caused defoliation and also chromosomal damage in humans.
- Agent Blue was a chemical used to destroy crops so that the NLF did not have food.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Climax of the war: Tet Offensive

- WHAT WAS IT?
  - An offensive by the North Vietnamese and the NLF.
- WHEN?
  - 1968
- WHY?
  - To reach Saigon and force the South Vietnamese government to capitulate and the US forces to withdraw.
- WHO?
  - North Vietnamese and NLF vs. South Vietnamese army and US troops.
- WHERE?
  - Launched attacks across 17 degrees North into the South as far south as Saigon.
- WHAT HAPPENED?
  - President Thieu introduced conscription in an effort to resist the attacks.
  - Thousands of non-Communists in the South were murdered by Communists from the North.
  - US troops suffered casualties and trauma as Communist forces had infiltrated the South.
  - The Communists from the North suffered terrible casualties.
    - The My Lai Massacre illustrated the madness of war as US troops wilfully and deliberately killed innocent villagers during a mad killing spree.
- WHY did the US decide to stop the war?
  - Increasing civilian opposition in the USA as a result of the media making more and more Americans aware of the impact of the war.
  - Student, anti-war and disarmament groups called for the war to end.
  - Marches and protests increased, calling for the end to war.
    - The cost in both lives and money made the continuation of the war untenable.
    - It led to a polarisation in US society and many claimed the war was unjustifiable.
    - Women and students led opposition movements.
    - Photojournalists showed photos of killing and destruction that led to more opposition, e.g. the killing of a NLF officer by General Ngoc Loan.
- HOW did it end?
  - Peace talks began in Paris in May 1968. Russia approved but not China.
  - President Johnson ordered the bombing raids to stop.
    - In 1969 President Nixon, Johnson's successor, formulated the Nixon Doctrine to end the war in Vietnam.
    - Vietnamisation was applied so that trained troops and officials could replace US ones.
    - In 1971 thousands of war veterans marched to the White House and threw their medals and decorations on the steps in protest against the war.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The official ending of the war

Kissinger used a direct approach in talks with the North Vietnamese. By 1972 an agreement had been brokered between him and Xuab Thuy and Le Duc Tho from North Vietnam → BUT: President Thieu and other leaders in the South as well as the NLF rejected the draft peace agreement.

- Nixon authorised intensified bombing raids against the largest cities in the North in December 1972.
  - There was widespread condemnation of the US attacks.
- On 23 January 1973 the final draft peace treaty was signed after the US promised to assist the South.
  - Although the hostilities between the USA and North Vietnam had ended, the civil war did not.
    - On 30 April 1975 the Vietnamese War ended when North Vietnamese troops occupied Saigon and captured the presidential palace.

Why did the US not win the Vietnam War?

Why did the US not win the Vietnam War?

- The Americans misjudged the war and knew little of the terrain where they were fighting.
- US belief they could not lose the war.
- Guerrilla tactics used by Ho Chi Minh.
- Cuban Missile Crisis: Johnson thought the North Vietnamese would back down when threatened.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 1

Summary and questions

Summary

In Topic 1, your historical enquiry focused on answering the following key question:

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

In order to answer this key question, you studied the concepts outlined below.

Unit 1 What were the origins of the Cold War?

The roots of the Cold War stretch to the Russian Civil War, but became a global threat to world peace after World War II when the West (mainly the USA and its allies) and the East (mainly the USSR and its allies) confronted each other over ideological differences summarised as capitalism and communism. Although this confrontation never resulted in direct conflict, it did cause a number of crises (e.g. the Berlin Blockade, Berlin Crisis and Cuban Missile Crisis) that had the potential to escalate into nuclear war. It also resulted in each superpower creating spheres of interest, either to spread its own ideology or to contain the ideology of its opponent. Proxy wars often erupted in these spheres of interest. The Cold War, which started in 1947 with the Truman Doctrine, ended when the Berlin Wall was dismantled (1989) and the USSR dissolved (1991).

Case study 1 China

The Chinese Empire disintegrated when the British defeated the Chinese army during the First Opium War (1839–1842). By 1900, a new generation of Western-educated Chinese had begun to control the government and a provisional government led by the respected nationalist leader Sun Yat-sen was established in Nanking in 1912. However, much conflict ensued with the nationalists and communists vying for power. Eventually Mao Zedong, after the Long March (1936) and the defeat of the nationalists, established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949. Mao imposed communism and, through his Great Leap Forward and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, tried to destroy the class system in China and modernise the country. He used his Red Guards to enforce his vision. Mao also tried to spread communism to surrounding countries and had wars with Tibet, India, Vietnam and Thailand. Although Mao's policies resulted in much suffering and millions of deaths, they did result in China becoming a very powerful nation.

After Mao's death (1976), China became friendlier towards the West because the new leaders realised that the country could not flourish economically in isolation in a globalised world economy.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

Case study 2 Vietnam

Vietnam was also an ancient culture that disintegrated with foreign (French) occupation in the 1800s. However, the Vietnamese resisted colonial rule and after World War II (1945) Ho Chi Minh set up a communist state in northern Vietnam even though Vietnam was still a French colony. His intention was to unite all of Vietnam by engaging the French in guerrilla warfare. He was successful and through the Geneva Peace Accords North Vietnam was formally recognised, with South Vietnam being declared south of the 17th parallel. This spilt into North and South Vietnam reflected the Cold War tensions, with the USSR supporting the North and the USA supporting the South. Because the government in the South under Ngo Dinh Diem was corrupt, and because the North and many people in the South wanted a single Vietnam, war broke out between the South and the Viet Cong. The USA, fearful that the South would fall to the communists and create a domino effect in the region, sent in thousands of soldiers and weapons to help the South. However, the Viet Cong used guerrilla tactics, which the US – who were a conventional fighting force – could not cope with. After the loss of thousands of lives and increasing protests and pressure in the US and worldwide, the US was forced to withdraw from Vietnam after the Paris Peace Agreement in 1973. In 1975 North Vietnam invaded South Vietnam and the country was once again united into a single Vietnam.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 1

Summary and questions

Questions

1 **Key question: What were the main developments in the Cold War 1948–1961?**

1.1 Why did the London Conference of 1948 create tension about Germany?

1.2 What event prompted Stalin to impose the Blockade?

1.3 How long did the Berlin Blockade last?

1.4 Name two results of the Berlin Blockade.

1.5 What do the letters NATO stand for?

1.6 What did Khrushchev demand at the 1961 summit?

1.7 If the Berlin Wall became a symbol of all that was bad and repressive about Soviet rule, what did Kennedy say West Berlin was a symbol of?

1.8 Who was the American-backed dictator of Cuba before Castro's successful revolution in 1959?

1.9 Which American organisation funded, trained, armed and transported the invasion of Cuba in April 1961?

1.10 What was Castro's reaction to the Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961?

2 **Key question: How did Mao Zedong rise to power?**

2.1 In the People's Republic of China, which factor best reflects Marxism?

2.2 What was the main aim of the Great Leap Forward in China?

2.3 Why did the Communist government in China discourage organised religion?

2.4 Name the major goal of the Cultural Revolution in China during the 1960s.

2.5 Identify the main reason the Chinese Communists gained control of mainland China in 1949.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

3 **Key question: How did the USA get involved in Vietnam?**

3.1 What was the treaty of 1954 that split Vietnam at the 17th parallel?

3.2 Who was the communists' leader?

3.3 How did Diem lose power in 1963?

3.4 What did Congress agree in the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution?

3.5 What event finally pushed the US into going to war in February 1965?

4 **Key question: What was the nature of the war in Vietnam?**

4.1 What was Operation Rolling Thunder?

4.2 What kind of war did the communists wage?

4.3 Where did an American "Search and Destroy" patrol commit an atrocity in 1968?

4.4 What was the name of the direct attack launched by the NVA in January 1968?

4.5 Describe the main outcomes of the NVA offensive of January 1968.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

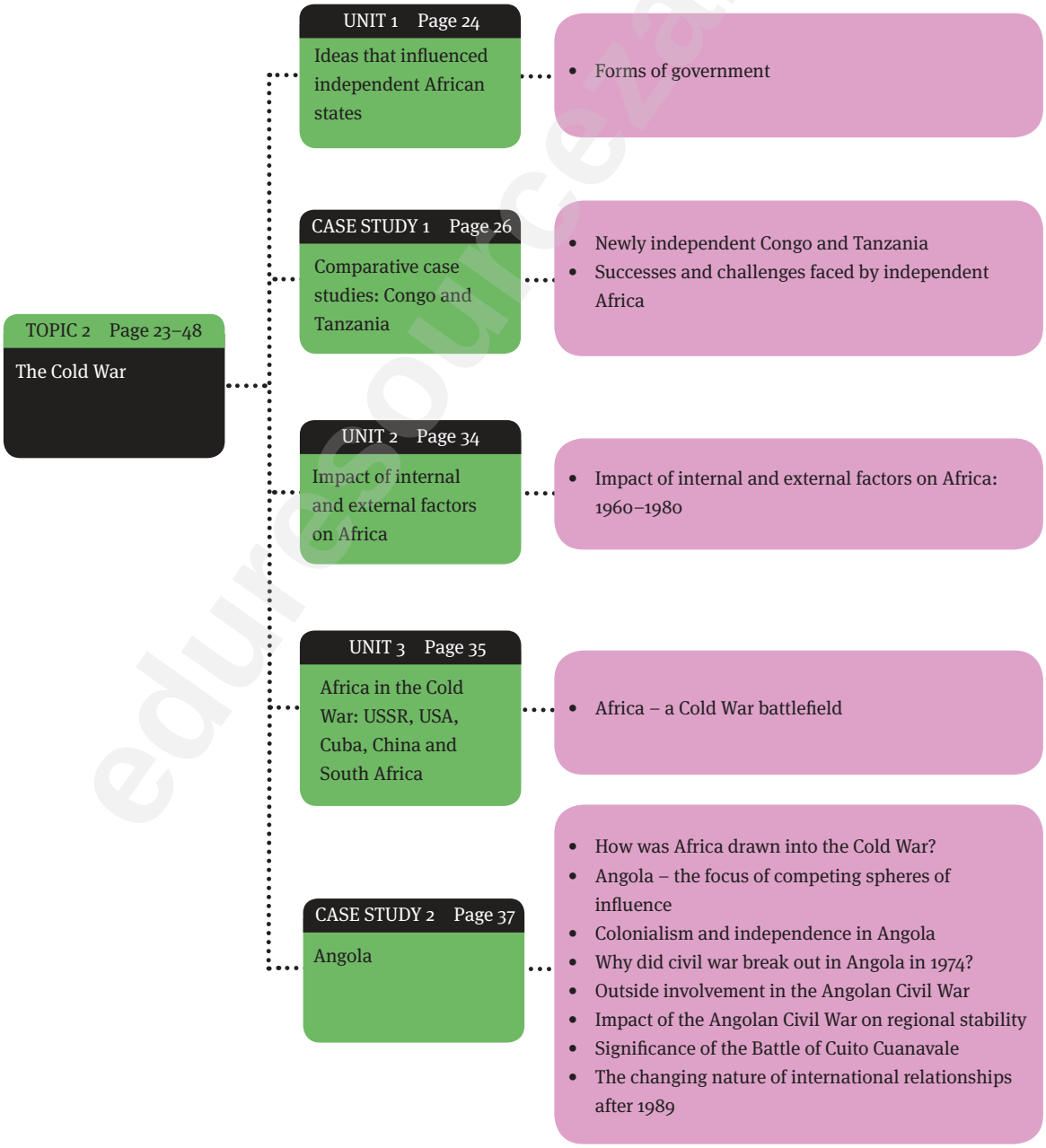
Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 2 Independent Africa

Overview

In this topic you will revise:

- what the ideas were that influenced independent African states
- the successes and challenges faced by independent Africa –
  - political and economic
  - social and cultural
- the impact of internal and external factors on Africa during this time
- Africa in the Cold War.



Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 1

The ideas that influenced independent African states

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

Definition of the concept INDEPENDENCE

The term INDEPENDENCE can be associated with ideas such as emancipation, decolonisation and autonomy. It involves change that affects political systems, society, culture, economics and philosophy to name but a few. In order to understand the degree of change and the legacy of it, you need to reflect on the political, economic and social systems in Africa before and during colonial rule and then compare these to the period that followed decolonisation after World War II.

Forms of government

When decolonisation happened after World War II, many of the ex-colonies either adopted or tried to adapt the ideology and system of governance of the colonial period or chose to align themselves with the ideology of the power that assisted them during the struggle for independence. The vacuum left by the colonial powers meant that newly formed African states had to 'create' new forms of government to make the transition to independence. This often led to new allegiances or the consolidation of new alliances.

Form of government or ideology	Characteristics	Examples where it was implemented
African Socialism	• Based on European Socialism but marketed as a unique brand of socialism that is based on true spirit of African beliefs. • Viewed as being uniquely African in a localised sense. • Socialism seen as the in-between phase of economic development between capitalism and Marxism. • No private ownership but communal ownership. • Its focus was more on the community rather than a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' as intended by Marxism. • Collective ownership meant state ownership. • There would be no social classes in society nor a dictatorship by a certain class over the others. • Instead the state would be run by a coalition of representatives of all the tribes.	• Tanzania by Julius Nyerere • Senegal – Léopold Senghor • Ghana – Kwame Nkrumah and • Guinea – Sékou Touré.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Form of government or ideology	Characteristics	Examples where it was implemented
Capitalism	• An economic system based on the investment of capital and the use of labour and resources to make a profit. • It merged as a counter to feudalism. • It promotes private ownership, enterprise and the accumulation of wealth by an individual. • It allows for private investment and incentive with much freedom of choice.	• This was the ideology of Western democracies and the colonial powers. • Colonial powers used the labour and raw materials in the colonies to amass fortunes with little benefit for the African states. • This made many newly independent states opt for an alternative ideology to shun capitalism.
Democracy	• Citizens share power through elected representatives. • Regular elections and free and fair campaigns allow for public participation in the voting process. • It is based on a multi-party system. • It promotes human rights and safeguards individual and civil liberties. • Majority rule is recognised but with the protection of minority rights. • No social class is viewed as superior; equality is respected.	• Many African states opted for democracy but not capitalism. • Despite declaring this, few African leaders respected democratic principles and did not adhere to the rule of law. • As a result many African states became one- party systems or dictatorships.
One-party state	• Only one party is tolerated. • The system is enforced by a dictator. • No opposition is allowed. • Legislation is often used to enforce dictatorial rule. • Elections are held but candidates represent the same party. • The military is usually used to prop up the dictator.	• After decolonisation most African states became dictatorships. • Two examples: Zaire and Tanzania.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Case Study 1

Congo and Tanzania: A comparative case study

Key question: What were the political, economic, social and cultural challenges and successes that Congo and Tanzania experienced between 1960 and 1980?

Newly independent Congo and Tanzania

You need to revise the successes and challenges faced by independent Africa:

- the kinds of states that emerged: aims and visions
- political successes and challenges
- economic successes and challenges
- social and cultural successes and challenges.

How did the Congo become a tool of the Cold War?

- Belgian Congo achieved its independence in 1960
- A crisis arose soon afterwards when Katanga Province declared itself independent under the regional premier Moise Tshombe.
- Tshombe had the support of the Belgian government and mining companies such as Union Miniere.
- The UN refused to suppress the rebels in Katanga.
- As a result Patrice Lumumba, the first premier of Congo, called on the USSR to help put down the rebellion. They obliged.
- This alarmed the USA who put pressure on the head of the army of Congo, Mobutu, to act against Lumumba.
- The CIA sponsored a coup against Lumumba's government initiated by Mobutu.
- Lumumba was imprisoned and executed by firing squad on 17 Jan 1961.
- This event was committed with the assistance of the Belgian government and the CIA.

Congo became a tool of the West in the Cold War.

The Congo was a valuable source of minerals especially cobalt for Western technology and industries.

Mobutu renamed Congo = Zaire in 1971. When Katangan rebels based in Angola in 1977 attacked Zaire → Belgium, France and US supported Mobutu.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Significance of these events in the Congo

Zaire became another example of Cold War politics as the USA and the USSR used the conflict to protect their own spheres of influence and to safeguard their own ideology. It also shows how the Congo (Zaire) did not manage to maintain full autonomy as it was backed by a superpower and Western powers and became a political pawn of the West.

How did Tanzania apply African Socialism?

1. Tanganyika became independent in 1961 and was renamed Tanzania. Julius Nyerere became Prime Minister and his party, TANU, formed a government.
2. In 1962 Nyerere became president after amending the constitution.
3. In 1967 the Arusha Declaration was accepted which showed a support for socialism.
4. The Arusha Declaration promoted socialism as rooted in African homegrown values and potential.
5. Socialism was seen as an African tradition of peasantry, communal living and sharing
6. Nyerere said that African Socialism did not derive from European socialism and Marxism but rather could teach European socialists about the true nature of socialism.
7. In ujamaa, all humans care for one another and are bound together by affection and solidarity.
8. Emphasis was placed on education. Elitism was ended by introducing universal education based on traditional and Western models.
9. Recognition was given to the importance of traditional values, indigenous knowledge and wisdom.
10. Soon after the Arusha Declaration was issued, banks and many large industries were nationalised in Tanzania.

Successes and challenges faced by independent Africa

The types of states established, the leadership strategies, and the ideologies and policies that were adopted by various African leaders were influenced by:

- colonialism → left a mixed legacy in Africa = positive and negative consequences
- the international context of Cold War politics.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What kind of states emerged in Congo and Tanzania

State	Leader	Type of state
Congo	Mobutu Sese Seko	• Centralised • Unitary • Military regime / dictatorship • One-party rule • The state assumed a guardian role and resorted to forceful maintenance of law and order. • 'Mobutuism' emerged: cult figure who used state power to prop up his power. • He was more interested in building an authoritarian state than a united nation. • A consolidated, national identity was not achieved.
Tanzania	Julius Nyerere	• A single-party state • Socialist ideology • Aimed to mobilise all Tanzanians to help build a nation. • He succeeded in overcoming ethnic differences to establish a united Tanzania. • Tanzania assumed a national identity. • Elections were held to choose the 'best' individual but only one party, TANU, existed. • Nyerere became president for life.

Political successes and challenges faced by independent Africa

African leaders in the late 1950s brought their own ideologies and policies to the process of decolonisation → large impact on the foundations laid for countries at and after independence.

What type of political leaders emerged in the Congo and Tanzania?

Patrice Lumumba: Pan-Africanist and nationalist in Congo

- Challenged as leader by Moise Tshombe and Joseph Kasavubu:
  - They both came from larger ethnic groups and strong regional power bases.
- Lumumba founded MNC in 1958
  - aimed for a national Congolese identity.
- 30 June 1960 = Congo independent: Kasavubu became President and Lumumba Prime Minister.
- He had to form the 'new' government. He wanted:
  - a unitary Congo
  - believed in 'positive neutralism' or a return to traditional African values rather than the adoption of external ideologies.
    - He was murdered by the Katanga secessionist regime.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Mobutu Sese Seko: capitalist, dictator

- Initially in favour of Lumumba's centralised state.
  - BUT, when Katanga started secessionist struggle, he sided with Kasavubu and gave covert support to him against Lumumba.
  - His troops captured Lumumba and handed him to Katangan rebels for execution.
- Led a coup in 1965, overthrew Kasavubu and became president of Congo:
  - only allowed one party, MPR, to operate
  - led a corrupt regime in Congo (renamed Zaire in 1971) which focussed on self-enrichment
  - wanted to be seen as a nationalist hero → built up a cult around his personality:
    - → developed Mobutuism: one-party state, dictatorship.

Julius Nyerere: African socialism, social equality and peace

- Mwalimu = teacher:
  - peaceful change
  - racial harmony
  - rejection of tribalism, ethnic and racial discrimination.
- 1962: amended constitution
  - became executive president of Tanzania.
- 1963: TANU only political party
  - → Tanzania = one-party state:
    - elections: all candidates from the same party.
- Believed in African Socialism:
  - community needs rather than individual needs.
- Committed to equality and dignity:
  - 1967: Arusha Declaration = socialist map for Tanzania
    - wanted to reduce the income gap in society
    - stood for democracy
    - BUT soon became a dictatorship
    - → he did not tolerate opposition.
    - nationalisation of resources but not accessible to the people of Tanzania.
  - Believed in non-alignment.
  - BUT tended towards the Eastern bloc due to its involvement in Zanzibar.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What colonial legacies did the Congo and Tanzania inherit at independence?

CONGO	DETAILS
Ethnic division and tribalism	• Colonialism had divided people along ethnic and tribal lines. • Different ethnic groups were often scattered over more than one state e.g. Congo, Rwanda, Burundi. The map of Africa had been redrawn. • These divisions persisted during the Cold War when different groups aligned themselves with opposing political blocs. • Some African leaders, e.g. Lumumba wanted to forge a new national identity and eradicate ethnic divisions. • Mobutu Sese Seko forged national unity through his despotic rule after Lumumba was killed.
Fairly sophisticated civil service and infrastructure.	• These collapsed after independence. • WHY? The local African population had not been educated or trained to take on the administrative and technical functions. Colonial withdrawal left a technical vacuum. • The strategy to develop peasant agriculture and greater government intervention in industrial development to grow employment opportunities was hampered due to a lack of expertise. • Financial grants had been squandered due to poor and inadequate controls.
The nature of colonial industry	• It was dependent mainly on mining in certain areas leaving many regions under-developed and poverty stricken. • The economy of Congo became reliant on the export of cheaper raw materials and imported more expensive manufactured goods. • Congo remained trapped and leaders did not govern efficiently or innovatively after independence.
THEREFORE: • It was difficult for the independent states to thrive economically or to stay politically stable. • Leaders did not always adopt the best practices or policies. • During the Cold War, states often became the site of proxy wars as independent states found it virtually impossible to stay unaligned.	

TANZANIA	DETAILS
Lack of technical and administrative capacity	• Colonial officials withdrew rapidly leaving a vacuum. • Little training was done to educate Africans for their new roles in government.
Uneven development: rural and urban areas.	• Nyerere tried to force the population to move back to the rural areas and to develop communal villages there to eradicate poverty. • His policy of villagisation was rejected and resulted in more poverty for his people.
Foreign policy of non-alignment adopted.	• Country remained dependent on foreign capital for its development. • Debt hindered development. • It began links with the Eastern bloc e.g. China helped construct the TANZAM railway line.
• BUT Nyerere did manage to build a nation-state in Tanzania. • He overcame ethnic and tribal differences.	

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What types of government emerged in the Congo and Tanzania?

Congo	Tanzania
• Kasavubu wanted a federalist state • Lumumba wanted a unitary and centralised state. • Kasavubu and Lumumba deposed quickly leaving form of government up to Mobutu Sese Seko to install. • Sese Seko supported centralisation, authoritarianism and military control. • In 1967 He merged party and state and all Zairians were born party members. • Mobutuism became state ideology: seen as divine saviour.	• TANU and later CCM focussed on post-colonial structural re-organisation in Tanzania. • The Arusha Declaration set out plans for UJAMAA VIJIJINI (ujamaa villages) • Social, economic and political equality will be achieved through democratisation. • No discrimination based on social status. • All productive capacity to be collectivised and nationalised. Based on socialism. • Transformed Tanzania to be self-reliant. • Became a one-party state (no opposition) • A short period of self- government before independence prepared Tanzania better to make the transition. • But it also became a dictatorship and experienced political instability.

What type of political instability and stability did the Congo and Tanzania experience?

CONGO	
WHAT? • Ethnic rivalry, tension and uncertainty	WHY? • Ideological differences between leaders e.g. Kasavubu and Lumumba. • Congolese elites had different ambitions e.g. federalists vs Unitarians, regionalists and nationalists, etc. • Secessionists gained the support of Belgian business to break away. This led to instability and civil war. • Many deaths and anarchy existed in many areas. • Soviet forces, the CIA, a UN force, mercenaries and Belgian and French soldiers made the situation more complex to solve. • The murder of Lumumba and the death of Dag Hammarskjold (UN Secretary General) made matters worse. • In 1965 some semblance of 'stability' returned when Mobutu Sese Seko seized power. He gained the support of some Western nations as an ally against the Eastern bloc and managed to establish a one-party dictatorship that lasted for more than 30 years. • The West tolerated Sese Seko despite his dictatorial regime and massive corruption. • Not really stable but rather dictatorial suppression of all opposition.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

TANZANIA	
WHAT? • Smooth transition to independence	WHY? • Period of self- government seemed to smooth over initial problems to some extent. • Ujamaa seemed more appropriate to Tanzanian's way of life. • Tanzania's centralised government brought stability initially. • No civil war. • 1964: Tanzania and Zanzibar united as a republic with Nyerere as president and Karume as vice-president. • The two countries only really united under Nwinyi in 1985.

Economic challenges and successes in independent Africa

NOTE the overlap of political and economic aspects → not possible to split them when looking at economic challenges and successes in independent Africa.

ZAIRE	What type of economy was adopted? • The new government drew up an economic and social expansion plan that placed emphasis on peasant agriculture and greater government intervention in industry. • Aimed to process raw materials locally, avoid imports and increase employment. • Adopted capitalist model. • Production involved mainly cobalt and copper. • Mono-culturalism (one product economy).
Challenges	• Zairianisation and 'radicalisation of the revolution' led to problems. • The nationalisation of trade led to chaos. • Corruption devastated the economy. • Mismanagement • Infrastructure neglected. • Dependent on massive financial aid. • Sold off raw materials and minerals for the benefit of the West and quick cash returns; little development of Zaire. • A new elite emerged leading to class distinction. • Had to rely on foreign aid to avoid bankruptcy. • Mobutu Sese Seko lived an opulent lifestyle and headed a corrupt regime.
Successes	• Virtually non-existent but under retrocession policy of Mobutu Sese Seko large portions of Zairianised enterprises were returned to their original owners. • He managed to keep the economy afloat by eliciting aid (this is a questionable 'success' – be able to argue a point here).
TANZANIA	What type of economy was adopted? • Adopted African socialist model. • Embarked on villagisation process to increase self-reliant food production and rural development. • Main export crop was coffee. • Mono-culturalism (one- product)
Challenges	• Self-reliance led to further debt • Ujamaa was unproductive as economic growth declined. • Tanzania remained under-developed economically. • Farmers resisted villagisation. • Had to rely on foreign aid to avoid collapse.
Successes	• Villagisation made service delivery in terms of health care and education easily accessible. • Nyerere's education philosophy was very successful. One of the highest literacy rates achieved in Africa. • Stability in society and free from economic inequalities. • Ujamaa led to some rural development.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Social, cultural and educational practices in the Congo and Tanzania

Clothing	• Nationalism expressed in costume and dress. • Move to dress in a more uniquely African way. • Kwame Nkrumah set the tone and pace for change and other elites followed. • It stimulated local textile making, weaving, embroidery and dyeing industries. • New elites chose dress to highlight their status. • New hairstyles replaced European ones. • Congo: Mobutu outlawed the wearing of suits and ties: the abacos imposed by decree. • It was inspired by dress of Mao Zedong of China.
Language	• Under colonial rule African languages had become marginalised as limited in scope and confined to oral tradition, rural areas and the language of adults. • Between 1962 and 1964 research centres and African language departments were started at many African universities. • Many new universities started as well as research on African traditions and languages. • Nyerere translated Shakespeare's Julius Caesar and The Merchant of Venice into Kiswahili. He used the translations to also educate his people about exploitation and the struggle for political and economic liberation.
Educational benefits	• Many of the founding fathers and leaders of the new states were educated at mission schools or Western colleges. • They became the vanguard of the struggle for political independence and took over power. • Many leaders felt that education needed to be transformed from the Western model in order to achieve mental liberation and decolonisation of the mind. Intellectually African thinking needed to change. • This was debated at many pan-African congresses. • There was a need to combine Western intellectual and educational programmes with African ones. • Education should be used to promote unity, national and cultural identity, philosophy, social justice, ideology, science, technology, search for knowledge and the development of skills in African states. • This would reduce poverty and unemployment. • Universities were modelled on Western ones but developed African ideas.
Africanisation	**In Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko confiscated all farmlands, industry, commercial and mining enterprises from foreign owners for re-distribution to Congolese.** • Called Zairianisation: negative trend due to lack of experience. • Resulted in mismanagement, maladministration and corruption. • Also introduced a policy called authenticite between 1970 and 1990, to remove the legacy of colonialism and to promote a centralised Congolese identity. • Colonial names were replaced with local ones, he banned Christmas and neckties, as these were seen to be un-African. **In Tanzania, Nyerere promoted self-reliance.** • This was often at the cost of expertise and experience. • Local people were employed to promote and develop the newly created villages. • These people were inexperienced and as a result villages were mismanaged. • Enforced villagisation led to resistance and rejection by the local population.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 2

The impact of internal and external factors on Africa

Key question: What was the impact of internal and external factors on Africa between 1960 and 1980?

Internal factors that impacted on Africa

- The legacy of colonialism:
  - African states were under-developed and Africans lacked education and skills.
- Ethnic diversity:
  - African leaders often exploited ethnic differences leading to civil wars and internal conflicts.
- State failure:
  - Many leaders chose a centralised economic model and a one-party political system to develop the state → led to strict control, tyranny, corruption, poverty and under-development.
- Geographical location:
  - Most of Africa is unsuitable for large-scale agriculture = no food security.
    - + many countries → landlocked = hinders development
    - + many diseases afflict animals and humans → makes development difficult.

External factors that impacted on Africa

- The Cold War:
  - States aligned themselves to one of the superpowers → development difficult.
- Foreign aid:
  - Led to increased dependency and under-development
    - + often bolstered regimes.
- Export–import cycle:
  - African countries exported raw materials cheaply and then imported finished goods at a high price → contributed to underdevelopment and poverty.
- The 1973 oil crisis:
  - Oil price increased → donor countries had to spend more money on importing oil and could not afford to give loans and aid to Africa
    - + African countries had to pay very high prices to import oil
    - = underdevelopment, poverty and bankruptcy.

Bankruptcy led to loans and increased debt. Lenders demanded cut backs and high returns for money lent.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 3

Africa in the Cold War

Key question: What were the motives of the USSR, the USA, Cuba, China and South Africa in Africa during the Cold War?

Africa: Cold War battleground

USSR & USA

- Rival liberation movements in African states fought one another in civil wars.
- USSR backed most liberation movements, e.g. MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique, ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in SWA.
- USA supported their opponents in the liberation struggles, e.g. UNITA and FNLA in Angola, RENAMO in Mozambique.

CUBA

- Castro wanted to spread the revolution overseas to liberate ex-colonies and provide technical and financial support to African liberation movements with a socialist agenda.
  - Stage 1: 1959–1979 = loose contacts with left-wing guerrilla groups.
  - Stage 2: 1975–1977 = sent combat troops to Angola to support MPLA.
  - Stage 3: 1977–1978 = sent combat troops to assist Ethiopia against a Somalia military incursion.
  - Stage 4: 1979 = reduce military role in Africa but increase civilian and technical programmes.

CHINA

- China supplied weapons and military assistance to African states but also helped with development projects:
  - Mao sent 150 000 technicians to work in agriculture, technology and infrastructure.
  - Promoted socialism and communism in African states.
  - Tried to counter Western aid by adopting principles that allowed for benefits for lender and donor countries.
  - Invested in cost-effective projects where Chinese experts trained locals to become experts.
  - Provided military assistance to liberation movements to counter Western, US-led imperialism, e.g. Congo, Mozambique, Cameroon, Niger, Rwanda, Biafra and Zimbabwe.
  - TAZARA (Tan-Zam railway line) supplied weapons to interior, e.g. light to heavier weapons including missiles, tanks.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The position of South Africa in Cold War politics in Africa:

SA justified its military campaigns into neighbouring states as a strategy to counter the ANC and PAC's attempts to destabilise SA and to initiate a Communist-inspired revolution. Western governments that wanted to safeguard the strategic sea route around the tip of Africa backed SA.

- SA backed RENAMO (Mozambique) and UNITA (Angola) against Cuba and the USSR proxy forces.

Cuba, China and the USSR assisted left-wing guerrilla groups by means of financial, technical and military aid to fight the SA military forces.

- The USA and Western governments assisted SA against its Cold War opponents.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Case Study 2

CASE STUDY: Angola

Key question: How were independence and peace realised in Angola?

The Angolan War of Independence (1961–1974) began as an uprising against forced cotton cultivation, and became a multi-faction struggle for the control of Portugal's Overseas Province of Angola, mainly among three nationalist movements:

- The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), founded in 1956, led by Agostinho Neto.
- The FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), founded by Holden Roberto in 1961.
- UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), founded by Jonas Savimbi in 1966.

The war ended when a leftist military coup in Lisbon in April 1974 overthrew Portugal's Estado Novo regime, and the new regime immediately stopped all military action in the African colonies, declaring its intention to grant them independence without delay.

In Angola, the war came formally to an end in January 1975 when the Portuguese government, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) signed the Alvor Agreement.

The Angolan Civil War was a major civil conflict in the African state of Angola, beginning in 1975 and continuing, with some interludes, until 2002. The war began immediately after Angola became independent from Portugal in November 1975. The Civil War was primarily a struggle for power between two former liberation movements, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). At the same time, it served as a proxy battleground for the Cold War, due to heavy intervention by major opposing powers such as the Soviet Union and the United States.

Colonialism and independence in Angola

Colonialism in Angola

Portuguese colonial rule was established in Angola in 16th century. Trading posts were established along the coast.

- In 1885 colonial boundaries were recognised by the Treaty of Berlin.
  - Portugal began to invest in mining, agriculture and infrastructure development in Angola.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- In 1951 Angola became an overseas province on Portugal.
  - The Africans were called assimilados and they adopted the Portuguese language and culture.
  - A hybrid society arose: mesticos in coastal towns, Creole families, Portuguese-speaking blacks on the coast and inland and peasants who spoke indigenous languages.
  - → These divisions as well as tribalism influenced the faction group formation later on.

Independence in Angola

When calls for independence were rejected in 1960, a struggle against Portuguese colonial occupation began.

STAGE 1:

In 1961 Angolan peasants rebelled and boycotted cotton production demanding better working conditions and higher wages. They also attacked Portuguese traders.

- Holden Roberto's UPA launched an incursion from his base in the Congo which led to attacks on trading centres and government installations and many deaths.
- The Portuguese Armed Forces retaliated and as a result the rebels formed a guerrilla force and continued their struggle with different strategies.

How was Africa drawn into the Cold War?

USA was concerned that decolonisation in Africa:

- provided an opportunity for the extension of communism to Africa → worried that:
  - this could lead to a shift in the balance of power in the world
  - result in the loss of access to raw materials, minerals, trade routes and markets.

→ USA used aid packages, technical assistance and even military intervention to encourage newly formed states to become aligned to capitalism and democracy and not to socialism or communism.

- USSR used similar tactics to encourage these states to align themselves with the Eastern bloc:
  - promoted communism as an alternative to imperialist capitalism
  - provided aid packages, technical assistance and military assistance.

Thus, superpowers asserted their influence in Africa to establish and protect their spheres of influence as they did in other parts of the world:
= became involved in proxy wars (usually civil wars) and assisted opponents in gaining the upper hand.
+ provided aid → increased the dependency of African states on superpowers.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

STAGE 2:

The main factions became embroiled in a bitter civil war based largely on ethnic loyalties and ideological differences.

- The MFA coup in Portugal and the ensuing Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974 ended the colonial conflict and brought independence to Mozambique and Angola.

STAGE 3:

The new Portuguese leftist government announced that it intended to grant Angola (and other colonies) its independence.

- Negotiations with the factions were complex due to ethnic and ideological differences.
- BUT, on 15 January 1975 leaders of the three main liberation movements and the Portuguese government signed the Alvor Accord.
  - It recommended a transitional government headed by the Portuguese High Commissioner, the integration of liberation forces, national elections would be held and the date for independence was set for 11 November 1975.
- The coalition government collapsed and fighting resumed between the MPLA and FNLA to control Luanda.
  - The MPLA, backed by the USSR
    - forced the FNLA and UNITA out of Luanda.
  - SA launched an incursion into southern Angola
    - captured most of the region and handed it back to UNITA.
  - The FNLA, backed by troops from SA and Zaire:
    - launched an attack on Luanda to recapture it from the MPLA and prevent the latter from setting up a government there.
  - The MPLA, backed by Cuba
    - repulsed the FNLA and dealt it a heavy blow.

Competing spheres of influence in Angola: trade, conflict and aid

Angola became an ideological battleground in Cold War politics:

- Both superpowers tried to gain the upper hand to ensure control of trade and to establish spheres of influence. This was because of Angola's:
  - strategic position on west coast of Africa
  - well-established infrastructure and agricultural sector (timber, ivory, cotton, coffee and cocoa)
  - minerals (iron, diamonds) and oil.
- Led to conflict around ideological differences as the main political groupings in Angola aligned themselves with the USSR and USA respectively.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

STAGE 4:

Admiral Cardosa, last High Commissioner of Angola, abandoned the country without officially handing over authority to any faction leader.

- Agostinho Neto, MPLA leader, declared the People's Republic of Angola on 11 November 1975 in accordance with the Alvor Accords.
- UNITA and the FNLA set up a rival government inland and enlisted the support of the SA government to oust Neto.
- The civil war intensified and continued for the next 27 years.

Why did the civil war break out in Angola in 1974?

The key reasons were:

- Ideological differences among the warring factions prevented a common purpose.
- Deep ethnic and regional differences prevented unification.
- Each leader was ambitious for power and control.
  - Worsened by foreign intervention during the Cold War era:
    - these interventions exploited the mistrust and division even further thus delaying a settlement.

The USSR and Cuba provided support for the MPLA.

The US sent funds to Savimbi and encouraged SA to back UNITA.

What was the role of the MPLA and UNITA in the civil war?

MPLA

Formed as a multi-ethnic political party on 10 December 1956. Its support was largely whites, mesticos and the Ambundu ethnic community in the area around Luanda.

- Initially adopted peaceful methods to achieve change but resorted to an armed struggle in 1961.
- With the aid of the USSR and Cuba it maintained control of the central regions of Angola including the rich oil fields off the coast.
- In 1977 it adopted Marxist-Leninism as party ideology and promoted a one-party state.
  - It became extremist and many ideological opponents were killed, e.g. 70 000 killed in 1977 when an attempted coup nearly ousted Neto.
- In 1990 when the Cold War ended, the MPLA adopted social democracy. BUT
  - After the 1992 elections, facilitated by the Bicesse Accord of 1991, thousands of UNITA and FNLA sympathisers were killed in reprisal attacks.
  - With the aid of Cuba and the USSR, the MPLA kept democracy out of Angola by destroying all opposition.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

UNITA

Formed by Jonas Savimbi on 13 March 1966. Supported by the Ovimbundu group.

- It gained stature as a black-nationalist movement but also gained support from the SA government as it was fighting an ideological enemy
- = MPLA and indirectly Cuba and the USSR.
  - The US supported UNITA to withstand Marxist expansion and to maintain access to Angola's mineral wealth.
- After the 1992 elections, Savimbi refused to accept the result and returned to the bush to resume war.
  - UNITA aimed to keep rival ideologies out of Angola and undermined the MPLA consistently.
    - Savimbi was killed on 22 February 2002.

Outside involvement in the Angolan civil war

Why and how was the USSR involved?

- To counter capitalism and democracy in the region.
  - It was a natural result of Cold War politics, i.e. brinkmanship, posturing and extending spheres of influence.
  - It attempted to entrench communism in the region.
  - It provided material and military aid, e.g. in 1990 it amounted to US$430 million.

Why and how was the USA involved?

- To prevent Angola from adopting Communism and to avoid the ideology spreading in central and southern Africa.
  - had economic interests in the region, e.g. Angola supplies 7% of US oil imports.
- Initially the USA assisted the FNLA and UNITA.
  - CIA funding assisted the FNLA and later weapons were sent to them.
  - In 1976 involvement was limited by the Clark Amendment, as the USA did not want another Vietnam War situation to develop.
  - This amendment was repealed in 1985: covert funding to UNITA was resumed.

Why and how was Cuba involved?

- Cuban involvement was directed against the involvement of capitalist support of movements in Angola. It shared the same ideology as the MPLA and wanted to assist it in its revolutionary struggle for independence.
  - It provided military training and assistance to the MPLA in 1966.
    - It deployed thousands of troops to assist the MPLA which gave the movement the edge in the conflict.
    - → They began winning back the south from UNITA forces backed by SA troops.
    - The final battle was won at Cuito Cuanavale in 1987 and 1988.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Why and how was China involved?

- China gave arms and sent instructors to Zaire in June 1974 to assist the FNLA.
  - = strange move as the FNLA was anti-communist
    - BUT
- China wanted to counter both US and USSR imperialism.
  - The FNLA moved their base to northern Angola (also received aid from the Romanian dictator Nikolai Ceausescu (pro-Peking).

How was SA involved?

- SA, with US backing, wanted to stop the spread of communism to SWA and to destroy SWAPO bases in southern Angola.
- Also wanted to protect its investment in the Cunene River project, which provided hydro-electricity to the northern regions of SWA.
  - South Africa supported a black, nationalist movement (UNITA) against communism.

In 1988 SA started her withdrawal after the signing of the New York Accords.

- = These were instrumental in granting independence to SWA (Namibia) and insisting on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Impact of the Angolan war on regional stability

This war generated severe regional instability that had repercussions in other parts of the world.

Impact on Zaire (Congo)	Impact on Namibia
Zaire was a partner of the USA during the Cold War and allowed the pro-capitalist FNLA to operate from bases on its territory: • made it vulnerable to counterattacks from the Portuguese armed forces and later, MPLA troops. • the First Congo War broke out because Mobutu supported UNITA.	Namibia experienced destabilisation as SA troops launched attacks against SWAPO guerrilla forces to prevent the establishment of a Marxist state in Namibia: • SA supported UNITA and launched attacks from its bases in northern Namibia. • UNITA carried out cross-border raids and incursions for supplies leading to further instability. • Many Angolan refugees fled to Namibia during the civil war.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Impact onZambia

UNITA launched cross-border raids to pillage supplies.

- Thousands of refugees fled to Zambia to seek safety.
- Benguela railway line was closed to traffic from Zambia from the 1970s.
  - This hindered trade and
  - Zambia had to rely on the railway link through Dar-es-Salaam for this purpose.

Impact on the region

The internal struggles between the various factions in Angola spread and became a regional conflict. From 1961 most countries in the region experienced instability.

Significance of the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale: 1987 and 1988

Background

- Conflict between FAPLA (Angola government forces) and UNITA intensified between 1985 and 1986.
- FAPLA almost defeated UNITA.
  - SA liaised with UNITA to carry out joint planning in future in an attempt to defeat MPLA.
    - From March 1987, SA intelligence established evidence of a major planned FAPLA attack on UNITA bases and a large-scale attack on Cuito Cuanavale.

Why did SA intervene in Cuito Cuanavale?

- Initially, SA did not want to get involved fearing diplomatic antagonism and hostile propaganda.
- However, SA viewed a defeat of UNITA as unacceptable because:
  - SWAPO could gain access to strategic areas such as Kavango and Caprivi.
  - This would pose a threat to SA as its troops would need to be deployed over a wider area.
  - THEREFORE:
    - SA intervened to ensure UNITA's control of the southeastern part of Angola and SWAPO's incursions could be contained.
    - SA aimed to keep its involvement secret and limited to the bare minimum deemed necessary.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What was the significance of Cuito Cuanavale?

Both contesting parties claim victory but SA's view was that a crushing defeat was inflicted on FAPLA.

- Cuba and the USSR realised that FAPLA could not stand against SA's conventional troops on their own and there was a chance that the MPLA government would fall.
  - They narrowed down their options to reinforcement (escalation) or to allow negotiations to bring about a settlement.
    - Castro did not want to employ more troops.
    - Gorbachev, faced with turmoil and financial problems in the USSR, supported a negotiated settlement in Angola.
  - The military emphasis now shifted to a diplomatic one = negotiated peace:
    - paved the way for elections in Namibia and opened talks for a solution in Angola.

Without Cuban and Soviet support, the MPLA had to negotiate with UNITA.

- In May 1991 the Bicesse Accords called for a ceasefire and elections in 1992.
  - Savimbi rejected the outcome of the elections and resumed the war.
  - In 1994 the Lusaka Protocol tried to broker a peace deal.
- Peace was eventually achieved by the Luena Memorandum of Understanding signed on 4 April 2002.

Changing nature of international relationships after 1989

Economic collapse and the end of communism in the USSR led to the MPLA adapting its economic policies. It began to seek assistance from the West.

- Cuban troops began to withdraw in 1989 under the supervision of UNAVEM 1.
- 1989 Mobutu Sese Seko brokered a peace deal between the MPLA and UNITA which is called the Gbadolite Accords (signed on 22 June).
- The peace did not last but the collapse of the USSR strengthened the MPLA's pledge to work for peace.
- In mid-1990 the MPLA decided to abandon Marxism-Leninism and a system of a one-party state. This was formalised in Dec 1990.
- Civil society organisations and private media institutions re-emerged in Angola.
- The civil war came to an end also due to the withdrawal of foreign troops.
- Peace was achieved after the signing of the Luena Memorandum in April 2002.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 2

Summary and questions

Summary

In Topic 2, your historical enquiry focused on answering the following key question:

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

In order to answer this key question, you studied the concepts outlined below.

Unit 1 What were the ideas that influenced independent states?
During the late 1950s and the early 1960s, many African countries achieved their independence from colonial powers. Their governments, however, adopted different political and economic ideologies. These included democracy, one-party states and military regimes, and capitalism, socialism and African socialism.

Case study 1 Comparative case studies: Congo and Tanzania (1960 to 1980)
Comparative case studies on the Congo and Tanzania illustrate their political, economic, social and cultural successes and challenges between 1960 and 1980. The Cold War tension between the USSR and the USA (1946–1989) was at its height in the early 1960s. It manifest itself in the Congo (with Lumumba getting USSR support and the USA backing Mobutu Sese Seko) resulting in a civil war and political instability that hampered economic and social development in the country. African socialism in Tanzania under Julius Nyerere succeeded to a certain extent in the education and health spheres, but failed dismally to improve the economic standing of the peasants (farmers).

Unit 2 Impact of internal and external factors on Africa
The main internal factors that negatively affected newly independent African states included the legacy of colonialism, their geographical locations and ethnic differences within their colonially determined borders. Influential external factors included superpower tension during the Cold War that contributed to ideological divisions within newly independent African states, international aid that supported oppressive regimes, high import duties on manufactured goods, the high cost of oil and huge foreign debts.

Unit 3 Africa in the Cold War: USSR, USA, China and South Africa
The USSR and USA, much concerned with spreading their spheres of influence, supported opposing liberation movements in a manner that transformed the Cold War into civil wars, e.g. the MPLA (USSR) against the FNLA and UNITA (USA) in Angola; FRELIMO (USSR) against RENAMO (South Africa & USA) in Mozambique. Cuba was used in proxy wars by the USSR, e.g. to support the MPLA that was backed by the USSR. China funded projects in African countries with socialist agendas in order to gain influence in Africa. South Africa was mainly used as a US proxy to provide UNITA with weapons and support in an attempt to prevent the establishment of a Marxist sphere of interest in Angola.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

Case study 2 Angola

Angola is a good example of how the Cold War manifested itself in Africa during the 1960s and 1970s when the superpowers supported opposing liberation movements. The civil war between the MPLA and UNITA was intensified and prolonged due to the support they received from the USSR and the USA respectively. The resulting regional instability in Angola spread to neighbouring countries, including the Congo, Zambia and Namibia. With the end of the Cold War, and the decline in superpower support for opposing factions, the Angolan civil war drew to a close and Namibia achieved independence (1990).

Questions

1 **Key question: What were the ideas that influenced independent African states?**

1.1 Define the following key concepts:

1.1.1 African Socialism

1.1.2 Capitalism

1.1.3 Democracy

1.1.4 One-party state

1.2 Explain why newly independent African states had to create new forms of government after colonialism.

2 **Key question: What were the political, economic, social and cultural challenges and successes that Congo and Tanzania experienced between 1960 and 1980?**

2.1 From which colonial countries did the following achieve their independence and who were their first leaders?

2.1.1 The Congo

2.1.2 Tanganyika (Tanzania)

2.2 Outline how Tanzania applied African Socialism.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

2.3 What kind of states emerged in the following African countries?

2.3.1 The Congo

2.3.2 Tanzania

3 **Key question: What was the impact of internal and external factors on Africa between 1960 and 1980?**

3.1 List the internal factors that impacted on newly independent African countries.

3.2 List the external factors that impacted on newly independent African countries.

4 **Key question: What role did the USSR, USA, Cuba, China and South Africa play in bringing the Cold War to African countries after 1960?**

4.1 Name the rival liberation movements that fought for independence in Angola.

4.2 Indicate the superpower alignment of each liberation movement named in Question 4.1.

4.3 Mention the main interest each of the following had in newly independent African countries.

4.3.1 the USSR

4.3.2 the USA

4.3.3 Cuba

4.3.4 China

4.3.5 South Africa

5 **Key question: How were independence and peace realised in Angola?**

5.1 When did Angola achieve independence and from which colonial country?

5.2 After independence in Angola, civil war broke out.

5.2.1 Which Angolan political groups were involved in this civil war?

5.2.2 Why were these groups unable to unite after independence. Provide two reasons.

5.3 Explain what the motives were of the following for supporting different groups in Angola during the civil war:

5.3.1 The USA

5.3.2 The USSR

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

5.4 Outline the impact of the Angolan civil war on African countries in the region.

5.5 Explain the significance of Cuito Cuanavale in ending the Angolan civil war.

5.6 Which peace accord or treaty ended the Angolan civil war?

- 5.6.1 the Bicesse Accords
- 5.6.2 the Alvor Accords
- 5.6.3 the New York Accords
- 5.6.4 the Gbadolite Accords
- 5.6.5 the Luena Memorandum

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

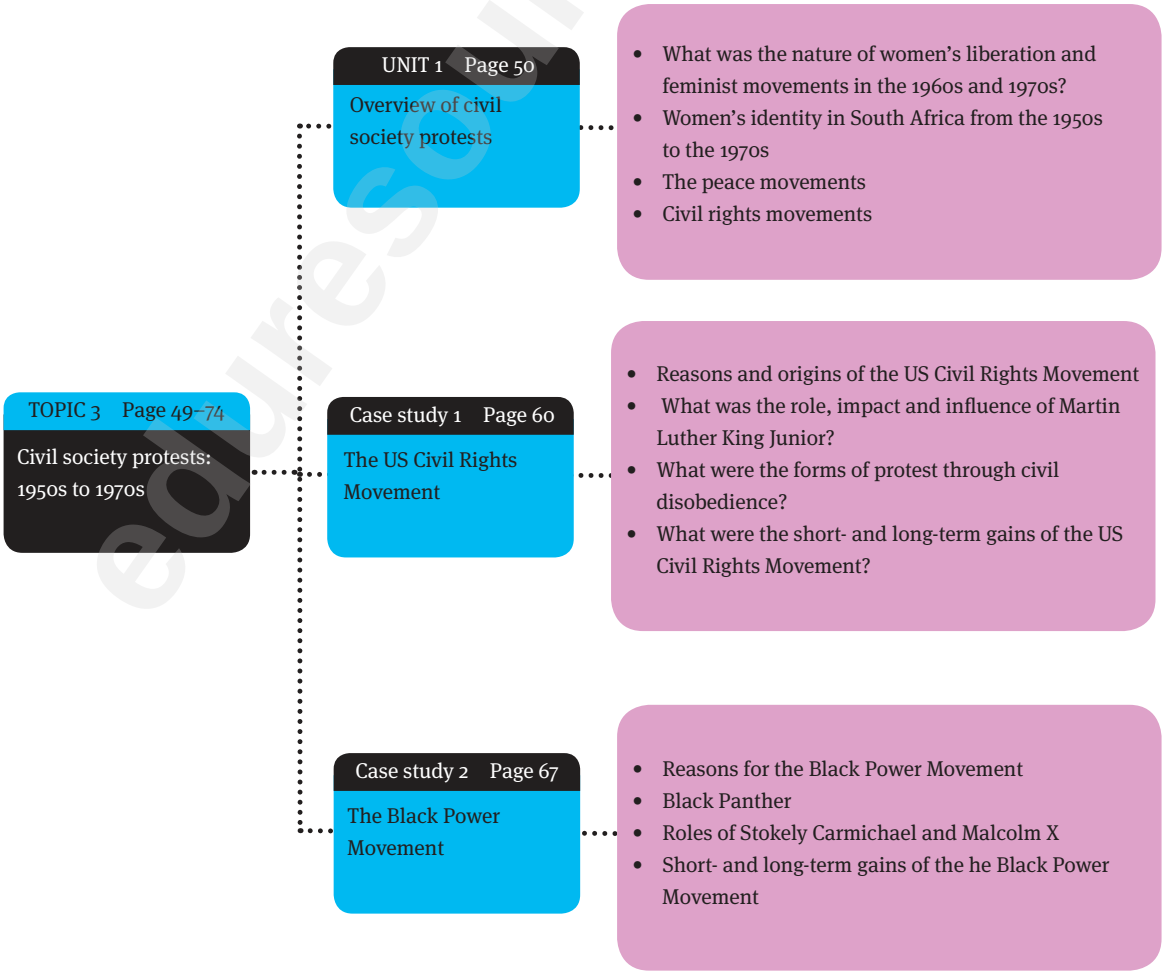
Topic 3

Civil society protests: 1950s to 1970s

Overview

In this topic you will revise:

- civil society protests
  - the nature of women's liberation and feminist movements in the 1960s and 1970s
  - women's identity in South Africa from the 1950s to the 1970s
  - peace movements and civil rights movements
- reasons and origins of the US Civil Rights Movement
  - role, impact and influence of Martin Luther King Junior
  - forms of protest through civil disobedience and school desegregation
  - short- and long-term gains of the US Civil Rights Movement
- the Black Power Movement
  - reasons for the Black Power Movement
  - the Black Panther Movement
  - roles of Stokely Charmichael and Malcolm X
- short- and long-term gains of the Black Panther Movement.



Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 1

Overview of civil society protests

Key question: What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1950s to 1990?

The world after World War Two

World War Two ends May 1945 and politically the world becomes a very different place.

- Britain and France are no longer powerful and the USA and USSR emerge as SUPERPOWERS.
- COLD WAR tensions develop between the democratic USA and the communist USSR which spread throughout the world.

For the next 30 years the world expererienced many social changes as a result of rapid economic growth referred to as the 'golden age'.

More people attended university in the west, society became more mobile and individuals advanced on the basis of individual merit rather than inherited wealth and status.

A new middle class emerged with specialised skills and higher levels of education and more women started taking paid work outside the home.

As a result society became more open, democratic and insecure, which led to civil protests and social change.

The 1950s and 1960s

- The 1960s were referred to as the "Swinging Sixties" and "Swinging London".
- Young people were at the forefront of social change.
  - The youth movement crossed social barriers as television expanded, however, the emerging youth culture was limited to Western Europe.
  - The rebellion was most intense between working class parents and their children, who were moving up in society, having had greater education and therefore job opportunities.
  - Among the upper class, however, the rebellion was less intense as they had always enjoyed freedom and wealth.
  - The fifties and sixties were decades of struggle for:
    - gender equality
    - civil rights
    - democratic rights.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What was the nature of women's liberation and feminist movements in the 1960s and 1970s?

Although essentially having the same goals of freedom for women, the movements took different forms in the different countries.

United States of America

- The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) formed in the 1960s and was strong amongst university students who had been radicalised by civil rights movements and opposition to the Vietnam War.
- PLUS a lot of older women were dissatisfied with the continued discrimination in the workplace, even within their own political organisations.
  - As a result, the movement in the USA was dominated by the idea that women had to organise separately.
    - They organised their own workshops and talks about their oppression = 'consciousness raising'.

Movements

- The largest organisation = a coalition: National Organisation for Women (NOW) formed in 1966.
- → wanted gender reforms to be introduced by legislation.
  - Focused on:
    - gender equality in the workplace
    - passing of the equal rights amendment.
- Radical women's groups =
  - New York Radical Women (NYRW)
  - Redstockings
  - Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH).

These radical groups used what became known as 'zap actions'
→ dramatic public actions aimed at attracting media attention. Example:

- 1968 protests outside the Miss America Beauty Pageant =
  - picketed outside the venue
  - carried out 'street theatre'
  - = throwing out 'instruments of feminist torture' (e.g. bras and corsets) into a 'freedom' rubbish bin.

First National Women's Liberation Conference took place in 1968. By the 1970s feminist activists began to see the results of their work:

- In 1972: the rape crisis hotline was established in Washington DC.
- In 1973: the supreme court legalised abortion.
- In 1975: The United Stated held the first global forum of women's issues.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

As the movement began to spread, divisions began to develop, highlighting different aspects of the struggle.

African-American women

- African-American Women faced discrimination on 2 levels: as African-Americans and as women.
- So they chose to form their own women's liberation organisations, e.g. National Black Feminist Organisation, which defined feminism as the struggle against inequalities of race, class and gender.

Working-class women

- Working-class women faced workplace exploitation and different types of discrimination from middle-class women.
  - they protested against capitalism and helped form the Black Panther Movement.
    - Black Panther Movement led to cooperation between men and women: their ideals were in line with Marxism.

Gay women

- Gay women faced discrimination different from that of other groups of women.
  - consequently movements dealing with lesbian rights emerged.

In Britain

The Labour Party and trade unions became the context for the organisation and needs of women. Important issues =

- abortion and contraception
  - abortion → legalised in 1967
  - contraceptive pill → available in the 1960s
- equal education, pay and job opportunities
- free 24-hour childcare.

Although society / culture was still based on established values with heterosexual values being promoted, by the mid-1970s the world had changed for women. Example:

- could control their fertility
- were gaining economic independence.

Countries in Europe

- Number of women in the workplace had increased dramatically, but they still held lower-paid positions.
- Abortion was a real challenge to the moral order in Europe, with the sexual freedom of the 1960s increasing the differences in the sexes rather than diminishing them.
- In Communist states, women held higher positions and accounted for almost half the positions:
  - they still continued with the housework, but under increased Marxist thinking eventually the inequality would disappear.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Women's identity in South Africa from the 1950s to 1970s

Women's liberation in South Africa developed within the framework of segregation and apartheid:

- created huge gaps between women from different race, class and ethnic backgrounds.
- → As a result, women in the South African women's struggle viewed themselves as racially defined groups first, rather than women.

South African Women

Black Women
- Race discrimination
- Workplace discrimination
- Gender discrimination.

White Women
- Gender discrimination.

Trade unionism and women workers

1920s

- Initially trade unions were non-racial and most women, black and white, were involved in them from the 1920s onwards.
- The most powerful was the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa (GWUSA) led by Solly Sachs.

1930s and 1940s

- The growing strength of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s created a problem for GWUSA as it called for all Afrikaner women to remain loyal to the Boer culture. As a result, when black women joined GWUSA, they joined a separate section called the Number 2 Branch.

1950s

- In 1952 the Native Labour Act outlawed multiracial unions.
  - As a result, black South African women formed the Garment Workers' Union of African Women. The two unions still worked very closely together and, in 1954, white GWUSA members agreed to forego their annual wage increase and give it to the black South African union members instead.
- In 1961 Solly Sachs was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Economic role of black South African women in rural areas and the informal sector

- Rural black women were the most oppressed group under customary law.
- They were under the control of men, had to maintain agricultural production and bring up their children on their own.
- The migration of African women into the town altered their consciousness with the majority of women working as domestic workers.
- Domestic work was not regulated, resulting in long working hours for low wages. Their children were not allowed to live with them.
- Many women supplemented their income in the urban areas by taking part in the informal sector, e.g. brewing and selling beer.
- Domestic work isolated women and the struggle to survive daily made it difficult for African women to join women's movements.

Women's movements against apartheid

Despite the differences in oppression amongst South African women, many organisations emerged in the 1950s dedicated to ending apartheid and the oppression of women.

- In 1953 the Federation of South African Women (FSAW or FEDSAW) was set up to address women's grievances and their rights.
  - Membership was organisational rather than individual.
  - The opening conference in 1954 drafted the Women's Charter
    - was based on full equality with men and challenged stereotypes.
  - In the 1950s FSAW members joined the defiance campaign to fight the extension of the pass book system to women. The state was determined to limit the mobility of black women into urban areas
    - As a result 2 marches were led by FSAW members in 1955 and 1956 to protest against the laws.
  - The marches were led by four women who came from the white, coloured, Indian and black communities.
  - FSAW also participated equally with other organisations in the drawing up of the Freedom Charter in 1955. They ensured that women's issues, such as living conditions, health facilities and issues of gender equality were included in the charter.
- In 1955 a small group of white liberal women formed the Black Sash to fight the NP's move to change the franchise laws. It changed its emphasis more to human rights and a number of black women joined to assist in its Advice Offices.

Despite the continued efforts of women in South Africa, by the 1960s the National Party was well in control of South Africa and banned the ANC and other liberation organisations.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The peace movements: 1950s

Started as protests against nuclear weapons, but later developed into anti-war movements as well. Mainly based in the USA and Western Europe.

Disarmament movements

- In the 1940s and 1950s the USA, Britain and the Soviet Union started developing new atomic weapons.
  - Not only were fears of a nuclear war breaking out, but there was also a growing concern for the health risks and environmental damage caused by the tests.
    - This led to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) launched at a public meeting in London in February 1958.

The CND held their first march against nuclear weapons from 4–7 April 1958.

- The marches attracted a great deal of attention and became an annual occurrence from 1959 to 1963. In 1983 the Test Ban Treaty was signed, which partially banned nuclear tests.
- There were revivals of the march in later years including 1972 and 2004.
- Within the CND many supported non-violent direct action (NVDA) and wanted campaigns to include mass civil disobedience. This led to many arrests e.g. September 1961, 1 300 were arrested in London and 350 in Holy Loch, Scotland.
- Many CND members had hoped the Labour government would support nuclear disarmament after 1964, however, the new party continued with the previous conservative policy.
- From the mid-1960s, anger over the United States war in Vietnam replaced nuclear issues as a focus of mass protests.

Student movements

The 1950s and 1960s = rise in political activism amongst students → The younger generations expressed growing hostility towards the existing social order.

- European universities became more democratic, opening their doors to lower- and middle-class students = expansion.
- Student movements became mainly located in the rapidly expanding universities.
  - Emergence of a distinctive 'youth culture', which brought students into conflict with the older generation.
  - In Europe tensions came to a head in the late '60s and early '70s with the most serious student riot occurring in Paris in 1968 at the new University of Nanterre.
  - The students demanded changes to the curriculum and soon the movement spread to other universities.
    - There were violent clashes with the police and the students appealed to the French industrial workers for help.
    - As a result, spontaneous general strikes spread across France in May 1968.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Although the political crisis was averted and the French government did not fall, the student revolution in 1968 seemed to bring an end of an era of social stability and economic progress.

Eastern Europe

Student discontent in Eastern Europe resulted from the gradual improvement in standard of living, which contrasted with the lack of political freedom.

- After Stalin's death the new Russian leader, Khrushchev, launched a de-Stalinisation programme that brought about limited freedom of expression. The economy began to improve and brought hope to Eastern Europe.
- Students joined a worker-led uprising in Poland in 1956, which ended in limited political gains.
- In the same year, students and workers in Hungary rose again Soviet control and installed a liberal Communist reformer as head of the government.
- Soviet troops were forced out of Hungary, one party rule was abolished and the new government promised free elections, freedom of expression and social change, and renounced the Russian military.
- This brought a sharp reaction and Russia invaded Hungary to put down the revolution.

Anti-war movement

- Opposition to the Vietnam War spread across university campuses in the mid-1960s.
  - After 1965 it became a radical peace movement across universities in America.
- Anti-war marches and protests led by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) reached a peak in 1968.
  - The tactics used were diverse: legal demonstration, congressional lobbying, political violence, civil disobedience and draft resistance.
- By 1968, faced with widespread opposition to the war, the Johnson administration halted the bombing of North Korea, which was a major turning point in the war.
- In 1970, President Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State shooting of 4 student protesters sparked the greatest outbreak of campus protests in US history.
- A national student strike shut down 500 colleges and universities.
  - Many lobbied White House officials and over 100 000 people demonstrated in Washington.
  - The American movement against the Vietnam War was the most successful anti-war movement in US history.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Civil rights movements

Northern Ireland

- After World War ll the British government, who controlled Northern Ireland, introduced a welfare state and extended education to Catholics.
- As a result:
  - young Catholics were exposed to new ideas and were unwilling to tolerate the discrimination against them.
- In 1963 the British government proposed reforms that would improve the economic situation in Northern Ireland. The proposals would, however, threaten the dominant Protestant position.
- As a result:
  - the Protestants, led by Reverent Ian Paisley, attacked the reform policy and began the period known as "The Troubles", which lasted until 1998.

1966

- Violence broke out.
- A Protestant "loyalist" group called the Ulster Volunteer Force murdered two Catholics and a Protestant.
- The UVF were immediately banned, but the cycle of violence had begun.

1967

- The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (Nicra) was formed, calling for an end to the injustices against Catholics.
- A peaceful civil rights march in 1968 turned violent when met with force by the police (the Royal Ulster Constabulary, or RUC).
- The marches continued and were met with force by the RUC.

Protestants AND the Catholics set up paramilitary groups

- The UVF was joined by the Ulster Defence Association in 1971 (Protestant). Catholics set up the Irish Republic Army.
  - Reforms that increased civil rights of the Catholics outraged the Protestants and were met with civil unrest and violence.
  - A more militant group, the Provisional IRA, split from the IRA and were more prepared to use violence to achieve their aims.

The violence in Northern Ireland continued for the next two decades

- In 1988 the Good Friday Agreement ended the cycle of violence and murder in Northern Ireland.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Civil rights movement in Germany

- The civil rights movement in Germany was a left-wing reaction against the conservative post-Nazi party era and attracted many disillusioned students.
  - Their protests were against the authoritarianism and hypocrisy of the German government.
  - They wanted greater socio-economic equality, freedom and human rights, and resented the wealth of the upper classes and militancy of the police.
- To make their demands known, they embarked on protest actions.
  - An over-reaction by the police and the near simultaneous protest movements across the world fanned these protests, which became violent.
    - Although protests were eventually quelled, civil rights movement took root in Germany.

Civil rights movement in Czechoslovakia

- After 1945, Czechoslovakia fell into the Soviet sphere of influence and was a one-party state.
  - → However, from the mid-1960s, Czechs and Slovaks started rejecting the regime and Alexander Dubcek, a popular man, became the leader in 1968.
    - He created more space for civil society and this period became known as the Prague Spring.
  - An activist Ludvik Vaculvic published a manifesto, "Two Thousand Words" in June of 1968.
  - In the manifesto he called on everyone to demonstrate for better government and demand greater control over their own lives.
    - The USSR could not tolerate this threat to its hegemony over the Eastern Bloc.
    - → Consequently, on the night of 20 August 1968, Eastern Bloc armies invaded Czechoslovakia, starting a 20-year occupation of the country.

Civil rights movement in Mexico

- 1968: students in the Mexican capital, Mexico City, demonstrated for increased civil rights and democratic reforms. At the end of September, the Mexican president ordered the army to occupy the universities → students were beaten and arrested.
  - In October, 15 000 students marched peacefully through the streets of Mexico City to protest against the army's occupation of the university campus.
  - Rally organisers tried to cancel the rally when they noticed an increased military presence in the area.
  - At sunset the army and police force surrounded the Plaza and began firing live rounds into the crowd. This continued into the night.
  - By morning, hundreds of students and civilians were dead, with many wounded and arrested.
    - The army claimed they had defended themselves, but the Tlatelolco massacre is remembered as an example of extreme state abuse of power.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Civil rights movement in Africa

During World War II	At the end of World War II	In the late 1940s and early 1950s	Rapid growth of African Nationalism
• many Africans from French and British colonies were recruited to fight for the Allies in Europe, lured in by the idea that they were fighting to support democracy.	• returning soldiers began asking why they should have given their lives to keep Europe and America free when they were not free in their own countries.	• many Africans in European colonies in Africa (e.g. Gold Coast; Tanganyika) formed political parties and demanded political freedom and the end of colonial rule.	• took European colonial powers by surprise. By 1966, all but 6 African countries were independent nation-states.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Case Study 1

CASE STUDY: The US Civil Rights Movement

Key question: Why did the Civil Rights Movement emerge in the USA and what were its short- and long-term gains?

Reasons and origins of the US Civil Rights Movement

Reasons for the US Civil Rights Movement:

- After the American Civil War (1861–1865), the US government passed the 14th and 15th Amendments, granting citizenship and equal rights to former black slaves.
  - In 1866 a white supremacist group called the Klu Klux Klan was set up.
    - They were against any rights for African-Americans and wanted segregation to continue.
    - As more civil rights were granted to African-Americans, the Klu Klux became more violent.
    - Violent attacks on houses were carried out and approximately 175 African-Americans were lynched per year between 1890 and 1900.
- In 1896 the US Supreme Court ruled that separate, but equal, facilities for white and black Americans was constitutional.
  - This law remained until 1954.
- Thus, the driving reason for the Civil Rights Movement was to provide African-Americans with a strategy to fight against the disregard for their constitutional and civil rights.

Origins of the US Civil Rights Movement:

- In 1909 the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) was set up.
  - In 1935 they challenged segregation in higher education in the nation's courts and won significant rights for African-Americans in universities across the country.
  - After World War II the movement gained momentum for many reasons:

1 Many African-Americans moved North to take defence-related jobs. They had the vote in the North, which increased the voting strength.

2 African-Americans serving in the army abroad experienced less racial discrimination.

3 Soldiers had fought for democracy and upon returning home fought against racism and their own democratic rights.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Responses in the Southern States

- The Southern States responded by taking away African-American rights.
- The activities of the Klu Klux Klan increased in the 1950s.
- Many Southern States refused to comply with laws and court rulings, e.g.
  - the 1954 landmark case ruling that desegregation should take place in school, won by the NAACP.
    - Contributed to the growing Civil Rights Movement.

The role, impact and influence of Martin Luther King Junior

The role of Martin Luther King Junior

- King was a pastor in the city of Montgomery, which became the centre of the rights movement.
- His position as pastor allowed him to take on the leadership role within the struggle as he was able to see the struggles of his congregation first hand and his position gave him a platform from which to speak of the injustices he saw.
- His leadership role was affirmed when he was elected to lead the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
- From there, his role increased and he became the spotlight of the non-violent resistance.
- In 1957, after the success of the Bus Boycott, he and other activists founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).
- The SCLC and King planned to achieve full equality for African-Americans through non-violence.
- King remained the leader of the organisation until his death and travelled the World and country giving lectures on non-violent protests and civil rights.

What was the impact and influence of Martin Luther King Junior?

- King became a unifying force in the various struggles for civil rights through his charismatic personality and strong leadership skills.
  - He drew the various movements together, which became co-ordinated and focused.
    - It attracted the attention of the whole of the USA and rest of the world.
- King's non-violent approach and profound wisdom won him support.
- His stature enabled the movement to achieve many of their aims such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- He also became influential in other issues such as the Vietnam War and poverty.
- Unfortunately, a rift grew between King and the more radical youth, who rejected his non-violent methods as these were seen to be ineffectual.
  - They formed the Black Panther Party, a militant group that aimed to overthrow the whites' status quo with force.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Influence of passive resistance (Gandhi) on ML King Junior

- King was influenced by the writing of Mohandas Gandhi. In India, Gandhi used non-violence as a political instrument against British colonial rule.
  - King saw in Gandhi's philosophy the Christian ethic of love being used as a strategy for change.
  - He came to believe that non-violence was the only way African-Americans would be able to win the struggle for freedom in the USA.
    - Non-violence therefore informed all his speeches and actions during the Civil Rights Movement.

What were the forms of protests through civil disobedience?

- Bus boycotts
- Freedom rides
- Sit-ins
- Peaceful marches.

Usually, these non-violent actions were met with violence from the white supremacists.

- Those who took part in the campaigns were trained not to retaliate, however, they were accused of being the agitators and for provoking violence.

Montgomery bus boycotts

Montgomery, in the South: a city where the segregation laws were strong in the 1950s.

- On 1 December 1955, Rosa Parks – Secretary to the NAACP – was arrested for not giving up her seat on a city bus to a white man.
- As a result the NAACP, led by King, organised a boycott of the city buses.
  - The boycott lasted for 381 days, placing a severe economic strain on the public transport system.
  - The boycott finally ended on 20 December 1956.
    - Supreme Court ruled that segregation on public buses was unconstitutional.

Greensboro sit-in

The writings of King inspired four students in the city of Greensboro, North Carolina.

- On 1 February 1960, the four decided to sit down at the 'whites only' lunch table at Woolworths and order coffee. They were refused service, but said they would stay in their seats until they were served.
  - Each day, other students joined them. The sit-in spread to other restaurants.
  - Also spread to other Southern States: lasted for more than a year, with businesses losing more than a third of their income.
    - In the summer of 1961 businesses in Greensboro decided to desegregate.
    - The sit-ins drew many students into the campaign → led to the setting up of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Freedom Rides

The Freedom Rides were organised in 1961 by the SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

- In May 1961, African-American and white volunteers sat next to each other on public buses as they travelled from the North to the South.
- When they reached Alabama, white mobs burnt one of their buses while the police stood by and looked on.
  - Although many Freedom Riders were thrown in jail, the violent treatment did not stop them → over the next 6 months more than a thousand people joined the campaign.
  - The images of brutality were televised around the world and the images embarrassed the Kennedy administration.
    - As a result, the Kennedy administration put an end to the violence and the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) banned segregation on all interstate transport.
    - President Kennedy delivered a Civil Rights address to the nation on 11 June 1963 → called on all Americans to recognise the movement as a moral cause to which everyone should contribute.

Campaigns and marches in the US Civil Rights Movement

1 The Birmingham Campaign

- Many marches, sit-ins and boycotts were organised and Birmingham became the centre of violence in 1963.
- The campaigns were met with police violence, led by commander Eugene Connor, who used fire hoses, police dogs and gaol sentences to disperse the marchers.
- On 2 May, one thousand children gathered in churches and began the "Children's Crusade". 600 children were arrested and imprisoned and fire hoses and police dogs were deployed on the marchers in what became known as Double-D day.
- The images were broadcast internationally → led to international sympathy for the movement.
- On 10 May it was announced that segregation would end.
- Segregationists, however, retaliated:
  - bombed the home of King's brother
  - bombed a 16th Street Baptist Church
  - killed four African-American girls.
- The Birmingham Campaign = a mass movement that demanded fundamental economic and social change.
- The campaign succeeded in spreading the movement to the North.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

2 The march to Lincoln Memorial

- The march to Lincoln Memorial, in August 1963 was the largest political gathering in US history.
- It had 6 goals: civil rights legislation, a federal works programme, the right to vote, integrated education, better housing and better employment opportunities.
- Between 250 000 and 400 000 people joined the march where King delivered his "I have a Dream" speech.
- Many contemporaries regarded the march as a positive part of the Civil Rights Movement, whilst others thoughts it was a 'sanitised' middle-class version of the real Black Power Movement.

3 Freedom Summer

- On 22 November 1963, President Kennedy was assassinated.
- On 2 July 1964, Congress accepted the Civil Rights Act → banned segregation and discrimination.
- In the "Freedom Summer" of 1964, thousands of volunteers launched a voter registration drive in the South.
- Activists were threatened and harassed; 3 young civil rights workers were murdered.
- Freedom Summer attracted national attention → led to the 1965 Voting rights Act.

4 The Selma-Montgomery marches

- Early 1965: Selma, Alabama = focus of voter registration and demonstrations.
- On February 18th white segregationists attacked a group of demonstrators and killed a young African-American demonstrator.
- In response, King and the movement planned a march from Selma to Montgomery.
- On Sunday 7 March a group of 600 people set out on the march, but were attacked with whips, batons and tear gas.
- The violence was captured on television, which drew even more demonstrators to Selma.
- On 9 March the marchers met with more force, and a young white minister, James Reeb, was beaten to death.
- President Johnson backed the march and pledged his support, sending US army troops to protect them.
- They finally reached Montgomery on 25 March.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

School desegregation

- School integration was a major focus of the civil rights struggle.
- 5 lawsuits were launched to desegregate high school in 1952, in what became known as Brown versus Board of Education.
- In May 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in school was unconstitutional.

CASE STUDY: Little Rock, Arkansas

- In Little Rock, Arkansas, 17 African-American students were chosen to enter the all-white Central High.
  - 17 became 9 after some of the parents withdrew their children due to the feared backlash.
- The day before school opening the Governor called in the National Guard to surround the school, stating he feared white supremacists would attack. As a result none of the 9 attended.
- The next day, Daisy Bates of the NAACP organised for them to all meet at her house and walk together. One girl, Elizabeth Eckford, didn't get the message and was ambushed as she tried to enter the school.
- For the next 17 days the National Guard prevented the Little Rock Nine from entering the school.
- The NAACP won a law case forcing the Governor to intergrate the schools. As a result he withdrew the National Guard, who were replaced by more than a thousand angry white protesters.
- The students entered the school via a side door, which led to the growing violence of the mob outside. Fearing escalated violence, the students were rushed home and the president was asked to help keep the peace.
- President Eisenhower addressed all Americans, saying that mob rule would not be allowed.
  - As a result, the National Guard protected the Little Rock Nine for the duration of the year.
- The nine were still, however, subjected to racial hatred and one of the nine, Melba Patillo, was stabbed and had acid sprayed in her eyes.
- Before schools opened in 1958, the Governor, with the support of the white population, closed all schools in Little Rock rather than proceeding with desegregation.
- In June 1959, the Supreme Court ruled that the school board must reopen the schools and resume the process of desegregation.
- In August, schools opened. 250 protestors marched to Central High, but this time the police acted quickly and 21 people were arrested.
- Only in 1972 were all grades in the Little Rock public schools integrated.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Short- and long-term gains of the Civil Rights Movement

- The decade 1955 to 1965 was the high point of the Civil Rights Movement.
- Television broadcasts and magazines kept the Civil Rights Movement's message alive for millions of people → became a mass movement during that decade.
- The Montgomery Bus Boycott launched the movement; the Greensboro sit-in brought the students into the movement. Student activity increased with the Freedom Rides and Freedom Summer.
- The crisis in Little Rock had a profound impact on America and the rest of the world.
  - It showed the lengths to which some Southerners would go to prevent integration.
  - It also showed African-Americans that they could get their rights guaranteed by the Constitution if they made themselves heard on the street and in the courtroom.
- By 1965, the Selma to Montgomery march clearly showed both how far American blacks had come and how far they still had to go.
  - Ten years earlier, they had timidly asked if they could sit in the front of the bus; now they were demanding their full rights as American citizens.
  - They had courts and a president who were willing to make rulings and pass laws to guarantee their safety and their rights.
  - But they still faced strong, violent opposition. Blacks were not at the end of the road, but they were further along than they had ever been.
- The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were two of the most important pieces of civil rights legislation in American history.
  - The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in pubic services and on the job. In the follow-up Voting Rights Act of 1965, the federal government guaranteed all African-Americans the right to vote.
  - By the 1970s, substantial numbers of African-Americans had been elected to public and private office throughout the Southern States.

Although the USA still has not achieved full equality for all Americans in practice, despite such equality existing in law, the fact that an African-American was elected President of the USA in 2008 is an indication of how far the nation has travelled in promoting and protecting equal civil and constitutional rights for all: African-Americans, other minorities and whites alike.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Case Study 2

CASE STUDY: The Black Power Movement

Key question: Why did the Black Power Movement emerge in the USA and what were its short- and long-term gains?

Reasons for the Black Power Movement

The Black Power Movement in the USA was established during the civil rights era in the 1960s. WHY?

- Younger members of the SNCC became more militant and outspoken, and thought that Kings non-violent approach was not achieving social change fast enough.
- The Black Power Movement emphasised black pride and called for the founding of black political and cultural institutions.
- Violence as a legitimate means of achieving civil rights was in conflict with the mainstream Civil Rights Movement and the two were regarded as antagonistic towards each other.
  - However, there were groups and individuals who participated in both
    - BECAUSE the political goals expressed by the Black Power Movement were the same as the non-violent Civil Rights Movement.

Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party was formed in 1966 and played a short but important part in the Civil Rights Movement.

- It was formed to protect local communities from police brutality.
- They wanted equality in education, housing, employment and civil rights and stated how they would achieve this in their 10-point plan.
  - They called for:
    - Freedom
    - Full employment
    - Decent housing
    - Teaching the true history of African-American people
    - End to police brutality
    - End to the murder of African-Americans
    - Free health care.
  - They called for:
    - a revolutionary war to achieve these goals, and were willing to use violence to get what they wanted.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Community programmes

- The socialist community programmes played an important part in the Panther's strategy.
- They showed how politics was relevant to the people and how they cared about the needs of their communities.
- The first programme was The Free Breakfast for Children Program.
- They approached businessmen for donations and boycotted stores that refused to contribute.
- They served food to the children in church halls
- They also ran medical clinics.
- The programmes achieved a lot with very few resources.

Militancy

The other side of the Panther Program was militancy.

- They chose to take up their constitutional right and carry arms.
- If they saw an officer stop an African-American they would go over and watch with their guns on full display.
- As long as they stayed a reasonable distance away the police could not do anything.
- They were not looking for shoot-outs and would only use their guns in self-defence.
- The guns had a big psychological effect as African-Americans felt empowered and the police felt fear.
- The activities of the Black Panther Party came to the attention of the racist and white supremacist head of the FBI, J Edgar Hoover.
  - In 1967 the FBI set up a counter-intelligence programme called COINTELPRO.
  - Its aim was to disrupt and neutralise organisations the FBI regarded as 'black nationalist hate groups'.
  - COINTELPRO targeted the Black Panthers → involved assassinations, psychological attacks, instigating and fostering mistrust = setting African-American groups against each other.
    - The campaign destroyed the Black Panther, and Stokely Carmichael went into exile from 1971.
    - The Black Panthers focused on socialist community programmes and free medical clinics.
    - COINTELPRO was disbanded in 1971.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The role of BLACK POWER leaders

Stokely Carmichael

- Stokely Carmichael and Willie Ricks were organisers within the SNCC and the first to use the term Black Power.
- Carmichael had taken part in the non-violent campaigns and spent 49 days in prison for being a Freedom Rider.
- He became chairman of the SNCC in 1966.
  - In 1966 James Meredith started to march from Memphis to Jackson in a March Against Fear. Soon after he set out, a white sniper shot him in the back.
  - King and Carmichael decided to continue the march in his honour but Carmichael was arrested in Greenwood, his 27th time being arrested.
    - On his release, he made a Black Power speech, calling for all African-Americans to unite and build a sense of community.
    - He called on African-Americans to form their own organisations and adopted the slogan 'Black is Beautiful' and promoted 'Black pride'.
    - It was from this point that Carmichael began to criticise King and his non-violent ideology and joined the Black Panther Party.
    - He was elected 'honorary prime minister' of the party.

Malcolm X

- Malcolm X was a militant revolutionary, whilst also being an outstanding role model, and sought to bring about positive social services.
  - The Black Panther Party aimed to follow both these paths.
    - Malcolm X firmly believed in self-defence whenever African-Americans were unjustly or unlawfully attacked.
- It was the Black Panther's emphasis on self-defence that inspired a generation of militants.
- After leaving prison, Malcolm X became the Nation of Islam's (NOI) spokesman, an organisation he had joined whilst in prison.
- Whilst he rejected King's non-violent approach, he respected him as a leader.
- In 1964 he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and returned to follow a course similar to King's – combining religious leadership and political action.
- Malcolm X was a socialist and the Panthers followed his belief of working-class unity across race and gender.
- The Panthers therefore argued for international working-class unity and supported joint action with white revolutionary groups.
- They eventually developed into a Marxist revolutionary group.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Short-term and long-term gains of Black Power

- Black Power declined very quickly in the late 1960s, as it had little money to support itself and because the government preferred King's peaceful methods.
  - Therefore, it seemed as if Black Power had achieved very little for black people and was a factor in the ending of the Civil Rights Movement as a whole.
- They did however achieve something for black people as a whole:
  - they tried to help people in the inner-city ghettos
  - they increased pride and a sense of black nationalism.
- Malcolm X was important in raising the morale of many African-American people and became a hero to many young African-Americans in USA and the world.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 3

Summary and questions

Summary

In Topic 3, your historical enquiry focused on answering the following key question:

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

In order to answer this key question, you studied the concepts outlined below.

Unit 1 Overview of civil society protests

During the 1960s and 1970s there was an upwelling of civil rights movements across the world, as the promises of greater equality and democracy that the end of World War II promised to deliver did not materialise. These took the form of women's liberation and feminist movements, peace movements, student movements, anti-war movements and civil rights movements.

Case study 1 The US Civil Rights Movement

The US Civil Rights Movement had its origins in the US Civil War that left the American South defeated, but still deeply racist and segregationist, with its Jim Crow Laws and white supremacist organisations like the Ku Klux Klan. Although there were a number of legal attempts (some of which were successful) to advance the cause of civil rights for African-Americans, the US Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s was mainly a mass-based protest movement involving non-violent protests, civil disobedience campaigns, demonstrations and marches. Martin Luther King Junior played a central role in much of the US Civil Rights Movement after the Montgomery Bus Boycotts (1956) until his assassination in 1968. Key events in the US Civil Rights Movement that resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 included sit-ins (e.g. the Greensboro sit-in), marches (e.g. to Lincoln Memorial and Selma-Montgomery) and campaigns (e.g. Freedom Rides, Birmingham and Little Rock, Arkansas, school desegregation).

Case study 2 The Black Power Movement

Amongst the African-American youth, there was impatience with Martin Luther King Junior's non-violent approach to fighting for civil rights. People like Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X, the Black Power Movement and the Black Panther Party felt that change was happening too slowly and was too limited. They also espoused total black liberation and rejected any form of assimilation of African-Americans into mainstream, white, Western American culture. As a result, the Black Power Movement was militant, which, while gaining them some approval among African-American communities, alienated most people in the USA. Consequently, the Black Panther Party disbanded in 1982.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 3

Summary and questions

Questions

1 **Key question: What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1950s to 1990?**

1.1 What does the term 'Swinging sixties' refer to?

1.2 The fifties and sixties were decades of struggle for three important types of rights. List them.

1.3 Outline the Women's Movement against apartheid in South Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. Mention five key facts.

1.4 List three peace movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

1.4.1 Where were they based?

1.4.2 What was the main focus of each one?

1.5 Name two factors that influenced the Civil Rights Movement in Africa in the 1950s.

2 **Key question: Why did the Civil Rights Movement emerge in the USA and what were its short- and long-term gains?**

2.1 What was the Klu Klux Klan?

2.2 Why was there more racial discrimination against African-Americans in the Southern US states than in the Northern states?

2.3 Who was the main role-player in the US Civil Rights Movement?

2.3.1 What was his main slogan in the struggle for civil rights in the USA?

2.3.2 How did he die?

2.4 List three forms of protest that the US Civil Rights Movement used to try to gain civil rights for African-Americans in the USA.

2.5 What was the contribution of the Little Rock Nine to civil rights in the USA?

2.6 What were the short- and long-term gains of the Civil Rights Movement? List two of each.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

3 **Key question: Why did the Black Power Movement emerge in the USA and what were its short- and long-term gains?**

3.1 Define Black Power, explaining why it emerged as a movement in the USA in the 1960s?

3.2 Briefly describe the contribution that Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael made to the Black Power Movement.

3.3 Name the political movement that emerged from the Black Power Movement.

3.3.1 What was its political ideology?

3.3.2 Why did it follow this ideology?

Exam practice

1 **Why did the Civil Rights Movement emerge in the USA and what were its short- and long-term gains?**

1.1 Why were the 1965 Selma to Montgomery marches in the USA of special significance in the Civil Rights Movement? Refer to **SOURCE A** on the next page to answer the following questions.

1.1.1 Quote evidence from the source to indicate that racial segregation was a practice in the USA in the 1960s. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 Why do you think the Voters League appealed to Martin Luther King Jnr for help? (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 Explain why Martin Luther King Jnr's statement, '... We are not on our knees begging for the ballot, we are demanding the ballot ...', can be supported. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.4 How did the actions of the state troopers and the television coverage add value to the Civil Rights Movement? (2 x 2) (4)

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

1.1.5 Explain to what extent Rosa Parks influenced the Civil Rights Movement. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.6 Explain whether the marches proved to be a turning point in the Civil Rights Movement. (2 x 2) (4)

[20 marks]

Source A

The extract below from an article in *National Geographic*, February 2000, by C Stone, illustrates how the marches eventually culminated in the passing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Thirty-five years ago, civil rights activists marched from Selma to Montgomery in a protest that led to the passing of the Voting Rights Act in 1965.

Back then, Selma was a small southern town of 28 000 people with segregated schools, housing, jobs, theatres, swimming pools. Like millions of African-Americans, those in Selma were denied the right to vote by poll taxes, literacy tests, and other intimidation tactics.

… The Voters League appealed to Martin Luther King Jr to add his charismatic clout [charming personality]. In January 1965, King launched a series of demonstrations in Alabama. 'We must be willing to go to jail by the thousands,' … 'We are not on our knees begging for the ballot, we are demanding the ballot …'

… On Sunday 7 March, hundreds of demonstrators led by John Lewis and Hosea Williams of the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) set out on a 54-mile [86-kilometre] trek. At the Edmund Pettus Bridge they confronted Alabama State troopers sent by Governor George Wallace, along with Sheriff Jim Clark and his 'posse' [sheriff's assistants]. Ordered to disperse [break up], the marchers stood fast … Clark's men, some on horseback, charged in. A chaos of tear-gassing, whipping and clubbing left several demonstrators unconscious … Televised images of flailing [swinging] clubs spilled into living rooms across the country. Americans were horrified. Ironically, a non-violent march ended violently in 'Bloody Sunday'.

… Momentum began building for another march. On Tuesday 9 March, Martin Luther King Jr led 2 000 people across the Pettus Bridge. Once again state troopers blocked the way. King turned the marchers around, and no one was injured.

The following week President Lyndon Johnson went on television to call for legislation banning restrictions that denied blacks the right to vote.

… For five days, from March 21 to 25, the road between Selma and Montgomery was lined with marchers. Led by King, more than 3 000 people set out from Selma. At the march's end the crowd that King addressed live on national television from the foot of the state capital steps had swelled beyond 25 000. Another speaker was Rosa Parks, whose refusal to give up her seat on a Montgomery bus had helped set off the modern Civil Rights Movement.

'The march was a turning point in the movement,' said John Lewis. That August, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

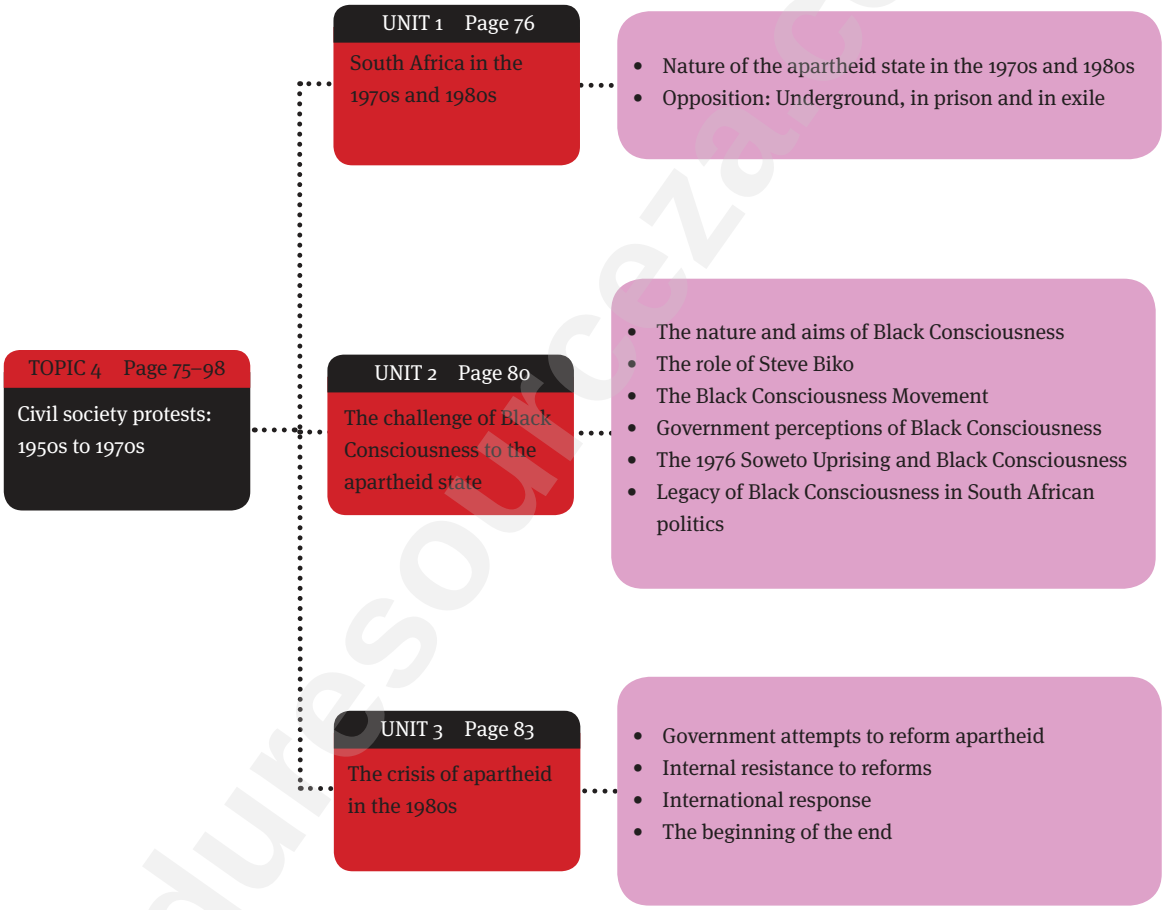
Topic 4

Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s to 1980

Overview

In this topic you will revise:

- South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s
- the challenge of Black Consciousness to the apartheid state
- the crisis of apartheid in the 1980s.



Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 1

South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s

Key question: What was the nature of the apartheid state in the 1970s and 1980s? What was the impact of the nature of the apartheid state in the 1970s and 1980s in the liberation movements?

Background

- ANC and PAC had been banned for nearly 10 years, and their leaders imprisoned or driven into exile.
- Extreme security laws set out by the apartheid government made it illegal to do any act that could be seen as advancing the cause of the banned movements.
- Millions of blacks were removed from white-owned farmland and dumped into impoverished areas known as Bantustans.
- Blacks faced constant pass raids, arrests and imprisonment for breaking petty apartheid laws.
- Meanwhile the South African economy boomed as overseas investors poured money into South Africa and profited from high returns on these investments.
- This mostly benefited the whites in the country.
  - But apartheid would not last – from the early 1970s new forms of resistance began to emerge within the country.
    - ANC = established itself as a strong and legitimate representative of the South African people in many countries in Europe, America and Central Asia.
    - This led to the revival of civil society in South Africa and the eventual end of apartheid.

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

The theory of apartheid planning

- Late 1960s: Grand apartheid
  - The government set about establishing 10 rural self-governing 'tribal homelands' or bantustans.
  - The plan was that they would eventually become independent ethnic 'nations'.
  - 87% of the land would thus be South Africa, where only whites could be citizens
    - the remaining 13% would be 'independent' countries for the different black nations: Zulus; Xhosa; Venda; and so on.
    - → black people would thus have NO citizen rights in South Africa.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

In practice, however, apartheid could never bring the stability, harmony and prosperity that its planners dreamed about, because:

- The rural bantustans were desperately poor and could never become viable nations.
- Apartheid policies would get in the way of what a growing industrial economy needed most:
  - a stable and educated black workforce living in the cities who would become consumers of manufactured goods.
- Black South Africans would never willingly accept apartheid, and it could only be enforced with ever-increasing repression as black resistance re-emerged.

Economic growth and its consequences

Late 1960s and early 1970s: SA's economy was booming.

- Growth was financed by British, European & American investors.
- Commercial agriculture became mechanised.
- There was massive black migration into the cities with people seeking work.
- Africans were arrested under the pass laws and sent back to the homelands.
- Black families in the homelands remained mostly unemployed.
  - Few blacks benefited from this rapid economic growth, but white South Africans became one of the richest communities in the world.

Independence of the homelands

- There were some sections of the black elite in the homelands who were prepared to cooperate with the apartheid government's policies in return for high positions in the homeland bureaucracies.
- In 1976 the Transkei under the so-called 'Paramount Chief of the Xhosa', Kaizer Matanzima, became the first black homeland to accept its independence.
- The corrupt and authoritarian homeland leaders of Bophutatswana, Ciskei and Venda also accepted their 'independence' during the 1980s (known as the TBVC countries).

Apartheid policies under the National Party

- Deliberately sought to divide blacks into separate ethnic and racial groups.
- Bilingualism (Afrikaans and English) was promoted as these were the official languages.
- The government fostered exclusively white national sports teams and cultural events.
- The state controlled all radio and television, cultivating white fear.
- Government propaganda portrayed the ANC as being a front for Soviet communism.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Opposition – underground, in prison and in exile

For 10 years after the Rivonia Trial in 1964, the ANC, its leaders and symbols virtually disappeared inside South Africa.

- Extreme security laws made it illegal to publish or talk about anything to do with the mass resistance of the 1950s.
  - New laws gave the police powers to arrest and detain people without trial.
  - Hundreds of activists were issued with 'banning orders', which meant that they could not leave the areas where they lived.
  - Constant pass raids, arrests and imprisonment for breaking petty apartheid laws intimidated people.

The Terrorism Act of 1967

- Police could arrest, detain and interrogate – for an unlimited period and without charging them in court – anyone whom they thought had committed or was about to commit a 'terrorist act', or whom they thought might have information about any such act.
- The list of terrorist acts was very broad and included, for example, any act that might promote hostility between blacks and whites in South Africa.
- Many detainees were savagely tortured and some were killed during interrogation, including Steve Biko.

There were THREE different types of opposition during this time:

1 Opposition in exile

- The external leadership of the ANC began the slow process of rebuilding the ANC outside South Africa.
- In the West, ANC was seen as the legitimate voice of oppressed black South Africans.
- ANC president Oliver Tambo built good relationships with liberal anti-apartheid groups in Britain and Western Europe.
  - ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) gained support from the Soviet Union to establish and train units of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in newly independent African countries, like Zambia and Tanzania.
  - Mirroring the armed liberation struggles of the 1960s in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the ANC adopted a military strategy too.
  - 1967 and 1968: Armed MK units fought alongside units of the Zimbabwe people's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) in a series of clashes with the Rhodesian security forces.
  - Although the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) supported both the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the PAC remained a small splintered organisation based in Tanzania.
  - While these battles were unsuccessful, they gave hope for the future of the opposition movement.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

2 Opposition in prison

- Most of the black leaders of the ANC, MK and the PAC were sentenced to long prison terms on Robben Island.
- The harsh prison conditions included racist abuse, hard labour in rock quarries, severe punishments for breaking prison regulations, solitary confinement, deprivation of food and humiliating body searches.
- But, it also led to strategies of survival amongst the prisoners that would inevitably bring greater cohesion.
- Prisoners came together to organise hunger strikes and other acts of defiance that led to significant improvements, such as sports events, cultural activities, literacy training and political education programmes.
- The ANC in particular was able to maintain a strong political organisation in prison, and upon their release, individuals were able to strongly influence the shape of the freedom struggle within their own communities.

3 Opposition underground inside South Africa

- The most significant black political movement to emerge in the late 1960s and early 1970s was the black consciousness movement (BCM).
- Other developments were also taking place that would later give rise to the mass democratic movement of the 1980s.
- The more the white government demonised the ANC and Communist Party, the more legitimacy they began to achieve in the eyes of black South Africans.
- It was clear that the ANC had survived in exile and was beginning to mobilise again.

The turning point: Mid-1970s

- 1971: A few trained MK activists re-entered SA and began to set up underground political cells; ANC pamphlets started to circulate.
- 1973: Oil crisis and economic recession; a number of strikes unfolded in the same year.
- 1975: Victorious armed struggles led to independence in Mozambique and Angola.
- 1976: The Soweto Uprising was a watershed moment in the country's history.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 2

Challenge of Black Consciousness to the apartheid state

Key question: In what ways did Black Consciousness challenge the apartheid state?

The origins of Black Consciousness (BC)

Late 1960s & 1970s: new generation of young black students, professionals and community workers came together with a shared kind of thinking known as "black consciousness". → a new black cultural identity that was proud, assertive and modern. By 1976 BC = 'a way of life', mobilising the youth in schools across SA. These young leaders would play a vital role in the revival of the ANC in the coming years.

Nature & aims of Black Consciousness

1968: a group of black student leaders including Steve Biko broke away from the non-racial National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Formed the South African Students Organisation (SASO). SASO declared itself to be a black organisation working for the liberation of blacks in South Africa at two levels – from psychological oppression as well as from political oppression and exploitation. SASO was the first consciously BC organisation to clearly express the nature and aims of black consciousness. It said:

- blacks needed first to fight for psychological liberation, and the only way to liberate their minds would be to break off all contact with whites and form their own independent black organisations.
- black people must build up their own value systems, see themselves as self-defined and not defined by others.
- black people wield power as a cohesive group.

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

In 1971 SASO organised a number of meetings with black community, church, youth and cultural organisations to see if they could launch a united black consciousness movement (BCM).

- Some, including Steve Biko, felt that blacks needed more time to develop confidence before openly organising to challenge the state. But other BC leaders were impatient and in 1971 the Black People's Convention (BPC) was formed.
- Meanwhile, Black Consciousness literature and journalism flourished. Steve Biko became editor of the BPC's Black Review in which the ideas of BC were publicly debated. Some newspapers, like the East London Daily Dispatch (edited by Donald Woods) carried a special column that was often written by Biko.
- The BPC did not have the deep community roots of the banned ANC and it failed to mobilise mass support in black communities. Most of its members were students and members of SASO.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- In contrast, the BCM was much more successful among black high school students who were attracted to the militant language and defiance of authority.
- 1974 SASO and the BPC organised a mass public rally to celebrate Frelimo's victory over Portuguese colonialism in Durban in defiance of a government ban on public meetings.
- As a result, police attacked the crowd of over 5 000 people, beating and arresting hundreds. Nine SASO and BPC leaders were detained for many months without trial. Eventually they were charged under the Terrorism Act.

Steve Biko's role

- Born in King Williams Town in the Eastern Cape in 1946, after matriculating went on to study medicine at the University of Natal in 1966.
- Became the first president of SASO when it broke away from NUSAS in 1968. → Believed that NUSAS was dominated by white liberals who could not free themselves from their privileged position in society.
- Edited the influential journal Black Review until he was banned in 1973 and continued to write anonymously after that.
- Biko's words informed many of BC's central ideas. He embodied:
  - the spirit of community that existed among BC activists.
  - the defiance and fearlessness, refusing to be intimidated by authority no matter what the state did to him.
- As one of the first BC leaders to be banned by the state in 1973, Biko constantly broke his banning orders and used the courts as a way for getting his messages across.

Government perceptions of Black Consciousness:

- 1973: Biko and 7 other BC leaders were served with banning orders that forced them to move to isolated locations across the country.
- The state charged that expressing BC ideas in public was an act of terrorism. This was affirmed by Judge Boshoff in the SASO-BPC trial in 1975.
- He felt that the ideas of BC, in emphasising group cohesion and solidarity, encouraged feelings of hostility between blacks and whites, and that this constituted an act of terrorism.

The challenge of Black Consciousness to the state

- In 1977, 18 black consciousness, media and church organisations were banned. These included SASO, BPC, the South African Council of Churches and the World newspaper, under its editor Percy Qoboza.
- August 1977 Biko was arrested in Walmer, Port Elizabeth after secretly visiting activists in Cape Town → detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and brutally assaulted by police in prison and died of his injuries on 12 September in Pretoria.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The 1976 Soweto uprising and Black Consciousness:

- In the mid-1970s, the South African Students Movement (SASM) was formed to protest against inferior black education in South Africa.
- Clearly many leaders of SASM were influenced by black consciousness thinking and had contact with BC leaders.
- SASM activists played a key role in organising the peaceful protest marches (against instruction in Afrikaans) in June 1976 in Soweto.
- However, the intense state reaction to the marches turned a peaceful protest into a nationwide explosion of youth anger and frustration.
- Police shot into crowds of school children killing hundreds. Students reacted by setting fire to schools and government buildings.

As the massacres continued, workers began to organise stay-at-homes in support of community demands and in protest at the savage repression of the state. By 1979 the struggles of the youth, the communities and workers in the factories were slowly coming together.

The legacy of Black Consciousness on South African politics

The legacy of BC does not lie in the organisations it created, but in the ideas it generated.

- The bannings and detentions of 1977 meant the end of BC as an open political movement in South Africa. But the anger, the defiance and the symbols remained.
- After 1977 the remaining BC leaders were divided over what strategies to follow next.
- Many had begun to feel that BC had fulfilled its purpose and that the best way to proceed in the struggle against apartheid was to re-establish links with ANC structures both in exile and increasingly underground in SA.
- During the 1980s, many of the leaders that emerged in the non-racial UDF, ANC and trade unions were activists that had cut their political teeth in the BCM. This list includes Mosioua Lekota, Nkosasana Dlamini-Zuma and Cyril Ramaphosa.
- However, not all BC leaders were happy about the revival of the ANC and the non-racialism of the mass democratic movement of the 1980s. In 1978 a group of BC leaders formed the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO).
- By 1979 state repression had restored the appearance of calm. But this time they had only succeeded in pushing activists underground. Meanwhile, the forces of resistance were beginning to devise new strategies.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 3

The crisis of apartheid in the 1980s

Key question: How did the apartheid government try to reform apartheid in order to maintain it? What types of internal and external resistance to apartheid helped lead to the end of apartheid?

Government attempts to reform apartheid

By the end of the 1970s, SA economy and society was in crisis. WHY?

The contradictions of apartheid

Apartheid had been designed to keep black people out of 'white' South Africa **BUT**

- By 1980 the shape of the economy had changed.
  - rapid growth of the 1960s and early 1970s produced a modern industrial economy based on manufacturing and mechanised commercial farming.
  - big business began to put pressure on government to reform the harshest aspects of apartheid. It started to relax the pass laws and in 1986 abandoned them completely.
    - The result was massive black migration into the urban areas. Between 1960–1980 the urban African population more than doubled and the number of black Africans living in towns and cities increased from 32% to 49%.

Changes in Afrikaner politics

Apartheid had enabled Afrikaner businessmen to establish themselves alongside English-speaking and foreign companies at the top of the economy.

- PW Botha followed business-friendly policies that alienated Afrikaner workers and small farmers.
  - In 1982, driven by fear of losing control and power, the white right wing Conservative Party split from the National Party because they opposed any reforms of apartheid.

Black labour and community resistance

The growth of black trade unions after the 1973 strikes and the broadening of the youth revolt to include parents and workers worried the government.

- Anger and desperation drove many BC leaders to form ANC underground structures and over 12 000 young people left the country – most to join MK. Resistance was becoming more organised and more revolutionary.

→

The violent repression of the 1970s that killed thousands of protesting students on the streets sent shock waves around SA and the world.

- The police and military had crushed the uprisings of 1976–9, but it was clear that repression alone would never bring stability.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

International developments

- By 1980, liberation movements had replaced colonial governments in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.
  - The ANC and MK were able to use these countries to infiltrate South Africa.
  - The ANC enjoyed the support of the communist bloc, especially the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba.
  - Fearing this communist influence, Western governments tended to support the white government in SA.
- However, under pressure from international anti-apartheid movements, the West began to consider economic sanctions as a way to pressure the SA government to reform.
  - While most governments refused to act firmly against the SA government and its policies, some international citizen-led movements were successful, particularly the sports boycotts of the 1960s and 1970s.
  - Under citizen pressure, most international sporting bodies expelled South Africa and would not recognise white-only teams. This began to have an effect on white South Africans for whom sport was an important part of their identity.

Apartheid state's response: Total strategy

A policy designed by military generals who came to dominate Prime Minister PW Botha's government.

- Its purpose was to make apartheid more acceptable for some sections of the black population, while ensuring that political and military power remained firmly in white hands.
- The plan was to weaken black resistance with a mixture of reform and repression.
- After 1979, under Botha, the government developed a new policy called 'total strategy' to counter what they saw as the 'total onslaught' of revolutionaries from inside and outside SA.

This included:

- Reforming labour policies to suit the needs of the industrial economy and improving conditions in black urban communities.
  - The 1982 Black Local Authorities Act
  - The tri-cameral constitution of 1983

The 1982 Black Local Authorities Act

- This act created elected Community Councils with administrative power over local community affairs and services.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- They hoped that offering black urban communities some control over local affairs would satisfy their political aspirations and they would not demand democratic rights at national level.
- To encourage confidence in these councils, the government also provided resources to upgrade townships for those legally living in the cities, including electrification and housing programmes.

PLUS The tri-cameral constitution of 1983

In 1983 the government changed the constitution of SA. PW Botha took the position of President with increased executive power over government and the military. In an attempt to win coloured and Indian minorities away from a united movement against apartheid, the 1983 constitution created three separate parliamentary assemblies.
= Tri-cameral parliament

- The 'House of Assembly' → elected by whites
- The 'House of Delegates' → elected by Indians
- The 'House of Representatives' → elected by coloureds.
  - Each assembly had control of the 'own affairs' of that group such as education, housing and health services.
    - BUT
  - The white assembly retained power over everything else – the police, army, home and foreign affairs and the economy.

The 'tri-cameral' constitution created the illusion of sharing power without giving up control. It convinced no one except the government itself and those whites who supported it.

Growing power of Trade Union Movement

Black workers rediscover their power

- In 1973, mainly in Durban, over 60 000 black workers took part in 160 strikes for better wages and working conditions.
- The Durban strikes were a spontaneous outburst of worker anger at low wages, the rising cost of living and the racism of employers.
- Some business leaders and government officials realised that they needed some kind of worker organisation that they could talk to. New laws were passed that allowed black workers to form trade unions as long as they registered with the government and focused only on workplace issues.
- The reforms were intended to control trade unions, but they also created space for workers to learn new skills of independent organisation.
- While black university campuses were mobilising around BC, some white democratic student organisations helped establish strong, independent and non-racial trade unions.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- Most members of the independent unions were urban residents, but in 1982 the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was re-established and soon had over 100 000 members, many of them migrant workers living in the 'homelands'.

Political alliances with communities and liberation movements:

Before 1984:

- Striking workers called on all unions and communities to boycott the products of the companies.
- Most of the new unions took care to focus mainly on negotiating improved wages and working conditions for their members, rather than political issues.
- At times of violent police repression in communities, workers also protested by staying away from work.
  - The state acted ruthlessly against union leaders who they thought were too 'political' and many were detained or served with banning orders.

1984 onwards:

Apartheid repression was at its height = bloody and ruthless.

→ Most unionists were feeling that the unions were strong enough and could not remain aloof from the political struggle going on in their communities. THIS LED TO

- The introduction of COSATU
  - In 1985 the Unions brought their power into the popular insurrection with the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).
  - COSATU affiliated to the UDF and began to coordinate its activities with the mass democratic movement. Unions became one of the most effective forms of resistance organisation.
- COSATU actions
  - COSATU mobilised the international trade union movement to call on companies to disinvest from South Africa.
  - At home it supported UDF campaigns for the release of Mandela and political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC and SA Communist Party.
  - In May 1986 COSATU organised the largest strike in SA's history when 1.5 million workers stayed away from work for 3 days demanding that the government recognise May Day, International Worker's Day, as a public holiday.
- State of emergency
  - Under the state of emergency, the government detained the COSATU President Elijah Barayi and Secretary-General Jay Naidoo and 200 other union officials.
  - But COSATU continued to play a major role in the mass democratic struggle right up to 1990 and beyond.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Response to PW Botha's reforms: the UDF

New forms of organisation

In the repressive climate of the early 1980s, most forms of organisation that emerged were local community organisations with local leaders that were more difficult to suppress than national organisations, including:

- Youth and student organisations: In 1979, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed, which became affiliated to the UDF in 1984. COSAS was different from earlier student organisations in that it consciously formed links with trade unions and civic associations.
- Elected civic associations: Breakdowns in services led to communities forming alternative locally elected civic associations, which organised parents and township residents in campaigns around community issues like local government, rent, municipal services, evictions and removals.
- Special interest and service organisations: These groups were united by a commitment to a non-racial democratic society that promoted human rights, including women's rights, education, children's rights, repression monitoring, environmental sustainability, legal aid and anti-conscription groups.

In this way the people of SA organised themselves into hundreds of democratic community-based bodies that the state could not destroy simply by arresting a few leaders.

The United Democratic Front (1983)

- In August 1983 more than 600 youth, student, church, civic, women's groups and trade unions came together in Mitchell's Plein, Cape Town to launch the United Democratic Front (UDF).
  - Aim: to unite all the existing community organisations into a broad movement for democracy.
  - It wasn't a political party, but a "front", working to establish a non-racial democratic government in SA.
  - Advantages: it was non-racial and could organise openly while the ANC was underground.

New forms of protest action

1 **Boycotts**

New UDF affiliates mushroomed all over the country focusing on local issues. Through the UDF these protests were linked into national political campaigns.

- These organisations' main weapon was the boycott, i.e. Communities often called consumer boycotts of particular products in support of workers on strike in factories that made these products.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- The outcome of the boycotts was two-fold: they caused a breakdown in local government, exposing the tri-cameral system as a sham, and also seriously disrupted black education, with youth organisations staging boycotts of schools in protest against the system of inferior black education.
  - As they gained in confidence the member organisations of the UDF began to adopt ANC policy documents, slogans and symbols of struggle. The Freedom Charter was adopted by hundreds of organisations and came to be seen as the basis for a new South Africa.

Black opposition to UDF

- Inkatha: A Zulu cultural movement led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
  - = Of all non-UDF organisations, it had the biggest genuine support base – mostly among the rural kwaZulu 'homeland'. In the 1980s it was transformed into a political party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), presenting itself as an alternative to the UDF and ANC. It used violence to take control of communities, leading to a civil war in KwaZulu.
- An important minority of black organisations:
  - = While many BC leaders moved into the UDF, an important minority of black organisations like AZAPO remained narrowly committed to BC and a radical form of socialism. They formed the National Forum and criticised the UDF's non-racialism and commitment to the Freedom Charter. The PAC aligned itself to this group.

2 Insurrection

By 1984 a new language was being spoken among UDF affiliates, in that they would escalate all forms of resistance and make themselves ungovernable.

- In September 1984, one year after the UDF was formed, the police fired on a rent protest march in the Vaal triangle township of Sebokeng. The Vaal townships erupted.
  - The government declared a state of emergency over all unrest-affected areas. Troops occupied the townships and South Africa was on fire again.
- In January 1985, in his New Year message, ANC president Oliver Tambo echoed the call to make South Africa ungovernable.
- In June 1986 the emergency was extended across the whole country to stop 'Soweto Day' celebrations that were planned everywhere. 25 000 activists were detained.
- In 1987 the UDF and many other organisations were banned. Under the emergency laws, the police and army had extraordinary powers to do virtually anything to deal with the perceived crisis, without any accountability.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

3 Expanding the Front – the Black Sash and the ECC

UDF and affiliated organisations

- The UDF was committed to non-racialism and welcomed white organisations that committed themselves to democracy and human rights.
- One example was the Black Sash.
- It was a conscious policy of the UDF to 'deprive the enemy of every support base and of every potential ally'.

The Black Sash

- Formed in 1955 by Sheena Duncan and other white women to protest against apartheid laws.
- Black Sash volunteers also set up legal advice offices all over the country, publicising acts of police violence and providing support to detainees, political prisoners and their families during the 1980s.

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC)

- In 1983 a group of conscientious objectors launched the ECC to encourage young white men to refuse to fight in the SADF. It believed that the state was using the SADF to suppress opposition to apartheid.
- The ECC affiliated to the UDF and worked to build an anti-war culture among whites using wall murals, T-shirts, posters and musical concerts and festivals.

4 The Mass Democratic Movement

After the UDF was banned people started referring to the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). Jay Naidoo, the General Secretary of COSATU, described the MDM in these terms in 1989:

- The MDM is a movement, not an organisation, comprising mass-based organisations (such as youth, workers, students, women and civics).
- It is the strategic alliance between COSATU and the UDF.
- It is committed to non-racialism, democratic practices and grassroots accountability, the primacy of African leadership and leadership of the working class.
- It recognises the centrality of the ANC in reaching any solution in the country and is also united by a programme of mass action, aimed at smashing apartheid and rebuilding South Africa along the lines of the Freedom Charter.

SA became ungovernable!

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The cost of ungovernability

While progress was being made in terms of building a non-racial opposition to the state, there were negative outcomes too.

- All this was achieved at great cost to the black communities and to the country. The education boycotts left almost a whole generation of black youth with little or no education and little chance of finding meaningful employment.
- The rent boycotts led to a breakdown of local services that civics and street committees could not adequately maintain. Boycotts also created a culture of resistance to any kind of payment for social services such as electricity, water, refuse collection, etc.
- While conflict within communities intensified (with people perceived as collaborating with the state either attacked or killed), so did police violence as well as youth violence against collaborators.
- As the police started arming and supporting groups of migrant workers to attack youth groups and trade unionists, the conflict grew into a virtual civil war.

Reform was only one side of total strategy. As its reforms were rejected, the state was forced more and more to rely on repression to suppress the democratic movement.

Repression and destabilisation

- In 1985 after the Vaal uprising, the state declared the first of three states of emergency. All public meetings were banned, activists detained, troops occupied townships and many organisations such as COSAS were banned as well.
- The most used and most effective weapon in the state's repressive arsenal was detention without trial, which was often the reaction to civil society protests. Some activists were detained for as long as 33 months without access to friends, family or even legal representatives – much of it in solitary confinement.
- A pattern was emerging that included a 'systematic assassination of the middle level of leadership, not only of the United Democratic Front, but of other organisations as well'.
- The militarisation of society
  - During the 1980s white society became militarised. All white men were conscripted for two years military service. This meant the government could mobilise up to 400 000 trained soldiers when it needed them.
  - Inside SA the government and army set up joint management centres in almost every black community, which often took over the failed community councils to provide services and to try to win support by upgrading townships. But they also co-ordinated police and army activities , resulting in violence.
  - More sinister were the state's conscious efforts to exploit divisions within black communities, by setting up armed vigilante groups made up mostly of conservative migrant workers, who terrorised townships and rural areas with beatings, murders and destruction of communities they perceived as loyal to the UDF or ANC.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

International response – International anti-apartheid movements

The struggle against apartheid was also an international struggle for justice and was greatly influenced by:

- Anti-apartheid movements in Western countries who put pressure on their governments and private corporations to, in turn, put pressure on the SA government to negotiate an end to apartheid.
  - Sport boycotts
  - Sanctions
  - Disinvestment.
- The people and governments in the frontline states neighbouring SA, who provided support and protection for liberation movements, and some of whom paid an extremely heavy price for giving this support.
  - The Organisation of African Unity recognised ANC and PAC as the legitimate representatives of SA people. Independent states like Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia allowed ANC to open offices in their countries.
  - MK was able to establish military bases closer to home, while their incursions into SA increased steadily during the 1980s, although never posing a serious military threat.

Result

- PW Botha tried to create a 'constellation of Southern African States' that would be friendly to SA, including a few homeland leaders and conservative African leaders.
  - The majority of frontline states refused to join the apartheid alliance.
- The SA government embarked on a policy of destabilisation – especially in Angola and Mozambique. This included:
  - direct military raids and assassinations of ANC members in frontline states
  - setting up and providing training, resources and support for anti-government movements.
- After 1982, SA launched military raids, sabotage, assassinations, kidnappings, bombings and espionage in several frontline states, including:
  - Mozambique, Angola, Botswana and Lesotho.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The beginning of the end

A number of factors led to the end of apartheid

- **1 Military defeat at Cuito Cuanavale, Angola**
  - In 1988 the SA army was fighting deep in Angola in support of UNITA and to weaken SWAPO.
  - But a combined force of Angolan and Cuban forces supported by the Cuban Air Force inflicted a major military defeat at the town of Cuito Cuanavale.
  - The SA military command was shaken and hurriedly withdrew from Angola. South Africans realised they were not as invincible as they thought and the war so far from its borders was costing millions every day.
  - Independence negotiations with SWAPO followed quickly and in 1989 SWAPO won Namibia's first democratic election.
  - The defeat at Cuito Cuanavale strengthened those members of the SA government who were beginning to look at negotiation as a possible solution in South Africa itself.
- **2 South African economy in trouble**
  - By 1989 the economy was in deep trouble: disinvestment and inflation were slowly growing; increasing unemployment led to greater hardship and unrest.
    - The state could only cover the cost of apartheid and repression by borrowing massively.
    - Reckless government spending, mismanagement, corruption, costly military campaigns, strikes and other disruptions in the economy were all leading SA towards an economic disaster.
- **3 Internal mass resistance**
  - A nationwide Defiance Campaign called on people everywhere to defy apartheid segregation of living areas, services, beaches, buses and trains.
  - In spite of the bannings, in 1989 the MDM organised a hunger strike of detainees in prisons across SA that led to many being released.
  - Banned individuals and organisations simply ignored their bans and openly organised again.
  - Mass non-racial demonstrations moved out of the townships and into the white cities.

When FW de Klerk replaced PW Botha as President in August 1989, the troops and police were more tolerant of the protest actions.

By the end of the year, there was a sense that things were changing. FW de Klerk recognised that the homeland system was outdated and accepted the principle of power-sharing with blacks in SA.

- **1 The Harare Declaration**
  - In December 1989 The Harare Declaration was adopted by a conference of 4 600 MDM affiliates in Johannesburg called the Conference for a Democratic Future.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- Summarised principles:
  - **SA will become a united, non-racial, democratic state where everyone, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed, enjoys equal citizenship and universally recognised human rights.**
- This laid the foundation for the climate for negotiations.

RESULTS

- The Declaration instructed that the apartheid state:
  - Release all political prisoners and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them.
  - Lift all bans and restrictions on all restricted organisations and persons.
  - Remove all troops from the townships.
  - End the State of Emergency and repeal all legislation designed to circumscribe political activity.
- Cease all political trials and political executions.
- The Declaration also indicated the way forward in the process of negotiation:
  - Discussions to take place between the liberation movement and the SA regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding cease-fire.
  - Next would be the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of the drawing up and adoption of the new Constitution, which would include the principles outlined in the Harare Declaration.
  - All armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated.
  - Finally, the international community would lift all sanctions imposed on the state.

2 Discussions between De Klerk and Mandela:

- FW de Klerk's decision to release certain prisoners from Robben Island encouraged Mandela, and the two eventually met to discuss the way forward in December 1989.
- On 2 February 1990, De Klerk announced in a speech to the SA Parliament that the ANC, PAC and SACP would be unbanned and that Mandela would be released.
- This happened on 11 February 1990 when Mandela walked out of prison in Paarl, after which he made a momentous speech to supporters on the steps of the Cape Town City Hall.
- Subsequently, Mandela and his wife Winnie toured overseas to reconnect with leaders in exile, supporters and benefactors and to set up structures for the change that was to come.

The release of Mandela from prison and the collapse of apartheid brought victory for South Africans who had been part of the struggle for democracy in the country – it is important to recognise the supreme price that was paid by so many to achieve this.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 4

Summary and questions

Summary

In Topic 4, your historical enquiry focused on answering the following key question:

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

In order to answer this key question, you studied the concepts outlined below.

Unit 1 South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s

After the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's armed wing) leadership was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Trial in 1964, organised black resistance inside South Africa virtually disappeared for a decade. The apartheid state consolidated its power, and it was difficult for black people and anyone who believed in freedom and democracy not to despair.

Within this climate of repression, white South Africa initially prospered as it used cheap black labour. However with opposition from the ANC underground, in prison and in exile emerging with increasing strength after 1976, the country became increasingly ungovernable and internationally isolated, and rapid economic decline set in.

Unit 2 The challenge of Black Consciousness to the apartheid state

In the late 1960s and 1970s, while the ANC was slowly re-emerging in exile and in prison, a new generation of young black students, professionals and community workers inside South Africa were beginning to come together and express a new kind of resistance thinking and organising that came to be known as Black Consciousness (BC). Prominent BC leaders included Steve Biko, Barney Pityana and Mamphela Ramphele. Inspired to some extent by BC, the youth in South Africa rose up in rebellion against the apartheid government after the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

This proved to be a turning point in South Africa's history as it spread to most sectors of black communities countrywide, resulting in the mass actions of the 1980s.

Unit 3 The crisis of apartheid in the 1980s

As South Africa faced increasing turmoil in the early 1980s, the apartheid government tried to reform apartheid by, for example, introducing a form of semi-autonomy for black urban areas (Black Local Authorities Act of 1982) and a tri-cameral parliament (1983). The intention was to make apartheid more acceptable to blacks, coloureds and Indians. However, this attempt at reform backfired as it was rejected by almost everyone, resulting in escalated protests and conflict.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

The apartheid government responded with severe repression and declared repeated states of emergency starting in the middle of 1985 and lasting for most of the rest of the 1980s. This, however, added fuel to the fire as the United Democratic Front (and later the Mass Democratic Movement) and trade unions organised a wide range of resistance, such as boycotts, stayaways and mass protests. In addition, the international community, alarmed by the apartheid government's violent repression, isolated South Africa through sanctions, boycotts and the withdrawal of financial support and investments.

By 1989 the country was virtually ungovernable and its economy was spiralling downwards. A radical change was needed to save the country from total collapse. This occurred when FW de Klerk become State President in September 1989, unbanning the ANC and other organisations and freeing political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela in early 1990, which opened the door to a negotiated solution to the country's problems and the advent of democracy in 1994.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 4

Summary and questions

Questions

1 **Key question: What was the nature of the apartheid state in the 1970s and 1980s?**

1.1 Why did the apartheid government create the bantustans? Provide three reasons.

1.2 Explain how the creation of the bantustans contradicted apartheid, and helped to bring about the end of apartheid.

2 **Key question: How did the apartheid government try to reform apartheid in order to maintain it?**

2.1 The apartheid government tried to reform apartheid in the early 1980s.

2.1.1 Why did they do this?

2.1.2 Give two examples of these attempts at reform.

2.1.3 Were these attempts at reform successful? Provide reasons for your answer.

3 **Key question: What types of internal and external resistance to apartheid helped lead to the end of apartheid?**

3.1 After 1984 the trade unions became more involved in the struggle against apartheid. Briefly explain why.

3.2 From the mid-1980s, new forms of protest against apartheid emerged.

3.2.1 List four of these new forms.

3.2.2 Explain why these new forms of protest were successful.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

3.3 Who were the last two presidents of the apartheid government in South Africa?

3.4 What was the Harare Declaration?

3.5 Outline the role the following played in helping to end apartheid:

3.5.1 International sanctions

3.5.2 The Mass Democratic Movement

3.5.3 The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola.

Exam practice

1 Key question: In what ways did Black Consciousness challenge the apartheid state?

1.1 When Steve Biko said in 1971 "The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed", he meant that ... (1 × 3) (3)

1.2 Read the Source on the next page and answer the following questions.

1.2.1 What was the main cause for the Soweto Uprising? (1 × 2) (2)

1.2.2 Outline the impact that Black Consciousness had on the Soweto Uprising. (2 × 2) (4)

1.2.3 Give two reasons why West Rand Bantu Administration Board, liquor stores and beer halls were "symbols of racial discrimination and oppression" for these students. (2 × 2) (4)

1.2.4 From this Source, suggest what the attitude of the apartheid police was towards the Soweto students. (2 × 2) (4)

1.2.5 Do you think this source is biased? Provide two reasons to support your point of view. (1 × 3) (3)

[20 marks]

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

Source A

On 16 June 1976, 10 000 African students in Soweto, the segregated African township of Johannesburg, joined a peaceful demonstration … The police opened fire at the demonstrators, killing several children. A special police squad trained to combat urban terrorism was brought into Soweto by helicopters, which were also used to drop teargas canisters. In the ensuing confrontations between the police and Africans, mainly students, large numbers of persons were killed and wounded. The Africans destroyed a number of buildings – notably the offices of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, liquor stores and beer halls – which, to them, were symbols of racial discrimination and oppression.

Eyewitness accounts … indicated that the police had shot and killed school children indiscriminately. A senior police officer told the press: 'We fired into them. It is no good firing over their heads' …

According to official figures, 176 persons were killed and 1 139 wounded, many of whom were small children. Over 1 300 persons were arrested. There is reason to believe that the total was actually much higher.

(Source: From the Special Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on the Soweto massacre and its aftermath, submitted to the United Nations General Assembly on 3 August 1976.)

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

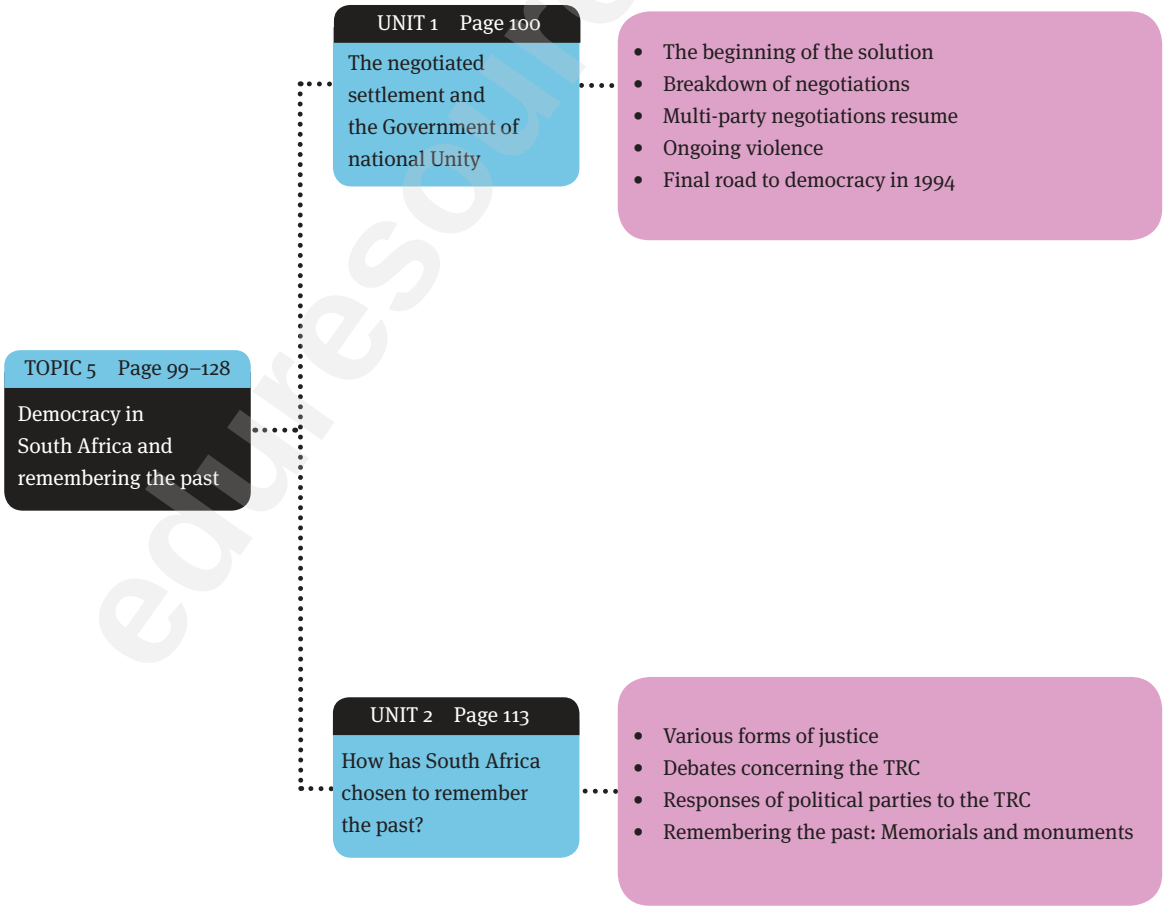
Topic 5

Democracy in South Africa and remembering the past

Overview

In this topic you will revise:

- the negotiated settlement in South Africa
- the beginning of the solutions, including secret negotiations with the ANC and CODESA I and II
  - the breakdown in negotiations, including the 'whites only' referendum
  - the resumption of the multi-party negotiations, including the impact of Chris Hani's murder and the setting of election dates
- ongoing violence in the run-up to elections, including the St James Massacre
- the final road to democracy, including the Interim Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Government of National Unity
- how South Africa has chosen to remember the past
  - the Truth and Reconciliation Commission
  - remembering the past: memorials.



Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 1

Negotiated settlement and Government of National Unity

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

Events leading up to the negotiations

- By the 1980s South Africa was sinking into a spiral of political violence and economic crisis.
- The insurrection had made large parts of South Africa ungovernable, with many negative outcomes, including the disruption of black schools, civil conflict, detentions, police violence and economic instability.
- There were also tensions between the two sides of the struggle:

Whites had been indoctrinated to believe that democracy would mean a communist black government that would take everything they owned and destroy their culture and way of life, and that military power was the only thing that protected them from this.

Blacks did not trust the regime and feared that any talks would lead to a sham settlement and little real change to the apartheid system.

- In 1985, PW Botha offered to release Nelson Mandela on condition the ANC withdrew violence as a form of struggle.
  - Mandela responded by saying that no talks could take place until government policies (considered as 'obstacles') had been cleared and there was trust that a genuine solution could be found.

The beginning of the solution

- In Pollsmoor prison, the Emergency of 1986 prompted Nelson Mandela to request a meeting with the government.
- Mandela made the sole decision to enter into negotiations → didn't involve his prison colleagues or those in Lusaka (ANC leaders in exile). He said:
  - 'There are times when a leader must move out ahead of the flock, go off in a new direction, confident that he is leading his people the right way.' (*Long Walk to Freedom*, page 627).

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Secret talks with the ANC in exile and with Mandela

After 1987, some government officials and white business leaders began to meet secretly with ANC leaders.

Sequence of events

- In July 1987 a group of 60 liberal Afrikaner businessmen and cultural leaders met the exiled ANC leadership for a week in Dakar, Senegal.
- There were about 20 such meetings after 1987 – mostly held secretly in hotel rooms in foreign cities.
- These were not negotiations and no deals were struck. Instead, the different sides were getting to know and understand each other and build a climate of mutual trust.

Between 1988 and February 1990 large delegations of up to 20 influential leaders on both sides met at a country estate in the UK called Mells Park House, to discuss the conditions that would have to be in place for proper negotiations.

- But many leaders on both sides were still opposed to the idea of talks.
  - Militant ANC leaders like Mac Maharaj and Chris Hani were preparing a new series of MK attacks against whites.
  - White political leaders and police continued to hold onto exclusive power with ever more brutal repression.

Mandela's role

- 1987: In Pollsmoor, the talks between Nelson Mandela and the government proceeded slowly during this year, starting with the first meetings with Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice.
  - Among some of the critical issues discussed were:
    - armed struggle
    - ANC's alliance with the Communist Party
    - goal of majority rule
    - idea of racial conciliation.
- May 1988: Mandela met Botha's chief strategist Niels Barnard → 47 times between 1988 and 1990.
- 1989: Mandela was given an open telephone line to consult with OR Tambo (ANC President in exile) in Lusaka. PLUS was later allowed to meet United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders at Victor Verster prison outside Paarl.
- July 1989: Nelson Mandela finally met with PW Botha himself.

1989 to 1991: Preparing the way for negotiations

During 1989 there was a lot of talking and relationship building, but little sign of a breakthrough. A number of important events in 1988 and 1989 made a new approach possible.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- In 1988 the South African Army suffered a major military defeat in Angola at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale.
  - This shook the military establishment and enabled the liberals in the National Party to argue more strongly that whites could not hold on to power by force alone.
- The 1980s: there were more economic sanctions, while international pressure forced many banks to stop investing in South Africa.
  - By the time De Klerk became president, foreign companies were losing confidence in the South African economy and taking their money out. The economy was in deep trouble.
- At the beginning of 1989 PW Botha suffered a stroke, and the more liberal National Party (NP) leaders were able to remove him as president and weaken the influence of the military generals.
  - In 1989 FW de Klerk was elected leader of the National Party → was a conservative thinker, but he believed that reform was the only way to preserve white power.

Preparing the whites for negotiations

- De Klerk believed that the NP and its black allies (like Dr Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party – IFP) could negotiate a constitution that would preserve white power and even challenge the ANC in elections.
- But whites were increasingly divided:
  - De Klerk feared that white right wing leaders like Eugéne Terre'Blanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was driving a paramilitary movement.
    - If they linked up with conservatives in the army, they might soon pose a threat to the National Party reformers (led by De Klerk).
- He called an election in 1989 asking whites to support political reforms – though not the end of apartheid.
- In this election, the National Party lost 27 seats – many to right wing parties.
  - However, the fact that the liberal Democratic Party had also gained seats told De Klerk that he could count on a large section of the white population to support reform.
  - Also, 1989 saw popular revolutions and the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe in the Soviet Union, which marked a new turn in world history.

Preparing the liberation movement for negotiations

THE PROCESS

- By August 1989 it was clear to many that negotiations were a possibility.
  - ANC and Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) leaders needed to persuade their members to support negotiations, but could only do so if they could get most people to agree on conditions for a negotiated settlement.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- In August 1989 the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) adopted the Harare Declaration on negotiations with the South African government
- Drafted by the ANC, this document set out the principles under which political negotiations would be acceptable to the liberation movement and its allies. In December 1989, the declaration was adopted by 4 600 delegates at a conference in Harare of the ANC and UDF-affiliated organisations

Unbanning of organisations

- 1990: De Klerk let it be known that he would make an important announcement when he opened Parliament on 2 February 1990. Changing the course of South African history, his speech outlined the following steps that would be taken:
  - The ANC, PAC, SACP and a number of subsidiary organisations would be unbanned.
  - People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations would be released.
  - The media emergency regulations and the education emergency regulations would be abolished, along with the restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations.
  - The detention period in terms of the security emergency regulations would be limited to six months.
  - The Government took a firm decision to release Nelson Mandela unconditionally.

On the day of his release, Mandela was taken to the Grand Parade in Cape Town where he read an uncompromising speech, composed by the leadership of the MDM.

- This emphasised the need for South Africa to be led by 'a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis'.

Release of political prisoners and of Mandela

- As an act of goodwill and to test what would happen, the government had already released some political prisoners like Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada during 1989.
- In the two weeks after February 2nd most other political prisoners were released.
- On 11 February 1990 Mandela himself was released.

Debates around negotiations: clearing the obstacles

South Africa was on a new road and there was no turning back, but there were still obstacles that had to be overcome before serious negotiations about the future could begin.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- First were legal obstacles:
  - the government repealed many discriminatory laws and repressive security regulations. Exiled ANC and SACP leaders (Joe Slovo, Chris Hani and others) returned home.
    - 4 May 1990: First official meeting was held at President De Klerk's Groote Schuur residence between a government delegation and a group of ANC leaders returned from exile and MDM leaders.
    - The leaders committed themselves to creating conditions for peaceful negotiations. Their agreement was recorded in the 'Grootte Schuur Minute'.

The ANC suspends the armed struggle

One of the biggest obstacles from the government's perspective was the fact that the ANC refused to publicly suspend the armed struggle.

- MK members like leader Ronnie Kasrils did not trust the De Klerk government and were unsure of its intentions.
- Another major obstacle was the continuing violence in the Rand townships between ANC aligned urban residents and IFP aligned migrant workers living in hostels.
  - The week before the Pretoria meeting, on 22 July 1990, an armed group of IFP supporters attacked residents of Sebokeng and killed 30 people, mostly ANC supporters.
- Both the government and ANC realised that they needed to move quickly:
  - at their meeting in Pretoria the government accepted the principle of democracy and the ANC unilaterally suspended its armed struggle.

The role of the labour movement in negotiations

After trade unions were legalised in South Africa in 1979, the Federation of South Africa Trade Unions (FOSATU) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) were formed by 1980.

- → Trade unions began to play a key role in calling for workers' rights during the 1980s.

- In 1982 Cyril Ramaphosa was one of the founding members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and became its first General Secretary – he remained in this position until June 1991 when he became General Secretary of the ANC.
- Smaller trade unions joined UDF in 1983 to work in a more coordinated way for reform.
  - NUM broke away from CUSA and formed COSATU in 1985. It grew into a powerful umbrella organisation for a range of different unions.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- After the unbanning of the SACP, ANC, UDF and PAC in 1990, unions and civil society groups got involved in the negotiation process, but tended to join ranks with established political parties.
  - COSATU joined the ANC and SACP in a formal tripartite alliance in May 1990
    - called for equality for workers
    - better basic conditions of employment
    - fair labour standards.
  - After this its membership grew markedly.
- COSATU's key rivals were NACTU (National Council of Trade Unions) – a blacks-only union formed in 1986 and UWUSA (United Workers' Union of South Africa) which was affiliated to the IFP.
  - In July 1990 trade unions, e.g. COSATU and UDF backed the ANC's call for rolling mass action and as a result 3 million workers stayed away from work.
- In August 1990 Mac Maharaj issued a statement calling for the release of COSATU leaders who had been arrested and for the violence to end.
- This was followed up in September 1990 when leaders of the ANC, UDF and COSATU met FW de Klerk:
  - Asked for action to be taken to end the violence in South Africa.
    - On 14 September 1991 the trade unions agreed to the National Peace Accord.
    - Union representatives were involved as members of political groupings in the negotiation process.
- In May 1992, when CODESA II ended in deadlock, COSATU joined the ANC in:
  - calling for a week-long general strike
  - demanding the institution of an interim government, the immediate transfer of power to the people and free and fair elections to institute a constituent assembly.
    - On 3 August 1992 a week of mass action started to force a transition to majority rule.
- Cyril Ramaphosa (NUM) & Roelf Meyer (NP) and their respective teams played key roles in the negotiations process and were instrumental in both achieving a settlement when talks broke down and in setting up the Multiparty Negotiation Forum on 1 April 1993.

Role of trade unions in the new South Africa after 1994

- Many trade union leaders were absorbed into posts in the administration and political framework, i.e. Cyril Ramaphosa became a Member of Parliament.
- The tripartite alliance was challenged as the GNU moved away from a socialist state to one with a mixed economy.
- COSATU continued to take up the struggle for workers' rights and interest
  - this brought the union into conflict with the ANC government at times.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What was CODESA 1?

CODESA I

- In December 1991 over 400 representatives of 17 political parties assembled at the Conference for a Democratic South Africa, or CODESA 1.
- The talks did not start well. In his opening address President De Klerk launched a bitter attack on the ANC.
- De Klerk suggested that the ANC could not be trusted to negotiate peace until it had disbanded Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK).
- Nelson Mandela was outraged and declared that De Klerk headed a minority regime & had little idea of what democracy means.

From this meeting it was clear that a great gulf needed to be bridged in the months that lay ahead. Nevertheless, five working groups were set up and given six months to draft proposals that would be endorsed by a second meeting of CODESA planned for May 1992.

However, by May 1992 the ANC and government were still far from an agreement:

The ANC and its allies demanded a constitution based on majority rule in a united nation state.

The National Party was not yet ready to accept this, insisting on 'power-sharing' arrangements that would give minorities the power to veto any decision for many years to come.

Outcome: CODESA in deadlock and parties left to continue informal discussions to see if the disagreements could be overcome.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Violence in the 1990s and debates about violence

- CODESA did not stop the violence.
- In the face of attacks by IFP supporters backed by the police, township residents formed 'self-defence units' and fought back.
- Violence in townships and in rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal began to spiral out of control as groups attacked each other.
- Racial murders from white extreme right wing groups added to the climate of fear.
- The ongoing violence through 1991 and 1992 placed great strain on the negotiations.
- The ANC repeatedly called on the government to ban IFP supporters' carrying of weapons in public (which the IFP insisted was an essential part of Zulu traditional culture). The government sided with its ally the IFP.

Breakdown of negotiations

- On the night of July 17 1992, IFP-aligned hostel dwellers attacked the ANC-supporting informal settlement of Boipatong.
- Residents alleged police involvement – later substantiated in Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings.
- There was an explosion of anger across the nation. The ANC broke off all talks with the government accusing it of complicity.

CODESA breaks down

There were no further talks for almost a year. Together with COSATU, the ANC sought to channel this anger into a national campaign of rolling mass action.

- = Public confrontation
  - In public the ANC and COSATU mobilised people to put pressure on the government to drop its insistence on a minority veto and to act to prevent violence.
  - Rolling mass action included strikes and massive public demonstrations against the government and the homeland governments.
  - In early August a national strike was declared. Mandela led 50 000 in a march on the Union Buildings.
  - On 7 September 70 000 ANC members marched on Bisho, the capital of the Ciskei Bantustan, calling for its re-incorporation into South Africa. Ciskei troops opened fire killing 28 marchers.
    - Tension led to De Klerk and Mandela exchanging hostile letters about the need to end the violence.

The 'whites only' referendum

De Klerk call for a referendum of white voters for two reasons:

- He did not have the support of all members of his party.
- Many called on him to break off talks as well.
  - This was a big gamble:
    - if whites voted no to reform, all that he had tried to achieve would be lost. But if they voted yes, then he would be vindicated and have a full mandate to continue talks.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Behind the scenes negotiation

- While formal talks between government and ANC were suspended, Cyril Ramaphosa (NUM) and Roelf Meyer (NP) met in secret more than 40 times between June and September 1992, to try and broker a resumption of talks.
- The deadlocked negotiations between the government and ANC sent the economy into a spin and violence threatened to tear the country apart.
- Both sides had to prepare their supporters to make serious compromises.
- The ANC came to accept that some form of power sharing was necessary for a fixed period after elections. They discussed the principle of 'sunset clauses' but did not yet make this public.

What was decided?

- After a year of internal debate, the NP abandoned its insistence on explicit minority vetoes and came to accept the idea that Afrikaners would be better protected under a liberal democratic constitution with limited power sharing for the first few years.
- They also came to accept that the alliance with the IFP was an obstacle in the way of resumption of talks.

The Sunset Clause and the Record of Understanding

- Over almost a year, Roelf Meyer and his allies succeeded in persuading the others in the NP that they would have to accept the principle of full democratic government.
- In return, the ANC agreed that there would be limited power sharing in a government of national unity (GNU).

SUNSET CLAUSE

- It also agreed to a 'sunset clause' proposed by Joe Slovo that the jobs of white officials in government would be guaranteed for 5 years.
- The government quietly abandoned its support for the IFP.

The Record of Understanding agreed that:

- A democratically elected constitution-making body would also act as a transitional Government of National Unity.
- Most remaining political prisoners would be released.
- Hostels associated with violence would be fenced and tightly policed.
- The carrying of weapons in public would be prohibited.
- The right to peaceful mass action is affirmed.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Multi-party negotiations resume

- For the next six months, from September 1992 to April 1993, government and ANC negotiators took to the bush to participate in bilateral 'bosberade'.
- Most of the major points were agreed in these meetings, but they would still have to be negotiated and approved in a proper Negotiating Forum that included 19 of the most important political groups and parties in South Africa.
- The Negotiating Forum was planned to begin in April 1993 at the World Trade Centre near OR Tambo Airport.
- But there were still setbacks: The IFP, conservative and right wing whites and the remaining Bantustan leaders of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana remained vehemently opposed to the constitution that was taking shape.

Murder of Chris Hani

- Chris Hani, Secretary-General of the SACP and former MK Chief of Staff, was gunned down just as the Negotiating Forum was getting underway, on 10 April 1993, by a Polish immigrant (later found to have been part of a right-wing plot).
- The country braced itself for a wave of violence and revenge, however, the long tradition of non-racialism in the democratic movement held firm (reiterated in a speech by Nelson Mandela that was broadcast on national television).

The St James Church and Heidelberg Tavern massacres

It was not only right wing whites and the IFP who were opposed to negotiations:

- On 25 July 1993 four cadres of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) attacked a congregation at the St James Church in Kenilworth, Cape Town, killing some and wounding many others.
- In December, people using the same weapons killed four whites at the Heidelberg tavern in Cape Town.

In 1998 the attackers were granted amnesty by the TRC, where they said they were following orders and that they regarded all whites as legitimate targets.

Date of elections set

These events only made most negotiators work harder for an agreement.

- In this new spirit of urgency, the Negotiating Forum set the date for South Africa's first democratic elections in one year's time: 27 April 1994
- It began to work on an interim constitution under which the first elections would be held.
- It also established an Independent Electoral Commission, an Independent Media Commission and a Transitional Executive Council → would rule the country in the run-up to the elections.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What was the Freedom Alliance?

- Those opposed to the Interim Constitution now came together and called themselves the Freedom Alliance.
- Membership: included the apartheid homeland leaders Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu together with conservative Afrikaners led by General Constand Viljoen and the extreme right wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), led by Eugéne Terre'Blanche.
- They knew they would have no political support at a national level, so they demanded a federal system hoping that they could hold on to power in strong provincial governments.
- The right-wing Afrikaners demanded an independent Afrikaner 'volkstaat' and the IFP demanded greater sovereignty for the Zulu kingdom. They made it clear that they would boycott the elections if their demands were not met.

The Interim Constitution and Bill of Rights

1. To break the deadlock, the Negotiating Forum abandoned the idea that everyone should agree before a clause could be adopted (absolute consensus).
2. They now worked on the principle of 'sufficient consensus' → meant that if the great majority of delegates agreed, then a clause could be adopted in the interim constitution.
3. Multi-party negotiations proceeded as delegates negotiated the terms of the interim constitution and transitional process. Finally, on November 18 1993 an interim constitution and Bill of Rights were adopted.

The final road to democracy

Over the next few months there were desperate attempts to persuade the Freedom Alliance to drop their opposition to elections. Some concessions were made, but not enough to satisfy them.

- On-going violence: the fall of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei and the shooting of IFP marchers in Johannesburg
  - The New Year 1994 dawned with no sign of agreement with the Freedom Alliance.
  - The public was concerned that the South Africa army would support the homeland leaders and the Afrikaner right wing.
  - Six weeks before the planned election, Chief Lucas Mangope asked Constand Viljoen to send armed men to protect him from a possible uprising in Bophuthatswana.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- Viljoen proceeded to mobilise 4 000 armed men.
- But the AWB led by Eugéne Terre'blanche also arrived and the extreme racist whites rode into town shooting bystanders.
- The Bophuthatswana army turned against Mangope and the occupying whites were forced to withdraw.

Outcomes

- The 'independent' homeland of Bophuthatswana ceased to exist.
- The homeland government of Ciskei fell soon after.
- Constand Viljoen, leader of many conservative Afrikaners, abandoned the option of military action and registered a political party called the Freedom Front to take part in the elections.
- It seemed that the threat of right wing military resistance was over.
  - The only significant party still opposed to elections was now the IFP.

The position of the IFP

- One month before the planned election, thousands of IFP supporters marched with their red scarves, shields and spears through central Johannesburg to protest against the planned elections.
  - Outside the ANC headquarters (Shell House) ANC security guards shot IFP marchers, supposedly in self-defence, but this was contested.
  - It looked like the hopes of a free election in KZN were finished.
    - However, one week before the election date, the IFP suddenly agreed to participate
    - → millions of stickers were hurriedly printed and stuck onto the ballot paper.

Elections and GNU

Many people expected a day of violence on 27 April 1994, when South Africans went to the polls in the first fully democratic election in the country's history. However, the opposite happened.

- The vast majority of South African citizens queued patiently in a spirit of celebration and unity to vote for their representatives who would rule the country.
  - But there were claims of vote rigging and stuffed ballot boxes – especially from rural voting stations in KZN and elsewhere.
  - This meant the results were delayed.
- Three days before the results were finally announced FW de Klerk conceded that the ANC had won the election. Mandela, in the interests of peace, accepted that the IFP had won in Natal.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

In this spirit of compromise, a Government of National Unity (GNU) was formed with Mandela as president and with FW de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki as two deputy presidents, and six NP cabinet ministers in a 30-member cabinet.

- The first great achievement of the new democratic parliament was to draft a new Constitution.
  - There were compromises on the detail of clauses, but there was agreement on most of the fundamental principles in the Constitution.
    - By the mid-1990s, most South Africans had come to understand that their rights were best protected by a constitution that protected the rights of all citizens and cultures – and did not treat any groups differently.

South African Constitution (1996)

Today, South Africa's Constitution is regarded as one of the most progressive and liberal constitutions in the world:

Protects the rights of individual citizens and prevents abuse of power by any government.

- But the real work of transforming and rebuilding the country was only beginning.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 2

How has South Africa chosen to remember the past?

Key question: Why did South Africa choose a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and how has the struggle against apartheid been remembered?

What are the various forms of justice that can be used to deal with a divided past?

Recap:

The brutal apartheid system had abused the civic and human rights of the majority of South Africans. The detentions and torture of the 1960s and 1970s had given way to the abduction, torture and murder of the 1980s. The question facing South Africans was:

- What was the best way to deal with the violent past?
  - There were two possibilities when considering judgement in terms of the past:

Retributive justice

- It is the form of justice that considers punishment to be the best response to a crime.
- In post-War Germany, after the Nuremberg trials, the Nazi leaders were given the death sentence or long terms in prison.
- It is the kind of justice that happens in a court of law and if convicted, the offender is given a punishment that is thought appropriate for the crime committed.

Restorative justice

- This form of justice rejects the exclusive focus on punishment.
- In South Africa's case the TRC and perpetrators have to take responsibility for their actions as a way of trying to repair the harm they have done.
- Instead, victims and perpetrators come together in some way to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The route of restorative justice through the TRC was a way of dealing with the past in order to move all South Africans to a more stable, decent and more peaceful future.

The TRC

Reasons for and origins of the TRC

- The idea for the TRC first came from the ANC:
  - After the unbanning of the liberation organisations, the ANC faced accusations of human rights abuses in its training camps in Tanzania and other parts of southern Africa.
  - It set up an internal inquiry and it was revealed that human rights violations had occurred in the ANC camps.
  - The ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) accepted the findings, but decided that these violations needed to be seen against the overall human rights violations that were perpetrated over decades in SA.
- So rather than the ANC looking for general amnesty for itself, it called for an independent truth commission so that everyone could be accountable for the past.

The options facing South Africans in terms of dealing with the past were

- **EITHER** a blanket amnesty, which was not acceptable for criminal trials so would not have worked
- **OR** criminal prosecutions, which would've meant that the ANC would not have been able to rely on the apartheid security forces to ensure a peaceful election and transition to democracy. (These security services were still strong and were needed in the new state.)
  - So it was decided to set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

What was the TRC?

It was essentially a political compromise in the interests of national reconciliation.

- It involved hearings that were held in public, which made it impossible for South Africans to deny the atrocities carried out by the state in their name.
- The public hearings also began the process of accepting accountability for the past and of a commitment to making sure that it would never happen again.
  - The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 created the TRC that had to facilitate this process.
    - The Chairperson was Archbishop Desmond Tutu who was assisted by 17 commissioners.
    - It was the world's first truth commission that had hearings of victims and perpetrators open to the public and that published its findings at the end of the process.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Hearings (began early in 1996) → held in community halls in cities and small towns, often in the townships where the violence had happened and where the victims and their families had lived.

- The hearings were broadcast on radio and television in all official languages.

What is the TRC Act?

This outlined the three preconditions to be met before amnesty could be granted:

- applicants had to make a full and truthful disclosure of events and actions around the act of violence for which amnesty was applied;
- the applicant had to prove he/she had a political motive;
- and the act could not be out of proportion with the political objective. In other words, amnesty would not be granted to someone who had committed murder because of a political difference of opinion.

The role of the TRC

- To compile as complete a picture as possible of gross human rights violations that had taken place on all sides between 1960 and 1993.
- To hear testimony from victims and perpetrators.
- To grant perpetrators amnesty from prosecution or civil action, where there was full disclosure and a clear political motivation.
- To suggest how victims could be compensated through reparations.

Special hearings

These were also held on: prisons, women, children, state security, the military and police, the different political parties, the media, the medical profession, and religious communities, among other particular cases.

The TRC had three committees

- Committee on Human Rights Violations to hear the public testimonies by victims of gross abuses of human rights. This was not a court of law.
- Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation which investigated cases, gave support and awarded reparations to victims.
- Committee on Amnesty, which could grant amnesty from prosecution under certain conditions.

The hearings

- During the first six months the TRC heard evidence from the victims.
- Task of the HRV committee = investigate human rights abuses between 1960 and 1994, based on statements made by victims and their families to the TRC.
- Once victims of gross human rights violations were identified, they were referred to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.
- The hearings were conducted by groups of commissioners travelling around the country to take testimony from those who had suffered human rights abuses and to gather information about the atrocities that had been committed.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The hearings of the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC)

- These hearings began in the East London city hall on 16 April 1996.
- They were held in community halls around SA – before each hearing, witnesses met with the staff of the commission to make a written statement.
- White South Africans, who had voted for the apartheid government, were for the first time confronted by the crimes that had been committed in its name.
- Only a proportion of the victims could in fact appear in public hearings. Their participation was to an extent, symbolic.
- The TRC acknowledged the victim's pain publicly and, for many, being able to tell their stories was the beginning of a process of healing and closure. In many cases, victims publicly forgave perpetrators.

The hearings of the Amnesty Committee

- Amnesty hearings were conducted as a legal process. The Amnesty Committees consisted of judges, advocates and attorneys.
- Unlike the HRVC hearings, witnesses, victims, survivors and applicants were entitled to legal representation.
- Also, all evidence was tested through cross-examination; and the Amnesty Committee was able to subpoena witnesses.
- The primary function of the Amnesty Committee was to ensure that applications for amnesty were done in accordance with the provisions of the TRC Act.
- Being granted amnesty for an act means that the perpetrator would not be prosecuted for that particular act.
- If someone was denied amnesty they were liable for prosecution.

The Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee

- Tasked with recommending to the government a system of reparations for victims.
- It also provided victim support to ensure that the Truth Commission process restored the dignity of victims.
- A President's Fund, funded by Parliament and private contributions, was established to pay urgent interim reparations to victims in terms of the regulations prescribed by the President.

Outcomes of TRC

The TRC had a limited time period of two years. The overriding objective was to encourage truth telling.

- However, in trying to compile the 'picture of the past', the TRC faced the dilemma of how to validate the 'subjective truths' of the painful experiences and memories of human rights violations of the victims, while at the same time producing a suitably 'objective' and authoritative account of the apartheid past.
  - One of the most important aspects of the TRC hearings was the fact that they were held in public. Everyone daily witnessed the pain and suffering that apartheid had caused to fellow South Africans.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Major findings of the TRC

The final report handed over to President Mandela at the end of October 1998, was contained in five volumes of findings on gross human rights violations, and found the following:

- Apartheid was judged to be a crime against humanity.
- The National Party government of PW Botha was found to have been responsible for murder, torture, arson, abduction and sabotage.
- The liberation movements were also found to have been guilty of gross human rights violations.
- The report also criticised De Klerk's government for activities of 'third force' in an attempt to disrupt the pre-1994 negotiations.
- The ANC was criticised for the civilian casualties in MK operations: the torture and executions in camps in exile and the use of violence against opponents.
- Finally the report found that South African society as a whole was damaged by apartheid and was in need of healing.

DEBATES: these have been carried out for some time as to whether the TRC served its purpose and how it could've been improved.

Positive aspects: The TRC as an instrument of reconciliation

- The TRC process did serve the purpose of confronting the evils of apartheid, allowing transition from apartheid to democracy to happen in a peaceful, non-violent way.
- The media played a critical role in this process.
  - The public hearings that were broadcast daily on TV and radio included the testimonies of both victims and perpetrators.
    - This ensured that South Africans could not deny their violent past.
- The experience of telling stories and hearing confessions was a cathartic experience that began a process of forgiveness and healing between victims and perpetrators.
  - It also brought closure to families who had lost loved ones.
    - For a few, there was a deep sense of guilt and soul-searching.
- But many whites accused the TRC of being a witch-hunt and of stirring up hatred:
  - said it would make reconciliation impossible.
    - Ultimately though, the TRC placed the truth on record, which allowed the nation to move forward.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Amnesty provisions and problems with amnesty

The provision of amnesty in return for full and truthful disclosure raised both moral and legal issues:

- Amnesty for torture is prohibited by an international treaty, which South Africa signed in 1993. Many therefore questioned whether perpetrators should then have been tried in a court of law.
- Many South Africans felt that amnesty for perpetrators of gross human rights violations during the apartheid era was morally unjust, yet others accepted that this was the price South Africa needed to pay to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy.
- While there was closure for some, others were infuriated to see the guilty granted amnesty and able to walk free.
- It was problematic that many of the top apartheid leadership didn't apply for amnesty and refused to take responsibility for the apartheid abuses. Many believed that the Amnesty Committee should have used their power to subpoena to ensure that these officials were brought in front of the TRC.

Focus on gross human rights of 1980s and ignoring institutional violence and the whole human rights abuses of apartheid:

The TRC's mandate was to gather information and investigate gross human rights violations during SA's apartheid past. Therefore individual cases of violence such as murder and torture were examined.

The TRC looked at apartheid through the experience of a minority of political activists and state security forces. This was an important task, but the damage that apartheid did to generations of South Africans was ignored.

The apartheid system that destroyed the lives of millions economically & psychologically was not put 'on trial' – it ignored those arrested for pass law violations , victims of forced removals; and those who went through Bantu Education.

Apartheid conditioned South Africans into believing that they were either superior or inferior human beings. The psychological damage, particularly to those who were made to feel inferior, was enormous.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- The TRC process enabled the beneficiaries of the apartheid system to see themselves as victims of the system, and to say that they did not know what was happening when they voted the National Party into power.

Reparations

The Reparations Committee made two suggestions:

- Urgent interim relief for victims. This has been implemented to some extent.
- By the end of the TRC's term, every victim should have been given monetary compensation by the government.

In the years since the end of the TRC process, the victims have not received this compensation.

- Government has admitted that this has been a failure – that there are no mechanisms in place to assist victims.
  - This has seriously challenged the model of restorative justice.

Responses of political parties to the TRC and its final report

NP & ANC:

- Both were dissatisfied with the final TRC report and tried to block its publication.

Former President FW de Klerk:

- He brought an urgent action in the Cape High Court, asking it to forbid the findings against him from being included in the Commission's report. These were removed at the last minute.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP):

- The TRC findings on the IFP were also rejected – Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected the findings of the report which held him responsible for acts of gross human rights abuse.

The ANC appeal:

- It objected to the risk that the liberation struggle would be criminalised, and lodged an appeal in the courts to stop the handing over of the report to President Mandela. However, the hand-over went ahead.

Conclusion

- For all its flaws the TRC was a process vital to South Africa's peaceful transition and is highly regarded as a model around the world.
  - Admitting the truth about past abuses helped restore dignity and identity to thousands of victims.
- Dealing with the past was essential for South Africa to move forward.
- The TRC started the process of reconciliation.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

How has the struggle against apartheid been remembered?

After the end of apartheid, South Africa faced the issue of how the struggle for liberation would be remembered.

But over and above this, it was also about how the struggle could be remembered and commemorated in a way that would bring reconciliation in South Africa.

Underpinned by a tension:

- = a monument or memorial is a lens on the past and can't tell the whole story:
  - → one side or perspective dominates as the 'truth'.
  - Therefore, when visiting any monument or memorial you need to ask the following questions:
    - What part of the story is being told?
    - Whose story is being told?
    - Whose point of view and values are reflected?
    - What part of the story has been left out?

Can heritage and the construction of memorials contribute to reconciliation and nation building?

National and local monuments or memorials have been constructed to remember the struggle against apartheid and to try to bring about reconciliation.

National monuments

Freedom Park:

- This is an important example of a national monument commemorating past conflicts.
- Situated near Pretoria, the park was built after the end of apartheid and opened to the public in December 2007.
- SA's history and the values of human dignity, rights and freedom are expressed through the symbolic elements that make up the journey through Freedom Park.
- One of its elements – The Wall of Names – has the names of those who died during eight conflicts within SA's history: from pre-colonial wars to the struggle for liberation. They include slavery, frontier wars, the South African War and the World Wars.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Exclusion and inclusion of name on the Wall of Names

- It was decided to omit the names of white soldiers who died during the Border War as they were fighting on behalf of the apartheid government.
- The problem with this is that many view it as a one-sided, subjective account of history.
- As a result, many white men in South Africa feel hurt that their sacrifices and service as conscripted soldiers who fought the enemies at the time was not acknowledged.
- Ultimately, memorialisation of war and heroes of war is a political process that involves interpretation of history and experiences.
- A wall including 2 000 names of SADF soldiers was erected near a 1979 memorial statue of a SADF soldier at Fort Klapperkop (on a hill close to Freedom Park).
- However, this site has not been adequately acknowledged in post-1994 South Africa.

Local monuments

The Thokoza Monument:

- In contrast to Freedom Park, this is an example of a local monument, which opened in October 1999.
- It was a community project and brings together two opposing sides in the former conflict, commemorating all victims of the conflict – those of both the IFP and the ANC.
- From 1990 to 1994, Khumalo Street in Thokoza township was a battleground during the violence that broke out between the IFP and ANC.
- After the 1994 general elections relative stability was brought to Thokoza:
  - relations between the IFP & ANC began to improve and the idea for a memorial began to develop.
- Over 28 organisations committed themselves to the project:
  - the site chosen for the monument was on Khumalo Street between the stadium and the youth centre.
- The monument remembers all those who died in the political violence in order not to repeat the past.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 5

Summary and questions

Summary

In Topic 5, your historical enquiry focused on answering the following key question:

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

In order to answer this key question, you studied the concepts outlined below.

Unit 1 The negotiated settlement and the Government of National Unity

The negotiated settlement and the GNU had their beginnings in secret talks between the ANC-in-exile and concerned Afrikaner leaders. There was a realisation on both sides that neither could 'win' and that some form of negotiated settlement would be necessary. These secret talks then extended to include Nelson Mandela (while still in prison) and members of the apartheid government, including PW Botha.

When FW de Klerk took over from PW Botha as State President, he unbanned the ANC and other organisations, freed political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and invited all interested parties to participate in discussions on what should be done to achieve a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

Consequently, on 4 May 1990, the first official meeting was held at President De Klerk's Groote Schuur residence between a government delegation and a delegation of leaders of the ANC returned from exile and leaders of the MDM. Their agreement was recorded in the Groote Schuur Minute.

The route to the agreement of an Interim Constitution under which the first democratic elections would be held on 27 April 1994 was complex and fraught with difficulties, including the assassination of Chris Hani, third force violence, the AWB invasion of the World Trade Centre where the MPNF (which had developed out of CODESA I and II) was meeting, the St James and Shell House Massacres, and the fall of Bophuthatswana.

Nonetheless, on 18 November 1993, an Interim Constitution, together with a Bill of Rights, was adopted and five months later South Africa became a democracy, with Nelson Mandela as the first democratically-elected president.

Unit 2 How has South Africa chosen to remember the past?

After the advent of democracy, South Africa had to consider how to heal the wounds of not only the terrible abuses of human rights due to apartheid as a system, but also due to the violence committed on all sides in the struggle against apartheid.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

For this reason, South Africa established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995). It used a system of restorative justice to enable perpetrators and victims of violence to meet and, through reparations and amnesty, work towards forgiveness, closure and reconciliation. Although the TRC was quite successful as an instrument of reconciliation on an individual level, it did not manage to address the abuses of apartheid at a structural level, and many of the apartheid government leaders responsible for implementing and maintaining apartheid did not appear before the Commission.

Another post-apartheid issue that needed to be addressed was how the country would deal with remembering apartheid and the struggle against it. A means was needed that would honour those who had made sacrifices to bring us freedom and remind us of our united destiny, protected by a constitution that guarantees our human rights. Monuments and memorials, such as Freedom Park and the Thokoza Monument, were constructed as a result, although they have not been without controversy, because different groups remember the past differently.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 5

Summary and questions

Questions

1 Who was the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and how many commissioners did it have?

2 Name the three sections or branches of the TRC and list two functions of each.

3 Four groups / individuals had objections to the findings of the TRC.

3.1 Who were these groups / individuals?

3.2 What was the main objection of each group / individual?

4 Explain the significance of the monument in Cape Town (constructed after 1994 at the V&A Waterfront) showing Nkosi Albert Luthuli, former Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and former presidents Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk.

Exam practice

1 What role did the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) play in dealing with South Africa's past? Use Sources A, B, C and D and answer the following questions.

1.1 Use Source A.

1.1.1 What was the main purpose of the TRC? (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 Explain what prompted the writer to make the statement that 'many Africans who had suffered under apartheid must have found this difficult to understand'. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.3 Why, do you think, the TRC 'was always bound to be controversial'? (1 x 2) (2)

1.2 Study Source B.

1.2.1 What message does the cartoon convey? (1 x 2) (2)

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

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

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

1.3 Refer to Source C.

1.3.1 Explain how black and white South Africans viewed the work of the TRC. Use the statistics in the source to support your answer. (2 x 2) (4)

1.3.2 Comment on whether this source adds value to a historian's understanding of the TRC. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Refer to Source D.

1.4.1 Quote evidence from the source to suggest that the TRC was a success. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4.2 Explain why you think Tutu was grateful to the thousands of South Africans who appeared before the TRC. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4.3 What TWO regrets does Tutu have regarding the unfinished business of the TRC? (2 x 1) (2)

1.4.4 Explain whether Tutu was justified in expressing these regrets. (2 x 3) (6)

1.5 Using ALL the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about 10 lines (about 100 words) explaining the impact of the TRC on South Africa. (10)

[50 marks]

Sources for Exam practice

Source A

The extract below is taken from *Truth Justice Memory*, compiled by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in 2008. It explains the purpose of the TRC.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) … was always bound to be controversial. It was also cathartic (healing), not just for those who came before it, but also for others who watched its proceedings. It was not about justice, though many Africans who had suffered under apartheid must have found this difficult to understand, but about reconciliation by persuading people to admit their crimes against their fellows.

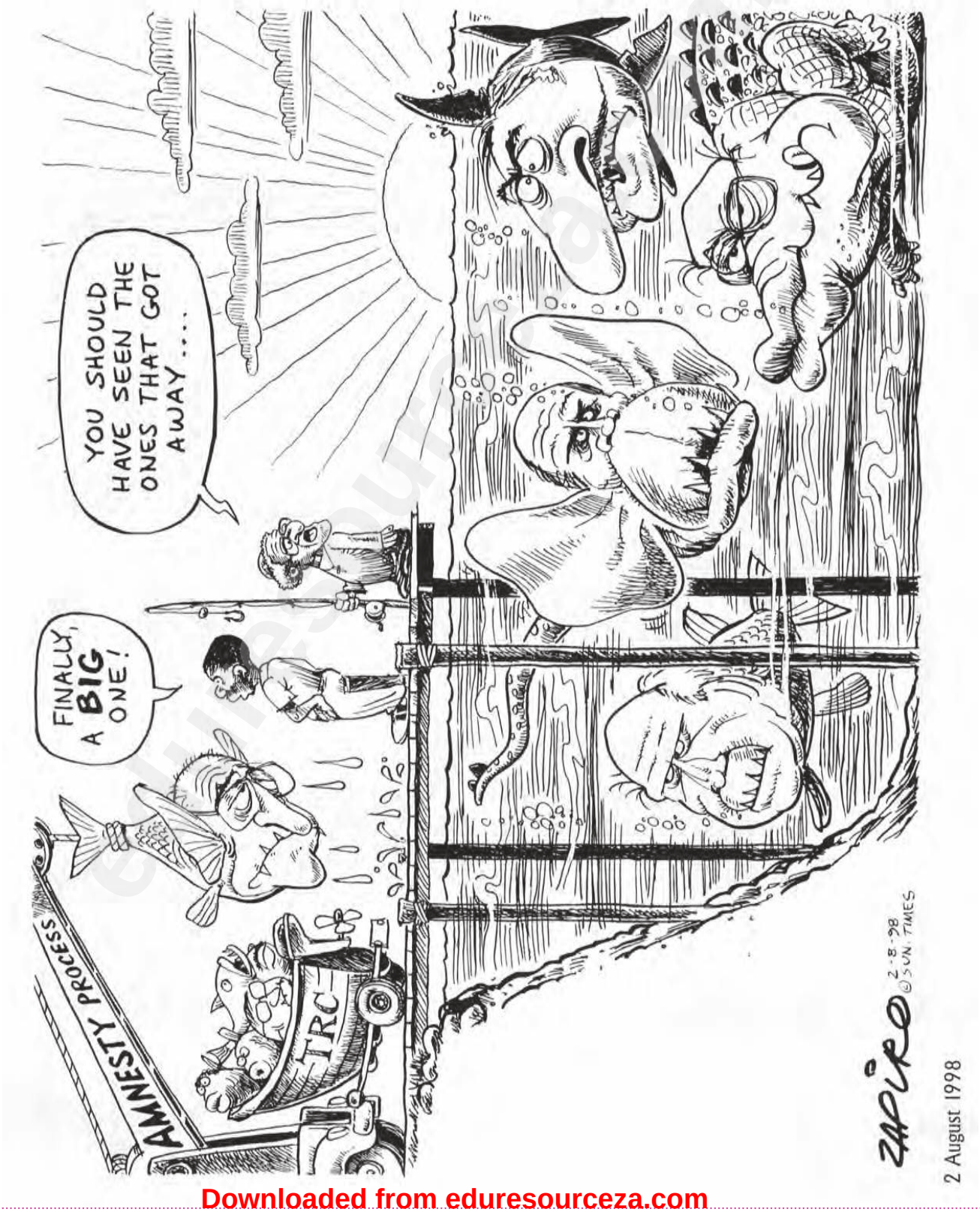
Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

Source B

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



2 August 1998

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

Source C

This source is a result of a survey of the views of 3 727 randomly selected ordinary South Africans carried out in 2000 and 2001. Taken from *The Truth about Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa* by J Gibson.

Vast racial differences exist in how people evaluate the TRC, with the extremes being defined by blacks and whites. For instance, while roughly three-quarters of black South Africans approve of the work of the commission, only slightly more than one-third of whites are so inclined. Coloured respondents hold fairly negative views towards the TRC, although they are not as critical as whites, and Asian respondents tend to be relatively positive, although not as favourable as blacks. The task on which the TRC is most charitably [kindly] rated is that of helping the families of the victims to find out what happened to their loved ones – uncovering the truth about the past. A majority of South Africans of every race agrees that the TRC has done a very good job on this function. The least positive aspect of the truth and reconciliation process has to do with compensation, although even on this difficult issue, a majority of black and Asian South Africans rate the TRC positively. In general, it appears that blacks are positive toward all aspects of the work of the TRC, while whites judge nearly all of the TRC's work negatively.

Source D

The following extract is from a foreword by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Taken from *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*.

We are deeply grateful to the thousands of South Africans who came to the Commission to tell us their stories. They have won our country the admiration of the world: wherever one goes, South Africa's peaceful transition to democracy, culminating [ending] in the truth and reconciliation process, is spoken of almost in reverent [respectful] tones, as a phenomenon [event] that is unique in the annals [records] of history, one to be commended as a new way of living for humankind. I regret that at the time of writing we

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

owe so much by way of reparations [payment] to those who have been declared victims. The healing of those who came to us does hinge on their receiving more substantial reparations and I would be very deeply distressed if our country were to let down those who had the magnanimity [fairness] and generosity of spirit to reveal their pain in public.

I appeal to the Government that we meet this solemn obligation and responsibility, and I should like to express appreciation that the Minister of Finance has made it clear that he still regards reparations as unfinished business.

It is something of a pity that, by and large, the white community failed to take advantage of the truth and reconciliation process. They were badly let down by their leadership. Many of them carry a burden of a guilt which would have been lessened had they actively embraced the opportunities offered by the Commission; those who do not consciously acknowledge any sense of guilt are in a sense worse off than those who do. Apart from the hurt that it causes to those who suffered, the denial by so many white South Africans that they even benefited from apartheid is a crippling, self-inflicted blow to their capacity to enjoy and appropriate the fruits of change. But mercifully there have been glorious exceptions.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

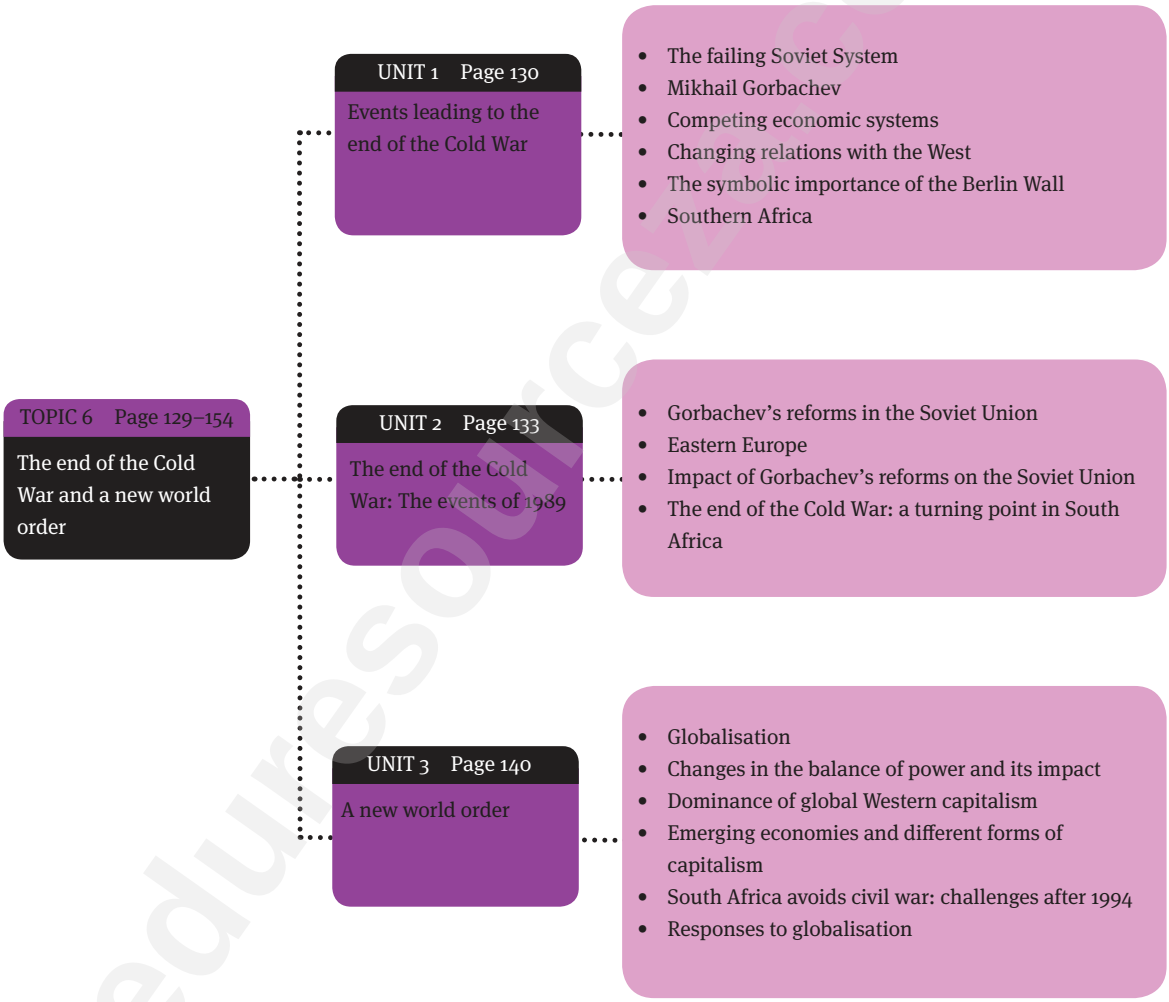
Topic 6

The end of the Cold War and a new world order

Overview

In this topic you will revise:

- why the Cold War ended
- how the ending of the Cold War changed the world
- how the ending of the Cold War changed the direction of history.



Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 1

Events leading to the end of the Cold War

Key question: Why did the Cold War end?

The failing Soviet System

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union was a closed political and economic system.

- From the late 1960s, it was clear the economic performance of the USSR was failing; during the 1970s its industry stagnated and its agriculture regularly failed.
- Technological advances in the West – especially in the field of electronics – also left the Soviet Union and its Allies lagging behind, impacting on many areas of life, especially military affairs.
- For nearly 40 years the leaders of the Soviet Union and many of the countries in Eastern Europe seemed, from the West's point of view, to be 'backward-looking' and caught in the trap of Soviet ideology. One explanation was that these leaders were simply too old: 3 successive Soviet leaders – aged respectively 76, 80 and 83 – had died in office in the 3 years between 1982 and 1985.
- Change did come, however, in 1986 when a new Soviet leader was elected.

Mikhail Gorbachev

Mikhail Gorbachev: a 54-year old lawyer & the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, became the new leader.

- Elected new Soviet leader in 1986. Big changes would follow both in the Communist Bloc and, later, across the world.
- He seemed totally different from his predecessors, and was charming, well-travelled, ambitious and articulate. However, the initial Western response was very cautious – they saw his quick rise to power as a result of the very closed system.
- His plan was 1st to reform the Soviet system and, eventually, to preside over the break-up of the very political system that had produced him.

Despite enjoying enormous power, Gorbachev's ability to bring about change was constrained by two main factors: the dire state of the Soviet economy and the increasingly restless situation in Eastern Europe.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

What led to the end of the Cold War and the start of a new world order?

1 Competing economic systems

USSR had a centralised state-run economy (Socialist / Communist) with an autocratic one-party governance system.

- Central Planning:
  - The co-ordination and control of all economic activities are under the authority of the government, operating in a 'closed system'.
  - It relied on a bureaucracy that was in charge of setting all national goals – especially important were economic ones.
  - Weaknesses: this approach was inefficient and needed extensive on-going subsidies to keep the system going.
  - It was also very slow to respond to personal choice, destroying initiative and entrepreneurship.

Results of this system:

- National economic performance suffered due to inefficiency.
- Investment in new infrastructure declined together with investment in research.
- The quality of life for citizens in the USSR and in Eastern Europe fell further behind that experienced in the West.
  - Led to economic and political reforms in the USSR.

Western economy

System in the West was different: mainly free-market economy (capitalism) and democracy.

- From the 1970s onwards, 'free-market economics' changed the political landscape world-wide. As government withdrew from the economy, business became more profitable and more international.

2 Changing relations with the West

Importantly for Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War, the market approach to economic management was supported by two Western leaders who played an important role in the ending of Communism: Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher (1971), and US President, Ronald Reagan (1981).

- Their elections reflected the significant change both in economic and political thinking that had taken place worldwide (i.e. the shift towards free economic policy). Both were also suspicious of Communism and, initially, of Gorbachev.
  - The two superpower leaders met several more times and each meeting marked another step towards ending the hostilities that had divided them for 40 years.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

3 The symbolic importance of the Berlin Wall

The Cold War was characterised by a number of crises, each of which brought the Superpowers close to a nuclear war.

- The first occurred in Berlin, Germany, which was divided at the end of the Second World War into 4 zones, controlled by victorious wartime powers: the US, Soviet Union, France and Great Britain.
  - But the start of the Cold War, and the alliance between the British, French and Americans, meant that the city was effectively divided into two – one half was in the West; the other half was in the East.
  - The division of the city led to constant quarrelling, and in 1961 the East German government began building a wall between the two halves, which would eventually stretch for 155 kilometres.
    - With the obstacles of concrete, barbed wire, armed guards and their dogs, over the years many people tragically lost their lives trying to cross the wall from East to West.
    - 'The Wall' became a metaphor for the global Cold War conflict between East and West, and was a symbol of the global divide.

Although Berlin's famous Brandenberg Gate was located in the East German side of the wall, it was used by Western leaders to protest what they thought was wrong with Communism and to praise Western Capitalism. In June 1987 Reagan challenged the sincerity of Gorbachev's proposed reforms at this gate.

4 Southern Africa

Gorbachev's political shifts did echo in Southern Africa.

- November 1986: Gorbachev met with the then president of the African National Congress (ANC), Oliver Tambo, who was accompanied by Thabo Mbeki.
- In this first ever meeting between the ANC and the leader of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev made it clear that the Soviet Union was strongly opposed to supporting revolutions.
- This signalled an entirely new direction in the Soviet Union's foreign policy, which would alter the direction of the region enormously in the years to come.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The End of the Cold War – The events of 1989

Key question: How did the ending of the Cold War and events elsewhere help to end apartheid in South Africa?

Gorbachev's many challenges

Communism created four urgent challenges for Gorbachev:

- Great need to change the thinking in the Soviet Union, especially in the bureaucracy, which was fixed and rigid.
- Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were closely linked:
  - they all faced both economic stagnation and social and political failure.
- Due to Cold War rivalry, the Soviet Union could no longer support revolutionary movements in the Third World.
  - The war in Afghanistan (invaded in December, 1978) was too costly for the USSR.
  - Gorbachev had to gain the support of the Soviet military to end the war.

Gorbachev initiated reform at home through two policies:

- **Perestroika**
  - aimed at reforming the Soviet economy.
- **Glasnost** (supposed to reinforce perestroika)
  - It ended censorship, aimed to create public debate, e.g.
    - freedom of the press.

The two new policies were intended to support each other:

- through glasnost, people were encouraged to speak about the economic changes which had been brought by perestroika.
- glasnost and perestroika were not aimed at bringing an end to Soviet Socialism BUT
  - to make it stronger.
- If successful, Gorbachev hoped the Soviet Union and its allies would have the same economic success that was enjoyed in the West.
  - Although Gorbachev hoped that the one policy could build upon the other INSTEAD
    - the two policies together
    - → ended the entire system of Soviet Socialism.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Events of 1989

Many events occurred worldwide that led to the end of the Cold War.

1 The USSR is dissolved:

As Gorbachev's policies were implemented, and hardship followed, civil unrest broke out between various groups in the Caucasus and, later, in the Baltic region.

- As old forms of nationalism emerged in these countries, the demands for independence from the Soviet Union grew.
  - Following Gorbachev's attempt to establish a Federation of States, in 1990, several of the Soviet states (including Russia, then under the leadership of Gorbachev's bitter rival, Boris Yeltsin), declared their independence from the Soviet Union.

On Christmas Day, 1991 the USSR was dissolved after 74 years.
- Each of its 15 states became independent.
  - = an important occurrence in the ending of the Cold War.

2 Eastern Europe:

Perestroika and glasnost also created demands for change in Eastern Europe, which was under much of the same kinds of stress that the Soviet Union faced.

- Eastern Europe's economy was under great pressure:
  - This included a weakening manufacturing performance, agricultural failure and an inability to keep up with changing technology.
    - This had an important impact in Poland, where new political problems had developed. Poland had a difficult history with Russia: in the past, Russia had been invaded twice through Poland, while the nationalism of the Poles always threatened the unity of the Soviet Bloc too.
- In 1978 the election of a Polish Pope, John Paul II, and his visit to Poland the following year, helped to change the political debate in Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe.
  - Debate spread about issues like whether Polish Nationalism could survive in the Soviet Bloc and if democracy was possible within the Soviet Bloc.
- Along with this interest in Polish politics came increased strikes in the country, highlighting worker's rights and the recognition of trade unions.
  - In 1979 strikes drew attention to the trade union Solidarity and its leader (an electrician called Lech Wałesa), who were both defended throughout the West.
  - Faced with this pressure, the Polish Communist Party:
    - granted rights to trade unions
    - removed press censorship
    - released dissidents
    - provided access to the state-controlled media to the Catholic Church.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- In return the strikers agreed to recognise the authority of the local Communist Party and Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union.
  - Also, Solidarity had become a mass-movement and began to act like a party in opposition to the Polish Communist Party. Importantly, the power of Solidarity had largely broken the hold of Communism over the Polish political system - although temporarily, Poland was still firmly within the Soviet Bloc.
- But days after an agreement on the recognition of Solidarity was signed, the Polish government changed its mind.
  - A national strike was called and, as it grew, the Soviet Union warned that the "pillars of the socialist state" in Poland were under threat. Then, the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact gathered on Poland's borders to supposedly restore the authority of Communism in an East European country.
- A few months later Poland's leadership changed when a military man, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, became the country's Prime Minister.
  - Concerned about a possible invasion by the Warsaw Pact, the Prime Minister, the leader of Solidarity and a Catholic Cardinal, Josef Glemp, met. WHY?
    - to discuss a way forward for Poland, but couldn't reach an agreement.
  - In December 1981, Jaruzelski declared a state of emergency, arresting 6 000 people, including the Solidarity leaders.
  - For the next two years, he tried to prevent a Soviet invasion.
    - The state of emergency ended in 1983. Jaruzelski didn't want to move away from the principles of Communism.
    - Yet the country remained locked in political crises with further demonstrations and riots called by Solidarity.
  - This instability remained until Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union – it was clear that the Polish people were ready for the kind of changes that Gorbachev wanted to make both in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe.
- Months before the Berlin Wall came down, Jaruzelski won a general election by a small margin, but the Socialist era in Poland was over.
- With the wider collapse of Communism throughout Eastern Europe, Jaruzelski resigned the presidency, paving the way for the election of Lech Wałesa to Poland's highest office.

What was happening in the Eastern Bloc?

In most other places in Eastern Europe, leaders peacefully stood down as Communism disintegrated around them. In Romania, Eastern Europe's most notorious dictatorship, however, the country's President, Nicolae Ceausescu (and his wife) were put in front of a firing squad and shot. The hard line Communist leader ran a brutal police state and embarked on policies that were destroying the country's economy and forcing people to endure harsh food and power shortages. As communism fell in the other Soviet satellite states, Ceausescu continued to reject any softening of the Warsaw Pact.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

3 The Fall of the Berlin Wall:

The German Democratic Republic (GDR), or East Germany, was one East European country that strongly resisted Gorbachev's reforms.

Why did GDR resist Gorbachev's reforms?

- East Germany enjoyed the highest standard of living in the Soviet Bloc, because the West German government supported the growth of infrastructure and development in its eastern neighbour.
- The GDR also enjoyed a strong relationship with the Soviet Union. i.e. The leaders who would dominate politics in East Germany were trained in Moscow.
- Another reason was that the president of the GDR, Erich Honecker, was a dedicated Communist.

HOWEVER

In the mid-1980s: Honecker started to follow a contradictory policy. Compared with his predecessors, he developed stronger links with West Germany, which was under the leadership of Helmut Kohl (who had previously taken a strong stand against the Soviet Union).

- As a result of Honecker's softer approach, exchanges began to take place between politicians on both sides of the German divide. It was in this atmosphere that perestroika and glasnost became policy.
  - As Gorbachev's reforms reached East Germany, demonstrations began in the streets of Leipzig, Dresden and East Berlin. Honecker wanted to quash the demonstrations but would not do so without Soviet approval. This would not happen under Gorbachev's leadership.
    - In the late-summer of 1989, many East German citizens began to leave the country through Hungary's open border with its neighbour, Austria.
    - Only a month before the Berlin Wall fell, Honecker resigned his office. He was briefly succeeded by the leader of the East German Communist Youth, the 52-year-old, Egon Krenz.

When the Wall fell:

- Communist ideology was replaced with new understandings and explanations of the world. With this, the old ways of doing things were gone forever.
- The idea that the Berlin Wall had fallen changed understandings in almost every corner of the world. Undeniably, an event of global significance had taken place.
- In a speech on 19 December 1989 delivered by Helmut Kohl before more than 100 000 people in the East German city of Dresden, he promised that he would seek unification of the country and also funding for East Germany.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

4 The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale:

It was clear that events in the wider region, following the fall of the Wall, were moving in interesting new directions.

- The consistent pressure that America had put on South Africa because of its illegal occupation of Namibia had moved negotiation forward on a 70-year-old conflict.
- But what had shifted to enable apartheid's leaders to respond positively to this pressure?

Recap of events that began in 1987 in south-eastern Angola

The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, which became famous as an important turning point in the ending of apartheid, began as a minor conflict of Angola's 27-year civil war.

- The initial exchange in Cuito Cuanavale was between two sides within the Angolan civil war:
  - the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) faction, led by their rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, and
  - the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola - Partido do Trabalho (MPLA) faction which was led by the Angolan President, José Eduardo dos Santos.
- The government was supported by Cuban troops who had been involved in a war for the country since the country's independence in 1975. Their presence undoubtedly made the events in Angola so central to the Cold War.
- July 1987: A series of battles took place at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola between the apartheid defence force (SADF), and the army of the Angolan government (FAPLA).
- By November 1987, the SADF, which supported Savimbi, had driven back the FAPLA attack and was in a good position to launch an attack that many believed could have destroyed them.
- Without consulting his long-standing Soviet allies, Cuba's Fidel Castro, whose troops had been in Angola, sent some of his best troops and pilots to counter the South Africans.
  - Reinforced by Cuban troops and superior air force, the FAPLA troops pushed back the forces of UNITA and drove the SADF back.
  - Castro's move was significant because, even though the battle for Cuito would continue for another six months until May 1988, it changed the balance of power and forced SA to rethink its position.
- It was clear that the SADF had lost its long-standing position of military strength in southern Angola.
  - This was because the Cubans had superior aircraft (Russian MiGs).

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Outcomes of the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale

- These circumstances pushed the apartheid government to seek peace in Angola and to grant independence to Namibia.
- Apartheid officials met with representatives of the US, then with Cuban representatives, and then with the Angolan government
  - → in an effort to seek an agreement on the future of the Cuban troops in Angola and over the future of the disputed territory: South West Africa (Namibia).
- In the end, the Cubans agreed to withdraw from Angola, which was seen as a Cold War victory, especially for the USA.
- SA also agreed that its own forces would be withdrawn, which saved the apartheid government from growing embarrassment and enabled it to focus on the need to reform at home.
- Also, the apartheid government agreed to the independence of Namibia. A Peace Accord reflecting these understandings was signed in New York on 22 December 1988 – 11 months before the Berlin Wall fell – and the independence of Namibia was granted on 21 March 1990.

As Nelson Mandela has said, Cuito Cuanavale "was the turning point for the liberation of our continent – and of my people – from the scourge of apartheid".

5 FW de Klerk as a reformer:

SA's official representative at the Namibian Independence celebrations was the man who would formally end apartheid: SA's new president, FW de Klerk who had only succeeded PW Botha a few months earlier.

- Because De Klerk came from a family that had a history in National Party politics, there was not much in De Klerk's background to suggest that he was a reformer.
- Experience suggests that leaders who have strong links to a party, like De Klerk and Gorbachev, can often make the biggest changes in a society.
  - This is because citizens trust them more than they do other politicians.
- Shortly after he became president in September 1989, he changed his Cabinet by removing hardliners who had been strong supporters of the Cold War-thinking that had been behind the policies of his predecessor.
- De Klerk then allowed a number of protest marches to take place despite the state of emergency.

The first of these, held in Cape Town on 13 September 1989

- Witnessed a number of anti-apartheid leaders –
  - including Archbishop Desmond Tutu
    - marching for peace.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

A month later, De Klerk also released a number of prisoners from Robben Island. These included Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela's friend, fellow prisoner and long-standing political colleague.

- De Klerk and Mandela finally met on 13 December 1989, just more than a month after the Berlin Wall came down. Their initial talks focused on a document that Mandela had sent to the new president. Although it was reported to be tense, it was a good meeting because both leaders wanted to end apartheid.
- → BUT the big public step came on 2 February 1990, when FW de Klerk, apartheid's last president, opened parliament and made his famous speech:

The ANC, PAC and SACP and a number of other minor political groups were unbanned.

+

Prisoners serving sentences belonging to these groups would be released – this included Nelson Mandela.

+

The restrictions under the State of Emergency on the media and on organisations (like the UDF) were lifted.

→ These events signalled the end of the Cold War's long hold over SA politics; Communism was no longer perceived as a threat.

Reactions to FW de Klerk's speech

- The ANC, then in exile in Zambia, were highly suspicious of De Klerk's speech, thinking that his promise to release Nelson Mandela was a trick.
- Others in the country were worried that the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP would increase the level of violence within the country.

↓

BUT the speech was a signal that South Africans were going to seek a peaceful solution to all that had previously divided them.

Formally, however, De Klerk's speech was only completed nine days later on 11 February 1990, when Nelson Mandela was released from prison after being detained for 27 years.

→ The years ahead for Mandela and De Klerk would not be easy though, but during the country's search for democracy neither gave up on their determination to see an outcome that would be acceptable both to South Africans and the world.

- Four years later SA re-joined the world, which was very different now that the Cold War had ended.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Unit 3

A new world order

Key question: What were the long-term effects of the ending of the Cold War?

Globalisation

What was the nature of the post-Cold War World?

- Many argued that the end of the Cold War represented a new beginning in international politics.
- Since both the Soviet Union had broken up and the Soviet Bloc collapsed, there was a belief that the West had 'won' the Cold War.
- For the 40 years during the Cold War people understood the world as divided into East and West, Communist and Democratic.

What could replace this type of thinking after the Cold War?

The American-Japanese thinker, Francis Fukuyama, offered a solution. He suggested two things would become important to people after the Cold War:

1. The right to participate in a market-based economy – he believed that an economic policy which supported the market contributed towards the end of Communism.
   - Fukuyama's thinking on the end of the Cold War influenced the course of events for more than ten years.
2. The right to exercise democracy: citizens all over the world would want the right to elect the governments that would rule them.
   - Fukuyama's thinking reinforced the neo-liberal view that markets – rather than states – should be the primary factor in determining all economic relationships.
   - So, while states were still central to the way in which the world was organised, internationally, another way of organising social relationships was necessary. This was to be through the market → called **Globalisation**.

Globalisation

- Globalisation argued that all social relationships could take place across the world.
- States as political entities were no longer thought to be essential.
- It meant the end of the Cold War and the victory of the US over the USSR.
- Led to increased trade between countries as trade restrictions were removed.
- Electronic communication, e.g. the internet, the world wide web and e-mail led to globalisation.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Impact of electronic communication

- The impact of electronic communication was far-reaching, for example, money could be immediately transferred and traded without the consideration of working hours.
- Time was no longer a limitation in trading either in products, finance or services.
- It certainly seemed like the world became 'smaller'.

The change in international relations

After the Cold War, the experience of the United States and its Western allies was of victory.

The revival of The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

- While its Cold War opposite, the Warsaw Pact, was disbanded at a meeting of East European defence and foreign ministers in July 1991, NATO did not disband.
  - NATO had been established in 1948 to defend the interests of North America and Europe.
  - Former members of the Warsaw Pact, though not all of them, ended up joining NATO.
- Its revival suggested how the global 'balance of power' had changed:
  - no longer was the world caught in a 'balance' of Cold War power. INSTEAD
  - it had become dominated by a single country.
- Effectively, all power – political, economic, military and cultural – turned around a single country, the USA.
  - This had serious implications for the Third World (or the Global South) countries:
    - following the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was formed, suggesting that – despite the intensity of the Cold War divide – it was possible for there to be a third position in international relations.
  - The term 'Non-Alignment' captured this position: they were not aligned either with Communism or Capitalism.
    - Although NAM undoubtedly had an impact on the ending of the Cold War, unfortunately a series of crises weakened the movement and it failed to influence the nature of international relations after the Cold War.
- SO: the world remained unipolar with the US as the leading power.
  - But the impact of this across the world was significant because it seemed that Third World countries started to settle disputes.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

The African context

- South Africa –
  - The ending of the Cold War drove a process of accommodation and reconciliation. By the time Nelson Mandela became president of SA in 1994, Southern Africa, after decades of conflict, was at peace.
- Rwanda –
  - As Mandela was taking the oath of office, Africa's worst ever genocide was taking place. Between April – June of 1994, an estimated 800 000 Rwandans were killed. Most were members of the Tutsi tribe, with much of the violence perpetrated by the Hutus. The genocide caused deep trauma throughout the world, with the United Nations failing to intervene.
- Mozambique –
  - It had a long-standing association with the Soviet Bloc, but after the Cold War, had to rethink both its foreign and economic policies. The growing importance of markets ended the state sponsorship of many areas of its national life, including health, education and welfare. The importance of democracy as a way to attract foreign investment and development aid, put pressure on the FRELIMO government to seek ways of accommodating its long-term rival, RENAMO. Eventually, its first-ever democratic elections were held in 1994, which were won by FRELIMO.
- Zambia –
  - It also experienced its first-ever multi-party democratic election, where Kenneth Kaunda, who had been Zambia's head of state since 1964, lost power after 27 years in power.
- Elsewhere in southern Africa –
  - demands for multiparty democracy were on the move. In neighbouring Malawi, the first multiparty elections held in the country for 30 years saw the defeat of the country's long-time president, Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

North–South relations

After the Cold War ended, North-South relations were instead determined by the belief that markets were the best way to guarantee economic development.

Results:

- State spending on welfare, education and health was cut.
- Where appropriate, state institutions were opened to private investment while Third World economies opened to market forces.
- There was also pressure to end one-party rule throughout Africa.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Global capitalism and resistance

Since the Second World War, the international economic system had been organised around the Bretton Woods institutions – the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (officially known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development).

- By the time the Cold War ended, they were enthusiastic supporters of neo-liberal, market-centred economic thought and strong supporters of globalisation.

The Bretton Woods institutions and globalisation

- The IMF and World Bank developed policies that allowed market forces to determine political and economic outcomes.
  - Their approach freed up the constraints on trade by removing national barriers, especially at the national level.
  - It also encouraged individual countries to free up markets.
  - The World Trade Organisation (WTO) played an important role in this opening up of global markets.
- Established in 1995, the WTO was responsible for making the rules of trade between countries and for the settlement of trade disputes between them.
  - The WTO's policies enthusiastically supported the idea of globalisation, which made it the target of mass demonstrations from anti-Globalisation groups.
    - These groups were concerned that the process of globalisation increased the power of rich states and weakened the position of the poor.
    - They also believed globalisation was destroying cultural diversity in the world, as the language of globalisation was English, with American culture in particular spreading throughout the world via television, leaving local culture unable to compete.
    - The frequent anti-globalisation demonstrations suggested that the idea of neo-liberal globalisation, although it was seen to be the 'logical' way to run the world after the Cold War, was not accepted by everyone.
    - Instead, it was viewed as a destructive force, increasing the power of the rich and weakening the power of the poor.

New forms of capitalism: The rise of emerging markets

Some countries even resisted efforts that encouraged them to embrace globalisation. Increasingly the following countries have been called 'emerging markets': places where economic growth is underway when, in the Global North, growth was slow and falling.

- Malaysia –
  - In 1997 the government went against advice from the IMF who said that their approach would make their economic problems worse. In the end, however, the Malaysian government was shown to be correct.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

- China –
  - Saw a different approach to the link between liberal democracy and economic growth. The Communist Party government promoted free market policies to improve the country's economic performance, but it resisted any efforts that encouraged the development of liberal democracy. There was a brutal crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989, with many killed, but despite this, the Chinese government soon resumed economic relations with the major world powers. The Chinese model of globalisation has changed the direction of the country's economic fortunes.
- India –
  - Regarded as one of the great economic success stories of the post-Cold War period. The lifting of government restrictions on trade, and especially on industry, ended a long period of socialist planning. However, India's government has continued to support the development of roads and its educational system. The incomes of India's people have increased overall but so has the gap between the rich and the poor.
- Russia –
  - Here, policies that supported economic liberalisation were strongly promoted, But the Russian economic experience with neo-liberalism ended largely in failure: corruption was high and the gap between the rich and poor increased. Nevertheless, the country is rich in natural resources and the promises of its economic success have kept the Russian economy alive.
- Brazil –
  - It, too, has had to carefully steer a path between opening up the country to market forces, while at the same time balancing government concern for the health, education and welfare of its people. Brazil is a country very rich in resources, but the divide between the country's richest and poorest people is a cause for great concern. Fortunately, its efforts to bring democracy to the country have been a great success.

BRICS

Today, Brazil, Russia, India, China, together with South Africa, make up a loose international grouping called the BRICS:

- The four countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) showed that free markets alone were not the best way to provide for people or to ensure continuous economic growth.
- South Africa officially became a member nation on December 24, 2010.
- The idea of the grouping is based on the belief that by the year 2032, the economic power of these countries together will overtake the six largest Western economies.
- These countries showed that a 'mixed' economy could create jobs and satisfy social needs. This is a return to the ideas of Keynesian economics and is different from what Fukuyama argued and different too from the claims of globalisation.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Challenges facing the 'new' South Africa

The discussions around the best economic system to adopt after the end of the Cold War affected SA too.

- In the years immediately after Nelson Mandela's inauguration on 10 May 1994, South Africa's attention was focused on other issues:
  - most importantly –
    - how to bring previously conflicting groups together in order to build a united country.
- The idea that SA was a 'Rainbow Nation' – a country that embraced all colours (races) – was a powerful metaphor in the process.

However there were particular challenges:

- Reconciliation
- Economic reconstruction.

Reconciliation: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC):

- Established in 1994 the TRC was led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.
- The country's new Constitution reinforced the reconciliatory policy of President Mandela:
  - → the establishment of the TRC
    - went some way both to explaining what had happened during apartheid and
    - finding a way to bring people to confront what had happened to them.
  - It reported terrible cases of torture and killing by apartheid forces:
    - was able to grant amnesty to people, from all sides, who had committed crimes that were politically motivated.
- Although it was strongly criticised, the TRC is considered to have contributed to the country's way forward.

Economic reconstruction

It was far more difficult to decide on a policy that would address apartheid's core legacy of white wealth and black poverty.

- Historically, both the ANC and the National Party had embraced Socialism.
- But from the 1970s onwards the National Party had moved towards freeing up certain areas of the country's economy.
  - This move quickened in the 1980s when, wishing to get close to the Cold War-thinking of both Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, the apartheid government embraced the idea of neo-liberal economics.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

ANC economic approach

- Positioned on the other side of the Cold War divide, the ANC was distinctly Socialist in its economic thinking.
- As ideas around economics changed, so did the approach by many in the movement to the ways in which the economy should be managed.
- The United Democratic Front – said to be the internal wing of the ANC – embraced even wider thinking on the question of the economy and its future.
- On its election to power, the ANC announced an economic policy called the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was Keynesian.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP):

- It aimed to tackle the legacy of apartheid and to address the huge differences between education, health, housing and welfare between blacks and whites.
- It also aimed to develop the country's infrastructure.
  - But it was inconsistent in its approach to financing the policy because it hoped, on the one hand, to deliver more to the country's citizens while, on the other, not collecting enough in taxes to pay for them.

BUT

- Ultimately, in 1996, South Africa's then Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, announced a new policy, called Growth Employment And Redistribution (GEAR), which changed the direction of the country's economic policy more towards the market.
- Pressured by the World Bank and IMF, its aim was to generate high economic growth, which would hopefully create jobs and higher incomes.
- Unfortunately, the policy was not a great success and, as it has in many parts of the world, increased the gap between South Africa's rich and its poor.
- The country's failure to grow economically increased the possibility for social unrest and instability.
- This resulted in a further change in thinking around economics, which fostered the idea of the role of government supporting a 'Developmental State'.
- This returned the priorities of the government towards those that were imagined under the RDP, signalling a greater involvement by the state in the economy.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

New threats to global order

While the idea of globalisation got people to talk about what the post-Cold War world would look like, it generated a lot of resistance to it.

- A greater threat to the idea of globalisation came from the break-up of states, for example, the Soviet Union, and also Yugoslavia. The split of Yugoslavia led to the first war in Europe in almost 50 years. The events in the Balkans ran for 7 years between 1990 and 1997. It was a very cruel and bitter war and involved 'ethnic cleansing': a process in which people of one group are violently removed from one place to another. The Balkan Wars finally ended with a peace treaty signed in Dayton, in the American state of Ohio.
- The break-up both of Yugoslavia and of the Soviet Union presented an important challenge to post-Cold War thinking.
  - → Were concerns for local issues more important than the common interests that seemed to be promoted by globalisation?

Result: the idea of localisation – being concerned with the immediate surroundings – was set against the idea of globalisation. At the centre of this debate was the question of identity, and so came the rise of a new and powerful form of politics, identity politics.

→ Based on the ideas of Samuel P. Huntington in his book *The Clash of Civilizations*, written in response to Fukuyama's idea of *The End of History*.
= In the 1990s, the Balkans became a dividing line for a new issue in the post-Cold War world. This was the divide between the Western World and the Islamic World.

Huntington's ideas

- The future of the world would be determined by the failure of people to live together because they believed in different things:
- This was based on the extremes of belief on both sides of a divide between Christianity and Islam.
- In the United States in particular, Christian extremism was drawn into both democratic politics and the politics of America's place in the world.

  → The idea of 'Terrorism' as a threat to the post-Cold War world would grow both in the US and elsewhere in the West.
- It increasingly referred to individuals or groupings that were opposed to the West and its way of life.
- This explains the name "terrorist organisation" given to the Muslim-based militant organisation called Al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden.
- Interested in conducting a Jihad against the USA, bin Laden hoped to draw the country into a long conflict that would help to end America's economic system.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

9/11 and the "Global War on Terror"

In 2001 it was Al-Qaeda who planned and executed the first attack on the US in 60 years:

- These were the air-born suicide attacks on 11 September 2001 on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York.
- Together with the two other attacks on the same day these events are known as "9/11".
  - America's president, George W. Bush, wasted global sympathy for the US by quickly declaring WAR.
  - Five days after 9/11, Bush called for a 'crusade' against Al-Qaeda, which was an organised military campaign led by the USA and its closest ally, Great Britain.
- A month after the 9/11 attacks, the USA and its allies invaded Afghanistan, the country seen to be the main supporter of bin Laden and Al-Qaeda.
- Iraq invasion:
  - In March 2003, the US, this time without its allies, invaded Iraq to oust their president, Saddam Hussein.
    - America's response to 9/11 led to the country fighting in many parts of the world: apart from Afghanistan and Iraq, they conducted operations in the Philippines, the Horn of Africa, the Sahara, Pakistan, Kashmir, and Yemen.

The coming agenda

The 'War on Terror' – which has spread across the world – may be worsening the two challenges that we all face:

- Economic: The gap between the rich and the poor, not only within individual countries, but globally as well, is constantly growing. The result of this uneven distribution of global wealth (known as 'global apartheid') is more violence, both within and between states.
  - In addition:
    - market-driven capitalism is in crisis with failing levels of confidence in the idea of debt, which for 20 years has fuelled global economic growth.
- The environment: It raises questions of the capacity of the planet Earth to carry and sustain life on Earth.

Civil society responses to both these issues are increasingly organised on a global level. Some of these movements are organised around the idea of protestation, while others have involved themselves in the difficult task of educating people all over the world to live differently from the way they currently live.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 6

Summary and questions

Summary

In Topic 6, your historical enquiry focused on answering the following key question:

Key question: How has the world changed since the 1960s?

In order to answer this key question, you studied the concepts outlined below.

Unit 1 Events leading to the end of the Cold War

During the Cold War, the USSR and the Eastern Bloc made up a closed political and economic system, behind the Iron Curtain. However, due to economic stagnation in the USSR and events that took place in Eastern Europe (such as protests in Poland) in the 1980s, including the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev to Soviet leadership, the Soviet Union began to disintegrate in the late 1980s. Its demise was signalled by the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989.

Unit 2 The end of the Cold War: The events of 1989

Gorbachev's reforms of perestroika and glasnost helped to bring about the disintegration of the USSR. The fragmenting of the USSR influenced countries in Eastern Europe that were under Soviet domination to begin protesting against their subjugation and to clamour for democratic elections. Poland, led by the trade union, Solidarity, was at the forefront of these protests, which spread to other Eastern European countries. After protracted protests throughout the 1980s, Poland eventually achieved freedom from Soviet domination in 1989. In most other Eastern European countries, the Communist leaders stood down peacefully, allowing democratic elections to take place.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, Gorbachev's reforms intensified dissent against Communist control in the USSR. On Christmas Day, 1991, the USSR was dissolved after 74 years. Each of its fifteen states became independent. This development was an important occurrence in the ending of the Cold War, which also contributed to the end of apartheid in South Africa .

Unit 3 A new world order

For the 40 years of the Cold War, people throughout the world had looked at both international and domestic politics through the 'idea' of the Cold War: the world as divided into East and West, Communist and Democratic. The end of the Cold War therefore opened up the possibility of a global world, undivided into East and West, and driven by capitalism (since communism and socialism had – it was then considered – failed as economic systems). However, through the dominance of the Bretton Woods Institutions and shifts in the balance of power, the USA emerged as the global leader,

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

dominating all spheres of life across the globe. This led to resentment as smaller nations began to feel the impact of what amounted to US neo-colonialism and new economic alliances – such as BRICS – were formed.

In South Africa, globalisation impacted in terms of decisions around which economic system to adopt after 1994. The country adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as a policy to try to close the economic gap between blacks and whites, but did not really achieve its aims, resulting in a widening gap and increased social unrest.

Around the world, there have been different responses to the hegemony of globalisation. In parts of Europe (Yugoslavia) there was a revolt against an enforced unity, resulting in ethnic conflicts as ethnic groups fought against domination to establish themselves as independent nations. In addition, since globalisation is driven by capitalism and consumerism, industrial output increased significantly, leading to environmental damage. Nations also began to incur debts in order to participate in the global economy. Consequently, large protests against environmental exploitation and capitalist practices have erupted worldwide. Other resistance against the hegemony of globalisation has been a rise in fundamentalism, which has seen devastating terror attacks, such as the 9/11 bombing of the twin towers of New York's World Trade Centre in the USA.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Topic 6

Summary and questions

Questions

1 Define the concept of the COLD WAR in your own words.

2 How did Gorbachev differ from his predecessors in his internal and external policies?

3 How did the central planning of the Soviet economic system lead to its downfall?

4 How did the change to market economic principles speed up change in the Soviet Union?

5 Why do you think the events in Poland could not be contained by the USSR?

6 Why did the East German leader decide to reform the relations between East and West Germany?

7 To what extent do you think visionary leadership ended the Cold War, or was the communist ideology a spent force?

8 What were the major implications of the collapse of the Berlin Wall?

9 How did the collapse of communism in the USSR influence South Africa's involvement in the Angolan War?

10 How did the defeat of the SADF at Cuito Carnavale influence the South African government under FW de Klerk to initiate reform?

11 What were the key ideas in FW de Klerk's speech on 2 February 1990?

11.1 What were the major implications of his speech?

11.2 How did the post-apartheid government try to deal with the following issues?

11.2.1 Reconciliation

11.2.2 Economic reconstruction.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

Exam practice

1 **How did the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War contribute to the ending of apartheid in South Africa?**

1.1 Refer to Source A.

1.1.1 Why was the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev significant? (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 How did the Reykjavik summit pave the way for change in South Africa? (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.3 Why was it necessary for the ANC and the South African government to meet in secret? (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.4 Using the information from the source and your own knowledge, explain why the ending of the Cold War brought about reforms in South Africa. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Study Source B.

1.2.1 What impact did the fall of the Berlin Wall have on the Soviet Union? (Extract 1) (1 x 1) (1)

1.2.2 How, according to the source, did the National Party intend influencing white South Africans to accept change? (Extract 1) (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 How, according to Willem de Klerk, did the ANC transform 'from being part of the struggle' to being 'part of the system'? (Extract 2) (2 x 2) (4)

1.3 Compare Source A and Source B (Extract 1) and explain how Extract 1 of Source B supports Source A in respect of the expected political changes in South Africa. (2 x 2) (4)

[25 marks]

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

Source A

This excerpt from *A response to Guelke: The Cold War factor in South Africa's transition*, January 1996 by J Daniel, refers to the influence of the Cold War on South Africa.

… The beginning was the 'accession [rise] to power in the Soviet Union of Mikhail Gorbachev and the crucial signal was the Reykjavik summit between Gorbachev and Reagan in October 1986' … 'the United States agreed to a non-interventionist [non-involvement] role in Eastern Europe, in return for which the Soviet Union ceded Africa to the United States … specifically southern Africa'.

… Fifteen months after Reykjavik, secret talks between South African government officials and the ANC were initiated. But they still had to move cautiously and largely clandestinely [secretly]. Two events changed that scenario.

The first was the SADF's (South African Defence Force) military at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in late 1987. Confronted by the increasingly obvious limitations of a military strategy, President PW Botha authorised Pik Botha to negotiate a way out of the Angolan-Namibian impasse [deadlock]. The end result was the New York Accords of December 1988 which triggered the withdrawal of both Cuban and ANC military forces from Angola and South African troops from Namibia and which, in turn, led to its independence in March 1990. The second was the enforced removal from office in September 1989 of an ailing PW Botha and his replacement by FW de Klerk.

It should be clear from the above that by the time of the events around the Berlin Wall the momentum [drive] for change in South Africa was gathering pace. It was now possible for FW de Klerk, under intense pressure from the United States and facing the prospect of intensified [increased] sanctions, to tell his critics that the Cold War was over, that 'we had won and the Soviets lost and that this had in turn, weakened the ANC in that it had lost its main sponsor'.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Summary and questions

Source B

The following source comprises two extracts on the fall of the Berlin Wall and the impact this event had on South Africa.

Extract 1: Taken from *New History of South Africa* by H Giliomee and B Mbenga.

The dismantling of the Berlin Wall, which began on 9 November 1989, dramatically heralded the end of the Soviet Union's sway over Eastern Europe, and also contributed to the breaking of the deadlock in South Africa. Communism as a political and economic system was rapidly beginning to disintegrate. These developments presented FW de Klerk with what he termed a 'God-sent opportunity'. The National Party could tell its constituency that without Soviet-backing the ANC, with its ally the SA Communist Party, no longer constituted a major threat to stability and private ownership. He could also argue that communism was so discredited that the ANC would be compelled to accept the free market, property rights and other investment-friendly policies.

For the National Party government the fall of the Berlin Wall was a double-edged sword. Anti-communism had long been the main reason why Western governments accepted and even bolstered white rule in South Africa. But the disappearance of the communist threat and the ANC's retreat from nationalisation had made the South African government's anti-communism old-fashioned, and deprived it of its strongest argument for Western pressure to force the ANC to accept power-sharing …

Without the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is difficult to conceive of the ANC coming to power five years later.

Extract 2: *FW de Klerk: The man in his time* by Willem de Klerk.

In ANC ranks, FW de Klerk's speech caused a good deal of confusion. The ANC had been caught on the wrong foot. They had expected Mandela's release, but not the unbanning of the organisation itself. In fact, their planned strategy was to use the released Mandela for a massive campaign to demand the unbanning of the ANC.

… from being part of the 'struggle', it had suddenly become part of the 'system' … From being an organised underground army it had been converted overnight into a public organisation. Where it had basked in foreign applause for its fight against apartheid, the ANC was plunged into the democratic political process …

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

Topic 1 Answers

1 What we the main developments in the Cold War 1948–1961?

1.1 Because Russia was not invited.

1.2 America, Britain and France introducing a new currency into the western zones.

1.3 318 days.

1.4 The western Allies set up NATO; Germany was divided into FDR and GDR.

1.5 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

1.6 That America should leave West Berlin within six months.

1.7 A symbol of freedom.

1.8 Colonel Batista

1.9 CIA

1.10 He asked Khrushchev to defend Cuba.

2 How did Mao Zedong rise to power?

2.1 Communal work teams on farms.

2.2 To increase industrial and agricultural productivity.

2.3 Because it competed for the loyalties of the people

2.4 To eliminate opposition to Mao Zedong.

2.5 The dynamic leadership of Mao Zedong had the support of the peasant class primarily because he promised land and power to the peasant class.

3 How did USA get involved in Vietnam?

3.1 The Geneva Treaty.

3.2 Ho Chi Minh.

3.3 In an army coup.

3.4 To "take all necessary steps" to defend freedom in Vietnam.

3.5 An attack on American air bases.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

4 What was the nature of the war in Vietnam?

4.1 The bombing of North Vietnam.

4.2 Guerrilla warfare.

4.3 My Lai.

4.4 The Hue Assault.

4.5 Although it was a huge setback for the Vietcong, who lost thousands of soldiers, it was also the beginning of the defeat of the Americans, who realised they would never win the war.

Topic 2 Answers

1 What were the ideas that influenced independent African states?

1.1 Key concepts:

1.1.1 A form of socialism involving collective instead of state ownership in which the state is run by a coalition representing all groups.

1.1.2 An economic system driven by personal freedom of choice, investment of capital and the use of labour and resources to make profit.

1.1.3 A system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.

1.1.4 A type of state in which a single political party forms the government; all other parties are either outlawed or allowed to only limited and controlled participation in elections.

1.2 Because of the vacuum left by the colonial powers, which meant that newly formed African states had to 'create' new forms of government to make the transition to independence.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

2 What were the political, economic, social and cultural challenges and successes that Congo and Tanzania experienced between 1960 and 1980?

2.1 From which colonial countries did the following achieve their independence and who were their first leaders?

2.1.1 Belgium; Patrick Lumumba

2.1.2 Britain: Julius Nyerere

2.2 How Tanzania applied African Socialism:

- Tanganyika became independent in 1961 and was renamed Tanzania. Julius Nyerere became Prime Minister and his party, TANU, formed a government.
- In 1962 Nyerere became president after amending the constitution.
- In 1967 the Arusha Declaration was accepted which showed a support for socialism.
- The Arusha Declaration promoted socialism as rooted in African homegrown values and potential.
- Socialism was seen as an African tradition of peasantry, communal living and sharing
- Nyerere said that African Socialism did not derive from European socialism and Marxism but rather could teach European socialists about the true nature of socialism.
- In ujamaa, all humans care for one another and are bound together by affection and solidarity.
- Emphasis was placed on education. Elitism was ended by introducing universal education based on traditional and Western models.
- Recognition was given to the importance of traditional values, indigenous knowledge and wisdom.
- Soon after the Arusha Declaration was issued, banks and many large industries were nationalised in Tanzania.

2.3 Kind of states that emerged:

2.3.1 Congo

- Centralised
- Unitary
- Military regime / dictatorship
- One-party rule
- The state assumed a guardian role and resorted to forceful maintenance of law and order.
- 'Mobutuism' emerged: cult figure who used state power to prop up his power.
- He was more interested in building an authoritarian state than a united nation.
- A consolidated, national identity was not achieved.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

2.3.2 Tanzania

- A single-party state
- Socialist ideology
- Aimed to mobilise all Tanzanians to help build a nation.
- He succeeded in overcoming ethnic differences to establish a united Tanzania.
- Tanzania assumed a national identity.
- Elections were held to choose the 'best' individual but only one party, TANU, existed.
- Nyerere became president for life.

3 What was the impact of internal and external factors on Africa between 1960 and 1980?

3.1 Internal

- The legacy of colonialism
- Ethnic diversity
- State failure
- Geographical location

3.2 External

- Cold War
- Foreign aid
- Export–import cycle
- The 1973 oil crisis

4 What role did the USSR, USA, Cuba, China and South Africa play in bringing the Cold War to African countries after 1960?

4.1 UNITA, FNLA, MPLA (you should provide their English – or Portuguese – names in full)

4.2 UNITA and FNLA: primarily USA; MPLA: primarily USSR

4.3 Interests of powers in Africa:

4.3.1 The USSR: strategic position in Africa; minerals and resources; spread of ideology; counter USA ideology.

4.3.2 The USA: strategic position in Africa; minerals and resources; spread of ideology; counter USSR ideology.

4.3.3 Cuba: spared of ideology; resources

4.3.4 China: counter US and USSR imperialism; access to resources; alignment with countries that could support it at the UN; trade partners

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

© Via Afrika Publishers » History 12 Study Guide eBook

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

4.3.5 South Africa: keep Marxism out of SA; prevent or delay SWA (Namibian) independence; keep ANC out of SA

5 How were independence and peace realised in Angola?

5.1 1975 (5 January); Portugal

5.2 Civil war:

5.2.1 Primarily UNITA and MPLA

5.2.2 Ideological differences; personality clashes; each wanted power (you could also mention the influence of the superpowers)

5.3 Motive of powers:

5.3.1 The USA: To create spheres of influence; prevent USSR ideology from taking root (also issues of resources, etc.)

5.3.2 The USSR: To create spheres of influence; prevent USA ideology from taking root (also issues of resources, etc.)

5.4 You should mention Namibia, Zambia and Zaire and impacts, such as destruction to infrastructure, displacement of people, refugees, etc.

5.5 It dented the SA military, which decided it would not be worthwhile in the long run to get involved in a protracted war against Angola, supported by Cuba. SA therefore withdrew, and UNITA lost its support, making it easier to negotiate a peace agreement.

5.6 Peace accord / treaty:

5.6.1 Bicesse Accord (although fighting continued, this accord was ratified by the Luena Memorandum when the fighting eventually ended).

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

Topic 3 Answers

1 What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1950s to 1990?

1.1 To the decade from 1960 to 1969/70 when people in the West enjoyed unprecedented prosperity, freedom and social mobility due to breaking down of social barriers, increased access to education and to medical advances, such as contraceptives.

1.2 gender equality; civil rights; democratic rights.

1.3 You can mention any of the following: Trade Unions (1920–1950s); FEDSAW (1953); Women's Charter (1954); Defiance Campaign (1950s); march to Union Buildings to protest against passes (1956); participation in drawing up the Freedom Charter (1955); Black Sash (1955)

1.4 Peace movements: Disarmament; Student; Anti-war

1.4.1 Disarmament: e.g. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, UK (London); Student: most Western countries, as well as some in Europe, Mexico, Japan, etc.; Anti-war: mainly USA.

1.4.2 Disarmament: against nuclear weapons and nuclear testing; Student: hostility against what it viewed as a corrupt and hypocritical social order; Anti-war: protest against Vietnam War.

2 Why did the Civil Rights Movement emerge in the USA and what were its short- and long-term gains?

2.1 White, racist, supremacist group in the USA

2.2 Because of the legacy of slavery handed down from the transatlantic slave trade when thousands of slaves were brought from Africa to work on plantations.

2.3 Martin Luther King Junior

2.3.1 Passive resistance; do no harm.

2.3.2 He was assassinated

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

2.4 Sit-ins, marches, boycotts, civil disobedience, Freedom Rides, etc.

2.5 Their efforts resulted in the eventual desegregation of schools in the South.

2.6 Long-term: desegregation of schools, voting rights, full equality before the law. Short-term: raised awareness of people around the world regarding the plight of African-Americans; desegregation of public amenities (through sit-ins, for example); Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (which had long-term implications).

3 Why did the Black Power Movement emerge in the USA and what were its short- and long-term gains?

3.1 A political slogan and a name for various associated ideologies aimed at achieving self-determination for people of African/Black descent.

3.2 They popularised it; gave it political directions; helped to give it a social dimension (clinics, educations, etc.).

3.3 Black Panther Movement

3.3.1 Marxism / socialism

3.3.2 In part as a reaction to the way in which it was perceived that capitalism was keeping African-Americans oppressed; also as a way of forging their own political identify and an attempt to uplift the poor through the spread of wealth and services.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

Exam practice

1 Why did the Civil Rights Movement emerge in the USA and what were its short- and long-term gains?

1.1 Selma to Montgomery march:

1.1.1 Segregated schools, housing, jobs etc.; Denied the right to vote; Subjected to literacy tests and discriminatory practices. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 Was a charismatic leader; Well respected leader with strong following; People had faith in King's leadership; Was a strong advocate of justice and civil rights; Any other relevant response. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 The right to vote a basic human right; African-Americans subjected to segregation and discrimination in daily life; African-Americans loyal citizens contributing to American economy yet denied the right to vote; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.4 Television coverage showed the brutality of state troops; Support for the Civil Rights Movement grew because of the harsh action taken by the USA government; Brutality generated support and sympathy for the Civil Rights Movement; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.5 Her actions launched the Civil Rights Movement; Encouraged others to resist discrimination; Stood up for her rights, refused to yield to political pressure; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.6 YES

- It increased awareness among citizens of the USA especially among African-Americans
- Brought greater pressure on the USA government
- Galvanised support among various activists
- African-Americans were later recognised as citizens of the USA

NO

- If you state NO, you must support your answer with relevant evidence. (2 x 2) (4)

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

Topic 4 Answers

1 What was the nature of the apartheid state in the 1970s and 1980s?

1.1 Because it believed that black people were not South African, but belonged to other nations (e.g. Zulu); they should live in their own country / nation (homeland); black people were inferior to white people; should not mix or live among white people; wanted to preserve the 'white' way of life (included not allowing black to take white people's jobs); any other relevant response.

1.2 Apartheid and the bantustans became a contradiction because 'white' SA, while trying to force black people out of 'white' SA (into homelands), actually needed them in order to prosper. So, migrant labour became entrenched, which undermined the bantustan / homeland system and helped to put pressure on 'white' SA, eventually making a contribution to the end of apartheid.

2 How did the apartheid government try to reform apartheid in order to maintain it?

2.1 Attempts at reform:

2.1.1 Because there were many demonstrations and SA was becoming difficult to govern, so they thought if they reformed apartheid, black people would be happy and stop demanding equal rights, the vote, etc. and so stop protesting.

2.1.2 Black Local Authorities Act (1982); Tri-cameral Parliament (1983).

2.1.3 No; people rejected them as window-dressing that brought no meaningful change. People wanted was full citizenship rights (same as whites) – nothing less would do. Evidence is the continued and escalating protests and violence throughout the 1980s.

3 What types of internal and external resistance to apartheid were there, which helped lead to the end of apartheid?

3.1 They realised that as a collective they had enormous power, through stayaways and strikes, to force change.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

3.2 New forms of protest:

3.2.1 Insurrection; civic actions; rolling mass action; expanded front through UDF; MDM, etc.

3.2.2 Because they were widespread and at grassroots level, so the police could not arrest members; were found in every corner of the country; very easy to mobilise people; very difficult to suppress.

3.3 PW Botha; FW de Klerk

3.4 It was a ratification by the OAU of the ANC's proposed negotiating process with the apartheid government.

3.5 Role of incidents and movements:

3.5.1 Any suitable explanation, such as: deprived SA of markets for exports (so the country could not earn foreign currency to buy imports); helped prevent many exports to SA, which made life hard; in the area of sport it prevented SA teams from playing overseas or overseas teams from playing in SA; it also became involved in disinvestment so many overseas' business withdrew their money from SA. All these combined and had a negative impact on the economy and people's morale, which helped to make white people willing to end apartheid.

3.5.2 Through mass protests, demonstrations, rolling mass action, civic disobedience and so on, the MDM helped to make SA ungovernable. This helped to force the apartheid government to consider ending apartheid.

3.5.3 This showed the apartheid government that it was not invincible, so they withdrew from Angola, which helped to pave the way for Namibian independence, which helped to clear obstacles in the way of SA negotiating with the ANC and other powerbrokers with the possibility of ending apartheid on the agenda.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

Exam practice

1 In what ways did Black Consciousness challenge the apartheid state?

1.1 Any sensible interpretation that shows an understanding that it is easy to oppress someone who feels inferior (mind of the oppressed), which is what apartheid was designed to make black people feel about themselves. (1 × 3) (3)

1.2 Source C:

1.2.1 Students' rebellion Afrikaans enforced as the medium of instruction in schools. (1 × 2) (2)

1.2.2 It made students aware of their human rights; conscientised them and made them stand up and take action. (2 × 2) (4)

1.2.3 They were part of the apartheid government's attempt to reform apartheid by giving black people more say in how they ran their own local affairs (1982 Black Local Authorities Act); therefore rejected by those against apartheid; people who worked there were regarded as sell-outs to the apartheid government; beerhalls were seen as apartheid government method to keep black people enslaved (cheap alcohol); any other relevant response. (2 × 2) (4)

1.2.4 It was callous; had the attitude that they needed to be taught a lesson (by shooting at them); saw them as inferior; any other relevant response. (2 × 2) (4)

1.2.5 Your own reasoned response. If you say yes, provide reasons, such as only one point of view is given; it comes from a UN document (the UN was against the apartheid government). If you say no, you will have to argue very persuasively. (1 × 3) (3)

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

Topic 5 Answers

1 Archbishop Desmond Tutu; 17

2 Human Rights Violations Committee: Went around the country to listen to testimonies; provided a forum / space where victims and perpetrators could face each other, confess, ask for forgiveness and forgive; any other relevant response. Amnesty Committee: Listened to cases to decide if perpetrators should be given amnesty of face criminal charges; tested evidence through tested through cross-examination' ensure that applications for amnesty were done in accordance with the provisions of the TRC Act; any other relevant response. Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee: Had the task of recommending a system of reparations for victims to the government; provided victim support to ensure that the Truth Commission process restored the dignity of victims; a President's Fund, funded by Parliament and private contributions, was established to pay urgent interim reparations to victims in terms of the regulations prescribed by the President; any other relevant response.

3 Objections to TRC findings:

3.1 ANC; IFP; NP; FW de Klerk

3.2 Generally that the TRC did not take into account the whole story (e.g. ANC felt that its atrocities committed in the name of fighting for freedom could not be equated with apartheid police apartheid committed during the oppression of people). They did not agree with some of the facts, e.g. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected the findings of the report which held him responsible for acts of gross human rights abuse.

4 Your own answer, but you should indicate that although it does not include women, it is an attempt at inclusivity and reconciliation by placing together former oppressor (De Klerk) and the oppressed who fought for freedom.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

Exam practice

1 What role did the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) play in dealing with South Africa's past?

1.1 Source A:

1.1.1 To bring about reconciliation by persuading people to admit to their crimes; Healing; Nation building. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 Africans who had suffered under apartheid would have wanted retribution and justice; Africans who had suffered for so long were not ready to forgive and forget the past so quickly; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.3 Motives for the TRC would be viewed with suspicion by some sectors; Some people not sincere, honest and truthful; There were positive and negative criticisms; Any other relevant response. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2 Cartoon:

1.2.1 Some people appeared before the TRC; Others escaped the TRC; Tutu is amazed /shocked that many prominent people did not appear before the TRC; Any other relevant response. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2 You can either choose ACCURATE or INACCURATE and substantiate your response with valid reasons.

ACCURATE

- Some people appeared before the TRC whilst others got away
- Prominent politicians (represented by the bigger fish) did not appear before the TRC
- Many people appeared before the TRC and received amnesty
- Any other relevant response.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

NOT ACCURATE

- May be biased
- Many of prominent politicians also appeared before the TRC
- By portraying the politicians as fish swimming in the sea may symbolise that at some stage they would be caught – not true – they did want to appear before the TRC
- Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2.3 You can either AGREE OR DISAGREE and substantiate your response with valid reasons.

AGREE

- Because the TRC did not have the power to subpoena people, many people got away
- Especially the powerful politicians did not appear before the TRC
- Any other relevant response.

DISAGREE

- Not all got away
- May be biased
- Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.3 Source C:

1.3.1 Three-quarters of black South Africans approve of the work of the commission while one-quarter of blacks did not approve; One-third of whites approve of the work of the commission while two-thirds of whites did not approve; Blacks view the TRC positively while whites view it negatively; Any other relevant response.

1.3.2 You can either say YES (adds value) or NO (does not add value) and substantiate your response with valid reasons.

YES (ADDS VALUE)

- It gives the reader an understanding of how the different racial groups viewed the TRC
- It gives the reader an understanding of the work of the TRC
- It evaluates the TRC in terms of uncovering the truth and reparations / compensation
- Any other relevant response.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

NO (DOES NOT ADD VALUE)

- Could be biased
- Statistics do not provide reliable information – could be manipulated
- Sample is too small to make generalisations
- Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Source D:

1.4.1 Thousands of South Africans came to the Commission to tell us their stories; SA's peaceful transition to democracy, culminating in the TRC process, is spoken of almost in reverent tones, as a phenomenon that is unique in the annals of history; Any other relevant response. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4.2 They contributed to SA's peaceful transition to democracy; The truth was uncovered; History was made; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4.3 That the white community did not take advantage of the TRC; The denial by whites that they had benefited from apartheid. (2 x 1) (2)

1.4.4 You can either say he was JUSTIFIED or that ye was NOT JUSTIFIED and substantiate your response with valid reasons.

JUSTIFIED

- The TRC was an avenue to come clean, yet they did not take advantage of it
- It is common knowledge that many whites benefited from apartheid
- The whites had an opportunity to contribute to racial harmony; to contribute to the new SA
- Any other relevant response.

NOT JUSTIFIED

- Tutu may have been too harsh
- In the spirit of reconciliation, he should have been lenient
- Any other relevant response. (2 x 3) (6)

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

1.5 Paragraph: You should include the following aspects in your response: (10)

- Improved race relations between black and white South Africans
- Helped with the process of nation building and reconciliation
- Better lives and security for all established
- National unity was promoted through hearings
- Both sides of the conflict came to testify, i.e. liberation movement and government
- Amnesty led to perpetrators willingness to testify
- Victims came to know what really happened during the apartheid years
- Victims could reconcile with the fact the remains of their loved ones were located and the appropriate last rites could be observed
- Many unaccounted victims were identified, graves located and exhumed and given to families for reburial
- Racial groups evaluated the TRC differently
- Any other relevant response.

Topic 6 Answers

1 A war between nations (usually powerful ones, e.g. USA) where they do not fight directly against each other (hot war) but there is a lot of political and military tension between them and they often support other groups in proxy wars. The Cold War (approx 1947 to 1991) was a sustained state of political and military tension between powers in the Western Bloc, dominated by the USA with NATO among its allies, and powers in the Eastern Bloc, dominated by the USSR along with the Warsaw Pact. The two major powers – each possessing nuclear weapons and thereby threatened with mutual assured destruction –never met in direct military combat. Instead, in their struggle for global influence they engaged in ongoing psychological warfare and in regular indirect confrontations through proxy wars.

2 His policies were aimed at interacting with the world (the USSR had always turned its back on the world); getting the Soviet people to discuss their situation; trying to get the economy on more of a market footing (pervious leaders had not allowed any dissent and had total control of the economy); any other relevant response.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

3 It stifled innovation; people were not rewarded for effort; decisions took a long time to make; quality was inferior; most production went into weapons and machines. This stagnated USSR economy; became unable to generate income to support the population; any other relevant response.

4 It made people want to be free, to own goods, to be rewarded for hard work and so on. These ideas and desires pushed into the political domain and helped to speed up change.

5 Your own answer, but you need to point out that changes in the USSR made the Poles unwilling to continue to be suppressed by communism. Also, under Solidarity, the Poles had a long tradition of protest.

6 To try to stop the East German people from revolting fully. He thought by giving them a bit of freedom, they would stop demanding complete freedom.

7 Your own answer, but you need to show that it was probably a combination of Gorbachev's reforms and the weak Soviet economy and general dissent in the various republics that led to the end of the Cold War when the USSR dissolved.

8 The Wall was a symbol of the Cold War, so when it came down, it was the symbolic liberation of all humanity from the Cold War divide that had split the human race into two sides. Gave the world new hope for unity and peace.

9 It meant that the apartheid government could no longer use communism as an excuse for not allowing the ANC in the country; also meant the ANC could no longer rely on Soviet support, so they were forced, to an extent, to enter into negotiations with the apartheid government.

10 It meant that apartheid soldiers withdrew from Angola, removing an obstacle to negotiations; showed the apartheid government that it was not invincible and that it would be better to negotiate a settlement to bring peace than to continue suffering losses in a war it could probably not win.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

11 Unbanning of ANC, etc; release of political prisoners (including Mandela); willingness to negotiate with all people / parties in SA to find a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

11.1 It changed SA forever; ended nearly 400 years of white domination (i.e. since 1652); opened the way for democracy and human rights; any other relevant response.

11.2 Dealing with issues:

11.2.1 Through the TRC and the building of monuments and memorials (you could also mention the multilingual national anthem; Mandela's involvement in the Rugby World Cup in 1996, etc.).

11.2.2 First through the RDP and then through GEAR. You should explain what these are and how the new government tried to use them to redress the legacy of apartheid.

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

Exam practice

1 How did the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War contribute to the ending of apartheid in South Africa?

1.1 Source A:

1.1.1 Brought about the demise of Communism; Forced the apartheid regime to bring about change; Gorbachev was open to negotiations and reforms; Led to the ANC changing its political stance and to begin negotiations with the NP government; Any other relevant response. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 Led to talks between SA government and ANC / secret negotiations; Pressure by the USA for SA to make changes; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.3 Fear that the respective supporters would reject it; Exploratory meetings to chart a way forward; Meetings not formally mandated but was an attempt to find a middle ground to the challenges facing the country; ANC was still banned and the NP government was not to be seen to be talking to the ANC; SA was not ready to embark on open meetings for negotiations; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.4 Communism was no longer seen as a threat; SA was now forced to negotiate with anti-apartheid organisations and speed up reforms; SA found it had no support from its western allies to maintain the status quo; ANC was perceived to be weak without support from the USSR; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Source B:

1.2.1 Brought an end to Soviet control in Eastern Europe; Led to the eventual disintegration of the USSR; Communism began to disintegrate; Any other relevant response. (1 x 1) (1)

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com

Suggested answers

1.2.2 ANC was not being supported by the Soviet Union anymore; The end of communist rule in Russia / whites no longer should fear; communism and USSR takeover; Ensured economic stability/ no fear of nationalisation; SA would continue to remain a capitalist economy; Any other relevant response. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 ANC was now forced to discard the armed struggle and to negotiate / ANC had to change from an underground army into a public organisation; ANC had no choice other than to enter into negotiations with their enemies; ANC forced to work with the government of the day to find political solutions; Any other relevant response. (2 x 2) (4

1.3 Compare sources:

- Both sources refer to the opportunities De Klerk had to introduce reforms and commence with negotiations
- Source B (Extract 1) relates to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the opportunities given to De Klerk to begin with reforms
- Source B (Extract 1) The NP government no longer had an excuse that SA formed a bulwark against communism
- Source A focuses on the ending of the Cold War – opportunity given to SA to commence with negotiations
- Source A shows withdrawal of the USSR from intervening in the internal affairs of Africa (SA). (2 x 2) (4)

Downloaded from eduresourceza.com