



basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HISTORY

GRADE 12

LEARNER SUPPORT MATERIAL

2017

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Interpretation / Explanation skill example

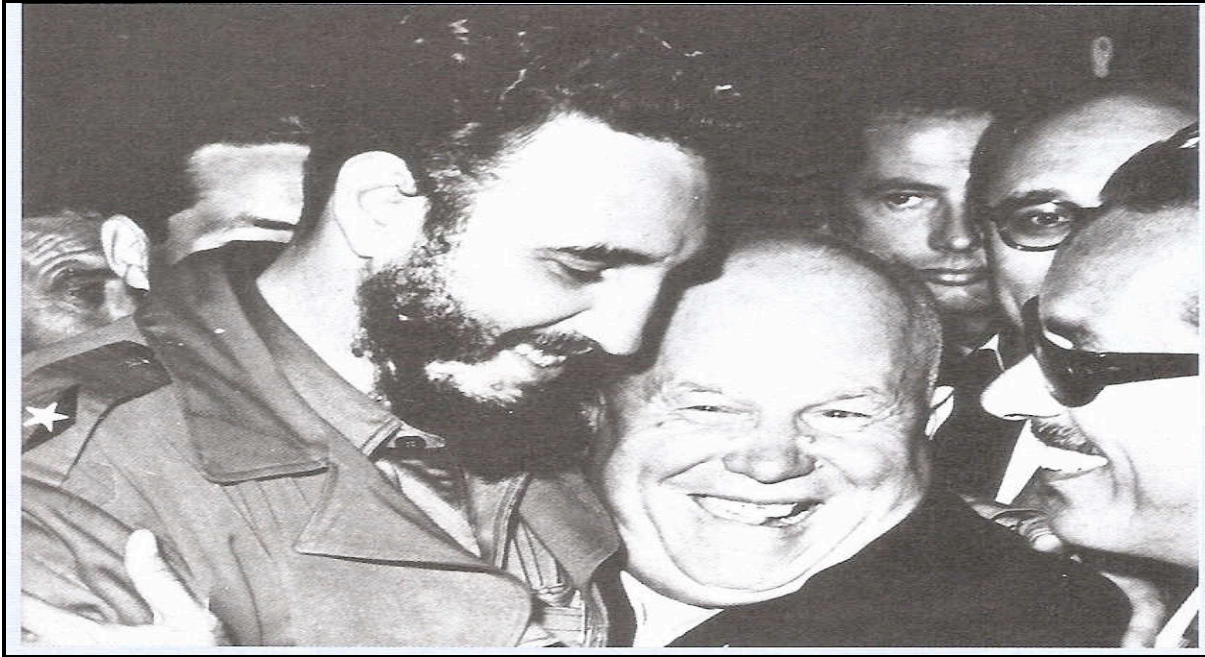
Evaluation/ Comparison/ usefulness skill example

INTRODUCTION

ASSESSING SOURCE – BASED QUESTIONS

In the assessing of learners ability to work with historical sources the cognitive levels, the associated historical skills and the weighting of questions across grades must be taken into account. An elaboration is contained in the following table.

COGNITIVE LEVELS	HISTORICAL SKILLS	WEIGHTING OF QUESTIONS	TYPICAL QUESTIONS
LEVEL 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extract evidence from sources • Selection and organisation of relevant information from sources • Define historical concepts/terms 	30% (15)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What information in the source tells you about...? • Quote TWO reasons from the source... • What do you understand by the term ...?
LEVEL 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpretation of evidence from sources • Explain information gathered from sources • Analyse evidence from sources 	40% (20)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What message does the cartoonist convey regarding...? • Explain in your own words... • Why do you think...?
LEVEL 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpret and evaluate evidence from sources • Engage with sources to determine its usefulness, reliability, bias and limitations 	30 (15)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain to what extent the evidence in Source 1A • Compare the evidence in Sources 2A and 2B and explain how you would account for the differences.. • Comment on the usefulness/limitations / reliability of the information in Sources 3C and 3D



QUESTIONS

Study the above source and answer the following questions.

1. Why do you think this photograph was taken?
2. What message does this photograph convey?
3. How do you think the following would have reacted to this photograph?
 - (a) The US government
 - (b) Ordinary Cubans
4. Explain the usefulness of this photograph to a historian studying about the impact of the Cold War on Cuba.



QUESTIONS

Refer to the cartoon above and answer the following questions.

1. Explain the messages being conveyed in the cartoon. Use the visual clues in the source to support your answer.
2. Explain to what extent you agree with the cartoonist's portrayal of events.

SOURCE 4A

The extract below appeared in a SASO newsletter called *I Write What I Like*, September 1979. It was written by Steve Biko and focuses on the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

All in all the black man became a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke (burden) of oppression with sheepish timidity. This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme to change the status quo [current situation] ...

The first therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is what we mean by the inward-looking process. This is the definition of 'Black Consciousness'.

4.1 Refer to Source 4A.

- 4.1.1 What do you understand by the concept of Black Consciousness? (1 x 2) (2)
- 4.1.2 Explain how Biko justified the need for Black Consciousness. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.1.3 What, according to Biko, needs to happen before any real change occurs in South Africa? (1 x 3) (3)

4.1

4.1.1 *[Explanation of concept – L1]*

- Black Consciousness is the belief that a black person must have dignity and respect for himself
- Should be self - reliant and fight against the syndrome of inferiority to any other group
- Any relevant response (1 x 2) (2)

4.1.2 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 4A – L2]*

- Black man is being misused by the apartheid system
- Lost his pride and dignity
- Become an empty shell (2 x 2) (4)

4.1.3 [Extraction of evidence from Source 4A – L 1

- Black man must look inside himself and change

(1 x 2) (2)

SOURCE 4B

Below is an account of how Black Consciousness ideas spread from the 'black' universities to schools. It is adapted from *Twentieth Century South Africa* by W Beinart.

If university students and writers were the heart of Black Consciousness, school students proved to be its most effective political vanguard [people in the forefront]. Between 1950 and 1975, the number of African children at school rose from around one million to 3,5 million and the proportion at secondary schools from 3 per cent to over 8 per cent. Secondary expansion was especially dramatic between 1965 and 1975 when it increased nearly five-fold to about 280 000. Class sizes averaged over 60 in Soweto schools and reached 100. Under-trained teaching staff in acutely under-resourced schools found it difficult to cope and corporal punishment was commonplace. Schools became sites of expansion, of expectation, of deprivation and of explosive political potential.

The South African Students Organisation (SASO) was responsible for making school students more aware of Black Consciousness ideas. They were responsible for 'conscientising' [making politically conscious] high schools and black university students made a direct impact by taking up teaching posts in Soweto. Onkgopotse Tiro, a Black Consciousness leader who had been expelled from Turfloop University, took up a post teaching history at Morris Isaacson school in Orlando, Soweto. School students were made aware of the history of the struggle and Black Consciousness ideas at debating societies and through the Students Christian Movement, co-curricular activities that were encouraged by the school authorities.

4.2 Refer to Source 4B.

4.2.1 What evidence in the source suggests that the number of African learners at secondary schools had increased between 1950 and 1975?
(2 x 1)

(2)

4.2.2 Identify THREE challenges experienced by learners at secondary schools in Soweto.
(3 x 1)

(3)

- 4.2.3 Explain how learners were made politically aware at schools in Soweto. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.2.4 How did schools contribute to the spread of Black Consciousness ideas? (1 x 2) (2)
- 4.2.5 Explain whether this source would be useful to a historian studying the influence of Black Consciousness ideas at schools. (2 x 2) (4)

4.2

4.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 4B – L1*

- Between 1950 and 1975 the number of African learners increased to 280 000 (1 x 2) (2)

4.2.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 4B – L1*

- Big class sizes
- Under-trained teaching staff
- Under resourced schools (3 x 1) (3)

4.2.3 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 4B – L2*

- BC leaders expelled from universities
- BC leaders taught history
- Made pupils aware of the struggle (2 x 2) (4)

4.2.4 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 4B – L1*

- Debating societies
- Students Christian movement (2 x 1) (2)

1.2.5 *[Evaluating evidence from Source 4B – L3 –*

Candidates may state **useful** or **not useful** and support their response with evidence:

Useful:

- Useful because it gives valuable information regarding BC and SASO
- Gives statistics that led to student uprising
- Any other relevant response

Not useful:

- Could be a biased article
- Unreliable statistics
- Any other relevant response (2 x 2) (4)

SOURCE 4C

Below is a collage of photographs taken of the Soweto Uprising on 16 June 1976. Taken from *The Soweto Uprisings* by SM Ndlovu.



4.3 Use Source 4C.

- 4.3.1 Explain how this source complements Source 4B regarding the influence of Black Consciousness at schools. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.3.2 What does the photograph of armed policemen tell you about the government's response to 16 June 1976? (1 x 3) (3)
- 4.3.3 Explain to what extent this source would be considered reliable by a historian investigating the events of the 1976 Soweto Uprising. (2 x 2) (4)
- 4.3.4 Using the information from the source and your own knowledge, explain how the attitude of black South Africans were influenced by Black Consciousness. (2 x 2) (4)

4.4

Using the information from the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about SIX lines (about 60 words) explaining why schools were used to champion the cause of Black Consciousness. (8)

4.3

4.3.1 *[Comparison evidence from Sources 4B & 4C – L3;*
Source 4B complements 4C in the following ways:

- Big class sizes
- Under-trained teaching staff
- Under-resourced schools (2 x 2) (4)

4.3.2 *[Evaluation of evidence from Source 4C – L3*

- The students were unarmed but the police were armed
- Government was prepared to suppress all forms of opposition (2 x 2) (4)

4.3.3 *[Reliability of evidence from Sources 4C – L3*

It depicts the following:

- The reasons for the uprising
- The response of the police – weapons
- Response of the students – unarmed (2 x 2) (4)

4.3.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 4C – L2*

- Black South Africans became more conscious of themselves and their suppression

- Self -esteem began to grow
- Any other relevant response

(2 x 2) (4)

PAPER 1: ESSAY QUESTION 4

THE COLD WAR - EXTENSION OF THE COLD WAR

CASE STUDY: CHINA

Background

What happened in 1949?

- The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) won the civil war against the Guomindang (GMD) or the National Party and declared the People's Republic of China in 1949.
- Mao Zedong was the Chairman of the CCP became the President of China.
- The CCP moved swiftly to ensure total control of China. In fact, no other leader or party were able to do that since the early 1900s.

How did Mao ensure control of China?

- The CCP tried to control China via a number of methods.
- One the one hand, they tried to win people's support by doing the following:
 - Land Reform: Stage 1 land was taken from the landlords and given to the peasants.
 - Propaganda: Used for example drama and plays to spread the communist ideology. In addition, posters supporting the ideals of communism were displayed all over China. Loudspeakers were used to send out messages while people worked.
 - Policies towards women: for example, the Marriage Law banned bigamy (the offence of marrying someone while already married to another person); Women were also allowed to do jobs they had never done before. Lots of them supported the CCP as a result.
- Education. The CCP made education available to millions of people for the first time. They also used education to indoctrinate Chinese schoolchildren. Teachers had to teach about communist beliefs and children were brought up to worship Mao and the CCP.
- On the other hand, the Mao ensured that no-one opposed him for example:
 - After the CCP came to power in 1949, thousands of suspected GMD supporters were killed especially in the cities or sent to prison camps.

- More than a million landlords who opposed the policies of the CCP were killed in the early 1950s during the first stage of land reform
- The Red Army (CCP's army) kept tight control of the country and was ready to arrest anyone who showed signs of opposing the CCP.
- All political parties and organisations were banned other than the CCP.
- All religions and places of worship like churches were banned.
- People were terrified of being labelled a 'counter-revolutionary' and didn't speak against the CCP because they feared being arrested

Implementation of 'Thought Reform'

- Thought reform began in the early 1950s. People studied Mao's theories and ideas and were made to believe in them.
- There was a great deal of bullying and pressure and those who resisted were sent to labour camps for 're-education'.

Land Reform

What were 'People's Courts'?

- One of the first things the CCP did when they came to power was start the process of land reform and they introduced the Land Reform Law in 1950.
- Land was forcibly taken from landlords and given to the peasants.
- At the same time, peasants were encouraged to come to meetings and display their anger at the way landlords had treated them in the past. These were called 'speak bitterness' meetings. Often they ended up with landlords being beaten up and killed.
- People's Courts were very similar. Here, former landlords would be accused of crimes and were always found guilty and executed.

Why did Mao introduce Land Reform?

To win the support of the peasants by giving them land.

- To enable him to get rid of landlords (who would have opposed him).
- To make land accessible to peasants and farming more efficient. Previously, there was no incentive for landlords to use modern techniques because they relied on peasants.
- Equally, there was no incentive for the peasants to work hard because they couldn't keep or sell all the crops they produced.
- The 'speak bitterness' meetings and the People's Courts were a way of getting the peasants to blame landlords for their problems, not the CCP.

What was the next stage in Land Reform?

- After the Land Reform Law, the CCP completely changed the direction of land reform and agricultural policy.
- Instead of peasants being allowed to own their own land and make profits on it, they were gradually forced to share land between them. This process was called collectivisation (i.e. the land being collected into bigger areas/communes).
- Eventually, most people lived in massive People's Communes. Collectivisation continued through the 1950s and 1960s.

Why was Collectivisation used?

- The collectives (or communes) were more efficient because modern machinery e.g. tractors could be shared. Peasants would not have been able to afford it on their own.
- Collectives also allowed the CCP to control the peasants. CCP members could keep a close eye on them in the communes and feed them with propaganda.
- It was also part of communist ideology everything should be shared by the people and there should be no private property.

The 5 Year Plan (1952 -1957)

What was the First Five-Year Plan?

- It started in 1952 and was an attempt to improve China's ailing economy quickly.
- A new currency (the Yuan) was introduced and prices and wages were fixed to reduce inflation.
- Heavy industries like coal, steel and oil were the focus of the first 5YP and targets were set for their improvement.
- Russia sent thousands of expert advisers to help improve and increase industrial output.
- Millions of people went to live in cities to find work in the new factories. In some cities, there was a shortage of housing and even food.
- Overall, the first 5YP was a success. A growth rate of 9% was achieved and most of the production targets were met. Heavy industry significantly improved over the 5 years between 1952 and 1957.

100 Flowers Campaign

What was the Hundred Flowers campaign?

- In 1957 Mao asked for criticism and discussion about China's problems and the ways the government were using to change things.

Why did Mao start the campaign?

- Mao wanted more freedom of discussion and for ordinary people to get involved in politics (and didn't expect much criticism).
- He wanted people to criticise local communist leaders, some of whom he had heard had not been treating the local people fairly.
- He wanted to establish which people were against him and punish them.

What happened when the campaign began?

- There was a lot of criticism of the Five Year Plan and its effects, especially by middle class people such as teachers, writers and artists.
- Party leaders and officials were criticised for being corrupt or inefficient.
- Even Mao himself was criticised by some people.

What were the consequences of the campaign?

- He ended the campaign and punished people who were highly critical.
- He began an 'Anti-Rightist' movement, which was directed by Deng Xiaoping.
- Most of the critics were arrested, lost their jobs and were sent to labour camps for 're-education'.
- Altogether about 500,000 people were punished.

The Great Leap Forward

What was the Great Leap Forward?

This was the name given to the Second Five-Year Plan, starting in 1957. It had two main aims:

- First, it was a plan to modernise China's industry and make it into a powerful Industrial country within fifteen years.
- Second, it was meant to modernise China's agriculture so that enough food

could be grown to feed its growing population.

What happened during the Great Leap Forward?

- Mao believed the key to its success was to use the millions of peasants in China to do the work rather than relying on machinery and experts, who he distrusted.
- Instead of building big factories in cities, the CCP encouraged peasants to set up small-scale industries in the countryside (called the 'industrialisation of the countryside'). For example, they had to make steel in backyard blast furnaces.
- To improve agriculture, massive schemes of irrigation and dams were planned to be built by a large number of labourers/peasants.
- People were forced to live in Communes which consisted of about 30,000 peasants. In a Commune, peasants lived in barracks, ate in canteens and gave up their small plots of land.
- Targets were set for every village, commune and factory. These targets were extremely high and people were often too scared to argue with them.

How successful was the Great Leap Forward?

- The Great Leap Forward was a dismal failure.
- The peasant industries did not work properly. Nobody had the expertise to run them properly, for example, the steel produced in the backyard furnaces was of very poor quality that it could not be used.
- People lied about the amount of steel they had produced because they were scared of what would happen to them if they did not meet their targets. This meant that even bigger targets were set.
- Foolish ideas like ploughing deep, planting crops too closely together contributed to poor harvests.
- Most peasants neglected their farms and focussed their attention on industrial production which led to a disastrous famine from 1959 to 1961. It was estimated that about 16 million people died of starvation.
- Nobody dared criticise the plan for fear of being labelled a 'rightist' or a 'counter-revolutionary'.

What effect did the failure of the Great Leap Forward have on Mao and the CCP?

- Mao eventually admitted that mistakes had been made and resigned as President of China but kept his job as Chairman of the CCP.

- In 1962 Mao handed over responsibility for the economy to President Liu Shaoqi and CCP General Secretary Deng Xiaoping and withdrew from the political scene. Liu and Deng were both more moderates. In 1962 Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi took over the running of the economy and transformed it. They for example, allowed peasants to have their private plots of land again so that agricultural productivity could increase.

The Cultural Revolution

Why did Mao start the Cultural Revolution in 1966?

- Mao said he started the Cultural Revolution because he thought that China was becoming too westernised (following the capitalist road) and that CCP leaders were better off than ordinary people.
- There were too many experts in China and they were damaging the country.
- However, the real reasons he started it were:
 - To regain the power, he lost after the failure of the Great Leap Forward (he complained he was being treated like a 'dead ancestor').
 - To get rid of Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi.
 - His wife Jiang Qing influenced him.

What happened during the Cultural Revolution?

- Mao knew that ordinary Chinese citizens, especially the young, idolised him so he set up the Red Guards. These were groups of young people who studied his ideas that were contained in the Little Red Book and worshipped Mao almost like a god or emperor
- Huge demonstrations were held in Tiananmen Square, Beijing and posters and pictures of Mao were put up everywhere
- The Red Guards were told to attack anyone in authority e.g. teachers, parents, intellectuals, scientists, civil servants and doctors. They were forced to confess to being 'class enemies' or 'capitalist raiders'. Many were tortured and killed
- Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi were removed from office. Liu died in prison in 1969. Many local CCP leaders and officials were attacked and killed.
- Anything to do with traditional China was attacked and often destroyed (e.g. temples, art, tea houses).
- In addition, anything western was attacked (e.g. western music, plays, writing).
- New operas and plays were commissioned to glorify the revolution instead.

What were the effects of the Cultural Revolution?

- Schools and universities closed for more than two years, this resulted in a lost generation.
- Industry suffered and production almost stopped by 1968, the economy was in ruins.
- Rival gangs of Red Guards began to clash and many old scores were settled. Law and order virtually broke down between 1966 and 1968
- Many CCP leaders were arrested and sent into the countryside to work as Peasants. Others were tortured and killed.
- At least a million people died as a result of the Cultural Revolution

How did the Cultural Revolution end?

- Mao ordered the Red Guards to stop their attacks in 1969 and restored law and order. Mao announced that the Cultural Revolution was over, but it took years to bring everything back to normal in factories, schools and farms.

Did communist rule benefit the Chinese people at all?

- Yes, in some ways, despite disasters such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.
- Their lives were tightly controlled (e.g. jobs were allocated by the government), resulting in a reduction in unemployment.
- Workers had eight-hour days and a week's paid holiday a year.
- Pensions, health services and education were introduced for all.
- Housing, electricity, water and transport costs were all subsidised.
- Women had improved quality of life and had greater equality.

6. INCREASING SUPERPOWER TENSION 1961- 62

The Berlin Crisis and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 increased tensions between the superpowers. It was followed by an acceleration in the 'Arms Race'.

6.1 Why did Khrushchev send missiles to Cuba?

This is unclear. He ran a risk that the USA would discover the missiles but believed they would be in place before this happened. In any case he believed Kennedy would make a weak response. His reasons may have been to:

- Defend Cuba following the Bay of Pigs operation.
- Force the USA to bargain to remove their missiles from Turkey.
- Catch up with the USA in the Arms Race by placing missiles as close to the USA as possible.
- Show Soviet strength and force Kennedy to back down.

6.2 THE CRISIS UNFOLDS, 1962

DATE	EVENT
August	US spy planes observed weapons in Cuba.
September	Khrushchev secretly started to send nuclear weapons to Cuba.
4 September	Kennedy warned the USSR not to put nuclear missiles in Cuba.
11 September	The Soviet government assured the USA it would not base nuclear missiles outside the USSR
14 October	An American U-2 aircraft took a series of reconnaissance photographs twelve miles above the island 5 October
15 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defence experts concluded that the site was being prepared for a number of medium-range ballistic missiles. • They would soon be ready to fire
16 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alarmed by the intelligence reports, Kennedy quickly called a meeting of top-level advisers, including his brother, Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General. • This group, which met frequently during the crisis, became known as the Executive Committee (Ex-Comm). • One member later recalled that Kennedy was more tense than he had ever seen him. • He was 'absolutely determined that the missiles would leave Cuba'.
19 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Further reconnaissance photos revealed more missile sites, this time threatening a longer-range strike. • The experts said that the Soviets were working non-stop and that the

	missile sites were nearly ready.
22 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kennedy announced a naval blockade of Cuba. • All ships carrying weapons to Cuba were to be turned back. • The armed forces were placed on high alert. • The USSR was told that the USA would retaliate against any missile launched from Cuba against a Western nation. • That evening Kennedy went on television to make a live broadcast to the American people. • It was probably the most important speech made in the whole period of the Cold War.
23 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Soviet government insisted that it was simply helping Cuba to defend itself and that the USA was interfering in Cuba's affairs. • Khrushchev accused the USA of pushing the world towards nuclear war.
24 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The blockade was in place. • Approximately twenty-five Soviet ships were spread across the Atlantic on their way to Cuba. Then, at 10.25 a.m. • Kennedy received the most important message of his political career: a number of ships had stopped dead in the mid-Atlantic. • One oil tanker was allowed through without being searched. • The rest turned back.
26 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Khrushchev sent a letter to Kennedy hinting that he was ready to make some sort of agreement. • The USSR might withdraw the missiles if Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba. • A second message then arrived insisting that the USSR would only remove their missiles from Cuba if the USA removed theirs from Turkey. • The Executive Committee advised Kennedy not to give in to Soviet demands 'at the point of a gun'. • Khrushchev was obviously coming under pressure from hard-line generals to stand up to the USA. • Hence, the second message. The crisis seemed to be getting out of hand.
27 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An American U-2 plane was shot down over Cuba, killing the pilot. Although Castro had acted on his own, Kennedy was stunned. • He believed that the Cuban leader was following Soviet orders. • Some of Kennedy's more hard-line advisers urged the president to attack Cuba. • The world was on the brink of nuclear war. • Kennedy had already moved his wife and children to Washington so that they could be in the presidential bunker. • At this stage Kennedy's attitude softened. • A second U-2 flew into Soviet air space. • Kennedy apologised. It was at this stage that Robert Kennedy helped to

	<p>solve the crisis.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He suggested that the USA should reply to the first message and ignore the second, more aggressive one. • Kennedy's reply to Khrushchev therefore said that the USA would promise not to invade Cuba but would not make a decision on Turkey until they had talked to their NATO allies. • In return for the Cuban guarantee, America demanded the withdrawal of the Soviet missiles from Cuba.
28 October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radio Moscow announced that the nuclear weapons would be removed. • Privately, the Americans agreed to remove their missiles from Turkey as long as the USSR kept it a secret

7. FOCUS ON KENNEDY'S OPTIONS DURING THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Kennedy faced pressure from several groups within his government, including:

The Hawks

- Led by Dean Acheson, a former Secretary of State.
- Wanted swift military action.
- A nuclear strike on the sites, but the USSR would almost certainly strike back.
- A conventional bombing raid followed by an invasion.
- This would almost certainly lead to fighting with Soviet troops already in Cuba and a war.
- Attack the USSR. This would almost certainly cause a nuclear war.

The Moderates

- Were led by Robert McNamara who was Secretary for Defense.
- They wanted to set up a naval blockade as the first step to getting rid of the missiles.
- They proposed that the US navy should stop the Soviet ships reaching Cuba.
- The disadvantage? It might lead to the sinking of Soviet ships and war.

The Doves

- Led by Adlai Stevenson, US Ambassador to the United Nations.
- They advised Kennedy to be cautious.
- He should talk to the USSR and offer to remove US missiles from Turkey.
- The disadvantage? The USA would appear weak.

7.1 WHAT OTHER OPTIONS DID THE USA HAVE?

Refer to the table below for some of the options:

Option	Advantages	Disadvantages
A Do nothing - allow missiles to be based in Cuba.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gives time to prepare response. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unpopular in America. Kennedy looks weak. • Major success to the Soviet Union. • Khrushchev looks strong. • Threat to US security.
B Attack Cuba with nuclear weapons.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strike first - before the Soviet Union attacks America in same way. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full-scale nuclear war – millions killed the end of humanity?
C Air strike against the Cuban missile bases, using non-nuclear weapons .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destroy missiles and sites already in Cuba. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War with Cuba and perhaps the Soviet Union. • No guarantee all sites would be destroyed. • US casualties
D Blockade Cuba with US Navy - no Russian ships allowed through.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited pressure - could be increased later. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missiles and sites in Cuba would not be affected. • Conflict with the Soviet Union rather than Cuba. • The Soviet Union might do the same to West Berlin.
E Invasion of Cuba by US Armed forces.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Soviet Union would be forced to fire first shot to break blockade. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous attempt (1961) failed. • War with Cuba and perhaps the Soviets. • US casualties (estimated 25,000). • Soviets might invade West Berlin.

7.2 WHAT DO YOU THINK THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD HAVE DONE?

- (a) How should the Russians have reacted to America's 'blockade'?
- (b) Do you the Americans really had the capacity to stop Russian ships or were America bluffing? (c) Was this the time to pressure Kennedy through *brinkmanship*?

Do you think that Khrushchev should have:

- A** Ordered Soviet ships to turn round?
- B** Sent the Soviet Navy to protect the cargo ships?
- C** Distracted the Americans by invading West Berlin?
- D** Negotiated with Kennedy?
- E** Ordered Soviet ships to stop?
- F** Ordered Soviet ships to go through the American blockade?

8. RESULTS OF THE CRISIS

The crisis had important results for the USSR, the USA, Cuba and the Cold War:

Khrushchev claimed that he had achieved the aim of preventing an American invasion of Cuba. He was, however, criticized by China for backing down in the face of American threats. He lost face at home and the crisis probably contributed to his fall from power two years later.

Kennedy increased his reputation at home and worldwide by avoiding a war and forcing Khrushchev to back down.

Cuba remained a Communist country dependent upon Soviet aid and protection.

Khrushchev and Kennedy realised how close they had come to nuclear war. To try to prevent another such crisis they set up a telephone hot line direct from the Kremlin to the White House. They also attempted to improve relations and agreed to a Nuclear Test Ban.

PAPER 1: ESSAY QUESTION 5

CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS FROM THE 1960S TO THE 1970S

QUESTION FOCUS: THE US CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BACKGROUND

African Americans in Southern states lived in an unequal world of segregation, disenfranchisement, and were oppressed. The “Jim Crow” laws barred African Americans at both local and state levels from classrooms, bathrooms, theatres, trains etc. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the “separate but equal” doctrine that formed the basis for state-sanctioned discrimination, drawing national and international attention to African Americans’ plight. In the turbulent decade and a half that followed, civil rights activists used nonviolent protest and civil disobedience to bring about change, and the federal government made legislative headway with initiatives such as the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Many leaders from within the African American community and beyond rose to prominence during the Civil Rights era, including Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, Malcolm X, Andrew Goodman and others. They risked and sometimes lost their lives in the name of freedom and equality.

Because large segments of African-Americans had no property they were not accorded full citizenship rights in the American Republic, civil rights and freedom of movement. In particular, movements to obtain civil rights for black Americans have had special historical significance. Such movements have not only secured citizenship rights for blacks but have also redefined prevailing conceptions of the nature of civil rights and the role of government in protecting these rights. The most important achievements of African-American civil rights movements have been the Supreme Court’s *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision of 1954, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Moreover, these legal changes greatly affected the opportunities available to women, nonblack minorities, disabled individuals, and other victims of discrimination.

Did You Know?

The 1955-56 Montgomery Bus Boycott, a protest against segregated public facilities in Alabama, was led by Martin Luther King Jr. and lasted for 381 days.

The modern period of civil rights reform can be divided into several phases, each beginning with isolated, small-scale protests and ultimately resulting in the emergence of new, more militant movements, leaders, and organizations. The *Brown* decision demonstrated that the litigation strategy of the National

Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) could undermine the legal foundations of southern segregationist practices, but the strategy worked only when blacks, acting individually or in small groups, assumed the risks associated with crossing racial barriers. Thus, even after the Supreme Court declared that public school segregation was unconstitutional, black activism was necessary to compel the federal government to implement the decision and extend its principles to all areas of public life rather than simply in schools.

During the 1950s and 1960s, therefore, NAACP–sponsored legal suits and legislative lobbying were supplemented by an increasingly massive and militant social movement seeking a broad range of social changes.

MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT AND THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

The initial phase of the black protest activity in the post-Brown period began on 1 December, 1955. Rosa Parks of Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her seat to a white bus rider, thereby defying a southern custom that required blacks to give seats toward the front of buses to whites. When she was jailed, a black community boycott of the city's buses began. The boycott lasted more than a year, demonstrating the unity and determination of black residents and inspiring blacks elsewhere.

Martin Luther King, Jr., who emerged as the boycott movement's most effective leader, possessed unique conciliatory and oratorical skills. He understood the larger significance of the boycott and quickly realized that the nonviolent tactics used by the Indian Nationalist Mahatma Gandhi could be used by southern blacks. "I had come to see early that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to the Negro in his struggle for freedom," he explained. Although Parks and King were members of the NAACP, the Montgomery movement led to the creation in 1957 of a new regional organization, the clergy-led Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) with King as its president.

King remained the major spokesperson for black aspirations, but, as in Montgomery, little-known individuals initiated most subsequent black movements. On February 1, 1960, four freshmen at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College began a wave of student sit-ins designed to end segregation at southern lunch counters. These protests spread rapidly throughout the South and led to the founding, in April 1960, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This student-led group, even more aggressive in its use of nonviolent direct action tactics than King's SCLC, stressed the development of autonomous local movements in contrast to SCLCs strategy of using local campaigns to achieve national civil rights reforms.

BIRMINGHAM AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The SCLC protest strategy achieved its first major success in 1963 when the group launched a major campaign in Birmingham, Alabama. Highly publicized confrontations between nonviolent protesters, including schoolchildren, on the one hand, and police with clubs, fire hoses, and police dogs, on the other, gained northern sympathy. The Birmingham clashes and other simultaneous civil rights efforts prompted President John F. Kennedy to push for passage of new civil rights legislation. By the summer of 1963, the Birmingham protests had become only one of many local protest insurgencies that culminated in the August 28 March on Washington, which attracted at least 200,000 participants. King's address on

that occasion captured the idealistic spirit of the expanding protests. "I have a dream," he said, "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed—we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

Although some whites reacted negatively to the spreading protests of 1963, King's linkage of black militancy and idealism helped bring about passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This legislation outlawed segregation in public facilities and racial discrimination in employment and education. In addition to blacks, women and other victims of discrimination benefited from the act.

FREEDOM SUMMER

While the SCLC focused its efforts in the urban centres, SNCC's activities were concentrated in the rural Black Belt areas of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, where white resistance was intense. Although the NAACP and the predominantly white Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) also contributed activists to the Mississippi movement, young SNCC organizers spearheaded civil rights efforts in the state. Black residents in the Black Belt, many of whom had been involved in civil rights efforts since the 1940s and 1950s, emphasized voter registration rather than desegregation as a goal. Mississippi residents Amzie Moore and Fannie Lou Hamer were among the grass-roots leaders who worked closely with SNCC to build new organizations, such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party (MFDP). Although the MFDP did not succeed in its attempt to claim the seats of the all-white Mississippi delegation at the 1964 National Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, it attracted national attention and thus prepared the way for a major upsurge in southern black political activity.

After the Atlantic City experience, disillusioned SNCC organizers worked with local leaders in Alabama to create the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. The symbol they chose the black panther reflected the radicalism and belief in racial separatism that increasingly characterized SNCC during the last half of the 1960s. The black panther symbol was later adopted by the California-based Black Panther party, formed in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale.

SELMA TO MONTGOMERY MARCH

Despite occasional open conflicts between the two groups, both SCLCs protest strategy and SNCC'S organizing activities were responsible for major Alabama protests in 1965, which prompted President Lyndon B. Johnson to introduce new voting rights legislation. On March 7 an SCLC planned march from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery ended almost before it began at Pettus Bridge on the outskirts of Selma, when mounted police using tear gas and wielding clubs attacked the protesters. News accounts of "Bloody Sunday" brought hundreds of civil rights sympathizers to Selma. Many demonstrators were determined to mobilize another march, and SNCC activists challenged King to defy a court order forbidding such marches. But reluctant to do anything that would lessen public support for the voting rights cause, King on March 9 turned back a second march to the Pettus Bridge when it was blocked by the police. That evening a group of Selma whites killed a northern white minister who had joined the demonstrations. In contrast to the killing of a black man, Jimmy Lee Jackson, a few weeks before, the Reverend James Reeb's death led to a national outcry. After several postponements of the march, civil rights advocates finally gained court permission to proceed. This Selma to Montgomery march was the culmination of a stage of the African-American freedom struggle. Soon afterward,

Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which greatly increased the number of southern blacks able to register to vote. But it was also the last major racial protest of the 1960s to receive substantial white support.

PAPER 2: ESSAY QUESTION 4

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID – INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR ESSAY QUESTIONS

International anti-apartheid movements



The British Anti-Apartheid Movement

The reaction of the outside world to the development of apartheid was widespread. The 1980s posed a sustained challenge to the South African regime, which facing internal and external threats. It eventually capitulated to make way for a new, democratic dispensation.

While countries throughout the world took various measures to weaken and topple apartheid, it was the anti-apartheid movements in the United Kingdom (UK) that mounted the most serious of these challenges to the apartheid state. The UK's perhaps being the most effective of all such organisations throughout the world.

By the late 1980's the UK's Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) developed a campaign that became one of the most powerful international solidarity movements in history.

The AAM developed links with political parties to put in place effective measures to destabilise every aspect of the apartheid structure, such as economic, cultural, trade and sports boycotts. It persuaded individuals, organisations and governments to take whatever actions would be necessary to achieve the isolation and weakening of the apartheid state.

The success of the AAM was to bring awareness of apartheid to the British public and other governments to eventually stop the apartheid regime by stopping trade, cutting off oil supplies

and access to arms. These measures of the AAM eventually led to the isolation of white South Africa to the point that it was forced to dismantle its oppressive regime.

Beginnings: Boycotts in the Fifties

In November 1959 a Boycott Committee was formed. Chief Albert Luthuli was asked to issue a statement calling for an international boycott, which Luthuli did in a press release dated 21 December 1959. The AAM came to regard Luthuli's statement as its founding document.



Demonstration at Trafalgar Square organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Source: Museum of London and Henry Grant.

The Boycott Committee set about organising for a month of boycott action. The boycott month, set for March 1960, began with a march to Trafalgar Square, where the South African High Commission was based, on 28 February 1960. As many as 15,000 held a rally at Trafalgar Square after the march.

The Sixties - Sharpeville and After

When police fired upon anti-pass protesters in Sharpeville on 21 March 1960, there was widespread international condemnation of the apartheid regime. British newspapers splashed the massacre on their front pages, and for almost a week hundreds of people demonstrated outside the SA High Commission in Trafalgar Square. While the call for boycotts had been a huge success, the massacre reinforced the British public's opinion of apartheid.

The subsequent banning of the liberation organisations had the effect of sending many ANC and PAC members into exile. When the ANC, now underground, called on the United Nations to impose economic sanctions on South Africa, the resolve of the Boycott Committee to expand the campaign was strengthened, and the movement took on its new name, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

The transformation of the Boycott Committee into the AAM saw the movement shift its tactics: the call for economic sanctions became a call for regime change. However, the call also became a threat to the financial interests of sectors of the British economy, and put the AAM on a path of conflict with powerful corporate blocs and conservative politicians.

Anti-Apartheid Movement Activities in the Sixties

With South Africa set to become a republic in May 1961, the AAM called for the country to be expelled from the Commonwealth. When newly independent African states joined in the call to expel the country, South Africa was forced to withdraw from the body. The AAM organised a 'Penny Pledge' campaign, appealing to British people to donate a penny to the movement and sign a pledge to boycott South African products. The AAM organised the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, held in April 1964.

Following the conclusion of the Rivonia Trial, in which Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment, the UN Security Council set up a panel of experts to look at ways to oppose apartheid. The AAM set up the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, and launched a worldwide petition, which was signed by 194,000 people. The AAM organised a letter campaign, calling on people and organisations to bombard the South African government with letters demanding the release of the Rivonia Trialists.

When the accused were sentenced on 11 June 1964, 50 MPs marched to South Africa House in Trafalgar Square. On 18 June, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 191, calling on South Africa to release all political prisoners.

The AAM was instrumental in getting various councils to oppose sport and cultural contacts with South Africans. It worked with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) to get South Africa excluded from the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964.



SANROC button calling for the rejection of Apartheid in sport. Source: African Activist Archive

The AAM continually updated its list of South African products, and kept the issue in the public eye. The movement explored ways to further the boycott, and expanded its activities to include sport and cultural boycotts. Having opposed the Springbok Rugby tour of 1960, the

AAM organised demonstrations at every match of the Springbok cricket team in 1965. The D'Oliveira incident in 1968 – when the South African government refused to allow the British cricketing tour because it was captained by Basil D'Oliveira, a 'Coloured' South African – highlighted the reasons why the public should heed the AAM's various boycott campaigns.

The Seventies

In the early Seventies, the ANC was at its lowest point, but the AAM began the decade with its most successful campaign ever, 'Stop the Seventy Tour'. With the Springboks due to play a series of 23 games throughout Britain, the AAM's Hugh Geach and SANROC's Dennis Brutus established the 'Stop the Seventy Tour Committee' (STST), with Peter Hain as the committee's spokesperson. Under the umbrella of the AAM and the STST, scores of organisations in each region arranged mass protests in concert with direct action tactics (such as pitch invasions) over the three months of the tour (from 30 October 1969 to 2 February 1970). In 1977 the Commonwealth governments endorsed the Gleneagles Agreement, an informal measure to 'take every step discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa'.



Dennis Brutus played a leading role in SANROC and worked closely in AAM in protests against Apartheid in sport. Source: The Telegraph.

The protests were massively successful, with thousands turning out at the games to protest while the STST used direct action tactics to disrupt whichever games they could. A planned cricket tour soon after drew an even more intense series of protests. Virtually every sector of British society was involved, from the Labour and Liberal parties to the Afro-Caribbean communities, the churches, unions, students and the British aristocracy. The tours and protests received huge coverage in the British press, and the issue of apartheid was condemned from every quarter.

Unions

In 1971, 14 unions were AAM affiliates. It took the 1976 Soweto uprising to bring a flood of affiliates, and by 1980 35 national trade unions were affiliates. An International Labour

Organisation (ILO) conference in 1977 also proposed a week of action, during which the Union of Postal Workers asked its members to stop telephonic communication and not handle post to and from South Africa.

Churches

Churches in the UK generally took a conservative position, although the British Council of Churches (BCC) called on the Labour government in 1964 to impose an arms embargo and supported sports boycotts. During the 1970s the churches fostered links with the Black Consciousness Movement rather than the ANC, SACP or PAC.

The Eighties

The success of Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party in the first democratic election in Zimbabwe in March 1980 left South Africa exposed as the only racist regime remaining in Africa.



Joseph N. Garba (left) Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and Reverend Trevor Huddleston President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement at a press conference, 10 October 1984, Photographer: Milton Grant, United Nations.

The AAM launched a campaign against multinational companies, especially Shell and BP, which were involved in the oil trade with South Africa. The cost of oil became much more expensive for South Africa.

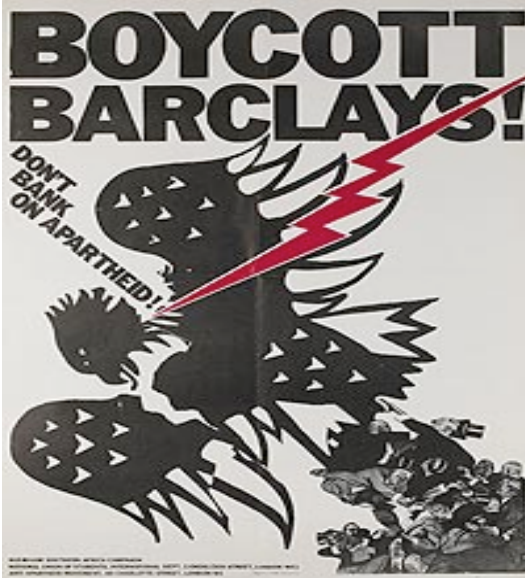
The cultural boycott, endorsed in a resolution of the UN General Assembly in 1980, was reinforced with the drawing up of a register of entertainers who had performed in South Africa.

The academic boycott proved difficult to implement, even though the Association of University Teachers voted in 1980 to boycott all links with South African universities.

By the mid-80s, local authorities, trade unions and churches now came on to force the Pretoria regime to the negotiating table. More than 120 local authorities, representing 66% of the British population, had taken some form of anti-apartheid action.'

Hitting the South African Economy

The AAM's campaign against Barclays Bank came to an end when, in November 1986, the bank pulled out of South Africa. Between 1986 and 1988 as many as 55 British companies sold off their subsidiaries in South Africa. The number of British companies investing in South Africa fell by 20%.



Poster produced by the Anti-Apartheid Movement calling on people to boycott Barclays Bank and force the bank to withdraw from South Africa, South Africa, Source: African Activist Archive.

In 1987, the AAM launched a 'People's Sanctions' campaign, asking ordinary members of the public to boycott South African goods. It targeted the largest supermarket chains, Tesco and Sainsbury's, urging them to stop buying products from South Africa. The People's Sanctions campaigns were remarkably. The movement also joined with the UK's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) to set up an embargo of South African coal. Tour operators campaigned to stop Brits from holidaying in South Africa. The AAM launched a total boycott of Shell products in the United Kingdom.

With the declaration of the state of emergency in July 1985, The AAM urged churches, trade unions and students to draw attention to the plight of detainees. SATIS convened a UDF Treason Trial Campaign Committee in 1985, calling for the withdrawal of charges. Trevor Huddleston launched a petition, 'Free All Apartheid's Detainees', in June 1987, which 300,000 people signed.

The Free Mandela Campaign

After the launch of the Free Mandela campaign in South Africa in 1980 the AAM produced a film about Mandela, called *South Africa's Other Leader*. Mandela was awarded the Freedom of the City of Glasgow in August 1981.



Button of the Free Mandela Campaign produced by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Source: African Activist Archive.

The AAM's 'Freedom at 70' campaign, lasting more than a month with a huge concert at Wembley to kick off the campaign. Held on 11 June 1988 a 70th Birthday Tribute to Mandela, the concert was a huge success, and made Mandela a household name in the UK as well as elsewhere.

The Nineties

FW de Klerk announced the unbanning of the liberation organisations on 2 February 1990, and on 11 February Mandela walked out of prison in Cape Town. His freeing was greeted with spontaneous celebrations throughout the UK, with thousands descending on Trafalgar Square and other sites throughout the country.

Almost everything the AAM had fought for was now a reality, and the movement had to re-assess its role and, indeed, its very reason for existence. Rather than dissolve itself, the AAM continued to monitor developments in South Africa. Membership numbers fell, but a core of activists remained to see through the last mile in the struggle against apartheid. On Election Day, 27 April 1994, the AAM witnessed hundreds of South Africans cast their vote marking the close of a long chapter in international solidarity.

THE IRISH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT (IAAM)

The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (IAAM) was founded by an ANC exile Kader Asmal, who arrived in Ireland in 1966. Asmal later served as Minister of Water and Electricity in South Africa in the 1990s.

In Ireland, the struggle for the oppressed majority in South Africa captured the imagination of the people in all parts of the country in a way that few other causes have done. This was to a large extent a result of the dogged work of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (IAAM) which was founded in 1964 with the sole and only purpose of helping to end apartheid. The Movement was launched at a rally to support the international call for the release of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues. This was the beginning of the campaign for breaking links between apartheid South Africa and Ireland.

The success of the campaigns was that at every opportunity every effort was made to make the Movement as representative of every aspect of Irish life as possible. Over 30 years of its existence, the IAAM involved the entire spectrum of Irish life - parliamentarians, trade unionists, religious organisations, students and ordinary people. Their objective was to isolate the apartheid regime and to provide solidarity to the people of South Africa.

Its support base was anchored among the Irish trade union movement which was formalised through a unique Liaison Group between the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the IAAM. Countless people came to demonstrations, wrote letters and sacrificed their time to support the struggle for liberation in South Africa. They put pressure their Government to impose sanctions against South Africa. In addition, members of the IAAM became a channel for funds sent by the International Defence and Aid Fund to aid political trials, and finance the families of political prisoners.

Throughout its existence, the IAAM participated in the international action against apartheid through the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. One of the strengths of the Movement was the very close ties that were maintained with the African National Congress. It was involved in hundreds of campaigns to undermine all links between apartheid South Africa and Ireland but the ones that stand out include the following:

In the early days, a playwright's campaign succeeded in persuading 25 Irish playwrights including Samuel Beckett and Sean O'Casey to refuse permission for their plays to be performed before segregated audiences in South Africa. They were joined over the decades by numerous artists and musicians;

The campaign against the Springbok tour of Ireland, which still lives on in folk memory of activists in Ireland brought the issue of apartheid firmly on the political map of Ireland. It culminated in one of the largest demonstrations in the streets of Dublin. The South African poet, Dennis Brutus who visited Dublin after his release from Robben Island, remarked that the guards at the prison beat all the political prisoners after hearing of the successful Irish demonstration against the Springboks. International solidarity expressed by demonstrations against the Springboks boosted the morale of political prisoners and sustained their spirit against the regime;

The first conference on links between the European Union and South Africa was held in Dublin in 1979. Oliver Tambo, the then President of the ANC was the main speaker. The links formed at this conference were later to develop into the Liaison Group of anti-apartheid movements in Europe. It played a significant role in putting pressure on the European Community to take a strong stance against apartheid, particularly in June 1990;

One of the most memorable events in the annals of the struggle against apartheid in Ireland was the perseverance of the Dunnes Stores' strikers to enforce the boycott of South African goods by a strike against their store from 1984 to 1987. As a result of their determination, the Government banned the import of South African fruit and vegetables in 1987, and

The pinnacle of solidarity with the South African struggle against apartheid was portrayed in July 1990, when Nelson Mandela was greeted by thousands of people at the Mansion House where he was to sign the roll of honour as a freeman of Dublin. In his crowded two-day visit he met the Dunnes Stores' strikers, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, the President and the Taoiseach and addressed the Dail, the first non-head of state to do so.

Following the free, non-racial and democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, the work of the IAAM came to an end. The Movement had completed its task. A new organisation, the Ireland South Africa Association was formed to foster bonds of friendship between the people of South Africa and Ireland. It also supports the advancement of peace and democracy in South Africa and the Reconstruction and Development of South Africa.



The Dunne's Stores Workers march against apartheid, Dublin 1986.



Kader Asmal, founder of the Irish anti-apartheid movement and later South African minister.

THE FRONTLINE STATES



An SADF column crosses over the Cubango River from Angola into Northern Namibia in 1988

The collapse of apartheid and the advent of democracy in South Africa were regionally supported by a group of southern African states called the Frontline States. These were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and, from 1980, Zimbabwe. The Frontline States were formed in 1970 to co-ordinate their responses to apartheid and formulate a uniform policy towards apartheid government and the liberation movement. For the liberation movement in South Africa, the formation of the Frontline States was a welcomed development and a new front in the fight against apartheid. However, these states still found it difficult to pursue their goals of ending apartheid. The president of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, explained his country position and others by stating that:

As a consequence of Botswana's geographical situation, we face unusual and onerous handicaps.... Whilst Botswana accepts that we are part of the Southern African economic complex and that the harsh fact of history and geography cannot be obliterated, for obvious reasons, we have to maintain normal friendly with South Africa (Niemann 1993).

Therefore, it remained difficult for these countries to enforce sanctions and isolate South Africa. Their economies were closely dependent on South Africa. For example, the majority of Frontline States citizens were working in South Africa. Their government economies were also directly tied to South Africa by the Southern African Custom Union, which was responsible for the collection and distribution of revenues generated from tariffs. Moreover, the collective efforts of these countries could not match South Africa's military might, which was used on more than one occasion to coerce these countries to submit to the will of South Africa. As a result, fearing South African Defence Force raids, Frontline States covertly supported the ANC military wing and continuously discouraged the ANC from using their territories as bases to launch attacks against South Africa.

However, these countries did succeed in forcing South Africa to open dialogue with Liberation leaders. Their pressure against South Africa increased in the 1980s after the formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which was formed to promote their own development and free themselves from South Africa's economic hegemony. The formation of SADCC added to the isolation of South Africa from the

international community when more European countries, including the United States increased their support for the SADCC. SADCC efforts bore fruits when South Africa held its first non-racial democratic election in 1994.



South African war resisters in Britain protesting against South Africa's military offensive against Angola in 1984.

SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ANC

Between 1984 and 1989 secret meetings aimed at bringing down apartheid took place between the ANC and the National Party. Western countries with business interests in South Africa attempted to compel piecemeal reforms introduced by the apartheid government but the ANC refused to accept these. For instance, in late 1983 the United States of America sent Robert Cabelly, a representative of the US president Ronald Regan to try and convince the ANC to accept reforms introduced by South African President P. W. Botha.

Other secret meetings between the ANC and NP representatives took place outside the country. In 1985 Piet Mulder editor of *Beeld* an Afrikaans newspaper and Professor H van de Merwe travelled to Harare to meet with ANC representatives. In September 1985 major industrialists such as chairman of Anglo America Gavin Reilly also travelled to meet the ANC representatives in Lusaka. A conference at the Ford Foundation was held in New

York with Broederbond chairman Pieter de Lange and several top ANC leaders. While the NP distanced itself from some of these meetings, it is clear they were used to gauge the mood of political engagement with the ANC. In addition, the later government commenced secret talks with Mandela while he was still in prison.

On 31 January 1985, P.W. Botha announced to parliament that the government was considering releasing Mandela from prison. This would be done on condition that he renounced the armed struggle and agreed to return to his hometown of Qunu.

Mandela responded by rejecting the offer for his conditional release in a letter that read by his daughter, Zinzi Mandela in a rally in Soweto on 10 February 1985.

“...What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence? What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected? Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts.” □

In July 1986 while he was in Victor Verster Mandela wrote to the Commissioner of Prisons, requesting a meeting with Kobie Coetsee. During the meeting with Coetsee, the idea of negotiations between the NP led government and the ANC raised and a request to meet President PW Botha was tabled. That same year Mandela was visited by the Eminent Persons Group from the Commonwealth Groups of Nations.

On 9 December 1988 Mandela was transferred from Pollsmoor Prison to Victor Verster Prison, near Paarl. On 5 July 1989 South African president PW Botha secretly met Mandela, but Botha was overtaken by events and circumstances. In February 1989, he suffered a mild stroke and was forced by the cabinet to resign. He was replaced by Frederik Willem de Klerk. De Klerk moved to implement reforms that would enable the negotiated settlement to take place. In December 1989, he met with Mandela in prison to discuss his release.



Nelson Mandela addressing the press at Groote Schuur.

On his opening speech to parliament on 2 February 1990 De Klerk announced the unbanning of political organizations and the release of imprisoned political leaders. This was followed by another announcement at a press conference on 10 February 1990, that Mandela would be released. On 11 February Mandela was finally released from Victor Verster Prison after spending a total of 27 years in prison.

Extension of the Cold War

Containment and brinkmanship: The Cuban crisis as an example of containment and brinkmanship

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE USA AND THE USSR CONTRIBUTE TO THE COLD WAR TENSION IN CUBA?

Study Sources 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D and then answer the questions that follow.

1.1 Study Source 1A.

- 1.1.1 According to Extract 1, where did the USA establish military bases? (1x 2) (2)
- 1.1.2 Why did the Soviet Union decide to place missiles in Cuba? (Extract 1) (1 x (2) 2)
- 1.1.3 What, according to Castro, were the TWO risks that confronted Cuba? (Extract 2) (2 x 1) (2)

1.1.4 Why do you think Cuba allowed the USSR to place missiles in Cuba? (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.5 Using your own knowledge, explain why Castro expected the United States to invade Cuba. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Refer to Source 1B.

1.2.1 Why, according to the source, did the USA impose arms embargo on Cuba? (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2 How did *The New York Times* portray President Kennedy? (2 x 2) (4)

1.2.3 Quote evidence from the source that indicates that the USA was ready for a war against the USSR. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.4 Why do you think the USA viewed the Soviet missile sites as act of aggression? (1 x 2) (2)

1.3 Consult Source 1C.

1.3.1 Define the concept Cold War in the context of the Cuban Missile Crisis: (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.2 What, according to Khrushchev, was the reason for the blockade? (Viewpoint 1) (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.3 State the reasons why Khrushchev was not prepared to back down regarding the blockade. (Viewpoint 1) (2x 2) (4)

1.3.4 After reading both Viewpoints 1 and 2, explain whether Kennedy was justified to impose blockade on Cuba. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Study Source 1D.

1.4.1 Why do you think this photograph was taken?

(2 x 2) (4)

1.4.2 Why do you think Sources 1C (Extract 1)and 1D convey the same messages regarding the political alliance between Cuba and the Soviet Union during the Cold War? Use the visual clues in Source 1D to support your answer.

(2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Study Source 1E.

1.5.1 Explain the meaning of the caption, 'This hurts me more than it hurts you!' (1x2) (2)

1.5.2 Use visual clues to describe the message conveyed by the cartoonist

regarding the events during the missile crisis

2x2 (4)

1.6 Using ALL the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words), explaining how the USA and USSR contributed to the cold war tension in Cuba. (8)

ADDENDUM

SOURCE 1A

The source below consists of two extracts which focus on the Cuban Missile Crisis.

This is Andrei Gromyko's view, the Soviet Union's foreign secretary, of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Extract 1:

The United States over several years had established offensive military bases around the socialist countries and, primarily, near the USSR borders ... the placement of medium-range effective Soviet missiles in Cuba was undertaken only after the United States' ruling circles continually rejected proposals to remove American military bases, including missile sites, on foreign territory.

[From: *Through Russian Eyes: President Kennedy's 1 036 Days* by A Gromyko]

Fidel Castro was interviewed by an American journalist, Tad Szulc. The journalist asked Castro why he was willing to allow Soviet missiles to be placed in Cuba. Extract 2: In 1984

It was necessary to make it clear to the United States that an invasion of Cuba would imply a war with the Soviet Union. It was then that they proposed the missiles ... We preferred the risks, whatever they were, of a great tension, a great crisis, to the risks of the impotence (inability) of having to await a United States invasion of Cuba.

[From: *The Cuban Missile Crisis – To the Brink of War* by PJ Byrne]

SOURCE 1B

This was the main headline of *The New York Times*, 23 October 1962. It highlights the USA's blockade of Soviet missiles to Cuba.

The image shows the front page of The New York Times from Tuesday, October 23, 1962. The masthead includes the slogan "All the News That's Fit to Print" and the "LATE CITY EDITION" box with weather information for New York City. The main headline is "U.S. IMPOSES ARMS BLOCKADE ON CUBA ON FINDING OFFENSIVE-MISSILE SITES; KENNEDY READY FOR SOVIET SHOWDOWN".

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION
U. S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 10) (Continued)
Partly cloudy, breezy, cool today.
Fair and cool tonight and tomorrow.
Temp. range: 54-65; yesterday: 66-44.

VOL. CXII... No. 38,258. © 1962 by The New York Times Company. Times Square, New York 20, N. Y. NEW YORK, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1962. 18 cents (except Monday when from New York City unless in home island. Higher in all delivery cities). FIVE CENTS

**U.S. IMPOSES ARMS BLOCKADE ON CUBA
ON FINDING OFFENSIVE-MISSILE SITES;
KENNEDY READY FOR SOVIET SHOWDOWN**

SOURCE 1C

The source below consists of letters written by President Khrushchev and President Kennedy on their involvement in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Viewpoint 1: This is part of a letter that was written by President Khrushchev to President Kennedy on 24 October 1962.

You, Mr President, are not declaring a quarantine (blockade), but rather are setting forth an ultimatum and threatening that if we do not give in to your demands you will use force ... No, Mr President, I cannot agree to this, and I think that in your own heart you recognise that I am correct. I am convinced that in my place you would act the same way.

Therefore the Soviet Government cannot instruct the captains of Soviet vessels bound for Cuba to observe the orders of American naval forces blockading that island. Naturally we will not simply be bystanders with regard to piratical (robbing) acts by American ships on the high seas. We will then be forced on our part to take the measures we consider necessary and adequate in order to protect our rights. We have everything necessary to do so.

Viewpoint 2: This is part of a letter in which President Kennedy responds to President Khrushchev, written on 25 October 1962. In this letter President Kennedy states that the crisis was due to Soviet interference in Cuba.

In early September I indicated very plainly that the United States would regard any shipment of offensive weapons as presenting the gravest issues. After that time, this Government received the most explicit (clear) assurances (guarantees) from your Government and its representatives ... that no offensive weapons were being sent to Cuba.

I ask you to recognise clearly, Mr Chairman, that it was not I who issued the first challenge in this case, and that in the light of this record these activities in Cuba required the responses I have announced.

[From: *Thirteen Days/Ninety Miles – The Cuban Missile Crisis* by NH Finkelstein]

SOURCE 1D

The photograph below shows Fidel Castro and Nikita Krushchev in a triumphant mood. Taken at the height of the Cold War.



<http://www.bing.com/search?q=images+on+Castro+and+Krushchev&src=IE-SearchBox&FORM=IE11SR>

SOURCE 1E

This cartoon by E Valtman appeared in *The Hartford Times*, 30 October 1962. The caption states: 'THIS HURTS ME MORE THAN IT HURTS YOU!'.

The

'THIS HURTS ME MORE THAN IT HURTS YOU!'



Castro

Missiles

Khrushchev

[From: *The Editorial Cartoons of Edmund*, 1961–1991 by S Valtman & E Valtman]

MARKING GUIDELINE

1.1

1.1.1 [Extraction of evidence from Source 1A – L1]

- The socialist countries
 - Near the USSR borders
- (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A – L1]*

- After the United States' ruling circles continually rejected proposals to remove American military bases
- (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1A – L1]*

- A great tension
 - A great crisis
- (2 x 1) (2)

1.1.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*

- Cuba wanted to protect herself against USA aggression
 - Any other relevant
- (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.5 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1A – L2]*

- The USA had been an ally of former Cuban ruler Batista
 - The USA had assisted in the planning of the Bay of Pigs campaign by the Cuban exiles
 - Any other relevant response
- (2 x 2) (4)

1.2

1.2.1 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1B – L1]*

- Finding offensive –missile sites in Cuba
- (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2. *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]*

- Firm leader determined to withstand the Soviet onslaught/ aggression
 - Kennedy ready to face consequences of the nuclear war
 - Any other relevant response
- (2 x 2) (4)

1.2.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1B – L1]*

- Kennedy ready for Soviet showdown (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.4 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2]*

- The missiles were near her borders
- Soviet Union was her cold war enemy
- Any other relevant (1 x 2) (2)

1.3

1.3.1 *[Explanation of a historical concept from Source 1C – L1]*

(a)

- Cold War: An ideological conflict between the USA and USSR/
A clash of ideology between capitalism and communism
that developed after the second World War
- Any other relevant response (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.2 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*

- An ultimatum and threatening that if we do not give in to your
demands you will use force (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.3 *[Extraction of evidence from Source 1C – L1]*

- Piratical acts by American ships
- To protect our rights (2 x 2) (4)

1.3.4 *[Interpretation and evaluation of evidence from Source 1C – L3]*

JUSTIFIED

- The placement of missiles threatened the security of the USA
- She wanted to protect her territorial integrity
- Any other relevant response

NOT JUSTIFIED

- The USA did no respect for Cuba
- The USA had placed missiles near the Soviet borders
- Any other relevant

(2 x 2) (4)

1.4

1.4.1 *[Interpretation of evidence from Source 1D – L2]*

- To demonstrate the close ties between the Soviet Union and Cuba
- To show that Castro was indeed a communist
- Any other relevant response

(2 x 2) (4)

1.4. Source 1C (extracient) states that the Soviet Union was ready to defend

Cuba against the US military attack. Source 1D shows Castro and Khrushchev holding hands demonstrating solidarity

- Source 1C indicates that Khrushchev viewed Cuba as part of the Soviet sphere of influence (communism). Source1D shows the two communist leaders happy together (facial expressions)
- Any other relevant response

(2 x 2) (4)

1.5

1.5.1 *[Interpretation and evaluation of evidence from Sources 1E L2]*

- The caption means that was more painful to Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev to remove missiles in Cuba than it was to Fidel Castro
- Any other other responses .

(1x2) (4)

1.5.2 *[Interpretation and evaluation of evidence from Sources 1E L2]*

- Fidel Castro's teeth represents Russian missiles which were installed by Russia in Cuba.
- Cartoon shows Soviet leader Khrushchev as a dentist, about to extract Cuban leader Fidel Castro's teeth, which represents missiles which had to be removed, after USA had discovered their installation

- Any other responses

(2x2) (4)

1.6 *[Interpretation, evaluation and synthesis from relevant sources – L3]*

- Placement of missiles in Cuba by the Soviet Union(Source 1A)
- Close ties between Cuba and the Soviet Union (own knowledge)
- Cuba feared invasion by the USA sought assistance from the Soviet Union (Source 1A)
- The USA imposed arms embargo on Cuba(Source1B)
- Cuba became the battleground for brinkmanship by the two Cold War enemies (own Knowledge)
- The USA implemented blockade against Cuba
- The Soviet Union became the main supplier of economic aid to Cuba (own knowledge)
- The Cuban missile crisis provided the Soviet Union an opportunity to bargain for the removal of US missiles in Europe (own knowledge)
- Ant other relevant response

Use the following rubric to assess the paragraph:

<p>Level 1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses evidence in an elementary manner, e.g. shows no or little understanding of how the USA and USSR contributed to the cold war tension in Cuba. • Uses evidence partially or cannot write a paragraph on the topic. 	<p>MARKS 0-2</p>
<p>Level 2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence is mostly relevant and relates to a great extent on the topic, e.g. shows some understanding of how the USA and USSR contributed to the cold war tension in Cuba. • Use evidence in a very basic manner to write a paragraph. 	<p>MARKS 3-5</p>
<p>Level 3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses relevant evidence that, e.g. demonstrates a thorough understanding of how the USA and USSR contributed to the cold war tension in Cuba. • Uses evidence very effectively in an organised paragraph that shows an understanding of the topic. 	<p>MARKS 6-8</p>

(8)

Extension of the Cold War

Containment and brinkmanship: The Cuban crisis as an example of containment and brinkmanship

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE USA AND THE USSR CONTRIBUTE TO THE COLD WAR TENSION IN CUBA?

Study Sources 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D and then answer the questions that follow.

1.1 Study Source 1A.

- 1.1.1 According to Extract 1, where did the USA establish military bases? (1x 2) (2)
- 1.1.2 Why did the Soviet Union decide to place missiles in Cuba? (Extract 1) (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.3 What, according to Castro, were the TWO risks that confronted Cuba? (Extract 2) (2 x 1) (2)
- 1.1.4 Why do you think Cuba allowed the USSR to place missiles in Cuba? (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.1.5 Using your own knowledge, explain why Castro expected the United States to invade Cuba. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Refer to Source 1B.

- 1.2.1 Why, according to the source, did the USA impose arms embargo on Cuba? (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.2 How did *The New York Times* portray President Kennedy? (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.2.3 Quote evidence from the source that indicates that the USA was ready for a war against the USSR. (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.2.4 Why do you think the USA viewed the Soviet missile sites as act of aggression? (1 x 2) (2)

1.3 Consult Source 1C.

- 1.3.1 Define the concept Cold War in the context of the Cuban Missile Crisis: (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.2 What, according to Khrushchev, was the reason for the blockade? (Viewpoint 1) (1 x 2) (2)
- 1.3.3 State the reasons why Khrushchev was not prepared to back down regarding the blockade. (Viewpoint 1) (2x 2) (4)
- 1.3.4 After reading both Viewpoints 1 and 2, explain whether Kennedy was justified to impose blockade on Cuba. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Study Source 1D.

- 1.4.1 Why do you think this photograph was taken? (2 x 2) (4)
- 1.4.2 Why do you think Sources 1C (Extract 1)and 1D convey the same messages regarding the political alliance between Cuba and the

Soviet Union during the Cold War? Use the visual clues in Source 1D to support your answer. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Study Source 1E.

1.5.1 Explain the meaning of the caption, 'This hurts me more than it hurts you!' 1x2 (2)

1.5.2 Use visual clues to describe the message conveyed by the cartoonist regarding the events during the missile crisis 2x2 (4)

1.6 Using ALL the sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words), explaining how the USA and USSR contributed to the cold war tension in Cuba. (8)

ADDENDUM

SOURCE 1A

The source below consists of two extracts which focus on the Cuban Missile Crisis.

This is Andrei Gromyko's view, the Soviet Union's foreign secretary, of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Extract 1:

The United States over several years had established offensive military bases around the socialist countries and, primarily, near the USSR borders ... the placement of medium-range effective Soviet missiles in Cuba was undertaken only after the United States' ruling circles continually rejected proposals to remove American military bases, including missile sites, on foreign territory.

[From: *Through Russian Eyes: President Kennedy's 1 036 Days* by A Gromyko]

Fidel Castro was interviewed by an American journalist, Tad Szulc. The journalist asked Castro why he was willing to allow Soviet missiles to be placed in Cuba. Extract 2: In 1984

It was necessary to make it clear to the United States that an invasion of Cuba would imply a war with the Soviet Union. It was then that they proposed the missiles ... We preferred the risks, whatever they were, of a great tension, a great crisis, to the risks of the impotence (inability) of having to await a United States invasion of Cuba.

[From: *The Cuban Missile Crisis – To the Brink of War* by PJ Byrne]

SOURCE 1B

This was the main headline of *The New York Times*, 23 October 1962. It highlights the USA's blockade of Soviet missiles to Cuba.



SOURCE 1C

The source below consists of letters written by President Khrushchev and President Kennedy on their involvement in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

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Therefore the Soviet Government cannot instruct the captains of Soviet vessels bound for Cuba to observe the orders of American naval forces blockading that island. Naturally we will not simply be bystanders with regard to piratical (robbing) acts by American ships on the high seas. We will then be forced on our part to take the measures we consider necessary and adequate in order to protect our rights. We have everything necessary to do so.

Viewpoint 2: This is part of a letter in which President Kennedy responds to President Khrushchev, written on 25 October 1962. In this letter President Kennedy states that the crisis was due to Soviet interference in Cuba.

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Castro

Missiles

Khrushchev

[From: *The Editorial Cartoons of Edmund*, 1961–1991 by S Valtman & E Valtman]

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- The USA had been an ally of former Cuban ruler Batista
- The USA had assisted in the planning of the Bay of Pigs campaign by the Cuban exiles
- Any other relevant response

(2 x 2) (4)

1.2

1.2.1 [*Extraction of evidence from Source 1B – L1*]

- Finding offensive –missile sites in Cuba

(1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2. [*Interpretation of evidence from Source 1B – L2*]

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- Kennedy ready to face consequences of the nuclear war
- Any other relevant response

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Cuba against the US military attack. Source 1D shows Castro and Khrushchev holding hands demonstrating solidarity

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1.5.2 *[Interpretation and evaluation of evidence from Sources 1E L2]*

-The caption means that was more painful to Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev to remove missiles in Cuba than it was to Fidel Castro. (1x2) (4)

-Any other other responses

1.5.3 *[Interpretation and evaluation of evidence from Sources 1E L2]*

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-Cartoon shows Soviet leader Khrushchev as a dentist, about to extract Cuban leader Fidel Castro's teeth, which represents missiles which had to be removed, after USA had discovered their installation 2x2 (4)

-Any other responses

1.6 *[Interpretation, evaluation and synthesis from relevant sources – L3]*

- Placement of missiles in Cuba by the Soviet Union(Source 1A)
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(8)

BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

Definition of concepts

- (a) **Affirmative action:** programmes designed to increase educational and employment opportunities for historically disadvantaged groups.
policy that gives priority to previously disadvantaged groups.
- (b) **Black Nationalism:** Black nationalists believed that the use of force was justified in order to gain social, political and economic power for African Americans.
- (c) **Black Power Movement:** an African American movement that instilled a feeling of black pride and self-worth in African Americans.
Black Power Movement encourage that African Americans acknowledge their African heritage and take pride in their culture.
- (d) **Black Panthers:** were revolutionary socialists, founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale.
Black Panthers drew up a Ten point Programme which they use as basis to fight racism in America.
- (e) **Black Power:** a belief in black self-pride and self-esteem.
- (f) **Black Separatism:** a belief that Blacks must be separated from Whites, must be on their own, focusing on own culture, heritage and language.
- (g) **Ghettos:** a very poor area in a city where black people lived in America in the 1960s. The ghettos were places of poverty and crimes, which usually accompanies poverty.
- (h) **Racialism:** the belief that people's qualities are influenced by their race.
- (i) **Self-determination** (independence): Malcolm X strongly advocated independence from Whites rather than integration with Whites.
- (j) **Self-reliance:** to depend on one self entirely without seeking help from others.
- (k) **Social Programs:** programmes which provided services to poor black communities, such as free medical clinics, classes on politics and economics and Free Breakfast for Children programme.

ACRONMYS

- (a) **BPP** – Black Panther Party
- (b) **SNNC** – Students' Non-violent Coordinating Committee

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

Definition of terms

- (a) **Black Consciousness Movement:** a philosophy that advocated self-confidence, assertiveness and pride among black South Africans.
A philosophy propagated by Steve Biko and other activists for black South Africans to be independent of other races regarding the struggle for equality and justice.
- (b) **Black Communalism:** an economic policy based on the principle based on sharing and emphasised communal ownership of property and wealth.
- (c) **Banned** – restrictions in participating in political parties.
- (d) **Boycott** – to abstain from using, buying or dealing with a person, group, organisation, country as protest.
- (e) **Conscientise-** to change someone’s mind set so that they can be aware of political and social issues.
- (f) **NUSAS** – was a liberation organisation dominated by white South African students.
- (g) **SASO** – wanted to end the practice of Bantu education which was the foundation of the segregated education system, so that black South Africans would receive equal education.
SASO - taught black students to make initiatives and believe in themselves in order to change plight of the black students.
SASO – taught black students to be independent of white South African students.
- (h) **Terrorism Act-** a law passed by the government to allow police to arrest anyone who was considered as the enemy of the state.

ACRONMYS

- (a) **AZAPO** – Azanian People’s Organisation
(b) **BAWU** – Black Allied Workers Union
(c) **BCM** - Black Consciousness Movement
(d) **BPC** - Black People’s Movement
(e) **NUSAS** - National Union of South African Students
(f) **SASM** – South African Students Movement
(g) **SASO** - South African Students Organisation
(h) **SRC** – Student Representative Council

