

education

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ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 10 pages.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE INTERVENTION BY FOREIGN POWERS INTENSIFY COLD WAR TENSIONS IN ANGOLA BETWEEN 1974 AND 1976?

SOURCE 1A

This source explains how the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA fought over control of Angola after it attained independence in 1975.

Three main military movements had been fighting for Angolan independence since the 1960s. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was a Marxist organization centred in the capital, Luanda, and led by Agostinho Neto. The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), led by Holden Roberto, was based in the north of the country and had strong ties to the US ally (friend), Mobutu Sese Seko, in neighbouring Zaire. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), an offshoot of the FNLA, was led by Jonas Savimbi and supported by the country's largest ethnic group, the Ovimbundu.

Following the Portuguese coup (revolution), these three revolutionaries met with representatives of the new Portuguese government in January 1975 and signed the Alvor Agreement that granted Angolan independence and provided for a three-way power sharing government. However, trust quickly broke down among the three groups, and the country descended (fell) into civil war as each vied (competed) for sole (total) power.

The crisis in Angola developed into a Cold War battleground as the superpowers and their allies delivered military assistance to their preferred clients. The United States supplied aid and training for both the FNLA and UNITA while troops from Zaire assisted Holden Roberto and his fighters. China also sent military instructors to train the FNLA. The Soviet Union provided military training and equipment to the MPLA. During the summer of 1975, the Soviet-supported MPLA was able to consolidate power in Luanda and oust (get rid of) the US-supported FNLA from the capital, but the FNLA continued to attack.

[From http://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/angola. Accessed on 15 January 2025]

SOURCE 1B

The source below indicates how the United States of America supported UNITA during the Angolan Civil War.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) made its first major weapons shipment to the FNLA in July 1975. Thus, like the Russians and the Chinese, the United States was giving aid to one side of the Angolan Civil War on a level far greater than it had ever provided during the struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

The United States was directly involved in the civil war to a marked (noticeable) degree. In addition to training Angolan combat units, US personnel did considerable flying between Zaire and Angola carrying out reconnaissance (investigation) and supply missions, and the CIA spent over a million dollars on an ambitious mercenary (hired soldiers) programme. Several reports appeared in the US press stating that many American guerrillas were fighting in Angola against the MPLA from 'scores' to '300' and that many others were being recruited and trained in the United States to join them. But John Stockwell, the head of the CIA's Angola task force, puts the number of American mercenaries (hired soldiers) who made it to Angola at only 24. The CIA was also directly financing the arming of British mercenaries (fighting in Angola).

Subsequently (later) the Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, informed the Senate that 'The CIA is not involved' in the recruitment of mercenaries for Angola ... Through recruited journalists representing major news services, the Agency (CIA) was able to generate international coverage of false reports for Soviet advisers in Angola. One CIA story, announced to the press by UNITA, was that 20 Russians and 35 Cubans had been captured. Another fabrication (lie) concerned alleged rapes committed by Cuban soldiers in Angola; this was elaborated to include their capture, trial, and execution ...

[From https://williamblum.org/chapters/killing-hope/angola. Accessed on 15 January 2025]

SOURCE 1C

The cartoon below by Bob Connolly was published in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 27 November 1975. It is titled 'Knuckle-rapping' and depicts Henry Kissinger (the US Secretary of State) slapping the Russian hand with an 'olive branch'.



SOURCE 1D

The extract below contains an explanation by Raul Diaz Arguelles, head of *Decima Direction* (the special task force in charge of all Cuban military missions abroad) on why Cuba became involved in Angola from 1975.

'We arrived in Luanda, Angola, on Sunday, 3 August, and made contact with the MPLA,' Diaz Arguelles reported to Raul Castro ... 'In our first conversation with Neto ... we explained the purpose of our visit, which we based on the following points:

- The request made by the MPLA ... in January and the request made later in Mozambique by Cheito (Xiyeto), the chief of staff of FAPLA.
- We wanted to clarify what aid we should offer, given the FNLA's and Mobutu's
 aggression against the MPLA and the possible course of events before
 independence in November. We knew the forces of reaction and imperialism would
 try all their might to prevent the MPLA from taking power because it would mean a
 progressive government in Angola. Therefore, we were bringing Neto the militant
 solidarity of our Commander in Chief, our party and our government, and we gave
 him 100 000 dollars.

During this conversation the Angolans complained about the paucity (lack) of aid from the socialist camp, and they pointed out that if the socialist camp does not help them ... whereas the imperialists (USA) are helping the FNLA in every way possible. They also complained that the Soviet Union stopped helping them in 1972 and that the military aid is now sending is paltry (worthless), given the enormity (scale) of the need ...'

Meanwhile Diaz Arguelles' proposal for a military mission had been dramatically expanded (greatly) in Havana. The revised plan called for the dispatch of 480 men who would create (establish) and staff training centres, which would train some 5 300 Angolans in three to six months. Cuba would supply the weapons as well as food, clothing, camping gear, toiletries, medicine, cots and bedclothes. In other words, Cuba, decided to offer Neto almost five times as many instructors as he had requested.

[From Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, Pretoria by P Gleijeses Accessed on 15 January 2025]

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE PROTEST CAMPAIGNS IN BIRMINGHAM CONTRIBUTE TO DESEGREGATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE 1960s?

SOURCE 2A

The source below has been extracted from an interview with Reverend Joseph Ellwanger, a white Lutheran minister, who was part of the committee that organised the 1963 Birmingham Campaign.

Birmingham in 1963 was about as segregated a city in the South as you can find. There were still signs over the water fountains. There were no black clerks in the downtown stores. There were no blacks in the police or fire department. And there were a lot of open threats on the part of the police commissioner, Bull Connor, against any attempt to gain some of these rights ...

There was not only the belief in the white community that blacks were inferior, but that belief was clearly articulated and was assumed as the basis for the segregation that had existed all these years ... many members of the Ku Klux Klan had ... almost a religious belief in their hearts, that we've got to maintain that kind of purity of the race or otherwise we're dooming ourselves and our future generation.

As we think about what white people were afraid of in terms of the possibility of an integrated society, part of it was simply the fear of the unknown. Perhaps even deeper was the fear of the Ku Klux Klan and their threats becoming a reality. In Birmingham, we had had something like forty bombings in the previous ten years, so it was not an idle threat ...

My role in the Birmingham demonstrations was basically being part of a committee of twenty that met to do the planning ... I can still remember those sessions with Dr King and Ralph Abernathy and Andrew Young, and it was an amazing experience of an openness towards everybody's ideas. There was no one who was not given the opportunity to help participate in the planning.

[From Voices of Freedom. An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement by Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer. Accessed on 15 January 2025]

SOURCE 2B

The source below focuses on the strategies adopted by protestors, the reaction by state authorities and the impact of media coverage of the Birmingham Campaign in 1963.

The Birmingham campaign began quietly with sit-ins on 3 April 1963 at several downtown 'whites-only' lunch counters. From the outset, the campaign confronted an apathetic (uninterested) black community, an openly hostile established black leadership and Bull Connor's 'non-violent resistance' in the form of police arrests of the offenders of the city's segregation ordinances. With no sensational news, the national media found nothing to report, and the campaign floundered (declined). But when Connor ordered out police dogs to disperse a crowd of black bystanders, journalists recorded the attack of a German shepherd on a nonviolent protester, thereby revealing the brutality that undermined segregation ...

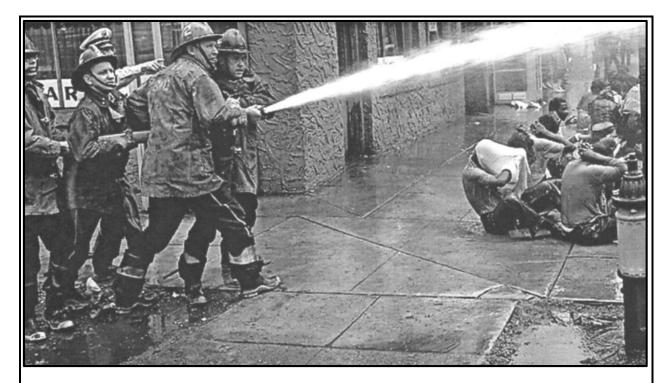
In a desperate bid to generate media coverage and to keep the campaign alive ... the Children's Campaign was launched on 2 May 1963, in which black youth from area schools (state schools) served as demonstrators. Trying to avoid the use of force, Bull Connor arrested hundreds of school children and hauled them off to jail on school buses. When the jails were filled, he called out fire hoses and police dogs to contain large protests ... African American spectators responded with outrage, pelting police with bricks and bottles as firemen opened the hoses.

The media captured the negative images of Connor and his men suppressing the non-violent protest of school children with brutal blasts of water cannons and attacks from police dogs. Front page photographs in the nation's newspapers convinced President Kennedy to send assistant attorney-general for Civil Rights, Burke Marshall, to Birmingham to secure negotiations that would end the violent demonstrations.

[From http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h-1358. Accessed on 15 January 2025]

SOURCE 2C

The photograph below appeared in the *Daily News* during the Birmingham Campaign, 1963. It shows firemen who had been ordered to use their high-pressure hoses on civil rights protestors who are seated on the pavement.



[From http://www.dailynews.com.

Accessed on 15 January 2025]

SOURCE 2D

The extract below is from a televised speech given to the American public by President JF Kennedy on 11 June 1963 in reaction to events in Birmingham and other protests elsewhere.

The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public school available, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the colour of his skin changed and stand in his place? ...

Now the time has come for this nation to fulfil its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently (wisely) choose to ignore them.

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, north and south, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades, and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives ...

Next week I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law ...

[From http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/historicspeeches/kennedy/civilrightsmessage.html. Accessed on 15 January 2025]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Visual sources and other historical evidence were taken from the following:

Hampton, H and Fayer, S. Voices of Freedom. An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement

Gleijeses, P. Conflicting Missions - Havana, Washington, Pretoria

http://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/angola.

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