

QUESTION 3: WHAT FORMS OF CIVIL RIGHTS PROTESTS OCCURRED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) DURING THE 1960s?**SOURCE 3A**

This extract comes from the most famous speech made by Martin Luther King, a Baptist minister, during the Washington march. He promised that African Americans would struggle for their rights until they were no longer oppressed. He also spoke of his broader vision for the future.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up, and live out the true meaning of its creed ... that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that my four little children one day will live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin, but by the content of their character ... [So that one day] all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing the words of that old Negro spiritual 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!'

Martin Luther King addressing more than 200 000 people at Lincoln Memorial. Here Martin Luther King delivered his famous speech, 'I have a dream ...'



SOURCE 3B

This is an extract from *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, by P Boyer et al., explaining Black Power.

The 'Black Power' slogan was adopted by African Americans of virtually every persuasion. Revolutionaries used it to preach guerrilla warfare; liberals, to demand reform; conservatives, to demand self-help. For many who adopted it, the phrase simply meant self-pride. 'Say it loud - I'm black and I'm proud', chanted soul singer James Brown, and a generation of African Americans affirmed that 'black is beautiful'. Rejecting skin bleaches and hair straighteners [which helped users look more like whites], young blacks donned dashikis (berets), wore Afro hairstyles, enjoyed soul music and soul food, and established black studies programmes at colleges. Black Power reflected an insistence that African Americans shape their own culture and define their own destiny.

SOURCE 3C

These are excerpts from a speech Malcolm X gave in Detroit in 1964, a year before he was assassinated (he was 39) called *The Ballot or the Bullet*.

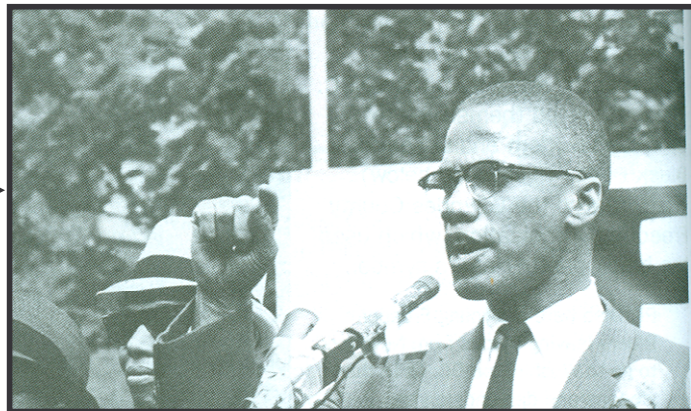
... This country is a hypocrite. They claim they set you free by calling you a second-class citizen. No, you are nothing but a 20th century slave ... So, where do we go from here? First, we need some friends. We need some new allies. The entire civil-rights struggle needs a new interpretation, a broader interpretation ...

... When you expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, you can then take the case of the black man in this country before the nations in the UN ... You can take Uncle Sam (USA) before a world court ... Civil rights keep you under his restrictions, under his jurisdiction ... Civil rights mean you're asking Uncle Sam to treat you right ... Human rights are your God-given rights.

... Expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, take it into the United Nations, where our African brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Asian brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Latin-American brothers can throw their weight on our side ...

The political philosophy of black nationalism means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community; no more. The black man in the black community has to be re-educated into the science of politics so that he will know what politics is supposed to bring him in return ... We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying 'We shall overcome'. We've got to fight until we overcome.

This is a photograph of Malcolm X addressing an outdoor rally in New York.



QUESTION 4: HOW DID STEVE BIKO INFLUENCE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE 1970s?**SOURCE 4A**

This source is part of an interview Steve Biko had with a European journalist in the first half of 1970. It is extracted from *I Write What I Like: A Selection of His Writings*, by Steve Biko.

When I came to varsity [Durban Medical College, University of Natal], which was some time in 1966, in my own analysis and that of my friends there was some kind of anomaly [inconsistency] in this situation, where whites were in fact the main participants in our oppression and at the same time the main participants in the opposition to that oppression. It implied therefore that at no stage in this country were blacks throwing in their lot in the shift of political opinion. The arena was totally controlled by whites in what we called 'totality' of white power at that time.

So, we argued that any changes which are to come can only come as a result of a programme worked out by black people – and for black people to be able to work out a programme they needed to defeat the one main element in politics which was working against them: a psychological feeling of inferiority which was deliberately cultivated by the system. So equally, too, the whites, in order to be able to listen to blacks, needed to defeat the one problem which they had, which was one of 'superiority' ... First of all, we said as black students we could not participate in multiracial organisations which were by far white organisations because of the overwhelming number of white students at universities in this country ...

So, in 1968 we started forming what is now called SASO – the South African Students' Organisation – which was firmly based on Black Consciousness, the essence of which was for the black man to elevate his own position by positively looking at those value systems that make him distinctively a man in society.

SOURCE 4B

This is an extract taken from *No. 46: Steve Biko*, by Hilda Bernstein, where Donald Woods pays tribute to Steve Biko.

My most valued friend, Steve Biko, has died in detention. He needs no tributes from me. He never did. He was a special and extraordinary man who at the age of 30 had already acquired a towering status in the hearts and minds of countless thousands of young blacks throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. In the three years that I grew to know him, my conviction never wavered that this was the most important political leader in the entire country ... Wisdom, humour, compassion, understanding, brilliancy of intellect, unselfishness, modesty, courage – he had all these attributes ... The government quite clearly never understood the extent to which Steve Biko was a man of peace. He was militant in standing up for his principles, yes, but his abiding goal was a peaceful reconciliation of all South Africans, and in this I happen to know he was a moderating influence.

SOURCE 4C

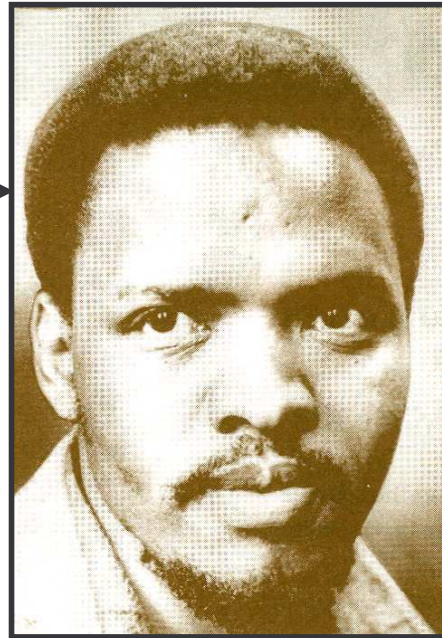
This is an extract taken from 'A resource to inform us of our present and future' by Nadine Gordimer in *Steve Biko 25 Years On*.

Somewhere in one of my novels written during the worst years of the apartheid regime, a character says: 'In a world of so much evil and so much compromise with evil, it means something special to be living in a country where there are still heroes.'

Our country was such a country. In the depths of apartheid's racist savagery, there were such heroes. One of those whose dedication to freedom, to justice, whose bravery, and whose appalling suffering, surely epitomise (demonstrate) the ordeals of merciless oppression and resistance to them, was Steve Biko.

It is difficult not to speculate with enormous regret, on what he would have meant in the creation of the new South Africa in progress today; what his clear-mindedness and deep knowledge of the country's and its people's real needs would have contributed to our development.

This is a photograph of Steve Biko, the founder of Black Consciousness.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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