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basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

HISTORY P1

NOVEMBER 2026



MARKS: 150

TIME: 3 hours

This question paper consists of 9 pages and an addendum of 14 pages.

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INSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION

1. This question paper consists of SECTION A and SECTION B based on the prescribed content framework in the CAPS document.

   SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

   QUESTION 1: THE COLD WAR: THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

   QUESTION 2: INDEPENDENT AFRICA: CASE STUDY – ANGOLA

   QUESTION 3: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS FROM THE 1950s TO THE 1970s: THE US CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

   SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

   QUESTION 4: THE EXTENSION OF THE COLD WAR: CASE STUDY – VIETNAM

   QUESTION 5: INDEPENDENT AFRICA: CASE STUDY – THE CONGO

   QUESTION 6: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS FROM THE 1950s TO THE 1970s: THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

2. SECTION A consists of THREE source-based questions. Source material that is required to answer these questions can be found in the ADDENDUM.

3. SECTION B consists of THREE essay questions.

4. Answer THREE questions as follows:

   4.1 At least ONE must be a source-based question and at least ONE must be an essay question.

   4.2 The THIRD question can be either a source-based question or an essay question.

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5. You are advised to spend ONE hour per question.

6. When answering questions, you should apply your knowledge, skills and insight.

7. You will be disadvantaged by merely rewriting the sources as answers.

8. Number the answers correctly according to the numbering system used in this question paper.

9. Write neatly and legibly..

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SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but not more than TWO questions, in this section. Source material that is to be used to answer these questions is contained in the ADDENDUM.

QUESTION 1: HOW EFFECTIVE WAS THE ALLIED SUPPORT TO WEST BERLIN DURING THE BERLIN BLOCKADE IN 1948–1949?

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

1.1 Use Source 1A.

1.1.1 Name the agreement, according to the source, that divided Germany in 1945. (1 x 1) (1)

1.1.2 Identify in the source:

(a) The zone of Germany occupied by the USSR/Soviet Union (1 x 1) (1)

(b) The zones of Germany occupied by the USA, Britain and France (1 x 1) (1)

1.1.3 Define the term *blockade* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 Quote ONE reason, mentioned in the source, which explains why Stalin set up the Berlin blockade in 1948. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.5 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why the Western powers chose the fourth option (airlift) to respond to the Berlin blockade. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Consult Source 1B.

1.2.1 Name, in the source, the single-mission organisation formed to provide West Berlin with food and the necessary supplies. (1 x 1) (1)

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1.2.2 Quote evidence from the source, which shows that the Allies improved their capability to deliver supplies during the airlift. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 What conclusion can be drawn from the fact that before the blockade West Berlin imported 9 000 to 15 500 tons of supplies per day, while at its height the airlift delivered only 6 000 to 7 000 tons per day? (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why you think Truman made the statement, 'We're going to stay, period.' (2 x 2) (4)

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1.3 Study Source 1C.

1.3.1 Explain the symbolic representation of Uncle Sam (USA). (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.2 Why do you think Uncle Sam (USA) is carrying food supplies? (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.3 Using the visual clues in the cartoon, comment on how the cartoonist has portrayed Stalin. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Refer to Sources 1A and 1C. Explain how the evidence in Source 1C supports the information in Source 1A regarding the crisis created by the Berlin blockade between 1948 and 1949. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Read Source 1D.

1.5.1 According to the source, what did the Soviet government encourage Western powers to do to ease tension between the US and the Soviet government? Give TWO responses. (2 x 1) (2)

1.5.2 Explain the term *settlement* in the context of the Berlin crisis (blockade) between 1948 and 1949. (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.3 Give the primary reason from the source why the Western powers decided to negotiate a settlement of the Berlin crisis with the USSR. (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.4 Comment on the limitations of the source for a historian researching the effectiveness of the airlift between 1948 and 1949. (2 x 2) (4)

1.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how effective the Allied support to West Berlin was during the Berlin blockade in 1948–1949. (8)

[50]

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QUESTION 2: WHY DID SOUTH AFRICA BECOME INVOLVED IN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR FROM 1975?

Study Sources 2A, 2B, 2C and 2D and answer the questions that follow.

2.1 Read Source 2A.

2.1.1 State ONE symbolic act, according to the source, that took place in Luanda on 11 November 1975 when Portugal handed independence to Angola. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.2 Explain what is implied by the phrase, 'wind of change', in the context of the independence of Angola in 1975. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.3 Identify, in the source, the THREE warring factions who fought each other for total control over post-colonial Angola. (3 x 1) (3)

2.1.4 Define the term *civil war* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.5 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why the newly independent Angola was a threat to South Africa. (2 x 2) (4)

2.1.6 According to the source, how did the majority-ruled neighbours respond to South Africa's aggressive foreign and domestic policies? (2 x 1) (2)

2.2 Study Source 2B.

2.2.1 Quote a phrase from the source which suggests that South Africa benefitted from the development of the Cunene hydroelectric scheme. (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.2 How, according to the source, did the collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola affect Pretoria? Give ONE response. (1 x 1) (1)

2.2.3 Why do you think the security of the Cunene hydroelectric project was a priority to South Africa? (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.4 Comment on what is implied by the words, '... it was only a matter of time before the SADF was drawn into the fighting in southern Angola.' (1 x 2) (2)

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2.3 Consult Source 2C.

2.3.1 Quote any TWO phrases from the source, which suggest that South Africa's armed aggression affected Angola negatively. (2 x 1) (2)

2.3.2 Explain the term *sovereignty* in the context of post-colonial Angola. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3.3 Explain why Pascal Luvualu, Angolan representative at the UN, condemned South Africa's involvement in Angola. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3.4 Comment on the usefulness of this source to a historian studying why the newly independent Angola needed protection from the international community. (2 x 2) (4)

2.4 Use Source 2D.

2.4.1 Explain what the slogan 'HANDS OFF ANGOLA' suggests about the protestors' view of South Africa's involvement in Angola. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.2 Comment on the meaning of the words 'SOUTH AFRICAN INVADERS OUT OF ANGOLA' in the context of South Africa's involvement in Angola. (1 x 2) (2)

2.5 Refer to Sources 2C and 2D. Explain how the evidence in Source 2D supports the information in Source 2C regarding South Africa's involvement in Angola. (2 x 2) (4)

2.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining why South Africa became involved in the Angolan Civil War from 1975. (8)
[50]

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QUESTION 3: HOW WAS THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON (1963) REMEMBERED 60 YEARS LATER IN 2023?

Study Sources 3A, 3B, 3C and 3D and answer the questions that follow.

3.1 Consult Source 3A.

3.1.1 State TWO aims, according to the source, that prominent leaders planning the March on Washington wanted to achieve. (2 x 1) (2)

3.1.2 Identify the leaders, according to the source, who represented the following organisations in 1963:

(a) Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) (1 x 1) (1)

(b) National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) (1 x 1) (1)

(c) Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (1 x 1) (1)

3.1.3 Define the term *activist* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.4 What conclusions can be drawn about Bayard Rustin from the fact that within two months after being selected as coordinator of the March, he had all logistical arrangements in place? (2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Read Source 3B.

3.2.1 Which gospel singer, according to the source, reminded Martin Luther King Jr to tell the protesters about his 'I have a dream' speech? (1 x 1) (1)

3.2.2 Explain the term *racism* in the context of the USA in the 1960s. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.3 Why do you think Holmes Norton described Martin Luther King Jr's 'I have a dream' speech as the 'unforgettable' line from the March? (2 x 2) (4)

3.2.4 Identify the TWO Acts, named in the source, that were passed by John F Kennedy's administration as a result of the impact of the March on Washington, in the following years:

(a) 1964 (1 x 1) (1)

(b) 1965 (1 x 1) (1)

3.2.5 Comment on the reliability of this source to a historian researching the impact of 'I have a dream' speech on 28 August 1963. (2 x 2) (4)

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3.3 Study Source 3C.

3.3.1 Quote ONE reason, according to King's son and granddaughter, that suggest '... that the civil rights leader's call for equality and justice has yet to be fulfilled ...' (1 x 1) (1)

3.3.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain what Andrew Young implied by the statement, 'Don't look at all the things that are wrong, look back on where we were 60 years ago' in the context of the US in 2023. (2 x 2) (4)

3.3.3 What incident, stated in the source, occurred in Florida in 2023 that reminded Americans of the 1963 racial attacks? (1 x 2) (2)

3.3.4 Explain the implication of the following concern raised by Andrea Waters King: 'It unfortunately demonstrated where we are compared with 1963, and the answer is – not far at all.' (1 x 2) (2)

3.4 Use Source 3D.

3.4.1 According to the information on the button, what was the main reason for the March on Washington on 28 August 1963? (1 x 1) (1)

3.4.2 What, other than raising funds, do you think could have been the purpose of the buttons? (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.3 Explain the symbolic representation of the handshake on the button. (1 x 2) (2)

3.5 Refer to Sources 3A and 3D. Comment on how the evidence in Source 3D supports the information in Source 3A regarding the organisation of the March on Washington on 28 August 1963. (2 x 2) (4)

3.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how the March on Washington was remembered 60 years later in 2023. (8)
[50]

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SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but NOT more than TWO questions, in this section.

Your essay should be about THREE pages long.

QUESTION 4: THE EXTENSION OF THE COLD WAR: CASE STUDY – VIETNAM

The Viet Cong's use of a range of tactics and their knowledge of the local environmental conditions, resulted in their success in the Vietnam War against the United States of America (USA) between 1962 and 1975.

Do you agree with this statement? Support your line of argument with relevant historical evidence. **[50]**

QUESTION 5: INDEPENDENT AFRICA: CASE STUDY – THE CONGO

Mobutu Sese Seko transformed the Congo in the early 1960s through political, economic and sociocultural policies, which resulted in totally moving away from colonial policies.

Critically discuss this statement. Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument. **[50]**

QUESTION 6: CIVIL SOCIETY PROTESTS FROM THE 1950s TO THE 1970s: THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

Explain to what extent the Black Power Movement was perceived by critics to be 'militant' in their approach to organising African Americans against racial discrimination in the USA in the 1960s.

Support your line of argument with relevant historical evidence. **[50]**

TOTAL: 150

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ADDENDUM



This addendum consists of 14 pages.

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QUESTION 1: HOW EFFECTIVE WAS THE ALLIED SUPPORT TO WEST BERLIN DURING THE BERLIN BLOCKADE IN 1948–1949?

SOURCE 1A

The source below is from an article titled 'Operation Vittles' by American writer DL Haulman and was published in the journal of the *Air Force Historical Foundation* in 2017. It highlights the choices Western powers faced after Stalin initiated the Berlin blockade.

When the Allies defeated Hitler in the spring of 1945, they divided Germany up for temporary occupation according to the terms of the Potsdam agreement. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR/Soviet Union) occupied the eastern zone of Germany, while the United States, Britain and France occupied the western zones. Berlin, the German capital, lay in the middle of the eastern Soviet zone, but it, too, was divided for occupation among the four victorious Allies.

On 23 June 1948, Stalin initiated a blockade of all land routes between Western Germany and West Berlin, including railroad and highway communications, and the next day the blockade was complete. On 25 June, his government announced that food deliveries from the Western zone would no longer be allowed to reach West Berlin. The blockade separated the two and a half million West Berliners from their normal sources of supply. Either Stalin wanted to pressure the Western governments to cease (stop) the creation of a non-communist West German state, or he wanted a new communist East German state that would include all of Berlin.

The Western powers had four options. First, they could cancel the currency reform, ... A second alternative would be for them to abandon West Berlin, ... A third option would be to try forcing an armoured column across eastern Germany to western Berlin, ... A fourth option would be to vastly expand the airlift that had begun in April to resupply the Western garrisons (defence forces) in Berlin by air .... The city needed not only food, but also massive amounts of coal and other supplies. Another question was whether the Soviet Union would allow the vast expansion of flights over the Soviet zone. That, too, ran the risk of war.

[Source: *Air Force Historical Foundation Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 3]

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SOURCE 1B

The source below, titled 'Lifeline from the Sky: The Doctrinal Implications of Supplying an Enclave from the Air', was taken from *The Berlin Airlift Report* by JS Brunhaver in 1996. It explains how the Western powers set up the airlift to deliver essential supplies to West Berlin.

A Combined Airlift Task Force (CALTF), organised under the United States Air Forces Europe (USAFE), was responsible for the coalition effort to supply Berlin. The American effort began as an operational activity of Headquarters USAFE. However, the necessity for a single-mission organisation was quickly apparent; and on 30 July 1948, the Airlift Task Force (Provisional) was formed. The Allies began in July (1948) with the capability (ability) to deliver over 2 000 tons per day and completed the operation with the capability to transport 6 000 to 7 000 tons per day.

Allied airlifters were required to supply Berlin with not only enough food and supplies for it to survive the blockade, but enough food and supplies for it to prosper as a community. Before the blockade, the city imported 9 000 to 15 500 tons of supplies daily to meet its needs. When the blockade was put into effect, Berlin had adequate supplies on hand to last roughly 30 days. The minimum supplies necessary for survival were appraised (valued) at 4 000 tons per day. General Clay initially estimated that 700 tons per day as the maximum was to be anticipated from even a 'very big operation'.

None of the leadership at the time expected the airlift would last very long. It was President Harry S Truman's opinion that the airlift would serve only to stretch out (extend) the stockpile (supply) of rations in Berlin and thus secure time for negotiations. Even so in September when pressure was put on him to pull American troops out of Berlin, he said, 'We're going to stay, period*.' At this point it became evident that the blockade would continue; a re-evaluation of the situation showed that 4 500 tons of supplies were needed.

[Source: *The Berlin Airlift Report*: 'Lifeline from the Sky: The Doctrinal Implications of Supplying an Enclave from the Air' by JS Brunhaver]

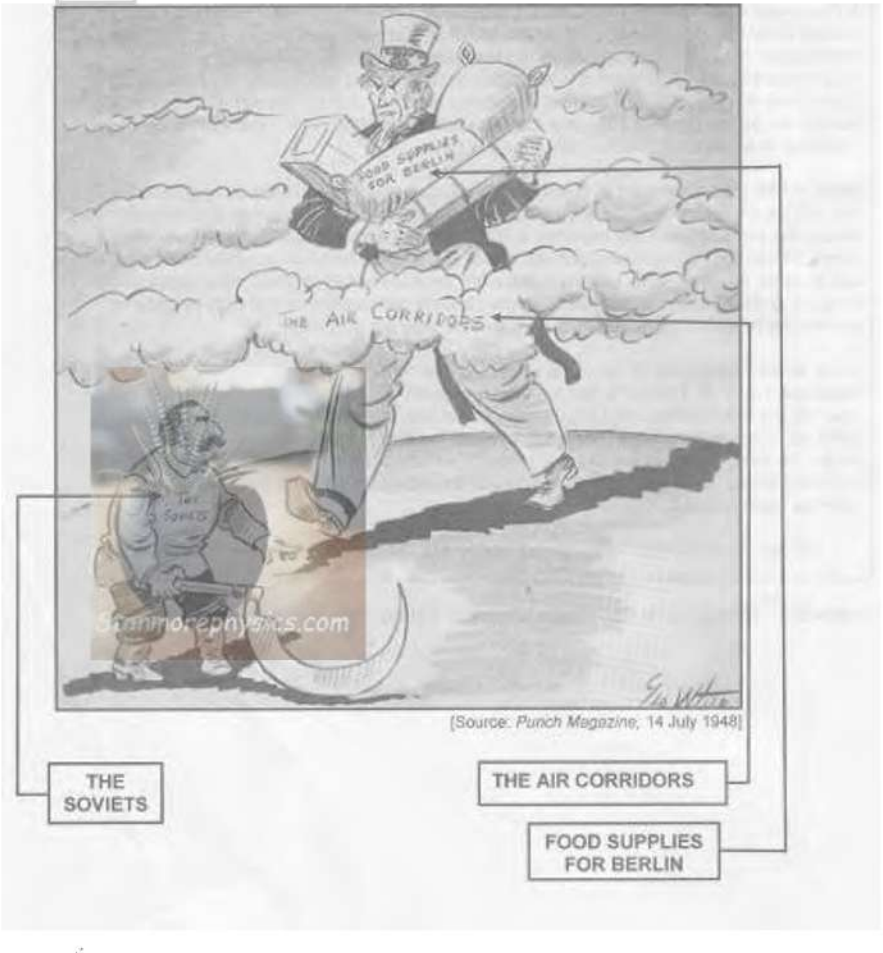
***period:** an expression that suggests there is nothing more to say about a subject

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SOURCE 1C

The cartoon below, drawn by British cartoonist EH Shepard, was published in the *Punch Magazine* on 14 July 1948. It depicts the Allied Airlift, led by the USA (Uncle Sam) carrying 'Food Supplies for Berlin' through the air corridors (flight paths) into West Berlin and the Soviet Union's (Stalin) response.



[Source: *Punch Magazine*, 14 July 1948]

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SOURCE 1D

The source below is an extract from an article titled 'The Berlin Blockade Revisited', written by DF Harrington and it was published in *The International History Review* Journal in 1984. It highlights Vysotsky, a Soviet writer's, views on negotiations that led to an agreement between Western powers and the USSR to end the blockade on 12 May 1949.

To ease tensions and deprive the United States of America (USA) of a pretext (excuse) for aggravating (worsening) the situation, he (Vysotsky) said the Soviet government took measures to encourage the Western powers to negotiate directly and to re-establish the unity of Germany. Through indirect signals via United Press International (UPI) journalist Kingsbury Smith and via direct contacts at the United Nations, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the USA began negotiations that ultimately led to a settlement. Vysotsky resumed with a question to which he provided the answer, 'Why did the Western powers decide to negotiate a settlement of the "Berlin crisis? Why the Allies Negotiate?" ' The primary reason was that the United States and its allies failed in their attempts to undermine the economy of the Soviet zone and force the Soviet Union out of Germany. Just as futile (unsuccessful) were their hopes of splitting up the united front of the socialist states.

The Western powers were also seriously concerned about the steadily worsening situation in their sectors where the lack of raw materials, especially those which could not be brought in by air, was having a detrimental effect on the industry. According to the *Magistrate* (newspaper), by the end of 1948 an estimated 5 712 industrial enterprises (out of 62 500) had been closed because of the absence of raw materials, while 12 937 were operating on short time. In March 1949 the number of unemployed reached 144 944, not counting those who worked a short week. Disturbed by the mounting tension in Berlin, world public opinion, like the Germans themselves, insisted that the Western powers get down to negotiations with the USSR and end the steadily intensifying conflict. An agreement was reached on 4 May and the blockade ended on 12 May 1949.

[Source: *The International History Review*, Journal, Vol. 6, No. 1, February]

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QUESTION 2: WHY DID SOUTH AFRICA BECOME INVOLVED IN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR FROM 1975?

SOURCE 2A

The extract below is from an article titled 'The Angolan Civil War – A Cold War Microcosm?' by T Schwärzler and it was published in the *Africa-Approaches and Classifications* Journal in 2016. It highlights why the newly independent Angola, split by three national liberation movements, was faced with the challenges of a civil war.

On 11 November 1975, a symbolic act took place in the Angolan capital of Luanda. After waving over the country for more than 500 years, the Portuguese colours were hauled (pulled) down for the final time as Lisbon handed its largest remaining colony over to the Angolan people. A war of independence that had lasted thirteen years had brought an end to the last European colonial empire in Africa. The 'wind of change' had arrived in southern Africa.

The war of independence had split the new-born nation into three warring factions. Three different movements, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) and União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), who each represented one of the major ethnic groups in Angola, not only fought for independence against Portugal, but also against each other over who would lead post-colonial Angola. Thus, when the war of independence ended, the three movements continued to fight each other and the war was gradually blending over (coming together) into a civil war.

Angolan independence was not only a decisive caesura (turning point) in the country's history, it also had significant regional and global ramifications (consequences).

Against this background, South Africa faced unprecedented (first-time) adversity (challenge) from its newly majority-ruled neighbours and the nation's hitherto (previously) unquestioned domination over the region was no longer a guaranteed fact. Desperately trying to preserve its racist sociopolitical system, Pretoria embarked on an utmost aggressive foreign and domestic policy to prevent the new majority-ruled governments from consolidating their power. In turn, these countries responded by taking up arms against South Africa's aggression and directly challenged Pretoria's apartheid-regime.

[Source: *Africa-Approaches and Classifications*, Journal, Vol. 17, No. 18]

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SOURCE 2B

The extract below is from a book titled *The Cuban Intervention in Angola, 1965–1991* by E George and it was published in 2005. It highlights South Africa's interest in Angola from 1975.

The development of the Cunene hydroelectric scheme in the early 1970s gave South Africa a direct stake in southern Angola, the $400 million installations providing irrigation and electricity for northern Namibia*. The collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola thus caused alarm in Pretoria which not only lost its 'buffer state' on Namibia's northern border, but which also faced the prospect of the MPLA taking power in Luanda. Paranoid (suspicious) that a Marxist, anti-apartheid government would permit the South West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO) to set up bases in southern Angola from where it could infiltrate (get into) Namibia (a fear which proved well-founded), Pretoria took an increasing interest in Angola and, as Portuguese authority started to crumble (collapse), it took matters into its own hands.

South Africa's overriding (main) priority was the security of the Cunene hydroelectric project, part of which was located inside Angola at Calueque, fifteen miles north of the Namibian border. After the withdrawal of the Portuguese garrison (defence force) in July 1975, security in the area had deteriorated sharply, and following clashes between the MPLA and FNLA on 8 August, a small South African detachment (unit) crossed the border and occupied Calueque. Four days later, Lisbon was informed that a '30-man patrol' had occupied Calueque in order to protect the workers from factional fighting. Lisbon protested, but only weakly, as it was guilty of violating its own security commitments (under which Portugal pledged to protect the installations and workers from attack). With Calueque under South African control and with SWAPO escalating its operations dramatically throughout 1975, it was only a matter of time before the South African Defence Force (SADF) was drawn into the fighting in southern Angola.

[Source: *The Cuban intervention in Angola, 1965–1991* by E George]

***Namibia:** (then called South West Africa) was under the control of South Africa at the time

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SOURCE 2C

This source is an extract from a statement by Pascal Luvualu, Angola's representative to the United Nations Security Council in New York on 29 March 1976. It explains South Africa's intervention in Angola as a threat to peace in southern Africa.

South Africa has committed acts of armed aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. These actions constitute (create) a grave (serious) violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity. They represent a clear breach (break) of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The incursions (invasion) were carried out by forces crossing internationally recognised borders. Such acts cannot be justified under any pretext (excuse) of self-defence. They were planned and executed with the aim of destabilising my country.

The government of Angola has repeatedly informed the international community of these acts. Despite appeals, the aggressions have continued and intensified (increased). The presence of foreign military forces has aggravated (worsened) the situation in the region. These actions threaten peace and security, not only in Angola, but also in southern Africa as a whole. They encourage further violations and undermine (weaken) prospects for stability.

The Security Council has a responsibility to address such threats decisively. Failure to act would set a dangerous precedent (example) in international relations. Respect for sovereignty is essential to maintaining regional peace. The people of Angola seek to live in independence without external interference. We reject all forms of aggression directed against our nation. International law must be upheld to prevent further escalation.

The situation demonstrates how foreign intervention fuels conflict. It also shows how regional stability can be undermined by external actions. The government of Angola calls upon the Council to condemn these acts. We urge measures to prevent further violations of our borders.

Only through respect for international norms can peace in southern Africa be ensured.

[Source: United Nations, Security Council Official Records, 1 902nd Meeting, 29 March 1976]

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SOURCE 2D

The photograph below is from the archive of the Holding Institution Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). It depicts how protesters picketed outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square, London, against South Africa's aggression towards the newly elected, Angolan government (MPLA), on 11 February 1976.



[Source: Holding Institution AAM archive, Bodleian Library, 1976]

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SOUTH AFRICAN INVADERS OUT OF ANGOLA

SOUTH AFRICA – HANDS OFF ANGOLA

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QUESTION 3: HOW WAS THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON (1963) REMEMBERED 60 YEARS LATER IN 2023?

SOURCE 3A

The extract below is from an article titled 'Rustin Organizes the March on Washington' by R Hill and it was published in the *Social Sciences and Humanities Journal* in 2023. It highlights how the planning of the March was carried out by various civil rights leaders.

A coalition of prominent leaders, including Martin Luther King Jr and A Philip Randolph, came together in July 1963 to plan the March, which aimed to address civil rights and economic issues faced by African Americans.

Meeting in New York City on 2 July 1963, a coalition of key civil rights leaders planned a march on Washington, DC. Coalition members included Martin Luther King Jr, founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); A Philip Randolph (founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and vice president of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO)); Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP); Whitney Young Jr of the Urban League; John Lewis from the SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee); and James Farmer from CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality).

After debate, the group selected Bayard Rustin, the founder of CORE, to coordinate the March. While Randolph, an activist labour leader and civil rights veteran, was the official March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom director, he supported Rustin to work on his behalf as chief march planner, which Bayard successfully did in only two months.

Within the first weeks of planning, Rustin had an organising manual written and two thousand copies distributed to civil rights leaders in strategic locations throughout the United States. Funds were raised by collecting large and small donations and through sales of buttons and an official memento (reminder) that consisted of a portfolio of photographs. By mid-August, 175 000 buttons had been purchased by supporters for twenty-five cents each, and 40 000 portfolios had been printed.

[Source: *Social Sciences and Humanities Journal*, Online]

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SOURCE 3B

The source below is from an article titled 'I witnessed the best of America – remembering the March on Washington 60 years on', by D Smith and it was published in *The Guardian* newspaper on 26 August 2023. It provides a version by Eleanor Holmes Norton, an organiser of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), on how the famous 'I have a dream' speech by Martin Luther King Jr was delivered on the day of the march.

He was about to sit down when the gospel singer Mahalia Jackson shouted: 'Tell them about your dream, Martin! Tell them about the dream!' King then drew upon some of his past speeches, including the refrain (chorus) 'I have a dream', and improvising (creating) other lines urging Americans to picture a world without racism. Holmes Norton describes 'I have a dream' as the 'unforgettable' line from the March. There were a number of memorable speeches, but, true to form, the speech that stood out was Martin Luther King Jr's speech.

'I don't remember the words now, but I think it was the only speech that people could remember because of his extraordinary eloquence (expressiveness). There was nobody like him. Remember he was a Baptist minister so he'd had a lot of practice, not only in writing it, but also in delivering it.'

King's 16-minute address, currently on display at the Smithsonian National Museum of African American Culture and History to mark the anniversary, helped cement the March's political legacy. It is widely credited with pressuring the John F Kennedy's administration to act on civil rights, ultimately leading to the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

But when Kennedy and his brother, the attorney-general Robert Kennedy, first got wind of plans for the March they had been anxious. The pair eventually decided that it was more pragmatic (realistic) to work with the organisers than against them. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, a daughter of Robert Kennedy, recently told an audience at the American Enterprise Institute thinktank (advisors) in Washington: 'When they learned that Martin Luther King wanted to do the March on Washington, they had a choice: to fight it or to say, let's work together. The decision was made by John Kennedy and my father: let's work together.'

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[Source: *The Guardian*, 26 August 2023]

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SOURCE 3C

The source below is from an article titled 'Racism is still with us: Celebration of King's 1963 speech shadowed by racist attack', by E Pilkington and it appeared in *The Guardian* newspaper on 27 August 2023. It explains the injustices and racism that African Americans are still facing.

On the eve of the 60th anniversary of Martin Luther King's legendary 'I Have a Dream' speech, his son and granddaughter have decried (criticised) continuing racial violence and hatred in the US, lamenting (complaining) that the civil rights leader's call for equality and justice has yet to be fulfilled …

Andrew Young, a member of King's inner circle who helped convene the original March and went on to become a UN ambassador and mayor of Atlanta, was among dozens of speakers. Young talked about the fight to secure access to the ballot box amid a renewed wave of voter suppression (repression) measures, saying: 'The vote is the passport to freedom and opportunity. That is hard work, but it's good work. Don't get mad, get smart. Don't look at all the things that are wrong, look back on where we were 60 years ago when we had the first March on Washington.'

While many gathered on Saturday to pay homage (tribute) to King and the first March on Washington, an echo of 1963 of a bitter and tragic kind was unfolding in Florida. A white man fatally shot three black people in Jacksonville in a conscious racist attack, the city's sheriff said.

Andrea Waters King, the wife of Martin Luther King III (Martin Luther King Jr's son), drew a parallel between Saturday's atrocity (killing) in Florida and the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. That attack took place two weeks after the first March on Washington, killing four African American girls. She told CNN: 'Yesterday we saw the hate. It unfortunately demonstrated where we are compared with 1963, and the answer is – not far at all.'

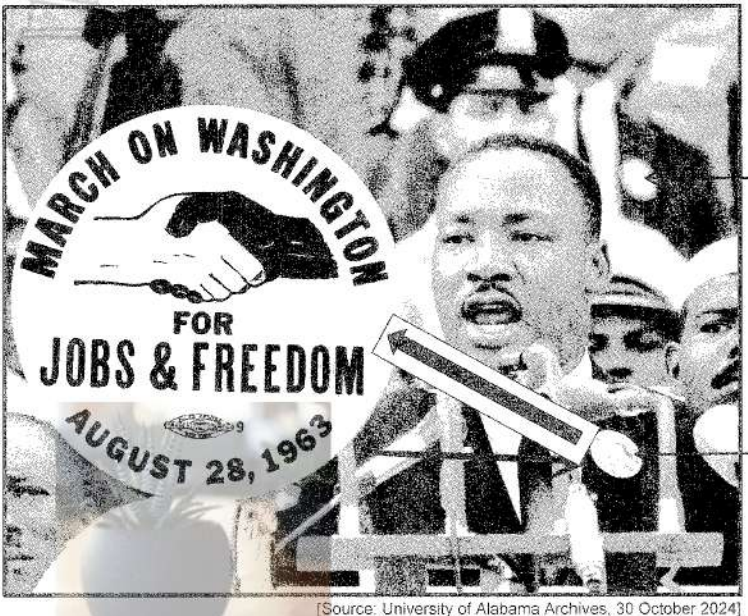
[Source: *The Guardian*, 28 August 2023]

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SOURCE 3D

The photograph below shows Martin Luther King Jr at the March on Washington in 1963 wearing a button that was sold to raise funds to assist with the logistical arrangements of the March. The photograph was adapted to enlarge the button re-released by the University of Alabama archives as part of the 60-year commemoration of the March.



[Source: University of Alabama Archives, 30 October 2024]

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