NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
MAY 2022

HISTORY: PAPER II

SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C

IEB Copyright © 2022

SOURCE A **This extract was published on a website called: *Law Library – American Law and Legal Information (Jrank)*, which publishes professionally written and researched articles, to create a comprehensive legal information site on the Web. It gives an overview of the Black Power movement.**

The Black Power movement marked a turning point in black–white relations in the United States and also in how blacks saw themselves. The movement was hailed by some as a positive and proactive force aimed at helping blacks achieve full equality with whites, but it was reviled* by others as a militant, sometimes violent faction whose primary goal was to drive a wedge between whites and blacks … the Black Power movement instilled a sense of racial pride and self-esteem in blacks … Black Power advocates encouraged blacks to form or join all-black political parties that could provide a formidable* power base and offer a foundation for real socioeconomic progress … Now it was time for blacks to set their own agenda, putting their needs and aspirations first … **(Paragraph 1)**

… The movement generated a number of positive developments. Probably the most noteworthy of these was its influence on black culture. For the first time, blacks in the United States were encouraged to acknowledge their African heritage. Colleges and universities established black studies programs and black studies departments. Blacks who had grown up believing that they were descended from a backwards people now found out that African culture was as rich and diverse as any other, and they were encouraged to take pride in that heritage. The Black Arts movement, seen by some as connected to the Black Power movement, flourished in the 1960s and 1970s. Young black poets, authors, and visual artists found their voices and shared those voices with others … **(Paragraph 2)**

The same spirit of racial unity and pride that made the Black Power movement so dynamic also made it problematic – and to some, dangerous. Many whites, and a number of blacks, saw the movement as a black separatist* organization bent on segregating blacks and whites and undoing the important work of the civil rights movement … Blacks were still victims of racism, whether they were being charged a higher rate for a mortgage, getting paid less than a white co-worker doing the same work, or facing violence at the hands of white racists. But the solutions that some Black Power leaders advocated* seemed only to create new problems. Some … suggested that blacks receive paramilitary training and carry guns to protect themselves. Though these individuals insisted this device was solely a means of self-defence and not a call to violence, it was still unnerving to think of armed civilians walking the streets. **(Paragraph 3)**

… the Black Power movement … had no central leadership, which meant that different organizations with divergent agendas often could not agree on the best course of action. The more radical groups accused the more mainstream groups of capitulating to whites, and the more mainstream accused the more radical of becoming too ready to use violence. By the 1970s, most of the formal organizations that had come into prominence with the Black Power movement, such as the SNCC and the Black Panthers, had all but disappeared. The Black Power movement did not … help end discrimination or racism. **(Paragraph 4)**

[Adapted from: *Black Power movement – jrank*. Available ONLINE: <https://law.jrank.org/pages/4776/Black-Power-movement.html9> (Accessed 25 March 2021)]

*reviled – criticised in an abusive or angrily insulting manner
*formidable – inspiring fear or respect through being impressively large, powerful, intense
*separatist – a person who supports the separation of a particular group of people from a larger body on the basis of ethnicity, religion, or gender
*advocated – publicly recommended or supported

IEB Copyright © 2022

SOURCE B **This is an extract from an article published online in *Time* magazine in 2021. It describes the impact of the Black Panthers.**

While the Panthers fought against police brutality, they also invested heavily in community organizing and aid. Their free-breakfast program fed thousands of hungry kids before school; they set up health clinics, child development centres and food pantries. They handled pest control, gave away coats and shoes in the winter, and started a free bus route to prisons for people to visit their incarcerated* family members or loved ones …

… Education was also a key part of the Black Panthers' mission: they started 'liberation schools' that mixed traditional subjects like math and science with teachings about black history and racial inequity* …

… While the most widely shared images of the Black Panthers are of men, women played an essential role in the party, making up at least two-thirds of the organization by the end of the 1960s. Elaine Brown edited the party's newspaper and led the entire organization from 1974 to 1977. Other women were involved at all levels of organizing; they fought for more inclusive understandings of Black Power, armed themselves and led many of the party's most successful community programs.

[Adapted from: *Time*. By Andrew R. Chow. Available at [ONLINE]: <https://time.com/5938058/black-panthers-activism/> (Accessed 25 March 2021)]

*incarcerated – imprisoned, jailed
*inequity – lack of fairness or justice

IEB Copyright © 2022

SOURCE C **This photograph shows children preparing bags of food for distribution as part of the Panther Free-Food Program at the Oakland Collegium at the Black Panther community survival conference, Oakland, California, March 1972.**



[Available from: *Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture*, © Stephen Shames: [ONLINE] at: <https://nmaahc.si.edu/blog-post/black-panther-party-challenging-police-and-promoting-social-change> (Accessed 25 March 2021)]

SOURCE D **This extract refers to how the Nation of Islam (NOI) was influenced by Malcolm X and Muhammad Ali and the influence it had on other civil rights groups.**

NOI's real boom came during the 1950s, … when the advent* of the civil rights movement and the violent reactions it provoked converged to make NOI's depiction of the 'white devil' pertinent* to a much larger sector of black America. New members, including Malcolm X and heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay before joining NOI), added visibility to the group and, in the case of the former, contributed directly to a meteoric* membership increase … Malcolm X was wildly popular, and his years as a prominent member of NOI (1952–64) saw membership skyrocket. But the Nation's vituperative* language and its advocacy of self-defence in place of nonviolence alienated it from mainstream civil rights groups. By 1959, Martin Luther King was warning of 'a hate group arising in our midst that would preach the doctrine of black supremacy'. ... As urban riots rocked the nation, NOI's message that black elevation could come only through a radical separation from the structures of white oppression continued to resonate with many.

[Adapted from: *Southern Poverty Law Center*. Available at: [ONLINE]:<https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/nation-islam> (Accessed 25 March 2021)]

*advent – the arrival of a remarkable person or thing
*pertinent – relevant or applicable to a particular matter
*meteoric – very rapid
*vituperative – bitter and abusive

IEB Copyright © 2022

SOURCE E **This is a poster produced by Emory Douglas – an American graphic artist. He was a member of the Black Panther Party from 1967 until the Party disbanded in the 1980s. As a revolutionary artist and the Minister of Culture for the Black Panther Party, Douglas created artwork to represent Black-American oppression. The precise date on which this poster was produced is unknown. 'Pigs' was a term adopted by Huey Newton for 'police'.**



[Available at: [ONLINE]: <https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=black+panther+posters+emory+jackson&qpvt=black+panther+posters+emory+jackson&form=IGRE&first=1&tsc=ImageBasicHover> (Accessed 24 March 2021)]

IEB Copyright © 2022

SOURCE F **This is an extract written by Huey P. Newton in a book called: *To Die for the People.* (1972). The extract is quoted in another book called: *The Black Panther Party. Service to the People Programs.* (2008). It describes the survival-based programmes of the Panthers.**

We recognized that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time, it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time, we have had such programs not only for survival but also for organizational purposes. Now we not only have a breakfast program for schoolchildren, but we also have clothing programs, we have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, we have programs for prisoners and their families, and we are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently we have begun a testing and research program on sickle-cell anaemia; and we know that 98 percent of the victims of this disease are black. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community, but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending* revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors. All of our survival programs are free. We have never charged the community a dime to receive the things they need from any of our programs.

[Adapted from: *The Black Panther Party. Service to the People Programs.* The Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation. 2008. Available ONLINE: <https://caringlabor.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/hilliard-ed-the-black-panther-party-service-to-the-people-programs.pdf> (Accessed 25 March 2021)]

*pending – awaiting decision or settlement

IEB Copyright © 2022

SOURCE G **This is an extract from a report from the British Embassy in Washington to the British Foreign Office in England on the use of the 'Black Power' slogan, 5 August 1966. It discusses the rifts amongst black activists in the USA in the 1960s.**

One of the most significant new features has undoubtedly been the emergence of the slogan Black Power, which … first began to be used publicly during the Mississippi civil rights march in June. … The slogan has to most people rather an alarming ring about it, with implications of violence and extremism* and a blatant appeal to racism. In fact, no-one seems to know exactly what it means, and perhaps this was deliberate, at least to start with. It is a striking slogan which could lend itself to all kinds of interpretations according to the needs of the moment …

… However, the main significance of Black Power is that it has threatened to split the civil rights movement. Earlier this month both the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held their national conventions at roughly the same time. … The slogan Black Power was used constantly at the CORE convention, and, according to the Press, was endorsed there and 'adopted as the dominant philosophy of the movement' (*Washington Post*). … It was obvious that somebody of Dr. Martin Luther King's mentality … would disagree profoundly with it, and he made his opposition known at once. So did Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP on 4 July at the convention* in Los Angeles. He told his audience that the slogan meant 'anti-white power … we of the NAACP will have none of this …'

[Adapted from: ONLINE: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/civil-rights-in-america/black-power/> (Accessed on 26 march 2021)]

*extremism – the holding of extreme political or religious views; fanaticism.
*convention – a large meeting or conference

IEB Copyright © 2022

SOURCE H **This is an extract from a book on American history written by Harold Evans in 1998. Sir Harold Matthew Evans was a British-American journalist and writer. In his career in his native Britain, he was editor of *The Sunday Times* from 1967 to 1981. He moved to the USA in 1984 as a visiting professor to Duke University and edited the memoirs of famous people like Henry Kissinger. The extract describes the impact of the Black Panthers.**

There was at first undeniable support for the Panthers in the ghettos across the country. They started free-breakfast programs, a learning center, jobs programs, … Their manifesto was a concoction* of the laudable* and the risible*: better housing and the release of 'all black men' held in jail, the exemption of all blacks from military service and 'an end to the robbery of the capitalists of your black community' ... the Panthers' demand for 'an end to police terrorism' was popular … and it was followed up by having armed Panthers patrol the streets to protect blacks from harassment …

… That said, the Panthers were no angels … the leadership operated more as a criminal gang than dedicated revolutionaries. They betrayed the worthy efforts of the people who ran the slum programs. … Cleaver claimed he raped white women as a revolutionary act … He plotted the ambush of an Oakland policeman … fled to Algeria and came back to do time for that and other burglaries …

… Newton was a drug addict and alcoholic … Jailed in a confused shooting incident in which a policeman died, he became a radical* … Newton got out of prison on a technicality after three years and later confided he did the shooting … He expelled Seale from the party, beating him with a bull whip. The remaining staff members were in terror of Newton.

[Adapted from: Harold Evans. *The American Century.* 1998. Jonathan Cape/Pimlico Publishers. Page 546]

*concoction – a mixture of various ingredients or elements
*laudable – deserving of praise
*risible – provoking laughter because of its absurdity
*radical – someone who wants extreme change and often uses extreme methods to bring it about

IEB Copyright © 2022