basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

HISTORY P1

NOVEMBER 2023

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.

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

6. When answering questions, candidates should apply their 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 to be used to answer these questions is contained in the ADDENDUM.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID BERLIN BECOME A FOCAL POINT OF COLD WAR TENSION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION (USSR) AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) IN 1948?

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

1.1 Refer to Source 1A.

1.1.1 Identify in the source the THREE countries that made up the European Advisory Commission. (3 x 1) (3)

1.1.2 Why, according to the source, was it decided at Yalta in February 1945 to also create a zone for France in Germany? (1 x 1) (1)

1.1.3 Explain why you think the occupying countries had 'to ensure that the Germans were not able to build up a military force again'. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 Comment on the implications of having the city of Berlin in the Soviet zone in the context of Cold War tensions between the USSR and the USA in 1948. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Read Source 1B.

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

1.2.2 Explain why you think the USA regarded the Berlin Blockade as 'a clear violation of existing agreements concerning the administration of Berlin'. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2.3 Quote THREE reasons from the source why the USA was determined to remain as a power in Berlin. (3 x 1) (3)

1.2.4 State ONE specific obligation, according to the source, which the USA insisted on concerning the physical well-being of the population of its sector in Berlin. (1 x 1) (1)

1.2.5 Comment on why the USA emphasised its willingness to settle any disagreements with the USSR by negotiations. (2 x 2) (4)

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1.3 Use Source 1C.

1.3.1 Give TWO reasons, according to the source, why the Soviet Union opposed the introduction of a special currency to be used in the western part of Berlin only. (2 x 1) (2)

1.3.2 Explain the concept *monetary reform* in the context of the Berlin zones in 1948. (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.3 Why, according to the source, did the Soviet Command believe that the danger of the disruption of economic activities of the Soviet zone and of Berlin was not eliminated? (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.4 Comment on the limitations of this source to a historian researching the division of Berlin. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Consult Sources 1B and 1C. Comment on how Source 1B differs from Source 1C regarding reasons given by the USA and the Soviet Union for remaining as occupying powers in Berlin in 1948. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Consult Source 1D.

1.5.1 Explain the symbolic representation of the three leaders seated next to each other in the context of the Cold War. (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.2 Why did Russia (Stalin) want to have a final say in the administration of Berlin? (1 x 2) (2)

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 Berlin became a focal point of Cold War tension between the Soviet Union (USSR) and the United States of America (USA) in 1948. (8)

[50]

QUESTION 2: WHAT FACTORS LED TO THE THREE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS (MPLA, FNLA AND UNITA) BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR IN 1975?

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

2.1 Use Source 2A.

2.1.1 Define the term *revolution* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.2 Identify in the source the THREE nationalist movements that contested the control of Angola after independence. (3 x 1) (3)

2.1.3 Name TWO communist countries in the source with which Neto formed close links. (2 x 1) (2)

2.1.4 What does the execution of Nito Alves' followers suggest about Neto's leadership? (1 x 2) (2)

2.2 Read Source 2B.

2.2.1 Why do you think this photograph was taken in December 1975? (2 x 2) (4)

2.2.2 Comment on the implication of the title of the photograph 'Angola's Brutal History and the MPLA's Role in it'. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3 Use Source 2C.

2.3.1 Why, according to the source, did the transition from Portuguese rule in Angola turn into a disaster? (1 x 2) (2)

2.3.2 Explain the term *civil war* in the context of the contestation of power over Angola. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3.3 Comment on the meaning of the statement, 'But both were determined for reasons of their own prestige …', in the context of their involvement in the Angolan Civil War. (2 x 2) (4)

2.3.4 Explain the usefulness of this source to a historian studying the Angolan Civil War. (2 x 2) (4)

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2.4 Study Source 2D.

2.4.1 Quote evidence from the source that suggests that the MPLA was leaning towards nationalism and socialism. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.2 Explain what you think is implied by the following in the context of the Angolan Civil War: 'Conflict became ethnicised'. (1 x 2) (2)

2.4.3 Why, according to the source, did the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) support the FNLA? (1 x 1) (1)

2.4.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, comment on why you think South Africa decided to support UNITA. (2 x 2) (4)

2.4.5 Quote TWO pieces of evidence from the source that suggest the MPLA did not improve the lives of the Angolan people. (2 x 1) (2)

2.5 Refer to Sources 2C and 2D. Explain how the evidence in Source 2C supports the information in Source 2D regarding the approach followed by the three nationalist movements. (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 the factors that led to the three nationalist movements (MPLA, FNLA and UNITA) becoming involved in the Angolan Civil War in 1975. (8)

[50]

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QUESTION 3: WHAT CHALLENGES WERE ENCOUNTERED BY THE CIVIL RIGHTS PROTESTORS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE FREEDOM RIDES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) IN THE 1960s?

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

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

3.1.1 How, according to the source, did the Freedom Riders set out to challenge racial discrimination in the USA in 1961? (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.2 Define the term *constitution* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.3 Comment on what is meant by the statement, 'They also knew that they might be injured or even killed for trying to exercise that right [of travelling together]'. (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why President John F Kennedy took immediate action in desegregating the USA. (2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Use Source 3B.

3.2.1 Explain why you think this newspaper article made front-page headline news. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.2 Why do you think this article was titled, 'Inhuman!'? (2 x 2) (4)

3.2.3 Comment on why the flames and smoke from the burning bus are labelled, 'The Flames of Hatred!'. (1 x 2) (2)

3.3 Read Source 3C.

3.3.1 What, according to the source, motivated Zwerg and his colleagues to get involved in the Freedom Rides? (1 x 1) (1)

3.3.2 Give TWO options, stated by Zwerg, that activists would take if they were jailed for participating in the Freedom Rides. (2 x 1) (2)

3.3.3 Why would a historian consider this source reliable when researching the 1961 Freedom Rides in the USA? (2 x 2) (4)

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3.4 Study Source 3D.

3.4.1 Give THREE reasons in the source why the protestors were taken to the hospital after the bus explosion. (3 x 1) (3)

3.4.2 Comment on what is implied by Governor Patterson's statement regarding the Freedom Riders, 'Any rioters in this state will not receive police protection'. (2 x 2) (4)

3.4.3 Quote evidence from the source which indicates that the hospital did not administer or accept the injured Freedom Riders. (2 x 1) (2)

3.4.4 Explain the term *segregationist* in the context of the state of Alabama. (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.5 Give TWO pieces of evidence from the source indicating that Governor Patterson was a 'militant segregationist'. (2 x 1) (2)

3.5 Consult Sources 3C and 3D. Explain how the evidence in Source 3C is supported by the information in Source 3D regarding the treatment of the Freedom Riders. (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 the challenges that were encountered by the civil rights protestors who participated in the Freedom Rides in the USA in the 1960s. (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 tactics used by the Vietcong were successful in making USA strategies ineffective during the Vietnam War between 1963 and 1975.

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

QUESTION 5: INDEPENDENT AFRICA: CASE STUDY – THE CONGO

Mobutu Sese Seko's political, economic and cultural policies positively transformed the post-independent Congo in the 1960s.

Do you agree with the statement? Use relevant 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 depended on the use of violent, radical and militant strategies to end discrimination in the USA.

Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument. **[50]**

TOTAL: 150

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ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

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QUESTION 1: HOW DID BERLIN BECOME A FOCAL POINT OF COLD WAR TENSION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION (USSR) AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) IN 1948?

SOURCE 1A

The source below is an extract from a book titled *The Berlin Wall: How It Rose and Why It Fell* (1992). It highlights the agreements that were reached by the victorious powers regarding the administration of Germany after the Second World War.

Even before the guns of war were silenced, the European Advisory Commission – a group formed by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union – had begun to plan for the occupation of Germany. At that time, it was decided that Germany would be divided into three zones, one for each country, except France.

Later at a conference held in February 1945 at Yalta, US President, Franklin D Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, were able to convince Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader, to create a zone for France, which had suffered three invasions and two defeats at the hands of Germany within seventy years. Each of these four zones would be administered by the country occupying the area.

On 12 April 1945 President Roosevelt died and the presidency of the United States of America passed to Harry Truman. On 17 July 1945 Truman, Churchill and Stalin met at Potsdam near Berlin. It was at this meeting that the final decisions were made regarding how Germany should be organised and where its borders would be drawn. The Allies agreed on a border in the west; a temporary line for the east was to be the Oder and western Neisse rivers. Each occupying country had to ensure that the Germans were not able to build up a military force again.

The city of Berlin, 110 miles inside the eastern zone of the Soviets, became a special area for joint four-power control … Before the Soviet Army officially took control of its zone, there was a last-minute rush of people from east to west. They feared that the Russians would establish a more secure border, one that would be impossible to get through.

[From *The Berlin Wall: How It Rose and Why It Fell* by DM Epler]

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SOURCE 1B

The source below is an extract from *The Berlin Crisis: A Report on the Moscow Discussions, 1948* by the US Department of State delivered to the representatives of the USSR in Washington, London and Paris on 6 July 1948. It indicates the US's reaction to the Berlin Blockade.

The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France decided to make formal representations to the government of the USSR. The Soviet Government was informed that the United States regarded the blockade measures as a 'clear violation of existing agreements concerning the administration of Berlin by the four occupying powers'.

The United States Government categorically (firmly) asserted that it was in occupation of its sector of Berlin with free access thereto 'as a matter of established right derived from the defeat and surrender of Germany and confirmed by formal agreements among the principal Allies'.

The United States also emphatically (forcefully) declared that it would 'not be induced (pushed) by threats, pressures or other actions to abandon these rights'.

This consideration, together with responsibility for the physical well-being of the population of its sector of Berlin, including hundreds of thousands of women and children, obliged (forced) the United States to insist that 'in accordance with existing agreements the arrangements for the movement of freight and passenger traffic between the western zones and Berlin be fully restored'.

The United States emphasised again its willingness to settle by negotiation, or by any of the other peaceful methods provided for in article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Specifically, the United States offered, once blockade measures were lifted, to participate in negotiations in Berlin among the four allied occupying authorities.

[From *The Berlin Crisis: A Report on the Moscow Discussions, 1948*]

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SOURCE 1C

The source below, dated 14 July 1948, is a Soviet Union response to the United States' note sent to the Soviet Union representative on 6 July 1948. It outlines the steps the Soviet Command would take to protect its control of Berlin.

Berlin lies in the centre of the Soviet zone and is part of that zone. The interests of the Berlin population do not permit a situation in which, in Berlin or only in the western sectors of Berlin, there shall be introduced special currency which has no validity in the Soviet zone. Moreover, the carrying out of a separate monetary (financial) reform in the western zones of Germany has placed Berlin and the whole Soviet zone of occupation in a situation in which the entire mass of currency notes, which were cancelled in the western zone, threatened to pour into Berlin and the Soviet zone of occupation of Germany.

The Soviet Command has been forced, therefore, to adopt certain urgent measures for the protection of the interests of the German population and also of the economy of the Soviet zone of occupation and the area of 'Greater Berlin'. The danger of the disruption of the economic activity of the Soviet zone and of Berlin has not been eliminated even at the present time, in as much as the United States, Great Britain and France continue to maintain in Berlin their special currency.

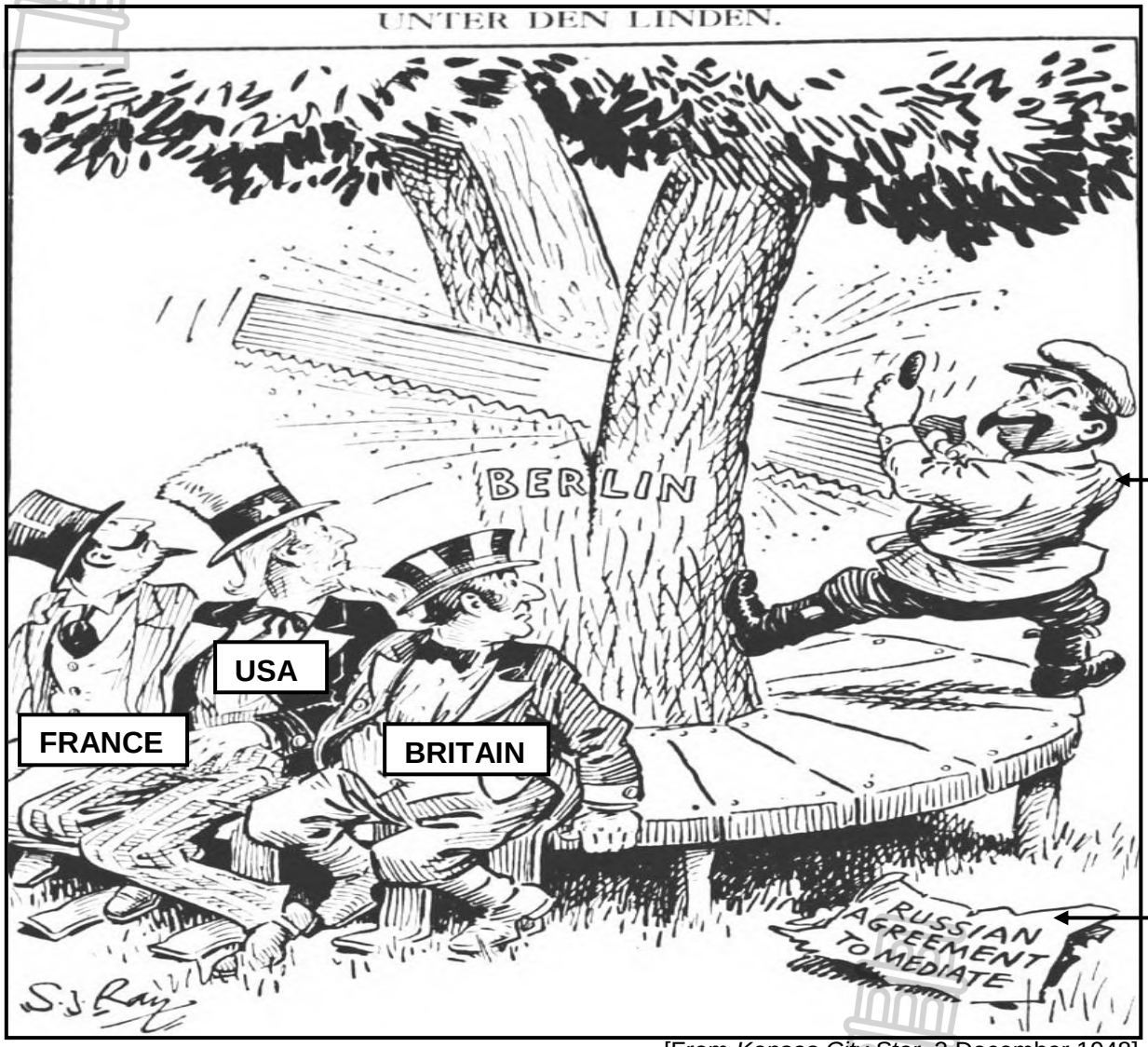
Furthermore, the Soviet Command has consistently displayed and is displaying concern for the well-being of the Berlin population and is assuring them of normal supply in all essentials and is striving for the speediest elimination of the difficulties which have arisen recently in this matter. In this connection, if the situation requires, the Soviet Government would not object to assuring by its own means adequate supply for all 'Greater Berlin'.

[From *The Berlin Crisis: A Report on the Moscow Discussions, 1948*]

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SOURCE 1D

This source below titled UNTER DEN LINDEN (*Under the Linden Trees*) by SJ Ray was published in the US *Kansas City Star* newspaper on 2 December 1948. It depicts Stalin cutting Berlin into two parts.



[From *Kansas City Star*, 2 December 1948]

STALIN

RUSSIAN AGREEMENT TO MEDIATE – Refers to Russia (Stalin) having the final say in ending Allied joint administration of Berlin

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QUESTION 2: WHAT FACTORS LED TO THE THREE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS (MPLA, FNLA AND UNITA) BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR IN 1975?

SOURCE 2A

The source below outlines how Agostinho Neto under the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) took control of Angola after the country achieved full independence from Portugal on 11 November 1975.

Following the Carnation Revolution in Portugal during April 1974 (which deposed of Salazar's successor Marcelo Caetano), three political factions vied (contested) for Angolan power. One of the three was the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), to which Agostinho Neto belonged. On 11 November 1975, Angola achieved full independence from the Portuguese, and Neto became the nation's ruler after the MPLA seized Luanda at the expense of the other liberation movements. He established a one-party state and his government developed close links with the Soviet Union and other nations in the Eastern bloc and other communist states, particularly Cuba, which aided the MPLA considerably in its war with the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and South Africa.

… As a consequence, he violently repressed (suppressed) a movement later called Fractionism, which in 1977 attempted a coup d' état (overthrowing an existing government) inspired by the Organização dos Comunistas de Angola. Tens of thousands of followers (or alleged followers) of Nito Alves were executed in the aftermath of the attempted coup, over a period that lasted up to two years.

[From https://kwekudee-tripdownmemorylane.blogspot.com/2014/01/agostinho-neto-pan-african-culturalist.html?m=1. Accessed on 22 March 2023.]

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SOURCE 2B

The photograph below, titled 'Angola's Brutal History and the MPLA's Role in it', appeared in the *Guardian* newspaper, 5 May 2014. It was taken in December 1975 and depicts soldiers of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) who fought in the Angolan Civil War.



[From the *Guardian* newspaper, 5 May 2014]

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SOURCE 2C

The source below is taken from a book by a historian, M Meredith, titled *The First Dance of Freedom: Black Africa in the Post-War Era*. It outlines the crisis created by Portugal during the transition of power to Angola.

The transition (change) from Portuguese rule in Angola turned into a disaster on a far greater scale. The withdrawal of the Portuguese abandoned all attempts to control the transition. On the eve of independence in November 1975, with much of the country engulfed (destroyed) in violence, the Portuguese High Commissioner, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, held a brief ceremony in Luanda at which he announced [that] he was transferring power to the 'Angolan people'. Not a single Angolan was present to witness the proceedings.

No serious effort was ever made by the nationalists to reconcile their differences. The race for power in Angola from the outset was conducted more in terms of an armed struggle than through political bargaining. At every stage in the conflict, each faction tried to gain advantage by appealing for support from foreign interests. The two principal foreign powers involved in the conflict, the United States and the Soviet Union, had no direct strategic interest in Angola. But both were determined for reasons of their own prestige and because of their preoccupation (concern) with the global balance of power, to ensure that the Angolan factions they supported were triumphant (successful).

… the faction that was strongest in military terms was Roberto's National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). His guerrilla army had been reorganised and retrained with the help of President Mobutu's army. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) … was on the verge of collapse.

[From *The First Dance of Freedom: Black Africa in the Post-War Era* by M Meredith]

SOURCE 2D

The source below, titled *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present*, was written by a historian, F Cooper. It explains how ideological differences among the three nationalist movements in Angola were shaped by ethnic differences as well as by support from foreign powers.

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), led by Agostinho Neto, looked upon politics through nationalist and socialist lenses. Others, however, saw its leaders as mulattos* who were removed from the social institutions and networks in which most people lived. Meanwhile, Bakongo living on the Angolan side of the border with the Belgian Congo, also moved from exile in Angola. At the centre of a rural insurrection (revolt) they eventually organised the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) under Holden Roberto. Then came the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA), organised by Jonas Savimbi, who was from the Ovimbundu-speaking region. His small cadre of followers, mostly from Protestant mission schools, had a thoroughly rural base. Conflict became ethnicised (culturally based).

The FNLA was supported by Zaire and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which saw it as the least Marxist of the three … UNITA had support from Zambia and then from South Africa. Savimbi flipped (reversed) his ideological stance from Maoism** to Reaganism*** with scarcely the blink of an eye and the United States added its support to UNITA …

The MPLA combined the features of a Soviet party and the African gatekeeper state. Its real source of power was oil revenue coming from militarised enclaves (areas) and after gestures at revolutionising agriculture, it did little in the countryside other than recruit soldiers. Education, health and other services in the cities languished (suffered). The MPLA with its oil revenues and UNITA continued their war.

[From *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* by F Cooper]

*****Mulattos are people of mixed ancestry from the Portuguese (white Europeans) and Angolans (blacks) in Angola.

**Maoism is also referred to as the Mao Zedong thought. It is a form of communism developed by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse Tung) as a doctrine to capture state power through a combination of armed insurgency (violence), mass mobilisation and strategic alliances. It also used propaganda and disinformation to promote its doctrine.

***Reaganism refers to an American economic policy based on economic individualism as propagated by Ronald Reagan.

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QUESTION 3: WHAT CHALLENGES WERE ENCOUNTERED BY CIVIL RIGHTS PROTESTORS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE FREEDOM RIDES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) IN THE 1960s?

SOURCE 3A

The source below was taken from a book, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice,* written by R Arsenault, a civil rights activist and militant student leader. It highlights the commitment of the Freedom Riders during the 1960s.

In 1961, the Freedom Riders set out to change the world. They did so by simply boarding a bus, not as Blacks or Whites restricted by an outmoded system of racial discrimination, but as free and full citizens of a democratic nation.

The Freedom Riders knew that federal law and the Constitution of the United States of America protected their right to travel together, even in the Deep South where the local law and custom mandated (authorised) racial separation. They also knew that they might be injured or even killed for trying to exercise that right. When riots ensued, the potential violence became too real, and a nation recoiled (reacted) in horror. Unfazed (not discouraged), the Freedom Riders kept coming, more than four hundred in all, filling the freedom buses and marching into jails of the Jim Crow South.

The resolute (determined) courage and commitment of the Freedom Riders had brought non-violent direct action and grassroots' insurgency (uprising) to the centre stage of American public life, prompting an unprecedented (unique) governmental response to unconstitutional infringements (violations) of freedom and civic equality. This interracial, non-violent army forced John F Kennedy's administration to confront the immediacy (closeness) of a civil rights struggle that had captured the world's attention. By the end of 1961 a sweeping desegregation order was in effect and the federal government was moving towards active involvement in the struggle for racial justice.

[From *Freedom Fighters: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice* by R Arsenault]

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SOURCE 3B

The newspaper article below was published in the *NEW YORK Amsterdam News* on 20 May 1961. It used a photograph to effectively report on the challenges that Freedom Riders encountered in their demonstration against racial segregation in the United States of America.



NEW YORK Amsterdam News

VOL. XL NO. 20 SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1961 City edition – 15c

In Alabama:

Inhuman!

The Flames of Hatred!

[From *NEW YORK Amsterdam News*, 20 May 1961]

The Flames of Hatred!

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SOURCE 3C

The source below was taken from a documentary compiled by Stanley Nelson, a writer and filmmaker, who interviewed Jim Zwerg. He was one of only ten white male students of the Freedom Riders, who boarded a bus from Nashville to New Orleans on 14 May 1961.

Q: You got involved in the Freedom Rides ...

Zwerg: Well, we got word on the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) Freedom Ride, and we knew that John Lewis, a member of our organisation, was going to be involved in it. We got word of the burning of the bus in Aniston ... we had a meeting long into the night as soon as we heard about it. The feeling was that if we let those perpetrators of violence believe that people would stop if they were violent enough, then we would take serious steps backwards.

Right away the feeling was that we needed to ride. We called Dr King, we called James Farmer. There was an awareness that our phones were being tapped, so the feeling was that they knew what we were about to do. Our plan was different from CORE's. Whereas they chartered (hired) their buses, we were just going to get tickets and get on the bus. We felt that was even more important … It was decided that we would send twelve people. I was one of 18 that volunteered to go. I've been asked why I volunteered to go ... I would have to say, at that moment, it wasn't even a question. It was the right thing for me to do. I never second-guessed it.

Q: What was the journey like?

Zwerg: … I was going to sit in the front of the bus with Paul Brooks. It was an uneventful ride until we got to the Birmingham city limits. We were pulled over by the police ... They came on the bus and said, 'This is a Freedom Rider bus! Who is from Nashville?' And the bus driver pointed to Paul and me. We were both placed under arrest, taken off the bus, seated in the squad car … One of the things we agreed on is that if you were jailed, you go on a hunger strike, because in our minds we were jailed illegally. You don't cop (opt for) a plea; you don't pay the bail and jump. You stay. But here I was. And I didn't know what had happened to Paul. I didn't know what had happened to the rest of the people on the bus …

[From *PBS Home Video Freedom Riders BLU-RAY United States of America*. Viewed on 12 February 2023.]

SOURCE 3D

The source below is part of an interview conducted by H Raines with H Thomas, a Freedom Rider. It appeared in the book *My Soul is Rested; Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered*. It focuses on the treatment that the injured Freedom Riders experienced in Alabama.

The bus started exploding, and a lot of people were cut by flying glass. We were taken to the hospital, most of us, for smoke inhalation … I think I was half out of it, half dazed (confused), as a result of the smoke, and, gosh, I can still smell that stuff down in me now. You got to the point where you started having the dry heaves (shivers).

The people at the hospital would not do anything for us. They would not. And I was saying, 'You are doctors, you are medical personnel'. They wouldn't. Governor Patterson got on state-wide radio and said, 'Any rioters in this state will not receive police protection'. And then the crowd started forming outside the hospital, and the hospital told us to leave. And we said, 'No, we're not going out there'. A caravan from Birmingham, about a fifteen-car caravan led by the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, came up from Birmingham to get us out …

For that, they could in part thank Governor John Patterson. A militant segregationist who solicited (asked) Ku Klux Klan support in his election campaign, Patterson once said that integration would come to Alabama only 'over my dead body'. In his inaugural (first) address Patterson declared, 'I will oppose with every ounce of energy I possess and will use every power at my command to prevent any mixing of white and Negro races in the classrooms of this state.' Said he as the Freedom Riders approached: 'The people of Alabama are so enraged (angry) that I cannot guarantee protection for this bunch of rabble-rousers (troublemakers).'

[From *My Soul is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered* by H Raines]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

Arsenault, R. 2006. *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice* (Oxford University Press Inc., New York)

Cooper, F. 2002. *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge University Press, USA.)

Epler, DM. 1992. *The Berlin Wall: How It Rose and Why It Fell* (The Millbook Press, Connecticut, USA)

https://kwekudee-tripdownmemorylane.blogspot.com/2014/01/agostinho-neto-pan-african-culturalist.html?m=1

Guardian newspaper, 5 May 2014

Kansas City Star. 2 December 1948

Meredith, M. 1985. *The First Dance of Freedom: Black Africa in the Post-War Era* (Abacus, UK)

NEW YORK Amsterdam News, 20 May 1961

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Raines, H. 1983. *My Soul is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered* (Penguin Publishers, London)

The Berlin Crisis: A Report on the Moscow Discussions, 1948. The Department of State. (US Government Printing Office. Washington DC)

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