
HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/72

Paper 5k Special Subject: The Civil Rights Movement in the USA, 1954–1980

May/June 2017

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Answer Question 1 in Section A.

Answer **one** question from Section B.

You are reminded of the need for analysis and critical evaluation in your answers to questions. You should also show, where appropriate, an awareness of links and comparisons between different countries and different periods.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.



Section A

Nominated topic: The Leadership of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X

- 1 Study all the following documents and answer the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents, it is essential to set them alongside, and to make use of, your own contextual knowledge.

A *Martin Luther King reflects on the lessons learned from events in Albany, 1961–1962.*

The mistake I made there was to protest against segregation generally rather than against a distinct aspect of it. Our protest was so vague that we got nothing, and the people were left very depressed and in despair. It would have been better to have concentrated upon integrating the buses or the lunch counters. One victory of this kind would have galvanised support and boosted morale. But Albany was far from an unqualified failure. Our movement had taken the moral offensive, enriching our people with a spirit of strength to fight for equality and freedom. To the Negro in the South, staggering under a burden of centuries of inferiority, to have faced his oppressor squarely and absorbed his violence – these were the deeds of a giant. No one would silence him again. That was the victory which could not be undone.

Clayborne Carson (editor), *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 1998.

B *The leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights recalls a conversation between him and Martin Luther King at the height of the protest in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963.*

King said, 'We have decided to call off the demonstrations: we can't have negotiations with all this going on'. I said, 'Well, Martin, it's hard for me to see how anybody could decide that without me. We're not calling anything off. They said in Albany that you come in, get people excited and started, and then you leave town'. Someone interrupted to remind King he had scheduled a press conference. I was furious and said, 'I thought we were to make joint statements. I'm going home and when I hear on the radio that you've called off the demonstrations I'll go to Sixteenth Street church and lead the youngsters onto the streets'. King looked hurt and said, 'We made promises to Washington that we're going to call off the demonstrations'. I replied, 'You're mister big but you're soon to be mister [expletive*]! I'm sorry, but I cannot compromise my principles'.

*In the original interview, a swearword is used.

Fred Shuttlesworth, *The Shuttlesworth Interviews*, 1970.

C *A singer, actor and social activist recalls the speech of Martin Luther King in Washington on 28 August 1963.*

I was not surprised by the content of his speech that day because we had worked with him on it, and we were in tune with the message, but what we were not prepared for was the delivery, the oratory. The imagery flowed, the language flowed. It was Shakespearean. The spirit that Dr. King called forth was a profoundly American spirit, as was his struggle. What made me feel so good about that struggle was that it was ordinary people who were becoming empowered, through his words, to realise their own possibilities. Much of my political outlook was already in place when I encountered Dr. King. I came to him with expectations and he affirmed them. One of the abiding memories of the day was something I will probably never experience again: such a tide of people leaving with such a sense of satisfaction and hope.

Harry Belafonte, in a newspaper interview, 11 August 2013.

- D** *In a biography of a fellow activist, the executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) describes the position in Selma, Alabama, at the time of the marches across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, March 1965.*

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James Forman, *Sammy Younge, Jr.*, 1968.

- E** *The writer, a close friend of Martin Luther King, expresses his views on the Selma Marches and the subsequent boycott of white businesses in Alabama, 1965.*

Selma and Montgomery made you one of the most powerful figures in the country – a leader now not merely of Negroes, but of millions of whites. You are one of the exceptional figures who attained the heights of popular confidence and trust without having obligations to any political party or other dominant interests. You symbolise courage, effectiveness, singleness of will, honesty and idealism. You are free of the taint of political ambition, wealth, power or the pursuit of vanity. Your image has more purity than any American has attained in decades. Yet, there are some who fear you are hitting at cherished economic interests when you embrace the weapon of boycott. It was not the best selection of alternatives for action. Also, a boycott is not the logical tactic to follow in the struggle for voting rights.

Stanley Levison, Letter to Martin Luther King, 4 July 1965.

- (a)** How far does the evidence in Document D corroborate the evidence in Document B about the part played by Martin Luther King at major civil rights demonstrations? [10]
- (b)** How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that Martin Luther King was an inspiration to other civil rights activists? In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

Section B

Answer **one** of the following questions. Where appropriate, your essay should make use of any relevant documents you have studied, as well as contextual knowledge.

- 2 Assess the significance of the idea of non-violence in the development of the civil rights movement after 1954. [30]
- 3 'In the years 1954 to 1980, unity between different civil rights organisations was more apparent than real.' Discuss. [30]
- 4 How extensive was white opposition to civil rights for African Americans in the years 1968–1980? [30]

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