
HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/72

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

May/June 2018

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: African-American pressure groups**

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

- A** *A reporter describes the first meeting of the MIA (Montgomery Improvement Association). It gave instructions to the local population on the boycott of buses, which had been started as a protest against the arrest, trial and conviction of Rosa Parks.*

The church was crammed with people. The ushers pleaded with people to keep the aisle free but in the end gave up in despair of correcting the safety hazard. Bodies at the front were packed one against the other. The meeting began in a most unusual fashion. A black speaker – apparently a minister – came to the microphone. He said there were microphones on the outside and in the basement and there were three times as many people outside as on the inside. The passion that fired the meeting was seen as thousands of voices joined in singing ‘Onward Christian Soldiers’. Then there followed a prayer which was interrupted a hundred times by ‘yeas’ and ‘uh-huhs’ and ‘that’s right’. Outside, the loudspeakers were blaring the message. White people stopped blocks away and listened to the loudspeakers’ messages. The meeting was much like an old-fashioned revival meeting with applause added.

Joe Azbell, *Montgomery Advertiser*, 7 December 1955.

- B** *The president of the Albany Movement (a combination of various African American organisations in Albany, Georgia) assesses its record and the impact of the march of December 1961.*

The Albany Movement was an overwhelming success. Firstly, there was a change in attitude of the people. They would never accept a segregated society any more, particularly the students who were determined they would never go through what their parents went through. Secondly, the Albany Movement gave some direction. Involving Dr King was probably the smartest thing that we ever did. Not only did we get the benefit of having a well-established, well-experienced civil rights organisation as a part of the Albany Movement, but it also brought in world attention. The eyes of the world were focused on Albany primarily because of Dr King. There was not a major newspaper in the world that was not represented in Albany, not a major television network in the United States that was not represented at Albany.

William Anderson, recorded testimony, 1962.

- C** *A leading member of the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) explains the strategy of recruiting school children as marchers in Birmingham, Alabama.*

Up to this point, between five and twelve people would demonstrate each day. You can't get dialogues you need with a few. So the strategy was to use thousands of high school students. We started organising those with influence – the prom queens, the basketball and football stars. They in turn got the students involved. We held workshops to help them overcome the crippling fears of dogs, and jails, and to help them start thinking through problems on their feet. Our approach to the students was that you are responsible for segregation, you and your parents, because you have not stood up. Girls, about thirteen to eighteen, were more responsive in terms of courage, confidence and the ability to accept the logic of non-violence. The last to get involved were the high school guys because the brunt of the violence in the South was directed toward the black male.

Reverend James Bevel, interview, May 1963.

- D** *Extracts from the SCLC's (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) proposals for its Chicago campaign, to be conducted with the Chicago-based CCCO (Coordinating Council of Community Organizations).*

Content removed due to copyright restrictions

SCLC, *Chicago Plan*, 7 January 1966.

- E** *A member of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), who had always lived in Chicago, explains her views on the tactics of Dr King in Chicago and the march through Cicero, an area of the city that was hostile to blacks, on 4 September 1966.*

Dr King tried to apply the tactics he used in the South without taking into consideration the differences here. Each community had an organization already in existence with plans and goals. Some people in Chicago didn't believe in churches, so to ask them to follow his movement through that mechanism didn't wash. In many black churches the minister was in the pay of politicians so he was unlikely to fight against city power. When I heard Stokely Carmichael say 'Black Power' I knew that was what I needed. When King called off our march into Cicero we were shocked but decided to defy him. We hadn't done community organization things, like leafleting, but people just came out of their houses. To get a permit CORE promised the city there would not be violence. The marchers were community people who had not attended workshops on nonviolence or loving others. When bricks were thrown at us we threw them back.

Linda Bryant Hall, interview, 1989.

- (a) How far does Document E challenge the evidence in Document D on the approach taken by civil rights groups in 1966? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that the churches were the main means of generating interest in, and support for, the Civil Rights Movement? 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 Was the right to vote for African-Americans the most important strand in the ideology of the Civil Rights Movement from 1954 to 1965? [30]
- 3 ‘Malcolm X did more harm than good for the Civil Rights Movement.’ Discuss. [30]
- 4 ‘The US Congress did more to hinder than advance the civil rights of African-Americans.’ Assess this view for the period from 1954 to 1980. [30]

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

To avoid the issue of disclosure of answer-related information to candidates, all copyright acknowledgements are reproduced online in the Cambridge International Examinations Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download at www.cie.org.uk after the live examination series.

Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.