



HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/72

Paper 5k Special Subject: The Civil Rights Movement in the USA, 1954–1980 **For Examination from 2019**
SPECIMEN PAPER

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 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: Direct action and major events

- 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** *In a televised address to the American people, President Eisenhower explains the importance of the Little Rock Crisis.*

A foundation of our American way of life is our national respect for the law. In the South, as elsewhere, citizens are keenly aware of the tremendous disservice that has been done to the people of Arkansas in the eyes of the nation, and that has been done to the nation in the eyes of the world. At a time when we face grave situations abroad because of the hatred that communism bears toward a system of government based on human rights, it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence, and indeed to the safety, of our nation and the world.

25 September 1957.

- B** *Martin Luther King explains his philosophy of non-violent resistance.*

The non-violent resisters can summarize their message in the following simple terms: we will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, and cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of non-violence because our end is community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but, if our words fail, we will try to persuade with our acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it. I realise that this approach will mean suffering and sacrifice. It may mean going to jail.

A speech to the National Urban League, 1960.

- C** *A promotional booklet issued by the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) describes the achievements of the Freedom Rides.*

The Freedom Rides eventually desegregated 120 interstate bus terminals. But more important, they showed that non-violent action worked in the fight against racial discrimination even in the deepest part of the South. The Rides, like the sit-ins before them, demonstrated that anyone who opposed segregation – student, housewife or labourer – could drive a nail in the coffin of Jim Crow. By the spring and summer of 1963, thousands of Americans, tired of waiting for their fellow-citizens to honour the Bill of Rights, had carried their protests to the streets.

All about CORE, 1963.

D *In a briefing paper to the SNCC, a Civil Rights activist explains his views.*

In the beginning of the movement, we had fallen into a trap whereby we thought that our problems revolved around the right to eat at certain lunch counters or the right to vote, or to organize our communities. We have seen, however, that the problem is much deeper. If we are to proceed toward true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people. We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories.

More and more we see black people in this country being used as a tool of the white liberal establishment. Liberal whites have not begun to address themselves to the real problem of black people in this country.

It must be repeated that the whole myth of 'Negro citizenship', perpetuated by the white elite, has confused the thinking of radical and progressive blacks and whites in this country. The broad masses of black people react to American society in the same manner as colonial peoples react to the West in Africa and Latin America, and had the same relationship – that of the colonised toward the coloniser.

Stokely Carmichael, 1966.

E *A modern historian, C Carson, assesses the importance of sit-ins and the emergence of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960.*

The formation of SNCC helped transform the student movement from one that emphasized small-scale protests to a sustained force that would challenge racism throughout American society. The growth, spread and intensity of the movement's activities had a major effect on the presidential election contest of 1960 between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. The tactic of mass, non-violent sit-ins brought the civil rights agenda to national prominence and caused both candidates to pay at least lip service to the movement.

Published in *Eyes on the Prize*, 1987.

- (a) To what extent does the evidence in Document D challenge the view of the success of the civil rights movement in Document E? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence offered by this set of documents that non-violent, mass protest proved to be a very powerful tactic 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 'The civil rights movement succeeded because it had a clear and coherent ideology.' Discuss. [30]
- 3 What best explains the emergence of the Black Power movement? [30]
- 4 'Of all the various civil rights organisations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was by far the most influential.' How far do you agree with this view? [30]

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Question 1 Document C © *All About CORE*; Congress of Racial Equality; 1963.

Question 1 Document D © Stokely Carmichael; *The Sixties Project, Sponsored by the Viet Nam Generation Inc. and the Institute of Advanced Technology in the Humanities at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville*; 1966.

Question 1 Document E © Clayborne Carson; *Eyes on the Prize*; Penguin; 1987.

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