



HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/75

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

May/June 2015

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.

You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

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

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Answer Question 1 and **one** other question.

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.



The syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate.

This document consists of **4** printed pages.

Answer the following question.

Nominated topic: Federal roles – Presidents, Congress, Supreme Court

- 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 recalls a conversation with John F. Kennedy in June 1960, a month before Kennedy was selected as the Democratic nominee for the Presidency.*

I (King) was very frank about what I thought: that there was a need for a strong executive leadership and that we hadn't gotten this during the Eisenhower administration. If we didn't get it in the new administration we would be set back even more. I specifically mentioned a need for an executive order outlawing discrimination in federally assisted housing and I stressed voting issues. As I recall, Kennedy agreed with all of these things. He felt if he received the nomination and was elected he could give this kind of leadership. He said that he had voted consistently for civil rights. I then questioned him about why he had voted against the civil rights bill in 1957. He said that if he had to face the same issue again he would reverse his position. John Kennedy did not have the grasp and the comprehension of the depths of the problem at that time, as he later did.

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

- B** *Calling on all Americans to work towards the ideals upon which the nation was based, President Kennedy announces that he will ask Congress for a civil rights bill.*

I shall ask Congress to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. The Federal judiciary has upheld that proposition in the employment of Federal personnel, the use of Federal facilities and the sale of federally financed housing. In too many communities, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens, and there are no remedies in law. Unless Congress acts, their only remedy is in the street. I am, therefore, asking Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public – hotels, restaurants, theatres, retail stores and similar establishments. I am also asking Congress to authorise the Federal government to participate more fully in resolving lawsuits designed to implement the Supreme Court decision nine years ago to end segregation in public education.

National Address, 11 June 1963.

- C *The Executive Director of the National Urban League calls for policies to end racial discrimination.*

Violence could erupt at any moment unless realistic action is taken. For 18.7 million American Negroes already handicapped by discrimination in employment and inadequate training, the problem is immediate and desperate. Federal action, however commendable, is still too little and may well be too late. This is a plea for a special effort, but it is *not* a plea for special privilege. We urge the responsible leadership of our country to undertake a domestic 'Marshall Plan' – a special effort to help the Negro help himself and, by doing so, reach the point at which he can compete on a realistic basis of equality within the nation's complex economy. A co-operative and deliberate effort on the part of agencies, unions, business and industry, institutions and individuals, both public and private, could, if sustained, reverse the widespread social deterioration of Negro families and their children and help them progress to full and equal citizenship.

Whitney Young, Report to the National Child Labor Committee, November 1963.

- D *In an address at Howard University, President Johnson anticipates a new phase in the battle for civil rights.*

The voting rights bill will be the latest, and amongst the most important, in a long series of victories. But it is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: 'Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.' It is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates. This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just fairness in law but human ability, not just as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result. The task is to give 20 million Negroes the same chance as every other American.

Lyndon B. Johnson, Speech, 4 June 1965.

- E *In an interview in 1975 with the Atlanta magazine, the Mayor of the city outlines his record and policy on racial issues.*

I have made my decisions based on what is good for the city as a whole, and not for one group as opposed to the other. But, in the area of equal employment, business contracts and so forth, some might appear to be 'black decisions'. In fact, what we have done is set up basic systems that will guarantee fair competition to all people. The city is 55% black and oppressed. I wanted the traditional coalition of City Hall and the business community to continue making the decisions with one amendment – and that was to bring the grass-roots community to the table as well. Grass-roots to me means white and black, of all incomes, organisations and neighbourhoods. I have appointed the first women as department heads in city government, and the Civil Service Board is predominantly female. My appointments have been 50-50 white and black across the board.

Maynard Jackson, *Can Atlanta Succeed Where America Has Failed?*, 1975.

- (a) How far does Document C corroborate Document B on the role of the federal authorities to help improve conditions for African-Americans? [10]
- (b) How far do these documents suggest that government at all levels failed to provide effective leadership to advance the rights of African-Americans?

In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

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 mass participation the key development in strengthening the civil rights movement in the years 1954 to 1964? [30]
- 3 'The Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) was the dominant organisation within the civil rights movement.' Discuss, with reference to the period from 1954 to 1980. [30]
- 4 'Discrimination was the main form of opposition to the civil rights movement.' How persuasive is this view of white resistance in the period from 1954 to 1980? [30]

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