

HISTORY

9769/75

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

May/June 2010

2 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

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

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



This document consists of **3** printed pages and **1** blank page.



Answer the following question.

Nominated topic: Leadership: Martin Luther King and Malcolm X

- 1 Study all the following documents and answer all 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** *In a speech at Holt Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, Martin Luther King makes the case for non-violent protest.*

I want it to be known throughout Montgomery and throughout this nation that we are Christian people. We believe in the Christian religion. We believe in the teachings of Jesus. The only weapon that we have in our hand this evening is the weapon of protest. And secondly, this is the glory of America with all its faults. This is the glory of our democracy. If we were incarcerated behind the iron curtains of a Communistic nation we couldn't do this. If we were trapped in the dungeon of a totalitarian regime we couldn't do this. But the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right. My friends, don't let anybody make us feel that we ought to be compared with the Ku Klux Klan or with the White Citizens' Councils. There will be no crosses burned at any bus stops in Montgomery. There will be no white persons pulled out of their homes and taken out to some distant road and murdered.

Speech, 5 December 1955.

- B** *President John F. Kennedy supports the case for equality in a televised address to the nation.*

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it. And we cherish our freedom here at home. But are we to say to the world – and more importantly to each other – that this is the land of the free, except for the Negroes? Now the time has come for this nation to fulfil its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.

Televised address, 11 June 1963.

- C** *In a speech in Cleveland, Ohio, to members of the Congress of Racial Equality, Malcolm X suggests that violence should be met with violence.*

So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag waver – no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare. We will work with anybody, anywhere, at any time, who is genuinely interested in tackling the problem head-on, non-violently as long as the enemy is non-violent, but violent when the enemy gets violent.

Speech, 3 April 1964.

- D** *One of the students involved in the Greensboro sit-ins in 1960 records his experience in a published interview.*

After selecting the technique, then we said, 'Let's go down and just ask for service.' It certainly wasn't titled a 'sit-in' or 'sit-down' at that time. 'Let's just go down to Woolworth's tomorrow and ask for service, and the tactic is going to be simply this: we'll just stay there.' We never anticipated being served, certainly, the first day anyway. What's going to happen once we sit down? Of course, nobody had the answers.

Franklin McCain in *My Soul is Rested*, 1977.

- E** *A modern historian reflects on Dr King's role in the Montgomery Bus Boycott.*

He led the boycott with skill and intelligence. Aware of his own inexperience, he was receptive to advice. When it came to organising an alternative transport system, for example, he sought the help of T.M. Jemison, who provided details of the car pool he had set up during the Baton Rouge boycott. King had the administrative ability to handle the huge volume of mail that flowed into the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)'s office, replying to well wishers and critics in the appropriate way. He became the MIA's ambassador, representing its cause throughout the nation before white and black audiences, and, in doing so, he acted as the MIA's chief fundraiser. He had the education and self assurance to cope with the press, and he developed a keen sense of public relations. Calm and articulate, he handled reporters well, presenting the boycotters' case reasonably and persuasively. He also displayed cool intelligence in moments of crisis. When his home was bombed he acted decisively to avert a riot.

Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 1987.

- (a)** How far, and why, do Documents A and C differ in their analysis of the political situation for African Americans within the United States in the 1950s and 1960s? [10]
- (b)** How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents that Martin Luther King was not the most important influence upon the movement for greater African American rights?

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** How important was the Supreme Court in bringing about the success of the Civil Rights movement? [30]
- 3** 'The decisive breakthroughs in the struggle for Civil Rights occurred in the 1950s rather than the 1960s.' How far do you agree with this judgement? [30]
- 4** How accurate is the view that President Kennedy was, at best, a reluctant reformer in the field of Civil Rights? [30]

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Copyright Acknowledgements:

- Question 1 Document A © Dr King, Ed. Toby Levine, *Eyes on the Prize*; Penguin, 1987.
Question 1 Document C © B. Dierenfeld, *The Civil Rights Movement*; Longman, 2004.
Question 1 Document E © A Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*; University of Georgia Press, 1987.

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