

**HISTORY**

**9769/75**

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

**October/November 2013**

**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 a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, 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.

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

**Answer the following question.**

**Nominated topic: The ideology of the Civil Rights Movement**

- 1 Study 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** *A leader of the MIA (Montgomery Improvement Association) reflects on how the Association prepared people for the start of racial integration on the buses from 21 December 1956.*

The bus boycott had worked. In mass meetings we stressed non-violence. We insisted that we must not go back on the buses and push people around, unnecessarily boasting of our rights, as this would cause trouble. In several meetings we ran teaching sessions to school the people in non-violent techniques. We lined up chairs in front of the altar to resemble a bus. From the audience we selected a dozen or so 'actors' and assigned each one a role in a hypothetical situation. The actors played out a scene of insult or violence. Sometimes the person playing a white man put so much zeal into his performance he had to be checked. Often a Negro forgot his non-violent role and struck back with vigour: we worked to re-channel his words and deeds in a non-violent direction. Leaders (of the MIA) went into the schools and urged the students to stick to non-violence. We distributed throughout the city a list of 'Suggestions for Integrating Buses'.

Martin Luther King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 1958.

- B** *A Black activist explains how a new civil rights organisation was established in the aftermath of the Montgomery bus campaign.*

Every major protest leader was present. Leaders struggling with economic boycotts and reprisals in South Carolina were standing in a corner exchanging views with the 'strong men' from the Mississippi Delta, who were forced to carry on their work at night and in secret. Some had come for technical advice, others to find out more about the spirit and practice of non-violence. But all of them were determined to respond to the call 'to delve deeper into the struggle'. The final meeting of the conference may go down in history as one of the most important that has taken place in the United States. Sixty Negro leaders from across the South voted to establish a permanent Southern Negro Leaders Conference on Non-violent Integration. This was the beginning of a South-wide non-violent resistance campaign against segregation.

Bayard Rustin, on the conference at Atlanta, January 1957.

- C** *One of the leading activists in the Civil Rights Movement describes how he was instructed and trained in Nashville, Tennessee, in the autumn of 1958.*

The Church played a major role in educating, preparing and shaping a group of young men and women who would lead the way for years in the non-violent struggle for civil rights in America. I couldn't have had a better teacher than Jim Lawson. We learned the principles of non-violent passive resistance and civil disobedience. To create an open society your means of doing so must be consistent with the society you want to create. Violence begets violence. Hatred begets hatred. Dr. King said if there is hell in someone we've got to love it out. We had no idea when we began that we were being trained for a war unlike any this nation had seen. Lawson was arming us, preparing us, planting in us a sense of both rightness and righteousness – the 'soul force' – that would see us through the ugliness and pain that lay ahead.

John Lewis, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*, 1998.

- D** *A civil rights activist who was suspended as head of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) in Monroe, North Carolina, in 1959, for his views on the use of violence, explains his position in a magazine dedicated to radical ideas.*

Non-violence is a very potent weapon when the opponent is civilised, but non-violence is no repellent for a sadist. I am not a pacifist and I may safely say most of my people are not. A group of non-violent ministers met the City Board of Aldermen and pleaded for them to restrict the Klan. The city fathers advised these cringing Negro ministers that the Klan has constitutional rights to organise the same way as the NAACP. However, a group of Negroes who showed a willingness to fight caused the city officials to deprive the Klan of its constitutional rights after dangerous incidents between Klansmen and armed Negroes. I believe Negroes must be willing to defend themselves, their families and their homes. They must be willing to die and to kill in repelling their assailants. Some Negro leaders have cautioned me that if Negroes fight back, the racists will have cause to exterminate the race.

Robert F. Williams, *Liberation*, September 1959.

- E** *An experienced activist, who resigned as a director of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, explains in a newspaper article her position on co-operation between adults and youths to achieve social change.*

Negro and white students, North and South, recognise it is important to keep the movement democratic and to avoid struggles for personal leadership. Desire for supportive co-operation from adult leaders and the adult community is tempered by apprehension that adults might try to capture the student movement. The students showed willingness to be met on the basis of equality, but were intolerant of anything that smacked of manipulation or domination. This inclination toward group-centred leadership, rather than toward a leader-centred group pattern of organisation, was refreshing indeed to those of the older group who bear the scars of the battle and the frustrations that have come when the prophetic leader turns out to be flawed with heavy feet of clay. Here is an opportunity for adult and youth to work together and provide genuine leadership – the development of the individual to his highest potential for the benefit of the group.

Ella Baker, *The Southern Patriot*, June 1960.

- (a) How far are the views on violence and non-violence as ways to achieve civil rights for Black Americans, outlined in Document A, challenged in Document D? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents that the cause of civil rights for Black Americans was best advanced by the initiative of ordinary people rather than the leaders of organisations?

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 'The Little Rock crisis of 1957 did more to hinder than advance the struggle for the desegregation of education.' Do you agree? [30]
- 3 How important are urban riots from 1965 to 1968 in explaining the decline of the Civil Rights Movement in the late 1960s and 1970s? [30]
- 4 'Defence of their political power best explains White opposition to civil rights for Black Americans in the period from 1954 to 1980.' Discuss. [30]

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

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 Question 1 Document C © John Lewis; *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*; Simon & Schuster; 1998.  
 Question 1 Document D © Robert F Williams; *Liberation*; September 1959.  
 Question 1 Document E © Ella Baker; *The Southern Patriot*; June 1960.

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