
HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/72

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

May/June 2019

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: White resistance actions

- 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** *African-American delegates at a convention held in Gary, Indiana, conclude that they are excluded from American political and economic systems.*

Both parties have betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours (which was most of the time), and whenever our forces were unorganised and dependent, quiescent and compliant. Nor should this be surprising, for by now we must know that the American political system, like all other white institutions in America, was designed to operate for the benefit of the white race: it was never meant to do anything else. The profound crises of black people are not simply caused by men nor will they be solved by men alone. These crises are the crises of basically flawed economics and politics. None of the Democratic or Republican candidates – regardless of their vague promises to us or to their white constituencies – can solve our problems or the problems of the country without radically changing the systems by which it operates.

The Gary Declaration, 19 May 1972.

- B** *A member of the US Communist Party and a crusader for racial and social justice recounts an episode in Soledad State Prison, Los Angeles.*

As in an old Southern town, segregation in Soledad Prison was almost total. All activities were arranged so that racial mingling would not occur. With the collaboration of some of the white prisoners, Soledad had developed its own counterpart to the Ku Klux Klan – a group called the ‘Aryan Brotherhood’. Before January 13, 1970, exercise periods, like everything else, were segregated. On that day, with no explanation, the guards sent black and white prisoners to exercise together in the yard. Not a single guard accompanied them. A fight erupted between a black prisoner and a white prisoner, and within minutes, there was havoc. O. G. Miller, a hard-line racist guard, and expert marksman, then shot dead three men. They were all black. Later, the Grand Jury declared he had done nothing more serious than commit ‘justifiable homicide’. These apparently unthreatening official words reminded me of the untold numbers of unavenged murders of my people by guards in prisons, police on the streets and ordinary white citizens.

Angela Davis, *An Autobiography*, 1974.

- C** *A District Court Judge gives judgement in a long-running dispute between African-American parents and the defendants, Boston School Committee, about educational opportunities.*

The court concludes that substantial portions of the schools system have been intentionally segregated by the defendants at all levels. For decades, new schools were built, in size and locations, designed to promote segregation. How many students were separated on a racial basis cannot be stated with any degree of precision; but the annual totals were certainly in the thousands by the manipulation of the enrolment policy and the transfer of students to perpetuate segregation. The court concludes that the defendants have knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers and school facilities and have intentionally brought about and maintained a dual-school system.

Judge W. Arthur Garrity, *Tallulah Morgan et al. versus James W. Hennigan et al.*,
June 1974.

- D** *A US Senate committee provides a comprehensive examination of how activists were monitored during the late 1960s and early 1970s.*

Some of the FBI's tactics against the Black Panther Party were clearly intended to foster violence. This report demonstrates that the chief investigative branch of the Federal Government, which was charged by law with investigating crimes and preventing criminal conduct, itself engaged in lawless tactics and responded to deep-seated social problems by encouraging violence and unrest. Our investigation has disclosed a number of instances in which the FBI sought to turn violence-prone organizations against the Panthers in an effort to aggravate 'gang warfare'. The FBI and Chicago police both maintained paid informants in the Panthers, shared informant information, and the FBI provided information which was used by the Chicago police in planning raids against the Chicago Panthers. This was crucial to the police during their raid on an apartment in December 1969 which resulted in the fatal shooting of the local Chairman, Fred Hampton, and another Panther. The judge who headed the investigation into these deaths was not impartial and intended to excuse the police regardless of the facts.

The US Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations, report, 1976.

- E** *An African-American professor at Florida International University reflects on the Miami riots of May 1980 and the problem of segregated housing.*

With the news of the acquittal of the four officers on trial in Tampa for the death of Arthur McDuffie, a black activist, Miami rioted. I witnessed the destruction of the overwhelmingly black Scott-Carver housing project*, where I was raised, by the inhabitants themselves. This should awaken us to the necessity to confront the miseries of the poor. But white people don't need the projects. They don't see them, of course, but then that's the point. These projects serve as a dumping ground for America's dispossessed black people. White people display little patience with, or tolerance for, poor people. White people say, 'we must have a place to put them other than in our own neighbourhoods'. Housing projects serve that purpose extremely well.

Marvin Dunn, *Miami Herald*, 1980.

*a housing project is a low-cost housing estate.

- (a) To what extent does the evidence of Document D corroborate the claims of Document B on the methods of the authorities in dealing with African-American activists? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that violence was the main form of white resistance to greater equality for 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]

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 'Direct action to promote African-American civil rights was successful only because of media coverage.' Discuss this view for the period 1954 to 1980. [30]
- 3 'The achievements of Martin Luther King as a civil rights leader, 1955–1968, were limited.' Were they? [30]
- 4 Assess the view that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was the most effective pressure group within the movement for civil rights. [30]

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