



**Cambridge Assessment International Education**  
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

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**HISTORY**

**9769/72**

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

**May/June 2018**

**MARK SCHEME**

Maximum Mark: 60

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**Published**

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This document consists of **18** printed pages.

**Generic Marking Principles**

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptors for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme will also comply with these marking principles.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:**

Marks must be awarded in line with:

- the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question
- the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question
- the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:**

Marks awarded are always **whole marks** (not half marks, or other fractions).

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:**

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

- marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme, referring to your Team Leader as appropriate
- marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do
- marks are not deducted for errors
- marks are not deducted for omissions
- answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:**

Rules must be applied consistently e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:**

Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:**

Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.

*These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives (AOs) 1, 2, 3 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question. Information about AOs can be found in the 2016–18 Cambridge Pre-U History syllabus.*

**Introduction**

- (a) This question is designed to test skills in the handling and evaluation of source material but it is axiomatic that answers should be informed by and firmly grounded in wider contextual knowledge.
- (b) Examiners will be aware that the topic on which this question has been based has been notified to candidates in advance who, therefore, have had the opportunity of studying, using and evaluating relevant documents.
- (c) The Band in which an answer is placed depends upon a range of criteria. As a result not all answers fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases, a 'best-fit' approach will be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (d) In marking an answer examiners will first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

**Question (a)****Band 3: 8–10 marks**

The answer will make full use of both documents and will be sharply aware of both similarities and differences. Real comparisons of themes and issues will be made across the documents rather than by separate treatment. There should be clear insights into how the documents corroborate each other or differ and possibly as to why. The answer should, where appropriate, demonstrate a strong sense of critical evaluation.

**Band 2: 4–7 marks**

The response will make good use of both documents and will pick up the main features of the focus of the argument (depending upon whether similarity or difference is asked) with some attention to the alternative. Direct comparison of content, themes and issues is to be expected although, at the lower end of the Band, there may be a tendency to treat the documents separately with most or all of the comparison and analysis being left to the end. Again, towards the lower end, there may be some paraphrasing. Clear explanation of how the documents agree or differ is to be expected but insights into why are less likely. A sound critical sense is to be expected especially at the upper end of the Band.

**Band 1: 1–3 marks**

Treatment of the documents will be partial, certainly incomplete and possibly fragmentary. Only the most obvious differences/similarities will be detected and there will be a considerable imbalance (differences may be picked up but not similarities and vice versa). Little is to be expected by way of explanation of how the documents show differences/similarities, and the work will be characterised by largely uncritical paraphrasing.

**Band 0: 0 marks**

No evidence submitted or response does not address the question.

**Question (b)****Band 4: 16–20 marks**

The answer will treat the documents as a set and will make very effective use of each although, depending upon the exact form of the question, not necessarily in the same detail. It will be clear that the demands of the question have been fully understood and the material will be handled confidently with strong sense of argument and analysis. Good use of supporting contextual knowledge will be demonstrated. The material deployed will be strong in both range and depth. Critical evaluation of the documents is to be expected. The argument will be well structured. Historical concepts and vocabulary will be fully understood. Where appropriate an understanding and evaluation of differing historical interpretations is to be expected.

**Band 3: 11–15 marks**

The answer will treat the documents as a set and make good use of them although, depending on the form of the question, not necessarily in equal detail. There may, however, be some omissions and gaps. A good understanding of the question will be demonstrated. There will be a good sense of argument and analysis within a secure and planned structure. Supporting use of contextual knowledge is to be expected and will be deployed in appropriate range and depth. Some clear signs of a critical sense will be on show although critical evaluation of the documents may not always be especially well developed and may be absent at the lower end of the Band. Where appropriate an understanding and evaluation of differing historical interpretations may be expected. The answer will demonstrate a good understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary.

**Band 2: 6–10 marks**

There will be some regard to the documents as a set and a fair coverage, although there will be gaps and one or two documents may be unaccountably neglected, or especially at the lower end of the Band, ignored altogether. The demands of the question will be understood at least in good part and an argument will be attempted. This may be undeveloped and/or insufficiently supported in places. Analysis will be at a modest level and narrative is likely to take over in places with a consequent lack of focus. Some of the work will not go beyond paraphrasing. Supporting contextual knowledge will be deployed but unevenly. Any critical sense will be limited; formal critical evaluation is rarely to be expected; use of historical concepts will be unsophisticated.

**Band 1: 1–5 marks**

The answer will treat the documents as a set only to a limited extent. Coverage will be very uneven; there will be considerable omissions with whole sections left unconsidered. Some understanding of the question will be demonstrated but any argument will be undeveloped and poorly supported. Analysis will appear rarely, narrative will predominate and focus will be very blurred. In large part the answer will depend upon unadorned paraphrasing. Critical sense and evaluation, even at an elementary level, is unlikely whilst understanding of historical concepts will be at a low level. The answer may be slight, fragmentary or even unfinished.

**Band 0: 0 marks**

No evidence submitted or response does not address the question.

**Special Subject: Essay Question**

*These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives (AOs) 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question. Information about AOs can be found in the 2016–18 Cambridge Pre-U History syllabus.*

**Introduction**

- (a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and should be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners will give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They will be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit will be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners will use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It goes without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners will also bear in mind that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 4 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach will be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners will first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

**Band 5: 25–30 marks**

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations.

Such answers may be expected, where appropriate, to make use of or refer to relevant primary sources. Nevertheless, where the answer is strong in all or most of the other criteria for this Band, limited or no use of such sources should not preclude it from being placed in this Band.

**Band 4: 19–24 marks**

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary.

Such answers may be expected, where appropriate, to make use of or refer to at least some relevant primary sources. Nevertheless, where the answer is strong in all or most of the criteria for this Band, very limited or no use of these sources should not preclude it from being placed in this Band.

**Band 3: 13–18 marks**

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected. Use of English will be competent, clear and largely free of serious errors.

Use of or reference to relevant primary sources is a possibility. Candidates should be credited for having used such sources rather than penalised for not having done so.

**Band 2: 7–12 marks**

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated.

Use of or reference to relevant primary sources is unlikely at this level but credit should be given where it does appear.

**Band 1: 1–6 marks**

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; the answer is likely to include unsupported generalisations, and there will be some vagueness and irrelevance. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated whilst investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources are not to be expected. The answer may be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished. Use of or reference to relevant primary sources is highly unlikely at this level but credit should be given where it does appear.

**Band 0: 0 marks**

No evidence submitted or response does not address the question.



## Section A

Question	Answer	Marks
1(a)	<p><b>How far does Document E challenge the evidence in Document D on the approach taken by civil rights groups in 1966?</b></p> <p>There are some points of agreement but the documents largely disagree. In advocating the importation of the ‘philosophy and approach’ of the SCLC to Chicago, Document D implies that the strategies employed by the SCLC in the South, where the organisation had its roots, should be used in Chicago. Document E agrees that this was Dr. King’s view, but suggests he assumed ‘the tactics he used in the South’ were necessary ‘without taking into consideration of the differences here’. Document D believes the Church should play a key role as the ‘foremost’ ‘power factor’ in the city. However, Document E dismisses this because ‘some people in Chicago didn’t believe in churches’ and because ‘in many black churches the minister was in the pay of politicians’, therefore effectively siding with the opposition. A key point of difference lies in the attitude of both to non-violence. The SCLC philosophy was non-violence, which explains why it regards ‘the Church as a ready ally’. Candidates should understand that the reference to ‘organization and education’ was part of the strategy of the SCLC to train activists in non-violence. Document E pays lip service to non-violence as necessary ‘to get a permit’. In addition, it sneeringly disparages the attempts of the SCLC to train its activists by drawing attention to the fact that its ‘marchers ... had not attended workshops on non-violence or loving others’. Indeed, by embracing the notion of ‘Black Power’ and retaliating to violence – ‘When bricks were thrown at us we threw them back.’ – Document E indicates an acceptance of violence. However, candidates may stress that this was only in response to violence against them. Nonetheless, this was very different to the philosophy of the SCLC which eschewed violence, even when attacked.</p> <p>Candidates may recognise some corroboration of the documents. Both agree that the involvement of the community was important. Document D emphasises the Church, students, the unemployed and the slum-dwellers as crucial to mobilise. Document E seems to accept this in acknowledging that ‘each community had an organization already in existence with plans and goals’. The implication is, however, that they should be left to their own devices rather than be directed as Document D implies. Both documents agree on marching as a key tactic. Document D envisages ‘demonstrations should be scheduled’ for March and the central point in Document E is the march into Cicero. The fact that ‘King called off our march’, and that CORE ‘decided to defy him’, highlights the differences between the two on the exact strategies to be employed in marching. Also, to some extent, it could be argued that neither SCLC nor CORE had a complete strategy. In Document D, SCLC admits they anticipated ‘massive action’ but ‘we are in no position to know what form that might take’ and in Document E it is clear that the march into Cicero was a rather spontaneous affair.</p>	10

Question	Answer	Marks
1(a)	<p>The differences might be explained by the fact that the SCLC was rooted in the South, and as such its strategy was based on experience elsewhere: it represents the views of outsiders. In contrast, the author of Document E was a native of Chicago with intimate knowledge of the city, its people and conditions. Further, Document D is a plan of action and merely a theory at the time of its publication, whereas Document E is a retrospective assessment based on what actually happened in 1966. This might help explain why the account in Document E is more passionate than Document D. Indeed, it is also rather subjectively expressing the views of an individual who harbours some grievance against King (not 'Dr. King', as he was first, and usually, addressed), for interfering in the affairs of the city. Document D lacks any insinuation about other organisations or individuals; instead, it is an analysis of the situation in Chicago and the strategy to adopt. At the time of its publication, Stokely Carmichael had not yet called for 'Black Power' but when he did so in Mississippi in 1966, it electrified the movement and changed the nature of the debate which seems to have had a bearing on the attitude of Linda Hall and the strategy of CORE as expressed in Document E. Written before the notion of 'Black Power' had been coined, it is not surprising that the extracts from the working document (Document D) were consistent with already established strategy.</p>	

Question	Answer	Marks
1(b)	<p><b>How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that the churches were the main means of generating interest in, and support 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).</b></p> <p>Document A and Document D provide evidence for the ‘view that the churches were the main means of generating interest in, and support for, the Civil Rights Movement’ although Document E flatly refutes it. Furthermore, other factors – the role of students, the media, the community work and the organisation provided by pressure groups – which played a part in stimulating interest and support, are identified in the evidence. Document D defines the Church as of ‘foremost’ importance because it was ‘a ready ally of a nonviolent movement’ and because the SCLC was interested in ‘questions of human rights for those numbered among the children of God’. Document A describes a church in Montgomery ‘crammed with people’ and ‘packed one against the other’ and that ‘there were three times as many people outside as on the inside’. This suggests the church was important as a venue for the Civil Rights Movement and that, numerically, many were prepared to attend meetings there. Further, Documents A and Document D emphasises the role of black ministers. In the former, the services they conducted inspired a ‘passion that fired the meeting’ as ‘thousands’ engaged in singing hymns and saying prayers. By declaring that ‘efforts should be made to involve every minister in the city’, Document D highlights the importance of the minister to the plans of the SCLC in Chicago. Candidates may argue that it was the success of the Church in places like Montgomery (Document A) that explain why the SCLC placed such store by the church in Chicago. Indeed, this was consistent with the ‘SCLC philosophy and approach’ mentioned in the opening line of Document D. If candidates explain his position as a minister, candidates could offer the reference to Dr. King in Document B as relevant, which describes his involvement as ‘probably the smartest thing that we ever did’. Document C might also be considered as the author was a minister, even if he placed emphasis on student power. In addition, Document A shows how the Church was important in broadcasting the message of the MIA beyond the building itself. Microphones and loudspeakers were used to connect with those outside the church, including ‘white people (who) stopped blocks away and listened to the loudspeakers’ messages’. Knowledge of the bus boycott in Montgomery and the role of the Church in co-ordinating the campaign would be useful in evaluating Document A. Also, the report appeared in a white newspaper and its objective style – it is factual, balanced (admitting ‘white people ... listened to the loudspeakers’ message’) – should reinforce contextual knowledge suggesting it is a reliable account.</p>	20

Question	Answer	Marks
1(b)	<p>However, Document E is dismissive about the role of the Church claiming, 'to ask them to follow his (Dr. King's) movement through that mechanism didn't wash'. This is because 'some people in Chicago didn't believe in churches', but also because the suggestion is that ministers were corrupt and 'in the pay of politicians'. Candidates may regard the hostility of Document E to the Church as typical of a member of a different pressure group to the SCLC and especially someone who was persuaded by Carmichael's call for 'Black Power'. However, Dr. King and the SCLC did not enjoy universal support, especially in the North.</p> <p>Students were also regarded as important in stimulating support for the Civil Rights Movement. Document C is devoted to this group. Bevel explains how he thought they were important because of their large numbers, the strength of peer pressure and their willingness to meet the challenge. As only 'between five and twelve people would demonstrate each day', more people were needed on the street and there were 'thousands of high school students'. Aware of peer group pressure, he concentrated on winning the support of 'those with influence' who 'in turn got the students involved'. Charged with apathy – 'you have not stood up' – he explains how students met the challenge with teenage girls coming forward readily and although 'the last to get involved ... the high school guys' did so as well. Candidates could apply their knowledge of the impact of the action of students in Birmingham in May 1963. Images of violence and intimidation by police dogs and batons, and the arrest of many students, contributed to national support for the movement. His claim that students were trained 'to accept the logic of non-violence' was borne out by the steadfastness of students who were not intimidated on the march. Cross reference to Document B and Document D would benefit the answer. Document B states that 'there was a change in attitude of the people', 'particularly the students', in their refusal to accept segregation, which accords with a similar sentiment implied in Document C. Also, Document D considers 'students are another potential force to be mobilised' although, as a 'potential force', it might be argued that their role was not considered as important as in Document C.</p> <p>Document B highlights the importance of the media – newspapers from around the world and television within the USA – which, by implication, aroused interest in the Civil Rights Movement, specifically in Albany. However, media coverage was itself the result of the charisma and appeal of Dr. King and bringing him in 'was probably the smartest thing that we ever did' as 'it brought in world attention': 'the eyes of the world were focused on Albany primarily because of Dr. King'. Candidates could consider the details about the impact of media coverage, both positive and negative. Media coverage informed the ignorant about the Civil Rights Movement, but also hardened White resistance. Document B also stresses the importance of the expertise civil rights pressure groups. The reference to 'the benefit of having a well-established, well-experienced civil rights organisation' which Dr. King headed (the SCLC) is recognised. The Albany march of December 1961 owed much to the guidance of the SCLC. Cross reference to Document D would be relevant as it outlines the preparations it thought necessary before a march, and Document E provides some specific detail about this in the reference to 'leafleting' which, it implies, was something the SCLC did. However, Document E, representing CORE, clearly takes a different line and prefers not to go to the same lengths.</p>	

Question	Answer	Marks
1(b)	<p>Nonetheless, the importance of marching or demonstrating as a means of generating interest in the movement is emphasised by all the documents, either explicitly or implicitly, and to a lesser or greater extent. It is clear that the SCLC also regarded the tackling of local problems as a key factor in gaining support with Document D pinpointing the need to address the issues of the '100 000 unemployed' and housing, especially 'the conditions that create slums', to provide hope and vision. This seems to be the view expressed in Document E which accepts, with apparent approval, that 'each community had an organization already in existence with plans and goals'.</p> <p>In judgement, candidates may conclude that the Church was important but that pressure groups did not regard it as the main means in generating interest in, and support for, the movement; rather, that several means were significant, with some more important than others at certain times or in particular circumstances. However, candidates may agree that pressure groups did regard the Church as the main means of generating interest, given the evidence in: Document A and Document D; Document B, the clear recognition of the influence of Dr. King representing the Church; Document D, which outlines the policy of the SCLC with which Dr. King was associated; and, even, Document E, which indirectly recognises his influence. Indeed, the dominance of Dr. King before his death in 1968, and especially before the advent of Black Power in 1966, and the fact that the evidence presented is concerned with events only up to that point, could be emphasised to reinforce the case for the view in the question.</p>	

## Section B

Question	Answer	Marks
2	<p><b>Was the right to vote for African-Americans the most important strand in the ideology of the Civil Rights Movement from 1954 to 1965?</b></p> <p>AO1 – Candidates should present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required. No set response is expected; it is the quality of the argument and evaluation that will be rewarded. In demonstrating the importance of the right to vote, candidates may refer to: the ‘Freedom Summer’ campaign of 1964; the MFDP; and, the Selma to Montgomery March. Desegregation was a major strand and candidates might refer to: the Jim Crow laws (which ensured segregation of public facilities); education; worship; transport; hotels and restaurants; and, the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement (for example, Rosa Parks, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, the Birmingham demonstration and the March on Washington) could be stressed to emphasise the importance of the issue. Improving standards of living for African-Americans was another key strand, as urban problems and stunted opportunities affected millions. Efforts to persuade local and central authorities to address these issues might be considered.</p> <p>AO2 – Candidates should demonstrate an understanding and awareness of the historical concepts, present a clear, focused and analytical explanation, weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches, to arrive at a well-considered judgement. Candidates may highlight the importance of the right to vote since the days of Reconstruction and the significance of the vote to affect change in general. Some sense of the injustice felt by millions, effectively disenfranchised by the obstacles to registration (largely based on levels of literacy) in place in the period, would help emphasise the importance of the matter. However, although the issue had been long-standing, the energies of the Civil Rights Movement to affect change were concentrated in the years 1964–1965. Prior to that, desegregation had been the priority which could be illustrated by reference to the many attempts by the civil rights activists to achieve desegregation. Some may argue that success in this area, with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, accounts for the shift of the movement to the campaign for the vote. In addition, was desegregation of schools essential to achieve equality of education, a prerequisite for progress in other ways, not least to create an informed electorate? Some may regard economic and social matters to be the main strand of ideology. An outline of the extent of the poverty and social deprivation experienced by African-Americans would be useful. The support given to Johnson’s Great Society in job creation, tackling poverty, improving housing and so on could be assessed. Were the urban riots of the mid-1960s evidence that economic and social issues were the key concern?</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p><b>‘Malcolm X did more harm than good for the Civil Rights Movement.’ Discuss.</b></p> <p>AO1 – Candidates should present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required. No set response is expected; it is the quality of the argument and evaluation that will be rewarded. Some measure of his gains made would be appropriate, and the extent of the impact of Malcolm X should be assessed; this is difficult to quantify but candidates should attempt to weigh the effect he had on the Civil Rights Movement. Candidates may focus on his actions and their effect, or they may emphasise the influence he had on others, or assess his impact by comparison with other leading civil rights figures. They should define their terms of reference.</p> <p>AO2 –Candidates should demonstrate an understanding and awareness of the historical concepts, present a clear, focused and analytical explanation, weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches, to arrive at a well-considered judgement. Malcolm X was active within the movement from 1952 on his release from prison, when he made a name for himself as a highly effective speaker. The influence of his oratory could be assessed on its own merits or, perhaps, by comparison with that of Dr. King. Similarly, his writings had some influence especially <i>‘The Autobiography of Malcolm X’</i> published shortly after his death, particularly with young African-Americans. However, this is difficult to gauge and although riots and street disturbances in the late 1960s to 1970s might have been influenced by him, other factors were clearly important. Certainly, for many students he did not have the appeal of organisations like the SNCC. However, his views seem to have been important in shaping those of key figures in the movement in the mid-to late 1960s. The views of Floyd McKissick and Stokeley Carmichael (leaders of CORE) on Black Power and the use of violence were, arguably, in part at least, formed by those of Malcolm X. In broader terms, his radicalism and intolerance could be assessed. He criticised those who attempted to work with the established authorities to achieve accommodation for African-Americans within the system. Instead, he favoured separatism, but few were prepared to commit to this vision. Indeed, the numbers who continued to support the marches organised by Dr. King and other more moderate leaders, for example, the March on Washington, 1963, which Malcolm X mocked, suggests his views had limited influence compared to those of others. His death in 1965 meant that he only had limited time for his own organisation, the Organisation of Afro-American Unity, founded in 1964, to establish itself. Were his religious beliefs positive or negative? Having converted to Islam in prison, 1946–1952, he joined the Nation of Islam (the Black Muslims) which rejected Christianity as a ‘white man’s religion’ and regarded Whites as ‘blue-eyed devils’. Given the vast majority of African-Americans were Christians, this limited his appeal – again, comparison with Dr. King and the SCLC would be appropriate – although the Nation of Islam did have thousands of members.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
3	<p>In fact, in 1964 he split with the Nation of Islam and the breakaway organisation, the OAA, looked to work with others and talked of 'brotherhood'; an indication, perhaps, that he recognised the little influence of Islam, or at least the need to work with different religious groups. As a poor black from a ghetto, he may have had some influence amongst people of similar background who were less impressed with the middle-class origins of many civil rights leaders. In this respect, he was influential in northern cities. However, arguably, his influence was confined to that region. Although Dr. King's strength was also regional – the South – he had a national influence which Malcolm X failed to achieve. In judgement, candidates may distinguish between his influence in his life time and the influence he had subsequently. He may be regarded as having a benign or malign effect on some groups and in some areas. Certain qualities may be considered more influential than others. An overall judgement is possible.</p>	



Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p><b>'The US Congress did more to hinder than advance the civil rights of African-Americans.' Assess this view for the period from 1954 to 1980.</b></p> <p>AO1 – Candidates should present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. A sharp focus on the demands of the question is required. No set response is expected; it is the quality of the argument and evaluation that will be rewarded. Some measure of the gains made would be appropriate. The composition of Congress throughout this period made it reluctant, at least, to introduce legislation to advance the civil rights of African-Americans. The alliance of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans was able to block change until the 1960s and, despite the key reforms of the middle years of the decade, they remained resistant to civil rights for African-Americans. Many important committees were run by Southern Democrats. Unsurprisingly, there is evidence to support the view in the question. However, notwithstanding the natural inclination of Congress against change, significant legislative advances were made. Candidates should explore and evaluate these measures.</p> <p>AO2 – Candidates should demonstrate an understanding and awareness of the historical concepts, and present a clear, focused and analytical explanation, capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches, to arrive at a well-considered judgement. It would be difficult to find any example of support from Congress for reform before 1964. On the contrary, Congress hindered the civil rights cause whenever it could. In 1956, 19 Senators and 79 members of the House of Representatives issued the Southern Manifesto outlining its hostility to the decision of the Supreme Court in the <i>Brown</i> case, which served as the basis of their position on the constitution, notably their emphasis on States' Rights, for the next decade. It was a statement of the opposition, of Southern Congressmen at least, to desegregation in education, one of the key areas of debate in this period.</p> <p>Congress also set itself against any change to the political rights of African-Americans. This was shown clearly in their rejection of Kennedy's civil rights bill of June in 1963. This prompted the March on Washington to pressurise Congress, but despite this and the violence in the South as a reaction against Congress, the conservatives refused to give way. However, it could be argued that Congress had allowed the formation of a Commission on Civil Rights in 1957 to investigate the denial of voting rights and, in 1960, they conceded to permit Federal referees to help African-Americans register as voters. However, no legislation was forthcoming. Indeed, the passage of the civil rights laws of 1964–1965 (the Civil Rights Act, the 24th Amendment, and the Voting Rights Act) were only agreed as a result of the wave of emotion after the death of JFK and the influence of the Southern President, Johnson. Arguably, these laws would not have been accepted in Congress otherwise. Nonetheless, these laws were hugely significant as they legally ended segregation and made the Amendments of 1865 and 1870 now a reality. So, despite their reluctance, it is difficult to deny the role of Congress in advancing the political rights of African-Americans.</p>	30

Question	Answer	Marks
4	<p>In areas of social policy, the role of Congress was also ambivalent. Congress agreed with the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1964 which initiated various programmes to help the poor such as Head Start, the Job Corps and the Community Action Program and others, which were part of the Great Society. African-Americans undoubtedly benefited from these schemes but, arguably, Congress agreed to them more because they were concerned more with helping poor whites than African-Americans. The introduction of affirmative action schemes was achieved by initiatives from the Oval Office and the Federal or States' governments rather than legislation passed in Congress. Yet, the Omnibus Housing Act of 1968 was intended to help end racial discrimination in housing; even if it had little effect, the action of Congress in this respect was positive. The fact that the percentages of unemployment and the quality of housing in the period from 1965 to 1980 were significantly worse for African-Americans than whites, suggests that social policy was of limited success and that the peripheral engagement of Congress with these issues was a factor.</p>	