

Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D	D5 Pursuing Life and Liberty: Equality in the USA, 1945–68	Essay Question 1
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Examiner's Specific Advice

The focus of this question is 1955–68 and the contribution made to the civil rights movement by Martin Luther King. This means that the learning requirements in several bullet points in the Edexcel specification will be relevant.

The question is asking you to assess the role of an individual and to make a judgement on the relative importance of his contribution when compared with other factors.

Tips for your plan:

- **Key words** in the question are 'how important' and 'contribution'.
- **Introduction:** This needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question.
- **Main body of the essay:** Each paragraph ideally should offer some analysis/evaluation of the information in terms of the question. Try to select at least three relevant points or large topics which can be used to illustrate your understanding of the question.
- **Conclusion:** This should pull the essay together with an evaluation of the relative importance of the various issues discussed.

Exemplar Question

How important was Martin Luther King's contribution to the civil rights movement 1955–68?

(30 marks)

Planning Your Response

To achieve Level 5 in the mark scheme your answer must *directly address* the focus of the question.

Plan

- Introduction: explanation of aim of civil rights movement; introduce Martin Luther King's contribution and reference to the question, timeline and other factors
- A range of relevant factors: range of MLK's contributions to CRM, black activists, Federal Government – Justice Dept, presidents and Second World War
- Conclusion: assess the importance of MLK's contribution alongside other

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factors

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

Martin Luther King is recognised throughout the world for his visionary speech in Washington – 'I have a Dream', made in 1963. He brought together a group of about a quarter of a million people, 50% of which were white. This marked the high spot in the civil rights movement. What important contribution did Martin Luther King make to this movement? Did he do it alone? His contribution to the Civil Rights movement was that he was very involved between 1955 and 1968 (1).

He grew up in Atlanta Georgia and his father was a Baptist clergyman. It was no surprise that Martin Luther King followed in his father's footsteps when he was ordained as a minister in 1948. He eventually went to Montgomery in Alabama where he became a pastor to the rich. Even from the pulpit, King encouraged his congregation to exercise their civil rights as per the constitution and register to vote. He tried to get them to join the NAACP, which tried to help blacks.

As he was already in Montgomery it was no surprise that he became involved and led the Bus Boycott of 1961. Boycotts were a well-used form of black protest because it hit the whites in the pocket. He got into trouble as a result of this boycott – he was arrested and put on trial and also a deranged black woman stabbed him (2).

He later became involved in founding a group called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1957. He later moved the HQ of the organisation to Atlanta. This group often argued with other Civil Rights groups such as NAACP and CORE and this did not help their cause (3).

By 1960 he was involved with another activist, Ella Baker, who organised student sit-ins at Greensboro. Again he managed to get arrested, which brought media coverage to the civil rights movement. On this occasion President Kennedy came to King's rescue and he was released. This caused other Civil Rights activists like Malcolm X to accuse King of being in league with the white government. Others accused him of being a 'glory seeker'. Later, after the March on Washington in 1963, he was again accused of being in league with the US government (4).

At times Martin Luther King suggested that he was more than a black civil rights spokesman. He said that 'I am interested in rights for Negroes, but I am just as interested in Appalachian whites, Mexican Americans

(1) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question. This introduction is showing signs of being focused on the question.

(2) A relevant factor introduced: Martin Luther King and Montgomery Bus Boycott. The question is asking you to make a judgement about his contribution to the CRM. Without this judgement, the answer will probably not be analytical. Here, the style is descriptive about this incident.

(3) A relevant factor: MLK and SCLC. The information lacks depth and the link to the question is only implied.

(4) Relevant factor: Martin Luther King and other activists. It is relevant in that it is across the timeline. The style is descriptive and the links to the question are only implicitly relevant.

(5) You are required to include relevant and accurate information to

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and other minorities'. These views sometimes confused black activists and led to accusations that he had let down America's blacks (5).

Martin Luther King then became involved in the Albany Movement 1961–62, which was a sit-in campaign at the bus station to protest about the lack of desegregation on public transport. Boycotts of white businesses followed to put pressure on the city authorities to change. The campaign was eventually a complete defeat and Martin Luther King was heavily criticised for indecision. He also took a fine rather than a jail sentence in order to be released over Xmas. Many blacks felt let down again.

The Civil Rights campaign moved on to Birmingham Alabama. King said that Birmingham was by far America's worst big city. Examples of anti-black sentiments were illustrated by a campaign that was run to stop 'negro music' being played on white radio stations.

He managed to get positive TV coverage for blacks during the Birmingham Campaign in 1963. This was very important because the white Public Safety Commissioner 'Bull' O'Connor turned high-powered water hoses on the black crowd and tore their clothes and this made the headlines. Martin Luther King seemed to answer his critics in the civil rights movement at last.

1963 was Martin Luther's year – after the 'I have a Dream' speech he was voted Time Magazine's Man of the Year and the following year he won a Nobel Peace Prize. This was surely a great contribution to the civil rights movement (6).

After 1963, the civil rights movement became involved in more extreme violence as the NOI and Black Panthers called for Black Power. The ghetto riots began and many were quite worried about the way the civil rights movement seemed to be heading. By 1967 Martin Luther King had published a book entitled 'Where do we go from here?' which rejected black power (7).

Martin Luther King felt that the civil rights movement should focus on getting rid of black poverty once black voting rights had been enshrined in the federal laws with several Civil Rights Acts. He therefore launched the Poor People's Campaign to draw attention to the plight of blacks in the ghettos. Unfortunately, Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis Tennessee in 1968 before the Poor People's Campaign had really got underway. It then collapsed after his death, showing

demonstrate your understanding. Paragraphs 6–8 are relevant and accurate but the information is not developed in terms of the question. It gives a negative and descriptive view of King's involvement in these incidents but the assessment of his contribution is not developed in terms of the question.

(6) This paragraph attempts analysis in terms of the question but the information lacks depth.

(7) Relevant factor: Black Power and MLK's response. This is not developed in terms of the question, however.

(8) Relevant factor: MLK

what a great influence he was (8).

Martin Luther King was a great influence on the civil rights movement but his input was not always appreciated by fellow activists, but he was important (9).

Examiner's Assessment

This answer would be marked at mid Level 3. The essay lacks depth and it does not always focus on the question, which is common at Level 3. Overall it is descriptive in style and many of the paragraphs do not link to the question. However, it does show some awareness of the question and the information is relevant. There are passages which stray from the focus of the question. There is an attempt to have a range of factors about Martin Luther King's involvement in the CRM but the detail given does not focus well on the question. Other factors which contributed to the civil rights movement are not considered.

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

The Civil Rights movement aimed to give blacks in America social, political and economic equality after the 13th amendment ended slavery in 1865. In the 1950s and 60s the civil rights movement initially focused on trying to end the continuing segregation in transport and education which clearly still existed despite the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution. It then focused on gaining political rights for all blacks by aiming to end the 'de jure' discrimination against voting in the south. By 1968 the focus of the civil rights movement had shifted to ending the 'de facto' segregation of blacks in the north as they could only afford to live in black inner-city ghettos. How important was Martin Luther King in the work of the civil rights movement in achieving greater equality for blacks between 1955 and 1968? Other factors such as the revelation of US hypocrisy after the Second World War, the increasing militancy of black activists such as Malcolm X and changes in the political climate were also key to the progress made at this time (10).

Martin Luther King's significant contribution to the civil rights movement was in his role as a safe pair of hands to lead the movement. It was King who provided leadership, in the absence of leadership from the NAACP, for the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1956. This incident saw him first come to prominence locally and

and Poor People's Campaign. It shows some understanding of the focus of the question but lacks depth.

(9) The conclusion does not do its job of tying up the points which have been raised in the essay. The judgement is very brief.

(10) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question, as shown here. There is also some explanation of Civil Rights.

nationally.

He projected the boycott as 'active non-violent resistance to evil'. The outcome of the Montgomery Bus Boycott was the Browder v. Gayle case (June 1956) in which the Supreme Court made the decision in 1956 that segregation on buses in Alabama was unconstitutional. Rosa Parks had triggered the Montgomery Bus Boycott by her actions in December 1955. She continued with her protests for many years but she was never seen as a leader of the civil rights movement, like Martin Luther King. She gained notoriety as an activist for particular forms of direct action and her celebrity grew once the battle for civil rights had been won (11).

Dr King's reputation as a safe leadership option was also shown in the 1963 Birmingham campaign when Robert Kennedy, as Attorney General, feared that the situation could spread and trigger national violence. He said, 'If King loses, worse leaders are going to take his place.' Furthermore, it was King's direct involvement which encouraged J.F. Kennedy to allow the March on Washington in August 1963 to go ahead. As it turned out, this was one of the greatest moments of the civil rights movement. The March drew support from American whites, which gave the Federal Government the courage to bring in subsequent civil rights legislation such as in 1964. Activist Malcolm X of the Nation of Islam criticised the way in which King appeared to 'cosy up' to the Federal Government and called the March 'The Farce on Washington'. However, he also recognised King's value to the civil rights movement. Malcolm X claimed that he put forward the extremist position in order to make King's demands more acceptable to the white population, saying, in 1964 at a debate, 'I'm here to remind the white man of the alternative to Dr King'. So King was important to the civil rights movement by showing himself to be a well-educated and safe pair of hands, which meant that whites were less scared about making changes to the situation of blacks. This helped the Federal Government too for they would have risked a white adverse reaction had they been seen to co-operate with black militants (12).

Dr King played the role of negotiator for the civil rights movement. For example, he did not start the action at Albany in 1961. He was invited by the Albany Movement to join the protest. He then led the march and unsuccessfully tried to negotiate with the authorities. Once involved, King would become a spokesman for the civil rights movement. He urged peaceful protest and, through sound rhetoric, he conveyed the urgent need

(11) First major incident for King in CRM. Level 5 requires that you show explicit understanding of key issues – in this case how/why MLK took the lead over another activist and the outcome of the incident.

(12) Key issue: MLK's contribution – leadership. The question is asking you to make an assessment of MLK's contribution to the CRM. If you just say that MLK was involved in the movement's activities, without an evaluation of the importance his contribution in comparison with the role of others, then you may not achieve a Level 5. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay. This paragraph directly addresses the focus of the question, i.e. Level 5.

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for change. This negotiating role was also evident after the Birmingham campaigns when King managed to persuade the militants to back down; the federal judge then felt able to re-instate the students (13).

Dr King's ability to gain positive media coverage for the civil rights movement was an important contribution. King brought the civil rights movement into the media spotlight, such as the Birmingham campaign in 1963. He managed to position Birmingham's Public Safety Commissioner's actions on TV so that events in the city were viewed in a way which produced the kind of white violent opposition which won national sympathy for blacks. It was also clear from President Kennedy's comments that 'the TV pictures sickened him'. Events in Birmingham were instrumental in the eventual Civil Rights Act of July 1964 which Kennedy started and Johnson completed. The media pressure on the President was mounting and King had been instrumental in the positive spin put on black treatment by whites.

Martin Luther King also used his own treatment when arrested to draw media attention to the plight of American blacks. He was arrested after the Montgomery Bus Boycotts and subsequently made a court appearance. Again this behaviour was repeated after the Birmingham demonstrations in 1963. He knew he would be arrested and when he wrote the emotional 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' on toilet paper, President Kennedy intervened and King was released. This tactic was again employed in Selma 1965 when he publicly admitted that he wanted to be arrested to publicise the fact that Selma blacks couldn't register to vote. He even managed to get a letter in the NY Times saying, 'There are more Negroes in jail with me than there are on the voting rolls.'

Another important contribution to the civil rights movement by Dr King was in his intellectual ability. He created an argument and gave the movement direction. After the Chicago and Meredith March debacles, his book 'Where do we go from here?' (1967) recognised that getting the vote was 'cheap' for the authorities but that what was still required was 'a movement to bring about certain basic structural changes in the architecture of American society'. The focus should shift to eradicating poverty. He urged blacks to broaden their movement to include Hispanics, Indian and white Appalachian poor. This protest was to culminate in a camp in Washington DC in a civil disobedience campaign, christened the Poor People's Campaign in 1967. The significance of King's contribution to this can be summed up when after his death the movement

(13) Paragraphs 3-6 show a range of examples at Level 5 which give an assessment of the importance of MLK's contribution to the CRM. These show explicit understanding of the key issues – in this case MLK's range of leadership qualities.

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fizzled out under his successor – Ralph Abernathy.

During the fifties and sixties, the political conditions became more positive and supportive for the civil rights movement. This was another very important factor in the success of the civil rights movement. This change contributed to a more confident and hopeful mood amongst civil rights activists as they learned that the Justice Department had a section with responsibility for civil rights from 1957 thanks to President Eisenhower. It was during Robert Kennedy's tenure as Attorney General that the Justice Department proved significant for the Civil Rights movement, e.g. The Freedom Ride in 1961, organised by CORE, caused Robert Kennedy in his role as Attorney to support the Supreme Court Rulings regarding interstate integrated bus seating. This demonstrated the importance of federal intervention the civil rights cause. He oversaw 57 suits against violations of black voting rights, intervened in educational funding for blacks and hastened desegregation in large cities such as New Orleans and Memphis. Robert Kennedy responded to the Birmingham Campaign in 1963 by sending in Justice Department representatives that ensured Birmingham's public facilities were soon desegregated and employment prospects improved for blacks. Despite the input of Martin Luther King in these protests, it was the intervention of the Federal Government which made the difference (14).

By 1963 Kennedy had publicly stated that black inequality was immoral. Kennedy had promised in his Presidential campaign to end housing discrimination and he set up the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. All these initiatives increased hope amongst America's black population and fed the civil rights movement.

The President Lyndon Johnson continued with a positive federal response to the civil rights movement. He brought about a series of Civil Rights Acts which covered voting, education and social security, referred to as a legislative revolution. It was black militants who repaid President Johnson's support with a series of ghetto riots across America's cities, culminating in Watts. Johnson was so upset by this that no further Civil Rights legislation was passed for the rest of his presidency. He had been the president who had done more for blacks than any other president and as such he contributed significantly to the civil rights movement by enshrining their aims into federal law.

Another area of change which also contributed to the promise of a more positive future for black civil rights

(14) Another factor: the changes in the political conditions which helped the CRM. Level 5 requires you to include relevant and accurate information to demonstrate your understanding, e.g. the importance of the Federal Government Justice Department in its support of the CRM. This is linked to the question by reference to the timeline and a comparison with MLK's role. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

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was the policy of US presidents to make black federal appointments. This began prior to the 1950s with Truman, but it gained momentum during J.F. Kennedy and Johnson's presidencies in particular. This gave the civil rights movement hope and significant role models. The best example of this is the appointment and promotion of Thurgood Marshall to senior legal roles in the Federal Government (15).

There were many other significant elements to the Civil Rights movement beyond Martin Luther King, for example The Nation of Islam of which key members were Malcolm X and Elijah Mohammed. The popularity of such men is beyond doubt amongst young alienated blacks, but in the corridors of power they were feared. The radicalisation of CORE and the SNCC in the mid-sixties were symptoms of impatience with the slow progress of black equality. When the SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael shouted 'black power' in Greenwood Mississippi, a mixed and confused message was received: black power was amorphous and ever changing. This led to confusion. The Black Panthers held great sway in the ghettos but with a lack of common purpose and ideology squabbles predominated and after the killing of a policeman, the days of the Black Panthers were numbered. In the end it was the disparate and radicalised elements of the civil rights movement which called time on progress. Black power contributed to the demise of the civil rights movement at a time when its effectiveness was unquestioned. This had been Martin Luther King's great fear and reason for his constant calls for 'turning the other cheek' and patience. After the success of Washington, and the Civil Rights Act, King turned his attention to the ghettos. He became increasingly frustrated with the serious violence that began to accompany black protest, for example, Selma in 1965 and Chicago 1966. Perhaps it was his intellect and theological background which gave him an insight into the world and how effective change came about (16).

With such disparate elements vying for power in the civil rights movement, it was King's ability to gain some consensus at critical times which was his most important contribution to the movement. He passionately believed that working together was the best chance for progress. The Montgomery Bus Boycotts in 1956 demonstrated what could be achieved by the black community working together through peaceful protest. The church proved to be a crucial cementing factor in bringing the community together and in this instance MLK was a significant element and ideally placed. It was the Freedom Rides of 1963 where MLK

(15) Another factor: presidential support for the CRM. Level 5 is shown by linkage to the question by referring to a range of presidential initiatives across the timeline.

(16) Another factor: the role of Black Militants and the CRM. The question is asking you to make an assessment of the importance of MLK's contribution to the CRM. Here there is a comparison of the contribution of black militants and MLK. The relative importance of these factors is discussed to achieve a Level 5. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

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used his powers of persuasion to encourage the disparate militant black civil rights groups to work together. It was as a result of the harmonious publicity achieved by MLK for CORE, SNCC and SCLC which encouraged Attorney Robert Kennedy to enforce the Supreme Court's rulings on desegregated interstate travel in 1961. Again his critics argued that his motive for encouraging unity between the black organisations was to achieve domination for his SCLC group which he founded in 1957. This criticism may be true, but without the positive media coverage it is unlikely that Kennedy would have acted as he did. MLK's role as a force of harmony was very important in some of the gains made in civil rights. The most significant example of MLK's role as bringing together the disparate groups in the civil rights movement was the March on Washington in 1963. This was the first time that the major civil rights leaders collaborated on a national undertaking. Unfortunately, this level of co-operation was short-lived (17).

The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was set up in 1909. It played an increasingly crucial role in giving legal support to black activists when the Supreme Court was involved and this was yet another vital contribution to the civil rights movement. Supreme Court rulings became increasingly significant in their support for black civil rights: e.g. partly funded *Browder v. Gayle* in 1956, *Cooper v. Aaron* in 1958, which said it was unconstitutional to keep public schools segregated. The NAACP was prominent in the life of activists like Rosa Parks who sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott and Ella Baker. Ella, who later joined the SNCC, worked tirelessly to empower ordinary people into independent styled activism and therefore she never acquired the national stage like Martin Luther King (18).

Another contributory factor in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s was the exposure of the US government as hypocrites. The US soldiers who returned from fighting in Europe after the Second World War were perplexed. How could America, whose constitution said that 'all men were created equal', claim to be the 'Land of the Free' when the discrimination against US blacks was widespread? How could the US oppose the Soviets and Communism in Cold War rhetoric with a clear conscience? Something had to change! This anomaly and consequent embarrassment put pressure on the Federal Government and was another factor which contributed to the civil rights movement at this time (19).

(17) Another factor: the disparate elements in the CRM. The relative importance of MLK's contribution to this factor is assessed across the timeline and links to the question. This paragraph directly addresses the question. By making an evaluation, you should be on the way to achieving a Level 5. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(18) Another factor: the role of the NAACP in the CRM. It gave support to individuals and particularly in Supreme Court cases.

(19) Another factor to have an impact on the CRM: the pressure on the Federal Government after the Second World War.

Finally, it was Dr King's ability to inspire others both black and white, particularly through oratory, which made his contribution to the civil rights movement so important. His 'I have a dream' speech has become legendary and at the time it inspired millions both in America and around the world. He had the ability to transcend race and class as the support for the civil rights movement widened to include whites and the middle class. His vision and intellect also improved the white view of blacks which in turn enabled the Presidency to become more active in its support of black civil rights. There were many important elements contributing to the civil rights movement, particularly through the auspices of the Federal Government, but it was King's vision and leadership and wide appeal which made his contribution so important (20).

Examiner's Assessment

This essay reaches Level 5. It addresses the question directly throughout. The information is kept tightly on track – a focused answer – through careful wording which often includes the key words from the question. For example: (a) 'Dr King's ability to gain positive media coverage for the civil rights movement was an important contribution. King brought the civil rights movement into the media spotlight such as the Birmingham campaign in 1963.' (paragraph 6) or (b) 'Another important contribution to the civil rights movement by Dr King was in his intellectual ability. He created an argument and gave the movement direction. After the Chicago and Meredith March debacles, his book "Where do we go from here?" (1967) recognised that getting the vote was "cheap" for the authorities but that what was still required was "a movement to bring about certain basic structural changes in the architecture of American society".' (paragraph 8)

The answer is analytical in its approach and style. It is broadly balanced in its references to the contribution of Martin Luther King to the civil rights movement and several other factors which also had an impact on the civil rights movement. It attempts to make an assessment of these factors for the part they play in the progress made by the civil rights movement within the given timeframe. It includes accurate material which has been appropriately selected (does not try to include everything) and the paragraphs are linked to the question.

There is an argument running throughout the essay – the importance of Martin Luther King's contribution. In

(20) Conclusion: this should pull the essay together with an assessment of the relative importance of the contribution of Martin Luther King to the civil rights movement, and include some reference to other factors. This essay does all that, and so reaches Level 5 throughout.

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<p>this example a range of factors are considered with detailed and precise supporting material, e.g. black activists, presidential support, NAACP and the Justice Department with their links to Supreme Court judgements.</p> <p>The answer would be given a mark at mid Level 5 for its range of factors, the level of appropriately selected material which is analysed throughout in terms of the question and the links made between them.</p>	
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<p>Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D</p>	<p>D5 Pursuing Life and Liberty: Equality in the USA, 1945–68</p>	<p>Mark Scheme for Essay Question 1</p>
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How important was Martin Luther King’s contribution to the civil rights movement 1955–68?

(30 marks)

Target: AO1a and AO1b (13%)

Essay – to present historical explanations and reach a judgement.

<p>Level 1</p>	<p>Candidates will produce mostly simple statements. These will be supported by limited factual material which has some accuracy and relevance, although not directed at the focus of the question. The material will be mostly generalised. There will be few, if any, links between the simple statements.</p> <p><i>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed; material is convincing in range and depth consistent with Level 1. The writing may have limited coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 1: 3–4 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 1: 5–6 marks The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(1–6)</p>
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<p>Level 2</p>	<p>Candidates will produce a series of simple statements supported by some mostly accurate and relevant factual material. The analytical focus will be mostly implicit and there are likely to be only limited links between the simple statements. Material is unlikely to be developed very far.</p> <p><i>The writing will have some coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. Some of the skills needed to produce effective writing will be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 2: 7–8 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 2: 9–10 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 2: 11–12 marks The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(7–12)</p>
<p>Level 3</p>	<p>Candidates' answers will attempt analysis and will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will, however, include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus. Factual material will be accurate but it may lack depth and/or relevance in places.</p> <p><i>The writing will be coherent in places but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. Only some of the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing are likely to be present. Syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 3: 13–14 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 3: 15–16 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 3: 17–18 marks The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(13–18)</p>

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<p>Level 4</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which relates well to the focus of the question and which shows some understanding of the key issues contained in it. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material which will be mostly relevant to the question asked. The selection of material may lack balance in places.</p> <p><i>The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes may not be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing but there may be passages which lack clarity or coherence. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</i></p> <p>Low Level 4: 19–20 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 4: 21–22 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 4: 23–24 marks The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(19–24)</p>
<p>Level 5</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which directly addresses the focus of the question and which demonstrates explicit understanding of the key issues contained in it. It will be broadly balanced in its treatment of these key issues. The analysis will be supported by accurate, relevant and appropriately selected factual material which demonstrates some range and depth.</p> <p><i>The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce convincing extended writing will be in place.</i></p> <p>Low Level 5: 25–26 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 5: 27–28 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 5: 29–30 marks The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(25–30)</p>

<p>Edexcel – AS GCE</p>	<p>D5 Pursuing Life and Liberty:</p>	<p>Essay Question</p>
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Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D	Equality in the USA, 1945–68	2
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Examiner's Specific Advice

The focus of this question is 1945–55 and the status of African American citizenship. This means that the learning requirements in several bullet points in the Edexcel specification will be relevant.

The question is asking you to assess the accuracy of a statement about whether African Americans were treated as second-class citizens. This involves making a judgment based on a variety of incidents and viewpoints about a variety of issues.

Tips for your plan:

- **Key words** in the question are 'how accurate' and 'second-class citizens'.
- **Introduction:** This needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question.
- **Main body of the essay:** Each paragraph ideally should offer some analysis/evaluation of the information in terms of the question. Try to select at least three relevant points or large topics which can be used to illustrate your understanding of the question.
- **Conclusion:** This should pull the essay together with an assessment of the relative accuracy of the various issues discussed.

Exemplar Question

How accurate is it to describe African Americans as second-class citizens, 1945–55?

(30 marks)

Planning Your Response

To achieve Level 5 in the mark scheme your answer must *directly address* the focus of the question.

Plan

- Introduction: outline the key issue – that testing the statement will not be easy: factual evidence versus opinion; outline reference to the federal system, reference to the question and timeline and other factors
- A range of relevant factors: examples where second-class citizenship might be found – right to vote, education, the law, Federal Government, employment, housing, the military and Congress
- Conclusion: assessment of whether statement about inequality is true or not – opinion – de facto and in law – de jure. Northern states v. Southern states and within the timeline

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

In 1956 the Montgomery Bus Boycott began and Martin Luther King founded the SCLC a year later. Clearly there was a lot that African Americans wanted to complain about. They believed that it was necessary to protest about the unfair society in which they lived after what had allegedly been ten years of change, between 1945 and 1955. The Bus Boycott focused on segregated travel on buses and was triggered by Rosa Parks who was asked to move on a bus and she refused (1).

The changes that took place covered many areas of life. To start with, voting was unfair. In the south, African Americans had to pass literacy tests before they could register to vote. They believed it was unfair to ask them to do this as whites did not have this hoop to pass through. This meant that whites who could not read could vote and illiterate African Americans could not (2).

African Americans had fought alongside white soldiers against Nazi Germany until the end of the Second World War. When they came home they found it was to a segregated society that they returned and yet they had risked their lives for freedom in Europe and equality for Jews. This did not seem fair and so many African Americans felt that their government was hypocritical about equality. They were still second-class citizens as even the army until 1948 was segregated (3).

African Americans were not free between 1945 and 1955. It was not possible for them to go to parks, libraries or schools with whites. There were 'whites only' signs all over the place. The law said that they could be separate and still be equal, so the US constitution was not being broken. In 1948 the Supreme Court ruled in Shelley v. Kraemer that restrictive covenants stopped African Americans from purchasing homes in white districts (4).

It was unfair that there were very few African Americans in government. So even if African Americans managed to vote, the whites had all the candidates. There was no one to represent the views and needs of the African Americans. This was unfair and people said that they were second-class citizens because they did not study hard like whites. This justified separate schooling. They were blamed for not doing well, which in turn meant they could not get good jobs. The whites blamed the African Americans for being unable to afford good housing and schooling but the funding from the

(1) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, key issues and style of the question. This introduction is showing signs of being focused on the question.

(2) A relevant factor introduced: voting. The question is asking you to make an assessment about the statement on second-class citizenship. Without this judgement the answer will probably not be analytical. Here, the style is descriptive in giving opinions on this issue and is not developed in terms of the question.

(3) A relevant factor: German racism compared with American racism. The information lacks depth and explanation and the link to the question is not supported by the information.

(4) Relevant factor – segregation/separate and equal. It is relevant but the timeline is limited. The style is descriptive and there are no links to the question.

(5) Relevant factor: equality and employment is introduced but not developed. A range of other factors are introduced which are also

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government was different. As the Americans did menial jobs like cleaning and garbage collection, they said they were second-class citizens (5).

If there was any trouble in the inner-city poor ghettos, e.g. Detroit, it was the African Americans who got the blame. There were no African American policemen, which might explain why it was not the whites who got arrested.

The NAACP was founded in 1909 with a view to helping the plight of African Americans gain equality. The membership rose to nearly half a million by 1945. They backed people like Rosa Parks and Ella Baker who were both keen civil rights activists in the fifties. The NAACP also gave financial help to those activists who needed legal support. They won some landmark cases like Brown v. Topeka in 1955. In 1947 NAACP activists picketed stores in New Orleans that refused to allow African Americans try on hats (6).

The presidents Truman and Eisenhower agreed with African Americans that they were second-class citizens. They employed African Americans as lawyers to try and make sure that they were treated more fairly. Thurgood Marshall even became a Supreme Court judge so he would say that he was equal to white judges. Truman tried to stop defence companies getting government contracts if they treated their workers unfairly. The government set up a Fair Employment Board in 1948 to give minorities equal treatment in federal hiring. This showed that inequality must have existed and African Americans were second-class citizens (7).

There were some other incidents which showed up unfairness and inequality to African Americans. There was the case of Autherine Lucy who managed to get a Supreme Court ruling in favour of her admission to the University of Alabama in 1955. Shortly afterwards the university expelled her, saying that she had lied in telling the court that her initial exclusion was because of her race. This shows universities could ignore Supreme Court rulings and get away with it, and made African blacks like Autherine feel like second-class citizens (8).

It is clear from the changes made by presidents and the Supreme Court during the years 1945-55 that inequality was in all walks of life and the role of the civil rights movement from 1955 was to try and create more equality and reduce the feelings of second-class citizenship for African Americans (9).

undeveloped – education and housing and links to poverty. An attempt is made to link this information to the question, but it is limited. You are required you to include relevant and accurate information to demonstrate your understanding.

(6) This paragraph is descriptive in style and it lacks depth.

(7) Relevant factor: presidential views on inequality and action. This paragraph tries to link to the question and is beginning to be analytical in style.

(8) Relevant factor: unfairness to African Americans and level of impact of the Supreme Court. This paragraph shows some understanding of the focus of the question but lacks depth. There is also a hint of analysis in terms of the question.

(9) The conclusion attempts to sum up across the timeline. The

Examiner's Assessment

This answer would be marked at low Level 4 – a borderline mark. The essay is patchy in its focus on the question and there is a limited depth to the information given. There are hints of analysis which link to the question and a reasonable range of relevant issues covered, which will tip this answer into Level 4. There are passages which are descriptive in style and paragraphs which do not link to the question or have a weak link to the question (Level 3). However, it does show some awareness of the question and the information is relevant. Having reached Level 4 and Level 3, a mark in the low Level 4 band would be appropriate.

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

The 13th amendment of 1865 was the culmination of the American Civil War in that slavery was abolished, and after the 14th and 15th amendments in 1868 and 1870 respectively, all citizens were equal in the eyes of the law and had the right to vote. However, it was the nature of Federal Government to cede power to the states and this meant that the wishes of the Federal Government did not always translate into practice. The gap between what the Federal Government wanted and what the states imposed upon their black citizens led African Americans to believe that they were second-class citizens and that they were powerless to change this. Because the issue of inequality is emotional and partly because it is due to perception and experience, assessment can be difficult. On the other hand, there are the existing laws of the United States to consider on discrimination and how they played out. It is therefore right to question this statement about black second-class citizenship in order to try and evaluate its level of accuracy (10).

The situation in 1945 was that few southern African Americans could exercise their right to vote. This was the reality of second-class citizenship. In stark terms, 3% of southern African Americans voted in 1940 and by 1947 this rose to 12%. The African Americans were either intimidated by white activists or found that they failed the literacy test which was used as a reason to stop a black voter registering. This was the way southern states flouted federal law. Although there was some improvement in the number of blacks voting, the perception of African Americans was that they were second-class citizens as far as voting was concerned even in 1955. To support this reality, in 1957 President

assessment about the accuracy of the statement in the question is, however, implied and brief.

(10) The introduction needs to reflect the timeline, individuals, key issues and style of the question, as shown here. Reference to the difficulty of factual evidence and opinion suggests Level 5.

(11) The right to vote – a key issue. Level 5 requires that you show explicit understanding of key

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Eisenhower was shocked to find that only 7000 of Mississippi's 900,000 African Americans had voted. In this sense the statement was accurate (11).

It was the issue of segregation where African Americans felt most like second-class citizens in the south. They were subjected to de jure segregation in 1945. They were kept segregated from whites in public places – schools, cafeterias, libraries, parks, beaches, buses and theatres. In 1953 African Americans in Baton Rouge Louisiana demanded that they gained a bus seat on a 'first come first served' basis. It was this issue of segregated travel which fired up the civil rights movement in 1956 with the Montgomery Bus Boycott. This was triggered by the discriminatory treatment of Rosa Parks in December 1955 when she was asked to move so that she was not sitting parallel to a white man on the bus. There was little change over this segregation on public transport or cafeterias in the ten years from 1945, as the protests of the civil rights movement demonstrated in the 1960s. In 1957 the restaurant in the SCLC's office refused to serve Martin Luther King's daughter with an ice cream. It was accurate to say that, socially, African Americans were still second-class citizens in 1955 (12).

Education was a key area, where African Americans were expected to attend segregated schools which had less funding and poor teachers. In 1945 Martin Luther King had emerged from an inferior segregated school in Atlanta Georgia. He had to go north to complete his education in Philadelphia 1948 and Boston in 1951. The whole issue of African Americans having to put up with second-class schools came to a head with Oliver Brown, who challenged the segregated schools in Topeka Kansas in 1954. It became a landmark case and resulted in a Supreme Court judgment. Brown v. The Board of Education, Topeka overturned the Plessy v. Ferguson ruling. It took until 1957 for the President to back up the view after Little Rock that segregation in education must end. In 1955 the problem of segregated schooling still loomed large. If African Americans were to escape second-class citizenship, they would need good schools and change would not happen overnight (13).

In 1945 it was evident that African Americans were not treated equally in the law, especially in the south. In that year African American servicemen, returning from the Second World War, found that they were attacked by whites in the Deep South in particular. Truman was deeply shocked by this and publicly put forward the view that, regardless of race, the general principles of

issues – in this case the voting situation – opinion and factual evidence.

(12) Key issue: segregation. The question is asking you to test the accuracy of the statement. If you just say that the statement was a true perception, without a comparison of opinion and reference to events within the timeframe, then you may not achieve a Level 5. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay. This paragraph directly addresses the focus of the question, i.e. Level 5.

(13) Key issue: education and segregation. This shows explicit understanding of the issue and refers to the example of MLK's educational experience, the intervention of the Supreme Court and the reality of how little had changed by 1955.

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the law should be respected. He said that African Americans deserved equality as a basic right 'because he is a human being and a natural born American'. According to the constitution, all US citizens were equal in the eyes of the law. The sentence that was given to Malcolm X for his criminal activities in 1946 was harsher than that given to a white man for the same crimes. The case of Emmett Till in 1955 also showed how African Americans were still treated as second-class citizens when it came to the law. Emmett Till wolf-whistled at a white woman. Shortly after this, his mutilated body was pulled out of the Mississippi river. For the first time, this case saw whites being charged with murdering an African American but they were found not guilty. The President (Eisenhower) kept his thoughts on this verdict to himself, but it inspired many African Americans to join the civil rights movement. It was clear that even by 1955 African Americans did not find that they were treated equally by the law, so, for them, the statement was accurate (14).

Further evidence of black inequality came after 1946 when Truman established a liberal civil rights committee which was to investigate the increasing violence against African Americans. In October 1947 their report was published, entitled 'To Secure These Rights'. It claimed that the USA could not claim to be leader of the free world whilst African Americans were not equal. So liberal politicians showed they agreed with African Americans that they were being treated as second-class citizens in many walks of life. The report advocated eliminating discrimination through federal power, e.g. a civil rights section in the Justice Department and an end to discrimination in the armed forces and on interstate travel. The position in 1945 was that segregation was enforced in the former Confederacy states, in some form in the border states, in the north and west while not legally enforced, segregation was a social fact (15).

There were several indicators to suggest that the federal authorities recognised that African Americans were treated as second-class citizens. In public statements they made it clear that they were attempting to change this situation. President Truman first addressed the NAACP in 1947 saying that all Americans were entitled to full civil rights and freedom. He urged an end to lynching, the poll tax and inequality in education. He again made public statements to this effect in 1947 and 1948 in his State of the Union addresses. He went on to claim that all he wanted to do was what was best for the USA and he stated that he wanted US society to respect the law. He felt equality in US society was vital to maintain US standing in the Cold

(14) Key issue: equality under the law. Level 5 requires you to include relevant and accurate information to demonstrate your understanding, e.g. treatment of servicemen, presidential opinion and action; unequal treatment of African Americans by the law over the timeframe. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(15) Another factor: the role of the Federal Government and change. Paragraphs 5–9 show explicit understanding of the issues with precisely selected and appropriate information. In this instance, Level 5 is achieved by showing a range of presidential initiatives across the timeline, the changing opinion in the administration and the varying degrees of opinion in the states, i.e. varying rate of change. These issues are linked to the accuracy of the statement in the question.

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War.

President Eisenhower used his first State of the Union address in February 1953 to call for a combination of publicity, persuasion and conscience to help end racial discrimination. He supported Truman's stance on basic equality in the military but recognised that there was no equality for African Americans in promotions or assignments. It is clear from the speeches made by Truman and Eisenhower that both were aware that African Americans were treated as second-class citizens.

It was in the field of employment where the Federal Government showed the way for equality. In 1943 President Roosevelt had set up the Fair Employment Practices Commission to promote equality in defence industries where 2 million African Americans were employed. A Fair Employment Board was set up in 1948 which gave racial minorities equal treatment in Federal Government employment. This again tried to show a federal commitment to equality. It was hoped that this lead would encourage other employers to do the same. In 1951 Truman established a committee on government contract compliance so that federal contracts were only awarded to companies which did not show discrimination towards employees. This was only a recommendation and not enforced by law – the angry reaction of black activists shows that even by 1951 discrimination in the workplace was still a big issue. To say that the African Americans were still regarded as second-class citizens when it came to most employers would be accurate.

Combined with the segregation in education, employment discrimination meant that for many African Americans, even by 1955, de facto discrimination existed. Women did menial tasks like cooking and cleaning, men collected the garbage and a black policeman was still rare. By 1952, only eleven states and 20 cities had fair employment laws. There was still a long way to go for equality in the workplace to be the experience of most African Americans.

Housing was yet another area where inequality was the experience of many African Americans between 1945 and 1955. The clearest indicator of the problem was the Shelley v. Kraemer ruling in 1948. This ruled against restrictive covenants which stopped African Americans purchasing homes in white areas. In the short term, the ruling proved ineffective and by 1955 little change had been noticed by African Americans. De facto segregation existed. In this context, black poverty was such that in the cities, particularly in the northern

(16) Another factor: housing and second-class citizenship is dealt with in these two paragraphs.

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states, they lived in black ghettos. Those 2 million southern African Americans who gravitated to the north and west to work in the defence industry may have gained some economic clout, but at the expense of overcrowding and unsympathetic public authorities in cities like Detroit. Riots were the outward and visible sign of the tension between black and whites. Those who migrated to northern cities such as New York and Midwestern cities like Chicago and western cities like Los Angeles found that life was better with more opportunity for African Americans, but inequality was still evident.

Truman wanted to give greater federal aid to impoverished African Americans. He tried to open more public housing to them after 1948. The result was that the administration's urban renewal programmes often left African Americans homeless because the new homes were more spacious but fewer families could live in them. To those who were made homeless, second-class citizenship was still a reality (16).

During the Second World War, over a million African Americans served in the armed forces. The war seemed to increase black consciousness and activism. This was the outward and visible sign that US society was unequal. In essence, the war in Europe was against a racist German regime. How could the USA conduct such double standards? Again the Federal Government tried to treat returning soldiers fairly by introducing the GI Bill of Rights in 1944, which gave black southerners a chance to attend college. This they did in record numbers, but it would take time for blacks to recognise that change had occurred, especially as after the war in 1945 African American soldiers were attacked in the Deep South. In 1948 Truman ended discrimination in the armed forces, which he hoped would set an example to other employers. In this sense there were two victory celebrations – one over German racism and the other over US racism. However, it was still evident in the armed forces that discrimination continued with regard to postings and promotion for many more years (17).

However, it is also accurate to say that during these years much change had taken place to bring about equality. Much had been done in government circles to change attitudes. For example, it was possible to see African Americans become part of the Federal Government. President Truman also appointed African Americans – as a judge for the federal courts and as governor of the Virgin Islands. Eisenhower also appointed Earl Warren to the Supreme Court. He became a role model for African Americans and showed

Level 5 requires you to include relevant and accurate information to demonstrate your understanding, e.g. Shelley v. Kraemer, de facto segregation and varying attitudes in the states. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(17) Another factor: US racism v. German racism. The question is asking you to make a judgment about the accuracy of the statement in the question. Here is an interesting slant on this by comparing Germany and the USA. References to the gaps in the attitudes and varying pace of change help to achieve a Level 5. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

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that here was hope and he was influential in bringing about greater equality for his ethnic group. He also managed to gain the trust of whites for his intellect. From the average African American's point of view these changes were far too few and just tinkered at the edges. The reason for presidential caution was public opinion. The best that could be done was to awaken the US public conscience to the issue of civil rights through speeches and federal appointments. It was one thing to end de jure segregation, particularly in the south, and say that equality existed and the statement is untrue and quite another to state that de facto segregation wherever it lurked had come to an end (18).

The 1948 presidential election showed up the divisions in US society regarding the treatment of its African American citizens. Truman was attacked for his civil rights programme by an 'Alabama Dixiecrat' who accused him of aiming 'to reduce us to the status of a mongrel inferior race'. Clearly the wish to continue treating African Americans as second-class citizens was strong in 1948 in the south. In 1949–50 only 33% of white voters supported the Fair Employment bill. In 1955, Eisenhower summed up the problem after Autherine Lucy successfully took the University of Alabama to the federal court to obtain admission. She was subsequently expelled. He said of the incident, 'If we attempt merely by passing a lot of laws to force someone to like someone else, we are just going to get into trouble.' He employed a sole African American in 1955, known as E. Frederick Morrow, who was employed to do office work. Unfortunately his everyday working experience showed how little white attitudes had actually changed, even under the President's eagle eye. The message for many African Americans was that second-class citizenship was still entrenched in white minds. Further frustration built up as it became clear that Eisenhower really only paid lip service to civil rights, e.g. his refusal to become involved in the Brown v. Topeka case in 1955. This was another factor which gave rise to a new impetus to the civil rights movement in the sixties and then Eisenhower had to act (19).

In 1940 membership of the NAACP stood at 50,000. It rose steadily so that by 1945 it stood at 450,000. Increasingly during the fifties, the organisation offered funding to activists to challenge Supreme Court cases. For example in 1945 the NAACP had won the Supreme Court decision (Smith v. Allwright), which ruled that it was unconstitutional to exclude blacks from primaries. Unfortunately, in many southern states federal rulings were ignored and the Jim Crow Laws prevailed. Until this situation changed, de jure segregation in the south

(18) Another factor: appointments in the Federal Government. This paragraph directly addresses the question by making reference to events, opinion and de facto segregation / the complex web of public opinion. Level 5 is achieved by linking these factors to the question. You must aim to draw firm conclusions on the question, as you progress through the essay.

(19) Another factor: the conflicting nature of opinions about equality at federal and state levels, i.e. US society and link to the rise of civil rights movement. Good link to the question here.

(20) Another factor: evidence of inequality -

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remained. The Supreme Court made a host of rulings between 1945 and 1950 which declared segregation in housing, interstate railroads and schools and universities to be unconstitutional. These rulings in effect overturned the Plessy v. Ferguson ruling of 1896, which had said that separate but equal facilities did not breach the 14th amendment. The law had changed in these ten years but in reality it would take time for the everyday experience of blacks to notice it (20).

While two branches of the Federal Government had proved sympathetic to the African American cause by 1955, congressional support was still lacking. It was the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 which began to focus on this anomaly. In 1945 there were only two African American congressmen – William Dawson from Chicago and Adam Clayton Powell from Harlem. African Americans could hardly be encouraged to vote if there were no African American candidates. Furthermore, constituency boundaries often negated the input of African American voters. Fundamental reform of the political system was required if equality was to become a reality for African Americans in social, legal, political and economic avenues of their lives both in the north and in the southern states. So in this sense the statement that African Americans were second-class citizens was essentially accurate between 1945 and 1955 (21).

The accuracy of the statement that African Americans were second-class citizens is very difficult to prove one way or the other. Clearly in the years 1945–55 there were shifts in attitude within the administration and new laws and practices were introduced. It would be fair to say that things were moving towards greater equality between black and white, in both northern and southern states. The Federal Government laid the foundations on which equality could emerge. Gestures like in 1949, when segregation at Washington Airport was brought to an end, and the fact that, by 1952, nineteen states had legislation against some form of racial discrimination showed just how deep inequality based on race was engrained in US society. Progress varied from state to state and because it was so slow it was easy to see why African Americans by 1955 were still of the opinion that they were second-class citizens. It is not surprising then to witness the strength of feeling that was channelled into the civil rights movement after 1955. At all times, the gap between what the law said and the experience of African Americans in their everyday lives can be put down to the power and pace of public opinion regarding equality, which always took more time to change in the south than in the north. De jure segregation was one

membership of NAACP and also its links with the Supreme Court, which was driving force for change in the law. By making explicit reference to the question, the paragraph directly addresses the question, helping to achieve Level 5.

(21) Another factor: opinions and evidence from Congress about inequality. Here this is explicitly linked to the question.

(22) Conclusion: this should pull the essay together, i.e. the key to the accuracy of the statement or not depends on who and where you are, whatever the federal law. These ten years of the timeframe did see changes in the law but opinion was slower to

thing to bring to an end, but de facto segregation was quite another (22).

change.

Examiner's Assessment

This essay reaches Level 5. It addresses the question directly throughout. The information is kept tightly on track – a focused answer - through careful wording which often includes the key words from the question. For example: (a) 'It was the issue of segregation where African Americans felt most like second-class citizens in the south. They were subjected to de jure segregation in 1945. They were kept segregated from whites in public places – schools, cafeterias, libraries, parks, beaches, buses and theatres. ... It was accurate to say that, socially, African Americans were still second-class citizens in 1955.' (paragraph 3) or (b) 'However, it is also accurate to say that during these years much change had taken place to bring about equality. Much had been done in government circles to change attitudes. For example, it was possible to see African Americans become part of the Federal Government.' (paragraph 14).

The answer is analytical in its approach and style. It is balanced in its references to the assessment of the accuracy of the statement either from events/facts or opinion. It has a wide range of factors which are well supported, e.g. the law, housing, education, voting and Federal Government departments, with accurate and appropriate information, but it does not try to include everything. It consistently makes an assessment as to the veracity of the statement about second-class citizenship from a variety of angles within the given timeframe. The paragraphs are explicitly linked to the question throughout.

There is an argument running throughout the essay that there is a gap between the law and people's everyday experience depending on whether this is in a southern state or not. The answer would be given a mark at mid Level 5 for its range of factors, the level of appropriately selected material which is analysed throughout in terms of the question and the links made between them.

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<p>Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D</p>	<p>D5 Pursuing Life and Liberty: Equality in the USA, 1945–68</p>	<p>Mark Scheme for Essay Question 2</p>
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How accurate is it to describe African Americans as second-class citizens, 1945–55?

(30 marks)

Target: AO1a and AO1b (13%)

Essay – to present historical explanations and reach a judgement.

Level 1	<p>Candidates will produce mostly simple statements. These will be supported by limited factual material which has some accuracy and relevance, although not directed at the focus of the question. The material will be mostly generalised. There will be few, if any, links between the simple statements.</p> <p><i>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed; material is convincing in range and depth consistent with Level 1. The writing may have limited coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 1: 3–4 marks The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 1: 5–6 marks The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	(1–6)
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Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 1 – D5 Pursuing Life and Liberty: Equality in the USA, 1945–68

<p>Level 2</p>	<p>Candidates will produce a series of simple statements supported by some mostly accurate and relevant factual material. The analytical focus will be mostly implicit and there are likely to be only limited links between the simple statements. Material is unlikely to be developed very far.</p> <p><i>The writing will have some coherence and will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack both clarity and organisation. Some of the skills needed to produce effective writing will be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 2: 7–8 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 2: 9–10 marks The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 2: 11–12 marks The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(7–12)</p>
<p>Level 3</p>	<p>Candidates' answers will attempt analysis and will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will, however, include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus. Factual material will be accurate but it may lack depth and/or relevance in places.</p> <p><i>The writing will be coherent in places but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. Only some of the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing are likely to be present. Syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</i></p> <p>Low Level 3: 13–14 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 3: 15–16 marks The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 3: 17–18 marks The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(13–18)</p>

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 1 – D5 Pursuing Life and Liberty: Equality in the USA, 1945–68

<p>Level 4</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which relates well to the focus of the question and which shows some understanding of the key issues contained in it. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material which will be mostly relevant to the question asked. The selection of material may lack balance in places.</p> <p><i>The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes may not be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate the skills needed to produce convincing extended writing but there may be passages which lack clarity or coherence. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</i></p> <p>Low Level 4: 19–20 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 4: 21–22 marks The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 4: 23–24 marks The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(19–24)</p>
<p>Level 5</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which directly addresses the focus of the question and which demonstrates explicit understanding of the key issues contained in it. It will be broadly balanced in its treatment of these key issues. The analysis will be supported by accurate, relevant and appropriately selected factual material which demonstrates some range and depth.</p> <p><i>The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce convincing extended writing will be in place.</i></p> <p>Low Level 5: 25–26 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 5: 27–28 marks The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 5: 29–30 marks The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(25–30)</p>

Edexcel – AS GCE Unit 1: Historical Themes in Breadth Option D	D5 Pursuing Life and Liberty: Equality in the USA, 1945–68	Chronology
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Chronology for *Equality in the USA, 1945–68*

1. The social and economic position of black citizens in the USA in the 1940s and early 1950s

Year	Month	Event
1945		Few black students gain diplomas; 87% of blacks below poverty line; 'Whites Only' signs common in south
		<u>Vice President Harry Truman [1] becomes President after the death of Franklin Roosevelt</u>
1946		Returning black servicemen are attacked in south
1947		<u>Report of liberal civil rights committee: To Secure These Rights [2]</u>
		Journey of Reconciliation – CORE
1948		Election of Truman as President (Democrat)
		Fair Employment Board established
		<u>End of discrimination of Federal employees [3]</u>
		<u>Black judge appointed; Shelley v. Kramer [4]</u>
1951		Black Governor of Virgin Islands
		Committee on Government Contract Compliance
1950		<u>NAACP [5] lawyers involved in three Supreme Court Civil Rights decisions [6]</u>
1953		<u>President Eisenhower (Republican) [7]: first State of the Union address [8]</u>
1954		<u>Brown v. The Board of Education [9]</u>

2. Martin Luther King and peaceful protest

Year	Month	Event
1954		Martin Luther King Pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
1956		<u>Montgomery Bus Boycott [10]</u>
1957		<u>Little Rock Crisis [11]</u>
		<u>Civil Rights Act [12]</u>
		Founded Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and spoke at Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington DC
1958		Supreme Court Cooper v. Aaron – school segregation unconstitutional
1959		MLK moved to Atlanta
1960		<u>Civil Rights Act [13]</u>
		MLK sent Ella Baker to organise student sit-ins in Greensboro, N. Carolina.
		MLK arrested for Atlanta sit-in; intervention of John Kennedy

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1961	January	John Kennedy becomes President (Democrat)
		<u>Freedom Rides</u> [14]
1961–62		<u>Unsuccessful Albany Movement</u> [15]
1962		James Meredith enrolled at University of Mississippi
1963		Kennedy introduces a Civil Rights Bill
		MLK initiates Birmingham campaign
	March	'I have a dream' speech and March on Washington (Malcolm X response) [16]
	April–May	<u>Birmingham Campaign</u> [17]
	June	University integration in Alabama begins – last state to introduce this
	November	<u>Assassination of President J.F. Kennedy</u> [18] <u>Lyndon Johnson becomes President (Democrat)</u> [19]
1964		MLK Man of Year – <i>Time</i> magazine
		<u>Mississippi Freedom Summer</u> [20]
		Nobel Peace Prize for MLK
		<u>Civil Rights Act – Lyndon Johnson</u> [21]

3. Black Power and the use of violence

Year	Month	Event
1964–68		Annual riots in black ghettos
1965		<u>Malcolm X leaves Nation of Islam (NOI)</u> [22]
		Malcolm X assassinated by NOI gunmen
	March	Selma campaign Alabama
		<u>Riots: Los Angeles Watts ghetto</u> [23]
		American involvement in Vietnam War
	August	Education Acts
		Voting Rights Act
		Social Security Act
1966		Muhammed Ali refuses to join the army
	March	<u>Meredith March</u> [24] and birth of Black Power [25]
		Split with Martin Luther King
		<u>Black Panthers established in Oakland</u> [26]
		Chicago Ghetto Campaign
		MLK leaves Chicago and Jesse Jackson in charge of Operation Breadbasket
1967		<u>Where do we go from here?</u> MLK [27]
		Poor People's Campaign, MLK
		Tax rises because of Vietnam War
1968	4 April	MLK assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee
	April	<u>Civil Rights Act / Fair Housing Act</u> [28]
	June	<u>Robert Kennedy assassinated</u> [29]
1967–69		Black Panthers destroyed by police and FBI

4. The changing economic and social environment of the 1960s

Year	Month	Event
1968		25% of blacks are middle class

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		68% of southern blacks in segregated schools
		More than 50% of blacks gain a diploma
		'Whites Only' signs disappear
		30% of blacks below poverty line
		Rights Revolution / women's libbers
		Linguistic Culture, housing
		Wetbacks
		Indians returning to Reservations
		EEOC
1972		End of Vietnam War

1. Harry Truman – His personal profile shows how his early views reflected the prejudiced views of the day with regard to race. His views changed and in 1946 he called for 'equality of opportunity for all human beings.' He was the first president since the mid-nineteenth century to call for dramatic change. He was horrified by attacks on Black Servicemen. His speeches in 1947/8 showed how his views had changed, e.g. the **State of Union Address** 1948 in which he supported the ideas in 'To Secure These Rights'. He also pointed out the emptiness of the statement by the US Founding Fathers: 'All men created equal'. He set out to secure essential human rights for blacks of US through civil rights legislation.

He supported work of NAACP and appointed blacks to prestigious positions. Only 6% of population supported Civil Rights programme in 1948.

2. 'To Secure These Rights' A liberal report by Civil Rights Committee to Truman which stated that USA could not lead the free world while blacks were not equal.

3. End of discrimination of federal employees/forces Improved employment prospects. There was an order issued by Truman to end discrimination in the armed forces and a guarantee of fair employment in the Civil Service. This met resistance from military commanders but manpower shortage in Korean War (1950–53) speeded up the process. **National Guard and Reserves** remained segregated.

4. Shelley v. Kramer, 1948: Supreme Court ruled against discrimination in housing – blacks could buy in white areas.

5. Work of NAACP

1920s – coalition between Trade Unions, churches and liberals.

1930s – Supreme Court ruling said it was a breach of the 14th amendment to spend unequal amounts on black and white education.

Campaigned for equal salaries for black teachers in Maryland and Virginia.

1940s - Texas campaign resulted in Smith v. Allwright. The exclusion of blacks from Primaries breached 15th amendment.

6. Civil rights decisions by Supreme Court:

Henderson v. USA: illegal to segregate in railway carriages.

McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents: black students could not be physically separated from white students.

Sweatt v. Painter: black petitioner entitled to attend University of Texas Law School.

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The Federal Government consists of the President, Congress and the Supreme Court.

President: elected every four years by US voters (also Commander-in-Chief of armed forces).

Congress: the US parliament, consisting of the Senate and House of Representatives. US voters elect two senators to the Senate and a number of congressmen to the House of Representatives depending on the size of the state's population.

Supreme Court: the US constitution said that Supreme Court judges could rule upon whether laws and actions went against the Constitution.

Justice department: branch of the Federal Government in Washington D.C. responsible for justice and, after 1957, a section responsible for Civil Rights.

7. Election of President Eisenhower: he appointed Earl Warren who gave the ruling on Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka. However, Eisenhower refused to use Federal Power to enforce the Brown v. Board of Education ruling.

President Dwight Eisenhower Truman had started reform and many of his speeches showed support for equality/desegregation and Eisenhower continued with the use of the State of Union speech to show Federal Government support for the desegregation of the military and intervention in Little Rock but support stopped short of supporting Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka – significant negative impact. Under Eisenhower there were two Civil Rights Acts, the appointment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, and an increasing use of the media to promote reform. There is, however, increasing evidence that Eisenhower's motive for the Civil Rights Acts was more about gaining the increasing black vote than anything else. There were also six cases brought before the Justice Department for illegal violations of black voting rights.

8. First State of the Union Address, February 1953. Eisenhower called for a combination of publicity, persuasion and conscience to help end racial discrimination. He intervened in Little Rock Crisis through a radio broadcast – blamed 'disorderly mobs' and 'demagogic extremists'. Again refused to endorse Brown v. Education Board.

9. Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka

Church minister Oliver Brown challenged a segregated school in Topeka, Kansas (not a southern state). He could not send his daughter to a whites-only school five blocks away, but to a blacks-only school twenty blocks away. In judgement, Chief Justice Warren stated that segregated education was psychologically harmful to blacks. The Supreme Court agreed in defiance of President Eisenhower's wishes.

Importance of this case In effect this case overturned Plessy v. Ferguson which had specified that blacks and whites could be 'separate but equal', i.e. racial segregation in education was overturned. The victory not total as no dates were set for implementation.

In 1955 a second hearing resulted in a decision that changes would occur 'with all deliberate speed'.

10. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1956 Seen by many as the real start of the **civil rights movement**. The trigger was Rosa Parks's arrest in December 1955. This resulted in blacks boycotting Montgomery buses on the day of Rosa Parks's trial and sustained it. The boycott was rooted in the NAACP and the church – **Dr Martin**

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Luther King was a young Baptist minister and became leader of the boycott. The boycotts were a traditional form of protest for blacks and were especially effective because they hit the white trade and bus company revenues. Regarded by MLK as 'active non-violent resistance to evil'.

By 1956 – *Browder v. Gayle* – segregation on buses was unconstitutional. Black Power became recognised as a powerful force.

11. Little Rock Crisis, 1957: Arkansas. In City of Little Rock the first integrated school was to be Central High in September 1957 and nine black students tried to enrol. Governor Orbas Faubus acted to keep the peace by surrounding the school to keep the black students out. The blacks were subjected to racial taunts. Eisenhower made a radio appeal for calm. Slow process of integration did begin, but very limited.

12. Eisenhower's Civil Rights Act, 1957 Aimed to give all citizens the right to vote at a time when 80% of blacks were not registered to vote. The Bill passed but was weakened by Democrats. Any public official accused of obstructing blacks voting was tried by an all-white jury and therefore the Act was seen as a sham.

13. Eisenhower's Civil Rights Act, 1960 It became a federal crime to obstruct court-ordered school desegregation and it established penalties for obstructing black voting.

The result of these two acts added 3% of black voters to the electoral roll during the 1960s.

14. Freedom Rides 1961 Organised by **CORE**, it electrified the civil rights movement. Leader James Farmer said, 'We planned the Freedom Rides with the specific intention of creating a crisis.' Action by a small group of black activists tested the Supreme Court rulings against segregation on interstate transport and buses. Violence broke out in Alabama when black passengers were attacked. MLK supported the activists verbally but did not go as he feared arrest.

15. Albany Movement 1961–62 Students at Albany State College protested about lack of desegregation at Albany bus station. MLK only became involved at the end of the protests. He managed to negotiate a deal with the city authorities but the city reneged on it once MLK had left. Some desegregation did emerge but the city authorities refused to desegregate schools. The Albany Movement was viewed as a failure for MLK and the black activism was tainted with violence, but it became a good learning experience for future campaigns.

16. 'I have a Dream' speech: March on Washington, August 1963. The aim of the March was to encourage support for the Civil Rights Bill. The March attracted huge crowds (a quarter of a million) including white middle classes. MLK's speech was inspirational and reached out to white Americans and also the world audience. This was MLK as a leader at his best. All Civil Rights movements worked together. The March was deemed a success.

17. Birmingham Campaign, 1963 MLK focused on segregation and unequal opportunities in Birmingham, Alabama as he believed it was the worst city for racism under the leadership of 'Bull' Connor. He expected violent white opposition would gain sympathy for blacks. MLK led the plans for demonstrations. Connor turned his dogs on the black demonstrators which was seen on TV and became a headline

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around the world. MLK was arrested and only freed after President Kennedy intervened personally. The great fear of the Federal Government was that rioting could get out of hand and MLK was seen as the best leader to keep things calm. In the end, Birmingham's segregation changed little, but the ugly face of southern segregation was seen by all of the USA and the world.

18. President John F. Kennedy and legislative support for blacks. He did not move quickly to introduce civil rights legislation when in power but was shocked by the tiny number of blacks employed in the Federal Government – just 48 chauffeurs. 'No previous president made so many black appointments to the federal bureaucracy' – for example, he appointed 40 blacks to posts of significance; five black federal judges, yet equally appointed Deep South segregationists to keep the white voters happy. JFK invited more blacks to the White House than ever before and set up the Equal Opportunities Commission. However, his promise to end housing discrimination was watered down which disappointed blacks amid evidence of blocking in Congress. Kennedy's record on civil rights was mixed but he did pave the way for the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

19. President Lyndon Johnson From 1964 to 1965 Johnson had engineered a legislative revolution. He manipulated federal funding to help blacks, e.g. subsidies available for southern districts where school desegregation was developing, so by September 1965 there was 88% compliance in the south. He appointed the first black Supreme Court judge – Thurgood Marshall. Johnson championed positive discrimination for blacks – **affirmative action**. Johnson had done more for blacks than any other president, but by 1965 Congress (i.e. watering down of Civil Rights Act 1968), local officials, black violence (Ghetto Riots) and the cost of the Vietnam war stopped further progress.

20. Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964 Tension rising because levels of discrimination in Mississippi resulted in a Freedom Vote for blacks as a mock election in December 1963. This was to be followed by a Freedom Summer with the aim of getting blacks to register to vote. Three young activists were murdered by a mob. During this time, the unity of the various Civil Rights groups disintegrated and criticism of MLK as leader resurfaced.

21. Civil Rights Act, 1964 The bill was a moderate attempt to guarantee desegregation in public places, to help blacks to use their vote and to help black workers. The bill became an Act after JFK's assassination. The act gave the Federal Government the legal tools to end de jure segregation in the south – discrimination in public places and school desegregation – and established Equal Employment Commission. Many blacks did not think the act had gone far enough and rioting broke out in east coast cities.

22. Malcolm X aimed to improve the lives of blacks through sermons, speeches and writing to encourage debate. He joined the **Nation of Islam (NOI)** in 1946 and left in 1964 because of differences with Elijah Mohammed. During the 1950s he attracted the attention and devotion of frustrated ghetto dwellers. He criticised MLK's 'non violence' and christened the March on Washington as a 'farce on Washington' and he was suspended from NOI after making unpopular remarks about the assassination of President Kennedy.

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23. Ghetto Rioters There were 287 race riots in 200 US cities from 1964 to 1968, e.g. Watts Ghetto, where there were 10,000 serious injuries and 60,000 arrests. They rejected Civil Rights organisations.

24. Meredith March Organised by James Meredith, the University of Mississippi's first black student, the march was 220 miles from Memphis to Jackson (capital of Mississippi). During the march, Meredith was shot and temporarily immobilised. The incident unleashed divisions within black movements about the best way to protest. MLK believed in peaceful protest but the emergence of Stokely Carmichael saw black power agenda coming to the fore.

25. Roots of Black Power: Originated in the nineteenth century 'Back to Africa' movement. 1910–20 – Marcus Garvey's separatist **black nationalist** movement flourished: it advocated self help, armed self defence and separation of races. It was the first black mass movement in USA and it raised black consciousness there. In the 1930s Garvey's movement declined and his ideas were taken up by the Black Muslim Movement or the **Nation Of Islam** which was founded by Wallace Fard in Detroit in 1930 and subsequently led by Elijah Muhammed from 1934–1975. In the 1930s – 1950s the **NOI** set up temples in black ghettos e.g. NY, Detroit, Chicago. The aim of **NOI** was to provide blacks with alternative to the 'white man's religion', to increase black self esteem, to maintain separatism and to improve the economic situation of blacks. The **NOI** was the origin of the **Black Power** movement and the TV documentary 'The Hate that Hate Produced' showed the split in black thinking and brought **NOI** to national attention.

Impact of Black Power: Black Power raised the morale and expectations of many black Americans. It led to courses on Black history and culture in US educational institutions. Black Power peaked in 1970s but its methods led to the loss of some white sympathy for Civil Rights. It can be argued that Black Power contributed to the demise of an effective civil rights movement.

26. Black Panthers Began in 1966, California. It had five thousand members and 30 chapters based mainly in urban centres on the west coast. They were involved in petty crime and killing police and advocated a multiracial working-class struggle against oppression. They cited the 2nd amendment to justify carrying weapons. Many of the leaders were either exiled/killed or in prison by 1970, e.g. Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver.

27. After the Chicago and Meredith March debacles MLK was depressed and unsure of the way ahead. He wrote a book, *Where do we go from here?*. He pointed out that giving black Americans the vote had not cost money but improving their economic situation would cost money.

28. Civil Rights Act, 1968/Fair Housing Act The 1968 act expanded on previous acts and prohibited discrimination concerning the sale, rental and financing of housing based on race and religion. Indians, like African Americans, were great beneficiaries of Lyndon Johnson's 'War on Poverty'. His Civil Rights Act contained an Indian Bill of Rights, which was intended to protect Native Americans from both white and tribal dictatorship. In reality it caused a lot of friction.

Additional Sample Questions

1. How far is it accurate to say that the Black Power movements of the 1960s achieved nothing for black Americans?
2. How far had the status of Hispanic and Native Americans improved by the late 1960s?
3. How far did the position of black Americans improve in the years 1945-55?
4. How far do you agree that the Black Power movement hindered black civil rights in the 1960s?
5. To what extent was the Federal Government responsible for improving the status of black people in the USA in the years 1945-64?
6. How far was the effectiveness of the civil rights movement in the 1960s limited by internal divisions?

Resources

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Websites

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