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Sources for use with Section A. Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared. Option 2H.1: The USA, c1920–55: boom, bust and recovery Sources for use with Question 1. Source 1: From an article by William Robinson Pattangall in The Forum magazine, September 1925. The magazine regularly published essays on controversial issues of the day. Pattangall had been a Democrat member of the Maine state legislature. The Klan idea of what makes Americanism is fundamentally wrong. The Klan assumes that this quality can only be present in a man or woman who happens to be born on American soil, that no one else can achieve it. It adds the claim that no Catholic or Jew can be a good American, because his religious loyalties come first. The whole idea is opposed to our traditional national spirit and 5 to the whole spirit of true Christianity. It brings back the old, cruel, religious hatreds. Americanism, of course, is rooted in freedom, tolerance, humanity. It cannot discriminate because of colour, birthplace, or creed; nor can it tolerate ethnic, class, or religious distinctions in politics, social life, or legal standing. Especially 10 it cannot, for a moment, tolerate the use of hatred and prejudice as a means to sway public opinion and win political power. The Klan, on its own statement, does just these things, and makes a virtue of doing them. Equally un-American is the Klan's practice of attempting threatening and secret influence on legislators, judges, and other government officials. It uses 15 that hold to enforce its own demands, abandoning completely the American principle of rule by and for all. It acts secretly in both political parties; it tries constantly for control of elections, legislatures, and government. And it has the

cheek to advertise all this as a great principle.

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Source 2: From the *Gratiot County Night Hawk* newspaper, published August 1928, during the presidential election campaign. The *Hawk* was the local Klan newspaper in Alma, Michigan.

In the run-up to the election, the Ku Klux Klan is standing against the forces of alienism, Roman Catholicism, and booze. Wild efforts by powerful interests have been made to discredit the organisation. This is natural, as are the unfounded charges of crime and violence. Have you heard both sides and carefully considered the facts with fairness and without prejudice? Or have you condemned the Klan on the testimony of its enemies without hearing the 25 other side?

Enemies have tried every conceivable method to suppress the activities and growth of the Klan. They have tried mob violence, frame-ups, wine, women, lawyers, judges, and governors. In spite of the hell-born efforts to check its growth, disrupt its membership, and destroy its influence, the Klan marches steadily onward and upward toward the successful defeat of wrong and a triumphant victory for what is right.

Surely the hand of God is leading this great movement. Nothing short of God's protection could ever have saved the Klan from wreck and ruin as it has passed through such trying ordeals and dangerous experiences.

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Option 2H.2: The USA, 1955–92: conformity and challenge

Sources for use with Question 2.

Source 3: From an article by Bayard Rustin in *Commentary*, the American Jewish Committee's monthly magazine, published September 1966. Rustin was a leading advocate of non-violence and the organiser of the March on Washington in 1963. Here he is discussing Black Power.

The slogan of Black Power has aroused emotions on all sides. Many whites see it as the expression of a new racism and many Negroes take it as a warning to white people that they will no longer tolerate brutality and violence. Even within the Negro community itself, Black Power has ignited a debate which threatens to ravage the entire civil rights movement. I would contend that Black Power is harmful. It diverts the movement from a meaningful debate over strategy, isolates the Negro community, and encourages the growth of anti-Negro forces. In its most innocent form, Black Power means the effort to elect Negroes to office in proportion to their population.

Negroes, despite pleas from SNCC* to organise themselves into a Black Panther 10 party, are going to stay in the Democratic party. To them it is the party of progress, the New Frontier and the Great Society, and they are right to stay. SNCC's Black Panther perspective is flawed for the obvious reason that onetenth of the population cannot accomplish much by itself, and because such a party would remove Negroes from the main area of political struggle in this country. This is particularly true in the one-party South, where the decisive battles are fought out among Democrats. There the Voting Rights Act ensures the eventual transformation of the Democratic Party; the Negro vote will eliminate traditional Southern Democrats from Party and Congress.

*SNCC - the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights pressure group

Source 4: From the *Gary Declaration*, a mission statement produced at the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana, 1972. This was the first gathering of a federation of Black Power groups known as the National Black Political Assembly.

Here at Gary, let us never forget that both Democrats and Republicans have
always betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours and whenever
our forces were unorganised and compliant. The American political system
was designed to operate for the benefit of the white race. If white 'liberalism'
could have solved our problems, then Roosevelt* and Kennedy would have
done so. But they did not solve ours nor the rest of the nation's. If America's
problems could have been solved by forceful, politically-skilled and aggressive
individuals, then Johnson would have retained the presidency. If the true
'American Way' of big-business capitalism, combined with ruthless military
power could do it, then Nixon would have the answer.

None of the Democratic or Republican candidates - regardless of their vague30promises to us or to their white constituencies - can solve our problems or30the problems of this country without radically changing the systems by which30it operates. Black Politics must accept major responsibility for creating both30the atmosphere and the programme for fundamental, far-ranging change in35America. Such responsibility is ours, because it is our people who are most35deeply ravaged by the present systems of society and few other men really35believe in the responsibility of a truly human society for anyone anywhere.35

* Roosevelt - Democratic President, 1933-45

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