



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS  
Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate  
Principal Subject

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**HISTORY**

**9769/75**

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

**May/June 2013**

**2 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Answer Question 1 and **one** other question.

You are reminded of the need for analysis and critical evaluation in your answers to questions. You should also show, where appropriate, an awareness of links and comparisons between different countries and different periods.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

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



**Answer the following question.****Nominated topic: The ideology of the Civil Rights Movement**

**1** Study all the following documents and answer all the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents it is essential to set them alongside, and to make use of, your own contextual knowledge.

**A** *One of the most prominent Black Muslims (members of the Nation of Islam, founded in 1930) amplifies his views on American society.*

How can those who call themselves enlightened leaders expect the poor black sheep, now in open revolt against the American system of segregation, to integrate into a society of bloodthirsty white wolves, who have already been sucking on our blood for over a hundred years? The black masses can now see that we have been in this white doghouse too long. The black masses don't want segregation or integration. What we want is complete separation. We who are Muslims believe God is going to destroy the wicked white enslaver of our people in America. The innocent must always be given a chance to separate themselves from the guilty. The government should give us everything we need to get started again in our own country – machinery, materials and finance: enough to last for twenty-five years until we become an independent people and an independent nation in our own land.

Malcolm X, Speech, 1963.

**B** *The Chicago Freedom Movement combined various local civil rights groups, religious organisations and social agencies. This statement reflects the mood and ideas of many in the major cities of the North.*

The Freedom Movement has proposals for improving the conditions of Latin Americans, other non-whites and some white minorities and the creation of a just and open city in which all men can live with dignity. The Movement will:

1. Organise direct actions which will make injustices so clear that the whole community will support the need to change.
2. Organise people in every sector in the ghettos to give strength of numbers to the demand for change.
3. Strengthen institutions that contribute to a just and open society and withdraw support from those that drain the resources of the ghetto.
4. Demand representation on decision-making bodies at every level of government, industry, labour and church.
5. Promote political participation so that Negroes and other oppressed minorities are fully represented.

Community organisation, education, research, job development and legal redress are all weapons available to the Movement. But its most distinctive and creative tool is that of non-violent direct action.

*Programme of the Chicago Freedom Movement, July 1966.*

- C** *The Chairman of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee from 1966 to 1968 explains both the goals of the Black Power movement and the means necessary to achieve them.*

Before black people can enter the open society, they must first close ranks. Black people must lead and run their own organisations. Black Power means proper representation and sharing of control. It means the creation of power bases, of strength, from which black people can press to change local or nation-wide patterns of oppression. The ultimate goal is not domination or exploitation of other groups but an effective share in the total power of society. The goal of black self-determination and black self-identity – Black Power – is full participation in the decision-making processes affecting the lives of black people. Those of us who advocate Black Power are quite clear that a ‘non-violent’ approach to civil rights is an approach black people cannot afford and a luxury white people do not deserve. ‘Integration’ is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved.

Stokely Carmichael, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, 1967.

- D** *In this statement, adopted in Oakland, California, Black Christian theologians attempt to explain and justify Black Theology and commit themselves to the cause.*

White Theology sustained the American slave system. Black Theology, based on the black experience, was the best hope for survival of black people. At this moment in time, the black community seeks to express its theology in language that speaks to the contemporary mood of black people. Black Theology is a theology of ‘blackness’. It is the affirmation of black humanity that emancipates black people from white racism, thus providing authentic freedom for both white and black people. The demand that Christ the Liberator imposes on all men requires all blacks to affirm their full dignity as persons and all whites to surrender their presumptions of superiority. Reparation by the nation for the despicable deed of slavery would be a positive response to meet the needs of the black community. We now commit ourselves to the risks of affirming the dignity of black personhood.

National Conference of Black Churchmen, Statement, 1969.

- E** *A minister and civil rights activist who established the Opportunities Industrialisation Centres in the 1960s advocates self-help for Black Americans as the way to economic prosperity and freedom.*

I firmly believe that black people must be integrated into the mainstream of American life. Black economic development has to be accomplished in terms of integration! There is no such thing as Black capitalism! The black man’s paramount need is to learn about management, business organisation and capital. We have to utilise the resources we have to be economically emancipated. In this way we can change the mentality of Blacks from the ‘hand out’ to the ‘put in’ philosophy. We have educational forums and exchange meetings of individuals in Black, White, Jewish and Catholic communities. The emphasis is on human relations. People can begin to understand other communities and start working out the problems that usually affect everyone. I see these projects as an extension of my ministry as God is father to us all.

Leon H. Sullivan, *Alternatives to Despair*, 1972.

- (a) How far does Document C corroborate the views expressed in Document B about the means to achieve civil rights for Black Americans? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that integration of Black Americans into existing American society was the most powerful argument presented by civil rights activists in the 1960s?

In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

**Answer one of the following questions.** *Where appropriate, your essay should make use of any relevant documents you have studied as well as contextual knowledge.*

- 2 'The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955, was the key factor in the development of the civil rights movement in the period from 1954 to 1960.' How far do you agree with this assessment? [30]
- 3 Assess the importance of the Congress of Racial Equality to the civil rights movement in the period from 1954 to 1980. [30]
- 4 'White Americans were less accommodating in their attitudes to civil rights after 1968.' Discuss. [30]

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

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Question 1 Document E © Leon H. Sullivan; *Alternatives to Despair*, Judson Press; 1972.

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