



**Cambridge International Examinations**  
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

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**HISTORY**

**9769/75**

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

**May/June 2014**

**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 an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

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

**DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.**

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: African-American pressure groups**

- 1 Study all the following documents and answer 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** *The ACMHR (Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights), led by the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, who later founded the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Council) with Martin Luther King, records events in December 1956.*

Many Negroes were afraid to join. But many others echoed the sentiments of Mrs Rosa Walker: 'I was frightened, but I figured we needed help to get us more jobs and better education. We had the man here to help us.' The new organisation's first efforts were directed toward getting Negroes hired as policemen and civil servants. When the Supreme Court ruled against segregation on the buses in December 1956, the ACMHR announced it would test the judgement on 26 December. But on Christmas night the home of Reverend Shuttlesworth was bombed. His bed was blown to bits but he escaped unhurt. Shuttlesworth took a neighbour who was hurt in the explosion to hospital. Then he took a bus home – and he rode in the front. The bombing strengthened the determination of his followers. On that day Mrs Walker and 250 others joined the ACMHR.

ACMHR, *Birmingham: People in Motion*, 1966.

- B** *A poor, southern-born, white student at college in Montgomery, Alabama, explains how student protest there in 1960–61 encouraged him to support the civil rights movement.*

My sociology assignment was to study the racial problem. Four or five of us went to the MIA (Montgomery Improvement Association) where we met Dr. King and Reverend Abernathy, who impressed us greatly, and some black students. The police followed us: it became sort of an adventure thing. After we attended a non-violence workshop the police told Reverend Abernathy that we would be arrested if we attended more meetings. So we said, 'We're willing to be arrested'. On their own initiative students organised sit-ins. They never went to a sit-in without their books – they were studying like me. That was really inspiring. Then the Freedom Buses, organised by CORE (Congress for Racial Equality) and SNCC (Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee), drove through Alabama. They came to Anniston and the mob burned the bus, to Birmingham where the Klan beat them up and to Montgomery where there was a riot. I'm seeing this. I'm hearing it on the radio. Cars are being burned and churches torn up. How could you fail to get involved?

Robert Zellner, interview, 1978.

- C** *One of the 600 Northern white volunteers who took part in the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee's Summer Project of 1964 describes her impressions of the response of people to it in Greenwood, Mississippi.*

Many SNCC blacks were automatically suspicious of us, the white volunteers. It was the policy of the SNCC that the activities of their Summer Project should be limited since the Civil Rights Act had been passed. We were not to engage in testing the law or desegregating public facilities. There were people in Greenwood, however, particularly the young, who disagreed with this policy. The Act had been passed and they wanted to see it work. Without COFO (Council of Federated Organisations) help or supervision, teenagers took the initiative in encouraging black voters to register. As the weeks passed, their frustration fed on itself, white outrage increased and violence rose nearer the surface daily. Something had to be done to avert a shooting war. The people in COFO were anxious for peace in which to conduct their work, but events were no longer in their control.

Sally Belfrage, *Freedom Summer*, 1965.

- D** *A black woman, from a family of sharecroppers, who helped found the MFDP (Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party), recounts how she became involved in the registration of black voters from 1962.*

I went to a meeting run by Bob Moses, Jim Bevel and James Foreman of the SNCC who opened our eyes. When they asked for those to raise their hands who'd go to the courthouse to register I raised mine as high as I could. What was the point of being scared? All they could do to me was kill me and it seemed like they'd been trying to do that since I could remember. All eighteen of us who registered were then arrested. The plantation owner was mad with me and demanded I withdraw my registration or leave. So I left that night. Others who stayed were shot or had their houses burned. I've worked on voter registration ever since. The MFDP decided to challenge the whites at the National Democratic Convention in 1964. We have to win every single political office we can where we have a majority of black people.

Fannie Lou Hamer, *To Praise Our Bridges: An Autobiography*, 1967.

- E** *The candidate who finished second in the mayoral election for Cleveland, Ohio, in 1965, and who became its first black mayor in 1967, recalls his concerns about events in Cleveland in the summer of 1967.*

The so-called Big Six, the major national civil rights figures, announced they were coming to Cleveland to register every black voter and energise the black community. Well, we already had the black community organised. With my campaign manager I flew to a hotel in New York to meet these men. We explained they could only bring problems for us. We asked them not to come. We tried to convince them that we already had a winner but that it could be lost if black pride started prodding white fears. By coming to Cleveland, Dr. King would only encourage the persons looking for an issue to excite racist reaction to what we were doing. I knew my own situation, my own town and I knew I had it in my hand. I knew I could do things that no civil rights march ever did.

Carl Stokes, *Promises of Power: A Political Autobiography*, 1973.

- (a) How far are the reasons for people supporting the movement for civil rights for Black Americans, outlined in Document B, corroborated by Document D? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that without the direction of pressure groups, little would have been done to promote the civil rights of Black Americans?

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 How much did the ideology of the civil rights movement change during the 1960s? [30]
- 3 How important was the personal role of Martin Luther King in securing the civil rights achieved for Black Americans from 1963 to 1965? [30]
- 4 How significant were the decisions of the Supreme Court in advancing the cause of civil rights for Black Americans in the period from 1954 to 1980? [30]

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