



Cambridge Pre-U

HISTORY

9769/72

Paper 5k Special Subject: The Civil Rights Movement in the USA, 1954–1968

May/June 2022

2 hours



You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **all** questions.
- Follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper, ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

INFORMATION

- The total mark for this paper is 40.
- The number of marks for each question or part question is shown in brackets [].

This syllabus is regulated for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate.

This document has **4** pages.

African American radicalism

Question 1

Study the following documents, A and B, and answer the question which follows.

- A** *A journalist who worked closely with Malcolm X in producing his autobiography, describes the walks they took together in an area of New York City.*

I witnessed the Malcolm X who was happiest and most at ease among members of our own race when I chanced to accompany him, on what he liked to call 'my daily rounds', around the streets of Harlem, among the African Americans that he said the 'so-called black leaders' spoke of 'as black masses statistics'. On these tours, Malcolm X generally avoided the arterial 125th Street in Harlem. Instead, he plied the side streets, especially in those areas which were thickest with what he described as 'the black man down in the gutter where I came from', the poverty-ridden with a high incidence of drug addicts and winos. Here, Malcolm X was, indeed, a hero. Striding along the sidewalks, he bathed all whom he met in his boyish grin, and his conversation with any who came up was quiet and pleasant.

Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, 1965.

- B** *A professor of religious studies recalls some of the qualities of Malcolm X.*

His considerable skills of social rage and incisive, passionate oratory gave voice to fears and resentments that most people can speak only in private. Malcolm's realism and criticisms of society linked him more closely to the heart of African American culture than many other civil rights leaders, yet might have appeared otherwise during his controversial career. The Malcolm who spoke with uncompromising passion about the poor, black and dispossessed, and who named racism when and where he found it, appealed to me as a young black male coming to maturity in the ghetto of Detroit. Our common geography joined us in a project to reclaim the dignity of black identity from racist oppression. The riots of 1967 – with their flames of frustration burning bitterly in my neighbourhood, a testament to the unreconciled grievances that fuelled racial resentments – confirmed Malcolm's warnings about the desperate state of urban America.

Michael Dyson, *The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X*, 1995.

Compare and contrast the evidence in Documents A and B about the appeal of Malcolm X. You should analyse the content and provenance of both documents. [10]

Non-violent protest

Question 2

Study all the following documents, C, D, E and F, and answer the question which follows.

- C** *A pioneer of the sit-in movement explains his views about non-violent action during a debate at Cornell University, New York State.*

The masses of African Americans have had enough with segregation. African American students want to solve the problem themselves, to get involved, and they are. I was talking to one of the student leaders of the South only last week; he said, 'I myself desegregated a lunch counter, not somebody else, not some big man, some powerful man, but me, little me. I walked the picket line and I sat in and the walls of segregation toppled. Now all people can eat there'. So that's what's happening: you see, we are going to do something about freedom now, we are not waiting for other people to do it. The student sit-ins have shown it; we are winning. As a result of one year of the student sit-ins, the lunch counters were desegregated in more than 150 cities. The walls are tumbling down.

James Farmer, Debate, 7 March 1962.

- D** *A historian who had been living in Atlanta, Georgia, since 1956, reflects on the impact of non-violence in the South.*

I saw changes come about through the pressure of lawsuits, sit-ins and boycotts. Non-violence worked. When the second crisis broke in Albany, Georgia, in 1962, my optimism was shaken but still alive. To those who said Albany was a huge defeat I replied that a tremendous change had taken place in the thinking of Albany's African Americans and expectations had been raised that could not be stilled. However, I am rethinking some of my views. Albany, it seems to me, is a part of the South that is impossible to be changed by the ordinary activities of non-violent direct action. Instead, special tactics are required there. But in other parts of the South, like Atlanta, the first cracks have appeared in the old social structure. There will be much conflict yet in Atlanta and Memphis but the tactics of non-violent action can force ever greater gains there.

Harold Zinn, *The Limits of Nonviolence*, 1964.

- E** *In a letter home, a white student, who volunteered for the Freedom Summer of 1964, comments on the training she experienced when preparing for the realities of protesting in Mississippi.*

We heard Jim Lawson who gave us the word on non-violence as a way of life. Lawson speaks of a moral confrontation with one's enemies. I feel very strongly that he does NOT represent the Movement. Later, Stokely Carmichael, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, rebutted him arguing that non-violence used to work but now the North is tired of demonstrations and a very rigorous backlash has emerged. There comes a point when you get tired of being beaten. Stokely does not advocate violence. Rather, moral confrontations have no place in front of a brute who beats you. My feeling, and I think this is common, is that non-violence is a perverted way of life but a necessary tactic and technique. The only reason I will not hit back is because then I will be in hospital two weeks instead of one.

Elizabeth Martinez, Letter, July 1964.

- F *Martin Luther King responds to an article in the Chicago Tribune which denounced him as a 'paid professional agitator' and questioned how demonstrations were justified.*

If you are tired of demonstrations, I am tired of demonstrating for something that should have been mine in the first place. We are not trying to overthrow you; we are trying to get in. Your point about the demonstrations being the wrong approach bothers me, because the problem is not created by the marches. We don't have much money or education, and we don't have political power. You are asking us to give up the one thing that we do have when you say, 'Don't march'. We are being asked to stop one of our most precious rights, the right to assemble, and the right to petition. We're trying to keep the issue so alive that it will be acted on. Our marching feet have brought us a long way, and if we hadn't marched, I don't think we'd be here today.

Letter, 1966.

How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that non-violent protest was effective in promoting civil rights? In evaluating the documents, you should refer to all the documents in this set (C–F). [30]

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