

The Civil Rights Struggle

SEPTEMBER 4, 1957: SCHOOL OPENS AT LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH

Elizabeth Ann Eckford and her mother made a crisp black and white dress for Elizabeth to wear her first day in the new school. The eight other African American students arranged to go to school together, but Elizabeth never got the message.

She went instead by bus to Little Rock Central High School. As she headed for the front door, she found the way blocked by an angry crowd of white townspeople and hundreds of armed soldiers, Arkansas National Guard members sent by the governor.

Elizabeth tried to follow a white student through the door but was stopped by a soldier. "When I tried to squeeze past him," she recalled later, "he raised his bayonet, and then the other guards moved in and raised their bayonets. . . . Somebody started yelling, 'Lynch her! Lynch her!'"

Elizabeth and the 8 other students never made it into Central High that day. It took 3 more weeks, intervention by the President, 1,000 paratroopers, and 10,000 members of the Arkansas National Guard to integrate the school.

It was a pattern repeated often in the years to come. Legislation, court orders, grassroots efforts, and nonviolent demonstrations alone were not enough. It took all of these efforts together to bring the Constitution's promise of equality for all closer to reality. ■

HISTORY JOURNAL



Based on what you know and the picture on page 667, write your understanding of some of the problems faced by African Americans in their struggle for full civil rights.

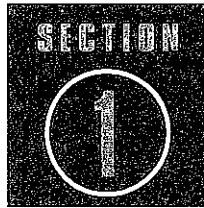


Chapter Overview
Visit the *American Odyssey* Web site at americanodyssey.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 20—Chapter Overview** to preview the chapter.



FRANCIS MILLER/LIFE MAGAZINE, © TIME WARNER INC.

STATE TROOPS HAD DEFENDED SEGREGATION;
LATER FEDERALIZED TROOPS ENABLED
INTEGRATION.



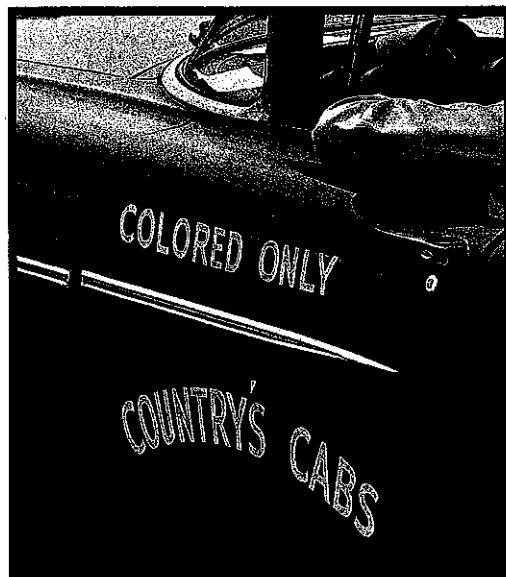
Challenging Segregation

EARLY 1950s: THE UNITED STATES

AFRICAN AMERICANS MADE GAINS DURING WORLD WAR II. Yet they did not share in the promise and prosperity that followed, and most white Americans seemed unaware of this. Novelist Ralph Ellison wrote:

I am an invisible man. . . . I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. . . . When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed everything and anything except me.

—Ralph Ellison,
Invisible Man, 1952



Two Americas
African Americans were not allowed to ride in the same cabs as white patrons.

In the South, laws that ensured **segregation** enforced this invisibility. Indeed, separation of blacks and whites formed a fundamental part of southern culture. All across the region, African Americans had to enter public buses by the back door, sit in separate waiting rooms at train stations, eat in separate restaurants, and attend separate schools. The power to vote was regularly withheld.

In the North, the pattern of urban life often resulted in *de facto* segregation—segregation in fact though not by law. As African Americans migrated to Northern cities, white people moved out to the suburbs.

GUIDE TO READING

Main Idea

African Americans in the post-World War II era stepped up efforts to end the system of segregation that divided the United States into two separate and unequal societies, one black and one white.

Vocabulary

- ▶ segregation
- ▶ civil rights

Read to Find Out . . .

- ▶ the importance of *Brown v. Board of Education* to the civil rights movement.
- ▶ the ways whites in the South resisted the *Brown* decision and the chain of events that led a reluctant Eisenhower to enforce school desegregation.

Other, more subtle, means of separating whites and African Americans emerged. For example, school districts were carefully drawn so that they included only black neighborhoods or only white ones.

The country had two societies, one white and one black. The invisible world of the African Americans, however, was about to make its presence known. This happened dramatically when Jackie Robinson, a star athlete at UCLA, broke the color line in 1947 to become an infielder for the Brooklyn Dodgers. Facing hostile teammates and opponents, Robinson held his temper and won over the fans with his spirited play. African Americans, formerly confined to segregated leagues, soon began moving into professional sports.

The Segregation System

The North Eases, the South Intensifies

If integrated major league baseball worked, asked many African Americans, why should segregation prevail elsewhere? In the country they had bravely helped to defend, why should they not be entitled to fair housing and fair employment protections?

However, the issue that most inflamed both segregationists and integrationists was public education. Because public schools placed children in daily social

situations of playing and learning, attitudes learned in the classroom could be expected to influence students for the rest of their lives.

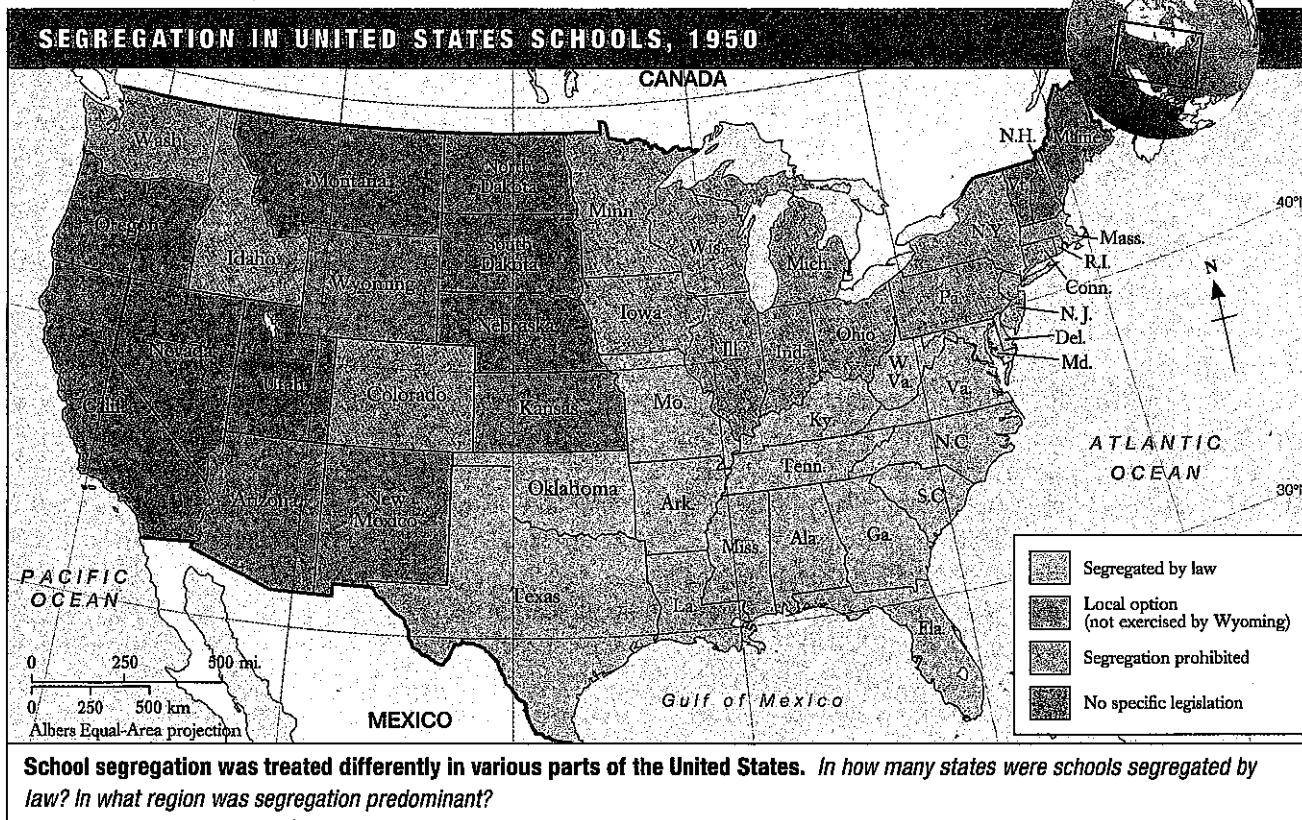
In the early 1950s, 17 states and the District of Columbia prohibited African American and white children from attending school together. Only 16 states required their public schools to be integrated, and individual school districts often violated these requirements.

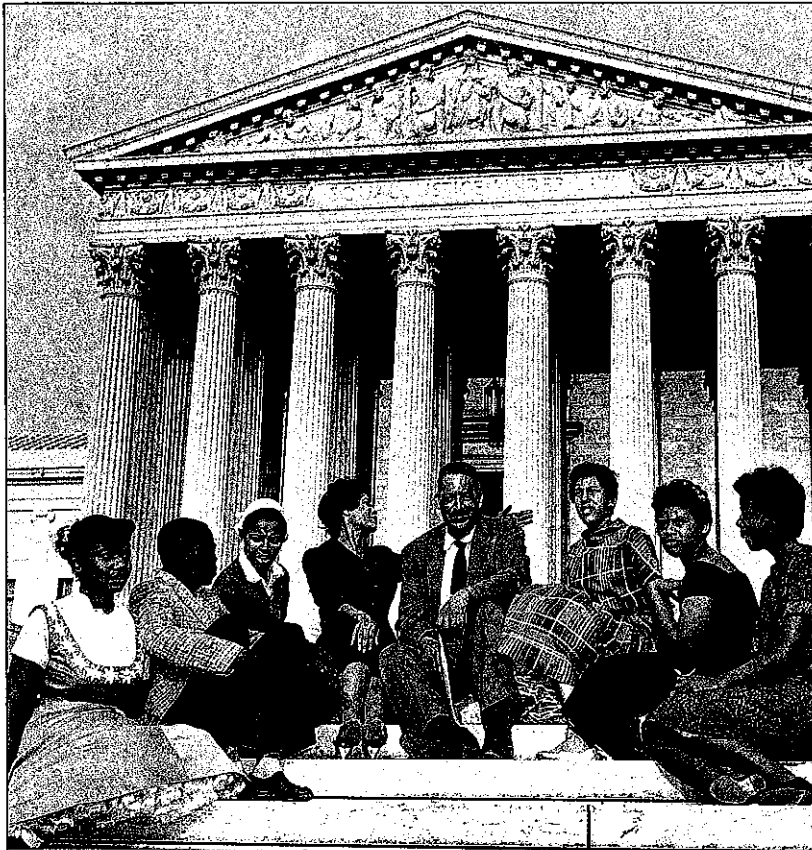
Then in 1950 three Supreme Court decisions handed down on a single day gave a new direction to those who were fighting for **civil rights**, the rights of all citizens. First, railroad dining cars operating in the South now had to provide equal service to all travelers, regardless of race. Second, African American students could not be segregated within a school also attended by whites. Third, "intangible factors," not just buildings or books, had to be considered when comparing the education provided for African Americans and whites.

The Challenge of the Courts

Supreme Court Rules Against Segregation

For more than 50 years, *Plessy v. Ferguson* had stood as the legal precedent for the "separate but equal" doctrine. This 1896 Supreme Court opinion held that if separate accommodations provided in railroad cars were





Fighting Segregation Through the System Thurgood Marshall and Mrs. L.C. Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP, talk with Arkansas students outside the Supreme Court. *In what way was the Brown case different from previous segregation cases?*

equal for African American and white passengers, then the resulting segregation was constitutional. Soon the “separate but equal” principle was being used to justify segregation in housing, restaurants, public swimming pools, and other public facilities.

NAACP Strategy

After World War II, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) initiated a series of court cases that chipped away at the *Plessy* ruling. In case after case, the Supreme Court held that the separate facilities provided for African Americans were not, in fact, equal to those provided for white people. This strategy was engineered largely by Charles Houston, a Harvard Law School graduate who later taught at the all-black Howard University. As chief legal counsel for the NAACP, he was assisted by Thurgood Marshall, who later became the first African American justice on the Supreme Court.

The NAACP’s strategy concentrated first on desegregating graduate and specialized schools. They hoped to prove that the facilities for nonwhites were not equal to those of whites. Then, instead of building new school buildings for use by only a handful of African American students, states would be forced to integrate.

After succeeding on this level, the NAACP planned to attack segregation in elementary and high schools. In 1950 the NAACP made a bold decision. Rather than trying to prove case by case that the “separate but equal” doctrine was unworkable, they agreed to fight segregation head-on. They would challenge the courts that segregation itself was illegal.

When Houston died in 1950, Thurgood Marshall continued the effort for the NAACP. Marshall was popular among most African Americans. As one supporter explained, Marshall was “of the people. He knew how to get through to them. Out in Texas or Oklahoma or down the street here in Washington at the Baptist Church, he would make these rousing speeches that would have them all jumping out of their seats.”

Then the NAACP decided which segregated school district to bring before the Supreme Court. A suitable case required parents courageous enough to sign a court petition despite pressure from local officials. It also required patience. The NAACP expected to lose when the suits were first tried, allowing

for an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Brown Decision

The Supreme Court case that helped overturn school segregation did not originate in the South at all. The case was called *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. By selecting a case from outside the South, the Court hoped to emphasize that the question of school segregation was a national one.

The “separate but equal” school facilities in Topeka were of comparable quality. Seven-year-old Linda Brown, however, had to cross through a railroad switching yard to catch the bus to her all-black elementary school, which was miles away. Why, her father insisted, couldn’t she attend the all-white school just a few blocks from her home instead of riding a bus to a school located miles away?

Oral arguments before the Supreme Court were set for December 9, 1952. As usual, the NAACP lawyers rehearsed their presentation before the mostly nonwhite faculty and students of Howard Law School in Washington, D.C. After the hearing came months of waiting. The Court then asked for some more information, but before arguments were heard again, Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson died suddenly. President Eisenhower

appointed in Vinson's place the former governor of California, Earl Warren.

Warren felt that such a sensitive decision required a unanimous decision. Such a decision would send a clear message to all parts of the country. Again, weeks of negotiations went on before the Court announced its decision. That historic moment came on May 17, 1954. Chief Justice Warren, in delivering the opinion, said:

Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe it does. . . . To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way very unlikely ever to be undone.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

—*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954

Resistance to *Brown*

The South Resists Integration

When the Supreme Court declared in 1954 that school segregation was illegal, they said nothing about how integration was to be carried out. That announcement came a year later. The rather vague ruling of the Court, pronounced in May 1955, was that integration should take place "with all deliberate speed" and "at the earliest possible date." The reluctance to give definite guidelines for ending segregation may have been the price that Chief Justice Warren had to pay for his justices' unanimous decision. After all, the integration decision was not a popular one among many groups. Polls showed that 80 percent of Southern whites opposed the *Brown* decision.

Some of the nation's school districts took steps to comply with the ruling. Other districts, particularly in the South, devised plans to resist the decision.

Massive Resistance

In Southern districts where resistance was strong, white students, encouraged by parents, refused to attend integrated schools. The Ku Klux Klan reemerged, while other white Southerners joined the less militant White Citizens' Councils.

Resistance often received encouragement from those in high offices. Virginia's governor, Thomas Stanley, declared, "I shall use every legal means at my command to continue segregated schools in Virginia." Southern state legislatures passed more than 450 laws and resolutions aimed at preventing enforcement of the *Brown* decision. In 1956 the Virginia state legislature passed a massive resistance measure that cut off state aid to all desegregated schools.

In the same year, 100 Southern members of Congress signed what came to be called the Southern Manifesto, praising "the motives of those states which have declared their intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means." One of the three Southern representatives who refused to sign was Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, future President of the United States.

Eisenhower and *Brown*

When elected President in 1952, Dwight Eisenhower carried 4 of the 11 states of the old Confederacy, only the second time the Republicans had made inroads in the solidly Democratic South since Reconstruction. Out of personal conviction, and out of loyalty to his Southern constituents, Eisenhower attempted to be neutral toward desegregation. He neither endorsed nor refuted the Supreme Court decision, saying instead, "I don't believe you can change the hearts of men with laws or decisions." Privately, he called his appointment of Earl Warren to the Supreme Court his biggest mistake.

In 1956 the African American student Autherine Lucy was suspended and then expelled from the University of Alabama after whites rioted to prevent her from remaining. Eisenhower said, "I would certainly hope that we could avoid any interference with anybody as long as that state, from its governor down, will do its best to straighten it out." The university continued to exclude African Americans for the next seven years.

Crisis at Little Rock

Desegregation Meets Violent Resistance

Little Rock, Arkansas, seemed an unlikely place for a showdown on school segregation. Just 5 days after the *Brown* decision, the Little Rock school board announced its willingness to obey the new law. The school district superintendent worked out a careful plan that consisted in its first stage of placing 9 African American students in Central High School, a school with approximately 2,000 white students. Then on September 2, 1957—the night before the first day of school—Arkansas governor, Orval Faubus, appeared on statewide television. He



State and Federal Authorities Struggle Opposition to school desegregation by white citizens of Arkansas was so strong that armed soldiers had to protect African American students. *What were the results of this military intervention?*

announced that soldiers from the state's National Guard would surround Central High School the next morning. The move was necessary, Faubus claimed, because of "evidence of disorder and threats of disorder."

The nine new students stayed away from school the next day, as school plans to delay and federal court orders to desegregate followed one another in quick succession. Many saw the issue as a fight between federal and state authority, but President Eisenhower was reluctant to intervene. Finally Governor Faubus met with Eisenhower. Faubus asked for but was denied a one-year delay in implementing desegregation. The meeting ended with the President thinking he had persuaded Faubus to allow integration of the school.

Chaos Erupts

Then, in a surprising show of defiance, Faubus removed the National Guard and left Little Rock. As an angry crowd of nearly 1,000 white people gathered at the school the next day, the so-called "Little Rock Nine" were forced to leave class at midday under police protection.

Reluctantly Eisenhower ordered federal troops into Little Rock and nationalized the Arkansas National Guard. For the first time since Reconstruction, a President had sent federal troops into the South to enforce the Constitution. On September 25, the day after the President's action, paratroopers lined the route to the high school. The nine students arrived in a military convoy, escorted by armed federal soldiers.

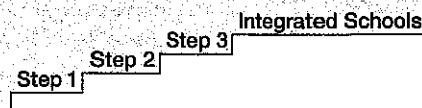
The paratroopers left at the end of the month, but the federalized National Guard remained for the rest of the school year. The next year, Little Rock public schools closed entirely.

White students attended private schools, schools outside the city, or none at all. Most African American students had no school to attend. Finally, in August 1959, following another Supreme Court ruling, the Little Rock school board reopened and integrated its public schools.

SECTION ASSESSMENT

Main Idea

1. Use a diagram like this one to show the steps in the NAACP strategy to end segregation in public education.



Vocabulary

2. Define: segregation, civil rights.

Checking Facts

3. What did *Brown v. Board of Education* say about the "separate but equal" doctrine?
4. How did many white Southerners react to the *Brown* decision? What were some results of this reaction?

Critical Thinking

5. **Making Inferences** Why did President Eisenhower say that appointing Earl Warren to be chief justice of the Supreme Court was his worst mistake?

Study and Writing Skill

PRESENTING STATISTICAL DATA

Learning the Skill

Effectively presented statistical data can strengthen and clarify oral and written material. NAACP lawyers, for example, used statistical data to present each of the cases brought against segregated school systems.

Understanding how to show statistical data in graph or chart form allows you to present information clearly and effectively, often focusing on a specific aspect of a broad topic. Data thus presented can be used to answer specific questions or to draw conclusions.

Below is a list of four visual-presentation formats and the main features of each.

| Statistical Data Presentation Formats | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Format | Characteristics |
| Bar graphs | Compare data using colored bars |
| Charts | Show various aspects of data, using columns and rows |
| Circle graphs | Show percentages of a whole using a segmented circle |
| Line graphs | Show changes or trends over time using lines on a grid |

To present statistical data, follow these steps:

- Define the topic you want to cover.
- Collect data about the topic (you can ask a reference librarian for assistance).
- Decide which aspect(s) of the data to highlight.
- Organize and present the data, highlighting the aspects you selected.

Practicing the Skill

Analyze the presentation of the data in the bar graph, the chart, and the circle graph below.

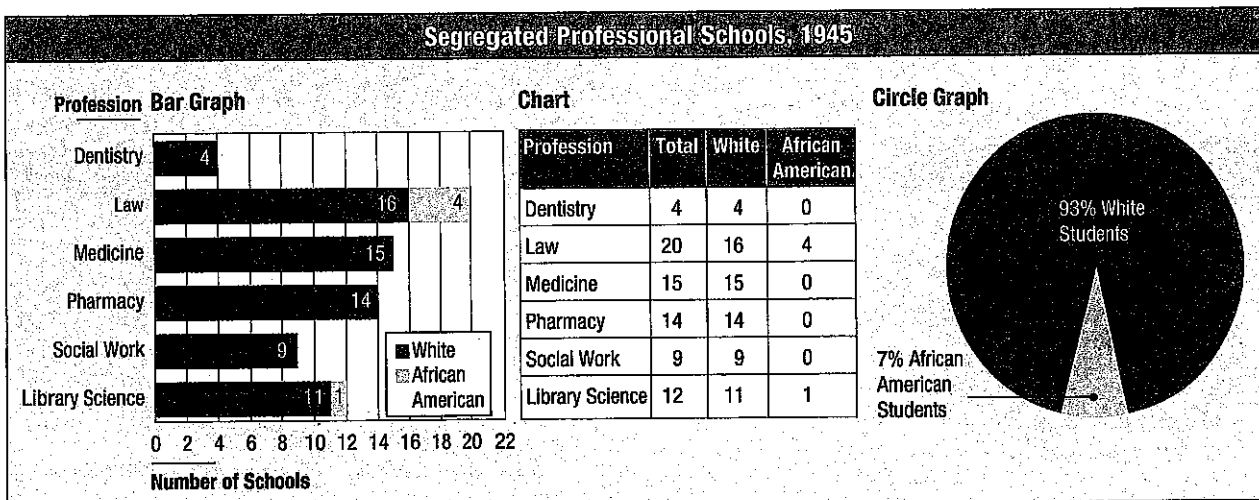
- The bar graph uses labeled, colored bars to present information. What does the bar graph show? What do the divided bars indicate?
- The chart presents data in labeled rows and columns. What does the chart show? Does it present more or less data than the bar graph?
- The circle graph uses a circle to represent the total number of schools (74). What percentage accepted only white students?
- Which seems most effective to you—the bar graph, the chart, or the circle graph? Why?
- You could also use a line graph to show a trend such as the number of law schools open to African American students over a specified period of time. What is another trend you could show with a line graph, using the data on this page?

Applying the Skill

Choose a chart or graph in a current newspaper or magazine. Analyze the information it presents. How else might this data be visually presented? Would it be more or less effective? Why?



The **Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2** CD-ROM provides more practice in key social studies skills.



Freedom Now

DECEMBER 1, 1955: MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA—BUS BOYCOTT BEGINS

ROSA PARKS WAS TIRED. It was the Christmas shopping season, and the 43-year-old bespectacled woman worked hard as a tailor's assistant in a Montgomery, Alabama, store.

When Parks boarded the Cleveland Avenue bus, she was pleased to find a seat in the middle section. In Montgomery, African American riders could occupy the middle section seats unless the front seats reserved for whites were fully occupied. Then, in order to provide more seats for white riders, African American passengers had to move to seats farther back in the bus or stand.

By the third stop, the seats reserved for whites had filled up, and one white man was standing. The other African American passengers in Parks's row of seats got up and stood in the back, but she did not move.

The bus driver, James Blake, called out, "If you don't stand up, I'm going to have to call the police and have you arrested." "You may do that," Rosa Parks replied.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Simple Refusal Stirs Boycott
Rosa Parks was prepared to fight for her civil rights.

The Bus Boycott

Economic Means to Attain Goals

Rosa Parks's simple decision not to give up her seat set in motion a series of events with far-reaching consequences for the whole country. Later, many people came to regard her action as the true beginning of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and the 1960s. Out of Montgomery emerged the courage, leadership, and strategies for an entire movement.

The news of Parks's arrest soon spread through Montgomery's African American community. Protests like Parks's were not new, but hers was the kind of case community leaders had been waiting for. Parks was dignified, soft-spoken, well liked. She was a former secretary of the local NAACP chapter and was active in her church. The previous summer she had attended an interracial workshop at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. Now, local civil rights leaders asked if she would

GUIDE TO READING

Main Idea

A civil rights movement began to take shape in the South as African Americans, working initially through the NAACP and churches, used a variety of nonviolent tactics to protest segregation.

Vocabulary

- ▶ boycott
- ▶ nonviolent resistance
- ▶ civil disobedience

Read to Find Out . . .

- ▶ how the Southern Christian Leadership Conference countered segregation in the South.
- ▶ the role that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee played in the civil rights movement.

be willing to fight her case for as long as it took to win. Despite her mother's and husband's fears, she said yes.

The Boycott Begins

Immediately the call went out for a **boycott** of the Montgomery bus system. By refusing to use the services of the bus company, African Americans would exert economic pressure on the company. Jo Ann Robinson, an English professor at Alabama State College, worked through the night writing and mimeographing 35,000 leaflets that instructed, "Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday."

Meanwhile, ministers and community leaders met and pledged their support of the one-day boycott. They agreed to a second meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church on Monday evening to decide whether to continue the boycott.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the new minister of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, announced the boycott during his Sunday morning services, asking for the congregation's support. So did other ministers, including the white minister of the Trinity Lutheran Church.

A Successful Strategy

On Monday, nearly empty buses rolled through Montgomery. Although Rosa Parks was found guilty and fined \$10 plus \$4 in court charges, the boycott was a success. Of the 52,000 passengers who normally rode the bus every day, 40,000 were African American, and they had stayed away in droves. That afternoon the ministers and community leaders met again. They named themselves the Montgomery Improvement Association and selected a president—Dr. King.

That evening some 5,000 people packed into the Holt Street Baptist Church. Loudspeakers were set up for thousands of people outside. King declared:

There comes a time when people get tired. We are here this evening to say to those who have mistreated us so long that we are tired—tired of being segregated and humiliated, tired of being kicked about by the brutal feet of oppression . . .

If you will protest courageously and yet with dignity and Christian love, in the history books that are written in future generations, historians will have to pause and say "there lived a great people—a black people—who injected a new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization." This is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility.

—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., 1955

DAN WEINER, COURTESY SANDRA WEINER



Supporting the Movement Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a powerful communicator. How did King use his communication abilities to promote civil rights?

The Montgomery bus boycott lasted nearly 400 days. At first the city's 18 African American-owned cab companies filled in by agreeing to accept African American passengers for 10 cents, the price of bus fare. Then the city threatened to fine the taxi companies for not charging the full 45-cent taxi fare.

Next, boycott leaders worked out an elaborate plan of car pooling. Station wagons picked up riders at 42 separate locations. Funds to buy and operate the station wagons—called "rolling churches" because they were painted with the names of churches—came from white and African American supporters in Montgomery and throughout the nation. When city officials tried to prevent the "rolling churches" from getting the necessary insurance, King arranged coverage with Lloyd's of London, known for insuring almost any risk.

City officials had not expected such strong resistance. As the bus company continued to lose money day after day, the segregationists in power became increasingly frustrated. The mayor, the city commissioners, the police commissioner, and the city council all publicly joined the White Citizens' Council. King's house was bombed. King and 88 other African American leaders were arrested and fined for conspiring to boycott.

HISTORY *Online*

Student Web Activity 20

Visit the *American Odyssey* Web site at americanodyssey.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 20—Student Web Activities** for an activity relating to the civil rights movement.



DAN WEINER, COURTESY SANDRA WEINER

Impact of Boycott Felt Although African Americans enjoyed few rights in the South, their numbers gave them economic power. *What finally ended the Montgomery bus boycott?*

The end of the boycott finally came when the United States Supreme Court ruled that segregation on Montgomery buses was unconstitutional. City officials challenged this ruling on the grounds that it violated states' rights. When the Court's written order was received on December 20, 1956, however, the segregationists gave up. All riders sat where they pleased on buses that rolled through Montgomery.

Ain't gonna ride them buses no more,
 Ain't gonna ride no more.
 Why don't all the white folk know
 That I ain't gonna ride no more.

—Sung by Montgomery boycotters,
 1955–1956

Martin Luther King, Jr.

An African American Leader Emerges

After the Montgomery boycott, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., emerged as the unchallenged leader of the African American protest movement. Short in stature and gentle in manner, King was at that time only 27 years old. What had propelled him into this demanding role in history?

The son of a Baptist minister, King, like his father, was named after Martin Luther, the founder of the Protes-

tant branch of Christianity. The younger King grew up in a comfortable, middle-class home in Atlanta. He attended Morehouse College there and when he was 18 years old decided on a career in the ministry. He already showed a gift for the eloquent, emotion-arousing art of speaking popular in Southern churches. After a trial sermon in his father's Ebenezer Baptist Church, he was ordained a Baptist minister.

King then went north for more schooling—to Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania and then to Boston University for a Ph.D. in religion. By the time he first arrived in Montgomery in September 1954 as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, he had also met and married Coretta Scott.

The Creation of SCLC

Following the success of the Montgomery bus boycott, King faced the issue of how to extend the lessons learned there to other cities and other civil rights arenas. In January 1957, King called a meeting in Atlanta of 60 Southern ministers to discuss nonviolent integration.

The news that the home and the church of King's friend and fellow minister Ralph Abernathy had been bombed marred the beginning of the conference. After a hurried trip back to Montgomery to survey the damage, King returned to Atlanta to assume the presidency of the newly formed Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Nonviolence

From the beginning of the Montgomery boycott, King encouraged his followers to use **nonviolent resistance**. This meant that those who carried out the demonstrations should not fight with authorities, even if provoked to do so.

The SCLC and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the latter an interracial organization founded in 1914, conducted workshops in nonviolent methods of resistance for civil rights activists. Those attending learned how to sit quietly while others jeered at them, called them names, and even spat on them. Workshop participants also learned how to guard themselves against blows and how to protect one another by forming a circle of bodies around someone under attack.

King's use of nonviolent tactics has often been compared to those Mohandas Gandhi used in India's struggle for independence from Great Britain. In both cases the final victory depended on using moral arguments to change the minds of the oppressors. King linked nonviolence to the Christian theme of loving one's enemy. He was certainly familiar with Gandhi's teachings, however, and in 1959 traveled to India to talk with some of Gandhi's followers.

The Gandhian strategy of nonviolence involved four steps: investigation, negotiation, publicity, and demonstration. Applied to civil rights actions, this meant that the activists ought first to look into a situation and gather the facts. Next, the activists should attempt to negotiate with the party responsible for the segregation. Failing that, others should be made aware of the situation and what the activists intended to do. Only then should action, such as a march or a demonstration, be carried out.

Soon after the victory in Montgomery, nonviolent methods began to be applied in a startlingly fresh way. Students in universities and colleges all over the country were tired of waiting for change. They vowed to integrate the nation's segregated lunch counters, hotels, and entertainment facilities by a simple new strategy of nonviolent resistance—sitting.

A Season of Sit-ins

Students Sit to Protest

The first sit-in was not elaborately planned. The four African American freshmen from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College had never attended a workshop on nonviolence, but late one night they began to talk about what they could do to fight segregation. Earlier in the day Joseph McNeil, one of the four, had tried to get something to eat at the local bus station but had been turned down. He was hurt and resentful.

"We should just sit at the counter and refuse to go until they serve us," one suggested.

"You really mean it?" his friend asked.

"Sure I mean it," the first replied.

The next day, February 1, 1960, the four walked into a local store. Nervous, they first tested the waters to see if their business was welcome. One bought a tube of toothpaste, another some school supplies. Then the four sat down at the whites-only lunch counter and asked for coffee and doughnuts.

"I'm sorry but we don't serve colored here," the waitress said.



STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

Sit-ins: A Powerful Instrument of Integration Employing nonviolent tactics brought abuse not only from authorities but also from people who disagreed with the protesters. *Who started the sit-ins?*

"I beg your pardon," Franklin McCain said. "You just served me at a counter two feet away. Why is it that you serve me at one counter and [not] at another?"

The 4 continued to sit at the counter until it closed about half an hour later. The next day they came back, accompanied by 27 other students. The third day, 63 students sat down at the lunch counter. They were not served, so they just sat. On the fourth day, 3 white students from the Women's College of the University of North Carolina joined them. By Friday, the fifth day, the number of demonstrators had grown to about 300. They sat in shifts. If some students had to leave to attend class, other students who stood waiting behind them took their place at the lunch counter.

On Saturday evening 1,600 students attended a victory rally, exhilarated by the announcement that the company was ready to negotiate. They soon discovered that the celebration was premature, however, for the company was willing to make only token changes in its segregation policy.

Two months later students resumed their lunch-counter sit-ins. Adopting a new hard line, the city arrested 45 students and charged them with trespassing. This in turn so enraged the students and their supporters that they launched a massive boycott of stores with segregated lunch counters. As sales dropped by a third, the merchants reluctantly gave in. Six months after the 4 freshmen had first sat down and asked for coffee, they were finally served.

The Sit-ins Spread

Meanwhile, the spontaneous grassroots movement started a reaction that spread like a brushfire throughout the border states and the upper South. By April 1960, college and high school students in 78 communities had staged sit-ins, and 2,000 protesters had been arrested. A year later those numbers had nearly doubled. By September 1961, 70,000 African American and white students were sitting in for social change.

The targets of many sit-ins were Southern stores that were part of national chains. In some Northern cities, however, students picketed stores of the same chains, carrying signs that read *We Walk So They May Sit*. As more lunch counters integrated under the pressure of sit-ins, variations of the technique emerged. Students held "kneel-ins" to integrate churches, "read-ins" in libraries, "wade-ins" at beaches, and "sleep-ins" in motel lobbies.

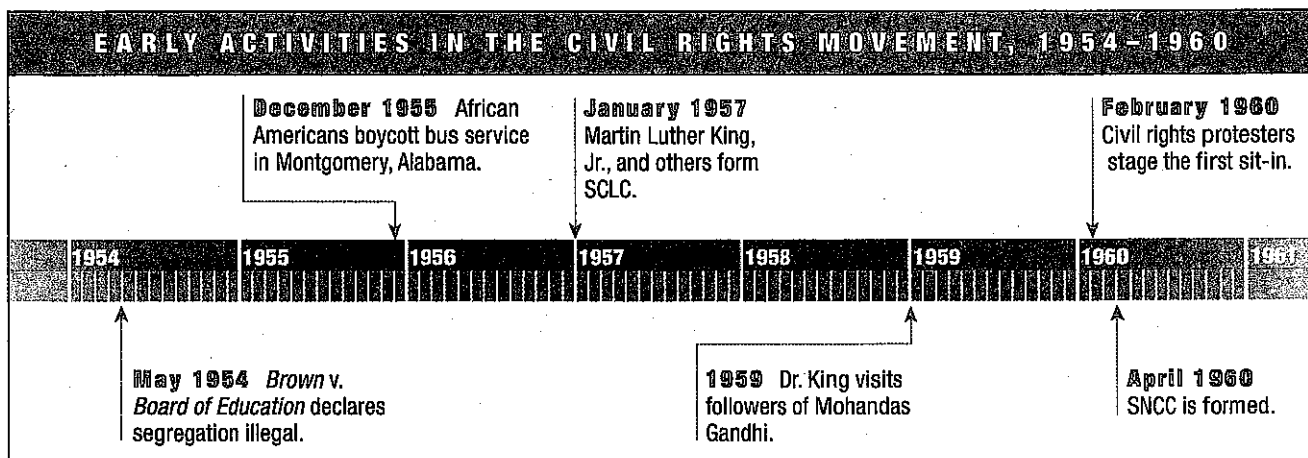
A Student Movement

The driving center of the civil rights movement had spread from the legal committees of the NAACP and African American churches to college campuses. The students were impatient. As schoolchildren in 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled on the *Brown* decision, they had expected immediate results, but progress had been slow. In 1957 African Americans had shared in the excitement of Ghana's independence from Great Britain. During 1960 alone, 11 African countries threw off the shackles of colonialism. "All of Africa will be free before we can get a lousy cup of coffee," writer James Baldwin complained.

The nonviolence of the students provoked increasingly hostile reactions from those who opposed them. In Nashville, after four students had successfully desegregated a bus terminal, they were badly beaten. In other cities white teenagers poked students in the ribs, ground cigarettes out on their backs, or threw ketchup on them as they ate.

The Creation of SNCC

Ella J. Baker, executive secretary of King's SCLC, was impressed with the students' commitment and courage, but she was concerned about their lack of coordination and leadership. She invited 100 student leaders of the sit-ins to a conference at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, over Easter weekend in April 1960. To her surprise, some 300 students showed up,



most from Southern African American communities, but a few also from Northern colleges. Out of that meeting came a new civil rights organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, pronounced *snihk*).

King addressed the students that weekend. He stressed the moral power of nonviolence, saying, "The tactics of nonviolence without the spirit of nonviolence may become a new kind of violence."

One of the slogans students warmly applauded at the conference was "jail not bail." The decision to refuse bail and to remain in jail came about for practical as well as philosophical reasons. Supporters of the sit-ins throughout the country had been contributing bail money so that students who were arrested could be quickly released on bail. As the number of arrests grew, the bail money became a heavy drain on the treasuries of civil rights organizations. Philosophically, opting for jail placed the burden of supporting the arrested protesters onto the police and local officials. Also, through press coverage, jail service kept the eyes of the nation focused on the protesters and their conflicts with the authorities.

In adopting "jail not bail," SNCC followed an American tradition of **civil disobedience**, or nonviolent resistance of unfair laws. Henry David Thoreau, for example, had spent a night in jail in 1846 for refusing to pay his poll tax as a protest against slavery and the Mexican War. He later wrote:

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government today? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as my government which is the slave's government also.

—Henry David Thoreau,
"Civil Disobedience," 1849

Within a year SNCC evolved from an activity that students engaged in between classes to a full-time commitment. The most active students postponed their studies, dropping out of college to work for the movement. In the fall of 1961, SNCC sent 16 "field secretaries" to areas most resistant to integration. By early 1964 that number had grown to 150.

A field secretary could count on only about \$10 a week from SNCC, so most roomed and boarded with local African American residents. This arrangement could mean considerable hardship to many Southern African Americans who lived constantly on the edge of poverty. SNCC workers and their hosts were also subject to physical harassment, even danger.

Yet, more than federal court decisions and civil disobedience would be required before the segregation system of 100 years would finally break down. The



come let us build a new world together

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE 215 PARKWOOD STREET, N.W. ATLANTA, GA. 30304

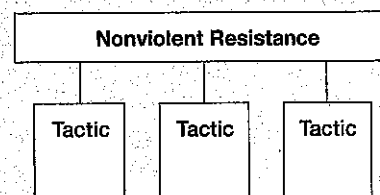
Student Activism Grows Student activism powered SNCC, an organization that helped bring the civil rights movement out of the courtroom and into the segregated communities of the South. How did the policy of "jail not bail" focus public attention on civil rights issues?

active commitment of the nation's President and the force of the executive branch also would be needed. The year that the sit-ins erupted and SNCC was formed, John F. Kennedy became the presidential nominee of the Democratic party.

SECTION ASSESSMENT

Main Idea

1. Use a diagram like this one to show some of the nonviolent tactics used to protest segregation.



Vocabulary

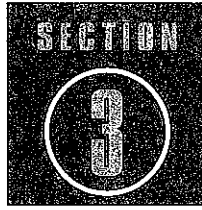
2. Define: boycott, nonviolent resistance, civil disobedience.

Checking Facts

3. What was the major goal and the primary tactic of SCLC?
4. Why did SNCC adopt the slogan "jail not bail"?

Critical Thinking

5. **Determining Cause and Effect** What effect did the student sit-ins have on the integration of public facilities in the South?



Government Response

MAY 21, 1961: FREEDOM RIDERS MOBBED IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

THE PASSENGERS WERE EXPECTING TROUBLE. On the way to Birmingham, Alabama, from Atlanta, Georgia, one of their buses had been firebombed, burned to an iron skeleton. An angry, violent mob had met the second bus as it limped into the Birmingham terminal. After that the bus drivers, all white, refused to go on. For two days the "Freedom Riders," as the passengers were called, waited for the bus company to find other drivers. Others of their group recuperated in hospital beds. Finally, frustrated, they left the city by plane.

Some thought the Freedom Rides were over then. However, a group of students fresh from sit-ins in Nashville, Tennessee, flew to Birmingham intent on continuing the integrated journey. United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy asked for, and thought he had received, a pledge from the governor of Alabama to protect the bus and its passengers.



EXPRESS NEWSPAPERS/ARCHIVE PHOTOS

Freedom Riders Face Violence
Soldiers guard a bus carrying Freedom Riders.

The ride was calm during the first leg of the journey to Montgomery, Alabama. Alabama state patrol cars were seen at intervals. When the bus pulled into the Montgomery terminal, however, an angry mob of about 1,000 white people quickly surrounded the bus. No police were present.

John Doar, a Justice Department lawyer on the scene, placed a call to the attorney general's office as the bus rolled into the station. "Now the passengers are coming off," Doar reported. "They're standing on a corner of the platform. Oh, there are fists,

punching. A bunch of men led by a guy with a bleeding face are beating them," Doar continued. "There are no cops. It's terrible. It's terrible. There's not a cop in sight. People are yelling, 'Get 'em, get 'em.' It's awful."

The mob violence and the city's indifference became front-page news throughout the world. Deeply disturbed and faced with international embarrassment,

GUIDE TO READING

Main Idea

Media coverage of violent attacks on nonviolent civil rights activists forced President Kennedy to choose sides in the segregation struggle, paving the way for the civil rights legislation of the Johnson administration.

Vocabulary

- ▶ enfranchisement
- ▶ militant
- ▶ filibuster

Read to Find Out . . .

- ▶ how politics shaped Kennedy's civil rights policy.
- ▶ why Kennedy sided with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
- ▶ successes of the civil rights movement during the Johnson presidency.

President Kennedy and his brother Robert sent federal marshals to keep order in Alabama. The segregationists would never forgive them for that move.

The next night Robert Kennedy called Governor John Patterson and pleaded with him to reinforce the marshals protecting Martin Luther King, Jr., and a group of his followers who were trapped inside a church by a crowd of several thousand whites. At the last minute, Patterson did send in Alabama National Guard troops to assist the marshals, but not until after the following exchange:

"You are destroying us politically," Patterson told Kennedy.

Kennedy replied, "It's more important that the people in the church survive physically than for us to survive politically."

JFK and Civil Rights

Kennedy Supports Civil Rights

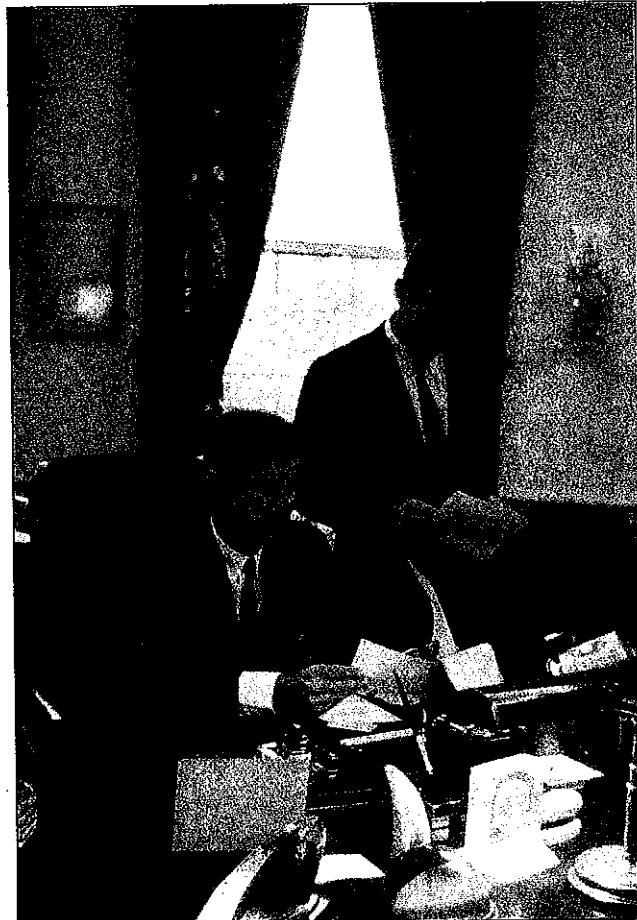
John F. Kennedy had not demonstrated a strong commitment to civil rights when he had become a candidate for the presidency in 1960. Like many other politicians on the state and national scene, his views on the civil rights issue reflected mainly its political importance to him. The question to him was how his stand would help him defeat his Republican opponent, Richard Nixon.

On the Campaign Trail

The dilemma Kennedy faced was this: To win, he needed both the segregationists' vote in the South and the African Americans' vote in the North. Kennedy relied upon his vice-presidential running mate, Texas Senator Lyndon Johnson, to bring the Southern white vote. Republican Eisenhower had attracted significant African American support in the 1956 election, and Kennedy expected that Nixon would make a bid for that support by endorsing civil rights.

Kennedy decided to make an all-out effort for the African Americans' vote. He endorsed the sit-ins and promised to sponsor a civil rights bill during the next congressional session. He also pledged—"with a stroke of the presidential pen," he said—to end racial discrimination in federally supported public housing.

In the closing days of the campaign, King's arrest during a sit-in at an Atlanta department store put both presidential candidates to the test. The other protesters were quickly released, but not King. The judge had ruled that King's sit-in arrest was a violation of his probation, which King had received as a result of an earlier con-



©ARTHUR RIKENBERG/BLACK STAR

Politics and Civil Rights The Kennedys were politicians who understood the political significance of the civil rights issue. What was John Kennedy's position on civil rights during the presidential campaign?

viction for driving without a valid driver's license. King was sentenced to four months of hard labor on a Georgia road gang. He was led off in handcuffs and shackles to a rural state prison.

Coretta King and other King supporters feared that King might not come out of that prison alive. There followed a flurry of phone calls to whomever the civil rights leaders thought might be able to help.

Nixon did nothing. John Kennedy, however, telephoned Coretta King and expressed to her his concern, and Robert Kennedy phoned the judge on King's behalf. When King was released a day later, the Kennedys were given much of the credit. "It's time for all of us to take off our Nixon button," Martin Luther King, Sr., exclaimed gratefully.

John Kennedy won the election by the narrowest margin of popular votes in any presidential election in the twentieth century. His ability to carry 7 of the 11 states of the old Confederacy and 70 percent of the African American vote was a major factor in his political success at that time.



The Push for Voter Participation In Selma, an African American man carrying a voter registration sign is arrested by an Alabama State Trooper. Why was the initial attempt at enfranchisement unsuccessful?

Kennedy's Civil Rights Strategy

Despite his campaign promises, Kennedy made no mention of civil rights in his Inaugural Address. Instead, during his first two years in office he tried to avoid losing either Southern white or African American support. He failed to back the promised civil rights bill, which would have required Southern school districts to submit desegregation plans by 1963. When he finally did issue an executive order on housing discrimination in late 1962, it was so weak that it had little effect.

Rather than attacking segregation, Kennedy sought to keep black support by promising African Americans jobs and votes. To find more jobs, Kennedy created a presidential committee, headed by Vice President Johnson. The committee was charged with ending job discrimination in federal government departments and businesses that contracted with the federal government. Johnson chose to rely on voluntary efforts instead of using strict measures such as canceling contracts. The result was that during Kennedy's term the committee accomplished little.

Kennedy was not any more successful in helping African Americans obtain voting rights. In 100 counties of the Deep South, only 5 percent of voting-age African Americans were registered to vote. The civil rights acts passed in 1957 and in 1960 gave the attorney general power to sue in federal courts on behalf of African Americans denied the right to vote because of their race. Accordingly, Robert Kennedy had sent a group of lawyers to the South, to sue when necessary. In 3 years the Justice Department had filed 50 voting-rights cases.

The results of this effort at **enfranchisement**, or obtaining the rights of citizenship, for African Americans through the courts was, however, largely unsuccessful. This was so in part because President Kennedy himself had appointed a number of federal judges who were unsympathetic to civil rights.

Although President Kennedy could produce neither the jobs nor the votes he promised, he did appoint a number of African Americans to his administration. He invited prominent African Americans to social events at the White House and made other symbolic gestures that the African American community applauded. At the same time, many politicians appreciated his reluctance to address segregation issues head-on. His efforts to appeal to both sides of the civil rights issue might have continued if **militants**—activists who would not tolerate any compromise—on both sides had not forced his hand.

Kennedy and the Militants

Kennedy Sides With Civil Rights Protesters

Civil rights demonstrators demanded "Freedom now!" and white segregationists cried "Segregation forever!" If violent whites attacked nonviolent demonstrators, Kennedy would have to make a choice. Either he would have to stay aloof, losing the support of those aligned with the civil rights movement, or he would have to intervene, alienating segregationists. This presented Kennedy with a difficult political dilemma.

The Freedom Riders

The first crisis occurred with the arrival on the scene of the Freedom Riders. James Farmer, executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), organized these carefully selected interracial groups of bus passengers. In December 1960, the Supreme Court had ruled that all bus stations and terminals serving interstate travelers should be integrated. The purpose of the Freedom Rides was to test the execution of that decision.

On May 4, 1961, the first busload of 13 CORE volunteers rolled out of the Washington, D.C., bus terminal, bound for New Orleans. On the bus, whites sat in the back, and African American volunteers sat in the front. At each stop, African American volunteers got off the bus and entered the whites-only waiting rooms to test whether the facilities were integrated.

The first leg of the journey went well. Violence, however, soon caught up with the Freedom Riders at Anniston, Alabama, where one of the buses was firebombed. When Robert Kennedy finally intervened in Montgomery, he appealed to the Freedom Riders to wait for

the situation to calm down before continuing. They insisted, however, on moving on to Jackson, Mississippi, and potentially more danger. Each of the 26 African Americans and 2 whites aboard the bus wrote out the names and addresses of persons to be notified in case they were killed. "Everyone on the bus was prepared to die," one Freedom Rider recalled.

Kennedy made a deal with Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland. Kennedy would not interfere by sending in federal marshals if Eastland would guarantee there would be no mob violence.

There were no mobs waiting for the Freedom Riders in Jackson; however, police, state troopers, and Mississippi National Guard soldiers were everywhere. As the Riders stepped off the bus and tried to enter the

whites-only waiting room, they were quickly arrested for trespassing and taken to jail.

Despite the violence and the jail sentences, more Freedom Riders kept coming all summer. More than 300 were jailed in Jackson alone. Finally, the attorney general petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue a ruling against segregation of interstate facilities. The ICC made such an announcement on September 22; CORE's victory was secured.

The Voter Education Project

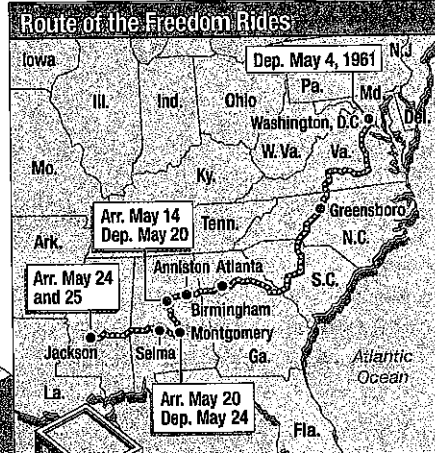
In an effort to steer the civil rights organizations away from violent confrontations with Southern segregationists, Robert Kennedy began to stress the importance of African American voter registration. He reasoned that if more

THE FREEDOM RIDE, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, MAY 20, 1961

At Birmingham on May 14, 1961, the Freedom Riders had been savagely attacked. Bus drivers refused to take the group farther. The governor refused to guarantee their safe passage. Finally, however, on the morning of May 20, they set out on the 90-mile trip from Birmingham to Montgomery.

8:30 A.M., May 20: Bus leaves Birmingham with protection of police patrol cars and planes.

9:50 A.M.: Planes fly away as bus crosses Montgomery city line.



10:00 A.M.: As bus arrives, patrol cars disappear. The terminal seems empty.

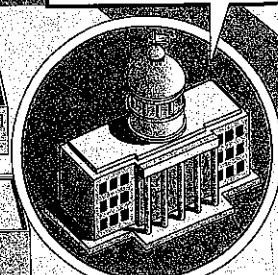
10:00 A.M.: A group of up to 1,000 whites advance with lead pipes, bottles, baseball bats—setting upon the Freedom Riders as they emerge from the bus.

2:30 P.M.: Governor Patterson, at the State Capitol, orders the arrest of the Freedom Riders.

10:05 A.M.: As mob slams into them, riders are forced to flee, but their way is blocked. Some find shelter in post office.

10:10 A.M.: Police arrive, but mob reign continues for 2 hours.

Despite serious injuries, ambulances are forced away.



The Freedom Riders put their lives on the line to ensure desegregation. How did the danger increase for these Freedom Riders when they crossed the line from Montgomery to Birmingham?

constitutions. "Sometimes out of 20 or 25 Negroes who went to register, only one or two would pass the test," SNCC worker Anne Moody recalled. "Some of them were flunked because they used a title (Mr. or Mrs.) on the application blank; others because they didn't."

The presence of so many SNCC workers and their effectiveness in organizing local African American communities brought terrorist responses from some white segregationists. In Georgia four churches that had been used to register African American voters were bombed. Workers were beaten, assaulted, and shot. African Americans who dared to vote were evicted from their land, fired from their jobs, and cut off from their credit.

At the organizational meeting, Robert Kennedy's representatives had seemed to pledge money and protection for the workers. Al-

though some private foundation funds were made available, the Justice Department failed to protect the civil rights volunteers it had encouraged to work in the South. The department reasoned that maintaining law and order was the responsibility of local governments. The result was that the militants in the civil rights movement became as alienated from the Kennedy administration as the white segregationists. Then, on September 30, 1962, President Kennedy had to send the United States Army to enforce a court order to enroll James Meredith in the University of Mississippi. It had become clear that Kennedy was losing control of the segregation issue.

Decision at Birmingham

In the spring of 1963, President Kennedy finally chose sides in the segregation struggle. It happened during King's campaign of massive civil disobedience in Birmingham, Alabama.

In 1962 Birmingham had closed parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, and golf courses to avoid desegregating



Protest Leaders March for Equality Ralph Abernathy and Martin Luther King, Jr., lead a group of demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama. *What were civil rights demonstrators protesting in Birmingham?*

African Americans voted in elections, they would be able to wield some power on important issues, such as housing and education.

Of course, the idea of encouraging voter registration of African Americans was not a new idea. Groups such as SNCC had been working to increase African American registration for some time. To encourage collaboration on voter registration, Kennedy called for a meeting in June 1961 of representatives of SCLC, SNCC, CORE, and NAACP. The result was the Voter Education Project, staffed mainly by SNCC workers. An umbrella group called the Council of Federated Organizations, or COFO, carried out voter registration in Mississippi.

To increase the number of African Americans on voting rolls, SNCC workers held workshops. They explained the sometimes lengthy application forms and accompanied eligible voters to the registration offices.

Few of the eligible voters were able to get their names on the rolls. They were turned away because the registration dates were changed, or they made spelling mistakes, or they failed outrageously difficult tests on the state

them. "We believed that while a campaign in Birmingham would surely be the toughest fight of our civil rights careers," King wrote later, "it could, if successful, break the back of segregation all over the nation."

The Demonstrations

Civil rights leaders planned the demonstrations to gradually increase in frequency and size. The effect was to keep the attention of newspaper and television reporters focused on the streets of Birmingham.

The conflict was dramatic. Representing one side was the police commissioner, Eugene "Bull" Connor. Thickset and heavily jowled, Connor took pride in the toughness with which he handled integrationists. People around the world watched in horror as he set snarling police dogs on demonstrators or washed small children across streets with the powerful impact of fire hoses.

Representing the opposition was King, who timed the demonstrations to include his arrest on Good Friday, the Christian holy day marking the death of Jesus. During King's two weeks in jail, he wrote the eloquent "Letter from Birmingham Jail." King began the letter on the margins of a full-page newspaper ad that a group of white ministers had taken out. The ad called for an end to the demonstrations. King's letter from jail attempted to explain his use of civil disobedience:

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was "well-timed" in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

—Martin Luther King, Jr.
"Letter From Birmingham Jail," 1963

After his release from jail, King began a new tactic of using African American schoolchildren in the demonstrations. To those who protested that the children, who ranged in age from 6 to 18, were too young, King replied, "Children face the stinging darts of segregation as well as adults."

On the first day, about 1,000 singing children marched out from the church headquarters and in small groups headed toward the city's downtown. They were quickly arrested. The next day the police cast aside all restraint and set upon the child marchers with dogs, clubs, and fire hoses. At one point more than 2,000 children and adults were in jail.

The police tactics swung public opinion squarely around in favor of the protesters. Adult demonstrators came out into the streets in record numbers. King described the scene on May 27, 1963, when white business leaders were meeting privately to work out a settlement:

On that day several thousand Negroes had marched on the town, the jails were so full that police could only arrest a handful. There were Negroes on the sidewalks, in the streets, standing, sitting in the aisles of downtown stores. There were square blocks of Negroes, a veritable sea of black faces. They were committing no violence; they were just present and singing. Downtown Birmingham echoed to the strains of freedom songs.

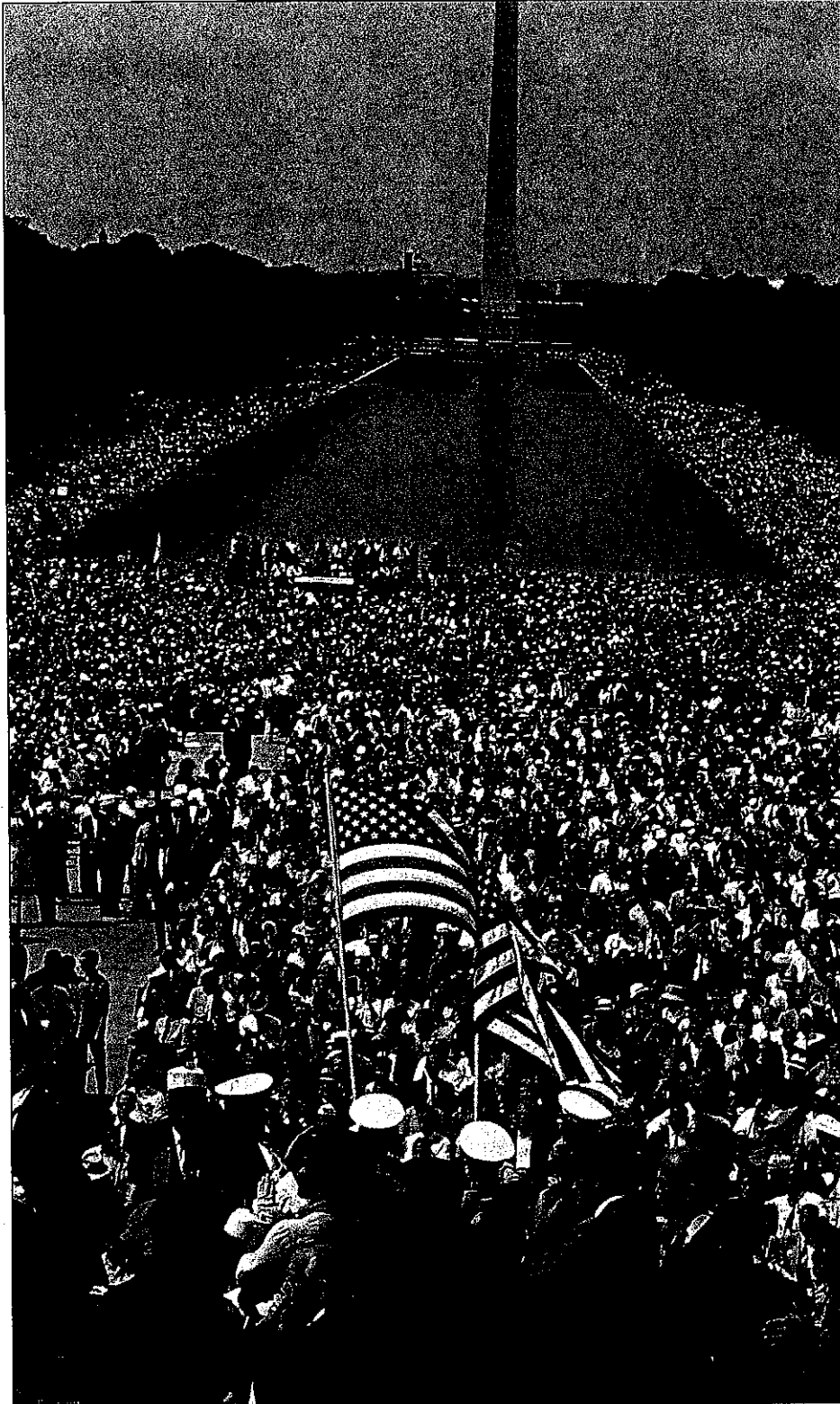
—Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*, 1964

Local business leaders gave in and agreed to desegregate the big department stores. King called off the demonstrations; but shortly after, on May 11, 1963, bombs exploded at King's motel and at his brother's home, and rioting erupted. Alarmed that the protest might turn violent, President Kennedy decided to cast his lot with Martin Luther King, Jr.



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Power Through Song Civil rights workers often sang together in nonviolent protest. What was the result of police violence against nonviolent protesters in Birmingham?



The People March More than 200,000 gathered at the Lincoln Memorial to call for civil rights reforms. *Who were the organizers of the march?*

the President appeared on national television. "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue," he said. "It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution." He then announced that he would send Congress a civil rights bill, which, it turned out, would deliver crushing blows to segregation.

Later that night in Jackson, Mississippi, a white sniper killed Medgar Evers, head of the state NAACP. By the time President Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, his civil rights bill was moving toward passage in the House.

The March on Washington

The massive protest march on the nation's capital on August 28, 1963, began as a cry for jobs. As planning went on, however, the goals of the march grew to embrace the entire civil rights movement. A key demand was support for passage of Kennedy's civil rights bill. The march's organizers were a coalition of labor leaders, clergy, liberals, and grassroots workers.

Trains and buses brought in thousands of demonstrators from all over the country. It was the largest crowd ever to attend a civil rights demonstration. There were two highlights, most agreed, in a day of memorable songs, speeches, and appearances: Mahalia Jackson's singing of the spiritual "I Been 'Buked

and I Been Scorned" and King's delivery of a speech, in which he cried, "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'"

June 11, 1963, was a historic day for the civil rights movement. In the afternoon President Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard to enforce a court order requiring the admission of two African American students to the University of Alabama. That evening

The Triumph of Civil Rights

Johnson Signs Civil Rights Act

Following President Kennedy's assassination on November 22, 1963, presidential leadership of civil rights efforts fell on Lyndon B. Johnson. Born and raised in the South, Johnson had removed himself from the segregationist ranks in 1956 when he refused to sign the Southern Manifesto. In addition, Johnson had overseen the passage of a limited civil rights act in 1957.

LBJ Carries On

Johnson was determined to overcome liberal doubts about his presidency by achieving passage of Kennedy's civil rights bill without compromising any of its most important elements. The bill passed the House in February 1964 but faced an uncertain future in the Senate.

The Southerners in the Senate intended to prevent a vote by launching a **filibuster**—that is, they would debate the bill nonstop to keep it from coming to a vote. According to Senate rules, a motion to end debate could carry only if it had the support of two-thirds of those present and voting. With Southern Democrats solidly behind the filibuster, 26 of the 33 Republicans in the Senate would have to vote with Northern Democrats in order to end it.

The one man who could deliver these votes was the Senate minority leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen. A conservative Republican from Illinois, he was not known as a friend of civil rights. Yet Dirksen ended months of suspense by lining up the Republican votes to end debate and to pass the bill. Dirksen explained his decision with a quote from Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come."

On July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed into law the most comprehensive civil rights legislation enacted

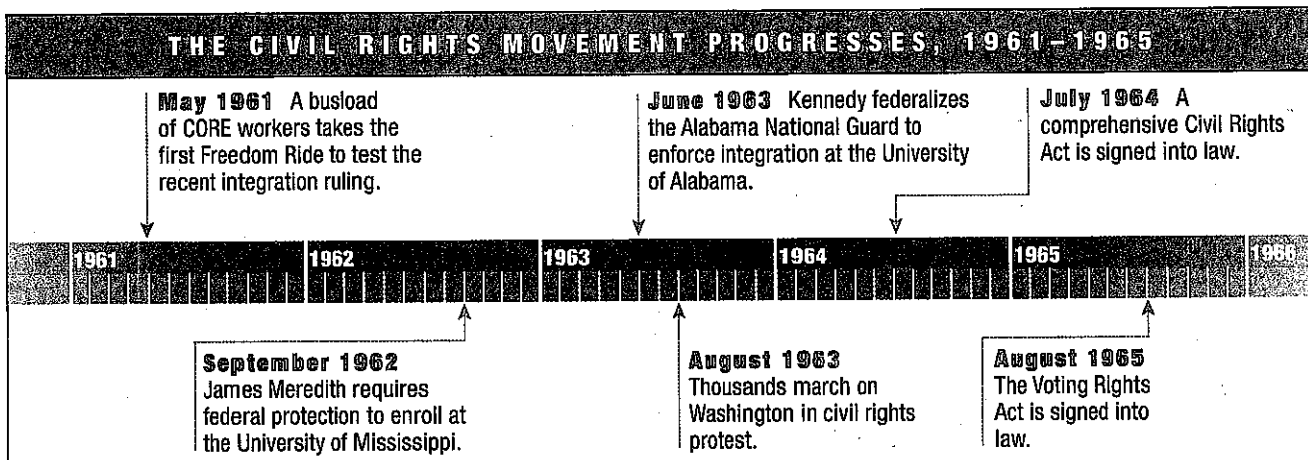
up to that time. It met the demands of the civil rights activists in several key ways. For example, the civil rights movement had protested the forced exclusion or separation of African Americans and whites in public places. Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act forbade segregation in hotels, motels, restaurants, lunch counters, theaters, and sporting arenas that did business in interstate commerce. As a result, most businesses in Southern cities and large towns desegregated immediately after passage of the Civil Rights Act. The act also relieved individuals of the responsibility for bringing discrimination complaints to court. The act made bringing discrimination cases the job of the federal government.

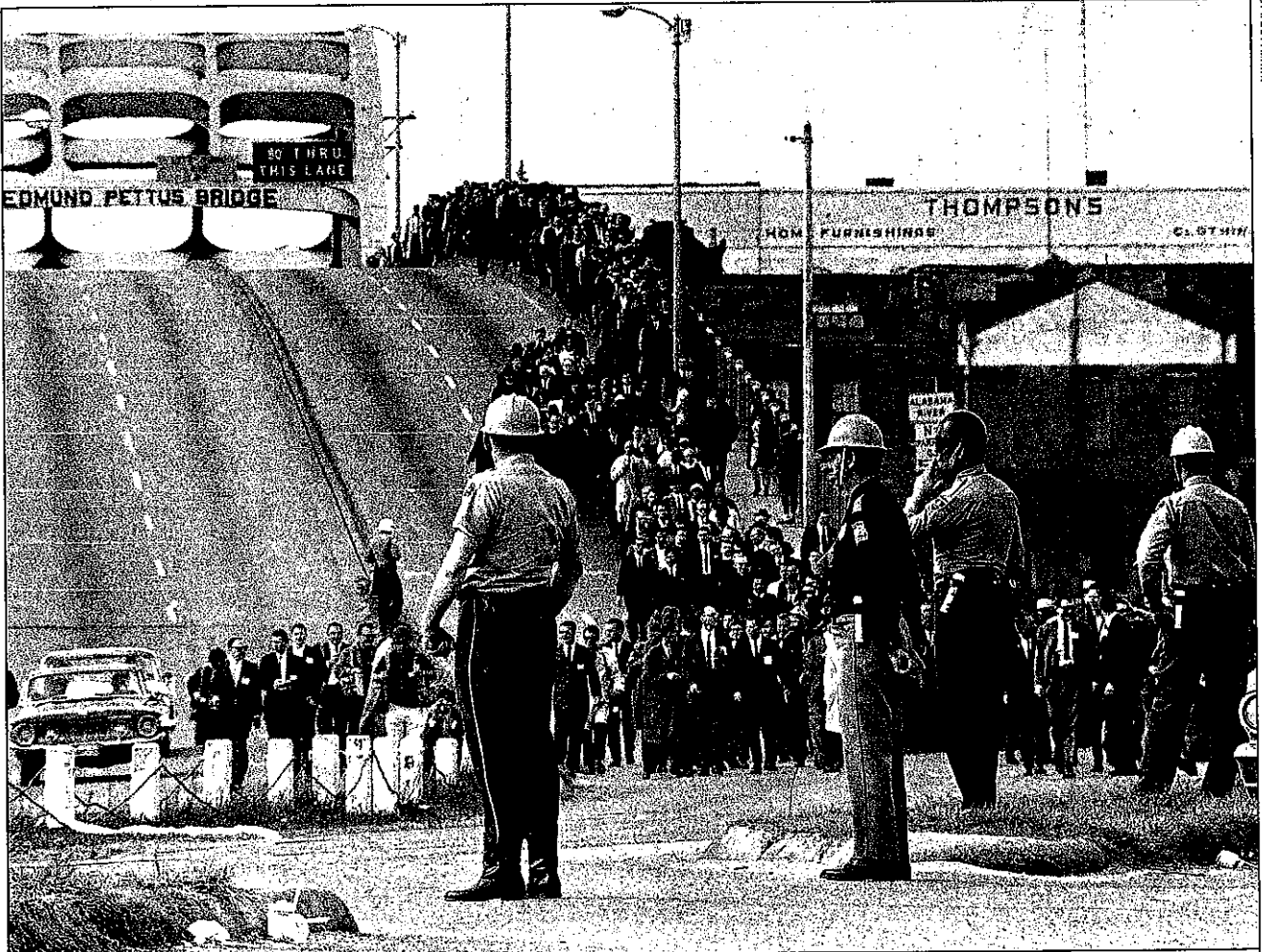
Protest in Selma

The passage of the Civil Rights Act did not mean that the work of the civil rights movement was over. Legislation still did not exist to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, which forbids any state from depriving citizens of the right to vote because of race. King decided to force this issue by mounting another campaign of nonviolent resistance, this time in Selma, Alabama. At the start of King's campaign there, only 383 African American citizens out of a possible 15,000 were registered.

Selma was an excellent choice for another reason as well. After Birmingham, King had begun to rely increasingly on the power of television and newspapers to reach the conscience of America. Selma had in the person of its sheriff, Jim Clark, a civil rights antagonist who rivaled Birmingham's Bull Connor for ruthlessness.

After 2 months of beatings, arrests, and 1 murder, civil rights leaders in Selma announced a climactic protest march from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery, 54 miles (87 km) away. Though Governor George Wallace banned the march, Hosea Williams, who was King's chief aide in Selma, and John Lewis, a SNCC leader, decided to defy Wallace and march anyway.





Push for Enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment At Edmund Pettus Bridge civil rights activists in Alabama met violence—and won sympathy for their cause. *How did the troopers drive the marchers back?*

On March 7, 1965, Williams and Lewis led 600 demonstrators onto the Edmund Pettus Bridge outside Selma on the way to Montgomery. Sheriff Clark's deputies lined both sides of the bridge, and 100 state troopers blocked the opposite end.

The leader of the troopers gave the marchers two minutes to disperse, then set upon them with tear gas and clubs, driving them back to Selma and into the reach of Sheriff Clark's men.

Sheyann Webb remembered her experience as an eight-year-old marcher:

I saw those horsemen coming toward me and they had those awful masks on; they rode right through the cloud of tear gas. Some of them had clubs, others had ropes or whips, which they swung about them like they were driving cattle. . . .

I began running and not seeing where I was going. I remember being scared that I might fall over the railing and into the water. . . . I heard more horses and I turned back and saw two of them and the riders were leaning over to one side. It was like a

nightmare seeing it through the tears. I just knew then that I was going to die. . . .

—Sheyann Webb, from *Selma, Lord, Selma: Girlhood Memories of the Civil Rights Days*, by Sheyann Webb and Rachel West Nelson, as told to Frank Sikora

Governor George Wallace had different memories:

As Major Cloud tells the story, he gave no orders to attack, and because of the noise of the melee it was almost impossible to hear commands. When it was over, there were mercifully no serious injuries—and no deaths. But this was not at all the way I had wanted things to turn out. I was saddened and angry.

—George C. Wallace, *Stand Up for America*

King, who had been out of town for the Sunday march, returned to lead a second one on March 9. When he reached the middle of the bridge, he halted, led the marchers in prayer, and sang “We Shall Overcome.” Then, to the astonishment of his followers, he wheeled around and led the marchers back to Selma.

No one knew that King had reluctantly agreed, at the request of the Johnson administration, not to complete the march. King needed the support of the President. In addition, he felt that the first bloody march had accomplished its purpose.

Once again public opinion in the North rallied to King's cause, and once again a President moved to join him. On March 15, 1965, in an emotional televised speech to Congress, Johnson promised to send a bill to Congress that would guarantee African Americans the most basic right of citizenship—the right to vote. Finally on March 21, the march from Selma to Montgomery, already twice turned back, proceeded peacefully under the protection of the federalized Alabama National Guard.

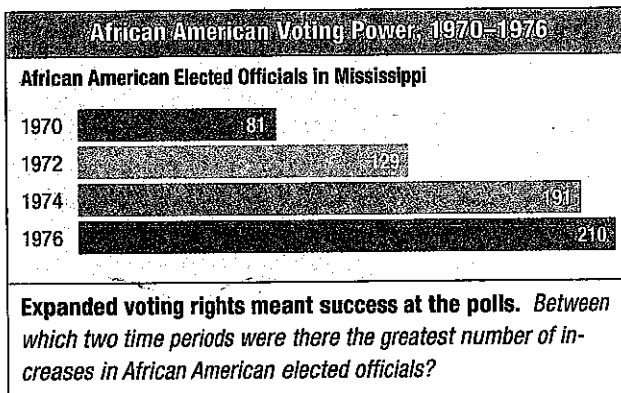
The Voting Rights Act of 1965

At Selma the civil rights movement protested laws designed to prevent African Americans from voting. Of special concern were literacy tests, which were used to deny African Americans the right to vote in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and 39 counties of North Carolina.



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Voter Registration These Mississippi residents get help registering to vote. How did African Americans use their new political power?



The 1965 Voting Rights Act provided that if literacy or other similar tests were used, and if less than 50 percent of the voting-age citizens were registered, then racial discrimination could be presumed. In such cases literacy tests were automatically suspended, and eligible African American citizens were allowed to enroll whether or not they could read. The act further provided that if local registrars would not enroll African Americans, the President could send federal examiners who would.

As a result of the act, 740,000 African American voters registered to vote in 3 years. They used their new political power to help win elections for hundreds of African American officials. African Americans also used their power to help defeat Selma Sheriff Jim Clark, who lost his reelection campaign to a racial moderate.

SECTION ASSESSMENT

Main Idea

- Use a chart like this one to show key civil rights confrontations during the years 1961 to 1965 and the presidential response to each confrontation.

| Civil Rights Confrontation | Presidential Response |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| | |

Vocabulary

- Define: enfranchisement, militant, filibuster.

Checking Facts

- How did politics and actions by militants help shape Kennedy's civil rights policies?
- How did Johnson exert leadership in the civil rights struggle after Kennedy's death?

Critical Thinking

- Determining Cause and Effect** How do you think the media affected Kennedy's views on segregation?

Disappointed Hopes

JUNE 1966: KING AND SNCC MARCH TOGETHER ONE LAST TIME

WHAT BEGAN IN JUNE 1966 AS A SOLO MARCH THROUGH MISSISSIPPI IN DEMONSTRATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS' RIGHT TO VOTE TURNED INTO ONE LAST MARCH IN UNITY. After that the civil rights movement disintegrated into separate factions with radically different goals, ideals, and strategies.

James Meredith, who in 1962 became the first African American to attend the University of Mississippi, undertook the 220-mile (354-km) walk to demonstrate African Americans' right to vote and their right to move without fear through the state. When he fell wounded on the roadside, his back full of buckshot, civil rights workers rushed to Mississippi to complete his march.

During the day they trudged down U.S. Highway 51 arm in arm: Martin Luther King, Jr., of SCLC; Floyd McKissick, of CORE; and Stokely Carmichael, of SNCC.



©BOB FITCH/BLACK STAR

Split Emerges
Stokely Carmichael speaks out.

As they stopped to speak in courthouse squares, King and Carmichael preached two separate gospels.

King, despite the increasing numbers of killings and assaults, continued to call on his followers to answer violence with nonviolence. The SNCC and CORE marchers, however, had given up on nonviolence and sang a new tune. When King and his supporters began their theme song, "We Shall Overcome," they were

often drowned out by the militants' new version, "We Shall Overrun."

The climactic moment came in Greenwood. Carmichael, just released from a few hours in jail for erecting a tent against a state trooper's orders, leaped onto a flatbed truck and raised his hand in a clenched-fist salute. "This is the twenty-seventh time I have been arrested—and I ain't going to jail no more," he shouted.

GUIDE TO READING

Main Idea

Disappointed by the slow pace of change, some African Americans adopted different strategies for gaining equality, causing splits within the civil rights movement.

Vocabulary

- ▶ martyr
- ▶ black separatism
- ▶ black pride
- ▶ black power

Read to Find Out . . .

- ▶ how splits developed in the civil rights movement and why some African Americans turned to radical protests.
- ▶ the causes of rioting in northern cities during the mid-1960s.

"We been saying freedom for six years and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start saying now is Black Power!" King tried to calm the crowd, but the new cry of "Black Power" drowned out his call of "Freedom Now!" By the time the march reached Jackson, Mississippi, the new call had replaced the old one.

New Directions in Civil Rights

African Americans Turn to Radical Protest

The change in direction in SNCC had been in the making for a long time. In the early 1960s the students shared in the ideal of a new, better American society. After the 1964 and 1965 civil rights acts, when the new laws were not immediately enforced, SNCC volunteers became disillusioned. Indeed, the progress that did occur seemed to come at enormous cost. One **martyr**, or person who dies in the name of an important cause, followed another: the four young girls killed when their church was bombed in Birmingham in 1963; the three civil rights workers shot in Mississippi in 1964; and on and on. As time went on, SNCC leaders began to discuss



Seeking Political Support Fannie Lou Hamer (center) and two other MFDP candidates visit the Capitol. What was the result of their efforts?

three key issues: the role that white volunteers should play within the organization; a growing movement among some African Americans toward **black separatism**, or the separation of the races in America; and the continued use of nonviolence as a strategy for change.

SNCC's efforts to work within the political system also left members disillusioned. In 1964 the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), a grassroots group that SNCC supported, asked to be recognized at the national Democratic party convention as the legitimate Democratic party in the state. They challenged the regular Democratic party principally on the grounds that fewer than 5 percent of the African American population in the state was allowed to vote.

President Johnson, however, was not sympathetic to the MFDP. He did not want the convention distracted from its main job of enthusiastically supporting his policies. Also, he did not want to risk sending white Southern Democrats in flight to the Republican party. Johnson assigned Minnesota senator Hubert Humphrey the job of sidetracking the MFDP challenge, suggesting that at stake might be the vice-presidential nomination that Humphrey was hoping for.

The compromise Humphrey pushed through gave the MFDP only 2 of the 40 Mississippi seats. SNCC and MFDP members, who had risked their lives by openly challenging the local regular Democrats, felt the white liberals at the convention had let them down. Fannie Lou Hamer, sharecropper and member of the MFDP, summed it up by exclaiming, "We didn't come all this way for no two votes."

Black Pride

The success of the civil rights movements in the early 1960s gave rise to **black pride**, a pride in being African American. Ralph Bunche, famous for his skills as a diplomat, wrote in 1961, "I am confident that I reflect accurately the views of virtually all Negro Americans when I say that I am proud of my ancestry, just as I am proud of my nationality." Other African American leaders also recognized the importance of black pride, as well as the harm done by the feelings of inferiority that had long afflicted African Americans. Malcolm X, a strong African American leader, bitterly recalled his youthful efforts at straightening his hair in order to look more like a white person:

This was my first big step toward self-degradation: when I endured all of that pain, literally burning my flesh to have it look like a white man's hair. I had joined that multitude of Negro men and women in America who are brainwashed into believing that the black people are "inferior"—and white people "superior."

—Malcolm X, *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, 1965

1966 election. It was, however, a bold attempt to seize political power, or **black power** as it was called. The symbol used for the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was a black panther about to spring.

The Long, Hot Summers

Riots Erupt in Northern Cities

Although civil rights activists fought their major campaigns in the South, the pattern of segregation was not confined to states that belonged to the former Confederacy. It was a growing frustration among African Americans over conditions in the North that led to some of the most dramatic and tragic confrontations of the 1960s.

The migration to Northern cities that began in the early 1900s had by 1965 resulted in the relocation of some 3 million Southern African Americans. More than two-thirds of the total African American population were now urban dwellers. Of these, more than half were concentrated in just 12 cities.

Perhaps more than in the South, life in Northern cities bred frustration among many African Americans. Problems of poverty, unemployment, and racial discrimination followed the migrants as they fled the South. The empty promise of racial equality in the North ignited a smoldering fire of rage in many African American communities. The following poem by Langston Hughes, written in 1951, captures the emotions of many city-dwelling African Americans of the mid-1960s:

What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up

like a raisin in the sun?

Or fester like a sore—

And then run?

Does it stink like rotten meat?

Or crust and sugar over—

like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags

like a heavy load.

Or does it explode?

—Langston Hughes, "Harlem," 1951

Watts, First of a Series

The arrest for a traffic violation of the young African American in the Los Angeles ghetto should have been routine. Perhaps it was the warm, humid August weather that drew people onto the streets. Or perhaps it was the time,

7:00 P.M., still early enough in the evening to attract a restless crowd.

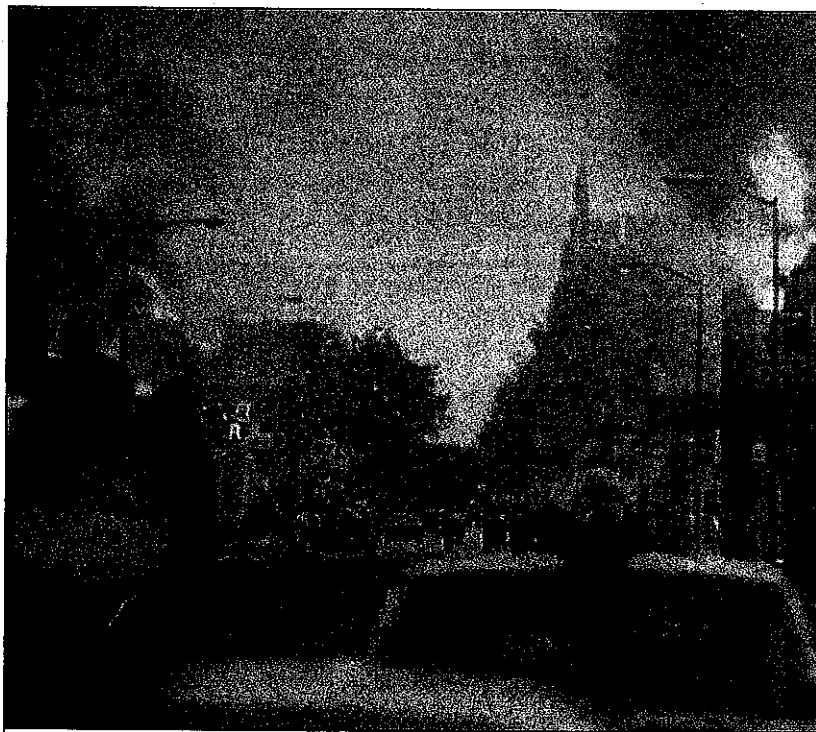
For whatever reason, that simple arrest in Watts on August 11, 1965, exploded into a major riot that lasted 6 days. Before it was over, 34 people were dead, 1,072 were injured, and 4,000 had been arrested. Close to 1,000 buildings were damaged or destroyed, with a property loss that totaled nearly \$40 million.

The Watts riot was the first, but not the most destructive, of a series of racial disorders that hit cities throughout the United States in the summers of 1965, 1966, and 1967. Like some kind of seasonal plague, a fever of rage, looting, and arson seemed to erupt in one crowded city after another.

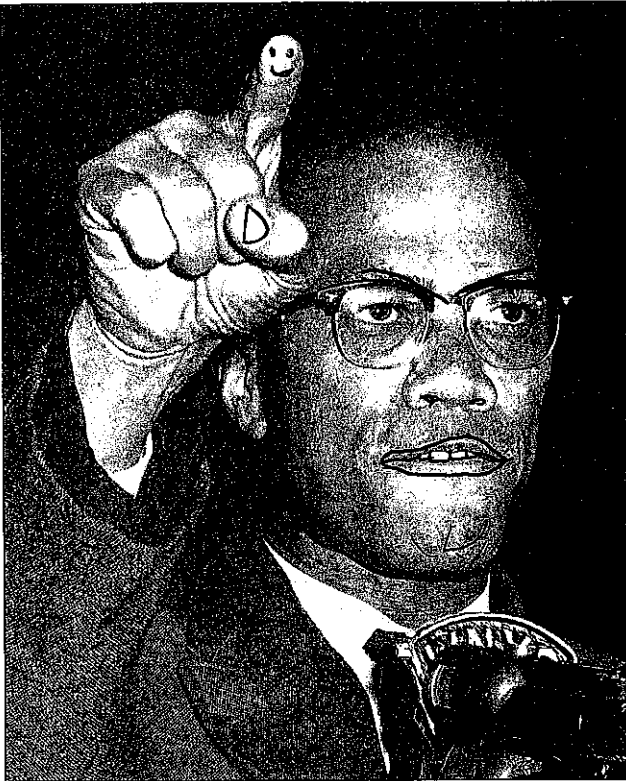
Many of the riots began in similar ways, with an arrest or a police raid that was followed by rumors of resistance and police brutality. The numbers of men, women, and children involved were immense: there were 30,000 rioters in Watts, while another 60,000 milled about in the streets; in the 1967 Detroit, Michigan, riot, 7,000 people were arrested.

Typically, looters headed for white-owned businesses, stripping them clean of merchandise, then setting fire to the buildings. Some stores escaped destruction by putting up signs that read Negro Owned or Blood (meaning African American). Nevertheless, African American-owned businesses were often destroyed. As the fires burned, snipers prevented firefighters from

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Violence Erupts The riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles in 1965 were the first of many to break out in cities in the United States. *What sparked the riots in Watts?*



PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY A. LORENZ

Differences Deepen The growing movement for black separatism and militancy, led by people such as Malcolm X, unsettled many white people. What did black separatists propose as the best way of achieving their goal of black separatism?

As the 1960s progressed, younger and more race-conscious African Americans adopted natural “Afro” haircuts and put on African-inspired dashikis in place of shirts and ties. The new pride was reflected also in language, music, lifestyle, and many other aspects of African American culture. Even the words that African Americans used to describe themselves changed. The term *Negro*, used for years by many prominent leaders, was abandoned because of its evocation of the slave trade. The word *colored* was rejected as not being sufficiently precise. The new preferred term was the simple adjective *black*, turned into a noun.

Sometimes the powerful desire of African Americans to proclaim their own self-worth was expressed in anti-white feelings. This was part of the reason that some SNCC workers raised in their planning group the troublesome question of the role of white volunteers.

Some within SNCC argued that white college-trained workers thoughtlessly took over the jobs that African Americans with little schooling were just learning to do. Moreover, some accused white volunteers of being insensitive to the local conditions under which African Americans lived. “Let the whites go fight racism in their own communities,” they said. Others, however, pointed out the sacrifices and efforts that white SNCC workers made. Some activists protested that by exclud-

ing whites, SNCC itself could be accused of racism. Ultimately, the new view won, and the white workers were asked to give up leadership positions in SNCC.

Malcolm X and Black Separatism

Emerging African American pride was one factor in the move toward black separatism. According to the promoters of black separatism, this could best be achieved by African Americans returning to Africa or by their occupying an exclusive area within the United States on land that the federal government supplied to them.

Black separatism was the antithesis of the civil rights movement’s goal of racial integration. It was a view promoted by, among others, the Nation of Islam, a subgroup of the Islamic religion commonly known as the Black Muslims.

The most vocal Black Muslim was Malcolm X. A brilliant and bold orator, Malcolm X preached a message that included religious justification for black separatism. He was ousted from the Nation of Islam in a fight over leadership and went on a pilgrimage to the Islamic holy city of Makkah. There he was exposed to more traditional Islamic religious teachings, which do not include racial separatism. On his return to the United States, he softened his views on the separation of blacks and whites. On February 21, 1965, three members of the Nation of Islam assassinated Malcolm X as he spoke in Harlem.

Though Malcolm X’s views on separatism gradually softened toward the end of his life, he never supported King’s nonviolent methods. Instead, he advocated the use of weapons for self-defense, believing that African American nonviolence simply emboldened violent white racists. Shortly before his death, Malcolm X pointed out in a speech at Selma, “The white people should thank Dr. King for holding black people in check.”

SNCC’s New Leadership

The rhetoric of Malcolm X lived on long after his death and influenced SNCC members and other young militants. The final turnaround in SNCC’s orientation came in 1966 with the election of Stokely Carmichael as chairman.

Carmichael was arrested many times during Freedom Rides, sit-ins, and marches. Jailers were happy to see him go because he was never reluctant to argue with them over the condition of mattresses and other jail comforts. Once, when six other Riders were put in solitary confinement, he banged on his cell door asking for equal treatment, which he finally received.

One of Carmichael’s projects during his leadership of SNCC was the formation of an African American political party in Lowndes County in Alabama. The party failed to put any of its candidates into office in the

1966 election. It was, however, a bold attempt to seize political power, or **black power** as it was called. The symbol used for the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was a black panther about to spring.

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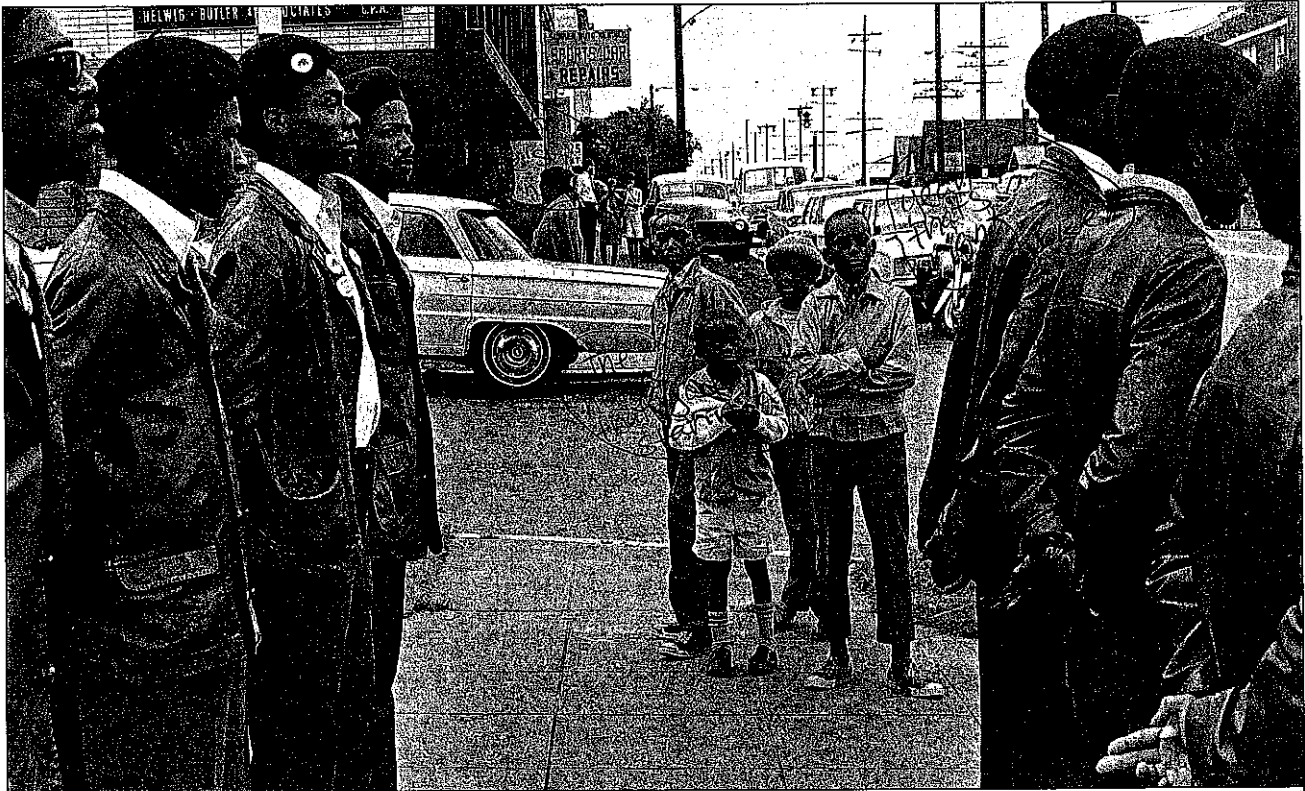
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JOHN T. CLARK/BLACK STAR

The Panthers Members of the Black Panther party attend the funeral of one of their members in Seattle, Washington. *In what way did the Black Panthers differ from other groups of African Americans at the time?*

doing their work. As a result, whole blocks were left to burn. In Watts in 1965, and again in Detroit in 1967, National Guard troops were sent in to help local police. While the riots were raging, a new African American political group appeared. In 1966 the Black Panther party was formed in Oakland, California. Its goals included protecting African American communities from police harassment and assuming neighborhood control of police, schools, and other services. The Black Panthers differed significantly from other African American groups in that they supported the use of weapons for self-defense and retaliation.

Reasons Why

During the first 9 months of 1967, more than 150 cities in the United States reported incidents of racial disorders. In Newark, New Jersey, and in Detroit, Michigan, the incidents erupted into full-scale riots.

To identify and address the causes of the riots, President Johnson appointed a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois. The Kerner Report, as the commission's findings came to be known, was released in March 1968. As a basic cause of the rioting, the Kerner Report pointed to the "racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans." This could be visible, the report said, in patterns of racial discrimination and

prejudice, in African American migration to the cities followed by white flight to the suburbs, and in the existence of African American ghettos. The report cited three triggers for the racial violence: frustrated hopes of African Americans; the approval and encouragement of violence, both by white terrorists and by some African American protest groups; and the sense many African Americans had of being powerless in a society dominated by whites.

The Kerner Report concluded that "the nation is rapidly moving toward two increasingly separate Americas." To divert that move, the report recommended the elimination of all racial barriers in jobs, education, and housing; greater public response to problems of racial minorities; and increased communication across racial lines.

One More Assassination

The Death of King

The Kerner Report did not end race riots in the United States. One more outburst of rage swept through nearly 130 ghettos following the April 4, 1968, death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., at the hands of a white assassin. The 39-year-old minister was shot while stand-

ing on a balcony with friends in Memphis, Tennessee.

The acceptance of violence as a means of social protest continued to concern King up until his death. Protesters against the war in Vietnam had long been pressing him to come out with an antiwar statement. The issue was not only the war itself but also its financial cost, which was at the expense, many thought, of the war against poverty at home.

King was reluctant to oppose Johnson, a stand he knew would be unpopular among many of his supporters. The logic of his commitment to nonviolence, however, demanded it. Finally, in 1967 he began to make speeches denouncing the war. He declared that "the promises of the Great Society," the name given Johnson's social program, "have been shot down on the battlefield of Vietnam."

King did lose many supporters because of his antiwar statements. Partly in an effort to rebuild his political strength, he turned toward organizing an interracial coalition of the poor. His final trip to Memphis was to rally support for the mostly African American garbage collectors who were attempting to unionize.

The night before his death King spoke at a church rally. He might have had a premonition when he said, "We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop." King went on to say, "I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight . . . that we as a people will get to the promised land!"

The Movement Appraised

Civil Rights Gains

Without strong leadership in the years following King's death, the civil rights movement floundered. Middle-class Americans, both African American and white, tired of the violence and the struggle. The war in Vietnam and crime in the streets at home became the new issues at the forefront of the nation's consciousness.

In retrospect, the 14 years between the Supreme Court's momentous *Brown* decision and King's death were years of great progress in civil rights. Not since the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments during Reconstruction had so many gains been made. For this reason, these years are sometimes called the Second Reconstruction. Some civil rights leaders today fear that, as in the original Reconstruction, hard-won victories will gradually slip away. To guard against this, civil rights groups remain vigilant in their quest for progress.



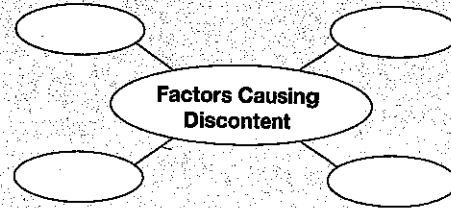
Leadership Void Coretta Scott King mourns the death of her husband. How did King's death affect the civil rights movement?

Because of the combined efforts of state and federal legislatures, the courts, and the people themselves, some measure of political power was given to African Americans. The next gains would have to come through the political process. Meanwhile, other minorities who also thought of themselves as disenfranchised looked to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and the 1960s as a model for their own efforts.

SECTION ASSESSMENT

Main Idea

1. Use a diagram like this one to show the factors that helped cause discontent within the civil rights movement.



Vocabulary

2. Define: martyr, black separatism, black pride, black power.

Checking Facts

3. In what ways did the militant civil rights groups disagree with the strategies and attitudes of Martin Luther King, Jr.?
4. Describe the racial unrest that spread to major cities in the North during the mid-1960s.

Critical Thinking

5. **Predicting Consequences** What do you think would have happened in the civil rights movement had King not been assassinated?

Chapter

20

Assessment



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Odyssey* Web site at americanodyssey.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 20—Self-Check Quiz** to prepare for the Chapter Test.

Reviewing Key Terms

On a separate sheet of paper, write the number of each phrase and the term it describes.

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| segregation | civil rights |
| boycott | militant |
| sit-in | enfranchisement |

- the attainment of the rights of citizenship, especially the right to vote
- the political, economic, and social rights of a citizen
- the enforced separation of racial groups in schools, housing, and public areas
- one who aggressively pursues or defends a cause
- an organized agreement not to use certain goods or services in order to exert pressure for change

Recalling Facts

- What was the major issue at the start of the civil rights movement?
- What principle was overturned in *Brown v. Board of Education*?
- What do the acronyms NAACP, SNCC, CORE, and SCLC stand for? What kinds of groups were these?
- What techniques were used to keep African American citizens from registering to vote?
- What did John Kennedy say about civil rights during his campaign for the presidency? What did he say at his inauguration? Why did he change his mind?

6. Who were the Freedom Riders, and what was the purpose of the Freedom Rides?

7. How did Lyndon Johnson show support of civil rights issues both before and during his presidency?

8. What was the Kerner Report? What did it identify as the causes of urban violence? What recommendations did it make?

Critical Thinking

1. Determining Cause and Effect

In the mid-1960s, most people in the United States watched the evening news on television. Why was this custom significant to the civil rights movement?

2. **Predicting Consequences** If the Supreme Court had given definite guidelines for carrying out school desegregation early on and if President Eisenhower had taken an early stand for desegregation, how do you think desegregation might have progressed? Explain.

3. **Recognizing Points of View** Use a diagram like this one to describe how Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., differed in their views on how to combat racism.



Standardized Test Practice

1. Which of the following was the result of the other three?

- A In some places, state and local laws upheld racial segregation.
- B Congress passed a new civil rights act and a new voting rights act.
- C Several civil rights groups were organized.
- D Some state and local governments barred African Americans from voting.

2. "We have never initiated violence against anyone, but we do believe that when violence is practiced against us we should be able to defend ourselves. We don't believe in turning the other cheek."

This quote best reflects the ideas of

- A Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
- B Rosa Parks.
- C Malcolm X.
- D Ella J. Baker.

Test-Taking Tip: This question asks you to identify a cause-and-effect relationship. One event was caused by the other three. Remember that racial segregation and restrictions on voting were two major causes of the civil rights movement, so you can rule out answers A and D.

Test-Taking Tip: Remember the methods that each of these speakers used to challenge racial injustice. For example, Dr. King supported nonviolent resistance, or refusing to fight, even if provoked. So you can eliminate answer A.