

The Civil Rights Movement

1954–1968

- SECTION 1** The Movement Begins
- SECTION 2** Challenging Segregation
- SECTION 3** New Civil Rights Issues

Martin Luther King, Jr., and his wife Coretta lead the civil rights march in Selma, Alabama, 1965.

Eisenhower
1953–1961



- 1954**
- *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling is issued



- 1955**
- Montgomery bus boycott begins in Alabama

- 1957**
- Eisenhower sends troops to Little Rock to ensure integration of a high school

- 1960**
- Sit-in protests begin

Kennedy
1961–1963



- 1963**
- The March on Washington, D.C., is held to support the Civil Rights bill

U.S. PRESIDENTS

U.S. EVENTS

WORLD EVENTS

1953

1957

1961

- 1955**
- West Germany is admitted to NATO

- 1957**
- Russia launches Sputnik into orbit

- 1960**
- France successfully tests nuclear weapons

- 1962**
- Cuban missile crisis erupts

MAKING CONNECTIONS

What Causes Societies to Change?

The civil rights movement gained momentum rapidly after World War II. Decisions by the Supreme Court combined with massive protests by civil rights groups and new federal legislation to finally end racial segregation and disenfranchisement in the United States more than 70 years after Southern states had put it in place.

- *Why do you think the civil rights movement made gains in postwar America? What strategies were most effective in winning the battle for civil rights?*



Johnson
1963–1969



1964

- Civil Rights Act of 1964 passes

1965

- Voting Rights Act passes
- Malcolm X is assassinated



1968

- Civil Rights Act of 1968 is passed
- Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated

1965

1965

- China's Cultural Revolution begins

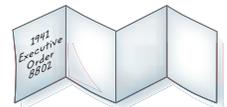
1969

1967

- Arab-Israeli War brings many Palestinians under Israeli rule

FOLDABLES

Sequencing Civil Rights Events Create an Accordion Book Foldable to gather information on a time line about various events of the civil rights movement. As you read the chapter, complete the time line by filling in events for roughly 20 years, starting with Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 of June, 1941. The time line should include brief notes on each event.



History ONLINE Chapter Overview
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Thurgood Marshall

1908–1993

Over his lifetime, Thurgood Marshall made many contributions to the civil rights movement. Perhaps his most famous accomplishment was representing the NAACP in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case.

Marshall's speaking style was simple and direct. During the *Brown* case, Justice Frankfurter asked Marshall for a definition of *equal*. Marshall replied: "Equal means getting the same thing, at the same time and in the same place."

Born into a middle-class Baltimore family in 1908, Marshall earned a law degree from Howard University Law School. The school's dean, Charles Hamilton Houston, enlisted Marshall to work for the NAACP. Together, the two laid out the legal strategy for challenging discrimination in many areas of American life. In 1935 Marshall won his first case regarding segregation in state institutions. The decision forced the University of Maryland to integrate. Marshall went on to win 29 of the 32 cases he argued before the Supreme Court, and became known as "Mr. Civil Rights." In 1967 Marshall became the first African American to serve on the Supreme Court, where he continued to be a voice for civil rights. In his view, the Constitution was not perfect, because it had accepted slavery. "The true miracle of the Constitution," he once wrote, "was not the birth of the Constitution, but its life."

How did Thurgood Marshall contribute to the civil rights movement?

After the *Plessy* decision, laws segregating African Americans and whites spread quickly. These laws, nicknamed "Jim Crow" laws, segregated buses, trains, schools, restaurants, pools, parks, and other public facilities. Usually the "Jim Crow" facilities provided for African Americans were of poorer quality than those provided for whites. Areas without laws requiring segregation often had **de facto segregation**—segregation by custom and tradition.

Court Challenges Begin

The civil rights movement had been building for a long time. Since 1909, the NAACP had supported court cases intended to overturn segregation. Over the years, the NAACP achieved some victories. In 1935, for example, the Supreme Court ruled in *Norris v. Alabama* that Alabama's exclusion of African Americans from juries violated their right to equal protection under the law. In 1946 the Court ruled in *Morgan v. Virginia* that segregation on interstate buses



The NAACP's Legal Strategy in Action

Even before the famous *Brown v. Board of Education* case, Thurgood Marshall had won several cases for the NAACP that chipped away at segregation in the South.

Smith v. Allwright (1944): Political parties cannot deny voting rights in party primaries on the basis of race.

Shelley v. Kraemer (1948): States cannot enforce private agreements to discriminate on the basis of race in the sale of property.

Sweatt v. Painter (1950): Law schools segregated by race are inherently unequal.

was unconstitutional. In 1950 it ruled in *Sweatt v. Painter* that state law schools had to admit qualified African American applicants, even if parallel black law schools existed.

New Political Power

In addition to a string of court victories, African Americans enjoyed increased political power. Before World War I, most African Americans lived in the South, where they were largely excluded from voting. During the Great Migration, many moved to Northern cities, where they were allowed to vote. Increasingly, Northern politicians sought their votes and listened to their concerns.

During the 1930s, many African Americans benefited from FDR's New Deal programs and began supporting the Democratic Party. This gave the party new strength in the North. This wing of the party was now able to counter Southern Democrats, who often supported segregation.

The Push for Desegregation

During World War II, African American leaders began to use their political power to demand more rights. Their efforts helped end discrimination in wartime factories and increased opportunities for African Americans in the military.

In Chicago in 1942, James Farmer and George Houser founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). CORE began using **sit-ins**, a form of protest first used by union workers in the 1930s. In 1943 CORE attempted to desegregate restaurants that refused to serve African Americans. Using the sit-in strategy, members of CORE went to segregated restaurants. If they were denied service, they sat down and refused to leave. The sit-ins were intended to shame restaurant managers into integrating their restaurants. Using these protests, CORE successfully integrated many restaurants, theaters, and other public facilities in Northern cities including Chicago, Detroit, Denver, and Syracuse.

Brown v. Board of Education

After World War II, the NAACP continued to challenge segregation in the courts. From 1939 to 1961, the NAACP's chief counsel and director of its Legal Defense and Education Fund was the brilliant African American attorney **Thurgood Marshall**. After the war, Marshall focused his efforts on ending segregation in public schools.

In 1954 the Supreme Court decided to combine several cases and issue a general ruling on segregation in schools. One of the cases involved a young African American girl named **Linda Brown**, who was denied admission to her neighborhood school in Topeka, Kansas, because of her race. She was told to attend an all-black school across town. With the help of the NAACP, her parents then sued the Topeka school board.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional and violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Chief Justice Earl Warren summed up the Court's decision, declaring: "In the field of public education, the doctrine of separate

but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Southern Resistance

The Brown decision marked a dramatic reversal of the precedent established in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case. *Brown v. Board of Education* applied only to public schools, but the ruling threatened the entire system of segregation. Although it convinced many African Americans that the time had come to challenge segregation, it also angered many white Southerners, who became even more determined to defend segregation, regardless of what the Supreme Court ruled.

Although some school districts in border states integrated their schools, anger and opposition was a far more common reaction. In Washington, D.C., Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia called on Southerners to adopt "massive resistance" against the ruling. Across the South, hundreds of thousands of white Americans joined citizens' councils to pressure their local governments and school boards into defying the Supreme Court. Many states adopted pupil assignment laws. These laws established elaborate requirements other than race that schools could use to prevent African Americans from attending white schools.

The Supreme Court inadvertently encouraged white resistance when it followed up its decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* a year later. The Court ordered school districts to proceed "with all deliberate speed" to end school segregation. The wording was vague enough that many districts were able to keep their schools segregated for many more years.

Massive resistance also appeared in the halls of Congress. In 1956 a group of 101 Southern members of Congress signed the "Southern Manifesto," which denounced the Supreme Court's ruling as "a clear abuse of judicial power" and pledged to use "all lawful means" to reverse the decision. Although the "Southern Manifesto" had no legal standing, the statement encouraged white Southerners to defy the Supreme Court. Not until 1969 did the Supreme Court order all school systems to desegregate "at once" and operate integrated schools "now and hereafter."

 **Examining** Why was the ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* so important?



To better understand the court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, read an excerpt from the Court's ruling on page R55 in **Documents in American History**.



Is Segregation Unconstitutional?

★ *Brown v. Board of Education, 1954*

Background to the Cases

One of the most important Supreme Court cases in American history began in 1952, when the Supreme Court agreed to hear the NAACP's case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, along with three other cases. They all dealt with the question of whether the principle "separate but equal" established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* was constitutional with regard to public schools.

How the Court Ruled

In a unanimous decision in 1954, the Court ruled in favor of Linda Brown and the other plaintiffs. In doing so, it overruled *Plessy v. Ferguson* and rejected the idea that equivalent but separate schools for African American and white students were constitutional. The Court held that racial segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause because "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The Court's rejection of "separate but equal" was a major victory for the civil rights movement and led to the overturning of laws requiring segregation in other public places.

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Court's Opinion

"In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. We come then to the question presented: 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 the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does."

—Chief Justice Earl Warren writing for the Court in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*



▲ The children involved in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case are shown in this 1953 photograph. They are, from front to back, Vicki Henderson, Donald Henderson, Linda Brown (of the case title), James Emanuel, Nancy Todd, and Katherine Carper. Together, their cases led to the Supreme Court decreeing that public schools could not be segregated on the basis of race.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Dissenting Views

"We regard the decisions of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. . . . In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the 14th Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the States provided separate but equal facilities. . . . This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the States and confirmed their habits, traditions, and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and commonsense, for parents should not be deprived by Government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children."

—from the "Southern Manifesto"

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Explaining** Why did the Supreme Court find in favor of Linda Brown?
- 2. Drawing Conclusions** What is the main argument against the *Brown* decision in the excerpt from the "Southern Manifesto"?
- 3. Making Inferences** Do you think that the authors of the "Southern Manifesto" were including African Americans in the last sentence of the excerpt? Why or why not?

The Civil Rights Movement Begins

MAIN Idea The *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling ignited protest and encouraged African Americans to challenge other forms of segregation.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think that one person has the power to change things for the better? Read on to learn how the courage and hard work of individuals helped reform society.

In the midst of the uproar over the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, Rosa Parks made her decision to challenge segregation of public transportation. Outraged by Parks's arrest, Jo Ann Robinson, head of a local organization called the Women's Political Council, called on African Americans to boycott Montgomery's buses on the day Rosa Parks appeared in court.

The boycott marked the start of a new era of the civil rights movement among African Americans. Instead of limiting the fight for their rights to court cases, African Americans in large numbers began organizing protests, defying laws that required segregation, and demanding they be treated as equal to whites.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

The Montgomery bus boycott was a dramatic success. On the afternoon of Rosa Parks's court appearance, several African American leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to run the boycott and to negotiate with city leaders for an end to segregation. They elected a 26-year-old pastor named **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, to lead them.

On the evening of December 5, 1955, a meeting was held at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, where Dr. King was the pastor. In the deep, resonant tones and powerful phrases that characterized his speaking style, King encouraged the people to continue their protest. "There comes a time, my friends," he said, "when people get tired of being thrown into the abyss of humiliation, where they experience the bleakness of nagging despair." He cautioned, however, that the protest had to be peaceful:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Now let us say that we are not advocating violence. . . . The only weapon we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest. If we were incarcerated behind the iron curtains of a communistic nation—we couldn't do this. If we were trapped in the dungeon of a totalitarian regime—we couldn't do this. But the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right!"

—quoted in *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years*

King had earned a Ph.D. in theology from Boston University. He believed that the only moral way to end segregation and racism was through nonviolent passive resistance. He told his followers, "We must use the weapon of love. We must realize that so many people are taught to hate us that they are not totally responsible for their hate." African Americans, he urged, must say to racists: "We will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer, and in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process."

Turning Point

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

The act of one tired woman on a bus and the subsequent bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, brought civil rights out of the legal arena and turned it into a struggle in which ordinary Americans realized that they could make a difference. Rosa Parks's refusal to give up her seat on the bus to a white man showed that even small acts of defiance could empower people to create change.

The Montgomery bus boycott, which was begun to show support for Parks, became a huge success. It started a chain reaction—the beginning of a mass movement that would dramatically change American society over the next 20 years, and bring to prominence many influential African American leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr.

ANALYZING HISTORY Drawing

Conclusions How did the bus boycott create a mass movement for change?

King drew upon the philosophy and techniques of Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi, who had used nonviolent resistance effectively to challenge British rule in India. Believing in people's ability to transform themselves, King was certain that public opinion would eventually force the government to end segregation.

Stirred by King's powerful words, African Americans in Montgomery continued their boycott for over a year. Instead of riding the bus, they organized car pools or walked to work. Meanwhile, Rosa Parks's legal challenge to bus segregation worked its way through the courts. In November 1956, the Supreme Court affirmed the decision of a special three-judge panel declaring Alabama's laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional.

African American Churches

Martin Luther King, Jr., was not the only prominent minister in the bus boycott. Many of the other leaders were African American ministers. The boycott could not have suc-

ceeded without the support of the African American churches in the city. As the civil rights movement gained momentum, African American churches continued to play a critical role. They served as forums for many of the protests and planning meetings, and mobilized many of the volunteers for specific civil rights campaigns.

After the Montgomery bus boycott demonstrated that nonviolent protest could be successful, African American ministers led by King established the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in 1957. The SCLC set out to eliminate segregation from American society and to encourage African Americans to register to vote. Dr. King served as the SCLC's first president. Under his leadership, the organization challenged segregation at voting booths and in public transportation, housing, and accommodations.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What role did African American churches play in the civil rights movement?

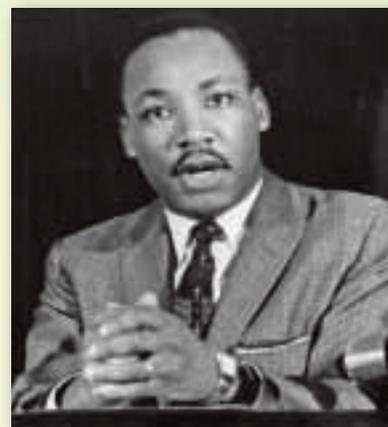
History ONLINE
Student Web Activity Visit glencoe.com and complete the activity on Rosa Parks.



▲ African Americans walk to work during the third month of the Montgomery bus boycott (above). The Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama (right), was the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, first church as a minister and headquarters for the organizers of the bus boycott.



▲ Rosa Parks rides a newly integrated bus after the successful boycott.



Eisenhower Responds

MAIN Idea President Eisenhower sent the U.S. Army to enforce integration in Arkansas.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you believe that the president should uphold Supreme Court rulings? Read to learn how Eisenhower responded to events in Little Rock, Arkansas.

President Eisenhower sympathized with the civil rights movement and personally disagreed with segregation. Following the precedent set by President Truman, he ordered navy shipyards and veterans' hospitals to desegregate. At the same time, however, Eisenhower disagreed with those who wanted to end segregation through protests and court rulings. He believed segregation and racism would end gradually, as values changed. With the nation in the midst of the Cold War, he worried that challenging white Southerners might divide the nation at a time when the country needed to pull together. Publicly, he refused to endorse the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Privately, he

remarked, "I don't believe you can change the hearts of men with laws or decisions."

Although he believed that the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was wrong, Eisenhower knew he had to uphold the authority of the federal government. As a result, he became the first president since Reconstruction to send troops into the South to protect the rights of African Americans.

Crisis in Little Rock

In September 1957, the school board in Little Rock, Arkansas, won a court order requiring that nine African American students be admitted to Central High, a school with 2,000 white students. The governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, was known as a moderate on racial issues, but he was determined to win reelection and began to campaign as a defender of white supremacy. He ordered troops from the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine students from entering the school. The next day, as the National Guard troops sur-

PRIMARY SOURCE

Little Rock School Crisis, Arkansas, 1957



▲ In 1957 Elizabeth Eckford (left center) was one of nine courageous African American students determined to integrate Central High School in Little Rock.



▲ Arkansas governor Orval Faubus sought to block the school's integration. He is shown holding up a paper making his argument that the federal government was abusing its power in forcibly integrating Central High in Little Rock.



► Federal troops protect African American students at Central High.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Explaining** Why do you think the white people are shouting at Elizabeth Eckford?
2. **Identifying Central Issues** Why did President Eisenhower send troops to Little Rock?

Section 1 REVIEW

rounded the school, an angry white mob joined the troops to protest and to intimidate the students trying to register.

Faubus had used the armed forces of a state to oppose the federal government—the first such challenge to the Constitution since the Civil War. Eisenhower knew that he could not allow Faubus to defy the federal government. After a conference between Eisenhower and Faubus proved fruitless, the district court ordered the governor to remove the troops. Instead of ending the crisis, however, Faubus simply left the school to the mob. After the African American students entered the building, angry whites beat at least two African American reporters and broke many of the school's windows.

The violence finally convinced President Eisenhower that he had to act. Federal authority had to be upheld. He immediately ordered the Army to send troops to Little Rock. In addition, he federalized the Arkansas National Guard. By nightfall, 1,000 soldiers of the elite 101st Airborne Division had arrived. By 5:00 A.M., the troops had encircled the school, bayonets ready. A few hours later, the nine African American students arrived in an army station wagon and walked into the high school. Federal authority had been upheld, but the troops had to stay in Little Rock for the rest of the school year.

Officials in Little Rock, however, continued to resist integration. Before the start of the following school year, Governor Faubus ordered the three public high schools in Little Rock closed. Steps to integrate the schools in Little Rock resumed only in 1959.

New Civil Rights Legislation

In the same year that the Little Rock crisis began, Congress passed the first civil rights law since Reconstruction. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was intended to protect the right of African Americans to vote. Eisenhower believed firmly in the right to vote, and he viewed it as his responsibility to protect voting rights. He also knew that if he sent a civil rights bill to Congress, conservative Southern Democrats would try to block the legislation. In 1956 he did send the bill to Congress, hoping not only to split the Democratic Party but also to convince more African Americans to vote Republican.

Several Southern senators did try to stop the Civil Rights Act of 1957, but the Senate majority leader, Democrat Lyndon Johnson, put together a compromise that enabled the act to pass. Although its final form was much weaker than originally intended, the act still brought the power of the federal government into the civil rights debate. It created a civil rights division within the Department of Justice and gave it the authority to seek court injunctions against anyone interfering with the right to vote. It also created the United States Commission on Civil Rights to investigate allegations of denial of voting rights. After the bill passed, the SCLC announced a campaign to register 2 million new African American voters.

 **Explaining** Why did Eisenhower intervene in the Little Rock controversy?

Vocabulary

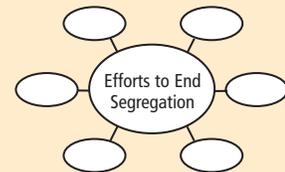
- 1. Explain** the significance of: Rosa Parks, NAACP, "separate but equal," de facto segregation, sit-in, Thurgood Marshall, Linda Brown, Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Main Ideas

- 2. Explaining** What was CORE and what were some of its tactics?
- 3. Identifying** What event set off the civil rights movement of the 1950s?
- 4. Summarizing** Why did Eisenhower send the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock, Arkansas?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** Why did the role of the federal government in civil rights enforcement change?
- 6. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the efforts made to end segregation.



- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the photograph of Elizabeth Eckford on page 856. Describe Eckford's demeanor compared to those around her. What might this indicate about her character?

Writing About History

- 8. Expository Writing** Assume the role of an African American soldier returning from World War II. Write a letter to the editor of a newspaper describing your expectations of civil rights.

History  **ONLINE**

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 2

Challenging Segregation

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Group Action African American citizens created organizations that directed protests to demand full civil rights.

Content Vocabulary

- filibuster (p. 864)
- cloture (p. 864)

Academic Vocabulary

- register (p. 859)

People and Events to Identify

- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (p. 859)
- Freedom Riders (p. 860)
- James Meredith (p. 862)
- Civil Rights Act of 1964 (p. 865)
- Voting Rights Act of 1965 (p. 867)

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer about the challenges to segregation in the South.

Cause	Effect
Sit-In Movement	
Freedom Riders	

In the early 1960s, the struggle for civil rights intensified. African American citizens and white supporters created organizations that directed protests, targeted specific inequalities, and attracted the attention of the mass media and the government.

The Sit-in Movement

MAIN Idea African American students staged sit-ins and formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to organize efforts for desegregation and voter registration throughout the South.

HISTORY AND YOU Would you risk your personal safety to participate in a sit-in? Read on to learn of the response of young people to the sit-in movement of the early 1960s.

In the fall of 1959, four young African Americans—Joseph McNeil, Ezell Blair, Jr., David Richmond, and Franklin McCain—enrolled at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, an African American college in Greensboro. The four freshmen spent evenings talking about the civil rights movement. In January 1960, McNeil suggested a sit-in at the whites-only lunch counter in the nearby Woolworth's department store.

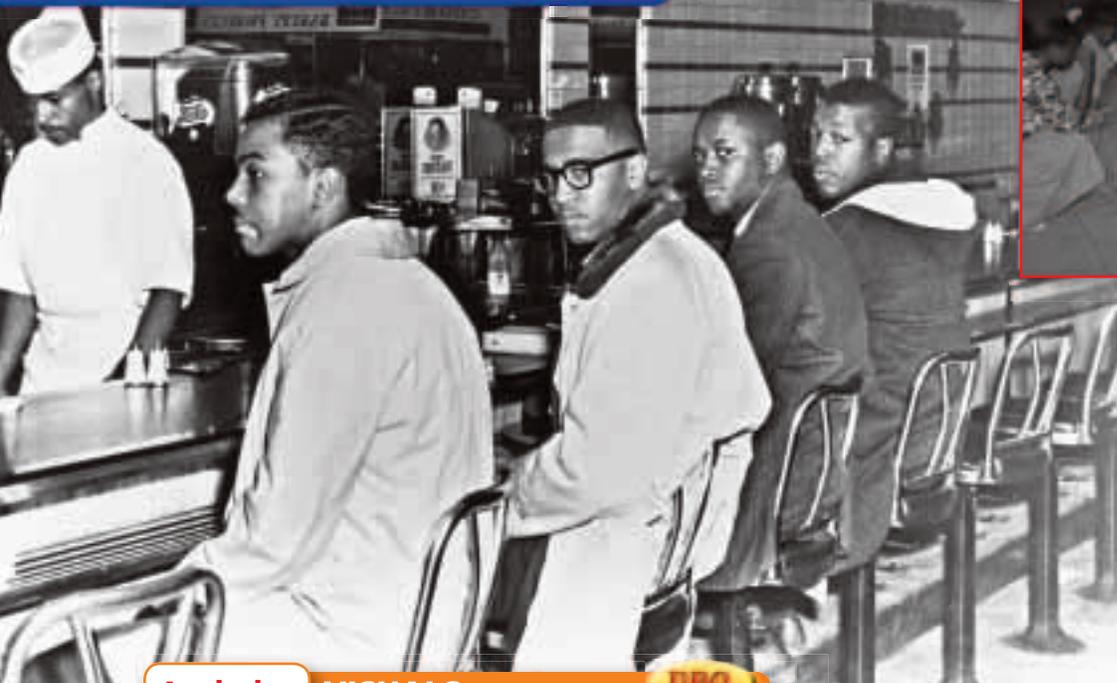
"All of us were afraid," Richmond later recalled, "but we went and did it." On February 1, 1960, the four friends entered the Woolworth's. They purchased school supplies and then sat at the lunch counter and ordered coffee. When they were refused service, Blair asked, "I beg your pardon, but you just served us at [the checkout] counter. Why can't we be served at the counter here?" The students stayed at the counter until it closed, then announced that they would sit at the counter every day until they were given the same service as white customers.

As they left the store, the four were excited. McNeil recalled, "I just felt I had powers within me, a superhuman strength that would come forward." McCain was also energized, saying, "I probably felt better that day than I've ever felt in my life."

News of the daring sit-in at the Woolworth's store spread quickly across Greensboro. The following day, 29 African American students arrived at Woolworth's determined to sit at the counter until served. By the end of the week, over 300 students were taking part.

Starting with just four students, a new mass movement for civil rights had begun. Within two months, sit-ins had spread to 54 cities in nine states. They were staged at segregated stores, restaurants, hotels, and movie theaters. By 1961, sit-ins had been held in more than 100 cities.

The Sit-ins Begin



▲ Nonviolent protests, such as this pray-in in Albany, Georgia, in 1962, spread across the nation as the civil rights movement gained momentum.

◀ Joseph McNeil, Franklin McCain, Billy Smith, and Clarence Henderson begin the second day of their sit-in at the whites-only Woolworth's counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960.

Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- Explaining** Why did the four African American students begin the sit-in at the Woolworth's counter?
- Drawing Conclusions** Why was nonviolence so effective as a form of protest?

The sit-in movement brought large numbers of idealistic and energized college students into the civil rights struggle. Many African American students had become discouraged by the slow pace of desegregation. Students like Jesse Jackson, a student leader at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, wanted to see things change more quickly. The sit-in offered them a way to take matters into their own hands.

At first, the leaders of the NAACP and the SCLC were nervous about the sit-in campaign. They feared that students did not have the discipline to remain nonviolent if they were provoked enough. For the most part, the students proved them wrong. Those conducting sit-ins were heckled by bystanders, punched, kicked, beaten with clubs, and burned with cigarettes, hot coffee, and acid—but most did not fight back. Their heroic behavior grabbed the nation's attention.

As the sit-ins spread, student leaders in different states realized they needed to coordinate their efforts. The person who brought

them together was Ella Baker, the executive director of the SCLC. In April 1960 Baker invited student leaders to attend a convention at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. There she urged students to create their own organization instead of joining the NAACP or the SCLC. Students, she said, had “the right to direct their own affairs and even make their own mistakes.”

The students agreed with Baker and established the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)**. Among SNCC's early leaders were Marion Barry, who later served as mayor of Washington, D.C., and John Lewis, who later became a member of Congress. African American college students from all across the South made up the majority of SNCC's members, although many whites also joined. Between 1960 and 1965, SNCC played a key role in desegregating public facilities in dozens of Southern communities. SNCC also began sending volunteers into rural areas of the Deep South to **register** African Americans to vote.

The idea for what came to be called the Voter Education Project began with Robert Moses, an SNCC volunteer from New York. Moses pointed out that the civil rights movement tended to focus on urban areas. He urged the SNCC to start helping rural African Americans, who often faced violence if they tried to register to vote. Despite the danger, many SNCC volunteers headed to the Deep South. Moses himself went to Mississippi. Several had their lives threatened; others were beaten, and in 1964, local officials brutally murdered three SNCC workers.

One SNCC organizer, a sharecropper named Fannie Lou Hamer, had been evicted from her farm after registering to vote. She was arrested in Mississippi for urging other African Americans to register. Police severely beat her while she was in jail. She then helped organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and challenged the legality of Mississippi's segregated Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic National Convention.

Reading Check **Explaining** What were the effects of the sit-in movement?

The Freedom Riders

MAIN Idea Teams of African Americans and whites rode buses into the South to protest the continued illegal segregation on interstate bus lines.

HISTORY AND YOU Is it acceptable to risk provoking violence in order to advance a cause you support? Read to learn about the violence that erupted against the Freedom Riders and against Martin Luther King, Jr.'s march in Birmingham.

Despite rulings outlawing segregation in interstate bus service, bus travel remained segregated in much of the South. In 1961 CORE leader James Farmer asked teams of African American and white volunteers, many of whom were college students, to travel into the South to draw attention to its refusal to integrate bus terminals. The teams became known as the **Freedom Riders**.

In early May 1961, the first Freedom Riders boarded several southbound interstate buses. When the buses arrived in Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery, Alabama, angry white mobs attacked them. The mobs

The Civil Rights Movement, 1954–1965

May 1954

In *Brown v. Board of Education*, Supreme Court declares segregated schools unconstitutional

December 1956

Supreme Court declares separate-but-equal doctrine is no longer constitutional

January 1957

Martin Luther King, Jr., and other Southern ministers create SCLC



May 1961

James Farmer organizes the first Freedom Riders to desegregate interstate bus travel

1955

December 1955

Rosa Parks is arrested and Montgomery Bus Boycott begins



1957

September 1957

Arkansas governor Faubus blocks desegregation of Little Rock High School, forcing Eisenhower to send troops to the school



1959

1961

February 1960

Students in Greensboro, North Carolina, stage a sit-in at a local lunch counter; as sit-ins spread, student leaders form SNCC in April

slit the bus tires and threw rocks at the windows. In Anniston, someone threw a firebomb into one bus, but fortunately no one was killed.

In Birmingham the riders emerged from a bus to face a gang of young men armed with baseball bats, chains, and lead pipes. The gang beat the riders viciously. One witness later reported, "You couldn't see their faces through the blood." The head of the police in Birmingham, Public Safety Commissioner Theophilus Eugene "Bull" Connor, explained that there had been no police at the bus station because it was Mother's Day, and he had given many of his officers the day off. FBI evidence later showed that Connor had contacted the local Ku Klux Klan and told them to beat the Freedom Riders until "it looked like a bulldog got a hold of them."

The violence in Alabama made national news, shocking many Americans. The attack on the Freedom Riders came less than four months after President John F. Kennedy took office. The new president felt compelled to get the violence under control.

Kennedy and Civil Rights

While campaigning for the presidency in 1960, John F. Kennedy promised to actively support the civil rights movement if elected. His brother, Robert F. Kennedy, had used his influence to get Dr. King released from jail after a demonstration in Georgia. African Americans responded by voting overwhelmingly for Kennedy. Their votes helped him narrowly win several key states, including Illinois, which Kennedy carried by only 9,000 votes.

Once in office, however, Kennedy at first seemed as cautious as Eisenhower on civil rights, which disappointed many African Americans. Kennedy knew he needed the support of many Southern senators to get other programs through Congress and that any attempt to push through new civil rights legislation would anger them. Congressional Republicans repeatedly reminded the public of Kennedy's failure to follow through on his campaign promise to push for civil rights for African Americans.



May 1963
Martin Luther King, Jr., leads protests in Birmingham, Alabama; police assault the protesters and King is jailed

March 1965
King leads a march in Selma, Alabama, to build support for a new voting rights law; police brutally attack marchers



August 3, 1965
Congress passes the Voting Rights Act of 1965

1963

1965

September 1962
James Meredith tries to register at University of Mississippi; riots force Kennedy to send troops

August 1963
King delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech during the March on Washington in support of new civil rights act

July 1964
Johnson signs Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law

Analyzing TIME LINES

- Identifying** According to the time line, what was the first major event in the civil rights movement?
- Analyzing** How many years were there between the *Brown* decision and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?
- Stating** When were the Freedom Riders organized?



Kennedy did, however, name approximately 40 African Americans to high-level positions in the government. He also appointed Thurgood Marshall to a federal judgeship on the Second Circuit Appeals Court in New York—one level below the Supreme Court and the highest judicial position an African American had attained to that point. Kennedy created the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (CEEEO) to stop the federal bureaucracy from discriminating against African Americans in hiring and promotions.

The Justice Department Takes Action

Although President Kennedy was unwilling to challenge Southern Democrats in Congress, he allowed the Justice Department, run by his brother Robert, to actively support the civil rights movement. Robert Kennedy tried to help African Americans register to vote by having the civil rights division of the Justice Department file lawsuits across the South.

When violence erupted against the Freedom Riders, the Kennedys came to their aid as well, although not at first. At the time the Freedom Riders took action, President Kennedy was preparing for a meeting with Nikita Khrushchev, the leader of the Soviet Union. Kennedy did not want violence in the South to disrupt the meeting by giving the impression that his country was weak and divided.

After the Freedom Riders were attacked in Montgomery, the Kennedys publicly urged them to stop the rides and give everybody a “cooling off” period. James Farmer replied that African Americans “have been cooling off now for 350 years. If we cool off anymore, we’ll be in a deep freeze.” Instead, he announced that the Freedom Riders planned to head into Mississippi on their next trip.

To stop the violence, President Kennedy made a deal with Senator James Eastland of Mississippi, a strong supporter of segregation. If Eastland would use his influence in Mississippi to prevent violence, Kennedy would not object if the Mississippi police arrested the Freedom Riders. Eastland kept the deal. No violence occurred when the buses arrived in Jackson, Mississippi, but the riders were arrested.

The cost of bailing the Freedom Riders out of jail used up most of CORE’s funds, which meant that the rides would have to end unless

more money could be found. When Thurgood Marshall learned of the situation, he offered James Farmer the use of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund’s huge bail bond account to keep the rides going.

When President Kennedy returned from meeting with Khrushchev and found that the Freedom Riders were still active, he changed his approach. He ordered the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to tighten its regulations against segregated bus terminals. In the meantime, Robert Kennedy ordered the Justice Department to take legal action against Southern cities that maintained segregated bus terminals. The actions of the ICC and the Justice Department finally produced results. By late 1962, segregation in interstate bus travel had come to an end.

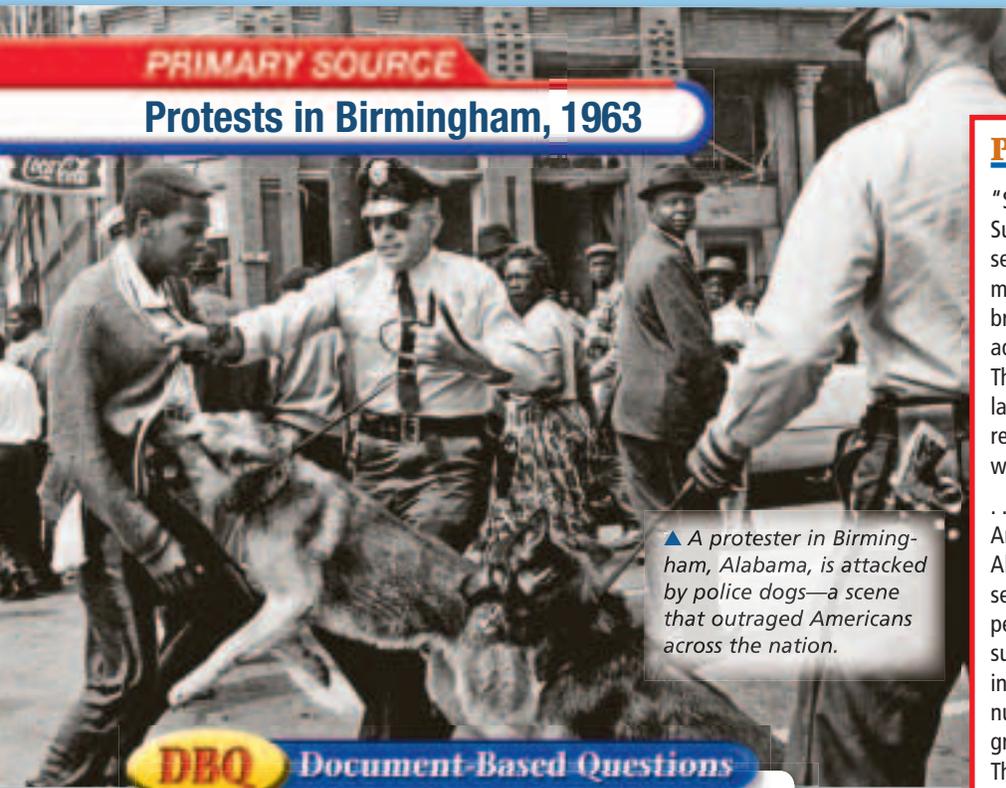
James Meredith As the Freedom Riders were trying to desegregate interstate bus lines, efforts continued to integrate Southern schools. On the day John F. Kennedy was inaugurated, an African American air force veteran named **James Meredith** applied for a transfer to the University of Mississippi. Up to that point, the university had avoided complying with the Supreme Court ruling ending segregated education.

In September 1962, Meredith tried to register at the university’s admissions office, only to find Ross Barnett, the governor of Mississippi, blocking his path. Meredith had a court order directing the university to register him, but Governor Barnett stated emphatically, “Never! We will never surrender to the evil and illegal forces of tyranny.”

Frustrated, President Kennedy dispatched 500 federal marshals to escort Meredith to the campus. Shortly after Meredith and the marshals arrived, an angry white mob attacked the campus, and a full-scale riot erupted. The mob hurled rocks, bottles, bricks, and acid at the marshals. Some people fired shotguns at them. The marshals responded with tear gas, but they were under orders not to fire.

The fighting continued all night. By morning, 160 marshals had been wounded. Reluctantly, Kennedy ordered the army to send several thousand troops to the campus. For the rest of the year, Meredith attended classes at the University of Mississippi under federal guard. He graduated in August.

Protests in Birmingham, 1963



▲ A protester in Birmingham, Alabama, is attacked by police dogs—a scene that outraged Americans across the nation.

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Classifying** According to Dr. King, what are the two types of laws? What is the difference between them?
- 2. Determining Cause and Effect** What does King say are the effects of segregation on the segregator? On the segregated?

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may well ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. . . . [and] one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that 'an unjust law is no law at all.' . . . Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. . . . An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself. This is difference made legal. By the same token, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow and that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal."

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

Violence in Birmingham

The events in Mississippi frustrated Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights leaders. Although they were pleased that Kennedy had intervened, they were disappointed that the president had not seized the moment to push for a new civil rights law.

Reflecting on the problem, Dr. King came to a difficult decision. It seemed to him that only when violence got out of hand would the federal government intervene. "We've got to have a crisis to bargain with," one of his advisers observed. King agreed. In the spring of 1963, he decided to launch demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, knowing they would provoke a violent response. He believed it was the only way to get President Kennedy to actively support civil rights.

The situation in Birmingham was volatile. Public Safety Commissioner Bull Connor, who had arranged for the attack on the Freedom Riders, was now running for mayor. Eight days after the protests began, King was arrested. While in jail, King began writing on scraps of

paper that had been smuggled into his cell. The "Letter from Birmingham Jail" that he produced is one of the most eloquent defenses of nonviolent protest ever written.

In his letter, King explained that although the protesters were breaking the law, they were following a higher moral law based on divine justice. Injustice, he insisted, had to be exposed "to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured."

After King was released, the protests, which had been dwindling, began to grow again. Bull Connor responded with force. He ordered the Birmingham police to use clubs, police dogs, and high-pressure fire hoses on the demonstrators. Millions of Americans watched the graphic violence on the nightly news on television. Outraged by the brutality and worried that the government was losing control, Kennedy ordered his aides to prepare a new civil rights bill.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How did President Kennedy help the civil rights movement?

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

MAIN Idea President Johnson used his political expertise to get the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember the constitutional amendments that granted African Americans civil rights after the Civil War? Read on to learn about new legal steps taken during the 1960s.

Determined to introduce a civil rights bill, Kennedy now waited for a dramatic moment to address the nation on the issue. Alabama's governor, George Wallace, gave the president his chance. At his inauguration as governor, Wallace had stated, "I draw a line in the dust . . . and I say, Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!" On June 11, 1963, Wallace stood in front of the University of Alabama's admissions office to block two African Americans from enrolling. He stayed until federal marshals ordered him to move.

The next day a white segregationist murdered Medgar Evers, a civil rights activist in Mississippi. President Kennedy seized the moment to announce his civil rights bill. That evening, he spoke to Americans about a "moral issue . . . as old as the scriptures and as clear as the American Constitution":

PRIMARY SOURCE

"The heart of the question is whether . . . we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public school available, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him . . . then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place?

One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free. . . . And this Nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free. . . . Now the time has come for this Nation to fulfill its promise."

—from Kennedy's White House address, June 11, 1963

The March on Washington

Dr. King realized that Kennedy would have a very difficult time pushing his civil rights bill through Congress. Therefore, he searched for a way to lobby Congress and to build more public support. When A. Philip Randolph suggested a march on Washington, King agreed.

On August 28, 1963, more than 200,000 demonstrators of all races flocked to the nation's capital. The audience heard speeches and sang hymns and songs as they gathered peacefully near the Lincoln Memorial. Dr. King then delivered a powerful speech outlining his dream of freedom and equality for all Americans.

King's speech and the peacefulness and dignity of the March on Washington built momentum for the civil rights bill. Opponents in Congress, however, continued to do what they could to slow the bill down, dragging out their committee investigations and using procedural rules to delay votes.

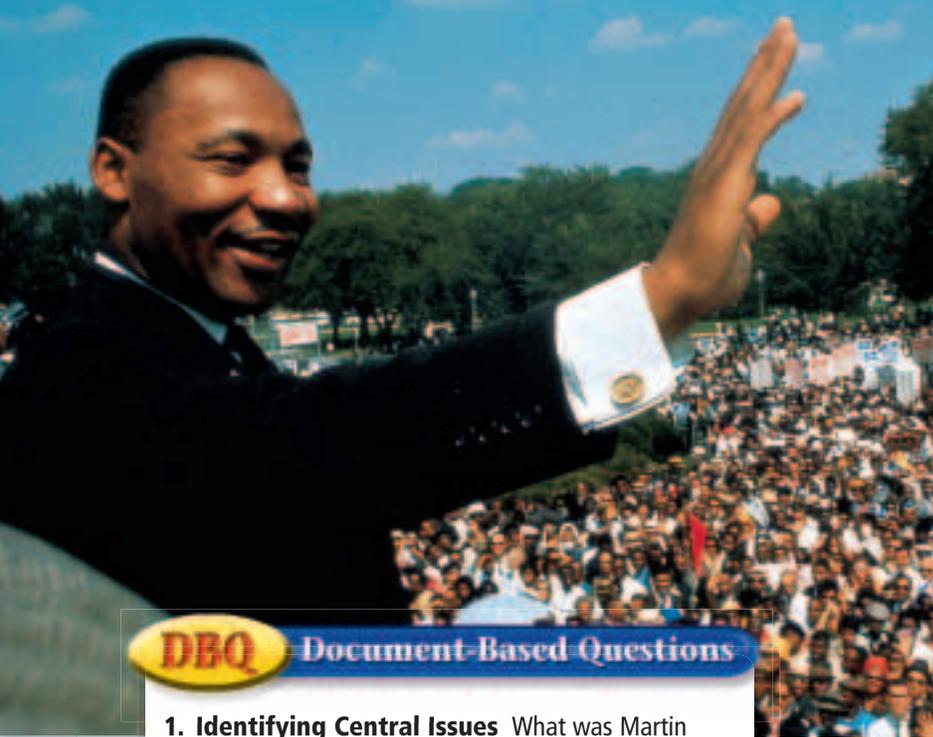
The Bill Becomes Law

Although the civil rights bill was likely to pass the House of Representatives, where a majority of Republicans and Northern Democrats supported the measure, it faced a much more difficult time in the Senate. There, a small group of determined Southern senators would try to block the bill indefinitely.

In the U.S. Senate, senators are allowed to speak for as long as they like when a bill is being debated. The Senate cannot vote on a bill until all senators have finished speaking. A **filibuster** occurs when a small group of senators take turns speaking and refuse to stop the debate and allow a bill to come to a vote. Today a filibuster can be stopped if at least 60 senators vote for **cloture**, a motion that cuts off debate and forces a vote. In the 1960s, however, 67 senators had to vote for cloture to stop a filibuster. This meant that a minority of senators opposed to civil rights could easily prevent the majority from enacting a new civil rights law.

Worried that the bill would never pass, many African Americans became even more disheartened. Then, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, and his vice president, Lyndon Johnson, became president. Johnson was from Texas and

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Address, Washington, 1963


DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Identifying Central Issues** What was Martin Luther King, Jr.'s dream?
- Interpreting** What did King mean when he said that he hoped that one day the nation will "live out the true meaning of its creed"?

had been the leader of the Senate Democrats before becoming vice president. Although he had helped pass the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, he had done so by weakening their provisions and by compromising with other Southern senators.

To the surprise of the civil rights movement, Johnson committed himself wholeheartedly to getting Kennedy's program, including the civil rights bill, through Congress. Johnson had served in Congress for many years and was adept at getting legislation enacted. He knew how to build public support, how to put pressure on Congress, and how to use the rules and procedures to get what he wanted.

In February 1964, President Johnson's leadership began to produce results. The civil rights bill passed the House of Representatives by a majority of 290 to 130. The debate then moved to the Senate. In June, after 87 days of filibuster, the Senate finally voted to end debate by a margin of 71 to 29—four votes over the two-thirds needed for cloture. The Senate then eas-

ily passed the bill. On July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** into law.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the most comprehensive civil rights law Congress had ever enacted. It gave the federal government broad power to prevent racial discrimination in a number of areas. The law made segregation illegal in most places of public accommodation, and it gave citizens of all races and nationalities equal access to public facilities. The law gave the U.S. attorney general more power to bring lawsuits to force school desegregation and required private employers to end discrimination in the workplace. It also established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as a permanent agency in the federal government. This commission monitors the ban on job discrimination by race, religion, gender, and national origin.

Reading Check **Examining** How did Dr. King lobby Congress to pass a new civil rights act?

PRIMARY SOURCE

"And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

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.'

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. . . .

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

. . . And when this happens, when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

Free at last! Free at last!

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

—Martin Luther King, Jr.,
"Address in Washington," 1963



To read more of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream Speech" see page R56 in **Documents in American History**.

The Struggle for Voting Rights

MAIN Idea President Johnson called for a new voting rights law after hostile crowds severely beat civil rights demonstrators.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember the tactics Southern states adopted to keep African Americans from voting? Read on to learn about the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Even after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, voting rights were far from secure. The act had focused on segregation and job discrimination, and it did little to address voting issues. The Twenty-fourth Amendment, ratified in 1964, helped somewhat by eliminating poll taxes, or fees paid in order to vote, in federal (but not state) elections. African Americans still faced hurdles, however, when they tried to vote. As the SCLC and SNCC stepped up their voter registration efforts in the South, their members were often attacked and beaten, and several were murdered.

Across the South, bombs exploded in African American businesses and churches. Between June and October 1964, arson and bombs destroyed 24 African American churches in Mississippi alone. Convinced that a new law was needed to protect African American voting rights, Dr. King decided to stage another dramatic protest.

The Selma March

In January 1965, the SCLC and Dr. King selected Selma, Alabama, as the focal point for their campaign for voting rights. Although African Americans made up a majority of Selma's population, they comprised only 3 percent of registered voters. To prevent African Americans from registering to vote, Sheriff Jim Clark had deputized and armed dozens of white citizens. His posse terrorized African Americans and frequently attacked demonstrators with clubs and electric cattle prods.

In December 1964, Dr. King received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, for his work in the civil rights movement. A few weeks

PRIMARY SOURCE

Marching for Freedom, Selma, 1965



The Civil Rights Act of 1964

- Gave the federal government power to prevent racial discrimination and established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).
- Made segregation illegal in most places of public accommodation.
- Gave the U.S. attorney general more power to bring lawsuits to force school desegregation.
- Required employers to end workplace discrimination.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965

- Authorized the U.S. attorney general to send federal examiners to register qualified voters.
- Suspended discriminatory devices, such as literacy tests, in counties where less than half of all adults had been allowed to vote.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Coretta Scott King,
Dr. King's wife

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Making Connections** How did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 work to end segregation?
- 2. Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think counties where less than half of all adults were allowed to vote were a focus of the Voting Rights Acts of 1965?

Section 2 REVIEW

later, King announced, “We are not asking, we are demanding the ballot.” King’s demonstrations in Selma led to the arrest of approximately 2,000 African Americans, including schoolchildren, by Sheriff Clark. Clark’s men attacked and beat many of the demonstrators, and Selma quickly became a major story in the national news.

To keep pressure on the president and Congress to act, Dr. King joined with SNCC activists and organized a “march for freedom” from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery, a distance of about 50 miles (80 km). On Sunday, March 7, 1965, the march began. The SCLC’s Hosea Williams and SNCC’s John Lewis led 500 protesters toward U.S. Highway 80, the route that marchers had planned to follow to Montgomery.

As the protesters approached the Edmund Pettus Bridge, which led out of Selma, Sheriff Clark ordered them to disperse. While the marchers kneeled in prayer, more than 200 state troopers and deputized citizens rushed the demonstrators. Many were beaten in full view of television cameras. This brutal attack, known later as “Bloody Sunday,” left 70 African Americans hospitalized and many more injured.

The nation was stunned as it viewed the shocking footage of law enforcement officers beating peaceful demonstrators. Watching the events from the White House, President Johnson became furious. Eight days later, he appeared before a nationally televised joint session of the legislature to propose a new voting rights law.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965

On August 3, 1965, the House of Representatives passed the voting rights bill by a wide margin. The following day, the Senate also passed the bill. The **Voting Rights Act of 1965** authorized the U.S. attorney general to send federal examiners to register qualified voters, bypassing local officials who often refused to register African Americans. The law also suspended discriminatory devices, such as literacy tests, in counties where less than half of all adults had been registered to vote.

The results were dramatic. By the end of the year, almost 250,000 African Americans had registered as new voters. The number of African American elected officials in the South also increased. In 1965, only about 100 African Americans held elected office; by 1990 more than 5,000 did.

The passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 marked a turning point in the civil rights movement. The movement had now achieved its two major legislative goals. Segregation had been outlawed and new federal laws were in place to prevent discrimination and protect voting rights. After 1965, the movement began to shift its focus to the problem of achieving full social and economic equality for African Americans. As part of that effort, the movement turned its attention to the problems of African Americans trapped in poverty and living in ghettos in many of the nation’s major cities.

 **Summarizing** How did the Twenty-fourth Amendment affect African American voting rights?

Vocabulary

1. Explain the significance of: SNCC, Freedom Riders, James Meredith, filibuster, cloture, Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Main Ideas

2. Describing What was the purpose of SNCC?

3. Summarizing How did the Freedom Riders help the civil rights movement?

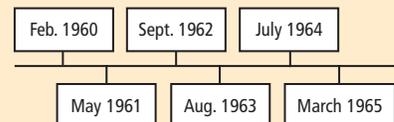
4. Explaining Why did Dr. King lead the March on Washington in 1963?

5. Analyzing What was “Bloody Sunday”? How did President Johnson respond?

Critical Thinking

6. Big Ideas How did television help the civil rights movement?

7. Sequencing Use a time line similar to the one below to sequence the events in the civil rights movement.



8. Analyzing Visuals Study the photographs in this section. What elements of the photographs show the sacrifices African Americans made in the civil rights movement?

Writing About History

9. Descriptive Writing Assume the role of a journalist working for a college newspaper in 1960. Write an article for the newspaper describing the sit-in movement, including its participants, goals, and achievements.

History ONLINE

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

The Civil Rights Movement

Although major figures of the civil rights movement such as Martin Luther King, Jr., are widely remembered today, the movement drew its strength from the dedication of grass-roots supporters. In rural and urban areas across the South, ordinary individuals advanced the movement through their participation in marches, boycotts, and voter registration drives. Those who dared to make a stand against discrimination risked being fired from their job, evicted from their home, and becoming the target of physical violence.

Study these primary sources and answer the questions which follow.

PRIMARY SOURCE 1

Public Testimony, 1964

In 1964, the “Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party” challenged the right of Mississippi’s established (all white) Democratic Party representatives to seats at the party’s national convention on the grounds that African Americans had been systematically denied the right to vote.

[M]y husband came, and said the plantation owner was raising Cain because I had tried to register [to vote] and before he quit talking the plantation owner came, and said, ‘Fannie Lou, do you know—did Pap tell you what I said?’ And I said, ‘Yes sir.’ He said, ‘I mean that . . . If you don’t go down and withdraw . . . well—you might have to go because we are not ready for that.’ . . .

And I addressed him and told him and said, ‘I didn’t try to register for you. I tried to register for myself.’

I had to leave the same night.

On the 10th of September, 1962, 16 bullets was fired into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Tucker for me. That same night two girls were shot in Ruleville, Mississippi. Also Mr. Joe McDonald’s house was shot in.

And in June, the 9th, 1963, I had attended a voter registration workshop, was returning back to Mississippi. . . . I stepped off the bus . . . and somebody screamed . . . ‘Get that one there,’ and when I went to get in the car, when the man told me I was under arrest, he kicked me.

I was carried to the county jail. . . . [The patrolmen] left my cell and it wasn’t too long before they came back. He said ‘You are from Ruleville all right,’ and he used a curse word, he said, ‘We are going to beat you until you wish you was dead.’ . . .

All of this we on account we want to register, to become first-class citizens, and if the freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America, is this America, the land of the free and the home of the brave where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hooks because our lives be threatened daily because we want to live as decent human beings in America?”

—Fannie Lou Hamer testifying before the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Convention, August 22, 1964

PRIMARY SOURCE 2

Photograph, c. 1964

“Freedom Schools” taught literacy and African American history and encouraged voter registration.



PRIMARY SOURCE 3

Strategy Memo, April 1960

“The choice of the non-violent method, ‘the sit-in,’ symbolizes both judgment and promise. It is a judgment upon middle-class conventional half-way efforts to deal with radical social evil. It is specifically a judgment upon contemporary civil rights attempts. As one high school student from Chattanooga exclaimed, ‘We started because we were tired of waiting for you to act. . . .’”

—James M. Lawson, Jr., “From a Lunch-Counter Stool,” April 1960, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers

PRIMARY SOURCE 4**Autobiography, 1968**

"[At Tougaloo College] I had become very friendly with my social science professor, John Salter, who was in charge of NAACP activities on campus. All during the year, while the NAACP conducted a boycott of the downtown stores in Jackson, I had been one of Salter's most faithful canvassers and church speakers. During the last week of school, he told me that sit-in demonstrations were about to start in Jackson and that he wanted me to be the spokesman for a team that would sit-in at Woolworth's lunch counter. The two other demonstrators would be classmates of mine, Memphis and Pearlana. . . .

Seconds before 11:15 we were occupying three seats at the previously segregated Woolworth's lunch counter. In the beginning the waitresses seemed to ignore us, as if they really didn't know what was going on. Our waitress walked past us a couple of times before she noticed we had started to write our own orders down and realized we wanted service. She asked us what we wanted. We began to read to her from our order slips. She told us that we would be served at the back counter, which was for Negroes.

'We would like to be served here,' I said.

The waitress started to repeat what she had said, then stopped in the middle of the sentence. She turned the lights out behind the counter, and she and the other waitresses almost ran to the back of the store, deserting all their white customers. I guess they thought that violence would start immediately after the whites at the counter realized what was going on.

At noon, students from a nearby white high school started pouring in to Woolworth's. When they first saw us they were sort of surprised. . . . Then the white students started chanting all kinds of anti-Negro slogans. We were called a little bit of everything. . . .

Memphis suggested that we pray. We bowed our heads, and all hell broke loose. A man rushed forward, threw Memphis from his seat, and slapped my face. Then another man who worked in the store threw me against

PRIMARY SOURCE 5**Photograph, 1963**

▼ *Lunch counter sit-in May 28, 1963, in Jackson, Mississippi. Seated (from left to right) are John Salter, Joan Trumpauer, and Anne Moody.*



an adjoining counter. . . . The mob started smearing us with ketchup, mustard, sugar, pies, and everything on the counter. . . .

About ninety policemen were standing outside the store; they had been watching the whole thing through the windows, but had not come in to stop the mob or do anything. . . .

After the sit-in, all I could think of was how sick Mississippi whites were. They believed so much in the segregated Southern way of life, they would kill to preserve it. . . . Now I knew it was impossible for me to hate sickness. The whites had a disease, an incurable disease in its final stage. What were our chances against such a disease?"

—Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi*

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Identifying** In Source 1, what sorts of repercussions did Fannie Lou Hamer endure for daring to register to vote? How do you think such tactics affected the civil rights movement?
- Interpreting** Study the photograph in Source 2. Who seems to be teaching whom? Why do you think the civil rights movement attracted so many young people?
- Evaluating** Read the passage in Source 3 and study the photograph in Source 5. Why do you think nonviolent demonstrations were effective for the civil rights movement?
- Making Inferences** Read Source 4. Why do you think Anne Moody wanted to try to force integration of the lunch counter? Why would she risk physical harm to do so?

Section 3

New Civil Rights Issues

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Struggles for Rights In the late 1960s, the civil rights movement tried to address the persistent economic inequality of African Americans.

Content Vocabulary

- racism (p. 870)
- black power (p. 872)

Academic Vocabulary

- enforcement (p. 874)

People and Events to Identify

- Kerner Commission (p. 871)
- Chicago Movement (p. 872)
- Richard J. Daley (p. 872)
- Stokely Carmichael (p. 872)
- Malcolm X (p. 873)
- Black Panthers (p. 874)

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer like the one below by listing five major violent events in the civil rights movement and their results.

Event	Result

By the mid-1960s, much progress had been made in the arena of civil rights. However, leaders of the movement began to understand that merely winning political rights for African Americans would not completely solve their economic problems. The struggle would continue to try to end economic inequality.

Urban Problems

MAIN Idea African Americans became impatient with the slow pace of change; this frustration sometimes boiled over into riots.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever seen news coverage of a riot in the United States or overseas? What triggered the outburst? Read on to learn about the factors that fed into the riots of the 1960s.

Despite the passage of civil rights laws in the 1950s and 1960s, **racism**—prejudice or discrimination toward someone because of his or her race—was still common in American society. Changing the law could not change people’s attitudes, nor did it help most African Americans trapped in poverty in the nation’s big cities.

In 1965 nearly 70 percent of African Americans lived in large cities. Many had moved from the South to the big cities of the North during the Great Migration of the 1920s and 1940s. There, they often found the same prejudice and discrimination that had plagued them in the South.

Even if African Americans had been allowed to move into white neighborhoods, poverty trapped many of them in inner cities. Many African Americans found themselves channeled into low-paying jobs with little chance of advancement. Those who did better typically found employment as blue-collar workers in factories, but most did not advance beyond that. In 1965 only 15 percent of African Americans held professional, managerial, or clerical jobs, compared to 44 percent of whites. The average income of an African American family was only 55 percent of that of the average white family, and almost half of African Americans lived in poverty. Their unemployment rate was typically twice that of whites.

Poor neighborhoods in the nation’s major cities were overcrowded and dirty, leading to higher rates of illness and infant mortality. At the same time, the crime rate increased in the 1960s, particularly in low-income neighborhoods. Juvenile delinquency rates rose, as did the rate of young people dropping out of school. Complicating matters even more was a rise in the number of single-parent households. All poor neighborhoods suffered from these problems, but because

The Problem of Urban Poverty



► Congress is compared to the Roman emperor Nero, who was said to have played music as Rome burned.

◀ Barry Goldwater tries to persuade President Johnson to stop creating programs to end urban poverty.



Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- 1. Making Inferences** In the cartoon on the left, what does the man suggest about urban problems?
- 2. Drawing Conclusions** Based on the cartoon above, what should Congress have done to stop the rioting?

more African Americans lived in poverty, their communities were disproportionately affected.

Many African Americans living in urban poverty knew the civil rights movement had made enormous gains, but when they looked at their own circumstances, nothing seemed to be changing. The movement had raised their hopes, but their everyday problems continued. As a result, their anger and frustration began to rise—until it finally erupted.

The Watts Riot

Just five days after President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, a riot erupted in Watts, an African American neighborhood in Los Angeles. Allegations of police brutality had served as the catalyst for this uprising, which lasted for six days and required over 14,000 members of the National Guard and 1,500 law officers to restore order. Rioters burned and looted entire neighborhoods and destroyed about \$45 million in property. They killed 34 people and injured about 900 others.

More rioting was yet to come. Riots broke out in dozens of American cities between 1965 and 1968. The worst riot took place in Detroit in 1967. Burning, looting, and skirmishes with police and National Guard members resulted in 43 deaths and over 1,000 wounded.

Eventually the U.S. Army sent in tanks and soldiers armed with machine guns to get control of the situation. Nearly 4,000 fires destroyed 1,300 buildings, and the damage in property loss was estimated at \$250 million.

The Kerner Commission

In 1967 President Johnson appointed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, to study the causes of the urban riots and to make recommendations to prevent them from happening again. The **Kerner Commission**, as it became known, conducted a detailed study of the problem. The commission blamed racism for most of the problems in the inner city. “Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal,” it concluded.

The commission recommended the creation of 2 million inner-city jobs, the construction of 6 million new units of public housing, and a renewed federal commitment to fight de facto segregation. President Johnson's War on Poverty, which addressed some of the concerns about inner-city jobs and housing, was already underway. Saddled with spending for the Vietnam War, however, Johnson never endorsed the recommendations of the commission.

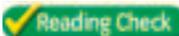
The Shift to Economic Rights

By the mid-1960s, a number of African American leaders were becoming increasingly critical of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s nonviolent strategy. They felt it had failed to improve the economic position of African Americans. Dr. King came to agree with this criticism, and in 1965 he decided to address economic issues.

Dr. King decided to focus on the problems that African Americans faced in Chicago. King had never conducted a civil rights campaign in the North, but by tackling a large Northern city, he believed he could call greater attention to poverty and other racial problems that lay beneath the urban race riots.

To call attention to the deplorable housing conditions that many African American families faced, Dr. King and his wife Coretta moved into a slum apartment in an African American neighborhood in Chicago. Dr. King and the SCLC hoped to work with local leaders to improve the economic status of African Americans in poor neighborhoods.

The **Chicago Movement**, however, made little headway. When Dr. King led a march through the all-white suburb of Marquette Park to demonstrate the need for open housing, he was met by angry white mobs similar to those in Birmingham and Selma. Mayor **Richard J. Daley** ordered the Chicago police to protect the marchers, and he was determined to prevent violence. He met with Dr. King and proposed a new program to clean up the slums. Associations of realtors and bankers also agreed to promote open housing. In theory, mortgages and rental property would be available to everyone, regardless of race. In practice, little changed.

 **Describing** How did Dr. King and SCLC leaders hope to address economic concerns?

Black Power

MAIN Idea Impatient with the slower gains of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s movement, many young African Americans called for "black power."

HISTORY AND YOU How did Dr. King work to avoid violence? Read on to find out how some African Americans broke with Dr. King's approach.

Dr. King's failure in Chicago seemed to show that nonviolent protests could do little to solve economic problems. After 1965, many African Americans, especially urban young people, began to turn away from King. Some leaders called for more aggressive forms of protest. Their strategies ranged from armed self-defense to promoting the idea that the government should set aside a number of states where African Americans could live separate from whites. As African Americans became more assertive, some organizations, including CORE and SNCC, voted to expel all whites from leadership positions in their organizations. They believed that African Americans alone should lead their struggle.

Many young African Americans called for **black power**, a term that had many meanings. A few interpreted black power to mean that physical self-defense and even violence were acceptable—a clear rejection of Dr. King's philosophy. To most, including **Stokely Carmichael**, the leader of SNCC in 1966, the term meant that African Americans should control the social, political, and economic direction of their struggle:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"This is the significance of black power as a slogan. For once, black people are going to use the words they want to use—not just the words whites want to hear. . . . The need for psychological equality is the reason why SNCC today believes that blacks must organize in the black community. Only black people can . . . create in the community an aroused and continuing black consciousness. . . ."

—from the *New York Review of Books*, September 1966

Black power stressed pride in the African American cultural group. It emphasized racial distinctiveness rather than assimilation—the process by which minority groups adapt to the dominant culture in a society. African Americans showed pride in their racial

heritage by adopting new Afro hairstyles and African-style clothing. Many also took African names. In universities, students demanded that African and African American studies courses be made part of the standard school curriculum. Dr. King and some other leaders criticized black power as a philosophy of hopelessness and despair. The idea was very popular, however, in poor neighborhoods where many African Americans resided.

Malcolm X

By the early 1960s, a young man named **Malcolm X** had become a symbol of the black power movement. Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, he experienced a difficult childhood and adolescence. He drifted into a life of crime and, in 1946, was convicted of burglary and sent to prison for six years.

Prison transformed Malcolm. He began to educate himself and played an active role in the prison debate society. Eventually, he joined the Nation of Islam, commonly known as the Black Muslims, who were led by Elijah Muhammad. Despite their name, the Black

Muslims do not hold the same beliefs as mainstream Muslims. The Nation of Islam preached black nationalism. Like Marcus Garvey in the 1920s, Black Muslims believed that African Americans should separate themselves from whites and form their own self-governing communities.

Shortly after joining the Nation of Islam, Malcolm Little changed his name to Malcolm X. The “X” symbolized the family name of his African ancestors who had been enslaved. He declared that his true name had been stolen from him by slavery, and he would no longer use the name white society had given him.

The Black Muslims viewed themselves as their own nation and attempted to make themselves as self-sufficient as possible. They ran their own businesses and schools, and published their own newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*. They encouraged their members to respect each other and to strengthen their families. Black Muslims did not advocate violence, but they did advocate self-defense. Malcolm X’s criticisms of white society and the mainstream civil rights movement gained national attention for the Nation of Islam.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Black Power in the 1960s

In the late 1960s, a new group of African American leaders, such as Malcolm X, had lost patience with the slow progress of civil rights and felt that African Americans needed to act more militantly and demand equality, not wait for it to be given.

PRIMARY SOURCE

“Since the black masses here in America are now in open revolt against the American system of segregation, will these same black masses turn toward integration or will they turn toward complete separation? Will these awakened black masses demand integration into the white society that enslaved them or will they demand complete separation from that cruel white society that has enslaved them? Will the exploited and oppressed black masses seek integration with their white exploiters and white oppressors or will these awakened black masses truly revolt and separate themselves completely from this wicked race that has enslaved us?”

—Malcolm X, from his speech “The Black Revolution,” 1964



▲ Medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos give the black power salute at the 1968 Olympics. Above right, Stokely Carmichael speaks at a protest rally in Mississippi in 1966.

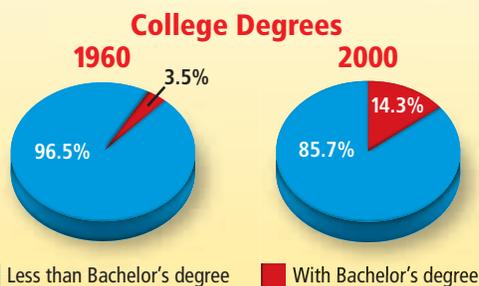
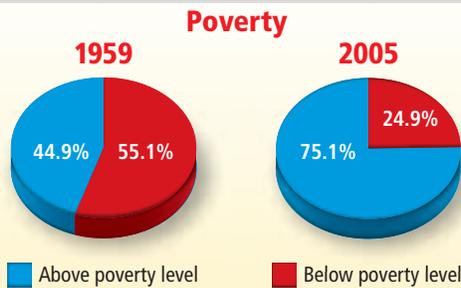
DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Identifying** What are two options Malcolm X thinks African Americans have regarding their relationship with whites?
- 2. Drawing Conclusions** Do you think Malcolm X supported integration? Why or why not?

The Civil Rights Movement's Legacy

There have been many changes in the status of African Americans in the United States since the 1960s. Changes have taken place in politics, economics, and education.

Economic Status of African Americans



Analyzing VISUALS

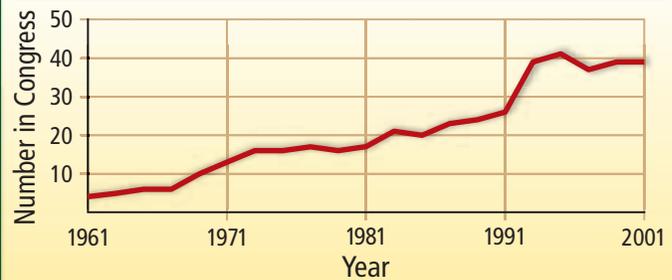
- Interpreting** In which elected offices did African Americans see the greatest increase in representation?
- Drawing Conclusions** Does the data presented suggest that the civil rights movement was a success? Why or why not?

By 1964, Malcolm X had broken with the Black Muslims. Discouraged by scandals involving the Nation of Islam's leader, he went to the Muslim holy city of Makkah (also called Mecca) in Saudi Arabia. After seeing Muslims from many races worshipping together, he concluded that an integrated society was possible after all.

After Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam, he continued to criticize the organization. Because of this, organization members shot and killed him in February 1965. Although Malcolm X left the Nation of Islam before his death, his speeches and ideas from those years with the Black Muslims have influenced African Americans to take pride in their own culture and to believe in their ability to make their way in the world.

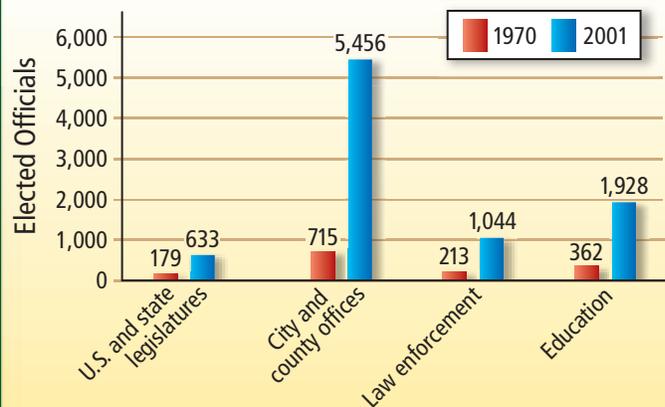
Malcolm X's ideas influenced a new generation of militant African American leaders who also preached black power, black nationalism,

African-Americans in House of Representatives and Senate, 1961–2001



Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States.

African Americans Elected by Office



Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States.

and economic self-sufficiency. In 1966 in Oakland, California, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and Eldridge Cleaver organized the **Black Panthers**.

The Black Panthers believed that a revolution was necessary in the United States, and they urged African Americans to arm themselves and prepare to force whites to grant them equal rights. Black Panther leaders called for an end to racial oppression and control of major institutions in the African American community, such as schools, law **enforcement**, housing, and hospitals. Eldridge Cleaver, who served as the minister of culture, articulated many of the organization's aims in his 1967 best-selling book, *Soul on Ice*.

Reading Check **Describing** What disagreements split Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the black power movement?

King Is Assassinated

MAIN Idea After Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know someone who remembers Dr. King's assassination? Read about the events surrounding King's death.

By the late 1960s, the civil rights movement had fragmented into dozens of competing organizations with differing philosophies for reaching equality. At the same time, the emergence of black power and the call by some African Americans for violent action angered many white civil rights supporters. This made further legislation to help African Americans economically less likely.

In this atmosphere, Dr. King went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike of African American sanitation workers in March 1968. At the time, the SCLC had been planning a national "Poor People's Campaign" to promote economic advancement for all impoverished Americans. The purpose of this campaign, the most ambitious one that Dr. King would ever lead, was to lobby the federal government to commit billions of dollars to end poverty and unemployment in the United States. People of all races and nationalities were to converge on the nation's capital, as they had in 1963 during the March on Washington, where they would camp out until both Congress and President Johnson agreed to pass the requested legislation to fund the proposal.

On April 4, 1968, as he stood on his hotel balcony in Memphis, Dr. King was assassinated by a sniper. Ironically, the previous night he had told a gathering at a local church, "I've been to the mountaintop. . . I've looked over and I've seen the Promised Land. 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."

Dr. King's death touched off both national mourning and riots in more than 100 cities, including Washington, D.C. The Reverend Ralph Abernathy, who had served as a trusted assistant to Dr. King for many years, led the Poor People's Campaign in King's absence. The demonstration, however, did not achieve any of the major objectives that either King or the SCLC had hoped it would.

In the wake of Dr. King's death, Congress did pass the Civil Rights Act of 1968. The act contained a fair-housing provision outlawing discrimination in housing sales and rentals and gave the Justice Department authority to bring suits against such discrimination.

Dr. King's death marked the end of an era in American history. Although the civil rights movement continued, it lacked the unity of purpose and vision that Dr. King had given it. Under his leadership, and with the help of tens of thousands of dedicated African Americans, many of whom were students, the civil rights movement transformed American society. Although many problems remain to be solved, the achievements of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s dramatically improved the lives of African Americans, creating opportunities that had not existed before.

Reading Check Summarizing What were the goals of the Poor People's Campaign?

Section 3 REVIEW

Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: racism, Kerner Commission, Chicago Movement, Richard J. Daley, black power, Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, Black Panthers.

Main Ideas

- 2. Describing** What were the findings and the recommendations of the Kerner Commission?
- 3. Assessing** How did Malcolm X's ideas about the relationship between African Americans and white Americans change by the time of his murder?
- 4. Explaining** What was the general effect of Dr. King's assassination?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** How was the Civil Rights Act of 1968 designed to improve the economic status of African Americans?
- 6. Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the main views of each leader.

Leader	Views
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.	
Malcolm X	
Eldridge Cleaver	

- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the cartoons on page 871. Together, what do they imply about government response and responsibility for the problems of the inner cities?

Writing About History

- 8. Expository Writing** Assume the role of a reporter in the late 1960s. Suppose that you have interviewed a follower of Dr. King and a member of the Black Panthers. Write a transcript of each interview.



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Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

Long-Range Causes

- Widespread racial segregation in the American South
- Lack of voting rights for African Americans in the American South

Immediate Causes

- Arrival of large numbers of African Americans in the North after the Great Migrations gives them increased political influence and greater voting power.
- African American contributions during World War II lead many African Americans to believe it is time to take action to demand change.
- NAACP strategy of using lawsuits to weaken segregation scores a major victory in 1954 with the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling.
- African American churches serve as organizational bases, and pastors rally African Americans and organize protests.

► *Linda Brown was the main plaintiff in *Brown v. Board of Education*.*



▲ *Civil rights activists march to protest a pro-segregationist speech by Alabama governor George Wallace in 1964.*

Major Events of the Civil Rights Movement

- African American community in Montgomery, Alabama, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., organizes the Montgomery bus boycott.
- African American students are blocked from entering Little Rock High School. President Eisenhower sends in federal troops and asks Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1957.
- Sit-ins begin in Greensboro, and soon young people are staging sit-ins across the South to integrate public facilities.
- Freedom Riders end segregation on interstate bus travel.
- Martin Luther King, Jr., leads a march in Birmingham, then a March on Washington to support the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- Martin Luther King, Jr., leads a march in Selma to pressure Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Major Results of the Civil Rights Movement

- Civil Rights Act of 1957
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Voting Rights Act of 1965
- Civil Rights Act of 1968
- End of legal segregation in schools and public facilities
- Restoration of voting rights for African Americans
- Ban on discrimination based on race in the workplace
- Increased federal power to protect civil rights



▲ *A civil rights march in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1965.*

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

TEST-TAKING TIP

Look for clues in the question that help you to eliminate certain answer choices right away. For example, if a question asks for a difference between two political leaders, you know that you can eliminate answer choices that show what they have in common.

Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

- In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court overturned the precedent of _____ established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.
 - reading requirements
 - de facto segregation
 - "separate but equal"
 - discrimination
- Some Southern senators used a _____ to try to prevent civil rights legislation from passing.
 - filibuster
 - cloture
 - closed vote
 - walk-out
- Prejudice and discrimination against a person because of his or her race is called
 - black power.
 - cloture.
 - segregation.
 - racism.
- The concept of _____ was supported by militant African American leaders.
 - racism
 - black power
 - nonviolent resistance
 - freedom marches

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 850–857)

- Which event led to the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama?
 - a riot in Montgomery
 - the CORE sit-in
 - the arrest of Rosa Parks
 - a church bombing
- In 1957 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) set out to
 - march on Washington and pass a civil rights bill.
 - encourage demonstrations and boycotts.
 - increase church attendance and promote brotherhood.
 - end segregation and encourage voter registration.
- Brown v. Board of Education* was a significant case because
 - it declared it illegal to prevent African Americans from voting.
 - it declared it illegal to segregate restaurants.
 - it declared it illegal to segregate public schools.
 - it declared it illegal to discriminate in the selling of a house.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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GO ON 

Chapter 25

Section 2 (pp. 858–867)

8. "Bloody Sunday" occurred in reaction to which event?
- A the Selma march
 - B the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
 - C the March on Washington
 - D the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
9. How did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 help African Americans?
- A The act authorized the U.S. attorney general to send federal employees to register voters.
 - B The act suspended literacy tests in counties where less than half of all adults had been allowed to vote.
 - C The act outlawed discrimination in housing sales and rentals.
 - D The act gave the federal government more power to force school desegregation.

Section 3 (pp. 870–875)

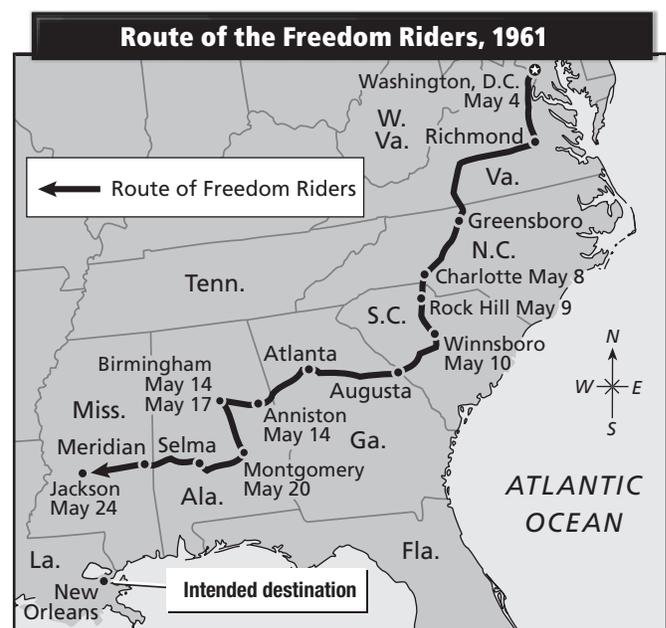
10. In response to the race riots in the mid-1960s, the federal government established which of the following?
- A SNCC
 - B EEOC
 - C Chicago Movement
 - D Kerner Commission
11. What did the Nation of Islam, or the Black Muslims, advocate?
- A African Americans should use nonviolent resistance to fight for civil rights.
 - B African Americans should separate from whites and form their own government.
 - C African American should use violence to overthrow the government and establish their own nation.
 - D African Americans should sue the federal government to establish equality among the nation's citizens.

Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

12. Which group worked to fight segregation and other inequalities primarily through the courts?
- A NAACP
 - B SNCC
 - C SCLC
 - D CEEC

Base your answers to questions 13 and 14 on the map below and on your knowledge of Chapter 25.



13. The route of the Freedom Riders focused on which region of the United States?
- A the Midwest
 - B the South
 - C New England
 - D the West
14. The final destination of the Freedom Riders was
- A Montgomery, Alabama.
 - B Washington, D.C.
 - C Selma, Alabama.
 - D Jackson, Mississippi.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
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GO ON

15. Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, and Bobby Seale founded which militant African American group?
- A the Black Muslims
 - B the Black Panthers
 - C SNCC
 - D the Chicago Movement

Analyze the cartoon and answer the questions that follow. Base your answers on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 25.



16. In this cartoon, American cities are represented by
- A riots.
 - B water.
 - C mines.
 - D ships.
17. Which of the following describes the main idea of this cartoon?
- A American cities are being destroyed by racial issues.
 - B American cities are much like ships.
 - C American cities need to change direction.
 - D American cities should avoid racial issues.

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

On the evening of July 2, 1964, as he prepared to sign the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964, President Lyndon Johnson made a televised address to the American people. Below is an excerpt:

"I want to take this occasion to talk to you about what . . . [the Civil Rights Act of 1964] means to every American. . . . We believe that all men are created equal. Yet many are denied equal treatment. . . . We believe that all men are entitled to the blessings of liberty. Yet millions are being deprived of those blessings—not because of their own failures, but because of the color of their skin. The reasons are deeply imbedded in history and tradition and the nature of man. We can understand—without rancor or hatred—how this all happened. But it cannot continue. Our Constitution, the foundation of our Republic, forbids it. The principles of our freedom forbid it. Morality forbids it. And the law I will sign tonight forbids it."

—Lyndon Johnson

18. According to Johnson, what are the origins of racism?
19. What does Johnson say forbids the continuation of racism in the United States?

Extended Response

20. Select one of the African American leaders who advocated a more militant approach to the problems of racism in America than did Martin Luther King, Jr. Write an essay comparing and contrasting the ideas of that figure with King's ideas, providing your views on which approach was more effective and why. Your essay should include an introduction and at least three paragraphs with supporting details from the chapter.

STOP

History  **ONLINE**

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 25 at glencoe.com.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	15	16	17	18	19	20
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