

MI OPEN BOOK PROJECT

United

Reconstruction to Today

States

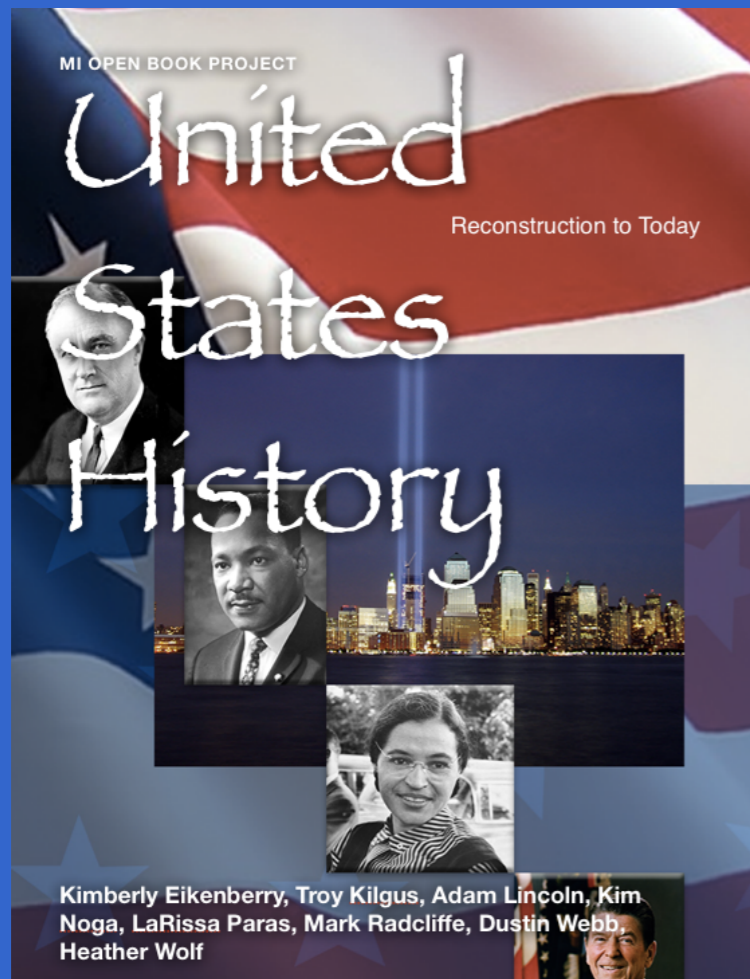
History



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MICHIGAN **OPEN BOOK PROJECT**



This is version 1.4 of this resource, released in August of 2018

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MICHIGAN OPEN BOOK PROJECT

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Kim has a B.A. in History and Social Studies and a M.A. in Educational Leadership, both from Western Michigan University. She has served in many roles during her thirteen years as an educator, including department chair, curriculum director, and administrator. Kim currently teaches World History and Economics at Grand Haven High School.

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Adam began his teaching career at Cadillac High School in Cadillac, Michigan where he taught US History, Global Studies, and AP World History. After 7 years, he moved back home to central Michigan to teach at Ithaca Public Schools. While his main charge has been teaching World History and starting the AP World History program, Adam also teaches 8th Grade History, US History, History in Popular Culture and all sorts of computer science classes. Adam coaches Model United Nations, and runs the Jumbotron at Ithaca Community Stadium during events. Adam has served as a member of the Michigan Council for the Social Studies for over a decade and has worked to unite his twin passions of Social Studies and effectively integrating technology into the classroom. Outside of school, Adam has served on the Content Advisory Committee, as a Social Studies item writer for the Department of Education, and worked for the PASST project. Adam teaches History and Social Studies methods classes at Alma College as adjunct faculty. Apart from the world of education, Adam enjoys spending time with his family especially traveling on new adventures.





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LaRissa is an alumni of Central Michigan University and the State University of New York. She is a tenured teacher in New York and now in Michigan where she works and resides with her husband and two rambunctious boys. Currently she is teaching World History and Current Issues at Greenville High School. She and her husband founded LP Inspire, LLC to encourage young people to grow into their best selves. She is also the proud creator of The Lotus Project, a successful mentoring program to help young women become empowered and rise above adversity in a positive way. In her spare time she enjoys reading, yoga, and being outdoors.



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Mike Radcliffe is a native of South Lyon, Michigan. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Colorado State University, followed by a Masters of Arts degree in American Studies from the University of Colorado. Over his 23 years of teaching students in Colorado and Michigan, he has taught Advanced Placement United States History, American Popular Culture, World History, World Geography, Sociology, and Economics. He currently serves as the department chair for the social studies department at Greenville High School, where he has taught the past 15 years. His previous textbook projects include serving as a teacher consultant for textbooks in US History and World Geography for Teachers Curriculum Institute. His interests include his wife of twenty-five years, three amazing children, mountain biking, and really bad puns.

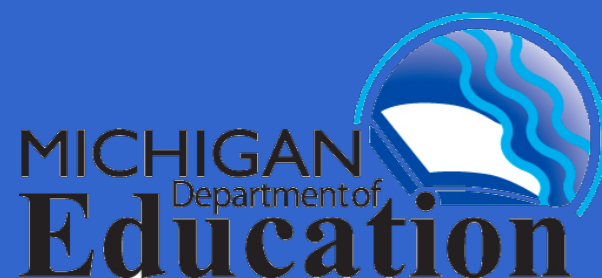


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Heather has taught Social Studies at Shepherd High School for 16 years. She currently teaches American History and Law, but has also taught Modern American History, Civics, Current Events, and History of American Wars in the past. Heather is a graduate of Central Michigan University, where she earned both her undergraduate degree, as well as a Master of Arts in History. She also teaches Social Studies Methods and Pre-Student Teaching courses at CMU. Heather also is the chair of the Social Studies Department at Shepherd High School and is involved in many other facets of the school and community. Heather was named 2009 High School Educator of the Year by the Michigan Council for the Social Studies. She enjoys reading, traveling and spending time with her family.



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Rebecca Bush is currently the Social Studies Consultant at the Ottawa Area Intermediate School District (OAISD), where she assists K-12 social studies teachers in developing curriculum, modeling instructional strategies in social studies literacy, and designing district-level formative and summative assessments. Additionally, as Project Director, she has written and received multiple Teaching American History grants, working with teachers throughout an eight-county radius. She has presented at various national conferences on multiple topics surrounding social studies instruction as well as innovative techniques and topics in formative and summative assessment design. Currently she is Co-Project Director of The Performance Assessments of Social Studies Thinking (PASST) Project and assists with the professional development of teacher writers for the MI Open Book Project where she serves as an editor of several of the project's texts. Rebecca currently leads the Michigan Social



How successful was the US in expanding opportunities for all Americans?

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?
2. How did the second women's movement increase rights for women?
3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?



Taking on Segregation: Challenges and Triumphs

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?
2. How did the second women's movement increase rights for women?
3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Plessy v. Ferguson

De facto segregation

De jure segregation

The Civil Rights Act of 1875

Jim Crow laws

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

Segregation in the South in the 1950s might not have existed if, in 1883, the Supreme Court hadn't declared **The Civil Rights Act of 1875** unconstitutional. A federal law enacted during Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was to guarantee African Americans equal treatment in public accommodations like hotels, restrooms, and other public spaces, and public transportation, and prohibited exclusion from serving on a jury. Additionally, the 14th Amendment declared that all races were to be granted equal treatment under the law.

However, an 1883 Supreme Court decision clarified that the law did not apply to private persons or corporations. In the decade that followed, a number of other federal court decisions and state laws severely restricted the rights of African Americans. For example, in 1890, the State of Louisiana passed a law that required railroads to provide "equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races."

Plessy Challenges Segregation

Homer Plessy challenged the Louisiana law and the legality of "separate but equal". In the 1896 **Plessy v. Ferguson** case, the Supreme Court ruled that the concept of "separate but equal" was fair and did not violate the 14th Amendment. In other words, the decision validated the legality of "separate but equal", turning

what had been **de-facto segregation** (acts of segregation “by fact” rather than by formal laws) into **de jure segregation**, where separate facilities for African Americans were deemed “equal” by the courts. Separate facilities, ranging from schools, churches, restaurants, and even public restrooms and drinking fountains began appearing all over the South, as well as in the North.

These segregation laws commonly known as Jim Crow laws, kept segregation at the forefront of society. Other laws like poll taxes and literacy tests prevented African Americans from voting but also made it illegal to serve on juries or run for public office.

In the post Civil War South, several confederate veterans formed a secret social fraternity in 1865 called the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK). In order to achieve its primary goal of reestablishing white supremacy in the South, the KKK engaged in an underground campaign of intimidation and violence against African Americans and their white supporters. Their tactics included intimidation, destruction of property, assault, lynching and murder. In 1871 Congress authorized President Grant to use the military to suppress the KKK and during this time nine counties in South

Interactive 11.1 Literacy Test



Click here to see a sample literacy test from Louisiana.

Carolina were placed under martial law and thousands were arrested.

Segregation and economic strife led to the relocation of 6 million African Americans from the rural south to the northern cities and factory opportunities. World War I created a demand for industrial workers and this urban growth lasted until the 1970s.

And although segregation was illegal in the North, racism and prejudice was still a problem. For example, it was common practice for white homeowners to refuse to sell to blacks and these actions and others like it were legal until 1948. High rents, and a resurgence of KKK activity in the North in 1915 increased racial tensions and led to a wave of race riots. Chicago saw the worst one in the summer of 1919. It lasted 13 days, killed 38, injured 537 and left 1,000 black families homeless. Despite racism and unfair housing practices, African Americans were able to rise above and create their own cities within cities that fostered growth and culture and unity.

•

Strategy: Two-Voice Poetry

Two voice poetry is written from 2 different perspectives to represent two different angles or points of view in history. Using the information from this unit, create a two voice poem that shows how lives could have been drastically different for a variety of groups in the United States.

The poem should include the following:

- Two developed, clearly recognizable voices
- Depictions of the differences and similarities between the lives or two groups or individual people in history
- Accurate information from both sides of the story

Interactive 11.2 de facto/ de jure Segregation



Listen to each of the audio interviews in this interactive. On a separate sheet of paper determine whether each is an example of de facto or de jure segregation.

Early attempts at addressing these injustices were addressed through the formation of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. Sprouting from the early efforts of The Niagara Movement, started by WEB du Bois in 1905, the NAACP was a much larger and more powerful group of both blacks and whites who were dedicated to seeking political, social, economic, and educational equality for minority groups in the United States. Early efforts of the NAACP included addressing the horrific practice of lynching in the south, as well as attacking segregationist practices nation wide that they felt were violations of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

World War II and its Impact on the Movement

World War II played a pivotal role in jumpstarting a more active pursuit of Civil Rights than many realize. African Americans played an important role, alongside women, in the industrial war time economy that effectively enabled the US to help the Allies win the war. Had it not been for the need for workers in these defense



image source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:UNITED_WE_WIN_-_NARA_-_513820.jpg

industry factories, leading to the second Great Migration of African American families out of the South in pursuit of these jobs, some of the issues surrounding equal rights would have taken much longer to come out of the south and to the forefront (Learn more about what caused this poster to be created! [Click here!](#)).

Despite the continued rejection of equality, this did not stop African Americans from partaking, in many cases willingly and with great achievement, in the fight for freedom abroad. African American soldiers, despite their segregation into colored only units (typically under the command of white officers), served with bravery and honor during both World War I, World War II, and beyond.

During World War II, African Americans enlisted not only to fight oppression abroad, but at home as well, in what became known as the Double V Campaign. The Pittsburgh Courier, a widely read black newspaper developed the idea of “Victory at Home and Victory Abroad”, to fight the hypocrisy of the American war effort abroad and the unequal treatment which African Americans were subject to on the home front. In response to various protests, President Roosevelt issued a directive that federal agencies and all companies that were engaged in war work were prohibited from practicing any kind of racial discrimination. This set the stage for the actions of President Truman who in 1948 issued two executive orders: one banning segregation in the armed forces

and the other guaranteeing fair employment practices in the civil service.

Meanwhile, another group of brave African Americans fought discrimination in the armed forces. Despite the strict segregationist policies of the US Army during World War II, this did not stop the Tuskegee Airmen from proving their skill and ability to be equal to that of white pilots. The Army deemed the integration of the Army Air Corps a failure before it even got off the ground, but participants in the program proved these initial assessments to be blatantly false and unfounded. The 99th Pursuit Squadron became the first unit of African American pilots to serve in the war, earning three Distinguished Unit Citations,



amongst many other recognitions for their valor in battle. The Tuskegee Airmen played an integral role in challenging the Army's strict segregationist practices. With the efforts on the home front of people like A. Philip Randolph and the NAACP, and the continued valantry of other African American soldiers and units across the globe, lead President Truman to issue **Executive Order 9981** in 1948, which effectively ended all discriminatory practices in the military.

But the fight for equality was far from over, and if anything, was just heating up.

Early Demands for Racial Equality

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?
2. How did the second women's movement increase rights for women?
3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

Voting Rights Act of 1965

NAACP

Double V Campaign

Tuskegee Airmen

Executive Order 9981

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Brown v. Board of Education

Little Rock Nine

Boycott

The Civil Rights Act of 1957

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Nonviolent protest

Sit-ins

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Early Demands for Racial Equality

Rooted in religion and common sense, the earliest instances of what later became known as the Civil Rights Movement involved direct action that occurred at the local level. In Atlanta, for example, after a state law was passed in 1891 segregating streetcars, black men and women carried out a successful strike in 1892, partially because of the aid and blessings of institutions and businesses of the black community. Other instances of direct action as well as collective self-defense by united African Americans in the city was the impetus for the establishment of the Niagara Movement by an Atlanta University professor, W.E.B. DuBois. Four years later as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded, the Niagara Movement had been the forerunner.

By 1942, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was founded by James Farmer and George Houser.

Along with the NAACP, **CORE** addressed segregation on the homefront. Unlike the NAACP, CORE took a more grassroots focus to its approach of dealing with segregation. CORE's basis of operations was in northern cities (such as Chicago,

Interactive 11.3 The NAACP and the Birth of a Nation



where it was founded) and their protests were inspired by the practices of Mahatma Gandhi, who practiced civil disobedience, rather than violent protests. CORE staged sit-in protests in an attempt to draw attention to the injustices of segregated public facilities such as restaurants and theaters and was often extremely successful in the North, conveying its message of direct action to bring about social change. However, in 1955, as CORE provided its philosophical commitment to nonviolent direct action to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, CORE shifted the focus of its energy to the South.

The Color Barrier is Broken in Baseball

“A life is not important except in the impact it has on other lives.”

Appropriately said by Jackie Robinson, the first African American to play in baseball's major league in over 50+ years when selected by Branch Rickey, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. On April 15, 1947, Robinson played his first major-league game: "It was the most eagerly anticipated debut in the annals of the national pastime," wrote Robert Lipsyte and Pete Levine in *Idols of the Game*. "It represented both the dream and the fear of equal opportunity, and it would change forever the complexion of the game and the attitudes of Americans." Robinson was subjected to endless taunts by players and fans and was a physical target to some pitchers, but was able to practice self-restraint and discipline by not lashing out or being a reckless player. He tolerated a hostile press as he finished his first season

with a batting average of .296 and was voted Rookie of the Year. Because of his self-control both on and off the field along with his determination to represent baseball to the best of his capacity, by the end of his first season with the Dodgers, Robinson had successfully broken the color barrier and paved the way for other black players to integrate the National Baseball League.



image source: <https://dakiniland.files.wordpress.com/2016/09/jackie-robinson.jpg>

The Supreme Court Takes on Segregation and Equal Rights

The 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson Supreme Court decision that “separate was equal” had set a precedent which had detrimentally impacted equality through the eyes of the law for decades. Thanks to the efforts of organizations like the NAACP and CORE, the individual contributions of minorities on the homefront working in factories and staging grassroots movements, and those fighting abroad, the Supreme Court began to take action to reverse some of the damage that had been done by the Plessy decision. In 1950, with the cases of Sweatt v. Painter and McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, the NAACP legal team led by future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, devised a plan to begin challenging and dismantling the “separate but equal” precedent established by the Plessy ruling, placing the organization’s limited resources in the direction of desegregating public education.

Interactive 11.4 Segregation/Integration

Segregationist Arguments

Integrationist Arguments

Social separation of blacks and whites was a regional custom; the states should be left free to regulate their own social affairs.

The Fourteenth Amendment did not specify whether the states would be allowed to establish segregated education.

The Constitution did not require white and African American children to attend the same schools.

Psychological testing demonstrated the harmful effects of segregation on the minds of African American children.

In Plessy v. Ferguson, the Supreme Court had misinterpreted the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Equal protection of the laws did not allow for racial segregation.

The Fourteenth Amendment allowed the government to prohibit any discriminatory state action based on race, including segregation in public schools.

Segregation was not harmful to black people.

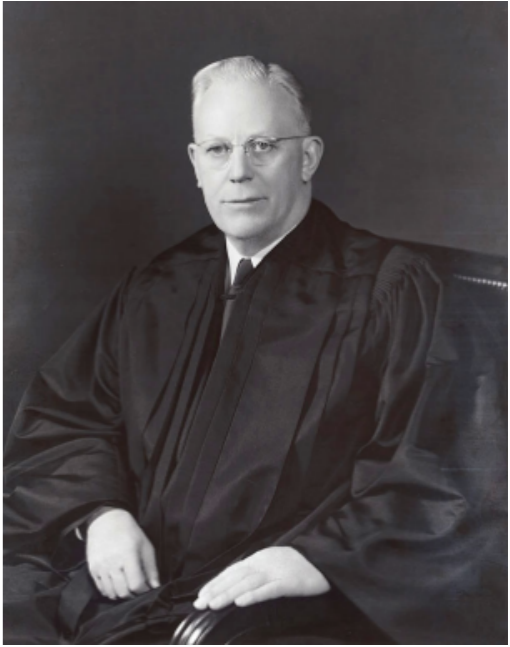
Whites were making a good faith effort to equalize the two educational systems. But because black children were still living with the effects of slavery, it would take some time before they were able to compete with white children in the same classroom.

Read each argument and drag it to the appropriate side.

The legal dismantling of the “separate but equal” precedent established by the Plessy decision made huge gains in 1954 with the Supreme Court decision in **Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas**. The case centered around Linda Brown and her family’s struggle, along with twenty other African American families, who were denied admission to the elementary school in her neighborhood because they were African American. The court ruled 9-0 in favor of the Brown family, and African American families nationwide, when Chief Justice Earl Warren stated in his majority opinion that “separate is inherently unequal.” De Jure segregation was now unconstitutional under the law, but the battle of undoing what had been established by the Plessy decision was only just beginning.

Excerpts from majority opinions Brown v. Board of Education:

“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....



Justice Earl Warren

To separate [children in grade school and high school] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs: Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system. [n10] Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. [n11] Any language [p495] in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the

equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Responses to Brown and Desegregation

While the Supreme Court may have unanimously ruled to reverse "separate but equal", there were many Americans who did not share the court's enthusiasm, and the tradition of de facto segregation was not going to go down without a fight.

A year after the initial Brown decision, a second court case, which became known as Brown II, established that school desegregation would happen with "all deliberate speed". This rather ambiguous statement left little certainty as to what "all deliberate speed" actually meant. In response to both Brown decisions, many southern senators and representatives pledged their support to prevent the enforcement of the Brown ruling by all "lawful means", stating that the Supreme Court had misinterpreted the 14th amendment. This "Southern Manifesto" as it became known, may have had no legal standing, but became the rallying cry of many southerners to save Jim Crow and defy the rulings of the court.

The Little Rock Nine and Public School Desegregation

The Brown decision not only placed stronger emphasis on eliminating the impacts of *Plessy* on the school system, but it also challenged the relationship between state governments and the federal government.



image source: <https://media2.fdncms.com/orlando/imager/u/original/2929116/littlerock.jpeg>

One of the more notorious confrontations pitting the demands of state and federal government against each other occurred in Little Rock, Arkansas. By the 1950s, the desegregation scene in Little Rock was beginning to change as some labor unions had quietly ended their Jim Crow practices. Additionally, two men who publicly supported desegregation had been elected to the school board, and the superintendent of the school began working on a plan in 1953 for desegregation to occur gradually within the school system. However, state politics did not mirror the “progressive view” of the Little Rock school system. In 1957, the current governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, saw himself in the middle of a tight race for reelection. The governor backed

segregationists and in the fall of 1957, he ordered the National Guard to block the entry of nine African American students who had volunteered to be the first students to integrate Central High School. In response, that same afternoon, a federal judge ordered the governor to let the students into school the following day.

Eight of the nine students who had telephones received calls from local ministers volunteering to escort them to school the following day to ensure their safety. Elizabeth Eckford, however, did not have a phone and therefore, was never notified of the plan. The following day, wearing the dress she had made for her first day at Central High School, she set out alone to walk to school. Encountering an abusive crowd of students and adults, Eckford was finally able to make it to a bus stop where she waited until the bus arrived.

Until the situation in Little Rock, President Eisenhower had taken very little public stance on the matter of enforcing the Brown decision, or civil rights in general. After Governor Faubus utilized the National Guard to resist the mandate handed down by

Interactive 11.5 Linking Past to Present



Read the article above and write a brief paragraph explaining whether or not you agree with Carlotta Walls LaNeir’s position that the issue over transgender bathroom use marks a step backwards in history?

the federal courts, The President realized he had no choice but to take action. To ensure that the federal law was followed, President Eisenhower placed the Arkansas National Guard under his control and deployed the 101st Airborne Division to ensure that The Little Rock 9 could enter the school to attend class.

Problems for the nine students continued throughout the school year by troublemakers who confronted them in the halls and stairways and in the cafeteria. At the end of the school year, Governor Faubus shut down Central High School to ensure that he would not be forced to allow further integration in the school system to continue. The situation in Little Rock demonstrated that President Eisenhower would not tolerate open defiance of federal law by state governments. But despite his firm stance, it would be many years before public schools were fully integrated.

Montgomery Bus Boycott

While the nation braced for the inevitable disagreements over desegregating schools, another storm had been brewing in Montgomery, Alabama. Public transportation throughout much of the south was ruled by strict de jure segregationist practices. On city buses, African Americans were required to sit near the back of

the bus, and if a white passenger had nowhere to sit, African Americans were required to give up their seat to the white passenger.

Rumblings of a boycott had been brewing surrounding the arrest of African American women on city buses who refused to give up their seats to white passengers, but the arrest of Rosa Parks on December 1, 1955 set the boycott into motion.



http://www.history.com/s3static/video-thumbnails/AETN-History_VMS/1017/447/History_Rosa_Parks_Montgomery_Bus_Boycott_179889_SF_HD_still_624x352.jpg

Rosa Parks was an active member of the local chapter of the NAACP, and they quickly responded to her arrest. E.D. Nixon, a long time leader for the NAACP, was credited with helping Miss Parks secure bail and went on to seek her permission to use her case as the test case to try to end segregation on public transportation. Shortly after Parks' arrest, a group of African American ministers met to discuss how to respond. Since African Americans made up an overwhelming majority of Montgomery's bus riding patrons, the decision was made to boycott the Montgomery Bus System starting on December 5th. The Montgomery Improvement Association was formed to organize the boycott and ministers under the leadership of a young, dynamic pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., spread word of the boycott during Sunday

services. The following day, 90 percent of African Americans who typically rode the bus united together and refused to ride, choosing to carpool and walk instead. Inspired by the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the boycott lasted 381 days.



As you read the following excerpt from Dr. King's first public speech, think about:

How the structure of his speech is used to emphasize key ideas of nonviolent civil disobedience.

How the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in this speech emphasize a desire to see political justice enforced.

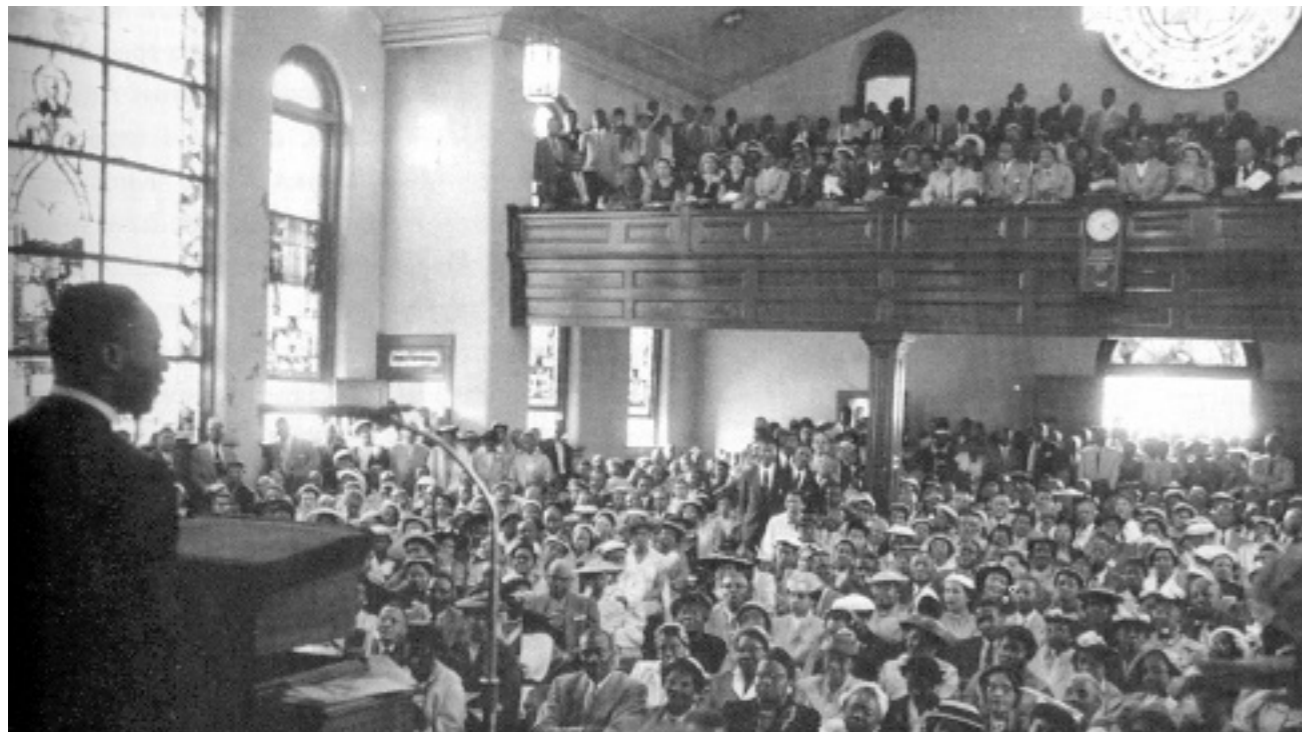


Image source: <http://www.crmvet.org/crmpics/mbb1.jpg>

"...And you know, my friends, there comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. There comes a time, my friends, when people get tired of being plunged across the abyss of humiliation, where they experience the bleakness of nagging despair. There comes a time when people get tired of being pushed out of the glittering sunlight of life's July and left standing amid the piercing chill of an alpine November. There comes a time.

We are here, we are here this evening because we're tired now. And I want to say that we are not here advocating violence. We have never done that. I want it to be known throughout

Montgomery and throughout this nation that we are Christian people. We believe in the Christian religion. We believe in the teachings of Jesus. The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest. That's all.

And certainly, certainly, this is the glory of America, with all of its faults. This is the glory of our democracy. If we were incarcerated behind the iron curtains of a Communistic nation we couldn't do this. If we were dropped 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. My friends, don't let anybody make us feel that we are to be compared in our actions with the Ku Klux Klan or with the White Citizens Council. There will be no crosses burned at any bus stops in Montgomery. There will be no white persons pulled out of their homes and taken out on some distant road and lynched for not cooperating. There will be nobody amid, among us who will stand up and defy the Constitution of this nation. We only assemble here because of our desire to see right exist. My friends, I want it to be known that we're going to work with grim and bold determination to gain justice on the buses in this city."

Interactive 11.6 Learn More



Learn more about the bus boycott here!

During the 381 days of the boycott, boycotters remained nonviolent, despite some violent events that occurred. Late in 1956, in response to a lawsuit filed by the bus boycotters, the Supreme Court outlawed bus segregation. On December 21, 1956, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. sat in the front seat of a Montgomery bus, he commented that, "It was a great ride."

The **Civil Rights Act of 1957** was signed into law not long after the end of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the faceoff between state and federal governments over school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas. The act created the United States Civil Rights Commission, which gave power to the US Attorney General to investigate violations of civil rights protected by the 14th and 15th amendments. While it lacked some of the teeth to truly put the issue of civil rights to rest, the act was chalked up as a symbolic victory since it was the first piece of civil rights legislation passed since Reconstruction. The political and legal activism of groups like CORE and the NAACP paired with the bravery of individuals like Rosa Parks, the **Little Rock Nine**, and many others began to challenge the meaning of "liberty and justice for all" and draw attention to the fact that the United States was falling short of living up to the full meaning of its creed.

African American Churches and the Civil Rights Movement

The Montgomery bus boycott illustrated the power of unity as well as the impact of organized, nonviolent resistance. The success of the Montgomery bus boycott also demonstrated the important role that African American churches played in the Civil Rights movement. For centuries, the church had served as a place for African Americans to join together communally and escape the horrors and injustices of slavery. The early meetings to discuss the response to Rosa Parks's arrest also thrust 26 year old clergyman Martin Luther King, Jr. into the spotlight as the charismatic leader of the Civil Rights movement.

King's message of nonviolence became the focus of the newly created **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in the wake of the successful Montgomery bus boycott. The practice of **nonviolent protest** and civil disobedience became the mainstay of the early Civil Rights Movement. King's focus on nonviolence which King referred to as "soul force" centered around his study and admiration of the teachings and practices of Mohandas Ghandi, Henry David Thoreau, and A. Philip Randolph. King's adoption of nonviolence would empower and inspire the next generation of Civil Rights Activists.

Nonviolence and the 1960s

The power of nonviolent protest in the Montgomery bus boycott galvanized a new group of civil rights activists: students. African American students anxious for integration were disappointed at the rate "all deliberate speed" was being carried out by southern schools moving towards integration. But the schools were not the only areas of society dragging their feet at the pace of "all deliberate speed" when it came to integration. On February 1, 1960, Four African American students enrolled at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College staged one of the first "**sit-ins**"



Image source: <http://americanhistory.si.edu/brown/history/6-legacy/images/sit-in.jpg>

at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. On the first day of the sit-in, the "Greensboro Four" as they became known arrived and asked to receive service at the counter. When they were denied service, and asked to leave, they refused to comply with the request and sat at the counter until Woolworth's closed. The next day they returned, and original four were joined by twenty five more supporters. By the third day of the protest, more than 300 students had joined the Greensboro Four, and the the sit-in movement was garnering national attention.

By the end of July, 1960, Woolworth's announced that it would integrate its lunch counters serving any properly dressed and "well-behaved" individual. The 6 month long nonviolent sit-in movement had been a success.

The Evolution of the Movement

The Greensboro sit-in protest sparked a surge of sit-in protests around the country protesting segregation at a variety of public places ranging from beaches to libraries and involved over 71,000 sit-in protesters and resulting in over 3,000 arrests. The overwhelming success of many of these protests led to the a meeting amongst student organizers in Raleigh, North Carolina in 1960. The result of the meeting was the formation of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC). The Civil Rights movement was evolving and with it so too were the individuals

supporting it as well as the tactics they were using to promote its message.

Pressure on the federal government intensifies

In 1961, CORE's leadership decided it was time to test the Supreme Court's decisions on the desegregation of bus seating and bus terminal facilities. Two interracial teams of freedom riders each boarded a bus with the intent of riding throughout the South challenging segregation. The rationale was that if instances of violence occurred, President Kennedy and his administration would have no choice but to enforce desegregation laws. When the first bus reached the state line of Alabama, the violence began when six racists boarded the bus and attacked both black and white members of the interracial team violently. After the first incident, as the bus ventured further into Alabama, a

hostile mob attacked the group again at the Birmingham bus terminal. One of the riders, James Peck was beaten unconscious and required fifty-three stitches to sew up



http://www.core-online.org/historyphotos/burning_bus.gif

his badly battered face and head. The ride of the first bus would end there but the second bus continued southward. When the second bus reached Anniston, Alabama, 200 angry whites attacked bus two, damaging the sides and slashing its tires. The mob continued the violence by blocking the doors and throwing a fire bomb onto the back of the bus. Barely escaping in time, the freedom riders forced open the door and ran to safety as the bus exploded into a ball of flames.

When the bus company refused to continue the trip, most riders boarded a flight to New Orleans. However, an interesting turn of events would take place. Diane Nash, a leader within the SNCC informed CORE's director, James Farmer that a group of Nashville SNCC members wanted to continue the freedom ride. Hesitantly, Farmer agreed and the SNCC volunteers rode into Birmingham.

Once there, the police commissioner and his men proceeded to pull the students off the bus, beating them before driving them across state lines into Tennessee. Not to be discouraged, the SNCC volunteers returned to the Birmingham terminal, waiting for 18 hours in the whites-only waiting room for a bus driver willing to transport them. After an angry phone call from Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the bus company convinced their driver to drive the students to Montgomery. Although Kennedy had been promised police protection for the riders, none were stationed at the Montgomery terminal when the bus arrived. Newspapers across the country denounced the violence that had occurred. This convinced President Kennedy to send U.S. marshals to



[http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/media/filer_public_thumbnails/filer_public/93/2b/](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/media/filer_public_thumbnails/filer_public/93/2b/932bfeac-0f4d-4181-9f13-2aa8ce70c90d/whatcamenext_bus_600.jpg__600x601_q85_crop_subsampling-2_upscale.jpg)

[932bfeac-0f4d-4181-9f13-2aa8ce70c90d/](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/media/filer_public_thumbnails/filer_public/93/2b/932bfeac-0f4d-4181-9f13-2aa8ce70c90d/whatcamenext_bus_600.jpg__600x601_q85_crop_subsampling-2_upscale.jpg)

[whatcamenext_bus_600.jpg__600x601_q85_crop_subsampling-2_upscale.jpg](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/media/filer_public_thumbnails/filer_public/93/2b/932bfeac-0f4d-4181-9f13-2aa8ce70c90d/whatcamenext_bus_600.jpg__600x601_q85_crop_subsampling-2_upscale.jpg)

protect the riders at their last stop in Jackson, Mississippi.

Additionally, the Interstate Commerce Commission along with the attorney general issued an order banning all segregation in interstate travel facilities.

Many Americans wondered if President Kennedy would consistently defend endeavors aimed at increasing civil rights for African Americans. Listen to how that question was answered as President Kennedy's brother and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy addresses graduates at The University of Georgia in May of 1961.

Interactive 11.7 Robert F. Kennedy at the University of Georgia



As desegregation was slowly occurring at interstate travel facilities, civil rights workers decided to turn their attention to assisting with desegregation efforts in schools. By September of 1962, James Meredith would make history as the first black student to attend the University of Mississippi--most commonly known as Ole Miss. However, his admittance won through a federal court case was only the first step. As Meredith arrived on campus to register, Governor Ross Barnett refused to let him register as a student.

As riots broke out on campus causing two deaths and requiring more than 5,000 soldiers over fifteen hours to stop the violence, President Kennedy's consistent use of federal troops to ensure desegregation continued to prove effective as federal officials



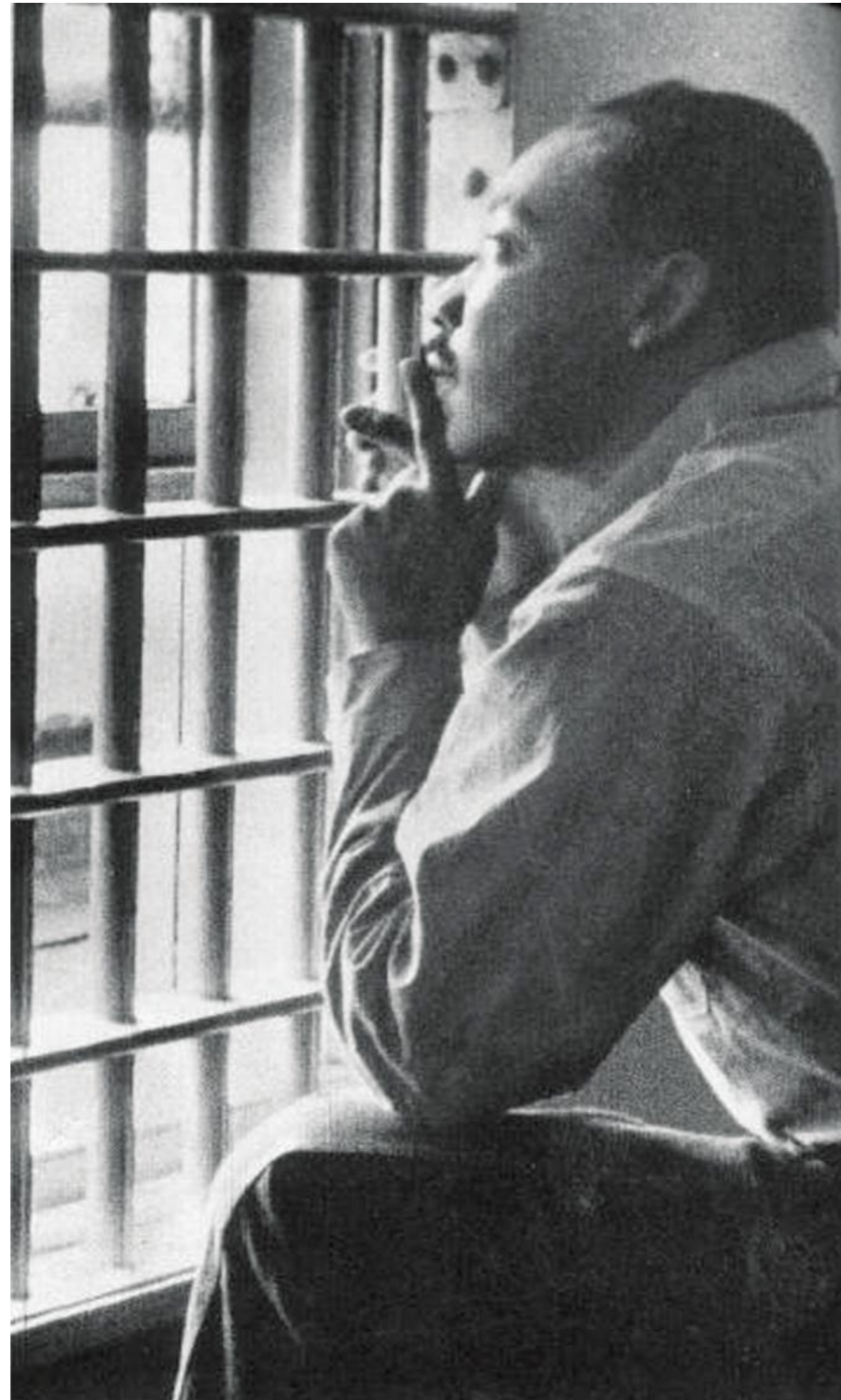
<https://acriticalreviewofthehelp.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/blocade-at-ole-miss.jpg>

continued to escort Meredith to class and protect his parents after their home had been shot up by nightriders.

By 1963, things were heating up in Birmingham. Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth who was the head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights had decided that the strict enforcement of segregation in all aspects of public life needed to end. Additionally, he had decided that it was time to put the power of nonviolence to the test so he invited Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the SCLC to help desegregate the city. At the end of

several days of demonstrations, King led a march into the streets of Birmingham where the marchers were arrested, including King. While in jail, Dr. King wrote an open letter to the white religious leaders who believed that he was pushing for desegregation too quickly.

“I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your 20 million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society;...when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking in



<https://sojo.net/sites/default/files/magazine/king.jpg>

agonizing pathos: “Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?”...then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait.”

Interactive 11.8 Letter from Birmingham Jail



To view the entire document written by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., click here:

On April 20th, Dr. King was able to post bail. Upon his release he began organizing more demonstrations. This time it was the children's turn. On May 2nd, more than a thousand African American children marched in the streets of Birmingham. The infamous police commissioner, Bull Connor, arrested 959 of the children who demonstrated. The following day when more children marched, Connor had his helmeted police force sweep the children marchers off of their feet with high-pressure fire hoses, set attack dogs on them, and clubbed the children who fell down. As television cameras recorded the entire scene, millions of television viewers witnessed the brutality of the police force as well as the screams of children.



<https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/originals/6e/9c/3e/6e9c3e3c75f75a0e8d429fa159ae00c7.jpg>

Finally, after continued protests, economic boycotts, and continued negative media coverage, officials met King's demands to end segregation in the city of Birmingham. Considered by many as an incredible victory for civil rights, many African Americans across the country were inspired. Meanwhile, President Kennedy believed that nothing short of a new civil rights act would end the disorder and violence and ensure racial justice. Understanding that new legislation would take time, President Kennedy, in the meantime, continued to utilize federal troops to assist with desegregation of public schools. On June 11, 1963, Kennedy forced Alabama governor George Wallace to honor a court order calling for the desegregation of the University of Alabama; federal troops again had been utilized to ensure the court order had been honored. Later that evening in a nationally televised address, President Kennedy demanded that Congress pass a new civil rights bill. Listen to President Kennedy's address on civil rights [here](#)

Interactive 11.9 Kennedy's Civil Rights Address



Not everyone agreed with President Kennedy's stance on the need for new civil rights legislation. Just hours after the president's public address, white supremacist Byron de la Beckwith shot and killed Medgar Evers, an NAACP field secretary, in the driveway of his home in Jackson, Mississippi. As a field worker, Evers had traveled throughout Mississippi encouraging poor African Americans to register to vote and become active in the civil rights movement. Additionally, Evers played a key role in obtaining witnesses and evidence for the Emmitt Till murder case, a case that brought attention to the nation about the plight of African Americans in the South.



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/2/2d/Medgar_Evers.jpg

A Dream of Equality

The civil rights bill that President Kennedy sent to Congress was to guarantee equal access to all public accommodations, including public schools. Additionally, the bill gave power to the U.S. Attorney General to file desegregation suits against schools.

Determined to help persuade Congress to pass the bill, leaders of the SCLC worked diligently to organize a massive march on the nation's capital. On August 28 of 1963, more than 250,000 marchers (75,000 of which were white) assembled on the grounds near the Washington Monument in Washington D.C. and walked to the Lincoln Monument.

Assembled on the mall plaza, people listened to many of the movement's leaders plead for passage of the president's civil rights bill.



<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cd/IhaveadreamMarines.jpg>

When Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., took the podium, the huge crowd erupted with thunderous applause. His “I Have a Dream” speech appealed for peace and racial harmony. Listen to an excerpt of it here while paying attention to his repeated refrain and think about why it was so powerful.

More Violence Occurs

Even though King’s speech had inspired thousands on August 28th, just two weeks later racial violence erupted again in Birmingham. On Sunday morning September 15th, a bomb thrown out of a speeding car exploded inside the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, killing four young girls and wounding several others. The church had consisted of a predominantly black congregation and had often served as a meeting place for civil rights leaders.

Two months after the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas on November 22, 1963. The succeeding president, Lyndon Baines Johnson vowed to carry on the work that President Kennedy had accomplished and on July 2, 1964, the president signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and gender. Paramount

Interactive 11.10 King’s - I Have a Dream Speech



was the right of all citizens to enter parks, restrooms, libraries, restaurants, theaters, and other public facilities.

Struggles for Voting Rights Continue

Although the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was seen as a victory for ensuring certain civil rights for African Americans, members of both CORE and SNCC believed that expanding voting rights for African Americans would be critical to the election of legislators who would support civil rights. Hoping for national publicity to influence Congress to pass a voting rights act, CORE and SNCC led Freedom Summer, a voter registration project focused mainly in Mississippi. Almost immediately, the project encountered violent opposition when three civil rights workers disappeared. White volunteers from New York, Michael



Schwerner and Andrew Goodman and James Chaney, an African American volunteer from Mississippi were beaten and then murdered by Klansmen with the support of local police.

In Mississippi, the murders shook the project as threats and violence continued. Many workers resented the lack of federal protection and the slowness of the investigation into the murders of the three SNCC volunteers. The result was mounting distrust between blacks and white workers and while fifty Freedom Schools were organized, the result was minimal--only 1200 African Americans were registered.

Another setback came in August when President Johnson's administration pressured civil rights leaders to try and convince members of the **Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party** (MFDP) to accept a compromise of 2 of Mississippi's 68 seats at the convention along with a promise to ban discrimination at the 1968 Democratic Convention. On the state front, members of the MFDP felt they had been betrayed by civil rights leaders, leading to conflict among various civil rights groups. Regionally, a deep division arose between those who believed in integration and nonviolence and mostly young African Americans who doubted that racial equality could be achieved through peaceful endeavors. While the movement remained active, it began to lose the component of solidarity that had been the key to success in the movement.

The Selma Campaign

Early in 1965, the SCLC decided Selma, Alabama would be the focus of a concentrated voter registration drive. Dr. King, who predicted a hostile white response, was hopeful that it would convince the president's administration of the need to sponsor a federal voting-rights law. The month of January saw over 2,000 African Americans arrested in demonstrations, many of which had been brutally attacked by sheriff Jim Clark and his men. In February officers shot and killed a demonstrator. In response, Dr. King announced a 50 mile protest march beginning in Selma and ending at the state's capital of Montgomery. Approximately 600 protesters gathered to begin the march on March 7, 1965 but didn't get far until they encountered Alabama state troopers.

Armed with whips, nightsticks, and tear gas, the troopers rushed the crowd at the Edmund Pettus Bridge, pushing the crowd back into the city of Selma. The nationally televised scene shocked Americans and demonstrators from around the country poured into Selma to join the march. President Johnson responded by asking Congress to quickly pass a new voting rights act. On Sunday, March 31st, 3,000 once again set out for Montgomery with federal protection. By the time the marchers reached Montgomery, some 25,000 demonstrators had joined as they all walked into Montgomery.



http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/kummwn/picture7402148/alternates/FREE_640/Selma%20march%202.jpg

Ten weeks after the Selma march to Montgomery, Congress passed the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, eliminating literacy tests that had disqualified so many voters. Additionally, the act also allowed for federal examiners to enroll voters denied suffrage by local officials. Although seen as a major civil rights victory to many, some African Americans felt the law did not go far enough. Social and economic inequities had been the result of over two hundred years of discrimination. Anger boiled over in many

northern cities leading to violent disturbances in the second half of the decade.

Organization	Key People	Key Features
NAACP	Thurgood Marshall	Focused on legal cases to end segregation
Nation of Islam	Malcom X	Advocated separation of the races
CORE	James Famer Greg Houser	Grassroots campaigns in mostly Northern cities organizing civil disobedience responses as protests
SCLC	Martin Luther King Jr. Ralph Abernathy	At King's urging, consistent practices of civil disobedience and nonviolent protests in response to racially segregated actions
SNCC	James Lawson Ella Baker Stokely Carmichael	Black and white college volunteers with single goal of registering African American voters mainly in the deep South
Black Panther Party	Huey Newton Bobby Seale	Grassroots "survival programs" for African Americans in cities across the country; fought against police brutality and education inequality

Continuing to Seek Greater Equality

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?
2. How did the second women's movement increase rights for women?
3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

“White flight”

“Black Power”

Black Panther Party

Survival Programs

Kerner Commission

Civil Rights Act of 1968

Affirmative action

Northern Segregation

While most segregation in the South was de jure segregation (segregation by law), segregation problems in the North had been the result of de facto segregation (segregation that exists due to practices and social customs). Because the elimination of each type of segregation required different measures, social activists found it much more difficult to change de facto segregation in the North; convincing whites to share both economic and social power with African Americans was a monumental task.

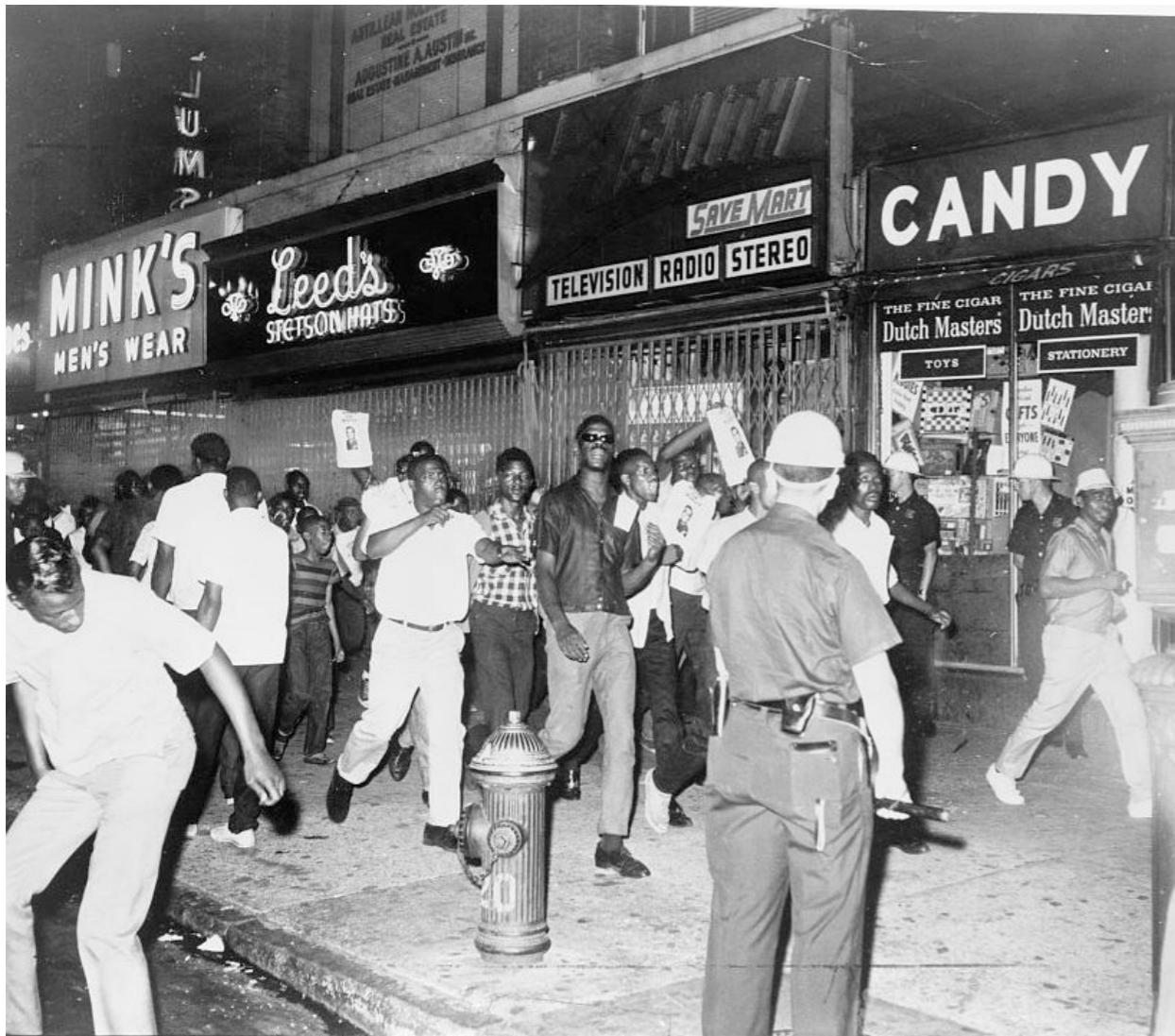
African American migration to Northern cities after World War II which caused “**white flight**” in which huge numbers of whites living in cities moved to newly built suburbs. By the middle of the 1960s, most urban dwellers living in large and in many cases somewhat old cities found themselves living in slums that were not up-to-code with local housing ordinances. Not surprisingly, city schools deteriorated along side local neighborhoods and along with the mass exodus of white workers and their salaries, unemployment rates among African Americans were at least twice as high as their white working counterparts.

Urban Violence Explodes

Although gains in voting rights and the desegregation of public schools had been widely publicized, the result in northern cities was that of impatience for

discrimination in other areas such as housing, wages, job opportunities, and equal treatment by police forces that patrolled their streets. It seemed as though urban cities were powder kegs ready to explode.

On July 18th, 1964, a clash between African American teenagers and white police officers in New York City, ending in the death of a 15 year old student, ignited a race riot in central Harlem. By the



<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c8/Demonstrators-Harlem-1964.jpg>

time it had ended over 100 people had been injured and several hundred arrested.

This riot sparked other riots throughout the state that would occur throughout the month of July, one of which took place in Rochester, a town 330 miles northwest of New York City. The Rochester Riot occurred from July 24-26, sparked by an arrest at a street party resulting in three days of rioting. The struggle for equality that the Civil Rights movement brought to the South had taken a turn in the North.

To better understand the situation in the North, take a look at two perspectives of individuals who lived in Rochester at the time of the riots:

Roberta Abbott Buckle, a white teenager, lost her father, the head of civil defense for the city when the helicopter he was flying in crashed. She talks about her own racist feelings and how and when those feelings changed:

Interactive 11.11 The Race Riots Revisited

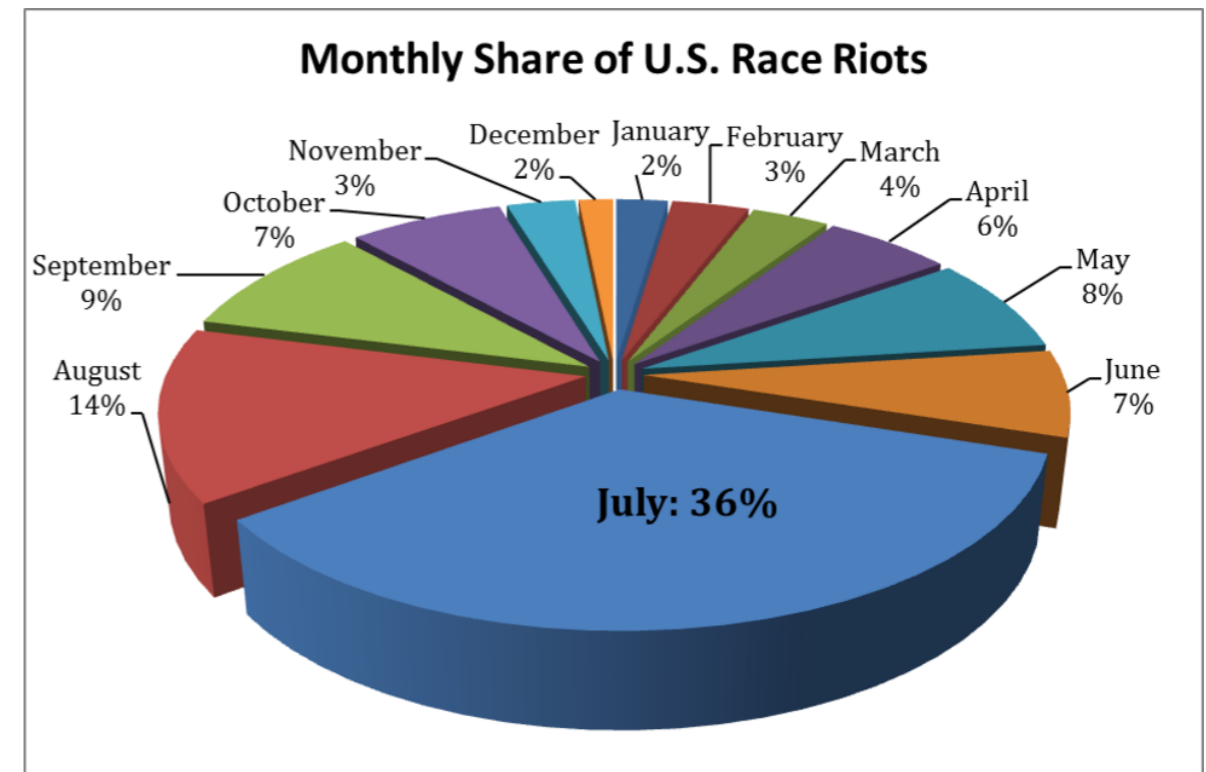


Similar conflicts took place between the summer of 1964 and the spring of 1968. Look at the chart below to obtain a sense of the extent of racial disturbances in a time period of less than four years during the 1960s.



Riots in Chicago after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

<https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/originals/93/81/d7/9381d7bc0b77ee3fcc65af296b0d6f4d.jpg>



Questions to think about with regard to race riots throughout the nation's history:

Is there a certain time of year where rioting has more frequently occurred?

What role, if any, does geography play in where riots tend to occur?

Which riots have been ranked as the most deadly?

Which year has seen the most rioting?

Visit the site below to find answers to some of these intriguing questions:

Interactive 11.12 Brief History of Race Riots

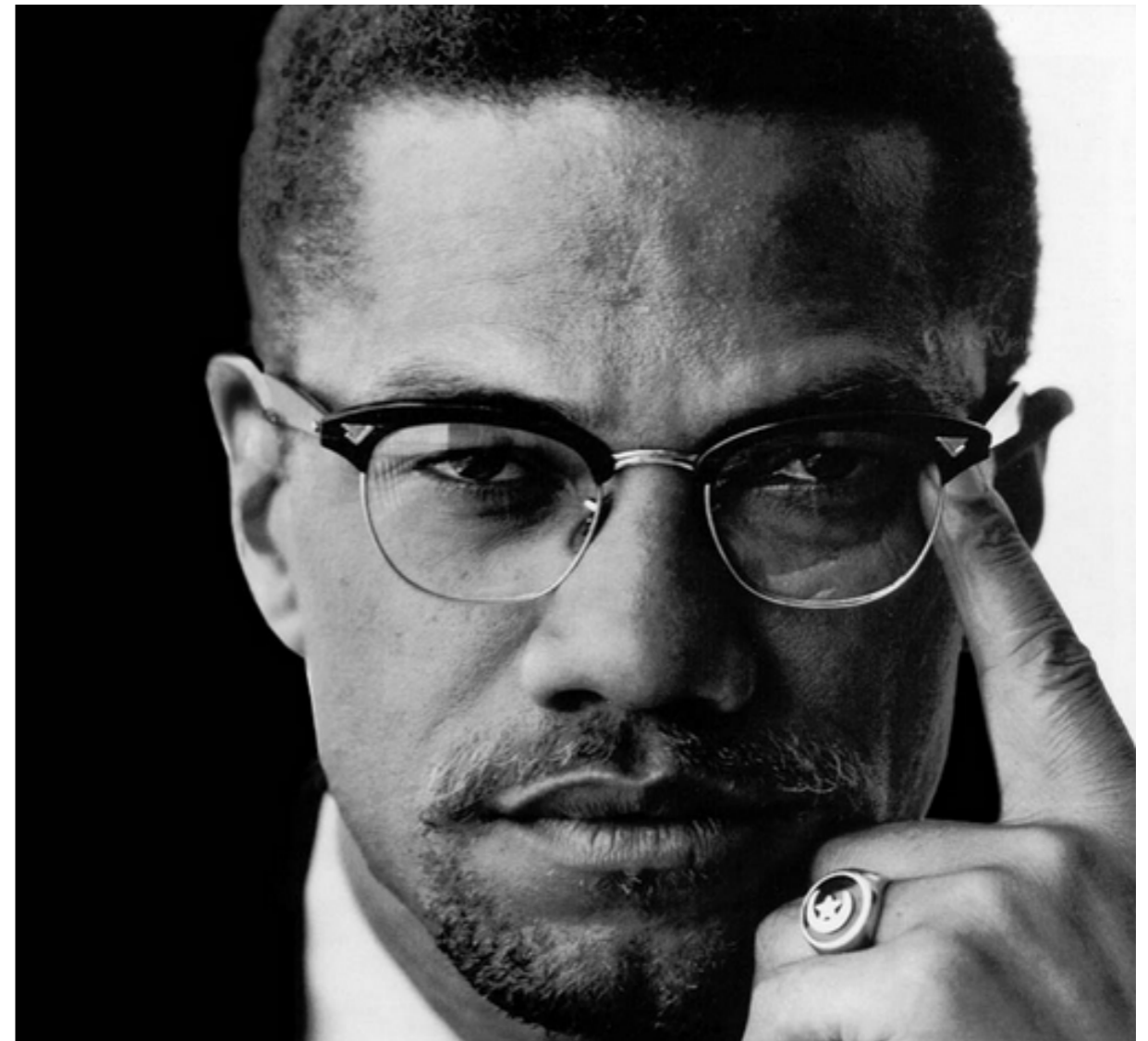


New Leaders on the Scene

The anger responsible for most of the riots that had occurred was rooted, in large part, from African American leaders who had revived the belief that African Americans needed to take complete control of their own communities, cultures, and livelihoods.

Malcolm X was one of those leaders. Born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska, Malcolm at the age of 20 was sent to jail for burglary. It was in prison where he studied Islam through the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, the head of the Nation of Islam.

By 1952, after his release from prison, Malcolm (now ridding himself of his last name and taking the name of “X”) had become a minister of Islam, quickly rising in the ranks of the religion’s



<https://www.vocate.me/blog/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/malcolmx1.png>

hierarchy to become one of Muhammad’s most famous disciples within the Nation of Islam (NOI) organization. An engaging speaker, Malcolm X openly preached that whites were the cause of the conditions of blacks throughout the country. By 1959, Mike Wallace, a well-known new reporter featured Malcolm X in a week-long television special. Titled, *The Hate That Hate Produced*, the program explored the fundamental beliefs of the Nation of Islam and showed his rise as one of the NOI’s most

important leaders. Furthermore, he preached that blacks should separate from white society. By 1964, he was also advocating for armed self-defense by blacks.

In March of 1964, due to differences in beliefs about NOI strategy and doctrine, Malcolm left the Nation of Islam and formed another Muslim organization, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. Shortly thereafter he embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca. While on the pilgrimage, Malcolm's thinking was radically changed when he learned that orthodox Islam preached the equality of all races. Upon his return to the U.S. his attitudes towards whites had changed. By 1965, his new slogan was,

"Ballots or bullets." As Malcolm explained, "Well, if you and I don't use the ballot, we're going to be forced to use the bullet. So let us try the ballot." For a clip from one of his press conferences after his return from Mecca, view here:

Interactive 11.13 Malcom X Returns from Mecca



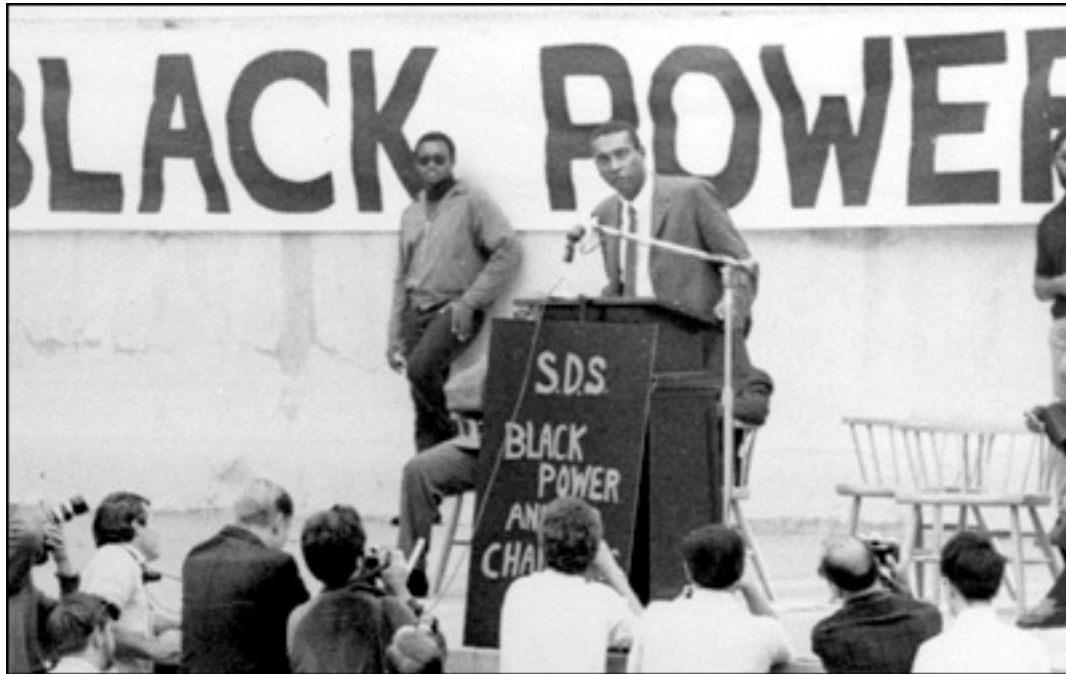
Relations between Malcolm X and his former teacher Muhammad, had grown increasingly volatile. Undercover FBI agents inside the Nation of Islam had become aware of plans to assassinate Malcolm and after repeated attempts on his life, assassins had finally succeeded. On February 21, 1965, while on

stage at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, speaking to a crowd of 400, he was shot fifteen times by three men; Malcolm X was dead at age 39.

The Emergence of "Black Power"

By June of 1966, tensions between SNCC and the other civil rights groups finally exploded in Mississippi. James Meredith (the first black male to integrate the University of Mississippi in 1962) set out on a 220-mile "march against fear." Although Meredith's plan was to walk from the Tennessee border to Jackson, Mississippi, he was shot by a white man on the second day of the march and was too injured to continue. Dr. King leading the SCLC, Floyd McKissick of CORE, and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC decided to finish what Meredith has started with their respective marchers. Plans for a unity march between the three organizations went awry soon after it due to militant behavior from SNCC and CORE marchers. Attempts by King to de-militarize the tone by leading marchers in a refrain of "We Shall Overcome" fell short. Soon after, Carmichael was arrested for setting up a tent on the grounds of an all-black high school which prompted a hasty protest by SNCC marchers. Near the end of the rally, Carmichael, his face swollen from being beaten, emerged on the platform and spoke to the stunned crowd.

“This is the twenty-seventh time I’ve been arrested--and I ain’t going to jail no more!...We been saying freedom for six years--and we ain’t got nothin’. What we’re gonna start saying now is **BLACK POWER**.” --Stokely Carmichael as quoted in *The Civil Rights Movement: An Eyewitness History*



<http://thenewliberator.files.wordpress.com/2010/04/scarmichael.jpg>

Even though Carmichael’s slogan of “**Black Power**” electrified marchers, leaders like King urged him to stop using it because of their fears that it would provoke violence and further antagonize whites. He refused, going a step further and urging the organization to stop enlisting the assistance of whites and focus solely on developing African American pride.

A Political Party is Formed

Later the same year, the **Black Panther Party** was formed by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California. Formed from their relationships with other civil rights organizations, the party’s goal of fighting police brutality in the ghetto was only one part of its mission. What is often overlooked about the party is the ideological basis behind its founding. More clearly with the Panthers than with any other national civil rights organization, the party paralleled its fight against racism with the fight against capitalism. Many members of the party believed that the foundation of the country’s capitalistic success was rooted in the evils of slavery--capitalism in its most extreme form. Therefore, the mission of the Black Panther Party was to fight both racism and capitalism. Paramount to the belief in achieving its mission, the Panthers understood that blacks could not achieve socialism singlehandedly and their work to build multiracial coalitions that were anti-capitalist in nature depended on that ideological belief.

The party also fought in black communities across the nation for providing for the poor the access to decent housing, health care, education, and other services.

While most Panthers wore black from head-to-toe: black berets, dark sunglasses, black leather jackets, black trousers, and shiny shoes which caused fear and distrust of the party by white leaders, the party invoked feelings of suspiciousness by the police as well as the FBI who often conducted (through illegal

means) investigations of the Panthers. However, the Panther's activities at the grassroots level, often referred to as **Survival Programs**--the establishment of free daycare centers, free breakfast programs for children (which the federal government later adopted), Liberation schools, pocket lawyers, and medical care centers truly mirrored the progressive reforms of the early 1900s and won support in ghettos across the country.

1968: A Pivotal Year for the Civil Rights Movement

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., could not accept the fiery, dramatic, militaristic approach of the Black Panther Party, even though the movement was taking root in many urban cities. After the March Against Fear in Mississippi in 1966, King felt his message of nonviolence would resonate more favorably in cities in the North and planned to leave the South.

Dr. King appeared to sense that his death was imminent. While in Memphis on April 3rd, he addressed a crowd to show his support for the city's striking garbage workers. King said to the crowd, "I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the Promised Land." The next day, as King stepped out onto the balcony of his hotel room, he was shot in the neck by James Earl Ray with a high powered rifle. Like Malcolm X, King was dead at age 39.

The night Dr. King was assassinated, Robert F. Kennedy who was campaigning for the nomination of the Democratic National Party



http://a.abcnews.go.com/images/US/gty_mlk_funeral_colleagues_kb_130403_blog.jpg

as the 1968 Democratic candidate, feared that news of King's death would spark riots, made an impassioned plea for nonviolence as he spoke in an African American neighborhood in Indianapolis. To hear one of Robert Kennedy's most eloquent and passionate speeches, the subject of which was Dr. King, click here:

Interactive 11.14 Robert Kennedy on King's Death



Even though many leaders followed suit in calling for peace, it was not to be. At least 125 cities across the country experienced the worst rioting in the history of the United States as a result of the rage over King's death.

Another pivotal event to the Civil Rights Movement occurred on June 5th when Robert F. Kennedy, was assassinated by Sirhan Sirhan at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles after winning the state's Democratic primary as he sought the Democratic party's nomination for President in the 1968 election. As the former U. S. Attorney General to during his brother's presidential administration and later a U.S. Senator from New York, RFK advocated tirelessly for civil rights from committing federal troops to assist with desegregation at The University of Mississippi, to working closely with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson to construct language for The Civil

Rights Act of 1964. When President Johnson announced in the spring of 1968 that he would not seek reelection, many Americans believed that Robert Kennedy was the only candidate who could unify the fractured nation from the standpoint of civil rights. His assassination, for many, ended any hope for future progress with respect to civil rights.

Interactive 11.15 Ted Kennedy's Eulogy to his Brother



Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement

During the last four years of his presidential administration, President Johnson had been made aware of countless instances of racially motivated violence. On March 2nd, 1968, the **Kerner Commission** reported their findings from the Johnson appointed study of the causes of urban violence. In its issuance of the 200,000 word report, the commission named the one main cause to be white racism. The report then called for the nation to construct new housing, create more jobs, and put an end to de facto segregation to eliminate ghetto environments. Many of the commission's recommendations were ignored because of the amount of opposition to changes that were seen as too sweeping. Many Americans asked themselves how successful had the civil rights movement been.

Gains of the Civil Rights Movement

The movement was responsible for the end of de jure segregation through the passage of legislation such as the **Civil Rights Act of 1968** which banned discrimination in housing. Additionally, graduation rates for African Americans increased significantly, as did the numbers of those who went onto college. And among college students (both black and white) many demanded Black Studies programs that highlighted history and literature.

Political gains were made as well. By the beginning of the new decade, (1970), it was estimated that two-thirds of African Americans eligible to vote were registered to do so thus increasing the number of African American elected officials.

Many civil rights activists went on to seek political leadership positions such as the Reverend Jesse Jackson who ran for president in 1988 and Andrew Young who served as an ambassador to the United Nations as well as the mayor of Atlanta.

Work that Lie Ahead

From the standpoint of the repeal of many discriminatory laws, the civil rights movement had been quite successful. However, as the decade of the 70s emerged, the challenges for the movement that lay ahead were quite different. Overcoming housing and job discrimination, educational inequality, racism, and poverty involved the much more difficult task of changing people's attitudes and ultimately, their behavior. It was at this point where public support for the movement declined as some whites were frightened by riots and what many saw as the militant message of the Black Panthers.

As many whites continued the trend of moving to suburbs and leaving cities behind, de facto segregation became a greater problem. By 1990, much of the progress that had been made by the elimination of de jure segregation in public schools had been undone by de facto segregation. A lack of jobs continued to

remain a serious problem for African Americans whose poverty rate was three times greater than that for whites.

As education and jobs were the largest issues, in the 1960s, the government had begun to promote **affirmative action** programs--programs that required special efforts to hire or in the case of education, enroll groups that had experienced discrimination of some type in the past. Many colleges and companies seeking to do business of some sort with the federal government adopted these programs. By the late 1970s, some began criticizing these programs as they saw them as "reverse discrimination programs" asserting that hiring or enrollment quotas deprived whites of opportunities. In the 1980s, affirmative-action requirements had been eased for some government contractors and debate continues even today as the fate of affirmative action programs has yet to be determined. And while the legacy of the civil rights movement continues to be an ongoing debate, one tenant that is not debated is that in all regions of the United States today, African Americans and whites interact daily on a level that could only have been imagined or dreamed about before the civil rights movement began.

Expanding Civil Rights

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?
2. How did the second women's movement increase rights for women?
3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

The Feminine Mystique

National Organization for Women (NOW)

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

Phyllis Schlafly

Roe v. Wade

Stonewall Riots

Gay Liberation Front

Don't Ask, Don't Tell

Individuals with Disabilities Education Act

Rehabilitation Act of 1973

American with Disabilities Act (ADA)

Role of Women Entering the 1960s

At the debut of the 1960s, it was conventional for women to embrace the glorification of being a housewife. Women were expected to marry in their late teens or twenties, have children, and spend their days caring for their husband and children. College educated women were said to earn their "M.R.S." degree as they typically found a husband in college. However, thirty-eight percent of women were employed in 1960. White middle class women typically maintained standard jobs in clerical work, teaching, and nursing. They made up six percent of doctors and three percent of lawyers and were often not welcome in professional programs as these programs were often considered traditional male professions. African American women were worse off than white women. Approximately one third of African American women were domestic servants and averagely earned sixty-three cents to every dollar earned by white women.

The Feminine Mystique

In 1963, Betty Friedan published **The Feminine Mystique**, which, in her words, challenged "the problem that has no name." Friedan noted that women were left "unfilled" with their primary role of homemaker and that "society reflected via advertisements and publications is what women wanted." While this book

targeted college educated women on the east coast, it is said to have sparked the second wave of feminism.

Interactive 11.16 Excerpts from the Feminine Mystique



Second Wave of Women's Rights

The second wave of The Women's Rights Movement focused on creating equality in the workplace in regards to equal pay and anti-discrimination legislation. With a mixed group of women based on color and socio economic classes, their common goals were noticed and acted upon by the federal government. In 1961, President Kennedy created the Commission on the Status of Women to investigate women's issues including employment and education. Results came back with no discrimination was done towards women. In 1963, the Equal Rights Act was amended to include that there should be no wage discrimination based on sex. President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to ban discrimination in the workplace based on sex. However, with federal progress, women continued to face the enforcement of these laws in the courts.

The women's rights movement did not have a single leader or group to spearhead the movement. Women were divided between classes, ages, and races in how to handle issues that they faced. **The National Organization for Women (NOW)** was one major group that was founded by Betty Friedan and Pauli Murray in 1966 who were disappointed in the ineffectiveness of the Equal Opportunity Commission.

NOW put pressure on the Equal Opportunity Commission to combat inequalities commonly found in the workplace. In 1967, they endorsed the **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)**. The Equal Rights Amendment was drafted to be added to the Constitution to state that no one should be denied their rights based upon their sex. The amendment was quickly ratified in thirty states but never made it to the needed thirty-eight by the 1982 deadline.

One major opponent of ERA was **Phyllis Schlafly**. She maintained the view that the role women played as homemakers was of greatest importance to American society. She viewed that a woman's job was to maintain



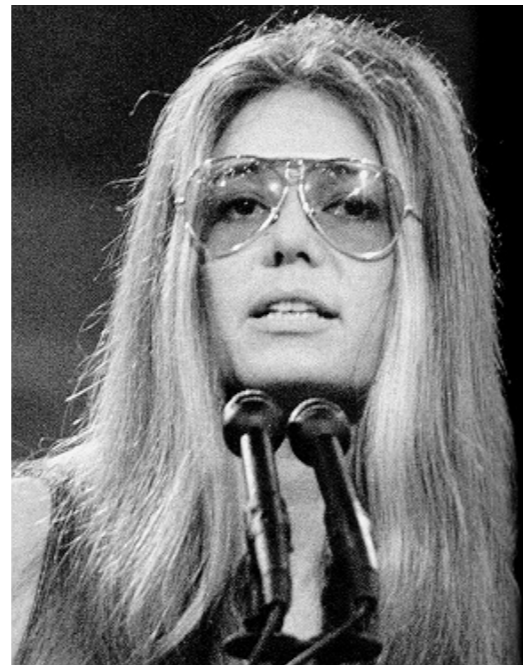
Phyllis Schlafly: Source: <https://www.nwhm.org/media/category/education/biography/biographies/schlafly.jpg>

the sanctity of a household with emphasis on family life and Christian tradition. Phyllis Schlafly also argued that there were secret parts of ERA that allowed the government to support abortions through taxpayer dollars and encouraged the LGBTQ agenda. She toured around the country speaking against ERA.

Interactive 11.17 Schlafly v Friedan: Who is right?



While the women's movement progressed forward, there were many negative stereotypes that followed them. These stereotypes included unattractive and man hating women. Gloria Steinem was a woman who challenged those beliefs in their writings and images. Gloria Steinem wrote Ms. Magazine which focused on



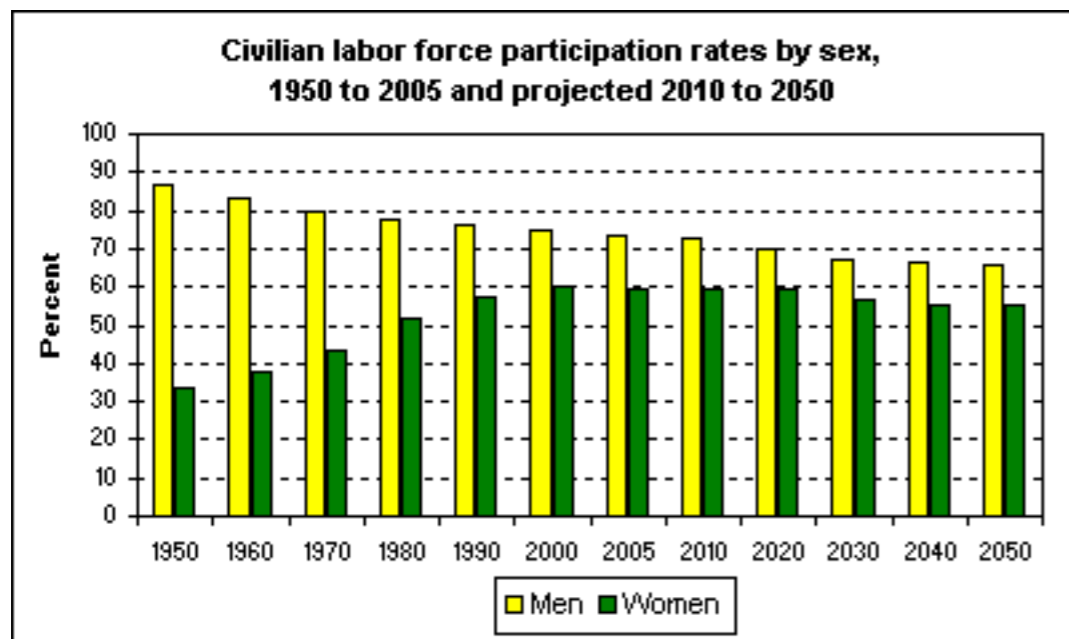
Gloria Steinem: Source: <http://www.feministezine.com/feminist/funny/images/Gloria-Steinem-02.jpg>

women's rights including wages and reproduction rights. Steinem also helped pave the way by getting sexual harassment and abuse issues to the masses which sparked reform and an increase in shelters for women.

Roe vs. Wade

The privacy of a woman's body and abortion was a major issue among the second wave of feminism. The birth control pill was approved in 1960 allowed women to take control over their reproduction. However, abortions were only permitted when it endangered the mother's life. In 1973, the Texas case was brought to the Supreme Court arguing that a woman's body was being unconstitutionally violated by Texas law in regards to abortion. In the highly controversial Roe v. Wade case, the Supreme Court decided 7-2 that a woman had the right to have an abortion in the first trimester. The court's decision was a victory for the feminist movement and still remains controversial throughout the United States.

By 1980, the feminist movement died down as it was fractured and running out of steam. Throughout sixties and seventies women achieved gains in equal opportunity for employment, contraceptive options, health clinics, rape shelters, and increased access to education. While still unequal, women's pay increased to their male counterparts. Betty Friedan wrote "What used to be the feminist agenda is now an everyday reality...Our daughters grow up with the same possibilities as our sons."



Source: <http://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/images/2007/jan/wk2/art03.gif>

The LGBTQ Movement

The LGBTQ communities struggled for rights throughout the twentieth century. In 1950, “Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government,” the United States Senate noted that homosexuals were security risks. In 1952, the American Psychological Association added homosexuality to its list as a personality disorder. The following year, President Eisenhower used Executive Order 10450 to ban homosexuals from working for the federal government. As homosexual behavior was considered an illness, thousands were sent to asylums and were forced to undergo conversion therapy and/or lobotomies.

The LGBTQ communities began to organize and fight the notion that they were unfit for mainstream society. In 1950, Harry Hay founded the first national gay organization, the Mattachine Society. This underground society allowed gays and lesbians to discuss their experiences with others for the first time. They sent out political surveys to politicians to obtain information on their attitudes towards homosexuals. Ultimately, the original group disbanded as they were linked to communism but newer chapters would survive. The first lesbian organization, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), was founded in San Francisco and hosted events for lesbians in 1955. The DOB focused on feminist issues along with bringing concerns of female homosexuality to the forefront. It disbanded in 1970 as younger members and older members did not voice the same concerns.

As LGBTQ began to organize, they faced issues with the American public and police. In 1966, the New York Liquor Authority banned the serving of gays in bars as homosexuals.

The New York chapter of the Mattachine Society had a “sip-in” and the New York Liquor Authority reversed its decision. Police throughout the nation often raided LGBTQ bars. On June 28th, 1969; police raided the Stonewall Inn in New York City. As employees of the bar were arrested along with patrons, other patrons through bottles at the police. A three day riot followed when thousands of demonstrators voiced their concerns for equal rights. The **Stonewall Riots** sparked the beginning of the Gay Liberation Front and set the tone for pride festivals in the future.

The Gay Liberation Front (GLF) represented the left wing of the LGBTQ movement. The group took on major beliefs of other movements including ending racism, ending hunger, closing the income gap between the rich and poor, and ending the war in Vietnam. The GLF faced its own divisions as the “Lavender Menace” focused on women’s rights and the transexual groups focused on their rights. All parts of the GLF would host demonstrations and protests linked to major issues of the era. In 1979, LGBTQ march on Washington to demand protective civil rights legislation. No legislation will pass at the national level.

As the LGBTQ communities were becoming more political, gains were made throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

In 1956, psychologist Evelyn Hooker’s research concluded that homosexuals do not differ from heterosexuals. The American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its list of illnesses in 1973. The following year, Kathy Kozachenko becomes the first gay openly gay official as a seat on the Ann Arbor City Council. In 1982, Wisconsin becomes the first state to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Political gains were challenged by the rise of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s. AIDS was often linked to the gay community, whose members were infected by the thousands. In 1987, Ronald Reagan addressed the issue as thousands of activists marched on Washington. Ryan White, a hemophiliac teenager, was diagnosed with AIDS at the age of thirteen. After being barred



Ryan White in 1989. Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/97/Ryan_White.jpg

from attending school, he became an activist for AIDS. In 1990, just months after his death, George H. W. Bush signed the Ryan White CARE Act which provided funds for people living with AIDS.

Interactive 11.18 The Ryan White Story



With gains on the AIDS front, the LGBTQ communities still faced struggles with the federal government. In 1993, the Department of Defense

adopted “**Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell**” which forbade applicants from disclosing of their sexual orientation and outlawing homosexual behavior in the armed forces. President Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage Act which defined marriage as a union between one man and one women. LGBTQ activists continue to fight these laws throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s.

Vermont becomes the first state to recognize civil unions between same sex partners in 2000 and Massachusetts becomes

Check out Ryan’s story here!

the first state to legalize gay marriage in 2004. The Human Rights Campaign, a major activist group, encourages political discussion on LGBTQ rights. In 2010, “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” is repealed. In 2015 with the Obergefell v. Hodges case, the Supreme Court declared marriage equality for all fifty states.

Americans with Disabilities

Just as other minority groups continuously struggled to find acceptance and rights in mainstream society, Americans with disabilities faced similar challenges. They were often negatively stereotyped and often placed on the outskirts of society.

Disabled World War II veterans first demonstrated the challenges as they sacrificed themselves for country and returned to find challenges in the United States. It was not until the civil rights movement took off in the early 1960s when Americans with disabilities and their advocates greatly challenged the United States government for equal rights and opportunities.

Educational Opportunities

Physically and mentally disabled children faced great diversity when receiving an education. As they were viewed with negative stereotypes, they attended other institutions or asylums instead of attending public schools. Their parents became the largest advocates. They pressured local, state and federal governments for reforms. In 1965, President Johnson signed the Primary and Secondary Education Act which provided funds for public

schools. While disabled students were included, they still did not receive proper education as many still did not attend public schools. In 1973, the **Education for All Handicapped Children Act** was passed by Congress. This act noted that all students had a right to an education. Children with disabilities were now mainstreamed with all students unless their specific disability would prevent them from reaching their educational potential in that setting. This act would be later named **Individuals with Disabilities Education Act** (IDEA) in 1990. The new version of the legislation allows for parent input and allows for the decision on how disabled children will receive special education services most appropriate for their education. Students received individual educational plans that provide them the maximum support for their best learning potential.

Civil Rights

Disabled Americans struggled to deal with everyday life. Those who were mentally disabled struggled to find employment. Those who were physically disabled had limited access to numerous public places as accommodations were not available to handle their disabilities. In 1970, disabled Americans and their advocates marched on Washington to pressure Congress to pass legislation to help their cause. Three years later, Congress passed the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 which provided equal opportunity for employment for federal government programs for physically and mentally disabled. Section 504 of this act allowed accessibility

so disabled were able to complete the demands of these jobs. While headway was made at the federal level, disabled Americans still faced challenges. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 did not include the protection of their rights in regards to employment and accessibility to services. They continued to confront discrimination that did not allow them to move forward in society. After years of advocating for equal protection, George H. W. Bush signed the **Americans with Disabilities Act** (ADA) into law in 1990. This act provided equal opportunity for disabled Americans in both public and private sectors. Employers needed to provide necessary accommodations to employed disabled

Americans and prohibit employers from discriminating against disabled employees. The act also called for businesses to have proper services to accommodate the needs of disabled Americans.

Section Wrap-Up Activity

Using the timeline of civil rights for all groups from 1950 through the 1980s, answer the following questions.

Interactive 11.19 Timeline of Civil Rights



1. What inferences can you make about minority movements expansion of civil rights to those of the African American Civil Rights Movement?
2. How did rights expand to the following groups in this era:
 - A) Women
 - B) LGBTQ
 - C) Americans with disabilities
 - D) Latinos
 - E) Native Americans

