

Union had spies in the United States. Spies had given the Soviet Union information about the atomic bomb.

News about spies raised fears about communism. In 1947, the movie industry in Hollywood came under attack. Actors, writers, and directors who were suspected of being communists were put on **blacklists**. A blacklist is a list of people who are considered suspicious. Blacklisted people could not find jobs.

People in other industries were also investigated. Thousands of people all over the country lost their jobs.

Senator Joseph McCarthy brought the anti-communist scare to its peak. When he began his activities in 1950, he claimed that he had a list of 205 communists in the government. Later, he changed that number several times. Yet he never proved any government worker a communist.

**McCarthy's downfall** Between 1950 and 1954, McCarthy was one of the most feared politicians in the United States. Then, he went too far. In 1954, he accused the U.S. Army of having communists in its ranks. A Senate committee investigated his charges. Its meetings were carried live on television.

On television, millions of Americans saw that McCarthy had no proof to back up his charges. The country turned against him. In December 1954, the Senate voted to condemn his actions. Within a few years, the communist scare was over. However, it left a deep scar on American life.

### 3 The Civil Rights Movement Gets Underway.

*How did the Civil Rights Movement begin?*

On the cold afternoon of December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks boarded a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Mrs. Parks was tired after working all day. Because she was an African American she sat in the "colored" section in the back of the bus. Only white people could sit in the front of the bus. That was because the buses and other public places were segregated, or separated, in Montgomery. Mrs. Parks took a seat in the first row of the "colored" section.

African Americans were forced to live under legal segregation in the South. Even drinking fountains such as this one were divided into "colored" and "white."



1. Who was Senator Joseph McCarthy?
2. How did the cold war affect feelings about communism in the United States?



Elizabeth Eckford bravely passed through an ugly crowd to enter Little Rock High School. Federal troops were sent in by President Eisenhower to enforce the integration.

**Rosa Parks' arrest** Soon the white section of the bus filled up. The bus driver then told Mrs. Parks to give her seat to a white person. Mrs. Parks refused. She later recalled, "I don't really know why I wouldn't move. There was no plot or plan at all. I was just tired."

The bus driver said he would call the police and have Mrs. Parks arrested. "You may do that," she answered. The police came and arrested Mrs. Parks.

**Segregation North and South** Rosa Parks' arrest was one example of the injustices African Americans faced after World War II. In many places in

the South, there were laws that segregated people. The North did not have legal segregation. However, prejudice often made segregation a fact of life. African Americans in the northern cities usually could not get housing in white neighborhoods. They often could only find low-paying jobs.

However, some progress had been made after the war. In 1947, Jackie Robinson became the first African American to play major league baseball. Other African Americans quickly joined him in the major leagues. In 1948, President Truman ordered an end to segregation in the U.S. military. He also ended segregation in the government. He appointed the first African American federal judge.

### **Segregation in education**

However, there was still much segregation as the 1950s began. This was especially true in education. Twenty-one states plus Washington, D.C. had segregated schools. Segregated schools were actually legal. In 1896, the Supreme Court had approved it in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case. The Court ruled that separate school systems for whites and blacks were legal as long as they were equal. In the real world, separate schools were never equal.

By the 1950s, the NAACP wanted to convince the Supreme Court to reverse *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The NAACP's chief lawyer in that struggle was Thurgood Marshall. In 1954, a new case reached the Supreme Court. It was called ***Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas***.

In this case, Oliver Brown wanted his daughter to attend an all-white school near their home. She had been traveling to a black school more than two miles (3.2 kilometers) away. All the Supreme Court justices agreed. They said segregation in all public schools was against

the constitution. *Brown v. Board of Education* was one of the Supreme Court's most important decisions.

The court ordered school districts to integrate right away. Many did. But whites in many parts of the South did not integrate. In September 1957, a key test came in Little Rock, Arkansas. The governor of Arkansas tried to use the National Guard to stop black students from entering Central High School.

President Eisenhower acted to enforce the law. He took command of the National Guard away from the governor and sent in federal soldiers.

**Boycotting the buses** Another way to fight segregation was the **boycott**. A boycott is when people refuse to buy goods or services from a certain company. After the arrest of Rosa Parks, African Americans boycotted the buses in Montgomery, Alabama. A young minister named Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led the boycott. King believed that the struggle against segregation had to be nonviolent. He wanted to use only peaceful methods to fight segregation.

The boycott lasted for 381 days. There were several attempts to break the boycott. A bomb exploded on the porch of Dr. King's house. The police arrested the leaders of the boycott. Still the boycott continued. As one person said, "I'm not walking for myself. I'm walking for my children and my grandchildren."

In late 1956, the Supreme Court outlawed segregation on Alabama buses. In December, Dr. King and other African American leaders boarded integrated Montgomery buses.

The successful fights against segregation in the South were only a beginning. The struggle against segregation grew during the 1960s. You will read about that effort in Chapter 23.

1. Which Supreme Court decision outlawed segregation in public schools?
2. What action sparked the Montgomery bus boycott?

## CHAPTER 18 KEY IDEAS

- After World War II, the U.S. economy boomed. The GI Bill helped veterans get educations, start businesses, and buy homes.
- As a result of cold war fears, many Americans began to worry about communism in the United States. From 1950 to 1954, Senator Joseph McCarthy accused a number of people of being communists.
- African Americans began to fight for more rights during the 1950s. *Brown v. Board of Education* ended segregated schools. The Montgomery bus boycott ended segregation on buses.

# AFRICAN AMERICANS STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS AND EQUALITY. (1960–1990s)

## CHAPTER 22

*What were the major goals and accomplishments of the Civil Rights Movement?*



In 1963, Martin Luther King Jr., led African Americans on a march in Washington, D.C., for equal rights and jobs. Some whites joined the demonstration.

### Looking at Key Terms

- March on Washington • Black Muslims • Black Power
- Black Panthers • Rainbow Coalition

### Looking at Key Words

- **tactic:** a way of achieving a goal
- **sit-in:** a protest in which people take a seat and refuse to leave
- **freedom ride:** a bus trip to test African Americans' rights
- **affirmative action:** a policy for correcting discrimination by increasing opportunities for certain groups

## STUDY

List the names of civil rights groups and leaders covered in this chapter. Write one or more events in which that group or leader took part.

## HOME

In 1961, 21-year-old John Lewis stepped off a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. White men with bats tried to keep African Americans such as Lewis out of the bus station's "white" waiting room. Thirty years later, Lewis was a U.S. Representative from Alabama. He returned to Montgomery's bus station. Whites and African Americans sat together. Legal segregation was no longer an issue.

The Civil Rights Movement changed the nation. It gave new hope—and new freedoms—to African Americans. But it left many issues unsolved.

## 1 The Civil Rights Movement Advances.

*What progress did the Civil Rights Movement make after 1960?*

On February 1, 1960, four African American college students sat down at a

lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. The waitress refused to take their order. "This is a 'white' lunch counter," she said.

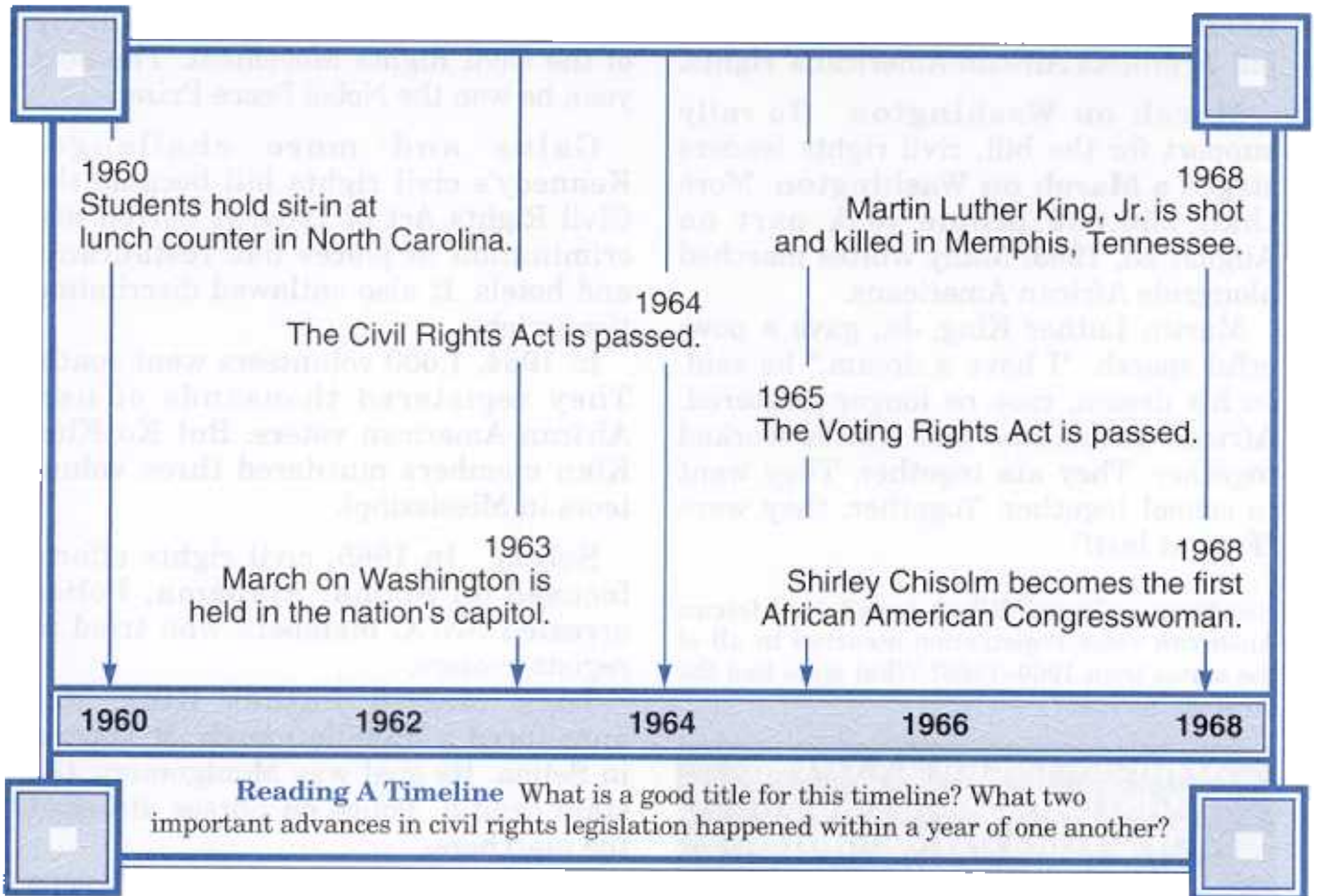
The students quietly waited to be served. They waited all day. Day after day the students came. They were using a new **tactic**. A tactic is a way of achieving a goal. This tactic was the **sit-in**. It is a protest in which people take a seat and refuse to leave.

Soon sit-ins spread to other cities. Hostile whites jeered and dumped food on the students. The students did not strike back. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had organized them. It taught protesters to meet violence with nonviolence.

**Many civil rights groups** New groups such as SNCC worked alongside older groups such as the NAACP. One key group was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The

Whites poured sugar, ketchup, and mustard over the heads of sit-in demonstrators at a Jackson, Mississippi lunch counter.





Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was one of its leaders.

Another important group was the Congress of Racial Equality, or CORE. It introduced the **freedom ride**. Freedom rides were bus trips to test civil rights laws. Federal courts ruled that buses that go between states must be open equally to all races. Freedom rides put those rulings into practice.

Starting in 1961, African Americans like John Lewis bought bus tickets. They traveled from city to city across the South. At each stop, they entered the bus station. They ordered meals. They drank from “white” fountains. They used “white” restrooms.

White mobs attacked the freedom riders. Local police looked on in silence. Sometimes police arrested the freedom riders. Finally, the federal government sent in marshals to protect the riders.

**White resistance** Many Southern whites resisted the Civil Rights Movement. Most did so peacefully. But a few went much further. They murdered civil rights workers. They planted bombs in African American churches. In 1963, such a bomb killed four small girls in Birmingham, Alabama.

**Trouble in Birmingham** Martin Luther King, Jr., led protest marches through Birmingham. The police arrested the marchers. King went to jail, but the protests continued. In one day, Birmingham officials arrested more than 900 students.

Americans saw the protests on television. Viewers saw police dogs attacking children. They saw police striking protesters with clubs. Many people felt sympathy for the protesters. The events in Birmingham upset President

Kennedy. He proposed a new civil rights bill to protect African Americans' rights.

**March on Washington** To rally support for the bill, civil rights leaders staged a **March on Washington**. More than 250,000 people took part on August 28, 1963. Many whites marched alongside African Americans.

Martin Luther King, Jr., gave a powerful speech. "I have a dream," he said. In his dream, race no longer mattered. African Americans and whites worked together. They ate together. They went to school together. Together, they were "Free at last!"

Reading a Chart. What trend in African American voter registration occurred in all of the states from 1960–1966? What state had the greatest increase?

AFRICAN AMERICAN VOTER REGISTRATION BEFORE AND AFTER THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965			
State	Years		Percent Increase
	1960	1966	
Alabama	66,000	250,000	278.8
Arkansas	73,000	115,000	57.5
Florida	183,000	303,000	65.6
Georgia	180,000	300,000	66.7
Louisiana	159,000	243,000	52.8
Mississippi	22,000	175,000	695.4
N. Carolina	210,000	282,000	34.3
S. Carolina	58,000	191,000	229.3
Tennessee	185,000	225,000	21.6
Texas	227,000	400,000	76.2
Virginia	100,000	205,000	105.0

King had emerged as the central figure of the Civil Rights Movement. The next year, he won the Nobel Peace Prize.

**Gains and more challenges** Kennedy's civil rights bill became the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It barred discrimination in places like restaurants and hotels. It also outlawed discrimination in jobs.

In 1964, 1,000 volunteers went south. They registered thousands of new African American voters. But Ku Klux Klan members murdered three volunteers in Mississippi.

**Selma** In 1965, civil rights efforts focused on Selma, Alabama. Police arrested SNCC members who tried to register voters.

Then Martin Luther King, Jr., announced a 50-mile march. It started in Selma. Its goal was Montgomery, the state capital. Police on horses attacked the marchers.

President Johnson sent federal troops to protect the marchers. He pushed through a new civil rights bill. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 sent federal agents to register voters in the South.

1. How did most protesters respond to attacks?
2. How did television build support for the Civil Rights Movement?

## 2 African Americans Explore New Paths in the Search for Equality.

*How did black nationalism change the Civil Rights Movement?*

Some African Americans thought the Civil Rights Movement was not moving



Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights and peace movement leaders led more than 125,000 people in a parade opposing the Vietnam War. The march ended at the United Nations building where Dr. King presented a formal note of protest.

fast enough. In the late 1960s some strong new people became leaders. The Civil Rights Movement split.

**Is Nonviolence Enough?** Martin Luther King, Jr., insisted on nonviolence. He thought African Americans should work closely with whites. But critics said his tactics were not working. They pointed to the murders of civil rights workers. Critics agreed that laws were changing. But they said that the cost to African Americans was too high.

Critics also said many problems of African American life had not changed. Most African Americans still lived in segregated, run-down housing. African Americans earned only half as much money as whites. Their unemployment rate was double that of whites.

The Vietnam War added to African American anger. Large numbers of

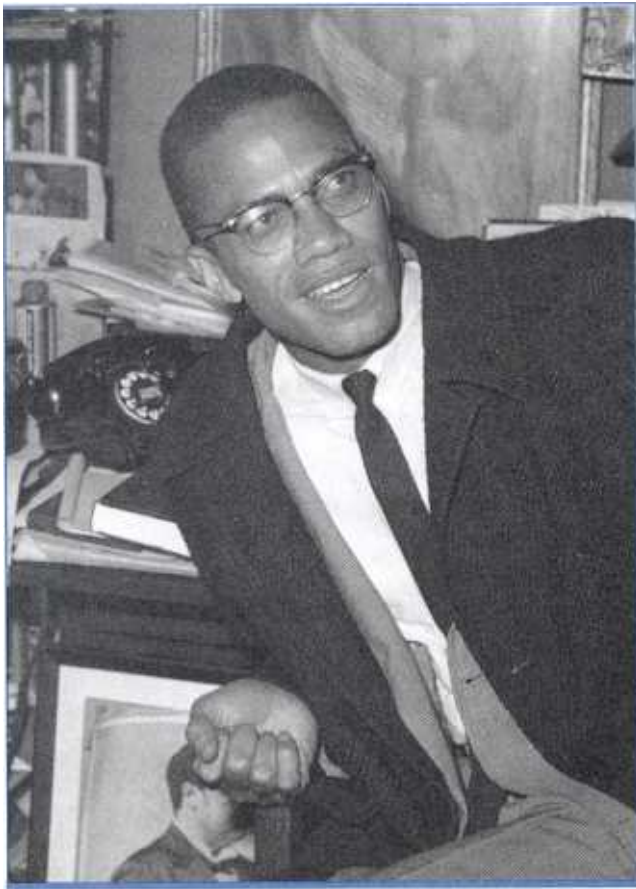
African Americans were fighting and dying in Vietnam. Moreover, the war was draining money from programs in African American communities.

King began to speak out against the Vietnam War. He worked for better jobs and housing for African Americans in Northern cities. But he still urged nonviolence. So new leaders arose to challenge him.

**Malcolm X** One of the most powerful new voices belonged to Malcolm X. He expressed the anger that many African Americans felt towards whites. He also called on African Americans to solve their own problems.

Malcolm X was a spokesperson for the Nation of Islam. This religious group was led by Elijah Muhammad. Members were known as **Black Muslims**. Muhammad taught that whites should





After Malcom X left the Black Muslims, he called himself Brother Malcolm. He urged African Americans to defend themselves in the civil rights fight.

be avoided. African Americans should separate from whites. They should control their own lives.

In 1964, after a trip to Africa and Mecca, Malcolm X split with Muhammad. He gave up the idea of complete separation. He focused on winning political power for African Americans. But he still believed there must be a revolution in U.S. society.

In February 1965, Malcolm X addressed a meeting in Harlem. Suddenly, three African American gunmen killed him. His death showed the conflict that was ripping the Civil Rights Movement apart.

**Black nationalism again** Malcolm X inspired a new sense of black nation-

alism. (See Chapter 12.) African Americans took pride in their African heritage. In the 1960s, this led to a new slogan: "Black is beautiful." African Americans began wearing African-style clothing and hairdos. They worked for African American unity in new ways.

**Black Power** The cry of "Black Power" rang through American cities. It was first used by a young man named Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael became head of SNCC in 1966.

To many African Americans, **Black Power** was an exciting idea. Carmichael defined it as "a call for black people to begin to define their own goals." He said SNCC should stop recruiting white members.

But the "Black Power" slogan worried many civil rights leaders. They needed white support to get civil rights bills through Congress. They urged Carmichael to stop using the phrase. He refused. The split between SNCC and other civil rights organizations widened.

**Black Panthers** In California, African Americans started a new political party. They called themselves the **Black Panthers**. Their goal was for African Americans to run their own communities. They started free-lunch programs and other self help programs.

Leaders of the Black Panthers considered the police to be an enemy. They claimed they had a right to self defense. So they carried guns in public. The Black Panthers became a target of police harassment. They were in several shoot-outs with the police.

Many African American leaders spoke out against the Black Panthers' use of violence. However, the Black Panthers attracted hundreds of members.

**Riots in the cities** African American rage often exploded on city

streets. From 1964 to 1967, riots broke out in city after city. The riots arose out of African American anger against racism.

President Johnson created a group to find out the causes of the riots. In 1968, that group, the Kerner Commission, came to a frightening conclusion. "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." The commission urged Americans to remove barriers to equality. It asked for "new attitudes" and "new understanding."

Some of the deadliest riots came just weeks after the Kerner Commission made its report. On April 4, 1968, a white man shot and killed Martin Luther King, Jr., in Memphis, Tennessee. Riots broke out in 125 cities. Forty-five people lost their lives. One result was a white backlash. Whites began to show less support for the Civil Rights Movement in general.

1. How did African American protest movements change after 1965?
2. How did white Americans respond to those changes?

### 3 African Americans Struggle with Changing Attitudes toward Civil Rights.

*How did conditions change for African Americans after the 1960s?*

By 1970, the Civil Rights Movement was losing speed. African Americans were divided. Meanwhile, the white backlash made many leaders less interested in the movement. Congress showed less support for new civil rights laws. So did Presidents. The nation focused on new issues, like the Vietnam War.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the nation's mood turned conservative. Some Great Society programs were ended. Others were cut back.

**Running for President** African Americans kept promoting social change. Two African Americans ran for President. They were Shirley Chisolm and Jesse Jackson.

In 1968, Chisolm became the first African American woman ever elected to Congress. She ran for President in 1972. She made it as far as the first ballot of the Democratic convention. Her campaign opened people's minds to the possibility of an African American or a woman as President.

Jackson is a Baptist minister. He worked closely with Martin Luther

Marchers gathered in Washington, D.C., for the 30th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington. Civil rights was still an issue in 1993.



King, Jr. Jackson ran in the Democratic primary elections of 1984 and 1988. He had many enthusiastic supporters. Among them were African Americans, Latinos, whites, and others. Jackson called his followers the **Rainbow Coalition**. Jackson became a prominent figure in the Democratic party. But he was not nominated.

**Affirmative action** President Johnson introduced **affirmative action**. It was a policy for correcting discrimination by increasing opportunities for certain groups. Affirmative action helped African Americans get jobs and get into schools. It also helped women, Latinos, and other groups.

Many people believed affirmative action was unfair. They called it “reverse discrimination.” In the early days, civil rights issues had seemed clear-cut. But affirmative action was more complex. People could not agree about these issues. Some felt that affirmative action was fair. Others did not. Debate continued into the 1990s.

**Summing Up** The Civil Rights Movement had victories and setbacks.

The barriers to voting had fallen. Now politicians had to listen to African American concerns.

African Americans also became better educated. By the 1990s, 12 percent of African Americans and 22 percent of whites aged 25 or above held college degrees. The gap was narrowing.

African Americans had reached some of the highest positions in U.S. society. Colin Powell served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He held the nation’s highest military position during the Gulf War of 1991.

Yet equality for African Americans has still not been achieved. In 1992, disturbances swept areas of Los Angeles. Many people believed these disturbances were caused by the same conditions that had caused the riots of the 1960s. Much had changed in U.S. society. But much remained to be changed.

1. How did civil rights issues become more complex after the 1960s?
2. Describe African American advances in politics.

## CHAPTER 22 KEY IDEAS

- In the early 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement used peaceful protests to gain support. This resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- In the late 1960s, some African Americans turned to more militant groups such as the Black Muslims and the Black Panthers.
- From the 1970s to the 1990s, gains were made in politics, education, and economics. However, African Americans continue working toward complete equality.