



# CHAPTER

# 29

# The Civil Rights Era

## 1954–1973

### Why It Matters

In the 1950s, a tide of protest began to rise in America against deeply rooted attitudes of racism and discrimination. The campaign for equality grew and gained momentum in the 1960s. Although the civil rights movement could not overcome all the obstacles, it achieved some great and long-lasting successes.

### The Impact Today

Inspired by the movements of the 1950s and 1960s, many Americans work to secure full rights for all citizens.



**The American Journey Video** The chapter 29 video, "Beyond Prejudice," examines what it was like to be a young adult during the civil rights movement.

**1954**

- *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling

**1955**

- Montgomery bus boycott begins



**1963**

- President Kennedy assassinated

**1964**

- Civil Rights Act passed



United States

PRESIDENTS

Eisenhower  
1953–1961



1955

Kennedy  
1961–1963



1960

Johnson  
1963–1969



1965



World

**1954**

- French forced out of Vietnam

**1959**

- Fidel Castro seizes power in Cuba

**1962**

- Algeria gains independence from France

**1964**

- Nelson Mandela receives life sentence in South Africa

# FOLDABLES™

## Study Organizer

### Identifying Main Ideas Study Foldable

Make and use this foldable to identify the major issues about the Civil Rights era and to classify information under those topics.

**Step 1** Collect 3 sheets of paper and place them about 1 inch apart.



Keep the edges straight.

**Step 2** Fold up the bottom edges of the paper to form 6 tabs.



This makes all tabs the same size.

**Step 3** When all the tabs are the same size, fold the paper to hold the tabs in place and staple the sheets together. Turn the paper and label each tab as shown.

The Civil Rights Era
Women's Rights
Hispanic Americans
Native Americans
Americans with Disabilities
African Americans

Staple together along the fold.

**Reading and Writing** As you read the chapter, write (under each appropriate tab) what you learn about the struggle for civil rights by different groups of Americans.



**March on Washington** On August 28, 1963, more than 200,000 people gathered to urge support for civil rights legislation.

**1968**

- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., assassinated
- Indian Civil Rights Act passed



**1970**

- Grape workers gain increased pay and better conditions



**1971**

- Floppy disk introduced

**Nixon**  
1969–1974



1970

1975

**1967**

- First heart transplant performed in South Africa

**1972**

- Britain imposes direct rule on Northern Ireland
- Terrorists kill Israeli Olympic athletes

**HISTORY**  
*Online*

### Chapter Overview

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**CLICK HERE**

# SECTION 1 The Civil Rights Movement

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

Despite obstacles, African Americans pressed for equal rights.

### Key Terms

segregation, integrate, boycott, civil disobedience

### Reading Strategy

**Classifying Information** As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe the roles these people played in the civil rights movement.

	Roles
Linda Brown	
Rosa Parks	
Martin Luther King, Jr.	

### Read to Learn

- how a Supreme Court decision helped African Americans in their struggle for equal rights.
- why Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., emerged as a leader.

### Section Theme

**Civic Rights and Responsibilities**  
African Americans organized in an effort to secure equal rights.

### Preview of Events

1954

1954

Supreme Court strikes down segregation in education

1955

1955

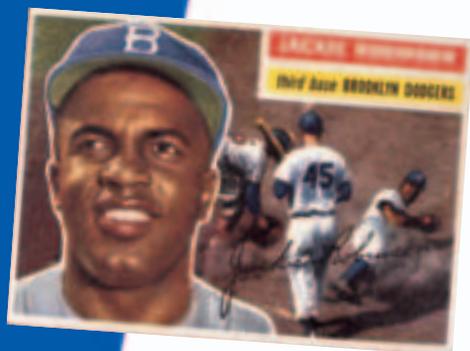
Rosa Parks is arrested; Montgomery bus boycott begins

1956

1957

1957

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., heads SCLC; Federal troops help integrate a Little Rock high school



Jackie Robinson  
baseball card

## AN American Story

Jackie Robinson could do everything on a baseball field—hit singles, slam home runs, and speed from base to base. Robinson was the first African American to play major league baseball. When his team, the Brooklyn Dodgers, reached the World Series in 1947, Robinson recalled, “I experienced a completely new emotion when the National Anthem was played. This time, I thought, it is being played for me, as much as for anyone else.”

## Equality in Education

African Americans had suffered from racism and discrimination in the United States since colonial times. As the nation entered the second half of the twentieth century, many African Americans believed that the time had come for them to enjoy an equal place in American life. They fought for equal opportunities in jobs, housing, and education. They also fought against **segregation**—the separation of people of different races.

## The Brown Decision

The NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) had worked on behalf of African Americans since its founding in 1909. In the 1950s, NAACP lawyers searched for cases they could use to challenge the laws allowing the segregation of public education.

The Supreme Court had upheld segregation laws in the past. In 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, it had ruled that “separate but equal” public facilities were legal. **Thurgood Marshall**, the chief lawyer for the NAACP, decided to challenge the idea of “separate but equal.” The NAACP began to decide which among the nation’s segregated school districts to bring before the Court. Seven-year-old African American Linda Brown was not permitted to attend an all-white elementary

school just blocks from her house. The Brown family sued the school system but lost. Marshall and the NAACP appealed the case all the way to the Supreme Court.

The case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, combined with several similar cases, reached the Supreme Court in December 1952. Marshall argued that segregated schools were not and could not be equal to white schools. For that reason segregated schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

On May 17, 1954, the Court unanimously ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, that it was unconstitutional to separate schoolchildren by race. The *Brown* decision reversed the Court’s decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. (See page 997 for a summary of the *Brown* decision.)



## Segregation in United States Schools, 1950



### Geography Skills

School segregation was treated differently in various parts of the United States.

- 1. Region** In how many states were schools segregated by law?
- 2. Analyzing Information** In what region was segregation predominant?



## Integrating the Schools

The Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* called on school authorities to make plans for **integrating**—bringing races together—in public schools. The Court also ordered that integration was to be carried out “with all deliberate speed”—as fast as reasonably possible.

Some school systems integrated quickly. However, in parts of the South, local leaders vowed to keep African American children out of white schools. A clash between the federal government and these states seemed unavoidable.

## Confrontation in Little Rock

In 1957 a federal judge ordered Central High School in **Little Rock, Arkansas**, an all-white school, to admit African American students. Arkansas governor **Orval Faubus** opposed integration. In September he called out the state's National Guard to prevent African Americans from entering the high school.

On the first day of classes, armed members of the National Guard blocked the school's entrance and turned away nine African American students.

One of them, 15-year-old **Elizabeth Eckford**, recalled that when she tried to squeeze past a member of the guard,

“He raised his bayonet, and then the other guards moved in and raised their bayonets.”

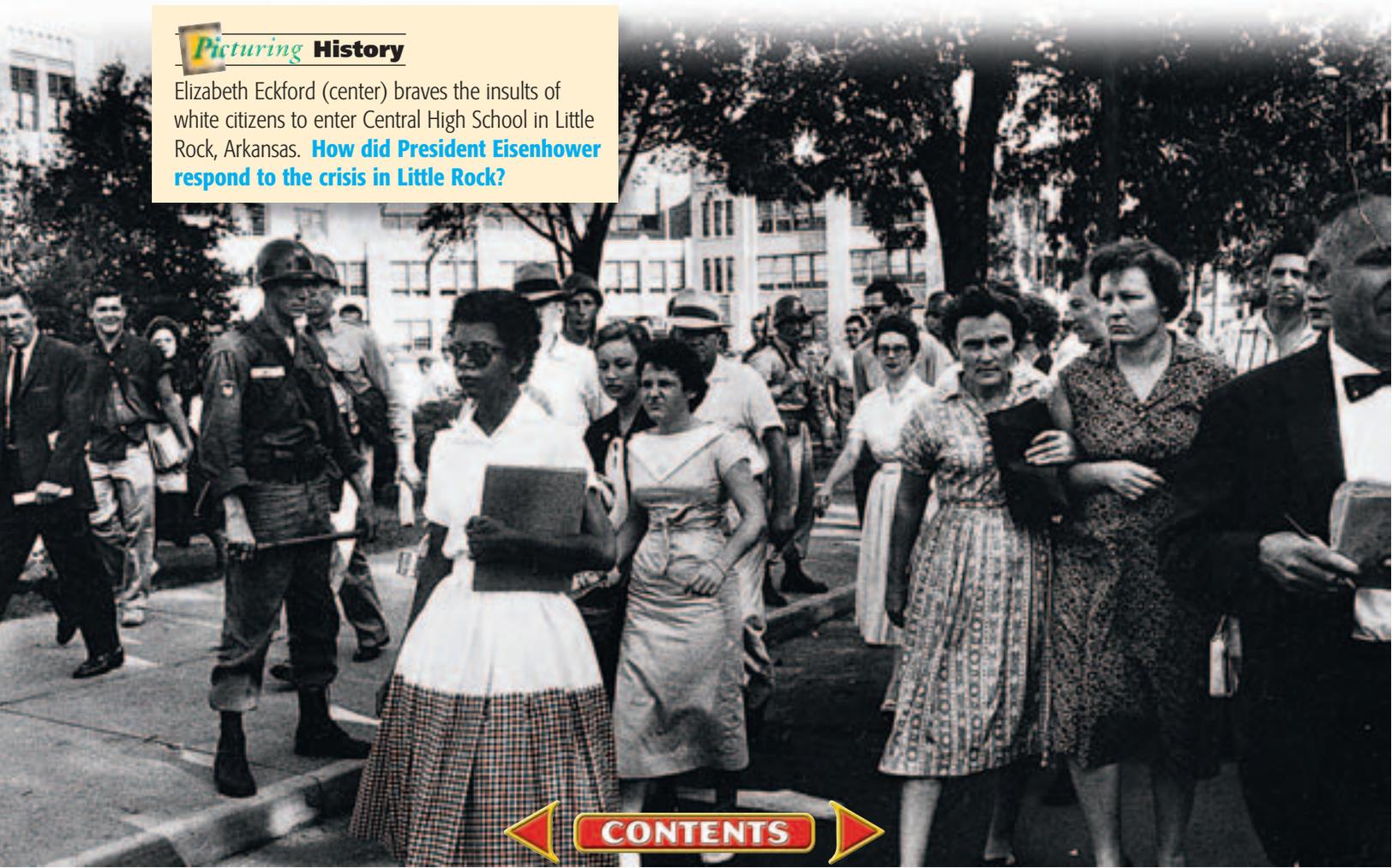
For the first time since the Civil War, a Southern state had defied the authority of the federal government. Although Eisenhower had some doubts about the *Brown* decision, he believed it was his duty to enforce the law. The president warned Faubus that, if the governor did not admit the students, the federal government would act.

When a federal judge ruled that the governor had violated federal law, Faubus removed the National Guard. Eisenhower sent hundreds of soldiers to Little Rock to patrol the school grounds and protect the students. Shielded by the federal troops, the nine African American students entered the school.

**Reading Check Explaining** What did the Supreme Court rule in *Brown v. Board of Education*?

### Picturing History

Elizabeth Eckford (center) braves the insults of white citizens to enter Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. **How did President Eisenhower respond to the crisis in Little Rock?**



# People In History

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1929–1968



After the Montgomery bus boycott, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., emerged as the leader of the African American protest movement. What drove him into this demanding role in history?

The son of a Baptist minister, King attended Morehouse College, and when he was 18 years old decided on a career in the

ministry. By the time he first arrived in Montgomery in September 1954 as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, he had also met and married Coretta Scott.

From the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott, King encouraged his followers to use non-violent resistance. This meant that those who

carried out the demonstrations should not fight with authorities. In spite of his stand on nonviolence, King often became the target of violence.

In April 1968, King was in Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike of sanitation workers. There, the minister was shot while standing on a motel balcony.

## Gains on Other Fronts

While school integration continued, African Americans made other advances in securing their rights. More and more took part in a movement dedicated to securing fair and equal treatment.

### The Montgomery Bus Boycott

On the evening of December 1, 1955, **Rosa Parks** boarded a bus in downtown **Montgomery, Alabama**. Parks, a seamstress, was secretary of the local chapter of the NAACP. She found an empty seat in the section reserved for whites.

When white passengers entered the bus, the driver told Parks, an African American, to move to the rear of the bus. Parks refused. At the next bus stop, she was taken off the bus by police, arrested for breaking the law, and fined \$10. The episode could have ended there—but it did not.

Rosa Parks's arrest led African Americans in Montgomery to organize a **boycott**—a refusal to use—the city's buses. The boycott organizers hoped to hurt the city financially and force it to alter its policies. They had strength in numbers—almost 75 percent of the bus company's riders were African American.

At a boycott meeting, a young Baptist minister came forward to speak. Not widely known at the time, **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**, made an impact on the crowd. He declared:

“We're here because, first and foremost, we are American citizens, and we are determined to acquire our citizenship to the fullness of its meaning. We are tired—tired of being segregated and humiliated, tired of being kicked about by the brutal feet of oppression.”

The boycott upset many people's daily lives, but the African Americans of Montgomery pulled together to make it work. Students hitchhiked to school; workers walked or rode bikes to their jobs. King helped organize car pools to shuttle people from place to place.

The bus boycott lasted for more than a year. City officials arrested King and other leaders at different times, but African Americans held firm. The local bus company lost thousands of dollars in fares, and downtown businesses lost customers. Finally, the Supreme Court settled the matter by ruling that the Montgomery bus segregation law was unconstitutional. In December 1956, the boycott ended.

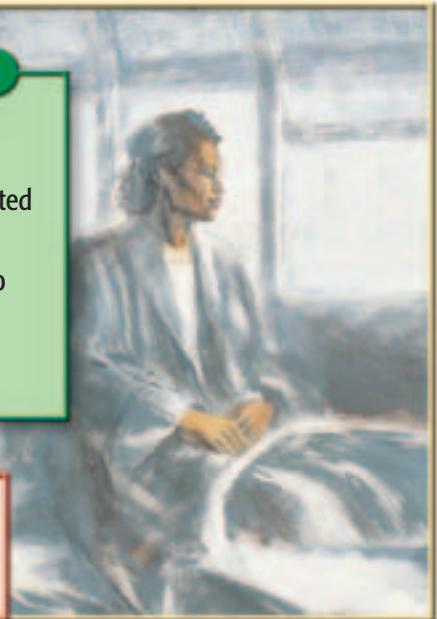
## Causes and Effects of the Move Toward Equality

### Causes

- 1955, Rosa Parks is arrested
- 1955, Montgomery bus boycott begins
- 1957, Conflict at Little Rock
- 1957, SCLC is organized
- 1960, Students stage sit-ins
- 1963, March on Washington, D.C.

### Effects

- 1962, James Meredith enrolls at University of Mississippi
- 1967, Thurgood Marshall appointed to Supreme Court
- 1968, Shirley Chisholm elected to House of Representatives
- 1972, Barbara Jordan elected to Congress



### Graphic Organizer Skills

African Americans faced many obstacles in their struggle for equal rights.

**Analyzing Information** What protest followed the arrest of Rosa Parks?

## Nonviolent Protest

With the victory in Montgomery, King became a leader of the civil rights movement. He followed the tactics of **A. Philip Randolph**, the nation's most prominent African American labor leader. King was also strongly influenced by **Mohandas Gandhi**, who had used nonviolent protest to help India gain independence from Great Britain. In keeping with his beliefs, Gandhi used protest methods based on **civil disobedience**, or the refusal to obey laws that are considered unjust.

In January 1957, King and 60 other ministers started a new organization called the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**. SCLC leaders emphasized nonviolent protest. They showed civil rights workers how to protect themselves from violent attacks. The SCLC also discussed how to identify targets for protests and how to organize people for support. In taking these steps, the SCLC prepared African Americans for the struggle for equal rights.

**Reading Check Describing** How did the Montgomery bus boycott begin?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Key Terms** Use these terms in sentences that explain important events in the civil rights movement: **segregation, integrate, boycott, civil disobedience.**
- Reviewing Facts** Name the Supreme Court decision that banned segregation in education.

### Reviewing Themes

- Civic Rights and Responsibilities** How did the Montgomery bus boycott end?

### Critical Thinking

- Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., believed nonviolent protest was the most effective course to gain civil rights?
- Sequencing Information** Re-create the time line below and list important events in the civil rights movement in the 1950s.

May 1954	Dec. 1955	Jan. 1957	Sept. 1957
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

### Analyzing Visuals

- Examine the map on page 839. In what states did local school districts decide whether schools were integrated or not? In what states in the far northwest was segregation prohibited?

### Interdisciplinary Activity

**Descriptive Writing** Write a song to be sung at a civil rights march. Base your lyrics on the story of Rosa Parks and her courage the night of her arrest.



# America's LITERATURE

## Maya Angelou (1928– )



Maya Angelou, born in 1928, has written poetry, fiction, and plays. Born Marguerite Johnson,

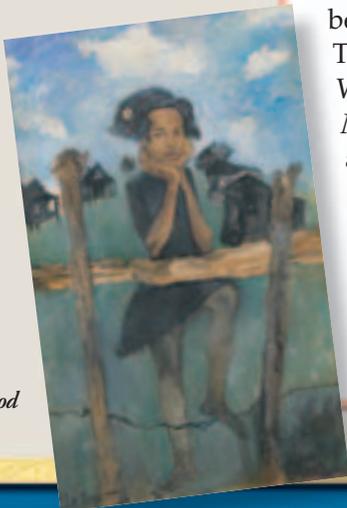
Angelou and her brother, Bailey, were raised by their grandmother, Annie Henderson, the owner of a general store in Stamps, Arkansas.

### READ TO DISCOVER

In the following excerpt from Angelou's autobiography, she is about 10 years old. Bright but painfully self-conscious, she has become withdrawn and refuses to speak to anyone. As you read, pay attention to the actions of the characters.

### READER'S DICTIONARY

**familiar:** close friend or associate



Her World by Philip Evergood

## I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings

**M**rs. Bertha Flowers was the aristocrat of Black Stamps. She had the grace of control to appear warm in the coldest weather, and on the Arkansas summer days it seemed she had a private breeze which swirled around, cooling her. . . .

She was one of the few gentlewomen I have ever known, and has remained throughout my life the measure of what a human being can be.

Momma had a strange relationship with her. Most often when she passed on the road in front of the Store, she spoke to Momma in that soft yet carrying voice, "Good day, Mrs. Henderson." Momma responded with "How you, Sister Flowers?"

Mrs. Flowers didn't belong to our church, nor was she Momma's **familiar**. Why on earth did she insist on calling her Sister Flowers? Shame made me want to hide my face. Mrs. Flowers deserved better than to be called Sister. Then, Momma left out the verb. Why not ask, "How *are* you, Mrs. Flowers?" With the unbalanced passion of the young, I hated her for showing her ignorance to Mrs. Flowers. It didn't occur to me for many years that they were as alike as sisters, separated only by formal education. . . .

Occasionally, though, Mrs. Flowers would drift off the road and down to the Store and Momma would say to me, "Sister, you go on and play." As I left I would hear the beginning of an intimate conversation. Momma persistently using the wrong verb, or none at all. . . .

I heard the soft-voiced Mrs. Flowers and the textured voice of my grandmother merging and melting. They were interrupted from time to time by giggles that must have come from Mrs. Flowers. . . .

She acted just as refined as whitefolks in the movies and books and she was more beautiful, for none of them could have come near that warm color without looking gray by comparison.

From *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, by Maya Angelou. Copyright © 1969 by Maya Angelou. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc.

### ANALYZING LITERATURE

- 1. Recall and Interpret** Describe the relationship between Momma and Mrs. Flowers.
- 2. Evaluate and Connect** Do you think you would like Mrs. Flowers? Explain.

### Interdisciplinary Activity

**Informative Writing** Write a one-page sketch describing an encounter you had with a person who influenced your life in a positive way.

## SECTION 2

# Kennedy and Johnson

### Guide to Reading

#### Main Idea

John Kennedy's New Frontier and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society were government programs to fight poverty, help cities and schools, and promote civil rights.

#### Key Terms

poverty line, Medicare, Medicaid

#### Reading Strategy

**Organizing Information** As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and list four programs that were part of the War on Poverty.



#### Read to Learn

- what the goals were for Kennedy's New Frontier.
- what new programs were created as part of the Great Society.

#### Section Theme

**Government and Democracy** Presidents Kennedy and Johnson proposed increased spending on social programs.

#### Preview of Events

◆ 1960

Jan. 1961

John F. Kennedy takes office as president

◆ 1962

Nov. 1963

Kennedy is assassinated

◆ 1964

Jan. 1964

President Johnson announces war on poverty

◆ 1966

July 1964

Civil Rights Act of 1964 is passed



1960 presidential campaign items

## AN American Story

They stood together on the inaugural platform: 43-year-old John F. Kennedy—tanned, vigorous, and coatless despite the subfreezing weather—and 70-year-old Dwight D. Eisenhower, wearing a muffler, looking like a tired general. The appearances of the two men, a generation apart in age, symbolized the change of leadership. Kennedy's speech promised so much: "Let every nation know . . . that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty. . . ."

### Election of 1960

By 1960, the crusade for civil rights had become a national movement. Against this background, the nation prepared for a presidential election. The Republican candidate, Vice President **Richard M. Nixon**, pledged to continue the policies of President Eisenhower. The Democratic candidate, **John F. Kennedy**, promised new programs to "get the country moving again."



For much of the campaign, polls showed Nixon in the lead. One reason for this was the fact that Kennedy was Roman Catholic. No Catholic had ever been president, and many Americans feared that if Kennedy won he might show more loyalty to his church than to his country. Kennedy answered by stressing his belief in the separation of church and state.

### John F. Kennedy

Kennedy came from one of the country's wealthiest and most powerful families. His father, Joseph P. Kennedy, was a successful business leader and the American ambassador to Britain at the start of World War II.

John Kennedy joined the United States Navy during World War II and was assigned to active duty in the Pacific. When the Japanese sank the PT (patrol torpedo) boat he commanded, Kennedy saved the life of a crew member by swimming to shore with the injured man on his back. The rescue effort led to navy and marine medals for Kennedy but also aggravated an old back injury he had. The story of the rescue was later described in Robert Donovan's book *PT 109*.

Kennedy's political career began in 1946 when he won a seat in Congress from Massachusetts. Six years later, he was elected to the United States Senate. The young senator wrote a book, *Profiles in Courage*, which described difficult political decisions made by past United States senators. The book became a best-seller

and received a Pulitzer Prize. After easily winning reelection to the Senate in 1958, Kennedy campaigned for the presidency in 1960.

### A New President

The turning point in the 1960 election came when the candidates took part in the first televised presidential debates. Kennedy appeared handsome and youthful. Nixon, who was recovering from an illness, looked tired and sick. Kennedy spoke with confidence about the future. Many viewers thought that Kennedy made a better impression.

In November, nearly 70 million voters turned out to choose between Nixon and Kennedy. For the first time, the people of Alaska and Hawaii took part in a presidential election. The results were extremely close. In the popular vote, Kennedy won 49.7 percent, while Nixon received 49.5 percent. In the electoral vote, Kennedy gained a greater margin over Nixon—303 to 219 votes.

**Reading Check Identifying** Who were the presidential candidates in 1960?

### The New Frontier

On January 20, 1961, snow covered Washington, D.C., and icy winds whipped through the city. Still, thousands of people streamed to the Capitol to see John Fitzgerald Kennedy become the thirty-fifth president of the United States.  (See page 995 for part of President Kennedy's Inaugural Address.)

*Richard Nixon and John Kennedy took part in the first televised presidential debates in 1960.*



*In 1960 for the first time, radio and television played a major factor in a presidential campaign. This advertisement for television sets focuses on the televised presidential debates.*



He offered the nation youth, energy, and hope. In his Inaugural Address, Kennedy spoke of a new era:

“Let the word go forth from this time and place . . . that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans.”

The young president promised to face the nation’s challenges with determination. In closing, Kennedy roused the American people to action:

“And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.”

### Domestic Policies

Kennedy drew up plans for the **New Frontier**, a group of proposals involving social programs. One bill he sent to Congress called for more federal funds for education. Another bill aimed to help poor people get jobs. Reluctant to commit to Kennedy’s expensive programs, Congress failed to pass most of these bills.

Another area of concern for Kennedy was civil rights. The president wished to help African Americans in their fight for equal rights. At the same time he worried that moving too quickly would anger Southern Democrats in Congress, whose support he needed to enact legislation.

*Lyndon Johnson takes the oath of office aboard Air Force One after the assassination of President Kennedy.*



In 1963 Kennedy decided to ask Congress to pass a bill guaranteeing civil rights. The House approved the measure, but it stalled in the Senate. Meanwhile, the president left for a campaign trip to Dallas, Texas.

### Kennedy Assassinated

On November 22, 1963, Kennedy arrived in Dallas with his wife, Jacqueline. As the president and the First Lady rode through the streets in an open car, several shots rang out. Kennedy slumped against his wife. The car sped to a hospital, but the president was dead. Shortly afterward, Vice President **Lyndon B. Johnson** took the oath of office as president.

The assassination stunned the nation. Television networks broadcast the news almost without interruption for the next few days. Millions of Americans numbly watched the funeral.

In the midst of the grief came another shock. The day of Kennedy’s shooting, Dallas police had arrested **Lee Harvey Oswald** and charged him with killing the president. Two days later, as police moved Oswald from one jail to another, Jack Ruby jumped through the circle of police officers and journalists and shot and killed Oswald.

Rumors that a group of enemies had plotted the assassination swirled around the country. Soon afterward, President Johnson appointed **Earl Warren**, chief justice of the United States, to head a commission to investigate the Kennedy shooting. After months of study, the **Warren Commission** issued its report. Oswald had acted on his own, it said. The report did not satisfy everyone, however. Many people believed the assassination was a conspiracy, or secret plot.

**Reading Check** **Describing** What happened on November 22, 1963?

### The “Great Society”

Soon after becoming president, Lyndon B. Johnson outlined a set of programs even more ambitious than Kennedy’s New Frontier. He called his proposals the **“Great Society.”** In a speech he explained his vision of America:



“In a land of great wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty. In a land rich in harvest, children must not go hungry. . . . In a great land of learning and scholars, young people must be taught to read and write.”

Johnson had acquired great skill as a legislator during his 22 years in Congress. He used this skill to persuade Congress to launch programs that would make the Great Society real.

### The War on Poverty

In January 1964, President Johnson declared “an unconditional war on poverty in America.” The first part of his plan for a Great Society consisted of programs to help Americans who lived below the **poverty line**—the minimum income needed to survive. A program called **Head Start** provided preschool education for the children of poor families. **Upward Bound** helped poor students attend college. The **Job Corps** offered training to young people who wanted to work. **Volunteers in Service to America** (VISTA) was a kind of domestic peace corps of citizens working in poor neighborhoods.

Among the most important laws passed under Johnson were those establishing **Medicare** and **Medicaid**. Medicare helped pay for medical care for senior citizens. Medicaid helped poor people pay their hospital bills.

### Helping Cities and Schools

Other parts of the Great Society targeted the nation’s crumbling cities. In 1966 President Johnson established the **Department of Housing and Urban Development** (HUD), which helped fund public housing projects. Another program, Model Cities, provided money to help rebuild cities. Schools received a boost from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which greatly increased spending for education.

### Civil Rights

Although raised in the South, Lyndon Johnson was not a segregationist. He believed that the nation must protect the rights of all American citizens. When Johnson took office, he vowed to turn the civil rights bill Kennedy had proposed into law. In early 1964 he warned Congress that: “We are going to pass a civil rights bill if it takes all summer.”

With growing support across the nation for the goals of the civil rights movement, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** in July. The act prohibited discrimination against African Americans in employment, voting, and public accommodations. It banned discrimination not only by race and color, but also by sex, religion, or national origin.

**Reading Check** **Comparing** What did Medicare and Medicaid do?

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

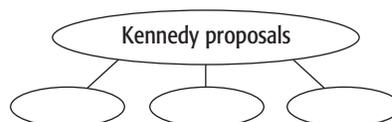
- Key Terms** Use each of the following words in sentences about the Great Society: **poverty line**, **Medicare**, **Medicaid**.
- Reviewing Facts** What was the purpose of the Job Corps?

### Reviewing Themes

- Government and Democracy** Describe Johnson’s policies toward civil rights.

### Critical Thinking

- Drawing Conclusions** Should televised debates influence how Americans choose their president? Explain your reasoning.
- Organizing Information** Re-create the diagram below and identify three proposals that Kennedy asked Congress to act on.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Artifacts** Examine the campaign items on page 844. What are the ideas that each is trying to present to voters? Compare these items to current campaign buttons and posters you have seen.

### Interdisciplinary Activity

**Citizenship** Choose one of President Kennedy’s or President Johnson’s programs and create a poster supporting or opposing it.

# SECTION 3

# The Struggle Continues

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

New leaders emerged as growing numbers of African Americans became dissatisfied with the slow progress of civil rights.

### Key Terms

*sit-in, interstate*

### Reading Strategy

**Classifying Information** As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe the roles these people played in the civil rights movement.

	Roles
James Meredith	
Malcolm X	
Stokely Carmichael	

### Read to Learn

- what actions African Americans took in the early 1960s to secure their rights.
- how tensions erupted in violence in many American cities.

### Section Theme

**Continuity and Change** New African leaders, such as Malcolm X, called for changes in strategies and goals.

### Preview of Events

◆ 1960

1961

Freedom Riders move through the South

1962

James Meredith enrolls at University of Mississippi

◆ 1965

1963

More than 200,000 people march in Washington, D.C.

◆ 1970

1968

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated



Supporting the sit-ins

## AN American Story

On February 1, 1960, four African American students walked into a store in Greensboro, North Carolina. After buying a few items, they sat down at a “whites-only” lunch counter. When a waitress questioned what they were doing, one of the students replied, “We believe since we buy books and papers in the other part of the store, we should get served in this part.” They were refused service, and the four sat at the counter until the store closed. By the end of the week, hundreds of students had joined the protest. Angry whites jeered at the students and dumped food on them. The protesters refused to leave or strike back.

### The Movement Grows

A new wave of civil rights activity swept across the nation in the 1960s. Early activity targeted segregation in the South. Segregation existed in the North as well. In Northern cities and suburbs, African Americans and whites often lived in different neighborhoods; as a result, their children often attended different schools.



Soon African Americans expanded their goal to fighting discrimination and racism in the North as well as in the South.

High school and college students staged sit-ins in nearly 80 cities. A **sit-in** is the act of protesting by sitting down. Sit-ins were staged throughout the nation against stores that practiced segregation. Store managers wanted to end the disturbances and the loss of business. Gradually many stores agreed to desegregate.

The sit-ins helped launch a new civil rights group, the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC). Civil rights activist **Ella Baker** was a guiding spirit behind SNCC and one of its organizers. Earlier, Baker had played important roles in both the NAACP and the SCLC. SNCC was a key player in the civil rights movement for several years.

### Freedom Rides

The Supreme Court had ruled in 1960 against segregated bus facilities. Another civil rights group, the **Congress of Racial Equality** (CORE), decided to see whether the ruling was being enforced. On May 4, 1961, a group of African American and white CORE members left Washington, D.C., on two buses bound for New Orleans. They called themselves **Freedom Riders**.

The bus trip went smoothly until it reached Alabama, where angry whites stoned and beat the Freedom Riders.

Television and newspapers broadcast reports of the beatings. **Robert Kennedy**, the United States attorney general, asked CORE to stop the Freedom Rides for a “cooling-off period.” CORE leader **James Farmer** responded: “We have been cooling off for 350 years. If we cool off any more, we will be in a deep freeze.”

### Violence and Arrests

The Freedom Riders pressed on, only to meet more violence in Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama. There were no mobs waiting for the Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi. However, police, state troopers, and Mississippi National Guard units were everywhere. As the Riders stepped off the bus and tried to enter the whites-only waiting room at the bus station, they were arrested for trespassing and jailed.

Despite the violence and the jail sentences, more Freedom Riders kept coming all summer. In the fall the Interstate Commerce Commission took steps to enforce the Supreme Court ruling, issuing new regulations that banned segregation on **interstate** buses—those that crossed state lines—and in bus stations.

#### Picturing History

Police in Birmingham, Alabama, used high-pressure water hoses against civil rights marchers. Sit-ins were another form of protest. **What was the purpose of the Freedom Rides?**



## Integrating Universities

African Americans continued to apply pressure to secure their civil rights. They spurred President Kennedy to take a more active role in the civil rights struggle.

In 1962 a federal court ordered the University of Mississippi to enroll its first African American student, **James Meredith**. However, Mississippi governor **Ross Barnett**, with the aid of state police, prevented Meredith from registering. When President Kennedy sent federal marshals to escort Meredith to the campus, riots erupted. A mob stormed the administration building armed with guns and rocks. The marshals fought back with tear gas and nightsticks. Meredith succeeded in registering but two people were killed. Federal troops were stationed at the university to protect him until he graduated in 1963.

Another confrontation between state and federal power took place in June 1963—this time in Alabama. Governor **George Wallace**

vowed he would “stand in the schoolhouse door” to block the integration of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. President Kennedy, acting on the advice of his brother, sent the Alabama National Guard to ensure the entry of African Americans to the university. As a result, Wallace backed down.

## Birmingham

In the spring of 1963, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the SCLC targeted **Birmingham, Alabama**, for a desegregation protest. Police arrested hundreds of demonstrators, including King, but the demonstrations continued. During King’s two weeks in jail, he wrote the eloquent “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” in which he wrote:

“For years now I have heard the word ‘Wait!’ It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This ‘Wait’ has almost always meant ‘Never.’ We must come to see . . . that ‘justice too long delayed is justice denied.’”

# What If...

## *Jackie Robinson Failed to Make the Major Leagues?*

Can you imagine major league baseball without such superstars as Sammy Sosa or Ken Griffey, Jr.? Yet these great players may never have had the chance if not for Jackie Robinson. When Robinson first played for the Brooklyn Dodgers on April 15th, 1947, he became the first African American in the twentieth century to play major league baseball. His outstanding play and courage in the face of adversity led to the signing of many more African American players.

Yet what if Robinson had failed? Some sports historians believe that many more years might have passed before another chance opened for an African American player. Robinson’s wife, Rachel, notes, “Jack knew that by breaking the color barrier, he was not only paving the way for minorities in profes-

sional sports, but was also providing opportunities in all facets of life. . . .”

Houston Federal Judge David Hittner echoes those sentiments:

“I think the start of the heavy civil rights movement came with the breaking of the color barrier in major league baseball. It was one of the great indications of the impetus of the civil rights movement in the United States. To me, it really was the start. It showed a lot of folks that, here was the concept of equality. It nailed many nails in the coffin, particularly in terms of the perception of inferiority. Jackie Robinson was a pioneer. He had to stand there and take it, just so others could maybe someday get to where he was.”

With Robinson’s success came integration in other sports. By the mid-1950s African American athletes had established themselves as a powerful force in almost all professional sports.





National television carried vivid pictures of police setting snarling police dogs on unarmed demonstrators and washing small children across streets with the powerful impact of fire hoses. President Kennedy sent 3,000 troops to restore peace. On June 11, 1963, in Jackson, Mississippi, **Medgar Evers**, state field secretary for the NAACP, was murdered. The murder and the events in Alabama forced President Kennedy to make a decision. Appearing on national television, Kennedy spoke of the “moral issue” facing the nation:

“The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot . . . enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place?”

Days later, the president introduced new legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in public places and barring discrimination in employment.

### March on Washington

To rally support for the civil rights bill, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the SCLC organized a massive march in Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963. More than 200,000 people, of all colors and from all over the country, arrived to take part. Emily Rock, a 15-year-old African American, described how she felt at the march:

“There was this sense of hope for the future—the belief that this march was the big step in the right direction. It could be heard in the voices of the people singing and seen in the way they walked. It poured out into smiles.”

About 6,000 police officers stood nearby, but they had nothing to do but direct traffic. There was no trouble. Proceeding with great dignity and joy, the marchers carried signs urging Congress to act. They sang songs, including one that was becoming the anthem of the civil rights movement: “We Shall Overcome.” (See page 977 of the Primary Sources Library for the words to this song.)

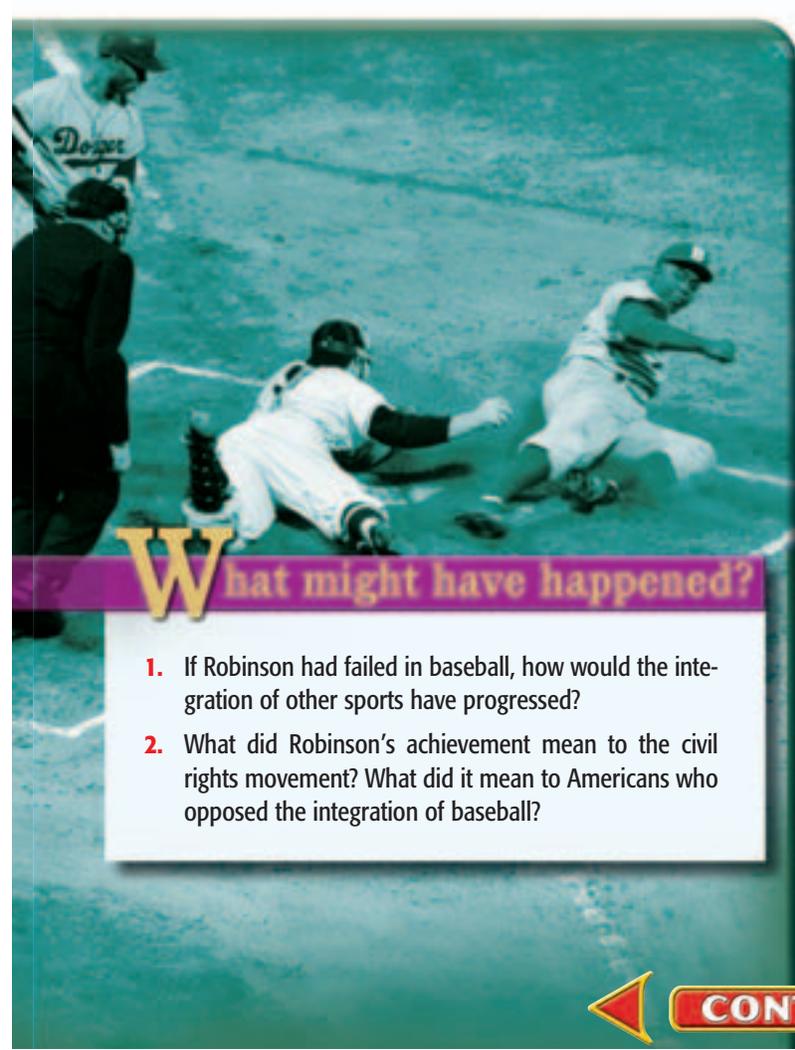
Late in the afternoon, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke to the crowd in ringing words of his desire to see America transformed:

“I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal.’ . . . When we let freedom ring, . . . we will be able to speed up that day when all of God’s children . . . [will] join hands and sing in the words of the old . . . spiritual, ‘Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!’”

(See page 996 for more of this famous speech.)

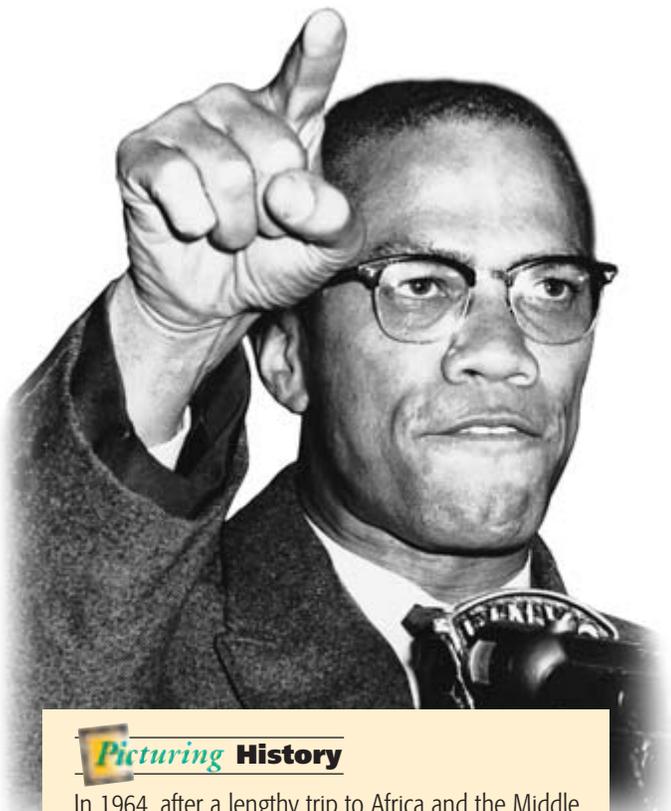
### Freedom Summer

Congress did not pass Kennedy’s civil rights bill until after his death. President **Lyndon B. Johnson**, who succeeded Kennedy, finally



## What might have happened?

1. If Robinson had failed in baseball, how would the integration of other sports have progressed?
2. What did Robinson’s achievement mean to the civil rights movement? What did it mean to Americans who opposed the integration of baseball?



### **Picturing History**

In 1964, after a lengthy trip to Africa and the Middle East, Malcolm X called for closer ties between African Americans and African people in other parts of the world. **How did Malcolm X's ideas change during the early 1960s?**

persuaded Congress to pass the bill. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination in hiring and ended segregation in stores, restaurants, theaters, and hotels. Yet, in many states, African Americans still could not vote. Poll taxes and other discriminatory laws prevented them from exercising this right.

During the summer of 1964, thousands of civil rights workers spread throughout the South to help African Americans register to vote. They called the campaign **Freedom Summer**, but the workers faced strong, sometimes violent, opposition.

### **The Right to Vote**

The next year SNCC organized a major demonstration in **Selma, Alabama**, to protest the continued denial of African Americans' right to vote. Police attacks on the marchers again dramatized the cause.

President Johnson stepped in. On March 15, 1965, in a televised speech, the president urged passage of a voting rights bill. "About

this there can be no argument," he said. "Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote." In August Johnson signed the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** into law. The act gave the federal government the power to force local officials to allow African Americans to register to vote.

The act led to dramatic changes in political life in the South. In 1966 about 100 African Americans held elective office in the South. By 1972 that number had increased 10 times.

**Reading Check Analyzing** Why were sit-ins an effective strategy against segregation?

### **Other Voices**

By the mid-1960s, the civil rights movement had won numerous victories. Yet a growing number of African Americans grew tired of the slow pace of change and bitter over white attacks.

**Malcolm X**, a leader in the Nation of Islam (or Black Muslims), emerged as an important new voice for some African Americans. Malcolm X criticized the civil rights goal of integration, declaring that the best way for African Americans to achieve justice was to separate themselves from whites.

Malcolm X gained increasing support. By 1965, however, he had begun to change his ideas. Instead of racial separation, he called for "a society in which there could exist honest white-black brotherhood." Soon afterwards, he was killed by an assassin from a rival group among the Black Muslims. His fiery words and passionate ideas, contained in his autobiography and other writings, continued to influence the civil rights movement after his death.

### **Black Power**

Other African American leaders embraced more radical approaches. **Stokely Carmichael**, who became the leader of SNCC, advanced the idea of **Black Power**. This was a philosophy of racial pride that said African Americans should create their own culture and political institutions. Carmichael and other radicals called at times for revolution, a complete transformation





of society. Although rejected by such groups as the NAACP, the idea of Black Power had a great impact on the civil rights movement.

### Violence Erupts

In Oakland, California, a group of young radicals formed the **Black Panther Party**. The Panthers symbolized a growing tension between African Americans and urban police. Large numbers of African Americans in urban areas felt frustrated about poverty and unemployment. The Panthers demanded reforms and armed themselves in opposition to the police. Several armed clashes with the police occurred.

The first major urban riots since the 1940s took place in the summer of 1965 in the **Watts** section of **Los Angeles**. In a week of rioting, 34 people died and much of Watts burned to the ground. National Guard troops were called in to end the uprising. The Watts riot was the first of a series of racial disorders that hit cities in the summers of 1965, 1966, and 1967.

Between the years of 1965 and 1967 rioting broke out in more than 40 Northern cities, including San Francisco, Chicago, and Cleveland. In July 1967, five days of protests, looting, and burning of buildings in Newark, New Jersey, ended with the deaths of 26 people and more than \$10 million in damage. The next week, a massive uprising in Detroit shut the city down for several days.

President Johnson named a commission to study the causes of the riots and to suggest steps to improve conditions. The report of this group, the Kerner Commission, warned that “our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

The wave of urban riots devastated many African American neighborhoods. The riots ended—but not before one last burst of rage.

### King Is Assassinated

On April 4, 1968, racial tension in the United States took another tragic turn. On that night in Memphis, Tennessee, an assassin shot and killed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. King’s assassination set off angry rioting in more than 100 cities. Fires burned in the nation’s capital, just blocks from the Capitol and the White House.

Thousands of people attended King’s funeral in Atlanta. Millions more watched on television. All mourned the death of an American hero who, the night before his death, had said God “has allowed me to go up to the mountain, and I’ve seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land!”

**Reading Check Explaining** Why did some African American leaders criticize the goal of integration?

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

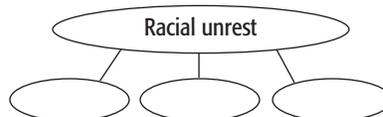
- Key Terms** Using complete sentences, define the following terms: **sit-in**, **interstate**.
- Reviewing Facts** What idea did Stokely Carmichael advance?

### Reviewing Themes

- Continuity and Change** How did the beliefs and strategies of groups such as the Black Panthers differ from the beliefs and strategies of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?

### Critical Thinking

- Predicting Consequences** What do you think would have happened in the civil rights movement had King not been assassinated?
- Analyzing Information** Re-create the diagram below and describe three events of racial unrest that spread to major cities during the summers of 1965–1967.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Picturing History** Examine the photographs on page 849. Write a caption that describes what is happening in the pictures. If you were a reporter interviewing these people, what would you ask them?

### Interdisciplinary Activity

**Expository Writing** Choose a civil rights figure from the section. Research this person and write a personal profile. Include copies of photographs, speeches, and so on, as appropriate.



# FREEDOM RIDERS

**SEGREGATED WAITING ROOMS**, restaurants, restrooms, and buses still existed in the South in 1961, despite Supreme Court orders to integrate facilities serving passengers traveling from state to state.

## ON THE ROAD

On May 4th, 1961, 13 neatly dressed African-American and white Freedom Riders boarded buses in Washington, D.C. Determined to challenge segregation, these men and women knew they might encounter violence or be arrested as they headed toward New Orleans. The Riders were turned away from a bus station in Danville, Virginia, and police stopped a scuffle in Rock Hill, South Carolina. Despite these incidents, the trip through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia went fairly smoothly.

## TROUBLE DEVELOPS

In Alabama, however, trouble started. White mobs ambushed the Riders in Anniston and Birmingham, torching one of the buses. When many of the battered Freedom Riders decided to abandon the buses in Birmingham and fly to New Orleans, new groups took up the cause in Nashville, Tennessee, and other cities. They eventually made it to Jackson, Mississippi, where they were arrested.

## ENFORCING THE LAW

Freedom Riders continued these non-violent protests until they got what they wanted. In September 1961 Attorney General Robert Kennedy persuaded the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce the Supreme Court's ruling prohibiting racial discrimination on buses and in transportation facilities.

Police arrest Freedom Rider John Lewis (top) in Jackson, Mississippi. Jim Zwerg (below) lies in a hospital bed after beatings by people in favor of segregation at a Montgomery, Alabama, bus terminal.

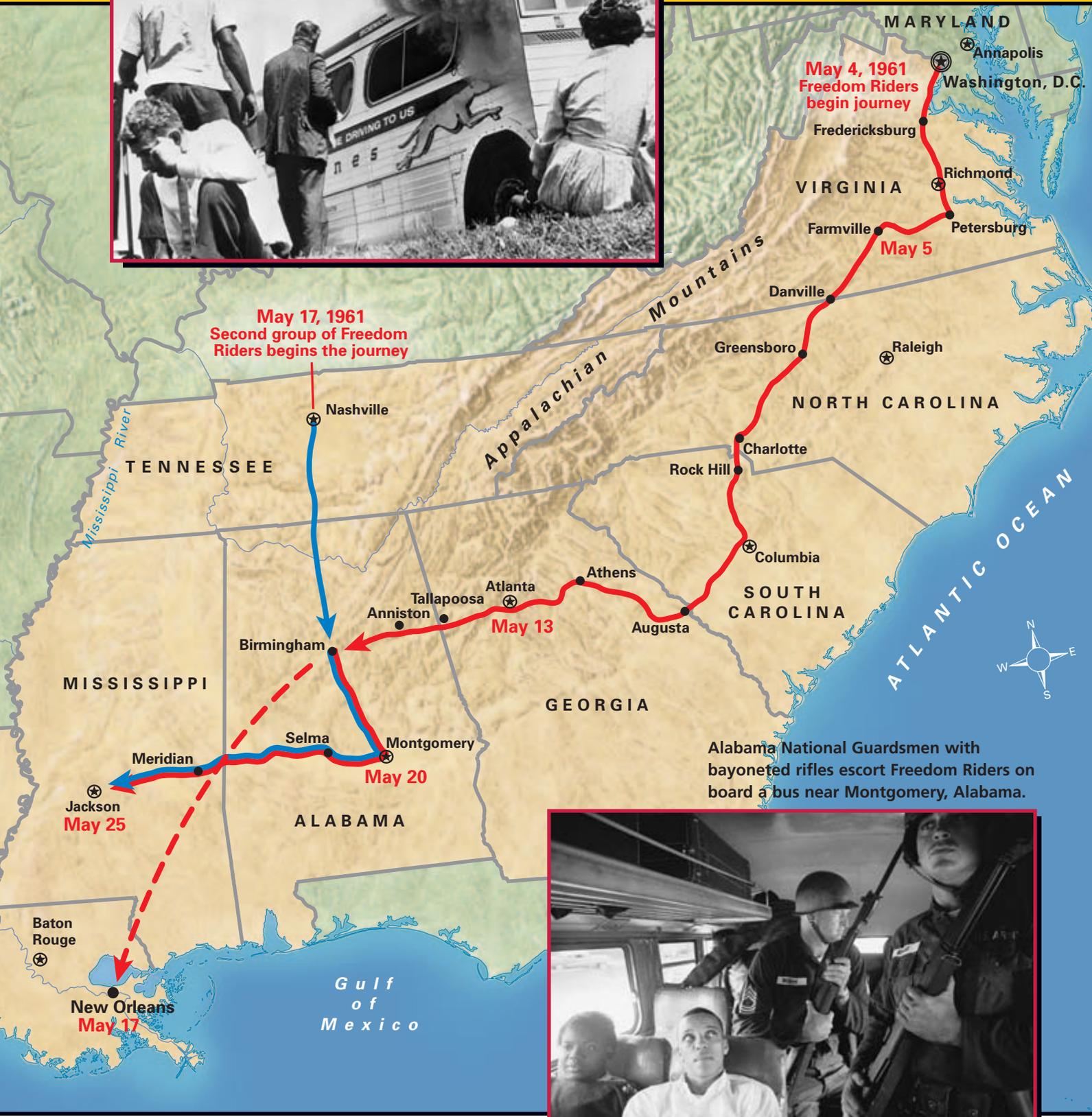


## LEARNING from GEOGRAPHY

1. Why do you think the Freedom Riders decided to protest in this region of the United States?
2. Where did Freedom Riders encounter the greatest difficulties? Were they successful in reaching their goal?



Angry segregationists ambushed the bus near Anniston, Alabama. Officers finally dispersed the mob, allowing the Freedom Riders to stumble out.



Alabama National Guardsmen with bayoneted rifles escort Freedom Riders on board a bus near Montgomery, Alabama.



## SECTION 4

# Other Groups Seek Rights

### Guide to Reading

#### Main Idea

In the 1960s and 1970s, growing numbers of women, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and disabled Americans entered the struggle for equal rights.

#### Key Terms

feminist, Hispanic

#### Reading Strategy

**Organizing Information** As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe the role each person played in the 1960s and 1970s.

	Roles
Phyllis Schlafly	
César Chávez	
Herman Badillo	

#### Read to Learn

- what steps women and minorities took to improve their lives.
- what new leaders emerged.

#### Section Theme

**Continuity and Change** During the 1960s and 1970s, women and minorities used political action to shatter stereotypes and improve their lives.

#### Preview of Events

◆ 1960

1963

Congress passes Equal Pay Act;  
*The Feminine Mystique* is published

◆ 1965

1966

National Organization for  
Women is created

◆ 1970

1973

American Indian Movement protests  
at Wounded Knee, South Dakota



Jesse de la Cruz

## AN American Story

Mexican American farmworker Jesse de la Cruz had labored for decades in the grape and cotton fields of the Southwest. In 1972 she began working for the United Farm Workers Union. Cruz made speaking tours, trying to bring women into the union. "Women can no longer be taken for granted—that we're just going to stay home and do the cooking and cleaning," she told her listeners. "It's way past the time when our husbands could say, 'You stay home! You have to take care of the children! You have to do as I say!'"

### Women's Rights

The effects of the civil rights movement reached well beyond the African American community. Women, Hispanics, Native Americans, and people with disabilities all found inspiration in the struggles of African Americans. In 1961 President John F. Kennedy created the Commission on the Status of Women. It reported that women—an ever-growing part of the workforce—received lower

pay than men, even for performing the same jobs. In 1963 Kennedy convinced Congress to pass the **Equal Pay Act**, which prohibited employers from paying women less than men for the same work.

### Uniting for Action

In 1966 **feminists**—activists for women’s rights—created the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**. NOW fought for equal rights for women in all aspects of life—in jobs, education, and marriage.

Among its early successes, NOW helped end separate classified employment ads for men and women, and airline rules that required female flight attendants to retire at age 32. In the 1960s and 1970s, NOW and similar groups worked to increase the number of women entering the professions. Banks, realtors, and department stores were forced to grant loans, mortgages, and credit that they long had denied to female applicants.

In the early 1970s, NOW launched a campaign for an **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)** to the Constitution. The amendment stated that “equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” **Phyllis Schlafly** and other opponents of the ERA warned that the amendment would upset the traditional roles of society and lead to the breakdown of the family. Some people argued that the amendment was unnecessary because the Constitution already provided women with adequate protection. In the end, not enough states ratified the amendment to make it law.

### Women Gain Opportunities

Despite the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment, women progressed in a number of areas in the 1970s. In 1972 the federal government outlawed discrimination against women in educational programs receiving federal funds. This law, along with the efforts of many businesses, helped women begin to make advances in the world of work.

**HISTORY Online**  
**Student Web Activity**  
Visit [taj.glencoe.com](http://taj.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 29—Student Web Activities** for an activity on the women’s rights movement.



## Linking Past & Present

### Women and Sports

In the 1950s and early 1960s, American physical educators still argued that women’s competitive sports were “unfeminine.” An athlete such as Babe Didrickson Zaharias was unusual.

By 1990, however, nearly two million females were active in sports—an increase of 600 percent in a 20-year span!



Babe Didrickson Zaharias



Track and field’s Marion Jones

Women gained more job opportunities, and more women rose to higher-level jobs in their companies. (See page 977 for one woman’s struggle to gain equal pay in the work place.)

Most of the nation’s all-male colleges and universities began admitting women. More women than ever entered medical school and law school to become doctors and lawyers.

Women also made progress in the political arena. Many women gained local and state offices. Several women won seats in the Senate and the House of Representatives and appointments to the president’s cabinet. In 1981 President Ronald Reagan appointed **Sandra Day O’Connor** as the first female justice of the Supreme Court.

**Reading Check Summarizing** What happened to the Equal Rights Amendment?



## Hispanic Americans

In the 1960s the rapidly growing **Hispanic** population sought equal rights. The term *Hispanic American* refers to those Americans who have come, or are descended from others who have come, to the United States from the countries of Latin America and Spain. From 3 million in 1960, the Hispanic population in the United States rose to 9 million by 1970 and to 15 million by 1980. Although they share the heritage of the Spanish culture and language, Hispanics are a diverse group with different histories.

### Farmworkers Organize

By far, the largest Hispanic group in the United States comes from the country of Mexico. By 1980 more than eight million Mexican Americans were living in the United States.

The fight for rights started among Mexican American migrant farmworkers. These people, who planted and harvested a large share of the nation's food supply, faced great hardships. The migrant farmers did backbreaking work, laboring from dawn until dusk for low wages. When one job ended, they had to travel from farm to farm in search of the next job.

In the early 1960s, migrant workers formed unions to fight for better wages and working conditions. Their leader, **César Chávez**, organized thousands of farmworkers into the United Farm Workers (UFW).

The union went on strike and organized nationwide boycotts. Consumers across the country supported the UFW by refusing to buy grapes, lettuce, and other farm produce under boycott. The success of the boycotts enabled the UFW to win higher wages and shorter work hours for many farmworkers.

The union boycott was followed by emerging political power among Hispanic Americans. In the years that followed, Hispanic Americans would join together in an organization called **La Raza Unida** to fight discrimination



*César Chávez*

and to elect Hispanics to government posts. The **League of United Latin American Citizens** (LULAC) won lawsuits in federal court to guarantee Hispanic Americans the right to serve on juries and the right to send their children to unsegregated schools.

### Puerto Ricans

Puerto Ricans, another major group of Hispanics, come from the island of Puerto Rico, a commonwealth of the United States. They are American citizens who have made major contributions to the United States.

In 1970 the first representative to Congress of Puerto Rican origin, **Herman Badillo**, was elected from New York City. After four terms, Badillo served as the city's deputy mayor. Baseball all-time great **Roberto Clemente** performed heroically both on and off the baseball diamond. In 1972 Clemente died in a plane crash while delivering relief supplies to earthquake victims in Nicaragua.

Because Puerto Rico is not a wealthy island, many Puerto Ricans have migrated to American cities in search of jobs. By 1970 they made up 10 percent of the population of New York City. As with African Americans, though, they often faced discrimination in their job search, leading to no work or work for low pay. Many of the children and grandchildren of the Puerto Ricans who arrived in New York in the 1960s migrated to neighboring states, but many Puerto Ricans remained in New York City.

### Cubans Arrive

After the Cuban Revolution of 1959, dictator Fidel Castro established a Communist government and seized the property of many Cubans. More than 200,000 people opposed to Castro fled to the United States in the 1960s. Thousands more came in the 1980s.

These immigrants settled all over the United States. The largest number of Cubans settled in south Florida, where they have established a thriving community.



In 1975 Hispanic people and other groups won a victory with the extension of voting rights. The new law required that registration and voting be carried out in other languages as well as in English. This was designed to help those citizens who might not read or speak English. Election materials, for example, are available in Spanish and English in many states.

**✓ Reading Check Explaining**

Why did many Cubans flee their homeland in the 1960s?

## Native Americans

The years after World War II were a time of transition for Native Americans. Starting in the early 1950s, the federal government urged Native Americans to leave the reservations to work in cities. Federal policy also tried to weaken the power of tribal government.

This policy did not improve the lives of Native Americans. Many could not find jobs in the cities. Those still crowded on reservations enjoyed few jobs or other opportunities. More than one-third of Native Americans lived below the poverty line. Unemployment was widespread—as high as 50 percent in some areas. A 1966 study revealed that Native Americans suffered so much from malnutrition and disease that their life expectancy was only 46 years.

### Efforts to Organize

In the 1960s Native Americans organized to combat these problems. They wanted political power and they demanded independence from the United States government. Native Americans also increasingly emphasized their own history, language, and culture in their schools. The **National Congress of American Indians (NCAI)** sought more control over Native American affairs.

In 1961 more than 400 members of 67 Native American nations gathered in Chicago. In a Declaration of Indian Purpose, these delegates



*Wounded Knee button*

### **Picturing History**

In the 1973 AIM takeover of Wounded Knee, Native American leaders Russell Means (left) and Dennis Banks (right) protested broken treaties and civil rights violations. **Why was Wounded Knee chosen as the place for the AIM protest?**

stated that Native Americans have the “right to choose our own way of life,” and maintained that “a treaty, in the minds of our people, is an eternal word.”

The federal government recognized the Native Americans’ issues. Congress passed the **Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968**, which formally protected the constitutional rights of all Native Americans. At the same time, the new law recognized the right of Native American nations to make laws on their reservations.

A Supreme Court decision in the 1970s reaffirmed the independence of tribal governments. Other court decisions confirmed Native Americans’ rights to land granted in treaties.

### American Indian Movement

Believing the process of change too slow, some younger Native Americans began taking stronger actions. In 1968 a group established the **American Indian Movement (AIM)**, which worked for equal rights and improvement of living conditions.

AIM was founded by Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and others. Later, Russell Means became a leader. AIM carried out several protests. In





### **Picturing History**

Since the 1960s, people with physical disabilities have demanded—sometimes through protest—better access to stadiums, restaurants, and other public buildings.

**How has Congress responded to their protests?**

November 1969, for example, AIM was one of the Native American groups that took over Alcatraz Island, a former prison in San Francisco Bay. AIM wanted the island to serve as a cultural center. The incident ended in June 1971 when the groups surrendered to U.S. marshals.

In the fall of 1972, AIM members occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. They demanded the lands and rights guaranteed under treaties with the United States. They surrendered the building after the government agreed to review their complaints.

In February 1973, AIM occupied the small town of **Wounded Knee, South Dakota**, the site of the 1890 massacre of Sioux by federal troops. In the early 1970s, Wounded Knee was part of a large Sioux reservation. The people there suffered from terrible poverty and ill health.

AIM leaders vowed to stay until the government met demands for change and investigated the treatment of Native Americans. The siege ended on May 8, but it focused national attention on the terrible conditions under which Native Americans lived.

### **Americans With Disabilities**

People with physical disabilities also sought equal treatment in the 1960s and the 1970s. Congress responded by passing a number of laws.

One law concerned the removal of barriers that prevented some people from gaining access to public facilities. Another required employers to offer more opportunities for disabled people in the workplace. Yet another asserted the right of children with disabilities to equal educational opportunities. As a result of these actions, people with disabilities enjoy more job opportunities, better access to public facilities, and a greater role in society.

**Reading Check Identifying** What act protects the rights of all Native Americans?

## SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

### **Checking for Understanding**

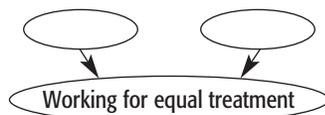
- Key Terms** Use each of these terms in a sentence that will help explain its meaning: **feminist, Hispanic.**
- Reviewing Facts** Who was the first female justice to serve on the Supreme Court?

### **Reviewing Themes**

- Continuity and Change** What was the purpose of the American Indian Movement? What rights did Native Americans gain in the 1960s?

### **Critical Thinking**

- Analyzing Information** Identify two organizations that Native Americans developed to help them take more control of their own lives.
- Drawing Conclusions** Re-create the diagram below and list two reasons why you think people with disabilities felt the need to work for equal treatment in the 1960s and 1970s.



### **Analyzing Visuals**

- Political Cartoons** Bring to class a copy of a political cartoon from a recent newspaper or magazine. Try to find a cartoon in which the topic is the rights of people. Explain the cartoonist's viewpoint and the tools used to make the point.

### **Interdisciplinary Activity**

**Citizenship** Create a poster that might have been used in a march to support or oppose the ERA.



# Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

## Drawing Conclusions

### Why Learn This Skill?

Drawing conclusions allows you to understand ideas that are not stated directly.

### Learning the Skill

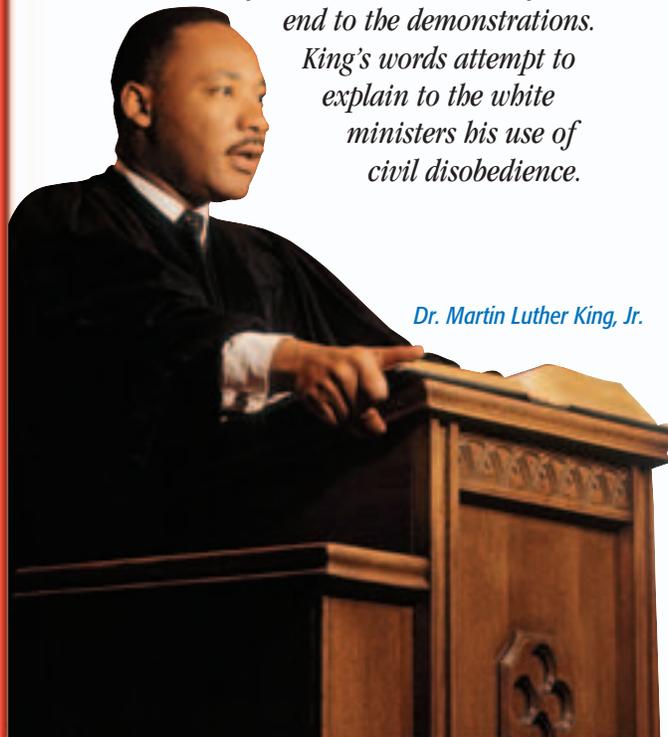
Follow these steps in learning to draw conclusions:

- Review the facts that are stated directly.
- Use your knowledge and insight to develop some conclusions about these facts.
- Look for information to check the accuracy of your conclusions.

### Practicing the Skill

*The excerpt on this page was written by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., after he was arrested in Birmingham, Alabama, for peaceably demonstrating against segregation. King began writing this letter in response to a newspaper ad in which a group of white ministers called for an end to the demonstrations.*

*King's words attempt to explain to the white ministers his use of civil disobedience.*



*Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.*

*After reading the excerpt, answer the questions, which require you to draw conclusions.*

“We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. . . . For years now I have heard the word ‘Wait!’ It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This ‘Wait’ has almost always meant ‘Never.’ We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that ‘justice too long delayed is justice denied.’”

—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.  
“Letter from Birmingham Jail,” 1963

- 1 How does King say that freedom is earned?
- 2 What were the African Americans “waiting” for?
- 3 What happens to justice if it is delayed?
- 4 What conclusions can you draw from King’s overall tone in his letter?
- 5 What evidence could help prove your conclusions?

### Applying the Skill

**Drawing Conclusions** Read a newspaper or newsmagazine article about a criminal court case. Use the facts in the article to draw a conclusion about the innocence or guilt of the accused.



Glencoe’s **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 1**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

# Chapter Summary

## The Civil Rights Era

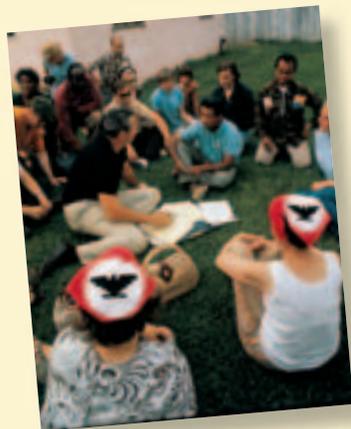
### African Americans challenge segregation

- *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*
- Montgomery bus boycott
- Freedom Riders
- March on Washington
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Voting Rights Act of 1965



### Hispanic Americans organize

- César Chávez organizes United Farm Workers
- La Raza Unida and LULAC fight discrimination
- Voting rights extended



### Native Americans demand rights

- Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968
- NCAI and AIM call attention to problems



### Women fight for equal rights

- Equal Pay Act
- National Organization for Women
- ERA brings attention to women's rights



### Reviewing Key Terms

Use these key terms to create a newspaper article in which you describe important events during the civil rights era.

1. poverty line
2. integrate
3. segregation
4. boycott
5. sit-in

### Reviewing Key Facts

6. What Supreme Court case abolished segregation in schools?
7. Whose arrest sparked the Montgomery bus boycott?
8. What is civil disobedience?
9. What was the main goal of President Kennedy's New Frontier program?
10. What conclusion did the Warren Commission reach?
11. What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibit?
12. What is significant about James Meredith?
13. Why was the March on Washington organized?
14. What was the goal of Black Power?
15. What did Herman Badillo accomplish?

### Critical Thinking

16. **Making Generalizations** Why do you think the civil rights movement gained momentum during this era?
17. **Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities** According to Thurgood Marshall, what constitutional amendment was violated by allowing school segregation? Explain why Marshall argued that segregated schools were unconstitutional.
18. **Compare and Contrast** How did the idea of Black Power differ from Martin Luther King's goals for the civil rights movement?
19. **Determining Cause and Effect** Re-create the diagram below and describe two impacts that the African American civil rights movement had on other minorities.



**Self-Check Quiz**

Visit [taj.glencoe.com](http://taj.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 29—Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the chapter test.

## Practicing Skills

**Drawing Conclusions** Read the passage below and answer the questions that follow. Remember to review the information and add your own knowledge before drawing any conclusions.

Malcolm X, a strong African American leader, bitterly and regretfully recalled his youthful efforts at straightening his hair in order to look more like a white person:

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

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

20. What reason does Malcolm X give for straightening his hair?
21. As an adult, how did Malcolm X view his youthful actions?
22. What conclusion can you draw about the views of many African American people toward white people at that time?
23. What statement from the passage supports your conclusion?



## Geography and History Activity

Study the map on page 839. Then answer the questions that follow.

24. **Location** What law regarding segregation did Colorado have in place?
25. **Region** Explain why you agree or disagree with this statement: Many states in the West had no specific legislation concerning segregation in schools.

## Citizenship Cooperative Activity

26. **Researching** With members of your group research to find out how many people of different ethnic backgrounds live in your county. Make a graph to illustrate your findings. Then choose one of the minority ethnic groups to research. Prepare a written report with illustrations to provide more information about this particular ethnic group in your county. You may want to find out if members of this ethnic

group have settled in one particular area of the county, if they have formed special clubs or organizations, or if they observe any special holidays.



## Technology Activity

27. The United Farm Workers are still active today. Search the Internet for information about this organization and create a brochure that explains its goals.



## Alternative Assessment

28. **Creating a Time Line** Review the chapter for dates important to minority groups. Create a time line that traces the progress of African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and women in their struggle for equal rights during the 1950s and 1960s.



## Standardized Test Practice

**Directions:** Choose the *best* answer to the following question.

In *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the Supreme Court ruled that Topeka’s school district had engaged in which unconstitutional practice?

- A Prohibited school prayer
- B Bussed students to schools far away from their homes
- C Had set up different schools for white and African American students
- D Refused to offer required courses

### Test-Taking Tip

The important word in this question is *unconstitutional*. Transporting students great distances seems inconvenient, but it is not specifically banned by the Constitution.

Therefore, you can eliminate answer **B**.