

# Edexcel GCSE

# History

# Controlled Assessment

# CA6 Government and protest in the USA 1945–70

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# Part A Carry out a historical enquiry

## A1 The civil rights movement 1945–62

### Learning outcomes

By the end of this topic, you should be able to:

- explain some of the forces driving change and resisting change for civil rights
- explain the development of methods of protest in the civil rights movement
- explain why some methods of protest worked better than others.

### The movement and change

The **civil rights** movement in the USA aimed to end discrimination against black Americans. Civil rights are the rights that citizens of a country have by law. All American citizens had equal rights according to the law: regardless of whether they were black or white. But in many states of the USA, black people were not allowed this equality. Here there was massive opposition to black people having the same rights as white people.

The civil rights movement was a long and difficult struggle against this opposition. The story of the civil rights movement has many twists and turns as those involved in it tried different ways to get the rights they had by law.

**Civil rights:** the rights that citizens of a country have by law.

### 'Engines of change' and roadblocks

Changes take place in history for a range of different reasons. The driving forces behind these changes are sometimes called 'engines of change'. They are the things which cause changes to occur.

They are like the engine of a bus, driving groups of people along a road. Then there are things that oppose this change: maybe stopping it or making it take a different route. We can think of these as being like roadblocks for our bus of change.

There were several different forces causing changes and blocking changes in the civil rights movement. Three of the most important are (a) government action (b) social forces and (c) organisations and individuals.

### Government action



The USA has two different levels of government. There is a **federal** government which sets laws for all the states of the United States together. Then each state has its own government and its own laws.

At the start of our period 1945–62, officially, everyone born in the USA was a US citizen and all citizens had the right to vote. But the real situation was quite different. Some states had legal **segregation**. The argument of these so-called 'Jim Crow' laws was that black and white citizens could both have the same rights, but to separate things. Both could have the same right to educate their children, for example, but not in the same schools.

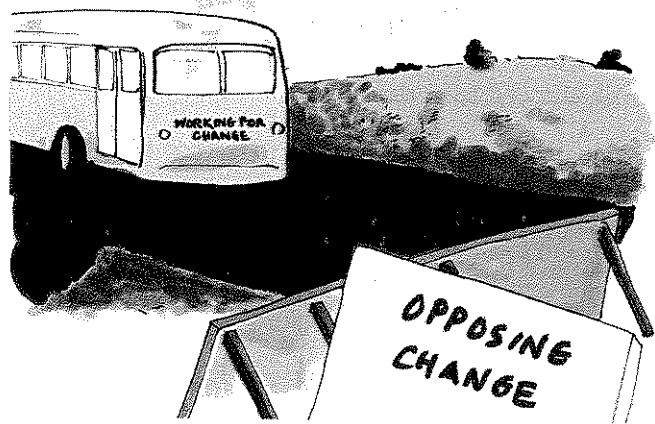
**Federal:** the United States is a collection of different states all bound together into a federation, with a federal government and federal laws.

**Segregation:** keeping separate.

**NAACP:** the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It began in 1909.

**Ku Klux Klan:** a racist white group.

### Organisations and individuals



Organisations like the NAACP campaigned against segregation. When successful, these campaigns could take the movement closer to its goals. But organisations like the Ku Klux Klan had enormous influence too: focusing white people's racist attitudes and fears and using violence and murder to intimidate black people. Individuals also had an impact on the history of the civil rights movement – both in inspiring protest and in blocking change.

### Social forces



Many different social changes had an impact on the civil rights movement. The Second World War, at the start of the period you are studying, is a great example. The USA played a major part in defeating the forces of racism and persecution. Over 1.2 million black men joined up to fight the Nazis, fighting for freedoms that they did not have themselves. Many were determined to continue the fight when they got home.

**Source A:** A former corporal from Alabama explains how the war has affected him.

I spent four years in the army to free a bunch of Dutchmen and Frenchmen and I'm hanged if I'm going to let the Alabama version of the Germans kick me around when I get home.

But as well as social changes that pushed the movement forward, there were social attitudes that stood in its way. Racism was very deeply ingrained in much of America, not just in the South. Many white people could not begin to imagine their black neighbours as being equals. They believed black people were naturally inferior – not to be trusted with responsibility or authority. Perhaps behind much racism was also fear – what would life be like for white people if black people were in charge?

### Activities

- As you work through this chapter, complete a chart like the one started here that identifies things that drove change and things that blocked it or slowed it down. One example has been added to get you started.

Factor	How it drove change or blocked change
Second World War	Black Americans fought for freedom in Europe and Asia and were determined to fight for it at home as well.

- Think about ways in which you would fight for your rights as a citizen. What rights would you fight for and how would you fight for them?
- Research the Ku Klux Klan to find out how they acted to block the civil rights movement. Use reliable textbooks rather than web research to get started.

## Part A: Carry out a historical enquiry

### Segregation and voting rights

Two main ways in which black Americans were denied their civil rights were segregation and not being allowed to vote.

Segregation was based on the idea that black people and white people could have separate access to services: so as we saw on page 4, each could have access to education, just not the same schools. As long as the services were equally good, no one's civil rights would suffer. The problem with this, though, was that the services were not equally good. Black schools, for example, were given very little money compared to white schools. White children were therefore much better educated. Black Americans were not being treated equally: in fact they were being treated unfairly in almost every way imaginable.

Voting rights were rigged too. All US citizens had the right to vote, according to federal law. But local laws in some states put up obstacles to stop black people voting. For example, some states required voters to be able to show that their grandfather had been allowed to vote too: not likely if your grandfather had been black. Or voters had to complete a literacy test, with black voters being given much harder tests or simply being told they had failed. And then there was the threat of violence against black people who tried to vote.

Living in a segregated society was deeply unfair. Being prevented from voting meant black people had no chance of influencing politicians to get rid of segregation.

### Follow up your enquiry

Research the different ways in which segregation affected black people's lives in the 1950s and 1960s. You could focus on two or three of these areas:

- education
- transportation
- leisure activities
- employment
- housing.

### Activities

4. Write a diary entry, imagining you are a black teenager living in a segregated town. Describe how you feel about the way you live, and what you would like to do that you can't.
5. Why do you think black people stayed in the segregated states? Why not just move to other states?

### Using the law

The USA is a democracy where all people are supposed to have equal rights in law. This meant the civil rights movement could use the legal system to protest against inequality and segregation.

### *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*

Because there were so many cases where segregation meant federal law about equal rights was being broken, one protest route was to take these cases to court. The NAACP (see page 5) used lawyers to keep pressing rulings against segregation. Often the lawyers were volunteers who wanted to aid the civil rights movement. But the process was a long and difficult one. It was not until 1954 that the NAACP managed to take a case through all the stages to obtain a victory that applied to all public (state) schools in the USA: *Brown v. Topeka*.

Oliver Brown was a black parent who objected to the fact that his eight-year-old daughter, Linda, was denied entry to a nearby all-white school. Instead she had to travel to an all-black school over a mile away. This case was supported by several other examples from across the country.

The leading lawyer for the NAACP was Thurgood Marshall. He argued that black children had the same abilities as white children but were hampered by segregated schools. He used expert witnesses and social science research to support his arguments.

### Research Plus

#### Top Tip

In your study of protests, don't assume that a change in the law did actually change people's lives. Think about the factors which could hold up change.

Source B: The Brown family, Topeka, Kansas, 1954. Linda is on the left.



In order to win the case, Marshall needed to convince a majority of the nine Supreme Court judges. It looked as if Marshall might fail, not least because of the reluctant attitude of Chief Justice Vinson. The case was due to be re-argued for the final time when Vinson died. The new Chief Justice was Earl Warren, who surprised almost everyone – including President Dwight Eisenhower, who had appointed him – by giving wholehearted support to desegregation (see page 28).

Source C: Chief Justice Warren delivers the unanimous Supreme Court ruling on the *Brown* case, 17 May 1954.

Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race... deprive the children...of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. To separate...solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority...unlikely ever to be undone... We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

### A major block – Southern resistance

The *Brown* verdict was a milestone for civil rights: it showed that the legal route could get results. On the other hand, there was a big difference between winning a legal case and changing the situation in practice. Some states cooperated, such as Missouri and Kentucky: so-called 'border' states between the South and the North.

In the **Deep South**, though, there was much greater hostility and resistance. White Citizens' Councils were set up to defend the practice of segregation. Senator Harry Byrd called for 'massive resistance', and 101 congressmen signed a 'Southern Manifesto' expressing their resentment at federal government's meddling with their state law and their determination to resist desegregation.

Opposition to desegregation and to **integration** was highly effective in the South. Rules were twisted to ensure that black students were not allowed into white schools. Laws to make sure all children went to school were suspended. This was a way of making sure that black children didn't go to school. Teachers of mixed classes had their teaching licences taken away. Sometimes financial aid was removed from integrated schools or grants were given to white children to attend private white-only schools. If all else failed to prevent integration, schools were closed.

**Deep South:** the states at the Southern edge of the USA: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina in particular. These states had been highly dependent on black slave labour for their plantation agriculture before the Civil War (1861–1865).

**Integration:** the opposite of segregation; also meaning black Americans having the same opportunities as white Americans, not just the right to access the same services.

### Activities

6. What do you think was most important in getting the *Brown v. Topeka* victory:

- the role of a key individual(s)?
- the organisation of the NAACP?
- right timing/it had to happen eventually?
- something else?

Give reasons for your answers.

7. Compare the methods used to oppose desegregation. Which kinds (if any) were:

- legal protests?
- semi-legal?
- illegal?

## Part A: Carry out a historical enquiry

### Case study: the law and Little Rock

States in the Deep South, such as Georgia and Mississippi, made it clear that integration would be strongly opposed. The situation was slightly different in Arkansas. Race relations in the capital, Little Rock, were relatively good. It was a small community of just over 100,000 people, and about a quarter of the population was black. Although some facilities were segregated, such as hotels, theatres, restaurants and toilets, there had been significant desegregation, for example for libraries, parks, buses and hospitals. Arkansas was therefore willing to comply with the Brown decision, at least in a token fashion.

#### Rigging the system

The plan for integration in Little Rock was designed to avoid controversy. Two new schools were built: one in the white side of town and one in the black side. But a third school, the all-white Central High School, posed a problem. Integration would have to be permitted because black middle-class parents were bound to want their children to go there.

The authorities rigged the system to make it unlikely that black students would get in. Students had to meet rigged standards like 'character' and 'health' to get in. These criteria whittled down the black applicants from 75 to 25 children. Then the authorities did all they could to convince the remaining families not to continue with their application.

Source D: Elizabeth Eckford leaves Central High School, Little Rock, having been turned away, on 4 September 1957.



### The Little Rock Nine

Only nine students were brave enough to continue to try to attend the school. They became famous as the 'Little Rock Nine' and one of their number, Elizabeth Eckford, became a symbol for the civil rights movement.

Source E: Elizabeth Eckford's recollection of the events of 4 September 1957.

I walked up to the guard who had let the white students in ... When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet and then the other guards moved in and raised their bayonets ... I was very frightened and didn't know what to do. I turned around and the crowd came toward me ... Somebody started yelling, 'Lynch her! Lynch her!' I tried to see a friendly face somewhere in the mob ... I looked into the face of an old woman and it seemed a kind face, but when I looked at her again, she spat on me. They came closer, shouting, 'No nigger bitch is going to get in our school'.

Eckford managed to escape because she was helped by two white people, a *New York Times* reporter and a member of the local NAACP.

#### Opposition from Governor Faubus

The guards who prevented the 'Little Rock Nine' from entering Central High were acting on the orders of Orval Faubus, the governor of Arkansas. In times of emergency the governor had the authority to call out the National Guard – local volunteers who had received military training. Faubus had been spreading rumours that black troublemakers were buying weapons. He appeared on local television, predicting blood on the streets if integration continued. By trying to stop educational integration Faubus was hoping to gain popularity with white voters – at almost any cost.

Repeated rulings by the Federal District Court forced Faubus to remove the National Guard, but he simply replaced them with police whom he then encouraged to turn a blind eye to threats and violence from white protestors.

When the school reopened on 23 September, the 'Little Rock Nine' did get in, but only after the police rescued them from enraged protestors.

## The media and President Eisenhower

Public opinion in America and the wider world was influenced by reports about Little Rock using onsite TV cameras. This was a relatively new development in the media. Some of the most shocking reports included interviews with innocent-looking white girls, who expressed violently racist views. President Eisenhower realised how damaging the crisis was becoming and therefore appeared on national television, announcing his decision to use federal troops to restore order. He sent 1,000 paratroopers and placed the Arkansas National Guard under federal control.

Source F: President Eisenhower's televised address, 24 September 1957.

Mob rule cannot be allowed to override the decisions of our courts... At a time when we face grave situations abroad because of the hatred that Communism bears toward a system of government based on human rights, it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done... Our enemies are gloating over this incident... We are portrayed as a violator of those standards... which the peoples of the world united to proclaim in the Charter of the United Nations.

## Success at Central High?

Despite the president finally giving strong support to integration at Central High, it would be mistaken to regard Little Rock as a clear-cut victory for civil rights. Although the black students were eventually allowed into Central High, their daily experiences were very unpleasant: they were repeatedly victimised and abused, even while the federal troops were present. The situation worsened after November 1957, when the National Guard took over once more.

Only one black student, Ernest Green, succeeded in graduating before Governor Faubus closed all public schools in Little Rock in 1958. Only three black students dared to enrol when Central High reopened the following year, and by 1964 just 123 out of about 7,000 black students attended desegregated schools in Little Rock. Widespread

integration did not take place until the 1970s. The crisis at Little Rock in 1957 therefore revealed the scale of the problems that the civil rights movement needed to overcome.

Source G: This is a photo of a rally held in Little Rock against Central High's integration (January 1959).



## Activities

- Would you use Little Rock as a case study to show:
  - a big step forward for the civil rights movement?
  - an example of the difficulties the movement faced?
  - an example of the successful use of the law?
  - an example of the tension between federal and state government?
 Give reasons for and against each option.
- What do you think motivated each of these key individuals at Little Rock:
  - President Eisenhower?
  - Governor Faubus?
  - Elizabeth Eckford?
- Study Source G. Why were these people so strongly against black children going to Central High?
- Explain why the media could be useful to the civil rights movement.
- Was Little Rock more of a failure than a success for civil rights? Draw up two lists headed Success and Failure to help you answer this question.



## Part A: Carry out a historical enquiry

### The Montgomery Bus Boycott – a turning point?

#### Limitations of the legal route

Using the law as a lever for change produced results with *Brown v. Topeka*, although Little Rock showed the limitations of the legal route:

- where state government and the white population were strongly against integration, it was almost impossible to make changes through the courts alone
- federal government gave only weak support for integration because of fears that white voters would turn against the president.

Changing the law was not forcing actual changes in black people's lives. To be effective, other forms of protest were needed too. One of the most effective was the boycott.

#### Did you know?

We use two Latin terms to describe situations where what the law says doesn't match what is actually happening:

*de jure* describes the position according to the law

*de facto* describes what was actually happening in practice.

#### Boycotts and economic protests

A boycott is when a large group of people refuses to do something, in order to protest. It works best in economic situations: especially when the regular customers of a service stop using that service. You can see that a boycott wouldn't work very well with a school – people didn't want the black children turning up anyway. But the bus boycott of 1955–56 in Montgomery, Alabama, was a different scenario, as we shall now see.

#### Rosa Parks refuses to move

The rules for segregation on Montgomery buses were a longstanding cause of complaint. The rear seats were for black people only, and the ones towards the front were reserved for white people. There was a middle-zone in which black people might sit, providing no white person was sitting in this row. On 1 December 1955 a woman called

Rosa Parks was told to stand because a white passenger wanted one seat in this row. She refused to move and was arrested.

#### Boycott

In response to her arrest, an organisation – the Montgomery Improvement Association – was set up and a preacher, Martin Luther King, agreed to lead it. The first tactic was a one-day boycott of all Montgomery buses for these demands:

- bus drivers to treat black passengers courteously
- seating to be on a first-come, first-served basis (with black passengers filling the bus from the rear and white passengers from the front)
- black bus drivers for black routes.

These moderate demands met with an extreme response. Black people who joined the boycott were threatened with losing their jobs and sometimes by direct violence. The leaders of the boycott were arrested in an attempt to intimidate them. The effect was simply to increase the determination of the protestors. Complete desegregation became their objective and the boycott was maintained for 381 days.

#### Legal success

Alongside the boycott, the NAACP also took the case to court and gained this ruling:

Source H: The verdict of the Alabama Middle District Court in *Browder v. Gayle*, November 1956.

The enforced segregation of Negro and white passengers on motor buses operating in the city of Montgomery violates the Constitution and laws of the United States...denies and deprives plaintiffs and other Negro citizens...of the equal protection of the laws and due process of law.

Montgomery's mayor appealed against this decision, but it was upheld by Chief Justice Warren in the Supreme Court. Black and white passengers could ride together on the buses of Montgomery without segregation.

### Roadblock blasted?

The Montgomery Bus Boycott was a turning point in the civil rights movement. Black protestors saw that by acting together they had significant economic power.

During the boycott, the bus company's revenue went down by 65%. Local businesses lost custom. It was estimated that the boycott caused losses of about \$1 million. Therefore white businessmen became anxious to resolve the dispute.

Success was also due to solidarity in the black community. People walked together, or shared cars and taxis, to get to work (organisers arranged low taxi rates and car-share pick-up points). They resisted intimidation and tried to avoid violence. Crucially, there wasn't a way of rigging the system: the bus companies needed black passengers.

There were also another two key reasons why the boycott was successful. One was the leadership of Martin Luther King. The other was the way the NAACP organised the protest around the figure of Rosa Parks.

### Martin Luther King – ideal leadership?

Martin Luther King



King's eloquence and bravery inspired many black people.

King was an ideal figure for media attention: photogenic, expressed his views skilfully.

His Christian values and commitment to non-violence meant he wasn't seen as a threat by many white Americans.

### Activities

13. Compare the Montgomery Bus Boycott with the Little Rock Nine. What factors made Montgomery more successful?
14. When might a boycott be a bad choice of protest (for example, would it have worked against expensive whites-only sports clubs?)

### Rosa Parks – the ideal figurehead?

The arrest of Rosa Parks on 1 December 1955 for challenging segregated transport is one of the most famous incidents in the civil rights movement. The Montgomery Bus Boycott is sometimes misleadingly portrayed as a spontaneous protest in support of a woman who had been too tired to surrender her seat after an exhausting day's work. In fact:

Rosa Parks



Rosa Parks had been involved with the NAACP since the early 1940s.

Parks had been involved in several civil rights protests over the years.

She had clashed with this particular bus driver before and had sworn never to ride his bus again.

This wasn't the first bus boycott: there had been one in Louisiana in 1953, which the NAACP used as a template for Montgomery.

The NAACP had nearly organised its boycott after Claudette Colvin, aged 15, was arrested for not moving when told to. But Colvin later became pregnant whilst not married and so was not considered 'reputable'.

Parks was, on the other hand, perfect for the media: she was very respectable, a Christian and a valued member of the community.

None of this is to take away from Rosa Parks' bravery and her achievement, but it is important to see that in choosing to go with her, the NAACP was thinking of media publicity as being as crucial for the success of the protest as the economic impact was. The events of 1 December 1954 provided an ideal opportunity for action.

## Part A: Carry out a historical enquiry

### Building on the boycott

The success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott gave the civil rights movement a major boost. In some ways the boycott marks the point where the movement really got going. It could make a real impact as long as its targets were well chosen and the protestors stayed strong against the opposition. The leadership of the protests was very important too. So it set out a blueprint for future protests – but could they be as successful?

### Training protestors

The Bus Boycott established King as one of the most important leaders of the civil rights movement. He set up his own organisation in 1957: the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). This started to train people in effective non-violent protest. Citizenship Schools were designed to teach black citizens how to pass the voter registration tests (see page 6) as well as teaching about civil rights, democracy and non-violent protest.

This training programme was deeply unpopular with white opposition and schools were closed down and teachers had their licences taken away. But the schools started up again elsewhere, using volunteer teachers.

There was also opposition, however, from within the black community. King wanted black churches to join with the SCLC to give it support and get church members educated. But many churches believed King was pushing the movement away from the legal route, the safest and most acceptable form of protest – even if it was the slowest.

At the same time, King was also criticised by other black activists for not going far or fast enough.

**SCLC:** the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It began in 1957.

**SNCC:** the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. It began in 1960.

**CORE:** the Congress of Racial Equality. It began in 1942.

**Sit-in:** a non-violent type of protest in which protestors sit down in an area and refuse to move.

### Student power and sit-ins

After the success of Montgomery, large numbers of students, both black and white, joined in the civil rights protests. They wanted change to happen fast. A new organisation was created: the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This youth movement was inspired by experienced activists from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), such as James Farmer. The SNCC organised a new kind of non-violent economic protest: **sit-ins**.

On 1 February 1960 four students seated themselves at the 'white-only' section of the lunch counter of the downtown branch of Woolworths in Greensboro, North Carolina. They were not expecting to be served but refused to move to the 'colored' section. They sat in the 'white' section until closing time, and returned the following day with 23 other students, who continued the sit-in. By the end of the third day over 80 students were involved.

Similar protests spread into other Southern states. By April around 2,000 protestors had been arrested.

In order to make even greater impact the protestors adopted the tactic of 'jail not bail' (bail is a pledge of money made to ensure someone accused of a crime turns up to their trial). If protestors refused bail, the court would have to keep them in jail until their trial. The protestors wanted to overwhelm the jails and make the system unworkable.

The sit-in movement affected over 200 cities in 20 states, scoring some spectacular successes. Woolworths lost 20% of its business and agreed to desegregate its lunch counters. By 1961 more than 120 Southern communities had some desegregated eating facilities. The success led to 'wade-ins' at segregated swimming pools, and 'kneel-ins' at segregated churches.

### Activities

15. What are the similarities between sit-ins and the bus boycotts?
16. Why didn't protestors use sit-ins against the many restaurants that refused to serve black customers at all? (Hint: Woolworths had a lot of black customers.)

### Freedom Riders – a direct challenge

At the same time, CORE planned an ambitious challenge to segregation. Black and white protestors, known as 'Freedom Riders', bought tickets in a non-segregated state and travelled into the danger zones of the South, refusing to obey segregation laws. A recent Supreme Court ruling had confirmed that segregation was illegal on interstate transport. But CORE knew that this protest method would guarantee an extreme reaction in the Deep South. They wanted to provoke this reaction, and they wanted the TV cameras to film it.

Source I: Recollections by the CORE leader, James Farmer.

We planned the Freedom Ride with the intention of creating a crisis. We were counting on the racists of the South to do our work for us. We figured the government would have to respond if we created a situation that was headline news all over the world.

**Freedom Riders:** a federal law meant interstate buses should not be segregated. Civil rights protestors, known as 'Freedom Riders' rode on these buses into segregated states to show that the law was often not being obeyed.

The tactic worked. In Anniston, the police allowed the local Ku Klux Klan to firebomb a bus (see Source J). In Birmingham, the police chief gave his officers the day off, allowing racist mobs a free hand. In Montgomery, Freedom Riders were beaten with baseball bats while the police refused to intervene.

Source J: Freedom Riders watch as the bus they were travelling in goes up in flames after being bombed in Anniston, 14 May 1961.



### The president and progress

The new president in January 1961, John F. Kennedy, had to decide how far to use federal forces to prevent further violence. The president had no choice but to force through the desegregation of interstate travel. Segregation signs were removed and instead all interstate travel companies had to display signs stating that seating was provided 'without regard to race, colour, creed, or national origin'.

### Activity

17. Look back over the chart you have completed for this chapter (Activity 1 on page 5).

- Which were the most important factors driving the civil rights movement?
- Which were the biggest obstacles to the movement gaining ground?



### Your conclusion so far

From this topic, we have seen:

- NAACP success in the Brown case showed that the law could back integration.
- Effective forms of protest developed with strong leadership, organisation and support.
- The strong backlash from Southern whites seriously limited progress.
- The president had a key role in securing progress in civil rights.

From what you have learned in this topic, to what extent do you think non-violent protest, the media and the government were all interconnected?

To answer this question, consider:

- would non-violent protest have worked without the media?
- would the president have acted differently if the media had reported violent protest?
- how would the media have reacted to black people using violent protest?

# A2 Changes in the civil rights movement 1963-70

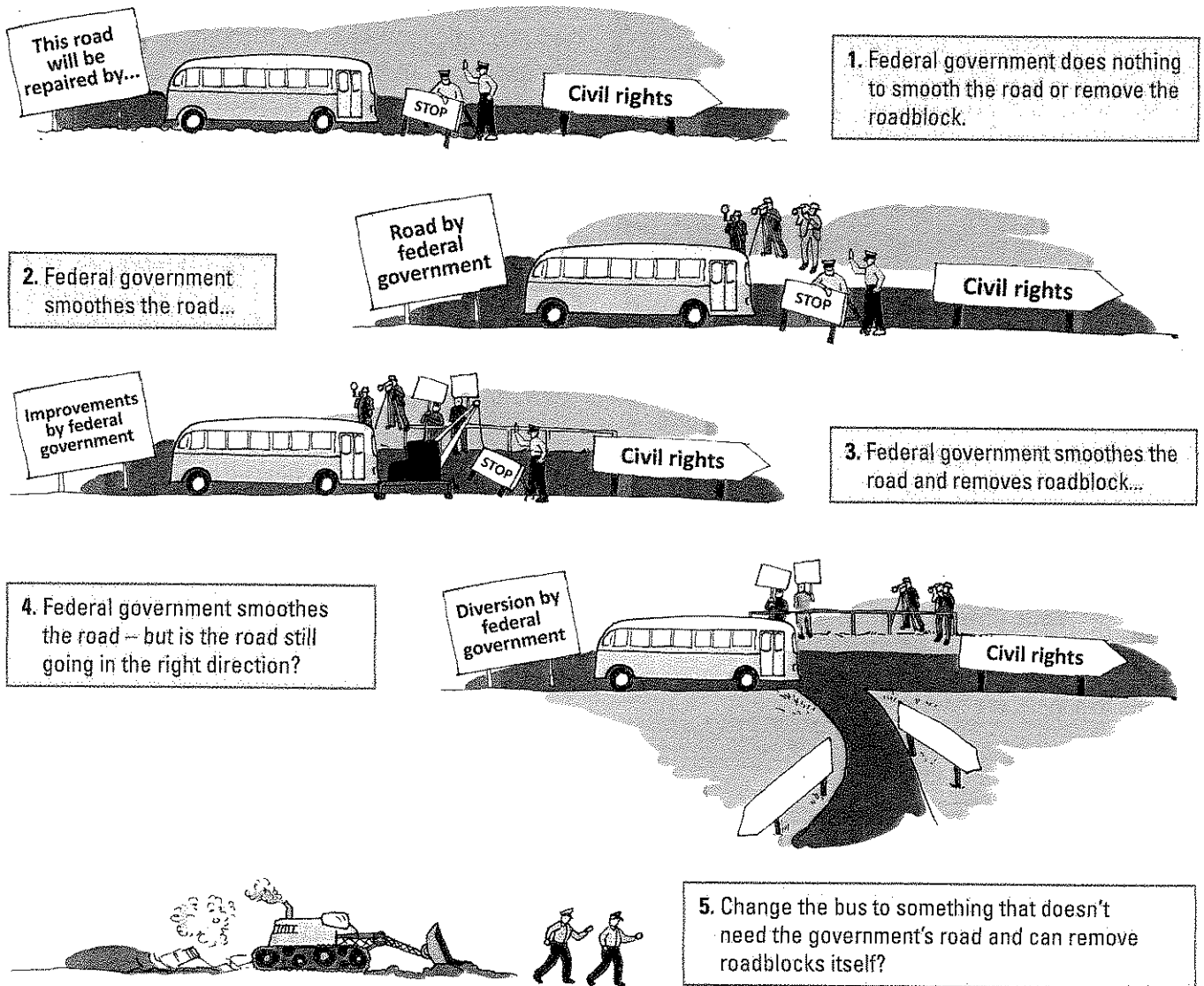
## Learning outcomes

By the end of this topic, you should be able to:

- describe differences in the civil rights movement before and after 1963
- identify how government actions affected civil rights protests
- explain why civil rights protests changed.

## Changing times

In the 1960s, non-violent protests and the publicity surrounding them increased. One of the ways that non-violent **direct action** was supposed to work was to put pressure on **segregationists** to change by getting them to show themselves in a bad light in the media. This pressure produced an increasingly violent reaction from opponents of the movement. Worldwide media coverage of this violence put pressure on the federal government to act.



In this way, non-violent protests scored some major victories, as we have seen. Changes in federal law forced an end to segregation and started to tackle discrimination. But changes in the federal law did not always mean changes in everyday life. During the 1960s, a growing number of black people began to agree that integration was too slow in coming and, when it came, did not produce equality. Were the sacrifices of those getting beaten up, imprisoned and murdered really worth it?

More and more people began to believe that peaceful protest was not getting anywhere fast enough. Some of them began to support more radical action. Other civil rights campaigners, including Martin Luther King, continued to protest by non-violent direct action.

**Direct action:** doing something directly to try to make changes, e.g. demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins. Indirect action would include using your vote to change a situation you don't like.

**Segregationists:** supporters of the belief that black and white people should have separate facilities.

## Activities

1. Which of the five scenarios shown opposite do you think best describes the relationship between the federal government and the civil rights movement in the 1960s?
2. Explain why some people thought the federal government should not do anything for civil rights.
3. Explain why some people thought the federal government should do a lot more than it had done for civil rights.
4. What do you think the federal government wanted to achieve with civil rights changes? Was it the same as what the civil rights movement wanted?
5. Explain why some people might have got frustrated with non-violent protest and wanted to use more radical methods.

## Non-violence meets increased violence

Non-violent protests continued to get massive media attention and achieve big successes in forcing integration, but they were met with more and more violence from segregationists.

### Birmingham, Alabama

In 1963, civil rights campaigners targeted Birmingham, Alabama for a full-scale, non-violent desegregation campaign. Birmingham was an ideal choice for a showcase of non-violence against racist hate:

- the city had not carried out a single piece of desegregation
- it was nicknamed 'Bombingham' because black houses, churches and businesses were blown up so often
- its chief of police, 'Bull' Connor, was said to have given the Ku Klux Klan 15 minutes to beat up the Freedom Riders of 1961 before his police moved in to halt the violence.

The campaign began on 3 April with anti-segregation marches. So many adults were jailed that one of the organisers, James Bevel, began to train high school children in protest tactics, to make sure that the demonstrations continued. The first big children's demonstration was on 2 May. By the end of the day, about 1,000 young people had been arrested. The next day, more young people marched. This time, dogs and firehoses were used. There were many more arrests – Martin Luther King included. The stories and photos of Birmingham were published worldwide. President Kennedy said he felt ashamed when he saw the photo shown in Source A on page 16.

This worldwide media coverage put huge pressure on the city. The mayor and protest leaders met on 10 May to work out how to break down segregation in the city. The governor of Alabama tried to disrupt the talks by sending in state troops; violence flared up. But President Kennedy sent in federal troops and calm was restored. The mayor passed desegregation laws and lunch counters and shops desegregated. Black people were able to apply for jobs they had previously been forbidden to apply for. The campaign had worked.

### Activity

6. What were the factors that made Birmingham a success for the civil rights movement? You could use a spider diagram to help you identify factors and links between them.

16

### Building on Birmingham

Birmingham was chosen carefully by campaigners as a city guaranteed to generate large scale, violent opposition to the civil rights movement. After the success of the campaign there, President Kennedy made a speech promising 'to ask Congress to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law'. But these were just words – important words, but words just the same. A Civil Rights Bill was under discussion in Congress, but it still made little progress against opposition from the Southern states.

And violent opposition to change was still growing. Groups such as the Ku Klux Klan carried out bombings and murders, including the killing of NAACP leader Medgar Evers in June 1963. Black

people felt increasingly threatened by the violence and ignored by government. There were riots in many towns and cities.

The civil rights movement needed to build on Birmingham and continue the pressure on federal government to make big changes. Civil rights groups worked together to organise a march on Washington in August 1963 to convince Congress to act to support civil rights.

- The march on Washington was the biggest civil rights action ever: over 200,000 demonstrators.
- There were about 3,000 reporters and the march was one of the first events to be broadcast live around the world by the newly launched Telstar satellite.
- Martin Luther King made his 'I have a dream' speech, which became instantly famous.

### Follow up your enquiry

You can watch footage from the march on Washington, including Martin Luther King's famous speech, on YouTube.

Source A: William Gadsden, who was crossing the road rather than protesting, being set on by one of 'Bull' Connor's police dogs, 3 May 1963. Marches were often held at noon, when people were out over lunchtime.



### Freedom Summer

In 1964 the SNCC decided on a new strategy to continue the pressure on Congress. It had been trying for years to raise the number of black people registered to vote in Mississippi: the most racist and segregated state in the United States. Very few black people dared to vote because of violence and intimidation. And then there were all the barriers to voter registration, like the literacy test (see page 6).

The SNCC sent about 1,000 volunteers to help black people in Mississippi pass voter registration tests. But the strategy was designed to have a much bigger impact. The volunteers were mostly Northern, white, college students from well-off families. The campaigners knew that any violence against young white people in Mississippi would get major news coverage. And the volunteers knew this too.

At least six civil rights workers were killed in Mississippi during the summer (see Source B). There were 80 beatings, 35 shooting 'incidents' and over 1,000 arrests. Over 60 black homes, businesses and churches were bombed.

The campaign failed to get many more black people voting in Mississippi. But it certainly succeeded in increasing the pressure on federal government. The deaths of young white students meant the US media really focused attention on civil rights. Many black campaigners rightly felt this was proof that the media cared more about young white lives than young black ones. But the national shame in the USA about what had happened in Mississippi helped federal government overcome Southern opposition to landmark changes in civil rights law.

#### Plus

##### Top Tip

Part A questions are often about change, for example about 'the nature of change, the factors involved in a change, or turning points that really show change in action.'

**Source B:** Poster issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman were all SNCC volunteers. Their bodies were found on 4 August. They had all been shot in the head. Chaney had been beaten first – many of his bones were shattered.

MISSING

CALL  
FBI

THE FBI IS SEEKING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE AT PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, OF THESE THREE INDIVIDUALS ON JUNE 21, 1964. EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION IS BEING CONDUCTED TO LOCATE GOODMAN, CHANEY, AND SCHWERNER, WHO ARE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

	ANDREW GOODMAN	JAMES EARL CHANEY	MICHAEL HENRY SCHWERNER
RACE:	White	Negro	White
SEX:	Male	Male	Male
DOB:	November 23, 1943	May 30, 1943	November 6, 1939
POB:	New York City	Meridian, Mississippi	New York City
AGE:	20 years	21 years	24 years
HEIGHT:	5'10"	5'7"	5'9" to 5'10"
WEIGHT:	150 pounds	135 to 140 pounds	170 to 180 pounds
HAIR:	Dark brown; wavy	Black	Brown
EYES:	Brown	Brown	Light blue
TEETH:		Good; none missing	
SCARS AND MARKS:		1 inch cut scar 2 inches above left ear	Puckered center of forehead, slight scar on bridge of nose, appendectomy scar, broken leg scar

SHOULD YOU HAVE OR IN THE FUTURE RECEIVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, YOU ARE REQUESTED TO NOTIFY ME OR THE NEAREST OFFICE OF THE FBI. TELEPHONE NUMBER IS LISTED BELOW.

DIRECTOR  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535  
 TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

June 29, 1964

### Activities

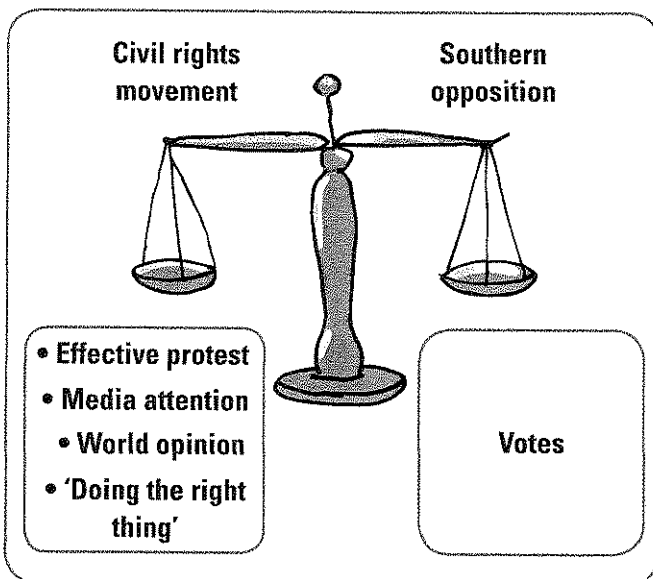
7. How did the march on Washington's organisers hope it would help the civil rights movement?
8. Do you think Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman died in vain or did their deaths help the movement?



## Landmark laws

### The role of the federal government

Federal government had to balance the demands of the civil rights movement against the need to get votes from the Southern states.



By 1964, the scales had tipped far enough for President Johnson to put his weight behind the Civil Rights Act.

### Civil Rights Act

On 2 July 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed. President Johnson pushed the act through Congress against Southern opposition. The act:

- banned discrimination in education, public places and any business with more than 25 employees
- set up an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to investigate discrimination
- said that voter registration tests should be the same for black and white people.

### Changing law in principle to law in practice

The Civil Rights Act was a huge achievement. But campaigners knew there was a big difference between a law in principle and a law in practice. Although the act officially stopped Southern states giving black people harder registration tests than white people, there was practically nothing to enforce this. Black people needed a fair test for registration and to be protected from violence. The Civil Rights Act had to be enforced.

So civil rights groups protested again for voter registration, beginning in Alabama, at Selma (see page 68), where there had been violent clashes when black people tried to register to vote. State troops attacked protestors and, once again, the USA made world headlines for its abuse of black people.

President Johnson provided an escort of federal troops so the protestors could finish their march to Montgomery and made a speech in which he said 'all of us must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice'.

### The Voting Rights Act

On 6 August 1965, the Voting Rights Act brought an end to all discriminatory literacy tests for voting. It also set up federal examiners who could go to any state and check that black people were not being discriminated against in voter registration. This stopped states from imposing their own literacy rules or other rules, such as saying that voters must have their own property to be registered to vote.

**Source C:** From *The Civil Rights Movement*, written by W.T.M. Riches in 1997.

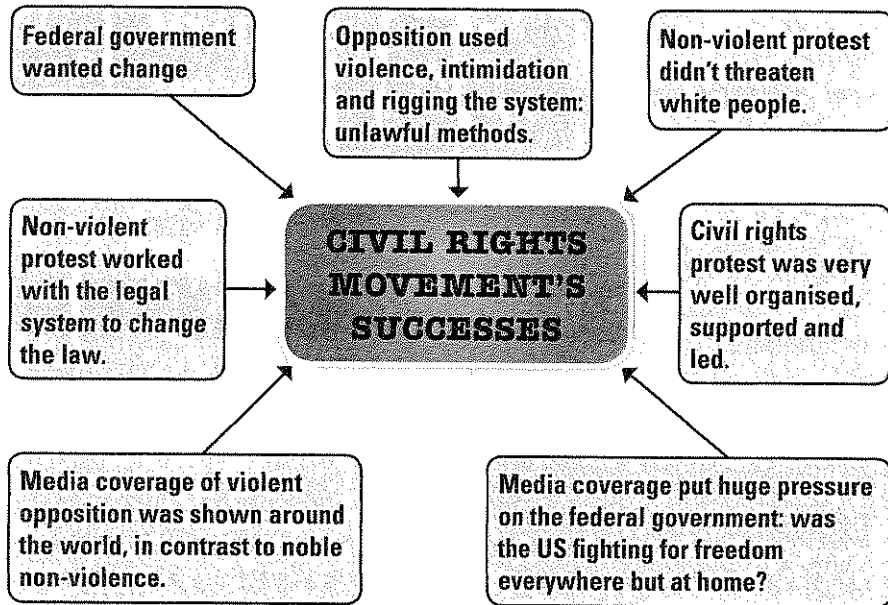
Julian Bond of SNCC commented in 1968 that, 'the '64 and '65 Acts took the pressure off the country. People weren't as concerned about civil rights because they felt they'd done what they should.' President Johnson wrote in his memoirs: 'With the passing of these Acts the barriers to freedom began tumbling down. At long last the legal rights of American citizens – the right to vote, to have a job, to use public places, to go to school – were given solid protection.'

### Activities

9. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a huge achievement for the civil rights movement. Draw up a timeline starting in 1945 to show the main events on the road to 1964.
10. Many white people thought the Civil Rights Act should end the protests and violence of the civil rights movement. What arguments do you think these people made for this?
11. President Johnson said 'solid protection' had been given to civil rights: to what extent was that true?

## The reasons for civil rights success by 1965

Non-violent protest methods had achieved tremendous success with the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. The protest methods had been carefully designed to put maximum pressure on the federal government. Not many protests are as effective as those of the civil rights movement up to 1965. There were various factors involved in this success.



Protest methods also adapted and built on each other. This list imagines how a civil rights protestor might have seen the links between situations and protest methods:

### How protest methods can link up

- bus boycotts were successful
- can't boycott restaurants – but sit-ins work well
- boycotts and sit-ins can't help with improving voting registration: but training and education will
- the opposition is increasing violence against us: encouraging high school kids to join non-violent protests could work against that
- media coverage works best when extreme violence is used against non-violent protestors – engineer flashpoints to focus media attention.

## Plus

### Top Tip

When you write about change in civil rights in the USA, make clear comparisons. It will help to use words such as 'before' and 'after' or give dates: 'in the 1950s... but by the end of the 1960s...'

19

## Activities

12. Explain the relationship between the different factors involved in civil rights successes by 1965. Make links between the factors and explain how they worked together to achieve success.
13. Which do you think was most important in achieving the breakthroughs of 1964: protest or government? Explain why.
14. Which of these do you think helped most in achieving the landmark laws of 1964 and 1965? Explain your answer.
  - Little Rock, 1957
  - Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955
  - Freedom Summer, 1964
  - The March on Washington, 1963
  - *Brown v. Topeka*, 1954.

## Riots

From 1965 on, waves of riots swept the USA. Mostly in towns and cities in the North, they were often set off by a particular act of police brutality against black Americans, which is why different cities had riots in different years.

There were major riots in New York (1964), Los Angeles (1965), Chicago and Cleveland (1966), Newark and Detroit (1967), and Washington and Cleveland (1968). There were smaller riots in other towns and cities. There were hundreds of deaths, thousands of arrests and billions of dollars worth of damage. Non-violent actions also fell apart into riots, such as a march for union rights in Memphis, Tennessee, led by Martin Luther King in 1968.

After the great successes of non-violent protest, why did these riots happen?

- Although the landmark acts of 1964 and 1965 promised great changes, states acted quickly to block major changes. The new laws had done nothing to actually enforce change.
- The riots were also a reaction to the long-term problems of city-living for black people – unemployment, overcrowding and poor services.
- Martin Luther King's view that everyone had underestimated both the extent of prejudice in the USA and how much black Americans resented this prejudice.

On 4 April 1968, Martin Luther King was assassinated by a white gunman (see page 36). There were riots in over a hundred American towns and cities over the week that followed. It took over 55,000 soldiers to stop the riots.

Many white people who had previously supported the civil rights movement turned against it. The image of innocent, non-violent black people being persecuted by white police was replaced in their minds with the image of an angry black young man with a petrol bomb.

Source D: This photograph from August 1965 in Watts, Los Angeles, shows how black residents used violence to take control of their poor, crime-ridden neighbourhood.



## Activities

15. After all the successes of non-violent protests, explain why the landmark laws of 1964 and 1965 were followed by riots.
16. Imagine you are a white supporter of the civil rights movement who is appalled by the riots of the late 1960s. Write a letter to a civil rights leader explaining why you think violence is not the answer.

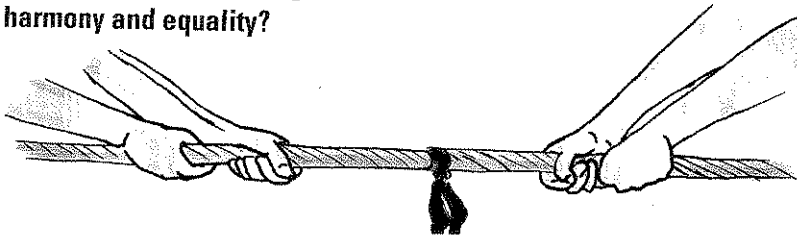
## Tensions in the civil rights movement

For all its successes and effective organisation of protest, the civil rights movement was never a group of people who all thought the same thing and agreed on the same tactics. There had always been tensions among the different groups and organisations that made up the movement. Broadly speaking, the tensions were about:

- whether non-violent methods were more effective than using violence
- whether white people and black people should work together for racial equality, or whether black people should work alone for their aims
- whether trying to change the law was effective – or whether it didn't actually change anything in everyday life
- whether black people should support integration or not: was integration ever going to result in equality for black people?

This produced a tension within the movement.

**Was it possible for black people and white people to live together in harmony and equality?**



**Or should black people accept that white people would never treat them as equals, fight the white system and do what they could for themselves?**

One side of this tension is the moderate side (the left side on this diagram). You can see how white people would be less threatened by moderate aims. The other side is radical, and radical aims were likely to make white Americans feel threatened – even those who were supporters of moderate civil rights aims.

Different civil rights organisations supported different aims and methods. Sometimes these changed over time.

**National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:**

- worked through the courts for legal reform
- aimed for equality for black and white people
- worked with white people to achieve aims.

**Southern Christian Leadership Conference:**

- dedicated to non-violent protest
- seen as too radical by NAACP
- seen as too moderate by CORE or SNCC.

**Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee:**

- organised direct-action protests against segregation and for voting rights
- originally supported by fundraising and volunteers in white liberal North
- after 1964 many members felt black people had to defend themselves against violence.

**Congress of Racial Equality:**

- strong supporters of non-violence (pacifist roots to organisation)
- worked with white supporters on Freedom Rides
- moved towards supporting black nationalism.

**Black nationalism:** the belief that black people should create a black society, independent from white society.

**Activities**

- Sort these four organisations into a line going from 'moderate' to 'radical'.
- Read this list of factors that may have influenced changes in the civil rights movement. Which three do you think were the most significant and why?
  - assassination of Martin Luther King
  - disappointment that landmark laws were not being enforced
  - major problems of poverty and bad housing for black people in US cities
  - President Johnson felt he had done enough for civil rights
  - tensions within the civil rights movement
  - loss of support for the civil rights movement from liberal white people
  - continuing opposition to black civil rights in the South
  - resentment about the prejudice faced by black people.

**Follow up your enquiry**

Research these organisations in more detail. To what extent were they able to work together up to 1964? Why did joint efforts start to fall apart after 1965?

## Black Power

Black people still faced discrimination and violence and felt, often rightly, they could not trust the government or the police to protect them – much of the violence against civil rights campaigners came from the police. In June 1966, James Meredith (the first black student at the University of Mississippi in 1962 – see page 30) led a 'March Against Fear' through Mississippi. He was shot on the second day of the march. Martin Luther King took over the march, joined by Stokely Carmichael of SNCC. King's speeches stressed the need to continue non-violent action, but the more militant speeches of Stokely Carmichael, urging people to demand 'Black Power', gained increasing support.

**Black Power:** movements that aimed to get more power for black people, to fight against the oppression of black people and to help create a strong black identity.

### The Black Panthers

In October 1966, in Oakland, California, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale set up the Black Panther Party. The group had a ten-point plan, but the point that the media paid most attention to was the monitoring of police brutality. Panthers would follow police officers to prevent any abuse of black people by the police (sometimes called 'patrolling the pigs'). Sometimes these situations turned violent and there were deaths on both sides. Many black people came to see the Panthers as a more effective community police than the state police force. The Black Panthers also organised community projects, such as free breakfasts and healthcare in poor black areas. Not surprisingly, the government saw them as a threat, especially as the movement spread. By 1968, there were Black Panther groups in 25 American cities.

### Activities

19. To what extent were the aims of the Black Panthers different from those of moderate groups like the NAACP or SCLC?
20. Explain why 'Black Power' alarmed federal government in the USA.
21. Study Source F. Do you think the Black Panthers were more connected to black people's needs than groups working for black voting rights?

Source E: The Black Panthers' ten-point plan of 1966. Point 1 was suggesting a form of separation, but with government funding.

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black and oppressed communities.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black and oppressed communities.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want completely free health care for all black and oppressed people.
7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people, other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States.
8. We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression. [This was against the Vietnam war.]
9. We want freedom for all black and oppressed people now held in U.S. Federal, state, county, city and military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology.

Source F: Members of the Black Panther Party stand behind tables ready to distribute free clothing to the public, New Haven, Connecticut, 28 September 1969.



## Malcolm X

Malcolm X became the voice of many angry black people who felt non-violent protest had failed.

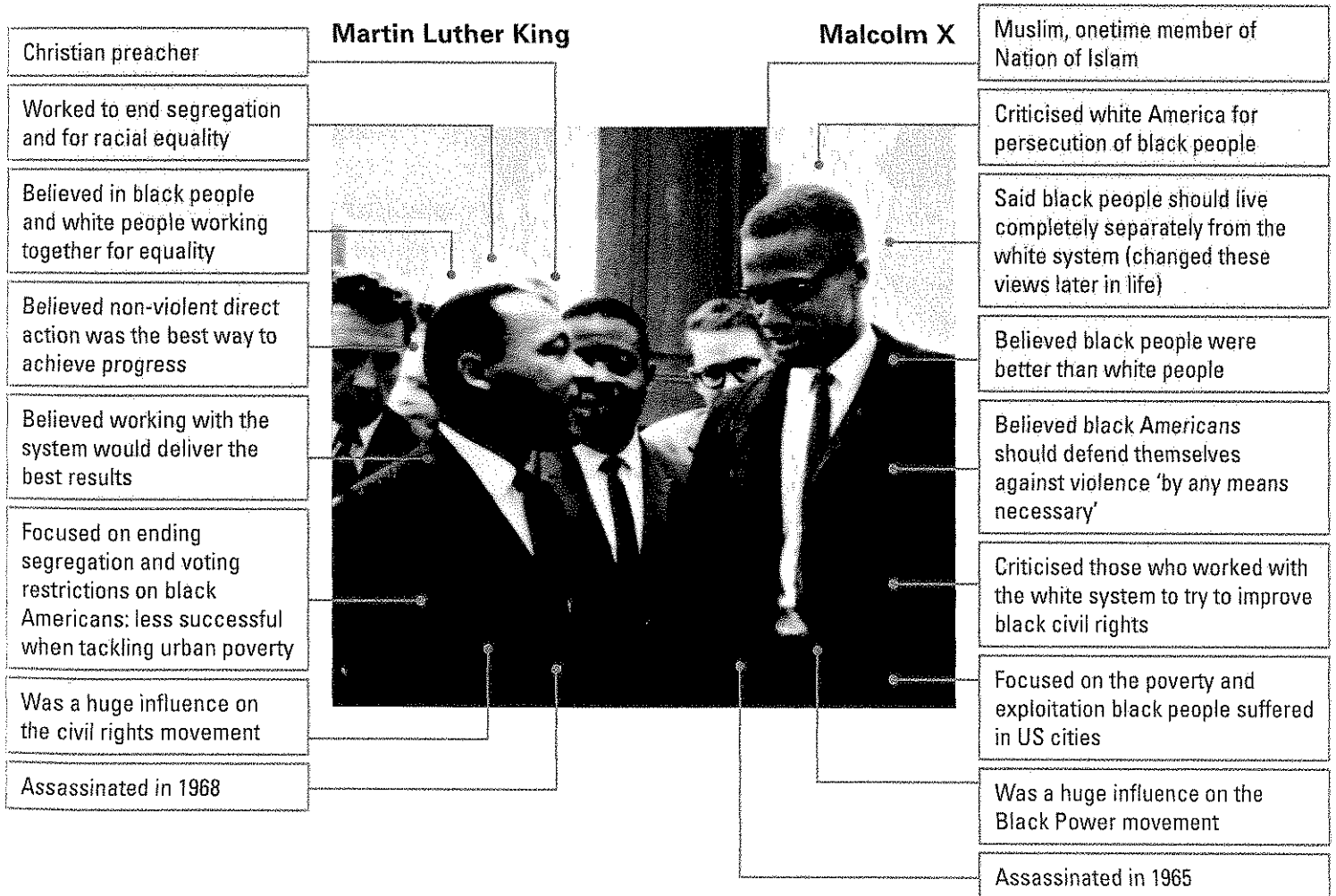
He started his political life by joining the **Nation of Islam** while in prison. This group believed that attempts at integration had failed and that black people would be better off living separately rather than in a so-called integrated society where they always had the worst living and working conditions. After prison, he changed his name from Malcolm Little to Malcolm X. The X stood for his family's real African name, lost forever during the horrors of the slave trade.

Malcolm X spoke out against non-violent action and criticised leaders such as Martin Luther King. While Martin Luther King wanted to work with white politicians and convince them to work for civil rights, Malcolm X did not. He saw white politicians as the enemy. While Martin Luther King focused on voter registration and desegregation in the South, Malcolm X focused on the inequalities faced by black people everywhere, North and South. While he assured people he was not urging violent revolt, he did urge black people to respond to violence with violence.

**Nation of Islam:** a religious organisation that began in 1930 with the aim of improving life for black Americans. It borrows some ideas from the Islamic religion but also has some non-Islamic beliefs.

## Activities

22. Compare the influence of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X on the way black Americans protested for civil rights.
23. Many civil rights campaigners criticised Malcolm X very strongly. What do you think their criticisms were about?



## Changes in the civil rights movement 1963–70: what had changed?

Your course makes a division between the civil rights movement from 1945 to 1962, and 1963 to 1970. This chapter has tried to show some of the ways the movement did change, for example:

- from non-violence to self-defence
- from aiming for equality to aiming for black people controlling their own communities
- from concentrating on integration and equal voting rights to combating black exploitation and poverty
- from changing the law to directly helping the black community.

Of course, the change wasn't as clear cut as that in reality. The struggle for equality went on alongside Black Power movements, organisations changed their stance on issues backwards and forwards, and Black Power and the struggle for legal change worked together as well as against each other. For example, one of the great achievements of Black Power was to make black people feel good about themselves, after so many centuries of slavery, exploitation and prejudice. Americans who were proud to be black made outstanding contributions in all areas of life, including law and government.

### The problems of the North

Geography is also important: the South and the North had different problems. In the South, black people suffered from segregation and deliberate, open inequality. They faced blatant, undisguised racism and prejudice. The civil rights movement pressurised federal government to tackle this shameful situation.

But in the North the problems were different. White people and black people usually lived apart, not because of any law but because black people couldn't afford to live anywhere but the poorest city districts. It wasn't something that a change in the law could fix. This needed massive amounts of money. But if states put all their money into improving conditions for black people, it would hurt everyone else. There were no votes in that for the politicians.

Also, there were other changes in society that affected the movement. The Vietnam War became increasingly unpopular in the USA during the later 1960s and early 1970s. To an extent, there was a change in the focus of protest from civil rights to Vietnam. People also got tired of protest and unrest. Many people in the USA reacted by voting for politicians who would look after them and their interests rather than for people with big plans for making America a better place for everyone.

### Follow up your enquiry

Review the best internet sites for African American history (your teacher can help you with the sites to go to). Check their coverage of how and why the civil rights movement changed from 1945–62 and 1963–70. What points do they generally agree on? What areas do they differ on?



Plus

Watch out

Remember not to assume that the amount of progress was the same all over the USA. The problems in the North were harder to tackle.



Your conclusion so far

From this topic we have seen that:

- Pressure from non-violent protest eventually resulted in landmark civil rights laws.
- However, the lack of enforcement of these laws created frustration.
- Black people were also facing serious poverty and prejudice in cities all over America. It was difficult for the movement to tackle these problems.

In November 2008, Barack Obama became the first black president of the United States. From what you have learned in this topic:

- what do you think Martin Luther King would have said about Obama becoming president?
- what do you think Malcolm X would have said about Obama becoming president?


**Part A Carry out a historical enquiry**

In this task, you are required to carry out an enquiry; the enquiry focus will be set by Edexcel. The task is worth 20 marks and you should aim to spend about an hour writing it up. The mark scheme below shows how your teacher will mark your work for this task. Remember that in this task you are also assessed on the quality of your written communication: use historical terminology where appropriate, organise the information clearly and coherently, and make sure your spelling, punctuation and grammar are accurate.

Level	Answers at this level...	Marks available
Level 1	Make simple comments. There are few links between them and few details are given. Only one or two sources have been used in the enquiry.	1–5 marks
Level 2	Make statements about the enquiry topic. Information is included that is mostly relevant and accurate, but it is not well organised to focus on the point of the enquiry. A range of sources has been consulted and information taken from them.	6–10 marks
Level 3	Are organised to focus mainly on the point of the enquiry. Accurate and relevant information is given to support the points the student makes. A range of sources has been found and well-chosen material taken from them.	11–15 marks
Level 4	Focus well on the point of the enquiry. A well-supported conclusion is reached, for example about the nature of change OR whether one factor was more important than the others OR the inter-relationship between two or more of the factors (depending on the enquiry focus). A range of sources appropriate to the enquiry has been identified and material from the sources has been well deployed.	16–20 marks

Let's look at an extract from one response to the following enquiry:

- The importance of the student protest movement 1960–1970

**Extract from student's answer**

The student protest was based in the universities. These students saw the injustice that was happening in America and they spoke out about it.

Many students were involved in the civil rights movement, especially the SNCC - the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Nigel Ritchie gives details of this in his book 'The Civil Rights Movement'. The student movement gave the students a chance to work together at university.

In their book 'Pursuing Life and Liberty', Bunce and Gallagher describe how the group Students for a Democratic Society started in 1960 at Michigan University. They explain how the students set out their aims in the Port Huron Statement in 1962, that the government should be trying to use wealth to make life better for everyone rather than concentrating on profit.

Bunce and Gallagher also explain how another group, formed at the University of California in Berkeley and led by Mario Savio, demanded free speech after the university tried to restrict student political actions.

However, the biggest issue of student protest was the Vietnam war. The Spartacus website explains how the decision to increase conscription led to protest among students even though students at university were exempt from the draft.

Shuter's book, 'A Divided Union', also has a section on student protests and describes their tactics. These included sit-ins, strikes, and more violent actions which led to them being arrested. Sometimes the university lecturers agreed with the students and they held teach-ins where they gave lectures and the students occupied the building and refused to leave.

The most famous protest was at Kent State University in Ohio in 1970. Waugh and Wright describe this in their book, 'A Divided Union', and explain how the protest started as a demonstration against Nixon's decision to bomb Cambodia (he did this in order to prevent supplies reaching the Communists in Vietnam). National Guardsmen were called in to disperse the crowd and used tear gas but the students still refused to move, so shots were fired and four were killed.

This episode received great publicity and this shows how important the student protest movement was.





### Moderator's comment

This extract indicates that the response would gain a mark in Level 2.

The response describes the development of the student movement but does not explain its importance. Lots of details are provided about the protest movement but the focus is on what the students were protesting about and what happened rather than what effect the protest had.

The student has used textbooks and an internet site to provide information. Material has been selected for relevance and the student has combined notes from different sources. However, the material has not been smoothly integrated and details are taken from each source in turn rather than a well planned comment from the student based on a range of details. The Quality of Written Communication is generally good, the meaning is clear and correct historical terminology is used but the information is not well organised into paragraphs, instead each point is presented separately.

To improve the response, the focus should look more centrally at the precise enquiry: the importance of the student protest movement. The response could show importance by looking at:

- How many people and which social groups were involved.
- What publicity the protests received and the attitudes of both the media and the public.
- How the authorities reacted.

### Extract from student's improved answer

The student protest was focused on the universities. These students were educated and able to think for themselves so they saw the injustice that was happening in American society and they were confident enough to speak out about it. They also tended to come from middle-class families and therefore their protests could not be easily ignored because these families usually accepted authority and would not normally oppose the government or police, so they were not 'troublemakers'. Student protests were also serious for the government because increasing wealth and better education opportunities for girls had increased the number of students at university, so although this group was a minority in society, the government could not claim that the protests were unimportant.

The first organisation of students was the group Students for a Democratic Society, started in 1960 at Michigan university. In their book 'Pursuing Life and Liberty', Bunce and Gallagher explain how the students set out their aims in the Port Huron Statement in 1962, suggesting that rather than concentrating on profit, the government should be trying to use wealth to make life better for everyone. This idea was a challenge to the American way of life but at this stage the organisation was still quite small and it had little impact on society or the authorities.

Bunce and Gallagher also explain how another group, formed at the University of California in Berkeley and led by Mario Savio, demanded free speech after the university tried to restrict student political actions. This group had quite a big impact at Berkeley because eventually the college authorities backed down and the students were allowed to campaign on political issues and freedom of speech was restored.

Many students were individually involved in the civil rights movement, especially the SNCC - the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee - and the Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964. Nigel Ritchie gives details of this in his book 'The Civil Rights Movement'. However, the organised student protests of the 1960s did not particularly focus on civil rights and at this stage, the student movement was not co-ordinated.

Instead, the event which caused the student movement to become a big issue was the Vietnam War. The Spartacus website explains how the decision to increase conscription led to protest among students even though students at university were exempt from the draft. The students used a range of tactics such as sit-ins, strikes, and more violent actions which led to them being arrested. Sometimes the university lecturers agreed with the students and they held teach-ins where they gave lectures and the students occupied the building and refused to leave. These are described in Shuter's book 'A Divided Union' but the scale of the protest can be seen more clearly on the website <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/pacificviet.html>.



Result Plus

Maximise your marks

The government could not ignore such large scale protests and it is suggested that the anti-Vietnam war protests were a major reason why Johnson did not stand for re-election as president. It is difficult to tell how influential the student movement was, but there was a great deal of publicity given to students rallies, especially when they were chanting 'Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?'

Student protests continued to get publicity under Nixon, especially the one at Kent State university in Ohio in 1970. Waugh and Wright describe this in their book 'A Divided Union' and explain how the protest was begun to complain about Nixon's decision to bomb Cambodia in order to prevent supplies reaching the Communists in Vietnam. National Guardsmen were called in to disperse the crowd and used tear gas but the students still refused to move, so shots were fired and four were killed. This was headline news around the world and the publicity this received made the student protests very important.

However, as the USA withdrew from Vietnam, the student movement collapsed. Although there were feminist groups and groups campaigning for racial equality, it was the issue of Vietnam that united them and it was only when they were united that the student movement had a big impact on society or the authorities.

### Part B(i) Compare two representations

In this task, you are required to analyse and compare two representations of history.

The task is worth 10 marks and you should aim to spend about 30 minutes writing it up.

The mark scheme below shows how your teacher will mark your work for this task.

Level	Answers at this level...	Marks available
Level 1	Show an understanding of the main features of the two representations and select material from them. The answer is based on descriptions, direct quotations, or paraphrases from one or more of the sources.	1–3 marks
Level 2	Show an understanding of the two representations and select similarities and/or differences of detail from them. At low level 2, there may be only one developed comparison, and other comparisons will be undeveloped or unsupported with material from the sources.	4–7 marks
Level 3	Analyse the sources and identify a range of similarities and/or differences in representation, using precisely selected detail from the two representations to support the explanation. Make a judgement about how much the representations create different views.	8–10 marks

Let's look at an extract from one student's response to the representations below.

- Study Representation C on page 62 and Representation F on page 71. They are both representations of the impact of mass protest on US society in the 1960s. How far do these representations differ? (10 marks)

#### Extract from student's answer

Representations C and F are both about the way civil rights protests improved the situation of black people. Representation F gives us lots of examples of ways in which black people got better treatment in America and it says this started from the protests of the 1960s. However, Representation F also says that although laws have changed the official situation, people's attitudes took a lot longer to change.

Representation C agrees that the situation of black people in America has improved since the 1960s and picks out the sit-in as a key point. However, Representation C is different because it does not give us any detail about how the situation changed or how much difference this protest made. So overall they differ quite a bit, because Representation F talks about how the situation improved generally while Representation C is just about one key event.

**Moderator comment**

In this part of the answer, the student has understood the details in the sources and is comparing them. We can see the language of comparison is used: 'are both about', 'agrees', 'is different because', 'differ quite a bit'.

The student has noted the details which are similar in both sources and also where one author provides details which the other has not included. The student has also noted that there is a different focus in each representation.

There is enough comprehension and comparison for the answer to get into level 2, but the answer concentrates mainly on differences in details in the two sources. To raise the response to the next level, the answer should offer more explanation of the different focus in these two representations. Representation F's focus is on weighing up how much actually changed for black people, showing that people's attitudes did not change as quickly as the laws did. Representation C's focus is on a specific protest and suggests that it was a key event. Representation C suggests that the civil rights protests (and especially the sit-in) were a success whereas Representation F is much more cautious in making a judgement.

**Extract from student's improved answer**

Representations F and C are both about the way civil rights protests improved the situation of black people. Representation F gives us lots of examples of ways in which black people got better treatment in America and dates it back to the protests of the 1960s. Representation C agrees that the situation of black people in America has improved since the 1960s and picks out the sit-in as a key point.

However, Representation F also talks about the effects of the protests and says that people's attitudes took a long time to change whereas Representation C just talks about one key event. Representation F is giving an overall view whereas Representation C does not give us any detail about how the situation changed or how much difference this protest made. So overall they differ quite a bit in what they actually say.

More importantly, they differ a great deal in attitude. Representation C suggests the civil rights protests were a success story but Representation F shows that using different criteria will give a different answer. The protests were very successful in one way as the laws were changed but if you focus on changing attitudes, the protests achieved far less. Furthermore, Representation F goes on to suggest that the changes in attitude which did eventually occur were because people mixed at work and black and white people enjoyed the same popular culture rather than because of the protests in the 1960s.

Therefore the two representations differ a great deal – not just in how far they think civil rights protests led to change but also in the criteria they use to make a judgement, their approach to the topic and the way that Representation F considers other factors affecting the situation while Representation C does not.

**Part B(ii) Analyse and evaluate three representations**

In this task, you are required to analyse and evaluate three representations of history. The task is worth 20 marks and you should aim to spend about an hour writing it up. The mark scheme below shows how your teacher will mark your work for this task. Remember that in this task you are also assessed on the quality of your written communication. You should use the correct historical terminology, organise the information clearly and coherently, and make sure your spelling, punctuation and grammar are accurate.

Level	Answers at this level...	Marks available
Level 1	Show an understanding of the main features of the sources and select material. Simple judgements are made about the representation, and a limited amount of accurate information about the period is given. The material is mostly generalised, and links to the representation are not explicit.	1–5 marks
Level 2	Show an understanding of the main features of the three sources and select key features of the representations from them. Judgement is made about the best representation and there is detailed and accurate material about the period, but with little linkage between description and judgement. Judgements may relate to the accuracy or comprehensiveness of the representation.	6–10 marks
Level 3	Analyse the three sources and show some of the ways in which the past situation has been represented. Detail from the sources is used to support the analysis. There is a critical evaluation of the representation based on well selected information about the period and at least two clear criteria are applied, for example, the author's purpose or objectivity, or the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the representation.	11–15 marks
Level 4	Analyse the three sources to show the way in which the past situation has been represented. Precisely selected detail from the sources is used to support the analysis. There is a critical evaluation of the representation based on precisely selected information about the period and applying at least three criteria, for example the author's purposes or objectivity, or the comprehensiveness and/or accuracy of the representation, to all three sources.	16–20 marks

Let's look at an extract from one student's response to the representations below.

- Study Representations C and F again and Representation G, below. Choose the one which you think is the best representation of the effect of mass protest in changing US society. Explain your choice. (20 marks)

**Representation G**

From *And the Crooked Places Made Straight, the struggle for social change in the 1960s*, by David Chalmers, 1991.

The young dissenters had tried non-violence, and it had not worked. They had tried violence and that had not worked either...Black radical leaders had been killed by their rivals or the police, or were in exile abroad. The radical student Left had failed in the streets...Malcolm X, [and] Martin Luther King Jr...had been murdered...Whatever the outrage and anguish produced by the war, the 1968 Chicago riots...and the shootings at Kent State and Jackson State, at least a substantial portion of the American people thought the students had gotten what was coming to them.



### Extract from student's response

I think Representation C is useful because it tells us that non-violent protest did achieve some things and it tells us about the moral aspect of these protests. This is something that I know Martin Luther King emphasised, so it fits in with my own knowledge and I can tell it's accurate.

Representation G is also useful because it tells us that mass protests actually had little effect on events in America. In fact, Representation G stresses the failure of these protests and suggests that the violent protests actually lost public support. But it doesn't provide very many details to back up its comments and it doesn't mention the changes in law to stop segregation so this is not very complete or accurate.

However, I think Representation F is the best. It gives us accurate information about the progress in civil rights but also tells us that attitudes were much slower to change. This is very comprehensive because it is giving us a long term view and reaches different judgements based on different criteria, which means it is covering all aspects of the issue.

### Moderator comment

The student has commented on all three representations and shown how the detail within each representation is useful. There has also been an attempt to use criteria to evaluate the representations, but none of the comments are developed very far.

The student uses the criteria of accuracy and comprehensiveness but uses only a limited amount of own knowledge to test this accuracy and comprehensiveness. To improve the answer, the student should make more use of contextual knowledge and analyse the representations more fully, identifying specific things that are inaccurate or left out.

The student could also look at the focus of the representations – Representations F and C are both about civil rights protests whereas Representation G looks at student anti-Vietnam War protests within a wider context. Another good point to discuss would be how far the nature and purpose of the representations affected their value.

To reach the highest level the student must make use of at least three criteria to rate each representation, but this answer also needs to make more use of contextual knowledge to support the comments made.

**Extract from improved student response**

I think Representation C is useful because it is an example of a non-violent protest and Martin Luther King used this tactic in protests such as... Publicity for these protests would show that the black protestors were not doing anything that was illegal for a white person. So the emphasis in the plaque about standing up for what is right is a good representation of the non-violent tactics. It also suggests that the sit-in tactic was successful, which is true because stores did change their policy about lunch counters but water fountains, toilets and interstate buses remained segregated.

So it is a useful representation of one type of tactic but it is not entirely accurate and it is not comprehensive. We should also consider the purpose of the plaque. It was erected to commemorate this specific event. However, the claim that this event was the birthplace of the civil rights movement is exaggerated. It ignores the fact that there were previous campaigns such as...

Representation G tells us that mass protests actually had little effect on events in America. In fact, Representation G portrays the whole protest movement as a failure and suggests that they lacked public support. But this doesn't provide very many details to back up its comments and it doesn't mention that there were changes in law to stop segregation or the way that protests put pressure on the government to withdraw from Vietnam... However, the fact that Representation G refers to both non-violent and violent protests, civil rights and Vietnam is better than Representations F and C which give a more limited view...

However, I think Representation F is the best. It gives us accurate information about the progress in civil rights but also tells us that attitudes were much slower to change. This is very comprehensive because it is written from a different perspective, using hindsight and giving us a long term view. It is also reaching different judgements based on different criteria, which means it is covering all aspects of the issue. It needs to be backed up by more detail but from my own knowledge I can show that the comments are accurate...

The author also seems to be quite objective, giving a balanced view of achievements but also showing failures and the role of other factors...

Overall Representation F is accurate, and more objective and comprehensive than Representation C. Its focus on how much things actually changed and whether that was the result of mass protests also makes it better than Representation G, even though Representation G covers a wider context.