

As history – unit 1 essay

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tAS History – Unit 1 A World Divided: Communism and Democracy in the 20th Century Revision Guide Edition 5: January 2010 Contents Page:
Content:| Page:| How to use this book| 3| How to answer the questions| 4| Writing Frames| 5| How your essays will be marked| 11| Previous Exam Questions and predicted questions| 12| Unit 1: Signs of change by 1955| 14| Unit 2: Martin Luther King and Peaceful Protest| 23| Unit 3: Black Power and the use of Violence| 31| Unit 4: Protest Culture: The Sixties and a Generation| 41| Unit 1: The Korean War| 48| Unit 2: Origins of America's involvement in Vietnam| 57| Unit 3: Escalation of America's involvement in Vietnam| 61| Unit 4: Withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam| 66| How to use this book: This book provides: * Instructions on how to answer the questions * Practise Exam Questions * A summary of the necessary evidence This book does not: * Explain how the evidence proves your points and explain how your point answers the question. This is for you to work out! * Evaluate the evidence. Once again this is for you to work out! How to answer the questions: Your introduction should: 1.

INTERPRET the question 2. EXPLAIN your line of argument (Most important cause/biggest area of change etc). 3.

Refer to all the factors that you will discuss Each paragraph should: 1. Make a POINT. This must use a factor to answer the question with a judgement 2. Provide EVIDENCE. This should be detailed and precise. It must be selected to prove your point 3. EXPLAIN.

Explain how your point answers the question and how your evidence proves your point 4. EVALUATE. Consider the contradictory evidence to your point and argue against it. Your conclusion should: 1.

SUMMARISE your line of argument 2. EXPLAIN how this argument has been proven

Writing Frames Why? (Analysis and judgement of causation)

Introduction: * The question concerns the causes of ...

.. * The most important cause of

is

* This is because * Other important causes are ..

...

* This is because * Least important causes are .

.... * This is because

. Paragraphs: * The most/least/another important cause of..

...

is.....

* The evidence for this is * ..

. caused ... because ..

. * This evidence clearly shows that

. is the most/least/another important cause of ...

.. because

* It could be argued that..... is not the most/least/another important cause of ..

...

ecause However this is not the case because ..

... * Thus ..

...

is the most/least/another important cause because Conclusion: * The most important cause of ..

... is

. * This is because * Other important causes are ..

... * This is because

* Least important causes are ...

.. How far/ To what extent was _____ caused by _____? (Analysis and judgement of causation) Introduction: * The question concerns whether the main cause of ..

.. was

* This is accurate to a large/small extent because

* The most important cause of ...

.. is ...

.. * This is because

* Other important causes are This is because ...

.. * Least important causes are ...

.. * This is because Paragraph 1: * .

... was caused by ...

. to a large/small extent * The evidence that proves this is.... * .

... caused.

... because * ...

. caused.... to a large/small extent because...

. * It could be argued that....

actually caused.... to a large/small extent because..

.. However this is not the case because.

... * Thus.... caused.

...

to a large/small degree because...

. Other paragraphs: * The most/least/another important cause of..

...

is.....

showing that....

caused.... to a large/small extent * The evidence for this is

. * ... caused ..

. ecause ... * This evidence clearly shows that

. is the most/least/another important cause of

and thus.... caused....

to a large/small extent because

. * It could be argued that..

... is not the most/least/another important cause of

because However this is not the case because ..

... * Thus

is the most/least/another important cause and therefore.... caused...

. to a large/small degree because Conclusion: * .

... caused....

to a large/small extent because.... * The most important cause of .

.... is ..

... * This is because

. * Other important causes are

. * This is because ...

.. Least important causes are .

.... How far was_____ a success/failure? (Analysis and judgement of consequence) Introduction: * The question concerns whether.

... was a success/failure * This is accurate to a large/small extent because

* The area that shows.

... to be a success/failure to a large extent is..

.. * This is because * Other areas that show this are .

.... * This is because

. * The area that shows.... to be a success/failure to a small extent is...

. * This is because

Paragraphs: *

shows....

to be a success/failure to a large/small extent because.... * The evidence that proves this is...

. ..

.. shows to be a success/failure..

.. because * shows..

.. to be a success/failure to a large/small extent because...

. * It could be argued that.... does not show..

.. to be a success/failure to a large/small extent. However this is not the case because....

* Thus.... shows....

to be a success/failure to a large/small extent because...

Conclusion: * The area that shows....

to be a success/failure to a large extent is.... * This is because ..

... * Other areas that show this are ..

... * This is because .

.... * The area that shows..

.. to be a success/failure to a small extent is.... * This is because .

.... * Overall....

s a success to a large/small extent because.... How far did_____ change/improve in the years_____? (Analysis and judgement of the extent of change) Introduction: * The question concerns the extent to which..

... changed/improved * The area that changed/improved the most is.

... * This is because ...

.. * Other areas that changed/improved are * This is because * Areas that showed least change/improvement are * This is because

Paragraphs: * The area that showed most/least/some change/improvement is..... * The evidence for this is * The evidence clearly shows that....

changed/improved because.... This evidence clearly shows that showed most/least/some change/improvement because * It could be argued that..... did not show the most/least/some improvement because

However this is not the case because * Thus showed most/least/some change/improvement because.... Conclusion: * The area of life that most

changed/improved is..... * This is because * Other areas that changed/improvement are * This is because * Areas that showed

least change/improvement are * This is because How important was_____ to_____? (Analysis of significance) Introduction: The question

concerns how important.... was to.... * This is accurate to a large/small extent because * The area that shows most importance is.... * This is

because * Other areas are * This is because * The area that shows least importance is.... * This is because Paragraphs: * shows

importance to a large/small degree because.... * The evidence for this is * shows importance because * This evidence clearly shows that

shows importance to a large/small degree because * It could be argued that..... does not show importance to a large/small degree because However this is not the case because * Thus shows importance to a large/small degree because Conclusion: * The area that shows most importance is.... * This is because * Other areas are * This is because * The area that shows least importance is.... * This is because * Overall.... was important to a large/small degree because.... How far is it accurate to describe_____ as_____? (Analysis and judgement of key features) Introduction: * The question concerns the extent to which..... can be described as.... * Overall this is true to a large/small extent because.... * The factor that most shows that.... can be described as.... is.... * This is because..... * Other areas that show this are * This is because..... * The factor that least shows that.... can be described as.... is.... * This is because..... Paragraphs: * shows that.... can be described as.... to a large/small extent because.... * The evidence for this is..... * This evidence shows that.... can be described as.... because.... * This evidence clearly shows that..... can be described as.... to a large/small extent because.... * It could be argued that..... cannot be described as.... to a large/small extent because.... However this is not the case because Thus can be described as.... to a large/small extent because.... Conclusion: * The factor that most shows that.... can be described as.... is.... * This is because..... * Other areas that show this are * This is because..... * The factor that least shows that.... can be described as.... is.... * This is because..... * Overall.... can be described as.... because.... How your essays will be marked: Level 1| 1-6Grade: U| You form points| Level 2| 7-12Grade: U-E| You

form points that answer the question. You provide supporting evidence|

Level 3| 13-18Grade: E-C| You form points that answer the question. You provide supporting evidence. You explain how your evidence proves your points and you explain how your points answer the question. Your explanations are lacking in some places|

Level 4| 19-24Grade: C-A| You form points that answer the question. Your points make judgements. You provide supporting evidence. You explain how your evidence proves your points and you explain how your points answer the question. Your explanations do not lack in some places|

Level 5| 25-30Grade: A-A*| You form points that answer the question. Your points make judgements. You provide supporting evidence. You explain how your evidence proves your points and you explain how your points answer the question. You consider the contradictory evidence to your points and argue against it|

Previous Exam Questions:

Specimen Exam 1. How far is it accurate to describe Black Americans as second class citizens in the years 1945-55? 2. How far is it accurate to say that the Black Power movements of the 1960s achieved nothing for black Americans? 3. How far was the Korean War a military and political success for the USA? 4. How important was the Tet Offensive of 1968 in changing US policy in Vietnam? January 2009 Exam 1. How important was the contribution of Martin Luther King to the civil rights movement in the years 1955-68? 2. How far had the status of Hispanic and Native Americans improved by the late 1960s? 3. How far was the fear of the spread of Communism responsible for the increasing involvement in the affairs of south-east Asia in the years 1950-64? 4. Why was the USA unable to defeat Communism in south-east Asia in the years 1965-73? June 2009 Exam 1. How far did the position of

Black Americans improve in the years 1945–55? 2. How far do you agree that the Black Power movement hindered Black civil rights in the 1960s? . How significant was China's intervention in deciding the course and outcome of the Korean War? 4. How far was opposition within the USA responsible for the United States' withdrawal from the Vietnam War? January 2010 Exam 1. To what extent was the Federal Government responsible for improving the status of black people in the United States in the years 1945–64? 2. How far was the effectiveness of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s limited by internal divisions? 3. Why did the United States become so deeply involved in the Korean War in the years 1950–53? 4. How far was the growing conflict in Vietnam in the 1960s due to the policies of President Kennedy? June 2010 Exam – Predicted Questions 1. How far is it accurate to describe Black Americans as second class citizens in the years 1945–55? 2. How far was the emergence of a counter culture, in 1960s America, caused by the inspiration of Civil Rights protestors? 3. How far was America's decision to involve themselves in the affairs of Vietnam, 1950–1960, caused by a fear of Communism? 4. Why was America unable to defeat Communism in South East Asia between 1965 and 1973? January 2011 Exam – Predicted Questions . How important was the contribution of Martin Luther King to the civil rights movement in the years 1955–68? 2. How far is it accurate to say that the Black Power movements of the 1960s achieved nothing for black Americans? 3. How far was the Korean War a military and political success for the USA? 4. How far did the role of America in Vietnam change between 1960 and 1967? Equality in the USA – Revision Notes: SIGNS OF CHANGE BY 1955: How far is it accurate to say that the status of black Americans varied

considerably in 1945? Political: Politically, blacks had no say in elections. They were prevented from voting by the “ legal” means of state laws that established the qualifications required to vote. These ranged from the grandfather clause (you had to be able to prove the previous two generations had voted) to the literacy clause (the ability to read). Where blacks had the vote, they could still be prevented from voting by the mechanics of the election e. g. the eight ballot box law required you to choose the correct ballot box out of a choice of eight! Where all else failed, violence could be used to intimidate blacks and thus prevent them from voting. Politically, there were no laws preventing blacks from voting in the north, although poverty sometimes prevented registration of the right to vote. When blacks voted, although they had generally supported the Republican Party until 1932, they largely switched their allegiance from 1936 to the Democratic Party. Social: The consequence of the Plessy v Ferguson case was the proliferation of segregation across the South. The judges decided that segregation was lawful as long as black and white citizens had access to facilities that were equally good. Transport, education, all public facilities were segregated; even in death southern cemeteries provided segregation. Segregation in the south was also an attitude of mind which governed even the smallest aspects of behaviour, including how people stood, sat, ate, walked and made eye contact. There were unspoken rules which governed the way that black and white people related to each other. For example whites never called black men ‘ Mr’ or black women ‘ Mrs’. Black and white children had learned this by the age of three or four. Despite segregation white people often relied on black people for domestic help.

Black people were hired to bring up white children, to cook, to clean and to provide nursing care for rich white people. There was a contradiction between them being seen as an inferior race and the fact that the whites needed them in their family lives. Thus the stereotype of the 'good old-time negro' was invented. It meant that black people were happy to serve white people and entirely satisfied with their role in a segregated society. In the north Blacks were subject to de facto discrimination i. e. although the laws did not discriminate, the nature of black life in the cities led to the experience of discrimination. Although there were no segregation laws in the north, blacks found themselves effectively segregated in largely black communities (ghettos), such as Harlem in New York and Watts in Los Angeles. 90% of the population of these ghettos was black. Hence, their children also went to largely black schools, which were under-funded relative to white areas. Economic: Economically, blacks experienced great hardship. If they were employed as sharecroppers, they had to work for a share of the crop, but needed to borrow money from the landowner to pay for equipment and seed. These loans were charged at exorbitant rates of interest, which often meant that the sharecropper was perpetually in debt. Where blacks were employed in towns, they experienced the low wages that all southern workers earned. The consequence of economic hardship and discrimination was social deprivation: poor housing, low living standards, poor health, and lower levels of educational provision. In the period after the Civil War there began the process of migration from the south to northern cities that seemed to offer more prospect of employment. Economically, in the north, blacks experienced great hardship. Many of those who came from the south

were unskilled and where they found jobs, they were often menial. Those blacks who acquired greater skills still found it difficult to improve their economic condition. A strike was organised by 25, 000 white employees at Packard in Detroit in 1943 because three black employees had been promoted. As in the south, economic hardship and discrimination led to social deprivation. Violence: Violence was widespread as a mechanism for keeping blacks in their place. Such violence was random in order to increase the uncertainty and fear of the black population. In 1933, 24 blacks had died by lynching. In the south the Ku Klux Klan saw them-selves as the defender of white supremacy. They targeted black people who showed any signs of disrespect. This included black people who were romantically involved with white people, black people who were growing prosperous, and black people who were challenging the injustice of segregation. Violence and race riots occurred periodically in northern cities. These were generally triggered by inter-racial conflicts. In 1943, for example, there were riots in New York and Detroit. To what extent had life improved for Black Americans in the years 1945-55? Segregation: The migration north continued unabated during the War – nearly three-quarters of a million blacks made the journey from the south to the north. This intensified the problems faced in the ghettos of the northern cities. Truman established a committee to investigate race relations and to safeguard the rights of minorities. The report of this committee published in 1947 was called 'To Secure These Rights'. It called for many drastic changes to be made to the law e. g. to secure black voting rights, to pass anti-lynching legislation and to end a range of segregated facilities. Limited action was taken in the areas identified, but this report did put Civil

Rights on the political agenda. Truman was concerned that he might lose support from southern white Democratic party supporters, so although he had initially been very enthusiastic about implementing the proposals in 'To Secure These Rights', he had watered them down considerably by the time of the 1948 Democratic Party National Convention (the meeting which selects the Party's candidate for the Presidential election.) Thus, no significant civil rights legislation was implemented during the Truman presidency. During 1945-55 Black Americans developed the tactics of direct action. This is a form of protest that involves large groups of people and draws public attention to injustice. The NAACP organised a series of protests in the southern state of Louisiana. For example they picketed New Orleans' four biggest department stores for refusing to allow black customers to try on hats. In Alexandria in 1951 they protested at the fact that the local black school would close during the cotton harvest so that the black children could work in the fields. In 1953 they organised a boycott of a newly built school in Lafayette protesting that its facilities were inferior to a local white school

Violence: Lynching continued unabated in the south. In 1946, several war veterans were killed in rural Georgia for voting whilst a soldier in South Carolina was blinded because he did not sit at the back of a bus.

Employment: Truman tried, but failed, to extend the funding for the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Truman continued Roosevelt's policy of using Executive Orders to try to facilitate fair employment practices for black Americans. Transport: The Supreme Court started to interpret the Constitution more liberally in the field of civil rights. Thus, during the Truman presidency, its rulings in a number of cases appeared to challenge *Plessy v*

Ferguson e. g. 1946 Morgan v Virginia prohibited segregation on interstate transport. The Morgan v Virginia case did not lead to a change in practise. As a result in 1947 CORE launched a Journey of Reconstruction. A mixed race team planned to travel by bus from the northern to southern states; their aim was to draw public attention to the fact that many states were not following the Supreme Court. Public attention was gained but it failed to achieve change. There were other Civil Rights Organisations. The United Defence League (UDL), the Committee on Negro Organisation (CNO), the Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) also used the tactic of direct action in this period The UDL organised a week-long bus boycott in Louisiana's capital Baton Rouge in June 1953. Education: Their first successful challenge to segregation in education came in 1950. The NAACP argued that Sweatt was entitled to an education equal to that of whites at the Law school. The courts decided that they did not have to integrate the white Law school and set up a law school for blacks. The NAACP rejected this and went to the Supreme Court; they argued that the new law school was inferior. The Supreme Court agreed and ordered the University of Texas Law School to accept Sweatt as a student 1950 McLaurin v Oklahoma State University upheld the rights of black students to receive equal Higher Education. In 1954, this case came to the Supreme Court. It had been sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The lawyer used by the NAACP to present this case was Thurgood Marshall, who was later to become the first black Supreme Court justice. The case revolved around whether the Board of Education for Topeka, Kansas had violated the Fourteenth Amendment rights

of Linda Brown by the failure to provide her with an elementary education close to her own home. The nearest school to her home was an all-white segregated school. The Supreme Court ruled unanimously that segregation in education “ deprive(s) children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities. This meant the reversal of the Plessy v Ferguson decision in education. Although Eisenhower ordered the integration of schools in Washington DC immediately, the rest of the south was very much slower to follow suit. Although Eisenhower ordered the integration of schools in Washington DC immediately (after the Brown case), the rest of the south was very much slower to follow suit. Middle class whites set up White Citizens Councils to demand that segregation continue in schools. It caused a revival in the activity of the KKK and the Emmett Till case followed a year later. He was a 14 year old black boy who was lynched and murdered. The two white men were found not guilty by an all white jury. After the Brown case Senator Harry F. Byrd called on white southerners to put up ‘ massive resistance’ meaning that white people of the south should defend segregation with all their strength. He led 101 southern congressmen who signed the ‘ Southern Manifesto’. They argued that the Brown case was unconstitutional because the constitution did not mention education. They called on the doctrine of ‘ separate but equal’In 1955, the Supreme Court followed up its earlier ruling with Brown II. This said that the change to desegregated schools was to take place “ with all deliberate speed. ” Even this was not sufficiently specific and many southern states continued to delay the implementation of desegregation. By 1957 only 750 of 6, 300 southern school districts had desegregated Eisenhower refused to comment

on the Brown case. He criticised the ruling arguing that it would do nothing to change the hearts and minds of southern white racists. He believed that it was counterproductive. It had just infuriated white citizens and whipped up tremendous opposition to Civil Rights. He claimed that his decision to make ' Earl Warren Chief Justice was ' the biggest damned-fool mistake I ever made'

Voting Rights: Between 1940 and 1957 the CNO organised a voter registration campaign in the southern state of Arkansas Smith v Allwright (1944). This ruled that the Texan white primary was illegal because all citizens had the right to vote, according to the 15th amendment.

Consequently this outlawed all white primaries across America. In Primary elections parties elect who will stand in subsequent elections. Public Opinion: Black Americans were appalled at the rhetoric of the war with its focus on liberty and equality seemed increasingly hypocritical when southern blacks could expect to be subjected to discrimination and lynching. Black soldiers were struck by this contradiction and thus they used the ' Double V' sign meaning they were fighting for two victories: victory overseas and victory over racism at home The courage of black soldiers changed the attitude of many white soldiers. Following the war black heroes who had often risked their lives for their country expected recognition for their achievements.

What caused seeds of change to develop between 1945 and 1955? Impact of WWII: Over 1. 2 million black men joined the United States army during WWII. The experience radicalised them. Northern blacks were often trained in the south and this was their first experience of segregation. They were appalled at the rhetoric of the war with its focus on liberty and equality seemed increasingly hypocritical when southern blacks could expect to be

subjected to discrimination and lynching. Black soldiers were struck by this contradiction and thus they used the 'Double V' sign meaning they were fighting for two victories: victory overseas and victory over racism at home. The courage of black soldiers changed the attitude of many white soldiers. Following the war black heroes who had often risked their lives for their country expected recognition for their achievements. Segregation continued through the war and black soldiers had different canteens and were transported to the battlefield in different vehicles. Many were denied the right to fight and were employed as cooks and cleaners. Black soldiers who did make it to the front line were given less training and the worse equipment. Black soldiers also experienced European society during their stays in Britain and France. They experienced no formal segregation in either country and white people in Europe treated them as heroes. The extermination of over six million Jews and other racist atrocities carried out by the Nazis showed the dangers inherent in racism and in doing so convinced many people that racism should be opposed in all circumstances. The migration north continued unabated during the War – nearly three-quarters of a million blacks made the journey from the south to the north. This intensified the problems faced in the ghettos of the northern cities. In 1941, A. Philip Randolph called for a March on Washington to publicise the discrimination experienced by black Americans in every aspect of their lives. Roosevelt's response to this was to issue Executive Order creating the FEPC. (Fair Employment Practices). This prohibited discrimination in defence and federal employment practices. Presidential Action: There were limited advances in the cause of civil rights during

Truman's presidency. In the Cold War Truman believed that America had a moral duty to fight Communism and promote freedom but he recognised that America could not fight for freedom while segregation oppressed black Americans in the south. Truman tried, but failed, to extend the funding for the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Truman continued Roosevelt's policy of using Executive Orders to try to facilitate fair employment practices for black Americans. Truman established a committee to investigate race relations and to safeguard the rights of minorities. The report of this committee published in 1947 was called 'To Secure These Rights'. It called for many drastic changes to be made to the law e. g. to secure black voting rights, to pass anti-lynching legislation and to end a range of segregated facilities. The report also highlighted the racist violence widespread in the American police force. This included 'bullwhipping' which was the denial of medical treatment to black prisoners and in some cases black prisoners being tied up and drowned. Limited action was taken in the areas identified, but this report did put Civil Rights on the political agenda. Truman was concerned that he might lose support from southern white Democratic party supporters, so although he had initially been very enthusiastic about implementing the proposals in 'To Secure These Rights', he had watered them down considerably by the time of the 1948 Democratic Party National Convention (the meeting which selects the Party's candidate for the Presidential election.) Thus, no significant civil rights legislation was implemented during the Truman presidency. Lynching continued unabated in the south. In 1946, several war veterans were killed in rural Georgia for voting whilst a soldier in South Carolina was blinded because he did not sit at

the back of a bus. Eisenhower refused to comment on the Brown case. He criticised the ruling arguing that it would do nothing to change the hearts and minds of southern white racists. He believed that it was counterproductive. It had just infuriated white citizens and whipped up tremendous opposition to Civil Rights. He claimed that his decision to make ' Earl Warren Chief Justice was ' the biggest damned-fool mistake I ever made'Civil Rights Organisations: The NAACP was created to fight for the rights of black people and to oppose discrimination and racial hatred, mainly using legal methods; court cases which challenged the legal basis for segregation. Their strategy was to challenge the ' Jim Crow' laws by appealing to the 14th and 15th amendments. In practise they provided funds and experienced lawyers. Their first successful challenge to segregation in education came in 1950. The NAACP argued that Sweatt was entitled to an education equal to that of whites at the Law school. The courts decided that they did not have to integrate the white Law school and set up a law school for blacks. The NAACP rejected this and went to the Supreme Court; they argued that the new law school was inferior. The Supreme Court agreed and ordered the University of Texas Law School to accept Sweatt as a student In 1954, the Brown case came to the Supreme Court. It had been sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The lawyer used by the NAACP to present this case was Thurgood Marshall, who was later to become the first black Supreme Court justice. The case revolved around whether the Board of Education for Topeka, Kansas had violated the Fourteenth Amendment rights of Linda Brown by the failure to provide her with an elementary education close to her own home. The nearest school to

her home was an all-white segregated school. There were other Civil Rights Organisations. The United Defence League (UDL), the Committee on Negro Organisation (CNO), the Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) also used the tactic of direct action in this period. The UDL organised a week-long bus boycott in Louisiana's capital Baton Rouge in June 1953. Between 1940 and 1957 the CNO organised a voter registration campaign in the southern state of Arkansas. Work of the Supreme Court: The Supreme Court started to interpret the Constitution more liberally in the field of civil rights. *Smith v Allwright* (1944). This ruled that the Texan white primary was illegal because all citizens had the right to vote, according to the 15th amendment. Consequently this outlawed all white primaries across America. In Primary elections parties elect who will stand in subsequent elections. During the Truman presidency, it ruled in a number of cases appeared to challenge *Plessy v Ferguson* e. g. 1946 *Morgan v Virginia* prohibited segregation on interstate transport. 1950 *McLaurin v Oklahoma State University* upheld the rights of black students to receive equal Higher Education. In the *Brown* case the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that segregation in education "deprive(s) children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities." This meant the reversal of the *Plessy v Ferguson* decision in education. In 1955, the Supreme Court followed up its earlier ruling with *Brown II*. This said that the change to desegregated schools was to take place "with all deliberate speed." Even this was not sufficiently specific and many southern states continued to delay the implementation of desegregation. Tactics: During 1945-55 Black Americans developed the tactics of direct action. This is a form of protest

that involves large groups of people and draws public attention to injustice. The NAACP organised a series of protests in the southern state of Louisiana. For example they picketed New Orleans' four biggest department stores for refusing to allow black customers to try on hats. In Alexandria in 1951 they protested at the fact that the local black school would close during the cotton harvest so that the black children could work in the fields. In 1953 they organised a boycott of a newly built school in Lafayette protesting that its facilities were inferior to a local white school. The Morgan v Virginia case did not lead to a change in practice. As a result in 1947 CORE launched a Journey of Reconstruction. A mixed race team planned to travel by bus from the northern to southern states; their aim was to draw public attention to the fact that many states were not following the Supreme Court. Public attention was gained but it failed to achieve change. White Resistance: Although Eisenhower ordered the integration of schools in Washington DC immediately (after the Brown case), the rest of the south was very much slower to follow suit. Middle class whites set up White Citizens Councils to demand that segregation continue in schools. It caused a revival in the activity of the KKK and the Emmett Till case followed a year later. He was a 14 year old black boy who was lynched and murdered. The two white men were found not guilty by an all white jury. After the Brown case Senator Harry F. Byrd called on white southerners to put up 'massive resistance' meaning that white people of the south should defend segregation with all their strength. He led 101 southern congressmen who signed the 'Southern Manifesto'. They argued that the Brown case was unconstitutional because the constitution did not mention education. They called on the doctrine of 'separate but

equal' Why was progress towards racial equality so slow in the years 1945-55? . Political factors (Opposition from senior politicians and Eisenhower's belief that it was not the President's job to dictate change) 2. Popular opposition (racism amongst the general public) 3. Ineffective methods of protest (Campaigns were not co-ordinated to gain maximum impact) 4. Legal factors (Legal methods of campaigning are slow) 5. Widespread nature of discrimination

Other Exam Questions: 1. Why was progress towards racial equality so slow in the period 1945-55? Martin Luther King and Peaceful Protest: 1955-1968 Why did Martin Luther King become such an important Civil Rights leader? Organiser of campaigns: To co-ordinate the Montgomery bus boycott, an organisation called the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was created. The President of this was Martin Luther King. As President he successfully organised the practicalities of the boycott of which car pooling was most important. This was crucial in keeping the boycott going. The Albany Movement grew out of the arrest of the Freedom Riders in Albany, Georgia. During 1961 – 62 Martin Luther King and other leading civil rights activists visited the town to lead protests and meetings demanding an end to segregation. The tactics pursued were entirely those of non-violence. This was the first campaign that King organised himself but it failed to trigger any significant change in Albany and revealed two problems that faced the civil rights movement. The first problem was that non-violence would not necessarily work unless the white response to it was violent. In Albany, Laurie Pritchett, the chief of police understood that he needed to prevent any white violence, which limited the media interest and hence the effectiveness of the non-violent strategy. The second problem was that the

various civil rights groups (most notably SNCC, NAACP and SCLC) had different approaches to the most appropriate tactics to pursue and were not following a common policy of co-operation. The momentum of the civil rights movement had been lost at Albany and Martin Luther King aimed to regain this at Birmingham in 1963. He hoped that by engaging in acts of non-violence, a confrontation with white racists would be triggered that would lead to action by the Kennedy administration. A range of demonstrations demanding an end to segregation in Birmingham were organised. At each demonstration, protesters were arrested and the jails of Birmingham began to fill up. The Birmingham police subjected the marchers to a range of physical attacks. They came under fire from high-pressure water hoses and police dogs attacked them. The photographs that appeared in the media of children being attacked were highly damaging to those who wished to protect segregation at all costs. The consequence of the events at Birmingham was that there was some end to discrimination – there was to be desegregation in the stores and greater rights in employment. Furthermore, the events in Birmingham had persuaded Kennedy of the need for federal intervention in civil rights in order to prevent a complete breakdown in law and order. In early 1965, Martin Luther King joined the campaign to increase voter registration in the south. Selma was selected because only 1% of its black population were registered to vote. There were several months of demonstrations and attempts at registration in which a number of black protesters were arrested. Sheriff Jim Clark was seen on camera behaving in a brutal fashion towards the non-violent demonstrators. The climax of the campaign was to be a march from Selma to Montgomery. The first attempt

was violently broken up. The second attempt was banned due to the lack of a federal order and the third march went ahead, with this order, protected by the National Guard. The positive result of the events at Selma was that it led both Johnson and popular opinion to the view that further legislation was necessary. Thus, in 1965, the Voting Rights Act was passed. King's campaign in Chicago was not as successful. This is because the tactics had not properly been thought through. He thought that he could end de-facto segregation using the same methods as in the south but failed to realise that trying to remove poverty could not be achieved using the same tactics as those required to remove un-just laws. Tactics and Philosophy: The Montgomery bus boycott led to the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the emergence of Martin Luther King as a leading light within the civil rights movement. His contribution reinforced the philosophy of a non-violent approach to the achievement of change. Martin Luther King espoused a philosophy of civil disobedience. He often broke the unjust laws of the de jure discrimination of the south. He encouraged mass support for these actions. He insisted that no resistance should be offered to those who tried to stop them, whatever the treatment that they meted out. He believed in integration – that all should live together, whatever their colour, in harmony. The fact that passive resistance was likely to reduce the threat of violence and therefore encourage greater participation in the movement by ordinary people. That where there were violent responses, the attendant publicity would undermine those who opposed civil rights and encourage support for the protestors. His philosophy developed into activism and was used in all the campaigns that he organised including Albany, Birmingham

and Selma. They were successful because support would be gained for the peaceful Black Americans as they campaigned to change un-just laws whilst facing violent resistance from the whites who tried to defend them. Martin Luther King was among those who were arrested in Birmingham. While he was in prison, he wrote the 'Letter from Birmingham City Jail'. This clearly set out his reasons for the use of non-violence. This philosophy was adopted by a range of other Civil Rights Organisations and used in the campaigns that they organised. Examples include the SNCC when they were set up to co-ordinate the sit-ins and CORE in the Freedom Rides. The philosophy gained the same success when used by others. The philosophy was not successful in the north, notably Chicago, where poverty could not be solved by activism. Instead those in the north quickly rejected his philosophy, instead believing that Black Power offered more successful and realistic alternatives.

Speeches and Marches: On the first night of the Montgomery Bus Boycott King gave a rousing speech which spurred the boycotters to keep going. Eventually it lasted for 365 days. During the sit-ins King gave a speech at Shaw University. The SNCC grew out of this. The March on Washington was the largest civil rights demonstration in American history. It was impressively staged, peaceful, in complete contrast to the behaviour of the whites in Birmingham and thus persuaded congress to pass Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill into a Civil Rights Act. King's 'I have a Dream' speech provided the final nail in the coffin for segregation. King's marches were not always successful. The climax of the Selma campaign was to be a march from Selma to Montgomery. The first attempt was violently broken up. The second attempt was banned due to the lack of a federal order and the third

march went ahead, with this order, protected by the National Guard. It was King's decision not to carry on with the second march which meant people started to turn away from his philosophy. Inspiration: In Montgomery King was arrested for speeding (at 30 mph in a 25 mph zone) and following this his house was bombed. Despite this he still carried on and this acted as an inspiration to the boycotters as they would not experience discrimination as bad. On August 28th 1963, the largest civil rights demonstration in American history took place. Over 200, 000 protesters, black and white, from across the entire range of civil rights pressure groups, marched to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC. Martin Luther King addressed the crowd with his emotional and memorable 'I have a dream' speech. The event was an inspiration to Kennedy and confirmed his decision to move towards civil rights legislation. He was beginning to initiate this when he was assassinated in November 1963. Relationship with the Government: King's relationship with Kennedy was necessary so that the Civil Rights Bill could be proposed. His relationship with Johnson was crucial so that this (1964) and the Voting Rights Bill (1965) could be passed. This relationship was not always seen by black Americans as a positive. The climax of the Selma campaign was to be a march from Selma to Montgomery. The first attempt was violently broken up. The second attempt was banned due to the lack of a federal order and the third march went ahead, with this order, protected by the National Guard. It was King's decision not to carry on with the second march which meant people started to turn away from his philosophy. The relationship deteriorated as a result of King's rejection of Johnson's compromise with regards to the delegates from the Mississippi Freedom Summer being

allowed to attend the Democrat Primary but not being allowed to vote. The relationship worsened following King's attack on the Vietnam War in which he said that America was standing before the world ' gutted by their own barbarity'. This meant that no further Civil Rights legislation was passed by Johnson or Nixon. Why was Civil Rights Movement successful? Individual Black Americans: The Montgomery bus boycott began with the arrest of Rosa Parks when she refused to give up her seat to a white man. In September 1957, nine black students attempted to attend Central High School. The governor of Arkansas, Orval E. Faubus, prevented their entry by the use of the National Guard (state troops). When Faubus was forced to withdraw the National Guard by a federal court order, a crowd gathered to taunt and insult the children as they tried to enter the school. The sit-ins started in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1960 when four black college students sat down and ordered food at a whites-only counter in Woolworth's. Others joined these four students so that the scale of the protest grew rapidly and eventually the store was forced to close. Groups of black and white ' freedom riders' intended to travel from Washington DC to New Orleans. They found themselves subjected to considerable violence by southerners who wished to maintain segregation. In Anniston, Alabama, they were violently attacked and the bus they were riding was firebombed. Once more this provided evidence to liberal northerners of the attitudes that prevailed in the south and encouraged sympathy for their cause. Eventually, in response to the failure of southern police to control the violence, Kennedy sent in federal marshals and requested the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce *Boynton v Virginia*. In Albany Black Americans used a variety of campaign

methods ranging from sit-ins to marches. The right of James Meredith, a black student, to attend 'Ole Miss' (the University of Mississippi) was upheld by a federal court in the autumn of 1962. Ross Barnett, the governor of Mississippi, defied this order, so Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General sent federal marshals to uphold Meredith's right to attendance. Meredith's arrival at "Ole Miss" was accompanied by rioting in which two onlookers were killed and hundreds were injured. Kennedy had to send in federal troops to re-establish order and uphold Meredith's right to attendance. In Birmingham Black Americans reacted peacefully and put up with white violence which included police dogs and fire hoses. In the Freedom Summer they were willing to go through the hassle of being taken to register to vote despite the humiliating mechanisms that were put in place to stop them. In Selma Black Americans reacted peacefully and put up with white violence which included cattle prods. Work of the Supreme Court: In 1956, a federal district court ruled in the case of *Browder v Gayle* that segregation on the buses was unconstitutional. This ruling was upheld in the Supreme Court later the same year. This ended the Montgomery Bus boycott. The events in Little Rock could not have started without the *Brown* case which was used as a precedent. The Freedom Rides were designed to test the violation of the 1960 Supreme Court case of *Boynton v Virginia* that had declared segregation in bus and train stations that were used for inter-state transport (i. e. transport that crossed state lines) as unconstitutional. *Morgan v Virginia* (1946) was also cited. James Meredith used both the *Brown* case and *McLaurin v Oklahoma state university* as his justification. Civil Rights Organisations: In response to Rosa Park's arrest, a boycott of the buses was organised by the NAACP and

the local churches. To co-ordinate the Montgomery bus boycott, an organisation called the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was created. The Montgomery Bus Boycott led to the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the emergence of Martin Luther King as a leading light within the civil rights movement. This SCLC organised Albany, Birmingham and Selma To co-ordinate the sit-ins, a new organisation was set up. This was the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This worked with Martin Luther King's SCLC to extend the range of the movement e. g. wade-ins at segregated swimming pools. The Freedom Rides were organised in 1961 by the Congress of Racial Equality. Where the Civil Rights organisations worked together (Birmingham and the March on Washington) they were successful. When they did not (Albany and Chicago) they were not

Martin Luther King: 1. Organiser of Campaigns 2. Tactics and Philosophy 3. Speeches and Marches 4. Inspiration 5. Relationship with the Government

Tactics (Peaceful protest and Activism): Peaceful protest caused a successful boycott in Montgomery Activism led to presidential action in Little Rock The Sit-Ins led to the integration of various public facilities across the south The Freedom Rides represented the continuance of the policy of non-violent protest to break down segregation. Martin Luther King was among those who were arrested in Birmingham. While he was in prison, he wrote the ' Letter from Birmingham City Jail'. This clearly set out his reasons for the use of non-violence. Birmingham demonstrated how activism could lead to presidential action. This was followed on August 28th 1963 when the largest civil rights demonstration in American history took place. Over 200, 000 protesters, black and white, from across the entire range of civil rights pressure groups,

marched to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC. Martin Luther King addressed the crowd with his emotional and memorable 'I have a dream' speech. The event confirmed Kennedy's decision to move towards civil rights legislation. The combined tactics of Birmingham and Washington led to governmental change. Following the successful passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act attention turned to voter registration. Activists from the SNCC, CORE and the NAACP targeted Greenwood, Mississippi for a voter registration campaign. It was targeted because it had the lowest black voter registration of any state. Activists increased voter registration by escorting black Americans to registration offices. The KKK put up tremendous resistance during this campaign and the homes of 30 black people were fire bombed. Three Civil Rights workers were abducted and killed. 1,600 of 17,000 black people were successful in registering to vote. Black people were also turned away from polling stations during the Democratic Primary for the Presidential election of 1964. As a result activists set up the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) which held its own primary. Thus both primaries elected delegates to the Democratic Party Congress which would nominate the candidate for the 1964 Presidential election. Johnson's compromise was for the MFDP delegates to be honoured guests who could attend the conference but have no voting rights. The compromise was rejected and Fannie Lou Hamer arrived at the congress in Atlanta demanding to be accepted as an official delegate. The Selma Campaign was a continuation of the effort to register black people. King believed that Jim Clark would respond with violence; thus causing a success for activism. The tactics failed in Chicago as activism could not solve de-facto segregation that

was caused by poverty White Reactions: White reactions in Little Rock led to governmental involvement (Eisenhower) and thus change. White reactions during the Freedom Rides led to Robert Kennedy integrating interstate transport. The lack of white reactions in Albany led to no real change. White reactions in the case of James Meredith led to the involvement of Kennedy's administration The decision was taken to include children in the marches at Birmingham. This coincided with the decision of Eugene ' Bull' Connor, the Chief of Police of Birmingham, to take more drastic action to deter the marchers. The Birmingham police subjected the marchers to a range of physical attacks. They came under fire from high-pressure water hoses and police dogs attacked them. The photographs that appeared in the media of children being attacked were highly damaging to those who wished to protect segregation at all costs. In Selma there were several months of demonstrations and attempts at registration in which a number of black protesters were arrested. Sheriff Jim Clark was seen on camera behaving in a brutal fashion towards the non-violent demonstrators. The climax of the campaign was to be a march from Selma to Montgomery. The first attempt was violently broken up. This led to a federal order to allow the march which went ahead protected by the National Guard. White reactions in Chicago led to failure Presidential action: In Little Rock Eisenhower intervened by putting the National Guard under federal control and using them to escort the children safely into school. To ensure the safety of the children, the troops patrolled the school for the rest of the year. Eisenhower introduced two Civil Rights Acts in his second term in office. Both were watered down in order to get them through Congress. The 1957 Civil Rights Act established a Civil

Rights Commission for two years and a Civil Rights Division to investigate attempts to stop blacks voting. The 1960 Civil Rights Act extended the life of the Civil Rights Commission and introduced federal court referees whose responsibility was to help register blacks in areas where they had previously found it difficult to register. The content of the legislation was limited.

Kennedy had to intervene as a result of the violence created by the Freedom Rides. The events in Birmingham had persuaded Kennedy of the need for federal intervention in civil rights in order to prevent a complete breakdown in law and order. In July 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed. It aimed to eliminate the racial injustice that had been experienced by blacks since Reconstruction. Among its key terms were the following elements:

Segregation in public places and facilities was banned. The desegregation of schools was to be speeded up by the intervention of the Attorney General. Discrimination in the hiring, firing and paying of workers was prohibited. It was made more difficult to use devices such as literacy tests to exclude blacks from voting. Any programme that received federal assistance was forbidden to discriminate against blacks. The positive result of the events at Selma was that it led both Johnson and popular opinion to the view that further legislation was necessary. Thus, in 1965, the Voting Rights Act was passed. Literacy tests and all other devices that had been used in the past to prevent blacks from voting were outlawed. Federal examiners were to investigate registration in areas of low registration. Other Exam Questions: 1. Why was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed? . How far do you agree that the assassination of President Kennedy was the main reason for the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964? 3. How far was the leadership of Martin Luther

King responsible for the gains made by the civil rights movement in the years 1955-64? 4. How far do you agree that the Federal Government became more sympathetic to civil rights in the period 1945-64? 5. Why was civil and legal equality for black Americans not achieved until 1964-65? Black Power and the use of violence: How far is it accurate to say that the main aim of the black power movements was to disassociate from white Americans? Non Integration into white society Malcolm X saw black people as Africans rather than Americans. There was little point trying to integrate into white society which was corrupt and racist Malcolm X: ' Who wants to sit on the toilet next to a white? ' Instead of King's American ' dream' he saw only a ' nightmare' Stokely Carmichael began to stress the importance of black control over public services rather than integration. This would avoid tokenism. The Nation of Islam felt that white people would never stop trying to enslave black people and thus black freedom was only possible in an all black society. Rejection of non-violence Malcolm X rejected the non-violence principle of the mainstream Civil Rights Movement Self defence against white aggression and oppression was a legitimate weapon Most regarded his views as unacceptable, only few militant NAACP and SNCC accepted them Violence may have been merely aimed at frightening authorities into action In 1966 the shooting of James Meredith prompted the SNCC to emphasise its commitment to non-violence. He was shot and injured on his March against Fear. Carmichael argued that this shooting underlined the need for black people to use violence to defend themselves. CORE also followed the SNCC in this direction following the resignation of Farmer in 1966. One of the founding principles of the Black panthers was self defence. Black people

needed this as they could not trust the police or justice system. The police ‘occupied’ the ghettos in the same way that the army occupied Vietnam. Thus they organised a militia to patrol black neighbourhoods wearing a uniform. If a police patrol stopped a black American then they would observe the police. This highlighted police abuses and made people aware of their legal rights. There were attempts to ban these patrols in California but this just led to further media attention Black Supremacy – Black people should be in complete control of their own destiny Black development needed to be separate from white people This involves a rejection of American democratic values as a sham because white people would never apply these to the black community Unlike King, Malcolm X had lived in the north and had seen the attitude of northern whites to black Americans. Malcolm X believed that they were no better than southern racists and in some sense they were worse. At least southerners were open in their racism. Racism was more disguised in the north Malcolm X: Northern white liberals were the worse: ‘Wolves in sheep’s clothing’ Black people needed to work out their own salvation and did not need the assistance of friendly white people to do it Some black Americans believed that white people could not understand the experience of black Americans or the problems they faced. As a result the SNCC and CORE moved away from mixed membership The absence of legal segregation in the north meant that northern blacks gained little from their legal victories. Thus they felt that they could not use the law. The Black Panthers were critical of the Civil Rights Leadership who chose to work with white people for being too cautious and failing to understand the needs of the black working class Radical social change in housing and education:

1959 – Malcolm X was subject of a national television programme: The Hate that Hate produced Managed to get across true extent of racist feeling OF USA which many had assumed was confined to the south Urban ghettos of the USA were full of crime, prostitution, drugs and unemployment. The most serious social problems imaginable. Believed that if nothing was done then violence would erupt The SNCC and CORE began to focus on the economic and political issues faced by black citizens in northern ghettos. One of the founding principles of the Black Panthers was economic improvement. They wanted government investment in black neighbourhoods. They organised welfare schemes to improve lives. Programmes of 1968 planned free breakfast for school children, free health clinics and free ‘ liberation schools’

Rejection of King: The SNCC and CORE accused him of treating them as junior partners. CORE felt that he was not supportive of their campaigns, such as the Freedom Rides. They criticised King for dominating media attention They did not like the fact that King was working too closely to the government. Because they failed to protect protestors in campaigns. This all damaged King’s reputation and showed that he was not really the spokesman for every black citizen in America. His weakness was obvious in the Watts Riots when the crowd ignored his plea to end violence How far is it accurate to say that Black Power achieved nothing for the American people? Influenced King Became increasingly concerned with emphasising that black people had a lot to be proud of King also now stressed the importance of social and economic issues (as well as segregation issues) Black Power had helped force this up the agenda In response to Chicago King planned the Poor People’s Campaign. King aimed to create a coalition big enough to

tackle the social and economic problems identified during the Chicago campaign. This would include ALL poor people. King no longer felt that he could work within the current system but had to make significant demands to end the ghettos. Political and Economic achievements Practical help was offered to people living in ghettos. They were more attractive than the SCLC to northern working class blacks. Thus they could organise high profile campaigns. Black people began to control their own communities. SNCC's Free D. C. Movement aimed to bring 'home rule' to the community of Washington DC. By the end of 1966 they won the right to elect their own school boards and \$3 million of government funding was invested to improve policing. In New York an SNCC campaign saw black people take control of the Intermediate School 201 in Harlem. In Mississippi they set up the Child Development Group of Mississippi. They raised \$1.5 million from the churches to set up 85 Head Start Centres to support young children. The initiatives of the Black Panthers helped tens of thousands of people. 9 Black Panther Clinics were set up to treat sickle cell anaemia Gave black community sense of pride Gained confidence in their race and culture that they had not previously had (King did not give them this and that's why Malcolm X predicted violence would erupt) It meant a flourishing of black literature, music, theatre, fashion and food in the 1970s. Miles Davis formed an all black band using ideas from traditional African music and current black artists like Hendrix. Carmichael and Newton emphasised the study of black history in order to connect them with their past and link them to powerful figures. Malcolm X stressed the need for them to understand their heritage. Media portrayal: The movement caused a change in the way they were

portrayed in the media. Star Trek broke new ground with a black character. It also featured an inter-racial kiss. Catwoman in Batman was an assertive black figure. Bill Cosby's role in *I Spy* is another example. Black athletes (Smith and Carlos) kept Black Power in the news giving the salute in the 1968 games. It brought division to the movement. Some campaigners developed increasingly militant policies and groups like SNCC were broken by the strain. SNCC/CORE/Black Panthers March against Fear. Problems of accepting violence. It undermined King's policy of maintaining the moral high ground. Movement lost white sympathy that King worked so hard to gain (e.g. government). Johnson was dismayed by the rioting after the Voting Rights Act. Lack of aims. Never quite clear what the aims of black power were. Separate state? / Return to Africa? / Revolution + overthrow of white rule? Some of the aims were unrealistic. Why did many black citizens of the USA still face poverty and discrimination in 1968? Mistakes of King (incorrect tactics). In 1966, Martin Luther King took his tactics of non-violence to the north to try to address the problem of de facto segregation. Chicago was selected as the target. There were significant problems to be surmounted in making this transition from the south to the north. King had not fully thought through the tactics he intended to use and Richard Daley, the Mayor of Chicago, was unlikely to react to demonstrations in the same way as Connor or Clark. The first rally in Chicago was disappointing as only 30,000 people attended. A heat wave meant that the black people used fire hydrants to cool themselves. The authorities wanted these shut off to preserve water in case of a fire. Police arrived to enforce this and a riot erupted. The Black Americans were now reacting violently. King then tried to engage the

community in peaceful protest and organised marches through all white areas. In response to Chicago King planned the Poor People's Campaign. King aimed to create a coalition big enough to tackle the social and economic problems identified during the Chicago campaign. This would include ALL poor people. King no longer felt that he could work within the current system but had to make significant demands to end the ghettos. President Johnson, due to a lack of money made it clear that he could not support the campaign. White Reactions In Chicago the whites fought back. At the Gage Park march King was bombarded with rocks and 1000 police officers could not stop the violent white crowds. King said that he had never seen mobs as hostile. The violence did cause Daley (mayor of Chicago) to compromise and made promises to reform housing. Following re-election these promises were ignored. Influence of Black Power Malcolm X was an inspirational speaker and his ideas included the following elements: A belief that blacks should distance themselves from white society and not attempt the integration advocated by Martin Luther King and his followers. He believed that blacks should develop their own organisations and self-help completely separate from those of white society. A belief that non-violence in the face of white aggression was not an appropriate response. He argued that when blacks were faced with white oppression then armed self-defence was justifiable. King's attention was diverted away from plans for the PFC by the Memphis Sanitation Workers' strike. The authorities refused to recognise the workers union and used tear gas to break up the marches. King helped to lead a peaceful march but the marchers soon became violent and they attacked and looted shops. Police responded with tear gas. King fled from

the violence. King tried to organise another march but he was assassinated. Black Americans responded to King's assassination with violence. Stokely Carmichael (head of the SNCC) summed up the feeling behind the violence in the following words: 'When white America killed Dr King, she declared war on us... Black people have to survive, and the only way they will survive is by getting a gun'. Lack of Presidential action Eisenhower did not believe that it was the government's job to improve conditions for black people. Thus he was reluctant to get involved in Little Rock and his 1957 Civil Rights Act was a nauseating sham. It established a Civil Rights Commission and Division (to investigate attempts to stop black Americans voting) with limited powers. The 1960 Civil Rights Act introduced Federal Court Referees to aid this but the act was not much stronger. Despite his promises Kennedy was slow to use his power to help black people. This was because he disagreed with the methods of the campaigners. He was horrified by the violence of the Freedom Rides. The Birmingham campaign forced him to show decisive leadership. The controversy over the MFDP signalled a break down in relationship between President Johnson and the civil rights campaigners. It made many believe that the political system was racist and so militant methods would be better. It was clear that the tactics of non-violence might not find a ready audience in the north and west – only five days after the Voting Rights Act was passed, the Watts riots had erupted in Los Angeles leaving thirty-four dead. The 1965 Moynihan report was a study of the economic conditions of black Americans. The report drew attention to the high levels of crime and the poor living conditions within black communities. Johnson hoped to use this to promote economic equality. The idea backfired.

because black leaders became horrified that the report blamed black people for their economic problems and suggested that they were incapable of helping themselves. Many now argued against governmental help Johnson was the most radical of the presidents but once the Civil Rights leaders criticised his policies in Vietnam, he distanced himself from the campaign.

Internal divisions After Selma, problems for the civil rights movement began to emerge. The climax of the Selma campaign was the march from Selma to Montgomery. The first attempt ended just outside Selma when the police violently forced them to turn back. During the second attempt Johnson successfully pressurised King to force them to turn back. This led to a lessening of support to King. The third attempt was finally successful The various strands that comprised the movement were increasingly disagreeing over tactics leading to a breakdown in co-operation between them. The divisions between the SCLC and local Chicago activists made organisation difficult (in the Chicago campaign). When demonstrators entered an area in which whites lived they were faced by racist abuse and violence. Many black citizens in the north lost faith in the SCLC and turned to more radical black leadership

Vietnam War The Vietnam War had created a split between civil rights radicals and liberal politicians, including Johnson. It had diverted resources from social projects designed to promote social justice Congress They weakened the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1968. Senator James Storm Thurmond stages the longest one-person filibuster in American history to try and kill the 1957 bill. He spoke for 24 hours and 18 minutes 18 southern Democrats worked in teams to keep a filibuster going for over 125 hours to block Eisenhower's 1960 bill. The 1968 Civil Rights Act was

weakened so that its promises could not be enforced by the government. FBI They used their power to undermine the Civil Rights movement. Hoover was head from 1924-1972. He suspected that the organisations had links to the Communist party and therefore posed a threat to democracy, thus he set up COINTELPRO to investigate radical groups. They spied, broke into their officers and harassed activists. Their main tactic was infiltration. State and Local Government: State governments did everything in their power to resist change. For example Faubus in Little Rock and Daley in Chicago. The police forces were strong obstacles including Eugene Connor and Jim Clark.

Pritchett's more sophisticated methods delayed change. How far was the Civil Rights Movement a success for black Americans by 1968? Public Opinion This had changed considerably outside the Deep South. Books, television shows, magazines and radio all played positive attention to the issue. In 1963 nine books a week were published on the issue. The churches lent support and there were 65 Catholic organisations in 30 different states

Integration 1946 – Morgan V Virginia prohibited segregation on interstate transport 1956 – Browder V Gayle (upheld in the Supreme Court) stated segregation on busses to be unconstitutional 1960 – Boynton V Virginia stated segregation in interstate transport to be unconstitutional The events in Birmingham led to an end of discrimination in stores and brought greater employment rights in one of the toughest areas to do so The 1964 Civil Rights Act banned segregation in public places and facilities and by 1965 161 cities had become segregated Employment Truman supported the FEPC which prohibited discrimination in federal and defence employment practises Truman used Executive Orders to try and facilitate fair employment practises

for Black Americans The 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination in the hiring, firing and paying of workers However the black unemployment rate remained high and in 1968 black families earned 61% that of a white family (on average) Voting Rights: The 1957 Civil Rights Act established a Civil Rights Commission and a Civil Rights Division. This was set up to investigate attempts to stop black Americans voting. The 1960 Civil Rights Act introduced Federal Court referees to help blacks register The 1964 Civil Rights Act made it more difficult to use devices such as literacy tests. The Voting Rights Campaign in 1965 led to the Voting Rights Act which outlawed all attempts to stop black Americans voting. In 1960 4 million black Americans voted and in 1964 it was 6 million. By 1968 3.1 million black Americans were registered to vote in the south. Housing: In 1968 Ghettos still existed. Some small attempts were made: In 1962 Kennedy signed an executive order to end segregation in federal housing construction. Daley made vague promises in Chicago to integrate housing. The 1967 Kerner report recommended changes but these were ignored due to white opposition. Education: In 1950 McLaurin v Oklahoma State University upheld the rights of black students to receive equal higher education The Brown case said that segregation in schools was unconstitutional, although Brown II said that this only had to happen with 'all deliberate speed' Eisenhower put the National Guard under federal control, in Little Rock, in order to escort the nine children into school. Federal troops were sent to Mississippi to aid Meredith's entry into University The 1964 Civil Rights Act allowed the Attorney General to speed up the desegregation of schools. By 1968 change was still limited as in 1968 the % of black southerners in segregated schools

was 58%. Justice: The 1964 Civil Rights Act gave a greater chance of a fair legal hearing Other Exam Questions: 1. How far do you agree that differences in personality were the main cause of the divisions in the civil rights movement in the late 1960s? 2. How far do you agree that Black Power achieved little for Black Americans? 3. How far do you agree that the major consequence of divisions within the Civil Rights movement was that progress towards racial equality slowed down? 4. How far did the methods used by Civil Rights campaigners change in the years 1954-68? 5. How far had equality been achieved for Black Americans by 1968? 6. To what extent were Black Americans still facing discrimination in 1968? Protest Culture: The Sixties and a Generation What caused the emergence of counterculture? The late 1950s and 1960s witnessed the growth of a counterculture that challenged some of America's deepest traditions. The counterculture was made up of hippies (who promoted communities that focussed on 'free love' and experimented with drugs), Black Panthers, Feminists and Peaceniks (a term of abuse used to describe anti-war campaigners). Economic Boom: The 1950s were a period of low inflation and negligible unemployment. 60% of America worked in professional and non-manual jobs (White Collar occupations). The number of Americans owning their own homes increased dramatically. Wages for the working class leapt dramatically. This created a consumer boom. Everyone seemed to be living in some measure of luxury. Wages for production workers leapt by 70% between 1950 and 1970. The number of car owners rose dramatically; one in two owned cars by 1970. America had entered an age of 'Populuxe', a time when everyone could afford to live in some measure of luxury. The affluence of this period made

the middle class feel less anxious about greater opportunities for black people. The attitude of the Great Depression was lost in which they believed for others to benefit, they would have to lose. Young people became affected by the long period of affluence. The generation born in the decade following WWII became known as ' Baby Boomers' because they had never known poverty or economic depression. They were better educated than any generation before them and thus were less materialistic and more interested in political issues. They were willing to make sacrifices for a good cause and this idealism became expressed in the counterculture. Examples included the Hippies who were from a middle class background; not a single cheque for Woodstock bounced. Liberal Politics Kennedy launched a number of ground breaking initiatives that appealed to the ambition and optimism of the youth. He urged them ' Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country' He established Peace Corps which sent volunteers to the developing world. He also committed the government to a multi-million dollar space programme with the aim of landing a man on the moon by the end of the 1960s. Both of these ideas appealed to the ideals of self sacrifice and ambition. By 1966 15, 000 volunteers worked as part of the Peace Corps and in 1969 the Apollo mission landed on the moon. Kennedy aimed to introduce better healthcare and increase funding for education. This was known as the ' New Frontier'. Congress blocked most of his policies. Johnson also had a vision of a more equal society. He believed that the new found wealth should be used to help the poor. Johnson worked with congress to pass 435 bills which committed \$1. 5 billion to improve schools and \$2. 9 to regenerate inner cities. His 1965 Social Security Act guaranteed free

healthcare to all people aged 65 and over

The conformity of 1950s and 1960s mainstream culture

The 1950s and 1960s introduced a mass new culture in which books, newspapers and television programmes were mass produced and consumed by society. Many said that this filled Americans with worthless ideas and distracted them from poverty. The dominance of large companies changed the culture from independence and individualism. Big business valued conformity and this was unattractive to the American youth who turned to protest. Teenagers were targeted by television such as Disney. Disney films contained many counter cultural values. For example rock music (The Mickey Mouse Club), African and Hispanic dance (The Three Caballeros) and references to a drug culture (Fantasia). The heroes were often rebels who stood up to mainstream culture. For example Robin Hood who steals from the rich and gives to the poor and who stands up to the corrupt government, in the form of the Sherriff of Nottingham

Films and novels that appealed to young people focussed on a mis-match between the young heroes and the society they found themselves in. In the 1955 film, Rebel without a Cause, James Dean played a teenager who rejects the authority of his parents and his school teachers. Writers questioned American morality and the beatniks encouraged writers to experiment with drugs and sex. Naked Lunch (1959) described the journey of a drug addict across America. They rejected the 'square' American work ethic in favour of leisure in which to read, think and experiment with art and life. This was reflected in the way they dressed: goatees, sunglasses, black tops, berets and shoulder length hair that used phrases such as 'cool man'

Hippies rejected the mass produced mainstream in favour of a more natural