



Make Justice a Reality

“Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. . . . Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God’s children.”

—Martin Luther King, Jr., “I have a dream” speech, 1963

◀ Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Civil Rights Movement Continues

Objectives

- Explore Martin Luther King’s use of nonviolent protest to gain equal rights.
- Find out how new federal legislation helped protect civil rights.
- Understand why the civil rights movement broke up into several groups.
- Analyze the achievements and failures of the civil rights movement.

Reading Skill

Draw Logical Conclusions Logic is the cornerstone of drawing conclusions. You must always ask yourself: Does this conclusion make sense? Does it make sense with the evidence in the text? Does it make sense with what I know about these people and their situation? Does it make sense with what I know about the world and how people, in general, act? If the answer to all these questions is yes, you have drawn a logical conclusion.

Key Terms and People

civil disobedience	Stokely Carmichael
sit-in	ghetto
James Meredith	affirmative action
Malcolm X	

Why It Matters Emboldened by the gains of the 1950s and the early 1960s, the civil rights movement continued to gain momentum. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., led protest actions based on a firm belief in nonviolence. However, other activists felt that stronger methods were needed.

Section Focus Question: How did the civil rights movement gain momentum?

King’s Strategy of Nonviolence

The Montgomery bus boycott had brought forth a dynamic civil rights leader in Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The boycott also provided the first test of King’s belief in civil disobedience, or the peaceful refusal to obey unjust laws. As you have read in Chapter 12, the philosophy of civil disobedience had been developed by the nineteenth-century American writer Henry David Thoreau.

Sources of King’s Ideas King’s belief in nonviolent protest was rooted in Christian teachings. Like his father and grandfather, King was a Baptist minister. Echoing Jesus, King told his followers that they should always meet hate with love.

King also studied the ideas of India’s Mohandas Gandhi. Gandhi had led a campaign of nonviolent resistance to win India’s freedom from British colonial rule. Like Gandhi, King taught that one should resist injustice even if it meant going to jail or enduring violence.

In addition, King owed much of his thinking to A. Philip Randolph, the prominent African American labor leader. Randolph championed a strategy of nonviolent mass protest.

SCLC To build on the momentum of the Montgomery bus boycott, King joined with other African American church leaders to found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. The goal of the organization was full equality for African Americans. In their first official statement, SCLC leaders declared their commitment to nonviolent civil disobedience:

“No matter how great the obstacles and suffering, we urge all Negroes to reject segregation. But far beyond this, we call upon them to . . . understand that non-violence is not a symbol of weakness or cowardice, but as Jesus demonstrated, non-violent resistance transforms weakness into strength and breeds courage in face of danger.”

—Southern Christian Leadership Conference, “A Statement to the South and to the Nation”

The SCLC helped shift the base of the civil rights movement. Most early civil rights activity had been dominated by northerners. Now, African American churches in the South took the lead in organizing resistance to injustice. Under King’s leadership, the SCLC would be in the forefront of many civil rights protests in the 1960s.

✓Checkpoint Identify three sources of King’s philosophy of nonviolent protest.

Vocabulary Builder

transform (trahns FORM) **v.** to change the form, appearance, or nature of something

Links Across Time

Gandhi Preaches Nonviolence

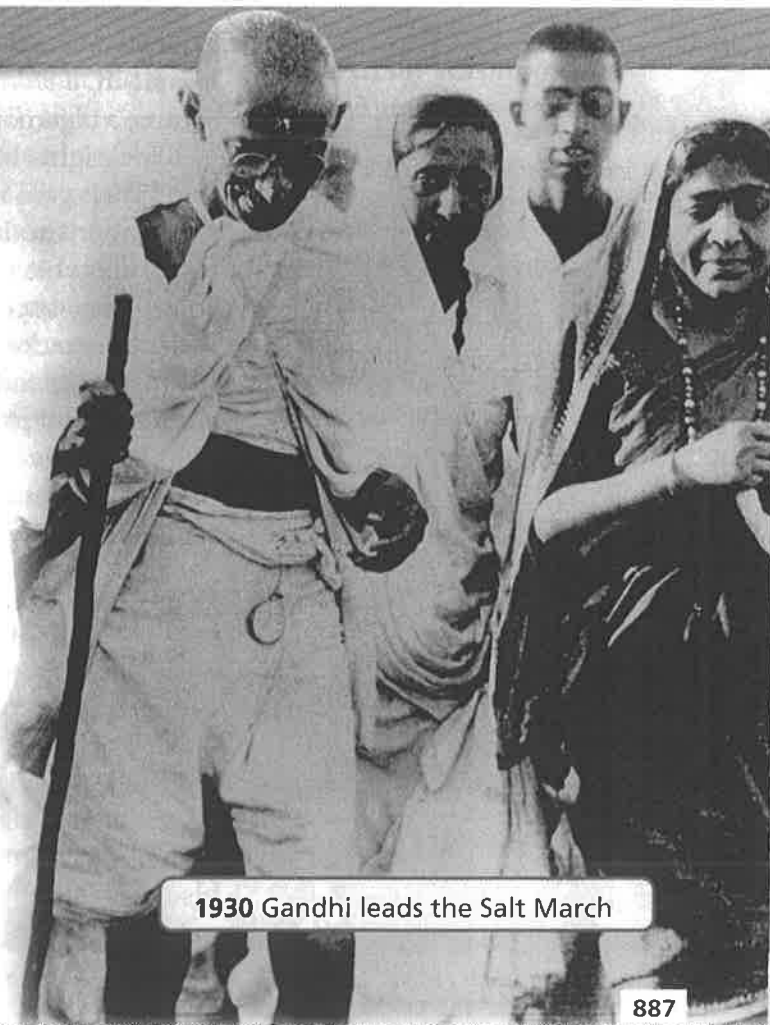
1930 Mohandas Gandhi of India led a march to protest British laws which forbade Indians from extracting their own salt from seawater. During the Salt March, tens of thousands of peaceful protesters were arrested or beaten. But they refused to give in.

1955–1968 Inspired by Gandhi’s methods, Martin Luther King, Jr., led a series of nonviolent civil rights protests.

Link to Today

Honoring Gandhi and King Today, both Gandhi and King are widely honored for their leadership and courage. A federal holiday in January commemorates King’s birthday.

For: The legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.
Visit: PHSchool.com
Web Code: mvc-9263



1930 Gandhi leads the Salt March

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To learn more about the civil rights movement, view the video.

A Lunch Counter Sit-in Here, civil rights workers challenge segregation laws by sitting together at a “whites only” lunch counter in Jackson, Mississippi. The three refused to move even when the jeering crowd covered them with ketchup, mustard, and sugar. **Critical Thinking: Frame Questions** Write one question you would like to ask the three protesters and one question you would like to ask the crowd.



Nonviolent Protest Spreads

Nonviolent protest took many forms. In 1960, four African American college students sat down at a “whites only” lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, and ordered coffee. The students refused to move unless they were served. Word of the incident quickly spread. The sit-in, a form of protest in which people sit and refuse to leave, became a common tool to protest segregation.

Civil rights leaders organized the first of many Freedom Rides in 1961. Their goal was to test a recent Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregation in interstate travel. Thirteen Freedom Riders—seven black, six white—set out on two buses for a trip through the Deep South. They successfully integrated several bus stations before being violently attacked in Alabama.

In 1962, a federal court ordered the University of Mississippi to admit James Meredith, an African American student. When Meredith arrived on campus, riots broke out in protest. Two people were killed and hundreds more were injured. President Kennedy sent in federal troops to restore order and allow Meredith to register.

Protests in Birmingham Early in 1963, the SCLC launched massive demonstrations to protest discrimination in Birmingham, Alabama. Thousands of African Americans, including many children, marched peacefully through Birmingham. Police used dogs, fire hoses, and electric cattle prods against the marchers. Horrified Americans watched the violence unfold on television.

Finally, under intense pressure from business interests in the city, Birmingham authorities agreed to desegregate public facilities. They also agreed to hire African American clerks and salespersons.

Vocabulary Builder

restore (ree STOR) *v.* to bring back to a normal state

March on Washington After the events in Birmingham, President Kennedy sent Congress the strongest civil rights bill in the nation's history. To focus attention on the bill, civil rights leaders proposed a march on the nation's capital. The March on Washington took place on August 28, 1963. The sight of nearly 250,000 peacefully assembled citizens stirred more Americans to support civil rights.

Many people, including Christian and Jewish religious leaders, gave speeches that day. But none moved the crowd as did King. His voice rang as he proclaimed, "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skins but the content of their character."

Checkpoint How did Freedom Riders protest segregation?

Civil Rights Legislation

The civil rights movement now progressed to a new stage. Repelled by the violence against peaceful protesters, Americans pressured their representatives in Congress to take action.

Civil Rights Act of 1964 Kennedy was assassinated before he could get his civil rights bill through Congress. The new President, Lyndon Johnson, was determined to move the legislation along.

Pushed hard by Johnson, Congress passed the sweeping Civil Rights Act of 1964. It banned discrimination in public facilities and outlawed discrimination in employment. It also provided for faster school desegregation and further protected voting rights.

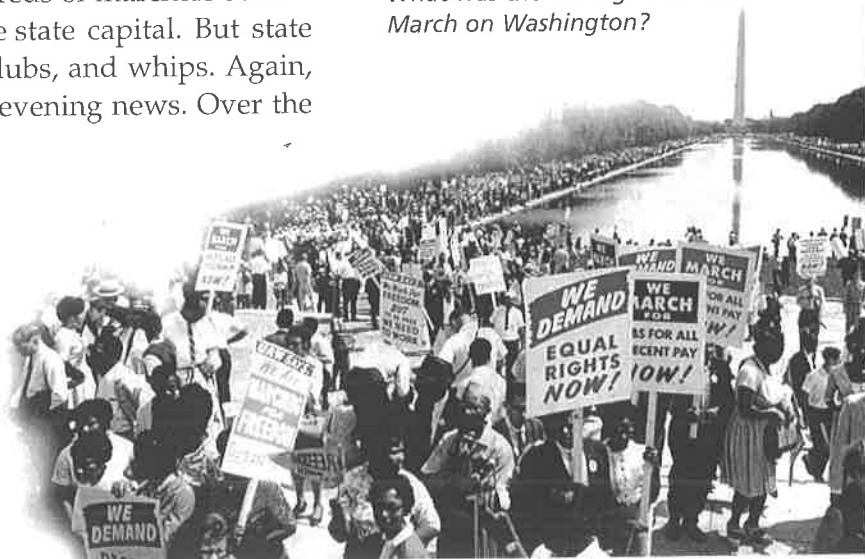
Battle for Voting Rights Still, African Americans in the South continued to face barriers to voting. In 1964, civil rights groups mounted an all-out effort to register African American voters in Mississippi. About a thousand volunteers, mostly college students, answered the call. The project had barely begun when three young volunteers disappeared. They were later found murdered. Other violence included beatings, shootings, and church bombings.

In March 1965, King staged a mass protest in Alabama to draw attention to the issue of voting rights. Hundreds of marchers set out from the city of Selma to Montgomery, the state capital. But state troopers set upon marchers with tear gas, clubs, and whips. Again, Americans witnessed the bloodshed on the evening news. Over the next two days, people in more than 80 cities demonstrated against the violence and demanded passage of a voting rights act.

Voting Rights Act In the aftermath of Selma, President Johnson went on national television to support a strong voting rights law. That summer, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It banned literacy tests and other barriers to African American voting.

March on Washington

In one of the largest peaceful demonstrations in American history, a quarter of a million people marched on the nation's capital on August 28, 1963. Here, protesters gather around the reflecting pool in front of the Washington Monument. **Critical Thinking: Apply Information** What was the chief goal of the March on Washington?



The Voting Rights Act also permitted federal officials to register voters directly in states that practiced discrimination. In the next three years, federal voting examiners registered more than 150,000 African Americans in the South.

✓Checkpoint What were the goals of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

The Movement Splinters

Some African Americans grew impatient with the gradual pace of the civil rights movement. They turned to more militant leaders.

Malcolm X One of the best known of these leaders was Malcolm X. Born Malcolm Little, he renounced what he called his “slave name” and adopted “X” as a symbol of his lost African name. He embraced the Nation of Islam, a form of Islam whose members were known as Black Muslims.

Malcolm X rejected the goal of integration altogether. “An integrated cup of coffee isn’t sufficient pay for four hundred years of slave labor,” he insisted. Instead, he called on African Americans to separate completely from white society.

Later, Malcolm X severed his ties with the Nation of Islam. He rejected separatism and spoke instead of an “honest white-black brotherhood.” Before he could fully develop these new ideas, he was shot to death in 1965. Three Black Muslims were convicted of the crime.

Black Power Movement Others also grew frustrated with King’s nonviolent approach. Stokely Carmichael argued that African Americans should fight back if attacked. Carmichael and others developed a new approach, called “black power.” They urged African Americans to achieve economic independence by starting and supporting their own businesses. They also called on African Americans to take pride in their own heritage.

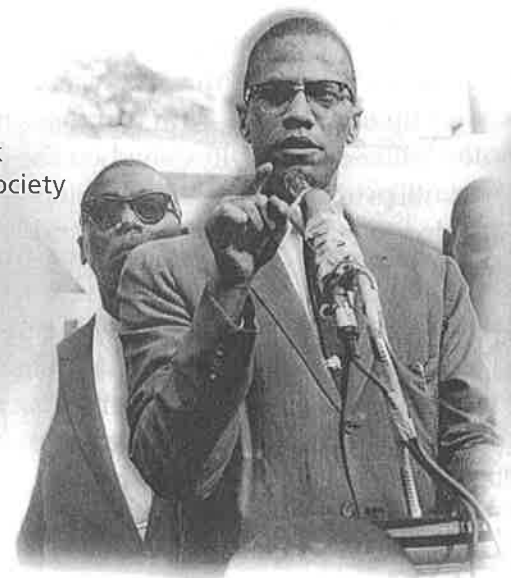
Militant Voices

Nonviolence dominated the early stages of the civil rights movement. By the mid-1960s, more-militant voices had emerged. **Critical Thinking: Compare** How did the ideas of Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael differ from the ideas of Martin Luther King, Jr.?



Malcolm X
Called for African Americans to break away from white society

Black power movement
Called for economic independence for African Americans



Cause and Effect

CAUSES

- Segregation laws and discrimination lead to the unequal treatment of African Americans.
- The NAACP is formed to fight discrimination.
- African Americans expect equal treatment at home after serving in World War II.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

EFFECTS

- *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* outlaws segregation in schools.
- Martin Luther King, Jr., emerges as a civil rights leader.
- Congress passes Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act.
- African Americans make political and economic gains.
- Other groups are inspired to seek equal rights.

Reading Charts

Skills Activity

The long-term causes of the civil rights movement go as far back as the days of slavery. The long-term effects are still being felt today.

(a) **Interpret Charts** How did World War II help spur the civil rights movement?

(b) **Analyze Cause and Effect** Which effect of the civil rights movement do you consider the most important? Why?

Protests Turn Violent The civil rights movement had focused mainly on ending segregation in the South. It had done little to ease the hardships of the millions of African Americans who were crowded into ghettos, or poor run-down neighborhoods, in northern cities.

In August 1965, urban discontent exploded into violence. One of the worst incidents occurred in Watts, a primarily African American area of Los Angeles. Angered by what they saw as an act of brutality by police, residents of Watts burned cars and looted stores. More than 1,000 people were killed or injured.

Over the next two years, dozens of other cities exploded with violence and destruction. A presidential commission appointed to study the situation warned, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

King Is Killed In 1968, King traveled the country to build support for a Poor People's Campaign to attack economic inequality. On the evening of April 3, King told a gathering in Memphis, Tennessee: "I may not get there with you. But . . . we, as a people, will get to the promised land."

The next day, King was shot to death. A white segregationist was later tried and convicted of the crime. Despite a plea from President Johnson, riots broke out in cities across the nation. With King's death, a major era of the civil rights movement came to an end.

Checkpoint What was meant by "black power"?



Draw Logical Conclusions

Draw a conclusion about the reaction of different Americans to the pace of civil rights change.

Summing Up the Civil Rights Era

The civil rights movement of the 1960s achieved many important and lasting results. Although it did not end all inequality, it did end legal segregation and it opened education and voting rights to all.

A Larger Role in Government As more African Americans participated in the political process, the number of African American elected officials increased. For the first time, African American mayors took office in large cities, such as Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, and Newark.

African Americans made gains in the federal government as well. In 1966, Edward Brooke of Massachusetts became the first African American senator since Reconstruction. A year later, President Johnson appointed Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court.

Affirmative Action Many gains came as a result of affirmative action programs. Under affirmative action, businesses and schools were encouraged to give preference to members of groups that had been discriminated against in the past.

By the 1970s, thousands of African Americans were attending colleges or entering professions such as medicine or law. Still, a growing number of Americans charged that affirmative action was a form of "reverse discrimination" because it unfairly favored one group of people over another.

☒ **Checkpoint** What gains did African Americans make in government?

★ **Looking Back and Ahead** African Americans made historic gains during the civil rights era. As you will read in the next section, other groups also sought to win equal rights.



Justice Thurgood Marshall

Section 3 | Check Your Progress

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Comprehension and Critical Thinking

1. (a) **Describe** What tactics did Martin Luther King, Jr., favor in the fight for civil rights?
(b) **Contrast** How did the views of Malcolm X differ from those of King?
2. (a) **Recall** What were the terms of the Voting Rights Act of 1965?
(b) **Evaluate Information** Why did supporters of the Voting Rights Act favor federal action rather than action on the state level?

Reading Skill

3. Draw Logical Conclusions

What can you conclude about the role of television in the civil rights movement?

Key Terms

Complete each of the following sentences so that the second part further explains the first part and clearly shows your understanding of the key term.

4. In northern cities, poor African Americans often lived in ghettos, _____.

5. Some economic gains came as the result of affirmative action, _____.

6. African Americans who ate at "whites only" lunch counters practiced civil disobedience, _____.

Writing

7. Use the Internet to gather more background information about one of the people or events discussed in this section. Then, list three important details from the information you found.