



EDEXCEL INTERNATIONAL GCSE (9–1)

HISTORY

A DIVIDED UNION: CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE USA, 1945–74



Student Book

Kirsty Taylor

Series Editor: Nigel Kelly



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SAMPLE

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SAMPLE

ABOUT THIS BOOK

This book is written for students following the Edexcel International GCSE (9–1) History specification and covers one unit of the course. This unit is A Divided Union: Civil Rights in the USA, 1945–74, one of the Depth Studies. The History course has been structured so that teaching and learning can take place in any order, both in the classroom and in any independent learning. The book contains five chapters which match the five areas of content in the specification:

- The Red Scare and McCarthyism
- Civil rights in the 1950s
- The impact of civil rights protests, 1960–74
- Other protest movements: students, women, anti-Vietnam
- Nixon and Watergate

Each chapter is split into multiple sections to break down content into manageable chunks and to ensure full coverage of the specification.

Each chapter features a mix of learning and activities. Sources are embedded throughout to develop your understanding and exam-style questions help you to put learning into practice. Recap pages at the end of each chapter summarise key information and let you check your understanding. Exam guidance pages help you prepare confidently for the exam.

Learning Objectives Each section starts with a list of what you will learn in it. They are carefully tailored to address key assessment objectives central to the course.

Activity Each chapter includes activities to help check and embed knowledge and understanding.

Source Photos, cartoons and text sources are used to explain events and show you what people from the period said, thought or created, helping you to build your understanding.

THE RED SCARE CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE USA, 1945–74 3

1.1 BACKGROUND: THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

LEARNING OBJECTIVE

- Understand the way the US government works.

Throughout this book you will find terms such as 'the **Constitution**' and '**Congress**'. These are all part of the political system in the United States of America. How does that system work?

The Constitution of the United States was produced in 1791, when the USA won its independence from Britain. The Constitution established a system of government for the new country.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The United States is exactly what the name suggests – a union or **federation** of individual states. Each state has its own government, which has a lot of power within that state. The federal government, based in Washington DC, is the government for the whole country.

KEY TERMS

- **constitution** a set of basic laws and principles that a country or organisation is governed by
- **Congress** the group of people chosen or elected to make laws in the USA
- **federation** a group of people, states, etc.

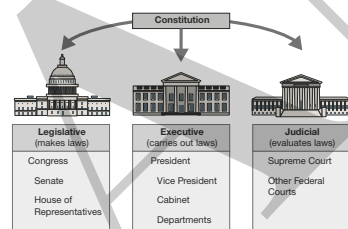


Figure 1.1 The American system of government

The Executive part of government runs the country. It is led by the president, who is helped and advised by the vice-president and **cabinet**. The departments that carry out government policies are led by **secretaries** chosen by the president. Departments include the **State Department**, **Treasury** and **Defense**. All members of the Executive are known as that president's administration.

New laws are made by Congress, which is made up of two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Supreme Court and other Federal courts make sure that the laws passed are constitutional and clear. Judges are chosen by the president, but have to be approved by the Senate. The president, vice president and members of Congress are voted for by US citizens. Elections for president and Congress are separate, so the president might not come from the political party that has a majority in the Senate or House of Representatives. This can limit a president's power to introduce the laws they want.

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ACTIVITY

- Read Source C.
- 1 What does Hoover imply about the size of the American Communist Party? Why does he say that this does not matter?
 - 2 Find examples of language in the source that Hoover used to convey his belief that communism was a huge threat to the USA.

SOURCE C

On 26 March 1947, J. Edgar Hoover testified before HUAC.

[Communism] stands for the destruction of our American form of government; it stands for the destruction of American democracy; it stands for the destruction of free enterprise; and it stands for the creation of a Soviet of the United States and ultimate world revolution...

What is important is the claim of the communists themselves that for every party member there are 10 others ready, willing and able to do the party's work. This is the greatest menace of communism. For these are the people who infiltrate and corrupt various spheres of American life. So rather than the size of the Communist Party, the way to weigh its true importance is by testing its influence, its ability to infiltrate...

THE HOLLYWOOD TEN

At a time when millions of people went to the cinema, there was a concern that communists would try to use the film industry to spread **propaganda**. From October 1947, HUAC called 41 writers, producers and directors for questioning about communism in **Hollywood**. They named 19 people as communists. When these 19 were ordered to appear before HUAC, ten refused to answer any questions and pleaded the **First Amendment** of the US Constitution. All ten were jailed for 1 year for **contempt** and were **blacklisted**. Most of them never worked in Hollywood again. The impact of investigating Hollywood was that it gave huge publicity to HUAC's work and increased anti-communist **hysteria**. It also had a big impact on Hollywood as film makers increased their production of anti-communist films.

KEY TERMS

- **propaganda** information, which is often false or exaggerated, to make people think or believe certain things
- **First Amendment** the right of everyone to their own views and free speech
- **blacklisted** marked as unacceptable and therefore not used

SOURCE D

A poster advertising the anti-communist film, *The Red Menace*, made in 1949.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

ONE OF THE HOLLYWOOD TEN
Hollywood screenwriter Dalton Trumbo was one of the Hollywood Ten imprisoned and blacklisted for refusing to give the names of other communists to HUAC. He continued to write in secret throughout the 1950s under false names and won Oscars, though he could not receive them, for *Roman Holiday* and *The Brave One*. When the film *Spartacus* was released in 1960, Trumbo was openly acknowledged as its writer, which helped to break the blacklist.



Key term

Useful words and phrases are colour coded within the main text and picked out in the margin with concise and simple definitions. These help understanding of key subject terms and support students whose first language is not English.

Extend your knowledge

Interesting facts to encourage wider thought and stimulate discussion. They are closely related to key issues and allow you to add depth to your knowledge and answers.

Exam-style question
Questions tailored to the Pearson Edexcel specification to allow for practice and development of exam writing technique. They also allow for practice responding to the command words used in the exams.

Skills
Relevant exam questions have been assigned the key skills which you will gain from undertaking them, allowing for a strong focus on particular academic qualities. These transferable skills are highly valued in further study and the workplace.

Hint
All exam-style questions are accompanied by a hint to help you get started on an answer.

Recap
At the end of each chapter, you will find a page designed to help you consolidate and reflect on the chapter as a whole.

Recall quiz
This quick quiz is ideal for checking your knowledge or for revision.

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EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

'EXPLETIVE DELETED'
This phrase was used so many times in the scripts of the Watergate recordings that the public were shocked about so much bad language being used. Protesters outside the White House made fun of the president by holding up signs that read 'Impeach the EXPLETIVE DELETED!'.

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A01 A02

SKILLS PROBLEM SOLVING, REASONING, DECISION MAKING, ADAPTIVE LEARNING, INNOVATION

HINT
You will need to read this whole section on Watergate so you can select a variety of reasons to write about in your answer. You then need to weigh up each reason to decide whether the televised hearings were the most important one.

Figure 5.2 Timeline of the Watergate Scandal

17 June 1971 5 people arrested at 2:30 a.m. for the Watergate break-in

19 June 1972 The Washington Post reports links between the burglars and CREEP. John Mitchell denies this

1 August 1972 The Washington Post reports that a cheque given to CREEP was paid to one of the Watergate burglars

30 August 1972 Nixon announces that John Dean has investigated the break-in and no White House staff were involved

15 September 1972 The burglars, plus Hunt and Liddy, are charged with conspiracy, burglary and wiretapping

11 November 1972 Nixon wins Presidential election

8–30 January 1973 Trial for the Watergate break-in

7 February 1973 Senate creates Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

19 March 1973 James McCord writes to the trial judge claiming White House staff told the burglars to lie during the trial

23 April 1973 Nixon denies advance knowledge of break-in

30 April 1973 Nixon dismisses Dean and Haldeman, Ehrlichman resigns

17 May 1973 Senate Committee hearings begin

25 June 1973 John Dean first testifies. He says Nixon was involved in the cover-up days after the break-in happened

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE USA, 1945–74

The fact that Nixon would not allow access to the recordings themselves, and the discovery that some of the scripts had been cut out, led the Senate to consider impeaching Nixon. Finally, on 24 July, the Supreme Court ordered Nixon to supply the recordings. When they were played, there was sufficient evidence on them to show that Nixon had blocked the initial investigation of the Watergate break-in, abused his power and failed to obey the laws requiring him to allow access to evidence. Then, on 5 August, the 'smoking gun' was revealed – a recording from 23 June 1972 which revealed that Nixon had tried to stop the FBI investigating the break-in at the Watergate complex. This proved that he had tried to cover up Watergate from the very beginning. On 9 August, before he could be impeached, Nixon resigned.

'The most important reason the Watergate affair developed into a scandal was the televised hearings of the Senate Watergate Committee.'
How far do you agree? Explain your answer.

You may use the following in your answer:

- the televised hearings of the Senate Watergate Committee
- the Watergate recordings.

You must also use information of your own. **(16 marks)**

HINT
You will need to read this whole section on Watergate so you can select a variety of reasons to write about in your answer. You then need to weigh up each reason to decide whether the televised hearings were the most important one.

7 July 1973 Nixon says he won't testify or grant access to files

16 July 1973 White House taping system is revealed

23 July 1973 Senate Committee demands the White House tapes and documents are handed over

25 July 1973 Nixon refuses

9 August 1973 Senate Committee begins a law suit against Nixon for failing to hand over the tapes and documents

23 October 1973 Nixon hands over some edited transcripts of the tapes

21 November 1973 A gap of nearly 20 minutes on a transcript of a conversation between Nixon and Haldeman on 20 June 1972 is discovered

6 February 1974 House of Representatives officially allows investigations on whether to impeach Nixon

24 July 1974 Supreme Court unanimously orders Nixon to release all the tapes and documents

27–30 July 1974 Investigators decide that Nixon can be impeached

5 August 1974 Final tapes are released. 23 June 1972 tape provides the 'smoking gun'

9 August 1974 Nixon resigns. Gerald Ford becomes President

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CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE USA, 1945–74

RECAP

RECALL QUIZ

- 1 What is meant by the term 'sit-in'?
- 2 Who was 'Bull' Connor and why is he significant to civil rights protests?
- 3 What were the SCLC and SNCC?
- 4 Outline the terms of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Act.
- 5 Explain the methods of protest used by Martin Luther King.
- 6 What happened in Selma in 1965?
- 7 Give three reasons for the growth of Black Power.
- 8 Who was Stokely Carmichael?
- 9 Who founded the Black Panthers?
- 10 Give three consequences of the race riots of 1964–68.

CHECKPOINT

STRENGTHEN

S1 What was the significance of the sit-ins and freedom rides?
S2 Explain the significance of the civil rights legislation of the 1960s.
S3 To what extent do you believe the Freedom Summer was a failure?

CHALLENGE

C1 What was Malcolm X's contribution to the civil rights movement?
C2 Was the civil rights legislation of the 1960s due to the protests of the civil rights movement?
C3 Explain the impact of Black Power on the civil rights movement.

SUMMARY

- In 1960, the first sit-in was staged in Greensboro, North Carolina. It started a mainly student-driven mass movement across many towns and cities, and forced some facilities to integrate.
- Freedom rides were organised to test whether bus facilities had been desegregated. They often met with extreme violence, including the Anniston bombing. The publicly forced the government to enforce the desegregation of bus facilities.
- In 1962, President Kennedy had to intervene to stop riots so that James Meredith could attend the University of Mississippi, as the Supreme Court had ruled he should.
- During a peace march in Birmingham, Alabama in 1963, the violent reaction from the police created huge publicity. This was followed by the huge March on Washington.
- His 'Dream' speech during the March on Washington led Martin Luther King as the leader of the civil rights movement.
- The Civil Rights Act was finally signed in 1964. This was followed by the signing of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 after the Freedom Summer and 'Bloody Sunday' at Selma.
- Malcolm X took a more confrontational approach to civil rights and believed that white people were the enemy. He argued that people should defend themselves if they were attacked.
- The Black Power movement was inspired by views such as Malcolm X's and by frustration with the slow progress of the civil rights movement. Stokely Carmichael is the person most associated with the phrase 'Black Power'.
- The Black Panthers were a Black Power group that retaliated against violence. They also set up projects to help African Americans in ghettos.
- There were major race riots across the USA during 1964–68. These were a response to poverty in the ghettos (due to discrimination and segregation) and unfair treatment by police and city officials.

Timeline
Visual representation of events to clarify the order in which they happened.

Checkpoint
Checkpoints help you to check and reflect on your learning. The Strengthen section helps you to consolidate knowledge and understanding, and check that you have grasped the basic ideas and skills. The Challenge questions push you to go beyond just understanding the information, and into evaluation and analysis of what you have studied.

Summary
The main points of each chapter are summarised in a series of bullet points. These are great for embedding core knowledge and handy for revision.

Exam guidance
At the end of each chapter, you will find two pages designed to help you better understand the exam questions and how to answer them. Each exam guidance section focuses on a particular question type that you will find in the exam, allowing you to approach them with confidence.

Student answers
Exemplar student answers are used to show what an answer to the exam question may look like. There are often two levels of answers so you can see what you need to do to write better responses.

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CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE USA, 1945–74

EXAM GUIDANCE: PART (B) QUESTIONS

A01 A02

Question to be answered: Describe two effects on the USA of the death of Emmett Till (8 marks)

1 **Analysing Question 1: What is the question type testing?**
In this question you have to demonstrate that you have knowledge and understanding of the key features and characteristics of the period studied. You also have to consider historical events to work out what effects they had. In this particular case, you must show knowledge and understanding of the death of Emmett Till and the events caused by his death.

2 **Analysing Question 2: What do I have to do to answer the question well?**
Obviously you have to write about the death of Emmett Till (Baldwin) simply write everything you know. You have to write about two effects. What are effects? They are things that the subject you are given caused to happen. The key to explaining the effects of an event is to explain the link between the event and an outcome. So, for example, an effect of you doing a lot of revision should be that you can answer the questions in the exam better. You would explain this by emphasising that you know more facts, you have to spend less time trying to remember things, you have looked at more examples of how to answer questions, and so on.

3 **Analysing Question 3: Are there any techniques I can use to make it very clear that I am doing what is needed to be successful?**
This is an 8-mark question and you need to make sure you leave enough time to answer the other two questions fully (they are worth 22 marks in total). Remember, you are not writing an essay here. You are providing two effects and enough historical detail to explain why the event had these effects. Therefore, you need to get straight in to writing your answer.

The question asks for two effects, so it's a good idea to write two paragraphs and to begin each paragraph with a phrase like: 'One effect was...'. Another effect was... You should also try to use phrases such as: 'this led to...', 'as a result of this...', 'this brought about...', 'this resulted in...'. This will help to show that you are focussing on effects.

The word 'explain' is important because it tells you that you have to do more than just state what the effect was. You need to use your knowledge of the period to explain how the effect led to the outcome. So 'this led to...' states an effect, but 'this led to... because at this time...' is moving towards an explanation.

You cannot get more than four marks if you explain only one effect. However, you are required to explain only two effects and you will not gain credit for a third. If you do write about more than two, your answer will be credited and the third will be disregarded.

Advice on answering the question
Three key questions about the exam question are answered here in order to explain what the question is testing and what you need to do to succeed in the exam.

Pearson Progression
Sample student answers have been given a Pearson step from 1 to 12. This tells you how well the response has met the criteria in the Pearson Progression Map.

Commentary
Feedback on the quality of the answer is provided to help you understand their strengths and weaknesses and show how they can be improved.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE 1950s

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE USA, 1945–74

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Answer A
Emmett Till's death shocked and horrified many Americans. This was because his mother kept the lid open on his coffin so people saw how badly he had been attacked as photos were published in many newspapers.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer A?
This answer is quite weak. It identifies only one effect (that many Americans were shocked by Till's death), rather than two. It then supports this one effect with quite limited detail. The answer needs to show why many Americans were so shocked and what impact this had – Till's horrible death and the actions of his mother highlighted the extreme racism of the South, which many Americans, particularly in the North, were unaware of. This increased sympathy for civil rights protests.

Answer B
One effect of Emmett Till's death was that it shocked and horrified many Americans who previously did not realise how racist some people in the South were and the treatment that African Americans were subjected to there. This was because Till's mother, Mamie Bradley, insisted that his coffin was left open so people could see how badly her son had been beaten. His body was photographed and published in newspapers so many people saw it. This increased awareness of racism and brought more support for civil rights protests.

Another effect of Till's death was that it angered many African Americans, and motivated them to join protests and do more to improve African American civil rights. Some people even believe that Till's death was the catalyst for the civil rights movement. This was not just because of the horrible way he was killed for racial reasons, but because he was so young. Some of the people who supported Rosa Parks in her trial had been inspired by Till's death. Rosa Parks herself, said she thought of Emmett Till when she was ordered to move seat and so was not prepared to move.

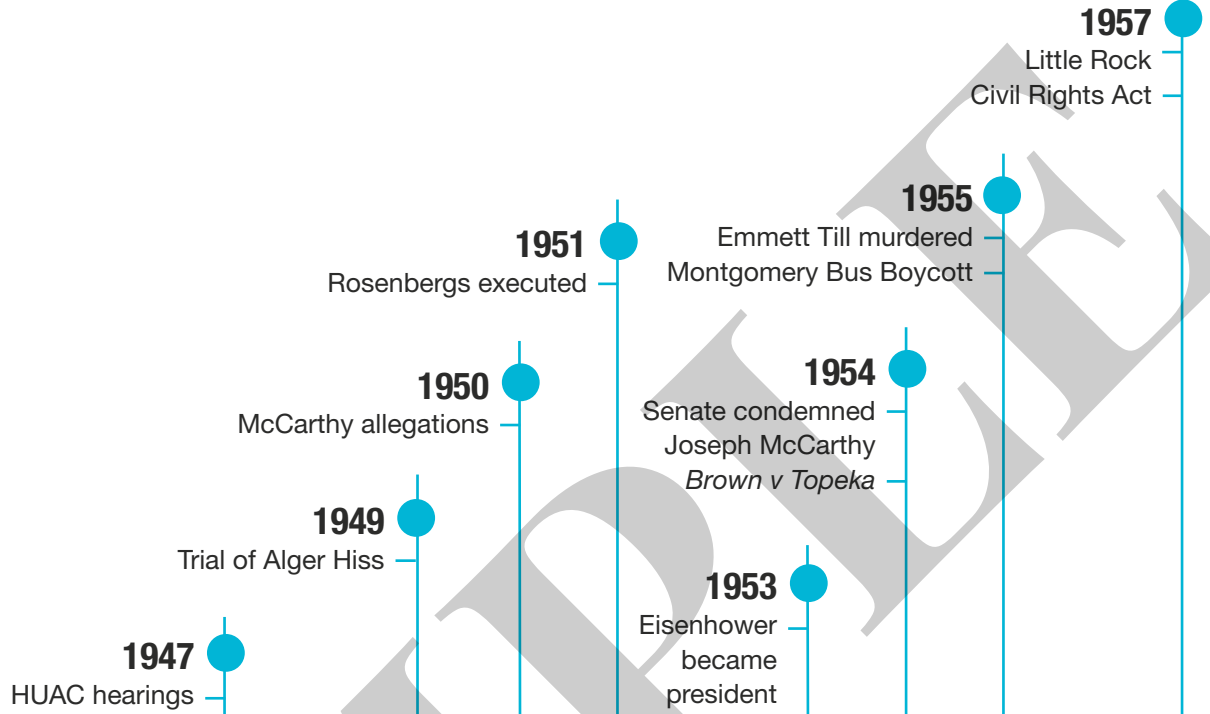
What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer B?
This is a very good answer. It identifies two effects and clearly provides detailed support for both of them.

Challenge a friend
Use the Student Book to set a part (b) question for a friend. Then look at the answer. Does it do the following things?

Provide two effects
 Provide 3–4 lines of detailed historical knowledge to explain why the event caused the outcomes (effects) they have identified.

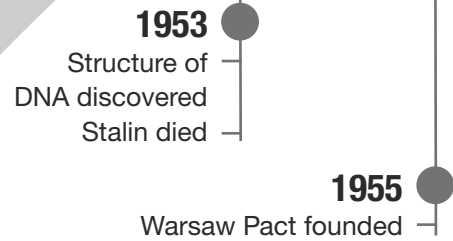
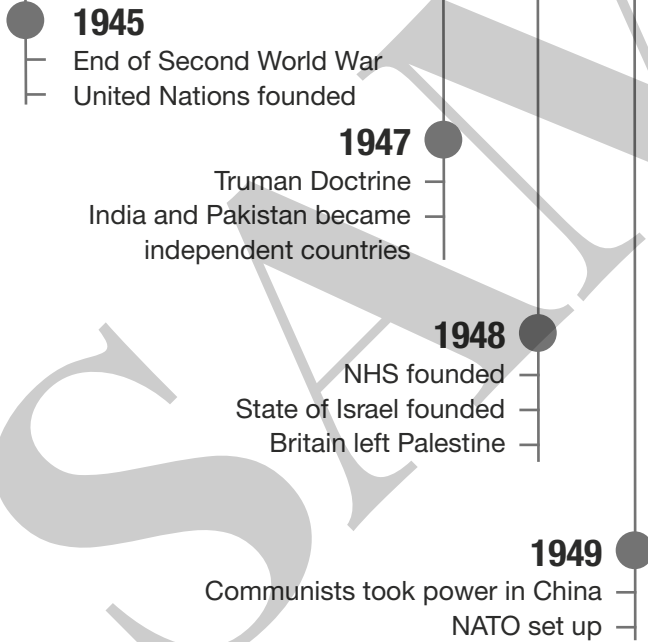
If it does, you can tell your friend that the answer is very good!

TIMELINE – A DIVIDED UNION: CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE USA, 1945–74



1945

1950



TIMELINE – WORLD

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1960
Start of the sit-ins at Greensboro

1961
J. F. Kennedy became president
Start of the 'Freedom Rides'

1963
The Feminine Mystique published
Equal Pay Act
King's 'Dream' speech
Kennedy assassinated

1964
Freedom Summer in Mississippi
Civil Rights Act

1965
Selma to Montgomery march
Voting Rights Act

1966
NOW set up
Black Panthers set up

1968
King assassinated

1969
Nixon became president
Anti-Vietnam March

1970
Kent State University shootings

1972
'Watergate' arrests
Nixon re-elected

1973
'Watergate' trials
Roe v Wade verdict
Senate hearings into Watergate

1974
Ford replaces Nixon

1960

1970

1961
Berlin Wall built

1962
Cuban Missile Crisis

1966
Cultural Revolution in China

1968
Prague Spring

1971
SALT 1 signed

1972
Terrorists attacked Munich Olympics

2. CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE 1950s

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the impact of racial segregation and discrimination in the USA in the 1950s
- Understand efforts to challenge segregation and discrimination
- Understand the importance of the Civil Rights Act, 1957.

Before the American Civil War (1861–65), the whole way of life in the Southern states of America was based on slavery. One of the main reasons why the South went to war against the North was because the North wanted to end slavery. After the North's victory, black slaves were freed. By 1890, according to the US Constitution (see pages 3–4), African Americans were equal with white citizens. In practice, this was far from the case. African Americans found themselves facing racism, discrimination and often violence that continued well into the 20th century.

Although many civil rights groups that tried to improve equality existed before the 1950s, it was in this decade that the civil rights 'movement' really began, with a nationwide campaign and an increasing number of members. The focus of the 1950s was in two main areas: schools and public transport. In both areas, the campaigners met with some success.

2.1 SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand how races were segregated and African Americans were discriminated against throughout the USA by 1950
- Understand the differences between segregation in the North and the South of the USA
- Understand how and why the Supreme Court, Congress and the president appeared to accept segregation and discrimination.

SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

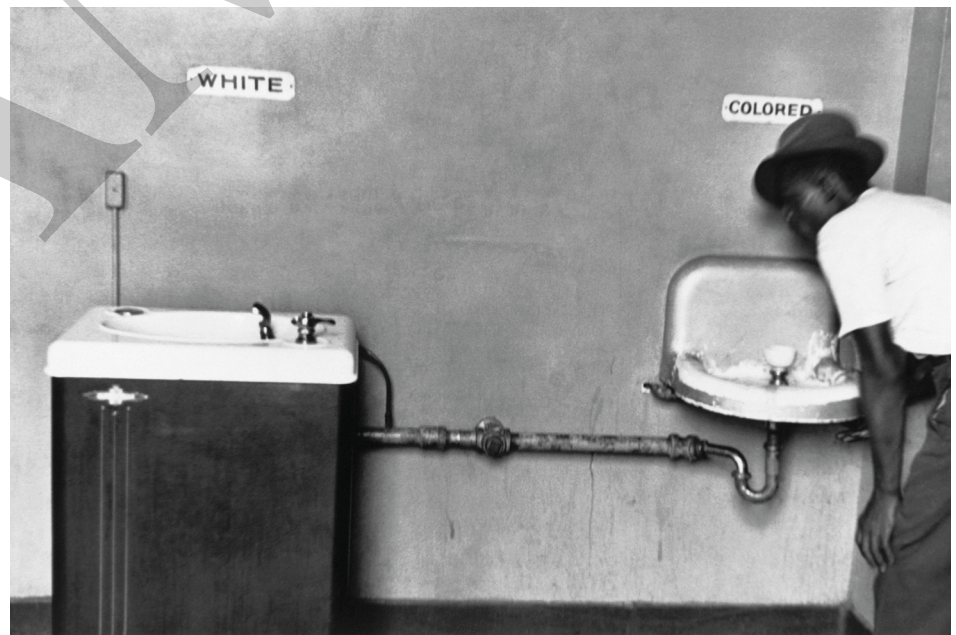
In 1950, most states had some **segregation** laws that meant black people and white people had to use different facilities. Segregation laws were most strictly enforced in the South, where they applied to almost all aspects of life. In these states, '**Jim Crow**' laws meant African Americans attended separate schools, had to use separate areas in restaurants, libraries, cinemas and parks, and were also separated on public transport. Most of these laws had been passed by state legislatures and approved by state courts at the end of the 19th century.

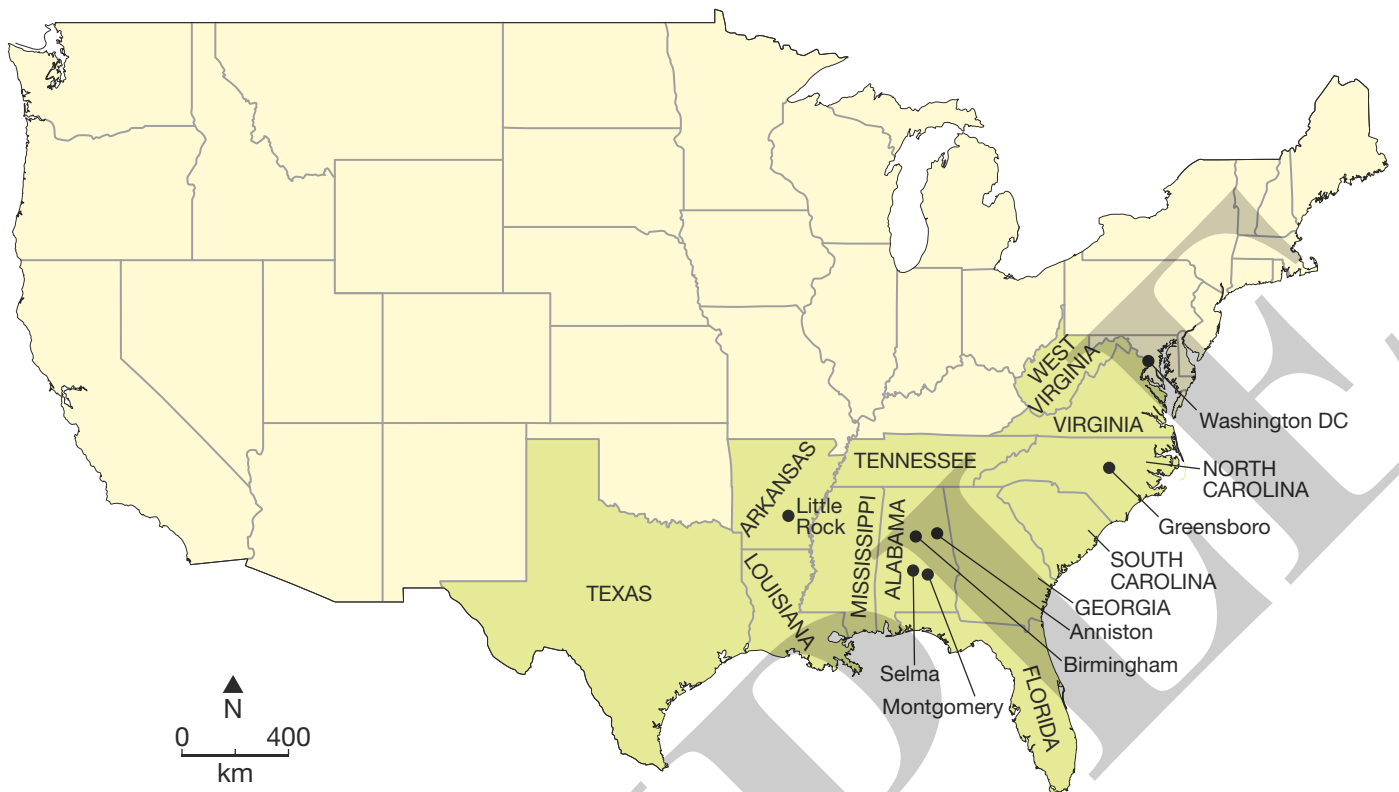
In the North, there were fewer legal barriers to equality, but **racism** and **discrimination** meant that African Americans mostly lived separately from white people. Wages for black workers were generally half of what a white person earned for the same job and there was a higher rate of unemployment for African Americans. Therefore, black people could only afford to live in the poorest areas, where few white people were present. This meant facilities were often segregated without the need for laws.

According to the Constitution, all US citizens had the right to vote. However, in the 1950s very few African Americans in the South were able to vote.

SOURCE A

'Jim Crow' laws kept black and white people separate. Facilities for African Americans were almost always poorer in quality than those for white people.





▲ Figure 2.1 The South of the USA (in green), where Jim Crow laws applied to most aspects of life

In order to vote, people had to register and most Southern states used methods to prevent black people from registering to vote including:

- making people pass a difficult literacy test (testing their ability to read and write) – many African Americans had very little education, so their literacy levels were low and most did not even try to take the tests because they knew they would fail. (White people were exempted from these tests.)
- making people pay a **poll tax** – most African Americans could not afford to pay this
- using violence or threatening to use violence against African Americans who tried to register to vote.

As well as segregation and discrimination, African Americans often faced violence, particularly in the South. Black men suspected of crimes were frequently attacked by white mobs taking the law into their own hands. Although **lynchings** had declined by the 1950s, they were greatly feared by black communities. Police were sometimes racist themselves and did nothing to prevent attacks on African Americans, even taking part in them occasionally. White people suspected of attacking African Americans were usually found ‘not guilty’ by all-white, all-male juries.

KEY TERM

lynchings killings (usually hangings) done by a group, where the victim is suspected of a crime but has not been tried

THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN MAINTAINING SEGREGATION

The Constitution of the United States guaranteed the equality of all American citizens, so why wasn’t this the case with African Americans?

The three branches of government could have acted to enforce civil rights for African Americans, but this had not happened. Congress often needed the support of Southern politicians, who were either racist themselves or did not want to annoy racist voters in their states. Even a strong president frequently

SOURCE B

From a speech given on 27 May 1954 by James Eastland, a senator for Mississippi and a supporter of 'Jim Crow' laws.

Separation promotes racial harmony. It permits [allows] each race to follow its own pursuits, and its own civilization. Segregation is not discrimination. Segregation is not a badge of racial inferiority, and that it is not is recognized by both races in the Southern States. In fact, segregation is desired and supported by the vast majority of the members of both races in the South, who dwell [live] side by side under harmonious conditions.

KEY TERM

precedent (legal) a ruling in a law case that is used by other courts when deciding similar cases

needed the support of Southern politicians for other policies, so presidents who may have wanted change did not act to improve civil rights. However, the Supreme Court was independent and did not rely on the support of either the president or Congress. It should have banned segregation laws because they were not constitutional, but this had not happened either. Instead, in 1896, the Federal Supreme Court had ruled in the *Plessy versus Ferguson* case that separate facilities were allowed *if* they were equal. They rarely were, but this legal **precedent** had been used time and time again when civil rights groups had tried to challenge segregation through the courts. Like other parts of government, the Supreme Court was influenced by the views and opinions of its judges and many of these were against civil rights for African Americans.

ACTIVITY

- 1 Write your own definitions of 'segregation' and 'discrimination'. Give three different examples of each.
- 2 According to James Eastland (Source B), what were the benefits of racial segregation? How popular do you think his views would have been?
- 3 In groups or as a class, discuss why the three branches of the US government had done little to give African Americans more civil rights.

2.2 BROWN VERSUS TOPEKA AND ITS IMPACT

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the importance of the *Brown versus Topeka* case
- Understand why the Ku Klux Klan revived
- Understand the impact of the murder of Emmett Till on civil rights.

SOURCE C

A school for white children (left) and a school for black children (right), both in the small town of Farmville, Virginia, in the early 1950s.

ACTIVITY

Look at Source C in pairs. Describe the differences between the schools. Why do you think the schools were so different?



EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

THE 'DOLL' TEST

One of the main witnesses in the Brown case was Dr Kenneth Clark, a psychologist who used dolls in his work. He discovered that when black children were given four dolls, which were identical except for race, they preferred the white dolls. The children also gave the white dolls positive characteristics. He concluded that African American children developed a sense of inferiority, even self-hatred, due to segregation and discrimination.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

EARL WARREN

Earl Warren was also a Republican politician, who was appointed as Chief Justice by President Eisenhower. Later Eisenhower had become so annoyed by Warren's liberal judgments that he described the appointment as 'the biggest mistake I ever made'.

SOURCE D

Thurgood Marshall and his legal team pictured after the *Brown versus Topeka* decision.

In many American states, not just in the South, white and black pupils had to attend separate schools. State government spending per pupil could be over four times more for white pupils, so this was an area where civil rights groups felt they could attack the 'separate but equal' principle of *Plessy versus Ferguson*. Therefore, from the 1940s, the civil rights campaign group the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) focused on challenging segregation in education through the law courts. This was a change of tactic as previously, the NAACP had tried to end segregation through Congress but had met with little success because it was opposed by many politicians (see page 34). To try and keep education segregated, some states began giving more money to African American schools to improve them. So, often, the NAACP's court cases met with little initial success. That changed in 1954.

BROWN VERSUS TOPEKA

In 1951, the parents of Linda Brown applied for her to attend the Summer Elementary school in the town of Topeka, Kansas, which was much closer to their house than the school she attended. The application was rejected by the Board of Education of Topeka on the grounds of race – Linda was black and Summer Elementary school was for white pupils only. Linda's parents, with the support of the NAACP, took their case to the local court, where it was rejected because of *Plessy versus Ferguson*. The NAACP persuaded Linda's parents to take their case to the Supreme Court, where it was combined with four other similar cases from around the country.

In December 1952, it was decided that a retrial of *Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka* would be needed, as the judges had failed to reach a verdict and could not agree on a judgment. Before the retrial began, a new judge, Earl Warren, joined the Supreme Court and became Chief Justice. As the case restarted, NAACP lawyers led by Thurgood Marshall argued that separate schools were damaging African American children psychologically even if the schools were equal in terms of funding and facilities. On 17 May 1954, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that school segregation was unconstitutional. Finally, the legal precedent of *Plessy versus Ferguson* had been broken and schools had to desegregate. A year after the *Brown* decision, a second Supreme Court ruling decided that school **desegregation** should happen 'with all deliberate speed', with states making 'a prompt and reasonable' start.



ACTIVITY

- 1 Read Source E. Rewrite the paragraph using the simplest language you can. Make sure your version explains the reasons the Supreme Court made the decision it did.
- 2 Create a mind map of the consequences of the *Brown* decision.
- 3 What different reactions do you think people might have had to the *Brown* decision?

KEY TERMS

Deep South five states in the south east USA where segregation covered all aspects of life (Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana). Arkansas is also often included

integrate become part of a group or society, or help someone to do this

white supremacist someone who believes that white people are better than people of other races

Ku Klux Klan a racist organisation, started in 1865, that believes in the superiority of white, Protestant Christians

SOURCE E

Part of Chief Justice Earl Warren's statement giving the decision in the *Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka* case on 17 May 1954.

To separate children from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone. We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs [people bringing the case] and others similarly situated are deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

THE IMPORTANCE OF *BROWN VERSUS TOPEKA*

Despite the NAACP celebrations, *Brown versus Topeka* had a very limited immediate impact. Schools in towns and cities outside the **Deep South** started to **integrate**, but progress was fairly slow and did not always benefit African American pupils or teachers. Black pupils usually found integration very hard as they and their families faced anger and bad feeling, and their education suffered. Some African American teachers lost their jobs and many black schools that had provided a good education were closed. In some towns and cities, segregation became more extreme due to 'white flight', as white people left areas that had a large number of black residents. The negative impacts were at their worst in the Deep South, which saw an extreme backlash from white racists (see below).

However, the verdict was a great victory for the NAACP and brought an increased awareness of African American civil rights. Most importantly, it provided a new legal precedent and therefore led to many more legal cases and campaigns for desegregation. For the first time, the US political system, or at least the Supreme Court, seemed to be willing to support African American citizens. Therefore the case gave new hope to civil rights campaigners that the system could bring about change.

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

Explain **two** effects of the *Brown versus Topeka* decision on the USA. (8 marks)

A01

A02

HINT

When answering a question on the effects of something, remember that 'effects' can be both positive and negative. Effects can also be immediate and more long term.

THE REVIVAL OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

In the Deep South, the day of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown versus Topeka* became known as 'Black Monday'. Many white southerners were furious and determined to maintain segregation. The first White Citizens' Council was set up in Indianola, Mississippi for this purpose and was quickly followed by the establishment of many more WCCs across the South. They organised protests and **petitions** that put pressure on state authorities to resist integration. Many WCC members were also inspired to join the **white supremacist** group that black Americans feared above any other: the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK).

KEY TERMS

protestors someone who takes part in a public activity such as a demonstration to show their opposition to something

boycott refuse to buy or use particular goods or services as a way of protesting

Branches of the Ku Klux Klan reappeared all over the South and membership grew, although it never reached the level of the 1920s. The Klan once again held meetings encouraging racial hatred and put burning crosses in front of houses to frighten the people inside. Members wore their traditional long white robes and hoods as a disguise. Their targets were civil rights **protestors** and supporters, black or white. The initial growth of the Klan began after *Brown versus Topeka*, but the Klan continued to grow as more civil rights protests broke out across the USA. As the civil rights movement began to take off and meet with some success, the actions of the Klan became more extreme. They continued to use established methods such as beating, lynching and shooting victims; from January 1956, angered by the Montgomery Bus **Boycott** (see page 29), the KKK also began to use bombs. Historians believe Klan members were involved in most of the racial violence throughout the South in the 1950s and 1960s, even incidents that were not directly organised by the KKK.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

FIRST KU KLUX KLAN BOMBING

It is believed that the first bomb used by the Ku Klux Klan was set off by the front door of the home of Martin Luther King in Montgomery on 30 January 1956. He was speaking at a meeting at the time but his wife and 10-week-old daughter were at home. Nobody was hurt but the house was quite badly damaged. A large angry mob of African Americans gathered outside the house. Some were armed and determined to get revenge for this attack, but King spoke to the crowd and persuaded them not to respond with violence.

SOURCE F

A Ku Klux Klan ceremony in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1950.



THE DEATH OF EMMETT TILL

The *Brown* verdict raised fears and tensions that led to increased violence against African Americans throughout the South. One terrible example of this was the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till.

Till was from Chicago. As a northerner, he was used to discrimination and attended a segregated school, but he was not prepared for the extreme racism of the South when he visited relatives in the town of Money in Mississippi in the summer of 1955. On 24 August, Till boasted to a group of teenagers that he had a white girlfriend at home. His companions dared him to go into Bryant's Grocery and Meat Market shop and talk to the white owner's wife, Carolyn. The exact events inside the store will never be known but Till bought some bubble gum and Carolyn Bryant claimed he flirted and touched her. The teenagers with Till said that he whistled at her outside the store. Four days later, in the middle of the night, Till was taken from his great-uncle's house, by Carolyn's husband Roy and Roy's half-brother J.W. Milam. They beat him, shot him in the head and threw his body into the river, where it was found on 31 August.

The authorities in Mississippi wanted to bury Till quickly but his mother, Mamie Bradley, insisted that his body was sent back to her in Chicago. She hardly recognised her son because his face had been so badly beaten and therefore she left his coffin open so people could see what had been done to her child. Photographs of Till's body were published, so thousands of people saw him and many white people as well as African Americans were very shocked. The trial of Bryant and Milam was widely reported across the whole of America. It took just over an hour for the all-white, all-male **jury** to find the **defendants** 'not guilty'. Many Americans were angered by the lack of justice, especially when Bryant and Milam confessed to beating and killing Emmett Till in a magazine article they were paid for just a few months later. They were able to do this because, under US law, they could not be tried again for the same crime.

SOURCE G

From a statement released by the secretary of the NAACP after the murder of Emmett Till.

It would appear that the state of Mississippi has decided to maintain white supremacy by murdering children. The killers of the boy felt free to lynch him because there is in the entire state no restraining influence of decency, not in the state capital, among the daily newspapers, the clergy nor any segment of the so-called better citizens.

ACTIVITY

- 1 How do you think a) African Americans and b) white residents of Mississippi would have reacted to Source G?
- 2 Read Source H carefully. What was the role of a) the police and b) white supporters of Bryant and Milam in getting them acquitted?

SOURCE H

From an American magazine on 3 October 1955, reporting on the trial of Bryant and Milam.

The white people in the region raised a defense fund approaching \$10,000 for defendants Bryant and Milam. They hired five local lawyers, who produced expert witnesses — including a doctor and an embalmer — to testify that the bloated, decomposing body had been in the river for at least ten days, and therefore could not have been Emmett Till. Sheriff Strider took the stand for the defense and said the same thing: "If it had been one of my own boys, I couldn't have identified it." In most of the U.S., this conflict over the identity of the body could have been resolved by basic police work.

SOURCE I

The publicity generated after the murder of Emmett Till inspired many protests, such as this one in Sharp Street Church, Baltimore in September 1955.



THE IMPACT OF EMMETT TILL'S DEATH

The killing of an African American and his murderers' **acquittal** was not unusual at this time in the South. It was the publicity that this case received that made it different. It was to have two important consequences.

- 1 Many white Americans in the North saw for the first time the extreme racism that African Americans in the South were suffering. This brought an increased awareness of the problems African Americans faced.
- 2 It motivated many African Americans to take a more active role to bring about change. Many African Americans of the same age identified with Emmett Till and went on to join the huge civil rights protests of the 1960s. Indeed, some historians believe that what happened to Emmett Till was the **catalyst** for the civil rights movement.

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A01

A02

SKILLS

PROBLEM SOLVING, REASONING,
DECISION MAKING, ADAPTIVE
LEARNING, INNOVATION

'The main effect of the *Brown versus Topeka* decision on African Americans was the increase in violence against them.'

How far do you agree? Explain your answer.

You may use the following in your answer:

- *Brown versus Topeka*
- the murder of Emmett Till.

You **must** also use information of your own.

(16 marks)

HINT

In questions which ask 'how far you agree' with a statement you will be given two bullet points. These are to help you but you do not have to use them if you do not want to. You **must** use your own information whether you use the prompts or not.

2.3 THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT AND ITS IMPACT

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the key events of the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Understand the degree of support for the boycott
- Understand the significance of the boycott.

WHAT CAUSED THE BOYCOTT?

On 1 December 1955, Rosa Parks travelled home from work on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. As in most places in the South, buses in Montgomery were segregated. Parks sat in the first row for ‘colored’ people. When more people got on the bus, one white man did not have a seat. Rosa and the other black people in her row were told by the bus driver to stand so the white man could sit down. The whole row had to stand as mixed race rows were not allowed. The others did stand up but Rosa refused. The driver stopped the bus and called the police, who arrested Rosa.

The Women’s Political Council in Montgomery had been fighting discrimination on buses since 1950. They wanted to improve the service, particularly for African American women who were routinely bullied by drivers, and had warned Mayor Gayle that there would be a boycott if the bus service did not improve. Rosa Parks was not the first African American to be arrested for refusing to comply with bus segregation laws. However, after she was arrested, her case was chosen as the one to start a boycott. Rosa was highly respectable and was already involved in civil rights through being secretary of the NAACP in Montgomery. The WPC called for all African Americans to boycott buses on 5 December – the day of Rosa Parks’ trial. Church and college groups helped to publicise the boycott and it was a huge success. Montgomery’s buses were nearly empty: approximately 70 per cent of all bus passengers were African American, and around 90 per cent of African Americans did not use the buses that day. Civil rights **activists** realised they had found a useful method that could bring about change.

SOURCE J

Rosa Parks speaking about what happened on 1 December 1955, 3 months after Emmett Till’s death.

I thought about Emmett Till, and when the bus driver ordered me to move to the back, I just couldn’t move.

SOURCE K

From a leaflet made by Jo Ann Robinson, President of the Women’s Political Council, on 1 December 1955.

Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown into jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down. It is the second time since the Claudette Colvin case that a Negro woman has been arrested for the same thing. This has to be stopped.

Negroes have rights, too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother.

This woman’s case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don’t ride the bus to work, to town, to school, or anywhere else on Monday.

You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus. You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don’t ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off the buses.

ACTIVITY

- 1 Why would Emmett Till have been a reason for Rosa Parks to refuse to move as the bus driver asked (Source J)?
- 2 Discuss reasons why so many of the people who used the buses in Montgomery were African American.
- 3 How would Source K have inspired African Americans in Montgomery to boycott the buses on 5 December?

THE BOYCOTT CONTINUED

SOURCE L

A bus in Montgomery during the boycott. The lack of African American passengers meant the bus company lost a lot of money during the boycott.



On the evening of 5 December, a large group gathered at Holt Street Baptist Church. They set up the Montgomery Improvement Association, which aimed to improve integration throughout Montgomery – beginning with its buses. A local minister, Martin Luther King, was chosen as its chairman. The MIA decided to continue the boycott until the bus company agreed to their demands:

- Drivers should treat all African American passengers with respect.
- Black drivers should be used for routes with mostly black passengers.
- African Americans should not have to leave their seats in the ‘colored’ section of the bus so white people could sit down.

King and other leaders of the MIA met with those who ran the bus company on 8 December. They refused all of the MIA’s demands. With **hindsight** this seems like a foolish decision by the bus company, as the boycott continued for 381 days, causing serious financial harm to the company. It also led to the demands of the MIA hardening: it began to demand a complete end to segregation.

MAINTAINING THE BOYCOTT

The MIA realised that the boycott would be very difficult for many people to maintain without help because of distance, carrying heavy items or being physically unable to walk far. It initially arranged for black taxi companies to charge lower fares and for those with cars to give others lifts. Some white car owners, often their employers, also gave African Americans lifts. Two of these options soon became unavailable as the white community put pressure on those who had been giving lifts to black people to stop doing so and an old law was restored that raised minimum taxi fares to make them too expensive for most African Americans. The black community needed another solution.

The MIA began organising a car-pooling system, where people shared cars and many churches bought cars to be used. It developed pick up and drop off points and routes around the city to make sure there was an effective method of transporting people. The support of several churches in Montgomery was essential for the boycott’s success. Most African Americans attended church, so this was a great place to create support for the boycott and encourage people to keep going. Ministers were crucial in this. The churches provided meeting places for planning and discussion and raised money for shared cars. They even bought people shoes, as all that walking meant that people were wearing their shoes out very quickly! The role of ministers and churches became vital in the civil rights movement.

Despite the various forms of help, the boycotters still faced problems from many of the furious white citizens of Montgomery.

- They were verbally and physically **harassed** while waiting for cars to arrive.
- Drivers of shared cars were frequently arrested for very minor driving offences.
- Laws that prevented crowds gathering were used to arrest groups of people waiting for shared cars.

Violence reached new levels on 30 January when Martin Luther King's house was bombed (see Extend box, page 26). This was followed by bombings of churches and the houses of other leaders.

EXTRACT A

From an African American history website.

The MIA was the first of its kind, an organization based in the Deep South that specifically adopted a direct action tactic (a bus boycott) to challenge racial discrimination. The MIA was also the first predominately black civil rights organization to operate independently of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Although the MIA was not the catalyst to the Montgomery bus boycott, it played a significant role in the success of the protest and the desegregation of the buses, a year later. The MIA took responsibility for maintaining the boycott and the morale of the protesters and was in charge of providing alternative transportation for those who refused to ride the buses. Its car pools formed an effective means for the most impoverished black employees who could not walk to work to continue their employment.

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A04

SKILLS

SKILLS ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION,
CREATIVITY

Study Extract A.

What impression does the author give about the Montgomery Improvement Association?

You **must** use Extract A to explain your answer.

(6 marks)

HINT

This question is testing how you analyse and evaluate a historical interpretation. Therefore, you only need to focus on the extract in your answer – your own knowledge should be used to consider what the author has said (or deliberately not said).

THE MOVE TO COMPLETE INTEGRATION

Due to the support of the car pools and inspiring speeches given by King, the boycotters did not give up and their determination to succeed seemed to increase. As the boycott continued, the media became more interested and media coverage increased, raising awareness of the problems of segregation and attracting support for the cause. The NAACP stepped in and decided to challenge the issue of segregated transport in court as it had done with segregated education. On 1 February 1956, the case of *Browder versus Gayle* began in the local court. This case argued that segregation of the buses was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment (which gave equal protection of the law to all American citizens). This led the MIA to change their approach and demand total desegregation of the buses as well.

On 22 February, around 90 leading members of the MIA, including King and Parks, were arrested for ‘disrupting lawful business’. They were jailed until their trial on 19 March. All were found guilty and some had to pay fines. However, the trial gave the MIA an opportunity to show evidence of the abuses of white bus drivers, which gave the trial and the boycott even more publicity. It also attracted funding for the MIA as people from all over the USA sent donations to enable the boycott to continue.

On 5 June, the three judges in the *Browder versus Gayle* case ruled by two to one that buses should be desegregated because the *Brown versus Topeka* decision should be applied to transport as well as education. The bus company, supported by White Citizens’ Councils, appealed to the Supreme Court, but lost a first appeal on 13 November. The company tried again but lost the second appeal on 17 December. The Supreme Court agreed that buses should be desegregated. The MIA ended the boycott and, on 20 December 1956, African Americans returned to the buses. They could now sit wherever they wanted to.

ACTIVITY

- 1** Create a poster or leaflet that could have been used to help maintain the morale of the black community during the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
- 2 a** Make a mind map of reasons why the boycott was successful.
- b** Which reason do you think was the most important for the boycott’s success? Explain why.

EXTRACT B

From a school textbook, published in 2010.

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

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

Success was also due to solidarity in the black community. People walked together or shared cars and taxis to get to work... They resisted intimidation and tried to avoid violence. Crucially, there wasn’t a way of rigging the system: the bus companies needed black passengers.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

The Montgomery Bus Boycott can be regarded as very successful. Afterwards, buses in Montgomery were integrated, seating was on a first-come first-served basis rather than by race and bus drivers no longer ordered African Americans to make room for white passengers. After the boycott, some other places began to integrate public transport. The real significance of the boycott was that it provided an example of a form of protest that worked. This inspired more civil rights campaigns, such as the Tallahassee Bus Boycott of 1956–58. Events after *Brown versus Topeka* had proved that changing the law was not enough to achieve equality. The bus boycott showed that, when large numbers of African Americans took direct action, this brought about real change. It demonstrated the effectiveness of non-violence in gaining support for civil rights and attracting publicity. Moreover, it showed how effectively African Americans could organise themselves and demonstrated the power of churches in bringing people together for a cause. Perhaps its most lasting impact, however, was that it brought to public attention the work of Martin Luther King. He would become really important in raising awareness of civil rights and attracting supporters to the campaigns.

SOURCE M

Civil rights leaders on one of the first integrated bus rides in Montgomery, Alabama, 21 December 1956.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

GLENN SMILEY

Glenn Smiley was a minister who became committed to racial equality. He first used the theory of non-violent protest to try and integrate tearooms in Los Angeles department stores in the late 1940s. Smiley was sent to Montgomery after the boycott began, to help advise the leaders of the protest. He was impressed with Martin Luther King and together they developed guidelines for the non-violent approach that King would use in all the protests he led. Smiley asked King if he could be the first white person to sit beside him on a bus on their first integrated bus ride, shown in Source M.



The significance was not all positive, as the boycott only led to change in one small area. Other facilities in Montgomery remained segregated for many years afterwards. Furthermore, membership numbers for racist groups rose and the bus boycott marked an increase in violence against African American communities. There was a serious backlash after 20 December when bus integration began. Hooded patrols of the Ku Klux Klan drove around Montgomery trying to intimidate and sometimes attacking African American residents. Some integrated bus passengers were attacked by snipers and there was a wave of bombings of African American churches and the homes of civil rights leaders. This led to a complete suspension of bus services for a few weeks but things did eventually calm down.

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A01

A02

SKILLS

PROBLEM SOLVING, REASONING,
DECISION MAKING, ADAPTIVE
LEARNING, INNOVATION

'The Montgomery Bus Boycott was the most successful civil rights event of the 1950s.'

How far do you agree? Explain your answer.

You may use the following in your answer:

- the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- *Brown versus Topeka*.

You **must** also use information of your own.

(16 marks)

HINT

You need to show your knowledge of the events and analyse their success to answer this question well.

2.4 THE 1957 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the events leading to the 1957 Civil Rights Act
- Understand opposition to the 1957 Civil Rights Act
- Understand the significance of the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

KEY TERMS

Dixiecrats a separate, pro-segregation political party formed by the Southern Democrats in 1948

filibuster a tactic used in Congress to stop a vote on a bill; the most common filibuster is to talk until the time limit for the debate is reached

By 1957, one of the three parts of Federal government – the Supreme Court – had taken action on African American civil rights in the fields of education and public transport. However, the other two parts of government – the president and Congress – had yet to act. The Democratic President Truman had attempted to get a civil rights **bill** passed in 1948, but it had been blocked by Republicans (on party grounds) and **Dixiecrats** (who were strongly pro-segregation). When Truman was replaced by Republican President Eisenhower in 1952, it was hoped that he would push his own civil rights bill through Congress.

Eisenhower declared himself to be in support of African American civil rights, but seemed unwilling to act. Like many politicians, he believed that changing the law would not really work until people's attitudes towards African Americans changed. He was also aware of how strongly people valued 'states' rights' and did not want Federal government to interfere in what was seen as states' affairs. However, the achievements of *Brown versus Topeka* and the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and the extreme violent reactions to them, put pressure on the president and Congress for a Federal law to help African Americans achieve civil rights.

A bill was introduced in 1956, but was not passed because of Southern **resistance**. Strom Thurmond, a leading Dixiecrat, **filibustered** for an astonishing 24 hours and 18 minutes, so the bill took longer than the time allowed and was rejected. Eisenhower's administration tried again in 1957 with a revised version. Again, Dixiecrats tried to delay and destroy the bill but, due partly to the work of Lyndon Johnson (see pages 55–58), the Democrats' leader in the Senate, a weakened version of the bill was finally passed.

President Eisenhower signed the Civil Rights Act on 9 September 1957. The act focused on trying to improve the number of African American voters by:

- setting up the US Commission on Civil Rights, which began investigating how African Americans were prevented from voting in different places
- allowing Federal courts to prosecute states who tried to prevent people from voting.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1957 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

The Civil Rights Act had little immediate impact. Although Federal courts could prosecute states, juries were often opposed to increasing civil rights, so they were likely to reach 'not guilty' verdicts. Therefore, the act was not very significant in improving civil rights for African Americans. However, it was a hugely important first step – it was the first time in 82 years that the Federal government had acted to try to improve the civil rights of African Americans

SOURCE N

President Eisenhower (fourth from left) meeting civil rights leaders at the White House in June 1958.



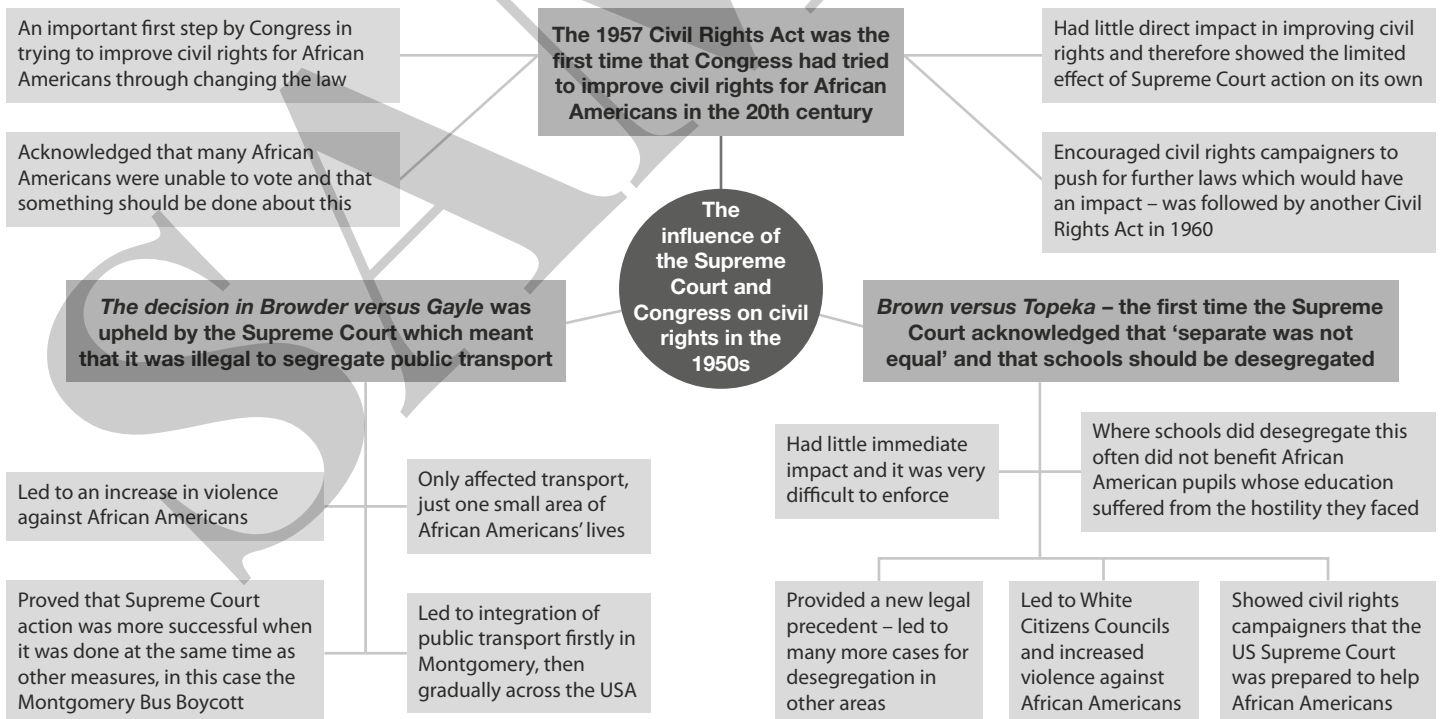
ACTIVITY

Prepare a presentation on the progress in African American civil rights during the 1950s. Was much actual progress made? Include reasons why progress was so slow and difficult.

in law. This showed that Congress was at last willing to do something. Eisenhower thought that the act would satisfy civil rights campaigners and stop the protests that were so damaging to the USA's international reputation. The opposite happened! Civil rights activists were disappointed that the act did not go as far as they wanted, and they became even more determined to press for further **reform**.

Perhaps the most important result of the ineffective Civil Rights Act of 1957 was that Congress passed another Civil Rights Act in 1960. This act was important because it introduced Federal inspections of the process used by state governors to register voters and penalties for those states found to be obstructing people from registering to vote. However, the two acts only improved the number of African Americans registering to vote by 3 per cent.

▼ **Figure 2.2** The influence of the Supreme Court and Congress on civil rights in the 1950s



2.5 ENFORCING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand why desegregation was an issue in the Southern states of the USA
- Understand the events at Little Rock in 1957
- Understand the significance of events at Little Rock.

Although it took time for schools all over the USA to start the process of desegregating, by 1957 not one school in the Deep South had been integrated. This was largely because the authorities in these states, supported by white public opinion, made moves to prevent it. Southern senators opposed the *Brown* decision by signing the Southern Manifesto, which stated that *Brown* was an abuse of the Supreme Court's power. State governors supported White Citizens' Councils and some closed public schools completely to prevent integration. President Eisenhower did nothing to enforce the Supreme Court's decision that schools must desegregate but events at Little Rock in 1957 finally forced him to act.

EVENTS AT LITTLE ROCK IN 1957

SOURCE 0

This photo of Elizabeth Eckford, aged 15, walking to school surrounded by angry, screaming white women is one of the most famous from the civil rights movement. The NAACP had organised for the nine students to arrive together but Eckford's family did not have a telephone, and so she did not get the message and had to brave the crowd alone.



A Federal Court had ruled that the all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, must start integration in 1957, against the wishes of most of the white community and Arkansas' governor, Orval Faubus. To obey, the school accepted applications from African Americans and selected 25 students to start school in September 1957. These teenagers and their families were the victims of many threats from their white neighbours, so only nine students still wanted to join the school when the time came. They would become known as the Little Rock Nine.

To prevent the nine students enrolling, Governor Faubus announced on television the day before that he had ordered state troops to stop the students entering the school for their own protection. He knew publicising a school's integration in this way would cause a reaction. On the first day of school on 4 September, the nine African American students arrived and were surrounded by an angry mob of white people screaming abuse at them. The state troops prevented them entering the school so they had to go home. All this was captured by reporters and photographers and shown all over the world, as well as throughout the USA.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

HAZEL BRYAN

The girl with her mouth wide open, screaming at Elizabeth Eckford, in Source 0 was 15-year-old Hazel Bryan. After the photograph was published around the world, Bryan became almost as well-known as Eckford. She received hate mail and her parents took her out of the Central High School completely. Years later, Bryan became a peace activist and social worker, who spent much time trying to help African Americans. Her racist ideas and opinions had been completely changed.

SOURCE P

Elizabeth Eckford remembers the events of 4 September 1957.

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

SOURCE Q

From a televised address by President Eisenhower on 24 September 1957.

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

In the following days, the troops and angry crowds continued to prevent the Little Rock Nine from entering the school. On 12 September, President Eisenhower met with Governor Faubus to try to persuade him to let the students go to school. A Federal judge began **legal proceedings** against the governor and ordered the troops to be removed. The police took over and managed to successfully accompany the students into the school on 23 September. However, this caused a **riot** outside, so the students were sent home yet again. All of this was broadcast to a shocked world and it was probably media pressure that finally forced the president to act. Eisenhower signed a presidential order that sent 1,200 Federal troops to Little Rock and put them in charge of the local state troops, who would protect the African American students. On 25 September, 3 weeks after term had started, the Little Rock Nine were at last able to go to classes.

For the whole year, the Little Rock Nine were protected by the army, but they and their families continued to experience harassment and even violence. In September 1958, Governor Faubus closed all high schools in Little Rock while the state court fought the Supreme Court over desegregation. A public vote confirmed that 72 per cent of Little Rock's citizens were against integrating schools, but the Supreme Court stood by the *Brown* decision and schools were forced to re-open in August 1959 and continue integrating. There were still protests and violence, although much less than before. However, it was not until the 1970s that there was a significant level of school integration in Little Rock.

ACTIVITY

- 1 What can you learn about attitudes in the USA from Source O?
- 2 Elizabeth Eckford faced terrible abuse when she tried to enter Little Rock High School. Why do you think she kept returning until she was allowed into the school?
- 3 Write a paragraph explaining why the president intervened during events at Little Rock.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EVENTS AT LITTLE ROCK

This was the only occasion where the president directly **intervened** to enforce the Supreme Court's decision that high schools should be integrated. Nevertheless, it did show that the Federal government could successfully **overrule** state governments even if events had to reach extreme levels for this to happen. As with the Emmett Till murder, it was the publicity generated by the events at Little Rock that caused the most significant impact, as millions of

US citizens saw another example of extreme racism in the South. This time the publicity was international, which damaged the USA's reputation and made the country look **hypocritical** for criticising other countries' civil rights. Little Rock showed civil rights campaigners that winning battles in the Supreme Court would not be enough to end segregation. They would need to take other action as well. It also demonstrated that media coverage was essential for bringing about change.

It was not just at Little Rock that African American students faced angry crowds when they tried to go to schools that had previously been all-white. Throughout the South, many pupils had to be accompanied by police or state troops. Once inside school, African American pupils were frequently insulted or not spoken to by white pupils. Many felt their education suffered.

EXTRACT C

From a history of the United States of America.

But, of course, the process of dismantling segregation could not be plain sailing. For one thing, to attack it in the schools was to attack it everywhere. The structure of white supremacy tottered [shook]. The Deep South rose in wrath [anger] and came together in fear. It resolved to evade or defeat this decision as it had with so many others, and in carrying out this resolution it had, to start with, considerable success. *Brown v. [versus] Board of Education* turned out to be only the first blow in the new battle in the long, long war. As a result of the great decision it was possible for Southern black schoolchildren and college-age students to claim admission to formerly all-white institutions; but making good that claim was another matter.

The events of the mid-1950s – the campaigns for equality in education and the Montgomery Bus Boycott – had won some small victories and inspired more civil rights protests in different parts of the USA. By the end of the decade, there were signs that a civil rights movement, rather than a few separate events, was building. However, there was still a long way to go before segregation in all areas would end and African Americans would achieve equal civil rights to white Americans.

ACTIVITY

- 1 Create a diagram or table showing the successes and failures of the civil rights campaigns on education in the 1950s.
- 2 President Eisenhower believed that changing the law to enforce integration would do more harm than good. Did events at Little Rock prove that he was right?

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A01

A02

Explain **two** effects of the events at Little Rock in September 1957 on the USA. **(8 marks)**

HINT

In this type of question, you need to demonstrate your knowledge of the events and show an understanding of the consequences.

RECAP

RECALL QUIZ

- 1 What were 'Jim Crow' laws?
- 2 What was the name of the 1896 court case where it was ruled that 'separate but equal' facilities were allowed?
- 3 What do the letters NAACP stand for?
- 4 What was the decision in the *Brown versus Topeka* case?
- 5 Give three examples of how white extremists reacted to growing calls for improved civil rights for African Americans.
- 6 Who was Emmett Till?
- 7 Who was US president, 1953–61?
- 8 When did the Little Rock Nine try to join the Central High School in Little Rock?
- 9 How did the African American community of Montgomery manage not to use buses for 381 days?
- 10 What was the decision in the *Browder versus Gayle* case?

CHECKPOINT

STRENGTHEN

- S1** Explain why *Brown versus Topeka* was significant in improving African American civil rights.
- S2** Why do some historians consider the death of Emmett Till to be so important for the civil rights movement?
- S3** Explain why the Montgomery Bus Boycott was successful in ending bus segregation in Montgomery.

CHALLENGE

- C1** Explain why the Federal government took so long to act to improve civil rights.
- C2** Which events of the 1950s helped to create publicity for the civil rights movement? Why was publicity so important in bringing about change?
- C3** Which out of *Brown versus Topeka*, the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Little Rock Nine had the greatest positive impact on African Americans?

SUMMARY

- In the 1950s, African Americans experienced much racism, discrimination and segregation. This was more extreme in the Southern states.
- In the *Brown versus Topeka* court case, the Supreme Court found that segregated schools were unconstitutional and ordered schools to start accepting people of all races.
- The *Brown* case provoked an extreme reaction from some Southern white people.
- Emmett Till was beaten and murdered for whistling at a white woman in 1955.
- The Montgomery Bus Boycott lasted for 381 days until segregation on buses was found to be illegal by the Supreme Court.
- The Civil Rights Act of 1957 had a very limited impact on improving African American civil rights, but it did at least show that Congress was willing to act.
- The Little Rock Nine attended Central High School in Little Rock after President Eisenhower finally intervened.

EXAM GUIDANCE: PART (B) QUESTIONS

A01

A02

Question to be answered: Describe two effects on the USA of the death of Emmett Till. (8 marks)

1

Analysis Question 1: What is the question type testing?

In this question you have to demonstrate that you have knowledge and understanding of the key features and characteristics of the period studied. You also have to consider historical events to work out what effects they had. In this particular case, you must show knowledge and understanding of the death of Emmett Till and the events caused by his death.

2

Analysis Question 2: What do I have to do to answer the question well?

Obviously you have to write about the death of Emmett Till! But don't simply write everything you know. You have to write about two effects. What are effects? They are things that the subject you are given caused to happen. The key to explaining the effects of an event is to explain the link between the event and an outcome. So, for example, an effect of you doing a lot of revision should be that you can answer the questions in the exam better. You would explain this by emphasising that you know more facts, you have to spend less time trying to remember things, you have looked at more examples of how to answer questions, and so on.

3

Analysis Question 3: Are there any techniques I can use to make it very clear that I am doing what is needed to be successful?

This is an 8-mark question and you need to make sure you leave enough time to answer the other two questions fully (they are worth 22 marks in total). Remember, you are not writing an essay here. You are providing two effects and enough historical detail to explain why the event had these effects.

Therefore, you need to get straight in to writing your answer.

The question asks for two effects, so it's a good idea to write two paragraphs and to begin each paragraph with a phrase like: 'One effect was...', 'Another effect was...'. You should also try to use phrases such as: 'this led to'; 'as a result of this'; 'this brought about'; 'this resulted in'. This will help to show that you are focusing on effects.

The word 'explain' is important because it tells you that you have to do more than just state what the effect was. You need to use your knowledge of the period to explain how the effect led to the outcome. So 'this led to...' states an effect, but 'this led to... because at this time...' is moving towards an explanation.

You cannot get more than 4 marks if you explain only one effect. However, you are required to explain only two effects and you will not gain credit for a third. If you do write about more than two, your better two will be credited and the third will be disregarded.



Answer A

Emmett Till's death shocked and horrified many Americans. This was because his mother kept the lid open on his coffin so people saw how badly he had been attacked as photos were published in many newspapers.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer A?

This answer is quite weak. It identifies only one effect (that many Americans were shocked by Till's death), rather than two. It then supports this one effect with quite limited detail. The answer needs to show why many Americans were so shocked and what impact this had – Till's horrible death and the actions of his mother highlighted the extreme racism of the South, which many Americans, particularly in the North, were unaware of. This increased sympathy for civil rights protests.



Answer B

One effect of Emmett Till's death was that it shocked and horrified many Americans who previously did not realise how racist some people in the South were and the treatment that African Americans were subjected to there. This was because Till's mother, Mamie Bradley, insisted that his coffin was left open so people could see how badly her son had been beaten. His body was photographed and published in newspapers so many people saw it. This increased awareness of racism and brought more support for civil rights protests.

Another effect of Till's death was that it angered many African Americans, and motivated them to join protests and do more to improve African American civil rights. Some people even believe that Till's death was the catalyst for the civil rights movement. This was not just because of the horrible way he was killed for little reason, but because he was so young. Some of the people who supported Rosa Parks in her trial had been inspired by Till's death. Rosa Parks, herself, said she thought of Emmet Till when she was ordered to move seat and so was not prepared to move.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer B?

This is a very good answer. It identifies two effects and clearly provides detailed support for both of them.

Challenge a friend

Use the Student Book to set a part (b) question for a friend. Then look at the answer. Does it do the following things?

- Provide two effects
- Provide 3–4 lines of detailed historical knowledge to explain why the event caused the outcomes (effects) they have identified.

If it does, you can tell your friend that the answer is very good!