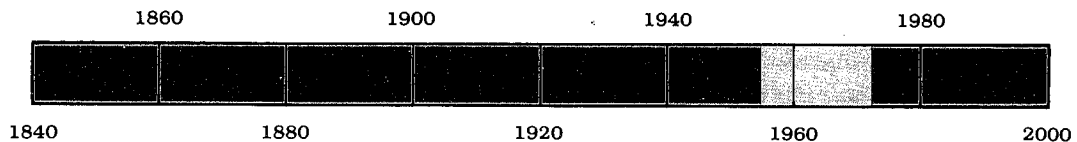


Part **11**

*Toward
Equal
Justice*



Looking Ahead



In churches, on streets, and in jails, these words were being sung:

*We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do
believe,
We shall overcome some day.*

All across the nation in the late 1950's and the 1960's this song could be heard. What did it mean?

"We Shall Overcome" was a theme song of a movement that demanded equal justice for black people. This campaign was called the **civil-rights movement**. Many people were moved to tears by the song. Others became so angry that they wanted to hit the people who sang it. Sometimes they

The high tide of the civil-rights movement of the 1960's was reached on August 28, 1963. Some 250,000 Americans, blacks and whites together, staged a peaceful "March on Washington."

did hit the singers. But the singers kept right on. "The Lord will see us through," they sang. "We shall overcome some day."

Blacks had been freed from slavery for almost a hundred years. But in most places they were still mistreated. Often they were segregated from whites. They didn't have the rights and opportunities of most white people.

Customs and laws. In the North, blacks were segregated by custom. In most states, laws did not require blacks to live in separate neighborhoods. But custom did. In most states, laws did not require blacks to attend separate schools. But most schools served separate neighborhoods. In many black neighborhoods, only blacks were in the schools. Few blacks were able to attend college. Few blacks could get good jobs. And in hard times, blacks were the first to lose their jobs. They were "last hired, first fired."

In much of the South, blacks were

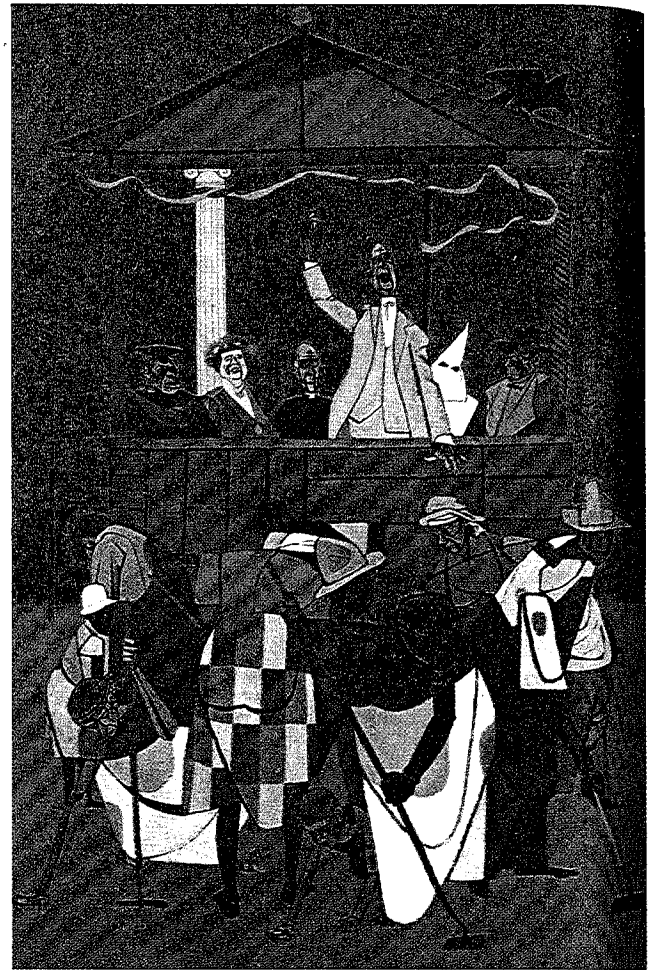
segregated by law. Laws required separate schools for blacks and whites. Laws required blacks to stay away from white swimming pools. Laws required blacks to drink only at water fountains set aside for them. Laws required blacks to sit at the back of buses. Laws permitted voting practices such as poll taxes, which kept most blacks from voting.

Some white people believed that such treatment of blacks was right. They thought white people were better than black people. Such an attitude is called **racism**.

Laughter and silence. Other whites didn't think much about blacks at all. If they did, many thought about them as objects of humor. A popular radio program was called *Amos 'n Andy*. In it, two white men imitated the voices of black men and women. The blacks were bumbling, scheming, and silly. Whites laughed at the show, but most blacks didn't like the way the program treated blacks.

But the times were changing. In 1952 a black writer jarred the minds of book-buying Americans. His name was Ralph Ellison. In his novel, *Invisible Man*, he described his experience of life in the U.S. He told of being jostled on the streets by whites as they walked by. The whites didn't even turn to look at him. They just kept walking, as if he were invisible. Ellison said many whites thought they could ignore blacks altogether.

The civil-rights movement showed white Americans that they couldn't ignore black Americans. But it didn't start all of a sudden. In the 1930's, black people had fought in the courts to try to win their rights. They didn't make much headway. Then World



Virginia-born Robert Gwathmey spoke for working people in his paintings. In "Poll Tax Country" (above), he showed political leaders reaching for power as farm workers go about their chores.

War II came. Many black Americans fought—and died—for their country. Yet black veterans came home to segregation. Many blacks made up their minds to change this. And some whites tried to help them.

Rulings and protests. The spark needed to light the fires of change

came in May 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools were illegal. The idea of segregated schools violated the Constitution, the Justices said. Segregation of other kinds was soon questioned as well.

One of the most dramatic protests of the period came in Montgomery, Alabama. Rosa Parks, a black woman, refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white person. She was arrested for breaking a Montgomery law. Her arrest sparked a year-long campaign to end segregation on buses in Montgomery. That protest introduced a new leader of Southern blacks, Dr. Martin Luther King.

King was a young minister in Montgomery. He helped organize the protest there. He taught his followers the ways of peaceful protest. In Montgomery, and later in other Southern towns and cities, black people broke laws they considered unjust. They were put in jail. But they kept on with their struggle for equal rights.

The civil-rights movement began to win legal victories. It also began to change people's feelings. In the early 1960's, many young people, both black and white, flocked to the Deep South to work in the movement. They helped people sign up to vote. They helped elect blacks to some local offices. These were the first blacks to hold such offices in the South in more than 75 years.

One historian, C. Vann Woodward, said it was as if the nation were repeating its own history. He coined a phrase for the 1950's and 1960's. He called the period a *Second Reconstruction*.

Rights and roles. The civil-rights

movement inspired other groups of Americans to make their own claims for equal treatment. In California, a campaign began to organize farm workers into a union. The workers were poorly paid. Many were Mexican Americans, just like the man who wanted them in a union. His name was Cesar Chavez (SAY-sar CHAH-*vess*). His goal was to win rights for all Mexican Americans.

Women also began to speak out about unfair treatment. Some called for liberation—freedom from the old roles they had played for so long. They named their campaign the **women's liberation movement**. It revived issues first raised by the women's suffrage movement at the turn of the century. A new word entered the American language. It was **sexism**—discrimination based on a person's sex.

Efforts to win equal justice were helped by the U.S. Supreme Court. Under the leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Court made rulings against many types of discrimination. Other national leaders gave further help. In 1965 President Johnson spoke to Congress in support of the civil-rights movement's goals. "It is not just Negroes," he said, "but really it is all of us who must overcome the crippling legacy of . . . injustice. And we shall overcome."

Civil-rights workers were thrilled to hear the words of their song from the President's lips. Still, few people in the movement were completely satisfied. They thought there was still a long way to go before Americans had truly equal opportunities.

CHAPTER 62

“Separate Is Not Equal”

In 1954 U.S. Chief Justice Earl Warren left Washington, D.C., for a few days of vacation. The Supreme Court had been working hard hearing evidence in a very important case. Now the Justices had decided to take a rest. Warren had always wanted to see some Civil War monuments. He thought that the best way to see them was by car.

Warren and his driver headed south. They stopped in the evening in a small Southern town. Warren asked his driver to leave him at the hotel and said good night. He assumed that the driver would want to go to a cheaper hotel. Yet when Warren met the driver the next morning, it was obvious that he had spent the night in the car.

“What happened?” Warren asked. “Didn’t you get to a hotel?”

“Well, Mr. Chief Justice, I couldn’t find a place that would take me,” the driver answered.

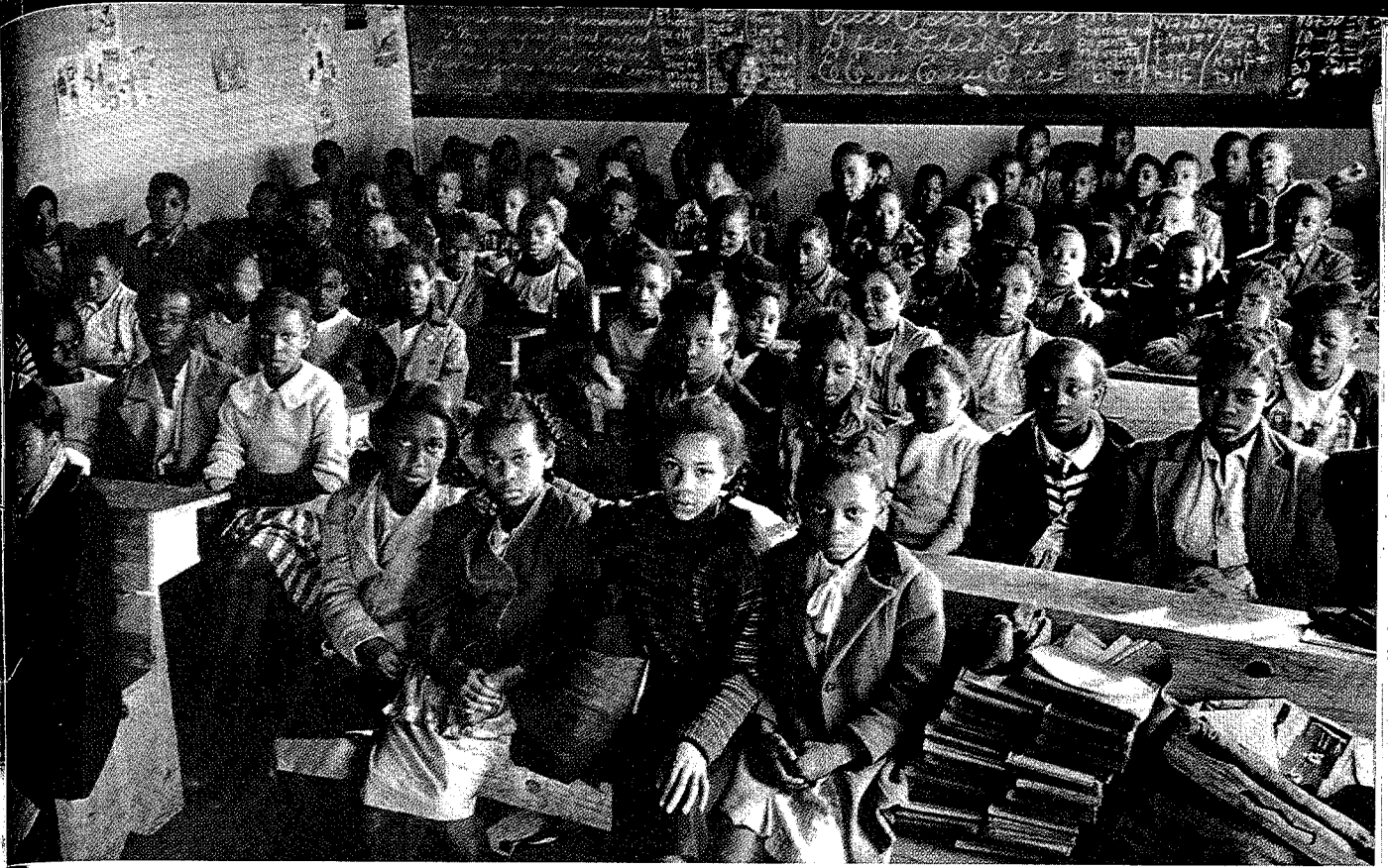
Then it hit Warren. The driver was black. In this town, as in so many towns across the nation, blacks

could not stay in the same hotel as whites. Some towns did not have any hotels for blacks. In such places, black visitors could find no place to spend the night.

Warren was overcome with embarrassment. He went back to work with new energy. As it happened, the case the Court was hearing also dealt with segregation. It centered on discrimination in public schools. (Discrimination, in this sense, means treating people differently because of their membership in a particular group.)

Many years earlier, the Court had given legal support to segregation. The Court had taken its stand in 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. It had ruled that separate passenger cars for blacks and whites were legal on trains so long as the cars were equal. “Separate but equal” had become the law of the land.

Civil-rights groups had begun challenging this decision in the courts in the 1930’s. The group leading the attack was the National Association for



Before 1954, black students and white students went to separate schools in many U.S. communities. Students in the classroom shown here attended an all-black school in West Memphis, Arkansas, in 1949.

the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The NAACP won several court suits. But the Court did not overturn the decision in the Plessy case.

Segregation had continued. And it had continued to anger most black Americans. One of them was Oliver Brown, a railroad worker in Topeka, Kansas. Brown had a young daughter named Linda. Linda Brown traveled about a mile to and from elementary school every day. Yet there was a public elementary school only a few blocks from her house. Why couldn't she go there?

Anger in Topeka. One day in 1950, when Linda was seven, Brown tried to have his daughter enrolled at the nearby school. He was turned away. The school accepted only white students, he was told. Outraged, Brown decided to sue the Topeka Board of Education. He wanted to force the Board to allow Linda to go to the school close to her home.

Brown filed his suit in the U.S. District Court for Kansas. He lost the case, but he did not give up. He took his appeal all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. There the case was combined with four others attacking

segregation in the nation's public schools.

The case became known as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. It opened before the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C., in 1952 and went on for many months. It was a difficult case. The Justices studied it with great care. This was the case Earl Warren returned to after his 1954 vacation in the South.

Brown's attack on segregation was argued by a skilled team of NAACP lawyers. Heading the team was a Baltimore-born attorney, Thurgood Marshall. Marshall was later to become the first black man ever to sit on the U.S. Supreme Court. Another important person in the case was Dr. Kenneth B. Clark. Clark was a black professor at the City College of New York. He supplied facts to show that all-black schools were damaging to black children.

Ruling in Washington. At 12:52 on the afternoon of May 17, 1954, Earl Warren began reading the Court's opinion in the case. It was Warren's first major opinion as Chief Justice. He read it with a cool and steady voice. He did not give away the Court's verdict immediately. Twenty minutes went by. Still the news reporters could not be sure which way the Court had ruled.

Then they got their answer. All nine Justices had agreed that segregation in the nation's public schools was against the Constitution. Separate schools for blacks and whites could never be equal, the Court said. Segregation denied black people "equal protection of the laws." And equal protection had been guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

This ruling overturned the 1896 "separate but equal" decision. "Separate is *not* equal," the Court now said. The Court's decision was limited to equal schooling. But it challenged the basis of all forms of racial segregation in the United States.

The reaction came swiftly. In the nation's black communities, there was a sense of thanksgiving. Black people hoped that the decision would end the unfair treatment they had faced for many years. Many white people—in the North, South, East, and West—also rejoiced. One Ohio newspaper praised the Supreme Court for acting "as the conscience of a nation."

In the South, white people were mixed in their opinions. The governor of Virginia said the decision called for "cool heads, calm study, and sound judgment." But some other Southerners were neither cool nor calm about the Court's ruling. They were furious.

Questions of public education had usually been decided by state and local government, they said. They thought the Court's opinion showed no respect for states' rights. These Southerners did not see the decision as one which touched the entire nation. Instead, they saw it as an attack on the Southern way of life.

Crisis in Little Rock. In some states, leaders took steps to fight the decision. They closed all public schools rather than bring an end to segregation. In certain areas, white people joined together in white citizens' councils. The councils often used threats to stop people from trying to make changes in the schools.



A showdown over segregation took place at Little Rock Central High School in September 1957. Federal troops moved in to allow nine black students to attend the school.

One showdown came in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. Nine black students were to attend the city's all-white Central High School. To prevent this, Arkansas governor Orval Faubus called out the state's National Guard. President Eisenhower then sent federal troops into the city to get the teenagers into the school. Faubus finally backed down.

Eisenhower showed that he meant to back up the Court. Many people in the South realized that a new way of life had arrived. Opposition to the Brown ruling slowly faded. In one Southern city after another, black students peacefully entered schools formerly reserved for whites.

Few cases in the history of the U.S. Supreme Court had affected so many people. Few decisions had touched more basic values. A few weeks after the decision, one of the Justices, Stanley Reed, commented on the case. "If it was not the most important decision in the history of the Court," he said, "it was very close."

Chapter Check

1. What was decided by the Brown case? In what ways did the Supreme Court decision differ from earlier decisions concerning segregation?
2. What was the reaction of most black people to the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*? What were the reactions of white people in different parts of the country?
3. Once the Judicial Branch of government makes a decision, the Executive Branch must see that the decision is enforced. How was this done with respect to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision?
4. What do you think you would have thought of this Supreme Court decision in 1954? What are your thoughts on segregation in general?

CHAPTER 63

Bus Ride to Equality

Rosa Parks was tired. It had been a warm December day in Montgomery, Alabama. Christmas shoppers at her department store had kept her busy all day long. At closing time, the 42-year-old black seamstress headed for her bus stop on Cleveland Avenue. Her feet hurt.

Along Cleveland Avenue, auto headlights glared in the thickening darkness. Through the maze of traffic rolled the bus which would take Mrs. Parks home. When it reached her curb, she paid her fare and boarded by the rear door. Then she carefully took a seat in the fifth row.

Like most Southern cities in 1955, Montgomery had laws segregating blacks and whites on city buses. Black people sat in the rear. White people sat in the front. Halfway up the aisle was a no man's land. Black people could sit in this section if the white section was not full. This was where Rosa Parks sat to rest her weary feet on the night of December 1, 1955.

For a few blocks, the trip was quite routine. The bus left Court Square, groaning off in the direction of the Empire Theater. All the seats in the white section were filled now. At the Empire Theater stop, six white people boarded the bus. Following bus company direction, the driver asked four of the blacks to give up their seats. Three of them stood. Rosa Parks gently but firmly refused.

Again the driver asked her to give up her seat. Again Mrs. Parks said no. Her manner was quiet, but her voice was as solid as steel. The driver pulled the emergency brake and went to look for the police. Minutes later, he was back with two policemen. They ordered Mrs. Parks off the bus. They took her to the city police station. Her fingerprints were taken. She was put in jail.

Mrs. Parks had not planned on trouble. Her simple protest had taken only a few minutes to make. It involved no news reporters, no popping flashbulbs, no drama of any kind. It had been a lonely act of courage. But



Rosa Parks began a decade of black protest by refusing to give up a seat on a bus. This photo shows Mrs. Parks on the day the bus protest ended in 1956.

it marked the start of a series of protests across the nation lasting more than a decade.

Organizing. News of Rosa Parks' arrest traveled quickly through Montgomery. Black leaders in the city called a meeting at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. They were tired

of having to board buses by the rear door. They were tired of being told to sit in certain places. They were tired of having to stand when told to stand. They were tired of segregation—tired and ready for a protest of their own.

Most of the people who rode buses in Montgomery were black. What would happen, black leaders asked, if Montgomery's blacks simply refused to ride buses for one day? What would happen, in other words, if black people **boycotted** the buses? Surely such a boycott would show that Montgomery's blacks stood against the city's bus laws.

Committees were set up to convince black people to take part in a boycott. Leaflets were printed to spread the word. Rosa Parks, just out of jail, worked all weekend to tell people of the boycott. It was scheduled to take place on Monday, December 5.

That Monday, Montgomery's buses rattled through the streets almost empty. Seventeen thousand black people walked to work or got there some other way. That night another meeting was held in the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. In this meeting it was decided to keep the boycott going.

The church's young minister, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., addressed the group. "For many years, we have shown amazing patience," he said. "We have sometimes given our white brothers the feeling that we liked the way we were being treated. But we come here tonight to be saved from that patience that makes us patient with anything less than freedom and justice."



After Rosa Parks' arrest, Montgomery's black people decided not to ride city buses. Many commuters walked to work, even in the rain.

Protesting. Dr. King was new to Montgomery. He had been a minister there for less than a year. Yet he now took leadership of the boycott. Montgomery's black people formed car pools. When necessary, they walked to their jobs. A few of them even rode mules. And they vowed to keep the boycott going until bus seating was no longer segregated.

At first, officials of the bus company did not think the boycott would last long. They met with black leaders, but the two sides could not agree. Bus company officials said the ideas of black leaders were illegal. The talks broke down.

The boycott continued through the winter and into the spring of 1956. Both Dr. King and Mrs. Parks were arrested. King's home was bombed. Still, Montgomery's black citizens kept up their protests. Then the matter of bus seating in Montgomery

came before the federal courts.

In June 1956, the U.S. District Court ruled that segregated seating on buses was against the Constitution. But the city of Montgomery appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. In November the Supreme Court upheld the District Court decision. On December 21, 1956—more than a year after the boycott began—Dr. King rode the first desegregated bus in Montgomery.

By this time, the Montgomery bus boycott had attracted nationwide attention. Many Americans were impressed by the dignity the bus boycotters had shown. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had become known far beyond Montgomery's city limits. He had emerged as a leader of black Southerners in their struggle for civil rights.

The Montgomery protest inspired others. Bus boycotts were organized in several Southern cities. Black people went to jail to make their views known. New methods of protest were put into practice in many places. Here are a few of them:

Sit-ins. In 1960 four black college students walked into a five-and-ten-cent store in Greensboro, North Carolina. They sat down at the lunch counter and ordered coffee. The waitress reminded them that blacks were not served at "white" lunch counters in Greensboro. The students were polite but firm. They said they would stay until they were served.

They stayed in the store until it closed that evening. The next day they returned. Their method was known as a **sit-in**. It had first been used by labor unions in the 1930's.

The Greensboro sit-in soon drew national attention. Sit-ins spread to other cities—and often worked. Slowly, lunch rooms, restaurants, and other public places were opened to black people.

Freedom rides. In 1961 a leading civil-rights group, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), tried another tactic. It sent teams of bus riders, both blacks and whites, on journeys through the South. These people became known as *Freedom Riders*. They challenged segregation on buses, in restaurants, and in other public places.

Some white Southerners resented these Freedom Riders. They said that Northerners had no business stirring up trouble in the South. Yet the Freedom Riders called attention to their goals. The U.S. Justice Department put pressure on companies which carried passengers between states. It urged them to ban segregation in terminals run for their use. Air, rail, and bus lines agreed to do so.

Voter-registration drives. In 1959 a federal commission made a disturbing report to the nation. It said that large numbers of black people were being denied the right to vote. Most civil-rights groups agreed. Without voting rights, these groups asked, how could black people have an equal role in a democracy?

One summer in the early 1960's, a young black leader, Robert Moses, made a trip through Mississippi. He became convinced of the need to register (sign up) black voters there. Moses believed that voter registration was the road to political power for all poor people, whites as well as blacks.

He got a voter-registration drive going in Mississippi in 1964. The idea quickly spread.

Some local people resented Moses' drive. A number of Moses' workers were hurt. A few were killed. But the drive did succeed in registering many blacks. The cause of voter registration was also aided by passage of the 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This amendment banned the use of poll taxes in federal elections. It became law in 1964.

The civil-rights campaign touched the conscience of the nation. Prejudice remained in many parts of the country, North as well as South. Yet people were working to end this prejudice. Equal justice no longer seemed impossible to win.

Chapter Check

1. Why was Rosa Parks arrested? What law had she violated? How was this law finally overturned?
2. How would you have felt if you had been Rosa Parks on the night of December 1, 1955? Would you have refused to stand for the bus driver? Would you have gone to jail for your rights? Would you have helped to organize a bus boycott? Explain your answers.
3. In the struggle for civil rights during the 1950's and 1960's, several methods of protest were used. Make a list of these methods, and give the purpose for which each was used. Were these methods effective? Do you think they were necessary? Give reasons for your answer.

CHAPTER 64

“I Have a Dream. . . .”

An angry crowd milled around the bombed house. Some people yelled threats at city officials checking on the damage. The house belonged to the Reverend Martin Luther King. Inside, Dr. King was trying to find out what had happened. Outside, violence hung like a thick cloud in the cool night air.

The date was January 30, 1956. The Montgomery bus boycott was still underway, and King had gone to a boycott meeting. While he was away, someone had planted a bomb on his porch. King's wife and daughter, who had been in the house, were unharmed. But the crowd of angry blacks was in no mood to listen to pleas for calm.

Martin Luther King came out on the porch. He looked at the angry people on his front lawn. He knew some were ready to tear the city apart. But his face showed sadness, not anger or fear.

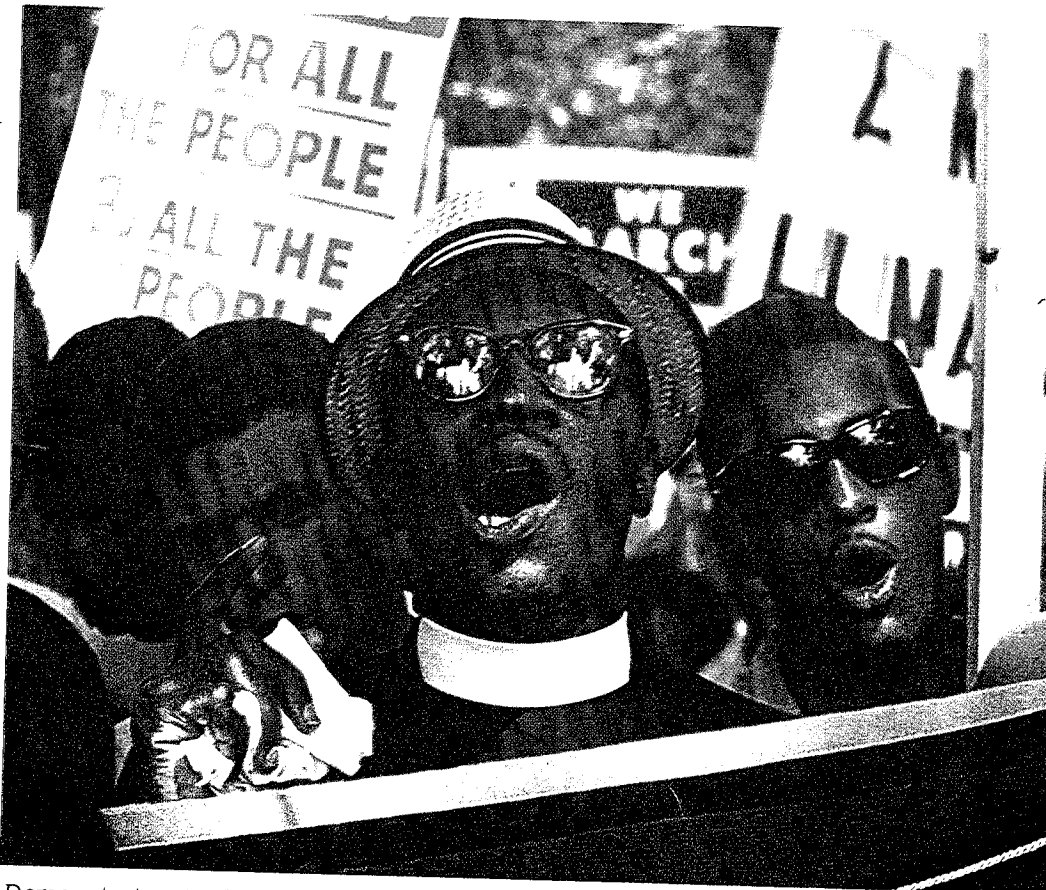
“We must meet hate with love,” he said. “We must meet violence with

nonviolence. Leave peacefully. And don't worry about me. If I am stopped, this movement will not stop, because God is with the movement.”

The crowd grew silent. Martin Luther King's house had been damaged. His family could have been killed. Yet he stood there talking of love and forgiveness. A man's voice broke the silence: “God bless you,” he cried. “Amen!” said the others.

Martin Luther King was a leader. He proved it during the year-long bus boycott in Montgomery. The boycott was the start of the civil-rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's. And that January night King gave the movement one of its most basic ideas.

Putting ideas into action. King believed that black people should resist laws that they thought unjust. If necessary, he thought they should disobey such laws. But King also said that they should be ready to accept punishment for breaking such laws.



Demonstrators in the "March on Washington" in 1963 showed their feelings in the songs they sang. "We Shall Overcome" was the theme song of the civil-rights movement. It ended with the lines, "The Lord shall see us through. We shall overcome someday."

In some cases, they should even go to jail.

King called for **nonviolent** (peaceful) resistance. He did not believe in angry threats. He did not believe in fighting back when attacked. He thought the civil-rights movement should try to end injustice by appealing to the conscience of the nation.

King drew his ideas from several sources. He learned love for one's

enemies from the deep Christian heritage of American blacks. He learned about nonviolent resistance from the writings of a 19th-century American, Henry David Thoreau (thor-OH). Thoreau had written about resistance to laws dealing with slavery. Now King used Thoreau's ideas to fight racial injustice.

King had also studied the life of Mohandas Gandhi (mo-HAHN-dus

GON-dee). Gandhi had led India's struggle for independence in the 1930's and 1940's. Under Gandhi's leadership, millions of Indians had refused to buy British goods. Many had refused to pay British taxes. These were forms of nonviolent protest. From Gandhi, King had learned how to build a movement based on such ideas.

Martin Luther King's political and religious training had begun in his youth. His father was the minister of a leading black church in Atlanta, Georgia. The King family was fairly well-off. Young Martin did not know poverty as a boy. But he did know the personal meaning of segregation firsthand.

Putting faith to a test. At Morehouse College in Atlanta, King trained to become a minister. After being graduated from Morehouse, he continued his studies in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. But he wanted to do more than care for souls. He felt it was his duty to do something to end segregation and poverty too.

King did all he could. As a result of the Montgomery boycott, he became the best known civil-rights leader in the nation. He used his fame to wage an endless campaign against segregation. From 1956 to 1964, King was arrested 29 times for protesting the unfair treatment of his people.

The year 1963 was a special one for black Americans. It was the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, the first step toward ending slavery. Yet 100 years after freedom, black people still suffered from injustices. In Washington, D.C., President John F. Kennedy

spoke out against unfair treatment of blacks. He sent an important civil-rights bill to Congress. But Congress delayed acting on the bill. Civil-rights leaders thought it was time to put pressure on Congress. They planned a big demonstration in the nation's capital.

The "March on Washington" took place on August 28, 1963. It was a hot, clear summer day. Marchers came in car pools, buses, trains, and planes. They poured into Washington all morning long like a flood. By noon 250,000 people wound around the reflecting pool in front of the Lincoln Memorial. Wealthy merchants marched beside poor farmers. Northerners marched beside Southerners. Blacks marched beside whites.

Putting hope before despair. Millions of people watched the march live on television. Stars of the entertainment world performed. Then, after several speeches, Martin Luther King was introduced. He spoke of how black people had carried in their hearts the hope of full equality. Now was the time, he said, for America to fulfill the promises of democracy.

"I have a dream," he said, "that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. . . ."

"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 skin but by the content of their character.

"I have a dream. . . ." Over and over again he chanted his dream for America. The crowd listened breathlessly to the rolling words. King

ended the speech with the hope that one day all Americans would know the meaning of an old slave song:

*Free at last!
Free at last!
Thank God Almighty,
We are free at last!*

For a moment there was silence. Some people wept openly. Others were too moved to respond. Then the silence was replaced by thunderous applause.

The next year, King was awarded a high honor, the Nobel Peace Prize, for his civil-rights work. But he did not rest on his honors. He continued to lead the struggle for civil rights. Beginning in 1965, new leaders with different ideas challenged King's leadership of the movement. Some of these new leaders were young Northerners. They were impatient with King's calls for nonviolence. They were angry and defiant. "Black power" was their rallying cry.

But King stood behind the idea of nonviolence. He kept on expanding his activities. He began to speak out against U.S. fighting in Vietnam. Many people criticized him for his views. They said he should limit his work to civil rights. Others supported King. If the U.S. left Vietnam, they said, the government would have more money to spend on civil-rights programs at home.

In 1968 King again broadened his concern. He organized a Poor People's Campaign to attack poverty. He went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a sanitation workers' strike there. On April 4, he was killed by an

assassin's bullet. He was 39 years old.

Black communities across America exploded in rage that night. In Washington, D.C., the flames from black neighborhoods could be seen from the White House. In Kansas City, Missouri, National Guard troops moved in to end rioting that took six lives.

Many people found a bitter truth in Martin Luther King's murder. They said it proved that love and forgiveness were useless against hatred. But others remembered his dream. For them, the fulfillment of that dream remained as the work of all Americans.

Chapter Check

1. Who was Dr. Martin Luther King? How did he become leader of the civil-rights movement in the 1950's?
2. Why was 1963 a special year for black Americans? How did Dr. King mark the occasion?
3. What did King mean by nonviolent resistance? Where did he get his ideas about nonviolence?
4. Why do you think King chose nonviolent methods to achieve his goals? Was violence used against King?
5. In what ways did Dr. King expand the range of his activities? What reactions did he get? For which of his accomplishments do you think he is best-remembered?

CHAPTER 65

La Causa

“**V**iva la causa!” (Long live the cause!)

The cries in Spanish filled the hot, dusty hall. Mexican-American farm workers in Delano (deh-LAY-no), California, were voting to strike against the large grape-growers. A stocky, dark-haired man called for order. His name was Cesar Chavez.

For three years, he had tried to get people to join his National Farm Workers Association. To do so, he had traveled up and down California's Central Valley. Wherever he had gone, he had asked the mostly Mexican-American farm workers if they liked their working conditions. Their answer had been, “No!” Now, in 1965, the time had come for action.

Dusty harvest. Chavez had grown up on a small farm near Yuma (YOO-muh), Arizona. As a boy, he had worked in the fields with his family.

Cesar Chavez used pickets, boycotts, marches, and fasts to make the American public aware of the farm workers' plight.





"Huelga" is the Spanish word for strike. These Mexican-American farm workers joined the UFW's strike to protest their low pay and poor working conditions.

But when he was 10, the Chavezes lost their farm in the Depression. They packed up and headed for California.

The family soon learned the hard and uncertain life of farm laborers. The Chavezes traveled around the fertile California valleys looking for work. They lived in shacks or sometimes in their car.

When he was 15, Chavez left school to work in the fields. He was then living in a run-down slum in northern California. The slum was called *Sal Si Puedes* (PWAY-dace), a Spanish term meaning "get out if you can."

One day he met a man named Fred Ross. Ross worked for the Commu-

nity Services Organization (CSO). The CSO was a private agency that tried to help farm workers and other poor people. Ross was looking for someone to help him organize farm workers to fight for their rights. Chavez took a job with the CSO. Over the next 10 years, he learned what it took to be a union organizer.

Many of the larger farms in California's Central Valley were owned by wealthy people. They used Mexican-American workers to harvest the crops they grew. When the harvest was over on one farm, these workers would move on to another. They were known as migrants.

Bitter fruits. These workers almost

always received low pay. Yet there was not much they could do to improve it. They were specifically left out of federal laws giving workers the right to form unions. So most attempts by farm workers to improve their lives had been wasted efforts.

Chavez believed that the only way for farm workers to help themselves was to form a union. In 1962 he moved with his wife and eight children to Delano. With a few trusted friends, he began to build the National Farm Workers Association.

Chavez continued his organizing for three years. Then, in 1965, came the strike against the large grape-growers that was known as **La Causa** (COW-suh). Chavez set down one hard-and-fast rule: The strikers had to be nonviolent. As he put it, "No union movement is worth the life of a single grower or his child or a single worker or his child."

The strike started slowly. The growers argued that, if farm workers went into the union, prices would be pushed so high that they could not make a profit. The growers had many people on their side. Among them were most leaders of local government. The union, on the other hand, had little money and even less power.

But this was *La Causa*. It was a struggle for self-respect of an entire people. It was being led by a man who seemed able to persuade his followers to do almost anything. Chavez' power came from within. It sprang from his firmness, gentleness, and tireless energy.

The farm workers organized committees to run the strike. A community kitchen made sure that no one went hungry. Other labor unions and

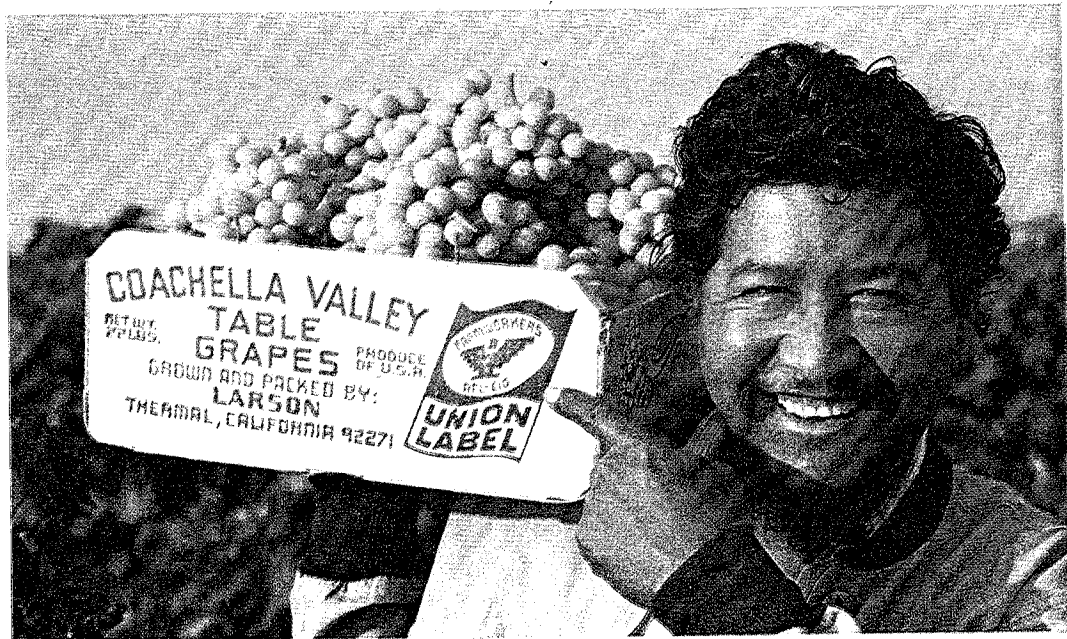
community groups pledged support for *La Causa*. College students, housewives, and clergymen came to Delano to help with the strike.

Fertile soil. But the strike could not be won with such support alone. Chavez believed he needed to be strong-minded. At one point, he led a group of farm workers on a 300-mile (480-kilometer) march to Sacramento, the state capital. His key tactic in the strike—and the most controversial one—was a boycott. Strike leaders fanned out across the country, urging people not to buy wine or grapes. More than one of Chavez' opponents hotly termed this tactic "illegal." Still the farm workers kept up the plea for a boycott. Slowly wine and grape sales began to fall.

At first the growers had thought of Chavez as a mere troublemaker. Now some of them began to take a more serious second look. Chavez was accused of being power-hungry. His critics claimed he would destroy the very workers he was trying to save.

Yet some growers feared that their business would suffer badly if the boycott continued. One by one they began talks with the union. In 1966 the United Farm Workers, as the union was now called, signed its first contract with some growers.

Cooler climate. Other growers kept on refusing to talk with Chavez. Tension grew. For a time, it seemed that violence might flare up. Chavez believed that time was on the side of the farm workers. What they needed was courage and an example to follow. Chavez gave them both. As a devout Roman Catholic, he took up an old religious practice. He went on a fast (a period of going without food).



Beaming broadly, a member of the United Farm Workers shows off a box of union grapes. Before its label went on such boxes, the union waged a long strike and boycott against grape-growers.

Chavez fasted for 24 days. During this time he lived on nothing but plain water. Union members came to visit him from all over the state. "I guess one time I thought about becoming a priest," he said later. "But I did this instead, and I'm happy to [have been] a part of it." At the end of the fast, a thanksgiving feast was held. The farm workers cheered their leader. *La Causa* went on.

The major breakthrough came in July 1970. The largest grape-growers in the Central Valley agreed to a contract with the union. One grower spoke for the others. "We are happy that peace has come to this valley."

The contract was a real victory for Cesar Chavez. But time was not standing still. That same summer Chavez began organizing lettuce

workers. His work continued into the next decade.

Chapter Check

1. Cesar Chavez knew the problems of the migrant workers. He also had the knowledge and skill to lead a union. How and where did he learn all these things?
2. When and where did the National Farm Workers Association begin its strike against the grape-growers? What was the outcome of the strike?
3. How did the farm workers' boycott differ from the boycott against Montgomery buses in 1955–1956? How were the two boycotts similar?

CHAPTER 66

Women on the March

“**T**he problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, . . . a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the 20th century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, . . . ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, . . . she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—‘Is this all?’ ”

So began a book about women in America. Its title was *The Feminine Mystique*. Its author was a New York City magazine editor, Betty Friedan. When the book first appeared in 1963, it was a sudden hit. It claimed that many women in the United States were suffering from “a problem that has no name.”

U.S. women had been encouraged to think only in terms of being wives and mothers, Friedan argued. They had been discouraged from using their own skills for their own purposes in their own ways. Many women were not contributing

enough of real value to American life, Friedan said. Some of them had grown unhappy with themselves as a result.

Seedbed for reform. Friedan’s book started many women thinking. The more they thought, the more some of them concluded that Friedan was right. Some of Friedan’s readers *did* feel trapped in a round of washing, ironing, cooking, and cleaning. Some of them felt empty or useless or just plain bored.

Within a year, others were making similar comments about American women. Some took their ideas from the civil-rights movement of the 1960’s. This movement had raised the issue of racial discrimination. Many women in the movement started to think about their own civil rights. Some of them believed they were the victims of discrimination based on sex.

Men generally held better jobs than women did, these people noted. Men were often paid more than women for the same jobs. Men had a better



Both men and women went on the march in New York City in 1978 to show their support for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The marchers included author Betty Friedan, sixth from the left in the front row.

chance of getting into professional schools. Men even found it easier to take out bank loans or obtain credit cards.

Many working women wanted the same rights as men. Some other women wanted to be liberated (freed) from roles they did not like. These women became **feminists**—supporters of equal rights for women. They organized, demonstrated, and wrote books to make their voices heard. Their demands set off a debate in the U.S. that still continues. It is a debate that focuses on some of the basic ideas of U.S. society.

To some people, the women's liberation movement seemed brand new. But its roots went back to the women's suffrage movement of the early 1900's. Supporters of women's suf-

frage had raised many of the same complaints.

In 1920 the 19th Amendment gave women the right to vote. As the years passed, more women than ever before went to college and held good jobs. But many women complained that they were still not treated as equals. It was still a "man's world," some of them felt.

Complaints over treatment. Feminist writers pointed out how, from early childhood, boys and girls were treated differently. Boys were often given footballs and toy guns to play with. They were encouraged to be tough, brave, and strong. Girls were given dolls. They were told to act "feminine."

What all this amounted to, said feminists, was something called sex

stereotyping. This meant that people thought of all girls in the same simple terms. Girls were weak and passive. They wanted only to be wives and mothers. Boys were seen in equally simple terms. Only boys were different. They were strong, smart, aggressive. They were cut out to be doctors or political leaders.

These were the stereotypes. But they were untrue, said the feminists. Some girls and women were strong, smart, and aggressive. Some boys and men were weak and passive. The stereotypes, said the feminists, did not reflect nature. They reflected only the ideas of our society—*man-made* ideas.

Feminists called these ideas *sexist*, because they favored one sex over the other. These people pointed out examples of such ideas in books. Children's books, they said, almost always showed men as doctors and women as nurses. Feminists argued that TV and movies also presented

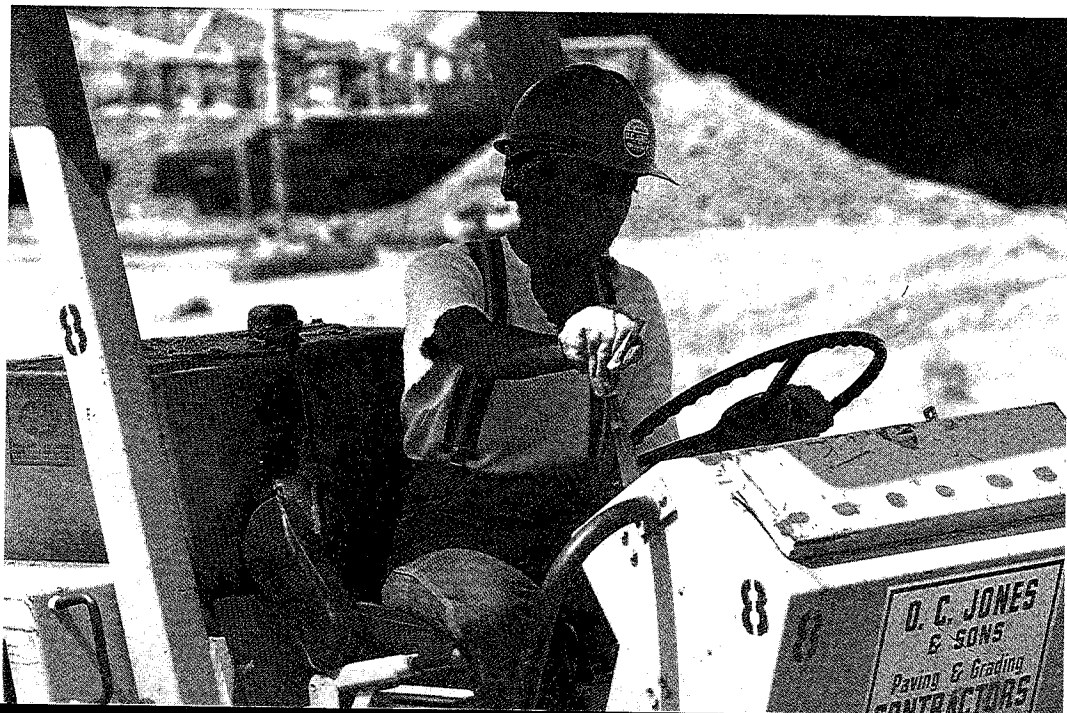
sexist ideas. In fact, these people saw sexism almost everywhere.

Some feminists turned to the law for help. They fought for rules against discrimination based on sex. One such rule was made part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The law allowed some women to sue their employers to obtain better working conditions or higher pay. But feminists said such laws were not enough.

Call for an amendment. The feminists called for an *Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)* to the Constitution. Its goal: to guarantee equal rights for women. The ERA had first been proposed in 1923. But Congress didn't pass it then. Finally, in 1972, Congress passed the amendment. But this didn't make the amendment official. It still had to be approved by three fourths (or 38) of the state legislatures within seven years.

The ERA caused great controversy. It was brought up in one state legis-

Until the women's liberation movement, some people believed that "a woman's place is in the home." The feminist movement encouraged women to try other roles. As a result, women began working in jobs that had traditionally been held by men.



lature after another. Those for and against the ERA battled it out. Some states passed the ERA at first, but later reversed their action. The battles dragged on for years.

Feminists argued that the ERA was very important. They said that women, although they outnumbered men, made up the largest "minority group" in the U.S. Only the ERA would give women full equality with men, the feminists argued.

But many others feared women would not benefit from the ERA. Many of these opponents were women. They feared women might lose special "protections" they now had under the law. Women might be forced to work long hours, or do hard labor, or be drafted into the Army, the opponents said.

Call for more tradition. Opponents of the ERA were a new type of woman activist. They called themselves *grassroots women*. Many of them liked the traditional women's roles. They feared that feminists wanted to make women just like men. They firmly believed that a woman's place was in the home. If women didn't rear the children, who would? they asked.

"No women in history have ever enjoyed such privileges, luxuries, and freedom as American women," said one anti-ERA document. Feminists are "a tiny minority of dissatisfied . . . women," the document went on. The opponents of the ERA were against women's liberation. They saw no need to be "liberated."

All the while, women were taking on new roles in society. More women were accepted into medical schools and law schools. Women moved up in the business and sports worlds. Billie Jean King became a world-class tennis player. She led the drive for equal rewards for female champions. Race-tracks hired women jockeys. Girls played Little League baseball alongside boys. Some girls played on boys' soccer teams.

Obviously, there was no single women's movement. Women disagreed among themselves on many issues. Some people felt threatened by changes in the roles of women. Others were pleased. Many people believed, though, that the feminist movement was one more part of the drive for equal justice.

Chapter Check

1. In what ways do feminists believe women have been victims of discrimination? What steps did feminists take to combat such discrimination? What word did they use to describe it?
2. What was the ERA? What were the reasons for supporting the amendment? What were the arguments of its opponents?
3. Do you agree that women have been victims of discrimination in U.S. history? Explain your answer. Do you think that women need to be liberated? Why or why not?

Looking Back: Toward Equal Justice

MAIN EVENTS

1. Nearly 100 years after the end of slavery, black people were still denied equal rights.
2. In 1954, in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the Supreme Court ruled segregation in public schools unconstitutional.
3. Rosa Parks was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, for refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white person. Thousands of people protested by boycotting Montgomery's buses. In 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation on buses was unconstitutional.
4. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., emerged as the leading figure in the civil-rights movement. He called for nonviolent resistance to segregation.
5. The civil-rights movement used boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides, and voter-registration drives to fight segregation. On August 28, 1963, 250,000 people participated in a "March on Washington" to demand equal rights for all Americans. Martin Luther King gave a speech that day. He told the huge crowd, "I have a dream."
6. In 1964, Martin Luther King received the Nobel Peace Prize. Four years later, Dr. King was assassinated.
7. Cesar Chavez helped Mexican-American migrant workers organize a union. In 1965, this union went on strike against California grape-growers. People across the country helped by boycotting grapes and wine.
8. The feminist movement of the 1960's attracted many to the campaign for women's rights. In 1972, Congress passed a Constitutional amendment giving equal rights to women. But the Equal Rights Amendment was not ratified by enough states to become a part of the Constitution.

WORDS TO KNOW

Below is a list of vocabulary terms from Part 11. Decide which term best completes the sentences that follow. Number your paper from 1 to 10. Write the correct term next to each number.

civil-rights movement	boycott	La Causa
racism	sit-in	feminists
women's liberation movement	nonviolent	ERA
sexism		

1. Martin Luther King believed in _____ resistance. He did not believe in fighting when attacked.
2. The strike by Mexican-American farm workers became known as _____.
3. The _____ was a campaign that fought discrimination based on a person's sex.
4. Discrimination based on a person's sex is called _____.
5. _____ are outspoken supporters of equal rights for women.
6. _____ is a proposal for an amendment to the Constitution that would guarantee equal rights for women.
7. _____ is unfair treatment of people because of race or nationality.
8. Four black college students refused to leave a whites-only lunch counter until they were served. This form of protest is a _____.
9. After Rosa Parks' arrest, blacks in Montgomery, Alabama, decided not to ride the city's buses. This form of protest is a _____.
10. The _____ was a campaign for equality and justice for black people.

THINKING AND WRITING

A. Symbolic Statements

Each of the following expressions became symbolic of a specific idea or cause. Write a short paragraph about each expression. In each paragraph, answer these questions: (a) What is the origin of the expression? (b) What idea or cause is associated with the expression? (c) What message does the expression carry?

1. *Viva la causa!*
2. We shall overcome!
3. Separate is *not* equal.
4. I have a dream. . . .

B. Writing a Conversation

The year is 1954. The Supreme Court has just ruled that "separate is *not* equal." Segregation in public schools is no longer legal.

Imagine and write a conversation between two people. The first supports the Supreme Court ruling on segregation. The second is opposed. They are discussing the decision and its effect on local schools. Base the conversation on what you have read in Part 11.

SHARPENING YOUR SKILLS

A metropolitan area is made up of a large central city and its suburbs. What do the graphs on this page tell you about the nation's metropolitan areas? Study them carefully. Then answer the questions.

1. What percentage of black Americans lived in inner cities in 1950?
2. What percentage of white Americans lived in inner cities in 1950?
3. True or false? Between 1950 and 1969, white Americans more

often moved to cities than to suburban areas.

4. True or false? Between 1950 and 1969, black Americans more often moved to cities than to suburbs.
5. True or false? In 1969 most black Americans lived in the suburbs or outside metropolitan areas.
6. What do the circle graphs tell you about the movement of black Americans in the 1950's and 1960's?

