CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO:  
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES, 1965-1980

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The period between 1965 and 1980 saw black Americans shift the civil rights movement in goals and tactics, and also recognize some significant gains. As with other periods, these gains were tempered by white backlash and retreat. Even after his death, Malcolm X proved a great influence on the emerging “black power” movement of the late 1960s. Led by young black men like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, black power activists advocated black pride, militancy and separate institutions. The Black Panther Party, the most militant of the black power groups, suffered from increased repression by police and other authorities, although they began several useful programs for the poor, inner city blacks. The late 1960s also saw large numbers of urban areas erupt in violence as blacks became increasingly frustrated by economic disparity and discrimination by police. Some politicians, namely Lyndon Johnson, worked to improve conditions for blacks. Johnson’s War on Poverty, dramatically reduced and eventually destroyed by the war in Vietnam, provided numerous useful programs for black economic, social and political opportunities. The riots and continued problems also forced Martin Luther King to reevaluate his tactics and ideas. Shortly before his death, he focused energies on economic issues as well as opposition to the war in an effort to maintain gains for blacks.

Blacks made some gains politically, including election to political office in greater numbers. The civil rights movement in the 1970s, in fact, moved away from direct action tactics and more toward the electoral process as a way of change. Students also had an increasing role in civil rights again from 1968 to 1975, protesting continued racism, but also pushing universities to accept black studies as a legitimate scholarly endeavor. The presidents of the 1970s would prove less helpful than Johnson. Richard M. Nixon proved a mixed bag, pushing some beneficial possibilities, but also opposing desegregation by bussing. Jimmy Carter, although he approved many blacks in government positions, also eliminated important programs benefiting blacks and failed to stop the economic downturn of the 1970s that hurt many poor and working class blacks.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Understand the origins, ideas, personalities and effects of the Black Power Movement, and the effects of inner city riots in the late 1960s.

Understand the main points of Johnson’s War on Poverty, how it affected blacks, and what happened to it.

Understand the changing nature of the civil rights movement in the late 1960s, including developments among Martin Luther King, Jr., students, and Black Power advocates.

Understand the political and cultural developments for blacks during the late 1960s and 1970s, including the Black Arts Movement, new political offices, and effects on white presidents, including Johnson, Nixon and Carter.
CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

II. The Fading Dream of Racial Integration: White Backlash and Black Nationalism
   A. Backlash Against Civil Rights Gains
      1. In States
      2. In national politics
   B. Search for New Tactics
   C. Malcolm X
      1. Background
      2. Dismissal of non violence and integration
   D. Malcolm X’s New Departure
      1. Conflict with Elijah Muhammad
      2. New organizations
      3. New views
   E. Stokely Carmichael and Black Power
      1. Expulsion of many whites from SNCC
      2. Origins/ Meaning of Black Power
      3. SNCC’s Decline
      4. Reaction of King
      5. H. Rap Brown and Militancy
   F. The National Council of Churches
      1. Origins
      2. Benjamin Payton
      3. Changes with Black Power Movement

III. The Black Panther Party
   A. Origins
   B. Leadership
   C. Police Repression and the FBI’s COINTELPRO
      1. Beneficial programs
      2. Reaction to militancy by FBI
   D. Prisoner’s Rights
      1. Black prison population statistics
      2. Angela Davis and Soledad Brothers
      3. Attica Uprising

IV. The Inner-City Rebellions
   A. Blacks in Cities - Economic Statistics
   B. Effects of Poor Conditions in Cities
   C. Watts
      1. Origins
      2. Results
   D. Newark
      1. Effects of white flight
      2. Origins
      3. Outcome
   E. Detroit
      1. Image of city
      2. Reality for blacks
3. Origins of riot

F. The Kerner Commission
   1. Members
   2. Recommendations
   3. Outcome

V. Difficulties in Creating the Great Society
   A. Johnson’s Concern for the Disadvantaged
   B. War on Poverty
   C. Community Involvement
   D. Opposition to Great Society
   E. Other Priorities

VI. Johnson and the War in Vietnam
   A. Background
   B. American Involvement - Eisenhower and Kennedy
   C. Johnson and Escalation
   D. Black Americans and the Vietnam War
   E. Project 100,000

VII. Johnson: Vietnam Destroys the Great Society
   A. Violence and Backlash
   B. Congress Abandons Civil Rights
      1. “Civil Rats” Bill
      2. Expulsion of Power
   C. Johnson’s Continued Efforts
   D. Tet Offensive
   E. Johnson’s Reaction to Tet

VIII. King: Searching for a New Strategy
   A. Civil Rights in the North
   B. Important Lessons
   C. King on the Vietnam War
   D. King’s Assassination
      1. Goal in Memphis
      2. Assassination
      3. Effects

IX. The Black Arts Movement and Black Consciousness
   A. Influence of Black Power
   B. Ethos of the Black Arts Movement
   C. Criticisms
   D. Literature
   E. Historic Links to Other Black Art
   F. Importance of James Baldwin
   G. Poetry and Theater
      1. Publishers
      2. New Elements of Poetry
      3. Theater
      4. West Coast Literature
H. Music
   1. Centrality of jazz
   2. Rhythm and Blues/Gospel/Soul
   3. Berry Gordy/Motown

X. The Second Phase of the Black Student Movement
   A. The Orangeburg Massacre
      1. Background
      2. Event/Outcome
   B. Black Studies
      1. Entrance for blacks at white colleges
         a. Rutgers University
         b. National Statistics
      2. First black studies department
      3. Student actions/demands
      4. Goals of new field

XI. The Election of 1968
   A. Candidates
   B. Outcome

XII. The Nixon Presidency
   A. Progressive Policies
   B. The “Moynihan Report” and the Family Assistance Plan
      1. Views of report
      2. Criticism of report
      3. Family Assistance Plan
   C. Busing
      1. Growing conservatism of Republican Party
      2. Battle over busing
      3. Boston: Case study and opposition
   D. Nixon and the War
      1. Vietnamization
      2. Escalation of War
      3. University anti-war protests
   E. Nixon’s Downfall
      1. Law and Order
      2. Effects of Personality
      3. Resignation/Effect

XIII. The Rise of Black Elected Officials
   A. Education of Black Voters
   B. Political Power in North
   C. The Gary Convention and the Black Political Agenda
      1. Origins/Leadership
      2. Lack of Consensus
      3. Importance
   D. Black People Gain Local Offices

XIV. Economic Downturn
A. Economic Statistics - Negative Factors  
B. Economic Statistics - Positive Factors  

XV. Black Americans and the Carter Presidency  
A. Black Support  
B. Black Appointees  
C. Carter’s Domestic Policies  
   1. Benefits for Black Americans  
   2. Overall Evaluation  

XVI. Conclusion  

TEST MATERIALS  

MAP QUESTIONS  
(Locate the following regions, geographical features or political entities on a map)  
Lowndes County, Mississippi  
Mecca  
Trinidad  
Watts  
Newark  
Detroit  
Vietnam  
Gulf of Tonkin  
Saigon  
Memphis  
Cambodia  
Laos  
Iran  

IDENTIFICATIONS  
(For each of the following, identify by answering the questions – who? what? when? where? And describe the significance by answering the question – why is this important? Why do we study this?)  
Black Power  
Ronald Reagan  
George Wallace  
COFO  
CORE  
SNCC  
SCLC  
Floyd McKissick  
Stokely Carmichael  
Lowndes County Freedom Organization  
Malcolm Little/Malcolm X  
Elijah Muhammad  
Nation of Islam  
Alex Haley  
Muslim Mosque, Inc.  