Question 5

African American leaders have responded to racial discrimination in the United States in a variety of ways. Compare and contrast the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1890s–1920s with the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1950s–1960s.

The 8–9 Essay
- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that examines the response of African American leaders to racial discrimination by comparing and contrasting the goals and the strategies of African American leaders in the 1890s–1920s with the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1950s–1960s.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information regarding the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1890s–1920s and the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1950s–1960s.
- Provides effective analysis of the response of African American leaders to racial discrimination during the two time periods; treatment of the two time periods and/or the goals and strategies may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay
- Contains a partially developed thesis that compares and contrasts the goals and the strategies of African American leaders in the 1890s–1920s with the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1950s–1960s.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant and specific supporting information.
- Provides some analysis of the response of African American leaders to racial discrimination during both time periods; treatment of the two time periods and/or the goals and strategies may be uneven.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay
- Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information, or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- Provides simplistic analysis that may be generally descriptive, or may address the goals and objectives of only one time period.
- May have major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

The 0–1 Essay
- Lacks a thesis or simply restates the question.
- Demonstrates an incompetent or inappropriate response.
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized and/or written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay
- Is completely off topic or blank.
African American Leaders, 1890s–1920s

Frederick Douglass
- Published *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* in 1881, enlarged in 1892; died, 1895.

Booker T. Washington
- Born into slavery, educated at Hampton Institute (VA).
- Founder of Tuskegee Institute (1881).
- Eloquence on behalf of gradualism made him favored by whites who liked his acceptance of this concept.
- Wrote his autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, in 1900.
- Editor of the *New York Age*.
- Most popular African American figure among whites and blacks when he died in 1915.

W.E.B. Du Bois
- Educated at Fisk University and was the first black American to earn a doctorate in history from Harvard (1895).
- Professor at Atlanta University.
- Only African American of the five activists who formed the NAACP in 1910; NAACP officer and editor of *The Crisis* (NAACP journal).
- Researcher at the University of Pennsylvania.
- “Talented Tenth.”

Ida B. Wells-Barnett
- Teacher, journalist, and civil rights activist born in Mississippi in 1862.
- Member of the Niagara Movement.
- Suffragette who worked with Alice Paul as one of the first African American women in the largely white, middle-class women’s movement.
- Activism triggered by personal experience with the segregated Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad in 1884 and the lawsuit she brought against the railroad in her hometown of Memphis, TN.
- In 1889 became co-owner and operator of the newspaper *Free Speech and Headlight*.
- In 1892 condemned lynching after three friends were lynched. She left Memphis for Chicago when she became the target of white supremacists.

Marcus Garvey
- Jamaican.
- Founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914, which denounced the NAACP and “white” blacks who remained servants of racist whites.
- Promoted black pride and established the Black Star steamship line.
- Created the *Negro World* newspaper.
- At least 500,000 members of the UNIA by 1921, mostly uneducated urban residents who had recently migrated from rural areas.
- Convicted in 1923 for fraud regarding his steamship line and entered prison in 1925; pardoned by Calvin Coolidge in 1927 and deported; died in 1940 in London.

Chicago Defender
- Founded by Robert Abbott in 1905 and published in his landlady’s apartment until 1920.
- By 1914 was the leading African American newspaper in the nation, with two-thirds of its readership residing outside of the Chicago area.
Question 5 (continued)

T. Thomas Fortune
- Editor of the *New York Age*.
- Founder of the Afro-American League (1887).

Carter G. Woodson
- Founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (1915).
- Editor of the *Journal of Negro History*.

William Monroe Trotter
- Classmate of Du Bois at Harvard.
- Editor of the *Boston Guardian*.
- Militant critic of Washington’s accommodation to whites.

Harlem Renaissance
- African American writers concentrated mostly in upper Manhattan.
- Focused on social problems of all members of America’s underclass.
- Alain Locke, editor of *The New Negro*.
- Claude McKay was the first militant HR author ("If We Must Die").
- Langston Hughes was among the most prolific.
- Zora Neale Hurston.

Goals of African American Leaders, 1890s–1920s

Booker T. Washington
- Self-improvement through education in agriculture and the trades.
- “Accommodationism” — gradual economic advancement.

Most Other Leaders
- Denounced Washington’s “accommodationism.”
- Promoted immediate guaranteed equality for African Americans after the Civil War.
- Equal economic opportunity for freed blacks.
- Unrestricted right to vote.
- Equality of economic opportunity.
- Higher education for the talented.
- Equal justice in the courts.
- End to trade union discrimination.

Garvey and Fortune
- Promoted the immediate and complete guarantee of equality for African Americans after the Civil War.
- Demanded full civil rights, better schools, fair wages; fought discrimination.
- Black pride and separateness, especially extolled all things black, particularly Africanism.
- Stressed economic independence as essential to black autonomy from white exploitation.
- Promoted race consciousness; condemned lynching and discrimination; called for equal treatment under the law.
Harlem Renaissance

- Demonstrated the richness and worthiness of the black racial heritage through literature, poetry, and art.
- *The New Negro* (1925): collection of black writings that led to interest by white publishers.
- Humanized the black citizen within the social compact.

Strategies of African American Leaders, 1890s–1920s

**Booker T. Washington**

- Atlanta Compromise (1895) outlined how economically useful African Americans and whites could coexist and prosper together under the “Gospel of Wealth” while denying interest in integration.
- Stressed that blacks must learn useful skills to prepare themselves for full citizenship.
- Encouraged blacks to stop fighting segregation and second-class citizenship.
- “Cast down your bucket where you are”: work for immediate self-improvement rather than long-term social change.
- Formed National Negro Business League in 1900 to organize African American economic leaders to support his goals.

**Most Other Leaders**

- Denounced Washington’s “accommodationism.”
- Supported racial solidarity and economic advancement but never supported the deference to whites that Washington counseled.
- Used black publications for muckraking and investigative journalism; *The Crisis*, *The Messenger*, *The Defender*.
- Advocated boycotting white-owned businesses to try to stem the increase in lynching.
- Created the Niagara Movement, which called for voting rights, equal educational opportunities, and an end to segregation; later allied the Niagara Movement with white progressives.
- Formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909:
  - Used lawsuits in federal courts to attempt the eradication of racial discrimination.
  - *Guinn v. U.S.* (1915): Supreme Court outlawed the grandfather clause (which included poll taxes and literacy requirements for voting) in an Oklahoma law.
  - *Buchanan v. Worley* (1917): struck down residential segregation in Louisville, KY.
  - Led anti-lynching campaign, including federal legislation.
  - Increased influence of the NAACP (more than 400 local associations by 1921).

**Garvey and Fortune**

- More militant.
- UNIA used mass rallies and parades, resulting in growth of the organization and black businesses during the 1920s.
- Garvey announced the Empire of Africa in 1921 to assure blacks they would have their own economic institutions and African nation state.
- Fortune advocated use of violence against violence.

**Harlem Renaissance**

- Spurred racial pride, courage, and consciousness through literature, poetry, and art.
African American Leaders, 1950s–1960s

**Nonviolent Movement Leaders: Supported Integration**

**Thurgood Marshall**
- Chief counsel for NAACP (1940).
- Judge in U.S. Court of Appeals (1961), solicitor general (1965).
- Chief counsel for the NAACP; argued before the Supreme Court and won the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954).
- First African American Supreme Court Justice (1967).

**Martin Luther King Jr.**
- Baptist minister and prominent leader of the civil rights movement — noted for using nonviolent methods, following the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.
- Rose to prominence in Montgomery bus boycott (1955).
- Helped found and lead the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) (1957).
- Led marches for blacks’ right to vote, desegregation, labor rights, and other basic civil rights.
- Led 1963 March on Washington; “I Have a Dream” speech.
- Assassinated (1968).

**Ralph Abernathy**
- Minister, close associate of Martin Luther King Jr. (MLK), and member of SCLC.
- Helped to organize the Montgomery bus boycott.
- Succeeded King as head of the SCLC and took on King’s plan for a Poor People’s March that was to unite blacks and whites in support of fundamental changes in American society and economic structure.

**James Farmer**
- Leader of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).
- Instrumental in organizing “freedom rides.”

**Jesse Jackson**
- Close associate of MLK.
- Participated in Selma marches (1965).
- Served as executive director (1966-71) of Operation Breadbasket, a program of SCLC.
- Present at MLK’s assassination.

**A. Philip Randolph**
- Untiring civil rights fighter.
- Socialist and founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids (1925).
- Vice president of the AFL-CIO (1955).
- Cofounder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute (1964) to serve and promote cooperation between labor and the black community; editor of *Opportunity Magazine*.

**Ella Baker**
- Cofounder of the SCLC and served as its first director (1957).
- Helped to organize the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to give young blacks a more organized voice in the civil rights movement (1960).
Question 5 (continued)

John R. Lewis
- Member of SNCC and became its chairman in 1963.
- Organized sit-ins and took part in the 1961 “freedom rides.”
- Led marchers across the Pettus Bridge in Selma, AL, on “Bloody Sunday” (1965).

Medgar Evers
- Mississippi NAACP field secretary shot and killed in 1963 by a white supremacist.

James Meredith
- The first black student to successfully enroll at the University of Mississippi (1962).
- Led the March Against Fear in 1966 to protest voter registration intimidation.

Militant Movement Leaders: Supported Segregation

Malcolm X
- Spokesman for Nation of Islam.
- Advocate of achieving civil rights “by any means necessary.”
- Suspended by Elijah Muhammad in 1963 after a speech in which Malcolm suggested that President Kennedy’s assassination was a matter of the “chickens coming home to roost.”
- Left Nation of Islam (1963), converted to orthodox Islam (1964), and believed that there could be brotherhood between blacks and whites.
- Founded Organization of Afro-American Unity (1964); its tone was still that of militant black nationalism but no longer of separation.
- Assassinated (1965).

Bobby Seale and Huey Newton
- Together founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense:
  - Founded in 1966 in Oakland, CA.
  - Militant group that engaged in high-profile, violent confrontations with police.
  - Sought to rid African American neighborhoods of police.
  - Dress code: black leather jackets, berets, slacks, and light blue shirts; afro hairstyles.
  - Raised fist used as a symbol of solidarity; seen at 1968 Olympics.
  - Used slogan “Power to the People.”
  - Called on all blacks to arm themselves for the liberation struggle.
  - Originally espoused violent revolution to achieve black liberation, but in 1971 the Panthers embraced a nonviolent strategy and shifted their focus to offering community services to African Americans.
- Believed in violent confrontations to attain goals of justice and equality for blacks.
- Newton killed a policeman (1967); convicted of voluntary manslaughter — after appeal and mistrials, Newton was cleared in 1971.
- Seale was one of the “Chicago Eight” charged and convicted of conspiracy to violently disrupt the Democratic National convention of 1968 (conviction later overturned).

Stokely Carmichael
- Participant in “freedom rides.”
- Head of SNCC (1966); began to urge African American communities to confront the KKK armed and ready for battle.
- Rejected more moderate leaders and set off a storm of controversy by calling for “Black Power.”
Question 5 (continued)

Vehicles of Change: Their Actions Stimulated Change

Greensboro Four

Rosa Parks
- Refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white person.
- Her arrest initiated the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, making Parks an inspiration to the civil rights movement.

Little Rock Nine
- First black teenagers to attend all-white Central High School in Little Rock, AK (1957).
- Challenged segregation in the Deep South and won.

Goals of African American Leaders, 1950s–1960s
- End Jim Crow; desegregate schools, buses, lunch counters, etc.
- Equal access and opportunity in education, housing, jobs.
- Equal representation under the law.
- Enforcement of 14th and 15th Amendments.
- Protection of voting rights.
- Economic and social equality; freedom, respect, and dignity.
- Protection from violence by the white community, especially law officials.
- Pan-African identity.
- Panthers’ “10-Point Program.”

Strategies of African American Leaders, 1950s–1960s
- Acts of nonviolent protest and civil disobedience (MLK, Abernathy, SCLC, SNCC).
- Civil resistance.
- Organization of activists and supporters.
- Avoiding the “Communist” label.
- Mass action/mobilization.
- Voter registration drives.
- Direct action, primarily through sit-ins, boycotts, marches.
- “Freedom rides.”
- Calls for “Black Power.”
- Militancy and armed responses (Panthers).
Since the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in the mid-nineteenth century, African American leaders have proposed many different theories and methods to address the injustices posed by the white majority on to the African-American population. However, all leaders agreed on one point: the injustice and discrimination that the black community withstood had to be stopped. The individuals who led the fight against discrimination included W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King Jr. Although they all fought for the same cause, they all differed in their method of bringing about social change.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, black leaders began to emerge in response to discriminatory practices allowed by the U.S. government. The two most notable leaders during this time period were W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington being the most moderate of the two, advocated for black assimilation into white America through the education of the black community. He encouraged individuals to blend into society by becoming skilled workers. He also believed that by doing so, the black community would be accepted by whites and would rise in social level. W.E.B. Du Bois (a Harvard graduate) completely disagreed with Washington and
thought his philosophy to be weak. Du Bois believed in a more cutting approach and being accepted immediately into white society. However, Du Bois acknowledged the potential of the African-Americans and fought for immediate gratification. However the followings of Du Bois and Washington did not compare to the mass movements initiated by African-American leaders in the 1950s.

Malcolm X was second in command to a Black-Islam union that fought for an end to white supremacy. However, his philosophy differed from all black leaders in that he was not looking for assimilation nor acceptance. Malcolm X sought the separation between black and whites. In his speeches, X advocated told his followers that they did not have to try to withstand the oppression imposed on them by the “white man.” He even went as far as to advocate violence, if necessary. Martin Luther King Jr., on the other hand, believed in a peaceful approach to the civil rights issue through boycotts and demonstrations. King, a Protestant reverend, believed in complete assimilation into American society. Following the principles set out by Khondi, he believed only peaceful actions would bring peace into the American society. His point of view attracted thousands across
the nation, his methods were deemed the most successful in bringing about the passing of the Civil Rights Amendment passed in the early late-1960s. Throughout the course of American history, the fight for equality will forever be one of the most influential movements on our present society. And it could not have been brought about without the strategies and feats by African-American leaders W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.
Racial discrimination has been a problem in society since the beginning of our nation. In order to become more efficient on our plantations, we brought over Africans to become slaves. This feeling of superiority continued even after Abraham Lincoln emancipated the slaves. African Americans have dealt with this prejudice in numerous ways. There are two time periods (1870-1920 and 1960-1960s) in which the civil rights movement was at a high in which many different African American leaders had different views on how to fix racial discrimination in the United States.

During the 1870s-1920s, racial prejudice was at a high point. With Jim Crow laws in the south, every aspect of life was segregated from schools to the water fountains. There were a few main leaders in the Civil Rights Movement at this time—W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Marcus Garvey. W.E.B. Du Bois believed that blacks should be integrated into the white communities. He believed that in order to do this, they must have political laws that will force whites to let African Americans into their society. Similarly, Booker T. Washington also believed that blacks should be integrated into white society. However, he believed that they should do this economically. Blacks should become a useful part of the American economy and then the whites will respect them and welcome them into their communities. He didn't believe forcing integration would work. Marcus Garvey had a totally different idea than that of W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. He believed that
blacks could never be equal in American society and should go back to Africa and start their lives there, living with each other. He started the American Colonization Society which brought blacks back to Africa mainly Liberia. Although all the black leaders had a similar goal of ending racial discrimination, they all had different views about how to do it.

The African American leaders of the 1950s and 1960s also had contrasting views to each other. The two major leaders were Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. Martin Luther King was a minister who practiced non-violence as a method of ending racial prejudice. He worked through the group SCLC, which organized churches and ministers to use non-violence to fight for civil rights. King's philosophy used direct action to achieve his goals. One example of this is the Montgomery Bus Boycott in which he told every one not to use the buses until they changed the rule that blacks had to sit in the back because the buses were crowded. When the buses were crowded, Martin Luther King won this battle. On the other side of the spectrum was Malcolm X. Malcolm X was a criminal who believed violence is the only way to integrate. He lead the group the Black Panthers in the belief of Black Power and nationalism. The Black Panthers would start riots and fights throughout the US in America. Malcolm X had very centrality ideas on how to end prejudice to whites.
Throughout history blacks have struggled with racial discrimination. No matter what time period, 1890s-1920s or 1950s-1960s, there has been numerous African American leaders trying to end this segregation. However, all of the leaders had different ideas of how to do it. In the period from 1890s-1920s, you can W.E.B. du Bois and Booker T. Washington, with similar goals just different strategies. While Marcus Garvey had a totally different approach, in the 1950s-1960s, Martin Luther King and Malcolm X had similar goals but totally opposite strategies. Overall the combination of all these African American leaders helped bring great advances in the civil rights movement.
Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

Mandatory 1

Part B — Circle one 2 or 3

Part C — Circle one 4 or 5

Because of racial discrimination some African American leaders have arisen throughout history to express their ideas and values. Marcus Garvey believed in the deportation of blacks back to Africa because that is where he believed they belonged. Later, Malcolm X believed in the separation of black and violence against whites. During the same time as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr. believed in integration and tolerance of white hate crimes and discrimination against them.

Not all black leaders have similar goals and strategies on in efforts expressing what they believe in. Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X did believe in the separation of blacks and whites. Both leaders, Marcus and Malcolm, believed that blacks must have a sense of "black pride" and not to conform to white society. Marcus Garvey can also relate to Martin Luther King, Jr., because of their belief in nonviolence towards whites.

Even though a few similarities appear between the three leaders, there are many more differences between them. Malcolm X, a later black leader, believed in having black communities and violence against whites. Malcolm X encouraged blacks to dress the way blacks traditionally dressed, grow their hair out the way blacks wore their hair back in Africa. Malcolm X strongly discouraged the blacks to conform and assimilate to white culture. Also, Malcolm X conveyed the message to his followers that they should use violence against whites if the situation called for violence. Marcus
Garvey also believed in keeping the two races separate, except in a more extreme nature. Instead of Malcolm X's idea of separate communities, Garvey believed in deporting all the blacks back to Africa. However, few of Garvey's followers actually went through with the process of going back to Africa. Unlike Garvey and Malcolm X, Martin Luther King believed in integration and tolerance. King planned marches and events in order to prove that blacks should be treated fairly and equally. Among the most important differences of Martin Luther King Jr. was his belief in tolerance. He expressed to his followers that the only way to get equal rights was to not retaliate with hatred. Of kings, followers experienced many gains for equal rights through the value of tolerance.
Question 5

Overview

The intent of this question was to have students compare the goals and objectives of the civil rights movements of the 1890s–1920s with those of the 1950s–1960s.

Sample: 5A
Score: 7

This essay has a partially developed thesis that addresses goals and strategies, with some analysis, in a well-organized essay. It covers all parts of the question, occasionally with strong factual support; however, evidence is more superficial for the first period. The focus is on Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X. There are minor errors, such as the claim that X was a leader in “a Black-Islamic union.”

Sample: 5B
Score: 5

This essay includes a good, though only partially developed, thesis. The level of analysis is solid but relatively simplistic. The essay is strong on Martin Luther King Jr., but it suffers in its consideration of Malcolm X. Although these errors do not seriously detract from the overall quality of the essay, their ubiquity kept this response from rising to a score of 6.

Sample: 5C
Score: 3

This essay has a relatively confused thesis and weak analysis. It lists leaders without clearly demonstrating awareness of different time periods, as leaders from both periods are conflated. It has some good information on strategies but little treatment of overarching goals.