Assessment of Garvey
- Anticipated many of the later ideas of black power
- Came nearer to mobilising mass black action than any other leader at this time
- Confirmed the need for AA to help themselves and to be concerned with racism
- Encouraged the next generation of black power thinking

Progress of Civil Rights in North and South in the 1920s
Did the situation change for AA in the south?
- Many black southerners were preoccupied with making a living to be involved with civil rights movement
- Lacked educational opportunity to articulate their opposition
- Segregation was a barrier to their learning
- White southerners made efforts to keep radical literature out of their states
- Some did still infiltrate

Were AA ready to lead their own Civil Rights movement?
- There was a steady development of black middle class
- Also social stratification of black society
- These had clear implications for CR on the question of leadership and solidarity
- Could attempt to organise into effective voice of a proper movement
- Oscar de Priest was elected to congress 1928, first AA to do so since 1900, he was the lone voice and stood up to segregation in DC

Importance of the NAACP
- Between world wars and after the fall of Garvey the organisation embodied the civil rights campaign
- Led by black and whites, adopted an approach more vigorous than Washington but legal and constitutional
- It was and remains a national org with branches all over the US
- Focussed on CR rather than social conditions
- James Welson, secretary in the 1920s targeted desegregation, voting rights and education, things were continued under new secretary Walter White in 1930s
- NAACP would take cases to federal courts and the Supreme court if necessary
- Cases to test and establish equal rights for AA
- Despite being non-violent NAACP raised money for those accused of rioting
- Lobbying rather than mass action was a central policy
- One campaign was the unsuccessful campaign for a federal anti-lynching law. It raised awareness for the issue and arguably contributed to its decline
- Growth for NAACP membership was rapid after 1913
- By early 1920s it had 90,000 members reflecting greater interest in civil rights
- But in 1930 it declined to 50,000 members and had developed a reputation for being cautious and bureaucratic. Also run by middle class AA and whites, accused of being out of touch with the working class blacks
In the north the opposition to NAACP was peaceful but in the south it was violent, discouraged many leaders and speakers from speaking in the south.

**Revival of the KKK**

- There was an increase in resentment among southern whites towards blacks as shown in the reformation of the KKK.
- DW Griffith's film *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915 is a major cause of the reorganization of the KKK by William Simmons.
- The KKK now targeted Roman Catholics, Jews and political challenge of communism as well as blacks.
- The KKK infiltrated and split the Democratic party in the south.
- In the north support for the Klan remained little.
- At its peak in 1924 it had over 5 million members.
- Corruption of local Klan groups were revealed and were exposed and embarrassed the movement. By 1930 they barely had 30,000 members.
- Largely because segregation and white way of life didn’t seem threatened anymore.

**How popular were southern racist policies?**

- Majority of white southerners neither supported black civil rights nor showed sympathy to the KKK.
- States run by democrats intended to maintain the status quo: segregation.
- The white electorate were suspicious of any federal interference.
- With the exception of Huey P. Long of Louisiana, most southern politicians were keen segregationists.
- Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi suggested that all blacks should return to Africa.
- These men were popular and were continuously re-elected to office.
- Tallmadge and Bilbo were both efficient Governors and relied on racists to get re-elected.
- This form of populist racism continued until the 1960s, made civil rights attainment harder.

The depression in the 1930s meant that white working class southerner’s attitudes to equality of opportunity for blacks stalled just at the time when the climate of educated opinion in the US was more widely in favour of racial equality.

Southerners were skating on constitutionally thin ice on the ruling of Plessy v. Ferguson but facilities weren’t equal.

1930 every 7 dollars spent on white schools only 2 were spent on black schools.

**Were US presidents of any assistance to Civil Rights 1920s and 1930s?**

In this period Presidents showed limited interests in the black civil rights question. Warren Harding replaced Woodrow Wilson in 1921, didn’t want to interfere with Southern Racism. 1923, Coolidge took a more positive line but it came to nothing. Hoover was the last Republican president to receive large-scale AA support but did little for civil rights.
Presidents were indifferent, incompetent, preoccupied or powerless
Southern Democrats were occupying leadership positions in Congress

Federal intervention seemed unlikely in the 1920s. Even FDR, who pledged to save America couldn’t do much for AA. It paradoxically rendered him powerless to do much for AA. 1933 he told Walter white that to get New Deal legislation through he needed support from southern democrats in congress and insisted that federal action on civil rights would lose support from the new deal, however, Eleanor Roosevelt who frequently supported the black cause and black women in particular.

What impact did the New Deal have on AA?
- Attempted to encourage the raising of wages and cutting of hours (NIRA)
- By 1935, 30% of black families were in relief compared to 10% of whites
- Illustrate the fair application of policy towards them as well as greater levels of poverty amongst blacks
- Urban black employment rates were still high
- Southern black sharecroppers were hit hard by the depression
- They weren’t covered by the social security act or national labour relations board that assisted many others but not the agricultural workers
- This is because southern democrats had refused a vote for a measure that would particularly help blacks

Supreme Court decisions for AA civil rights 1915-1939
- With federal, executive and legislative routes to aid civil rights apparently blocked, NAACP turned to the courts and ultimately the supreme court
- Since the end of the reconstruction, SC rulings had interpreted civil rights very narrowly

Early successes:
- 1917 Buchanan v. Warley, city regulations in Louisville, Kentucky concerning residential segregation was unconstitutional but was a matter of private property and didn’t do much for public segregation
- 1923 Moore v. Dempsey did not uphold the death sentences of 12 blacks as their trials had been dominated by mobs, the verdict led to the increasing unacceptability of lynching in the south

Did the SC verdicts change in the 1930s?
In response to increase number of legal cases coming forward, Trudeau v. Barnes 19333 insisted that all state appeals being exhausted before they could come before the Supreme Court

By the late 1930s the composition of the SC started to change as elderly justices died and FDR appointed liberals

Gaines v. Canada 1938 ruled that separate but equal facilities must really be equal

Still didn’t challenge Plessy ruling and SC can’t enact change
Court gave rulings that modified previous civil rights changes

What was the view of congress on CR?

Quite frequently Reagan was forced to accept change because of a more liberal congress and like the SC he could stall and sometimes delay change but not stop it.

By 1982 when renewing the voting rights act congress strengthened it with stricter laws

Old segregationists such as Strom Thurmond accepted this change and this showed the change in attitudes.

1988 Congress also strengthened the 1968 fair housing act and in the same year passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act over Reagan’s veto

George H.W Bush and CR 1989-92

- Bush vetoed a civil rights bill that would tackle job discrimination
- Only 6.9% of his judicial appointments were racial minorities