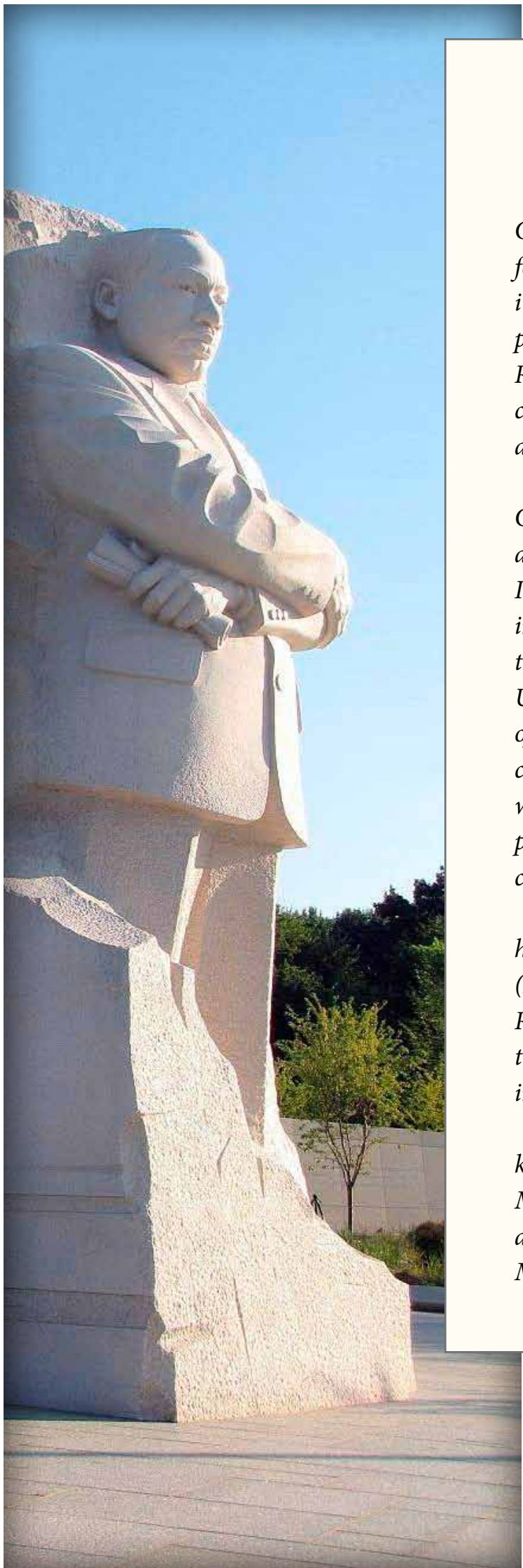


THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT



A Newspaper in Education Supplement to *The Washington Times*



*I*t is challenging to calculate an exact start or finish date for the modern American Civil Rights Movement. The 14th Amendment and 15th Amendments to the U.S.

Constitution, passed in 1868 and 1870 respectively, paved the way for equal rights for African Americans in the letter of the law, yet inequality and racism persisted. During the century between the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and the Civil Rights Act (1964), African Americans and their supporters fought courageously to achieve full citizenship rights both legally (de jure) and in actuality (de facto).

The long continuum which has been referred to as the period “From Civil War to Civil Rights” consisted of multiple phases, movements and events which culminated in the decades following World War II. Along the way, the civil rights struggles of African Americans inspired a diverse set of other minority groups in American society in their own efforts to achieve equality and full access to the promises of U.S. democracy. Landmark events such as the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas Supreme Court decision helped catalyze major momentum in the American Civil Rights Movement, which exploded in the late 1950s and 1960s. Behind major turning points such as Brown were countless individuals and leaders who courageously fought for civil rights.

From 2013 through 2015, Americans will look back on several historic civil rights anniversaries, including the March on Washington (August 28, 1963), the Civil Rights Act (July 1964), and the Voting Rights Act (August 1965). These anniversaries provide an opportunity to reflect on the history of the Civil Rights Movement and its relevance in our lives today.

This supplement is intended as an introduction to many of the key people, events, and turning points in the American Civil Rights Movement, with resources that will give teachers and students additional starting points for further explorations of the Civil Rights Movement and the other movements for change that it inspired.

Note to teachers: *This supplement provides narrative background about the Civil Rights Movement. You may want to have students read individual sections and discuss them with the class or group. Additional activities and suggested research topics are included in each section of the supplement, with additional links at the end of the guide.*

The Paradox of Slavery

From the transport of the first African slaves to Jamestown, Virginia in 1619, the contours of slavery and freedom were linked with race. Over the course of the next 150 years, racialized slavery developed into what historian Edmund Morgan called “the American paradox” in which the contradictions between slavery and freedom became increasingly stark. Slaves, who were almost entirely of African descent, were treated brutally and were denied freedom at every level.

While slaves fought against the terms of slavery and an abolitionist movement started to percolate in the 17th and 18th centuries, slavery continued to spread throughout the colonies. Even as revolutionary sentiment against the injustices of the British crown percolated, slavery continued. As revolutionary fervor turned into a war for independence, the language of liberty and equality circulated throughout the colonies.

The Declaration of Independence (1776) proclaims, “all men are created equal.” Yet Thomas Jefferson was forced by pro-slavery colonies to remove any text related to the issue of slavery in his drafts of the Declaration. A great new nation would not be born free of slavery. Slaves and free blacks fought on both sides of the Revolution. Among the most well-known free African Americans to fight on the American side was Crispus Attucks, who was the first casualty in the Boston Massacre. Attucks and others like him were among the first in a long line of African Americans who fought for American democracy even as they were denied access to full citizenship rights.



After an enormous debate about the way slavery would be treated in the Constitution, the Founding Fathers came to a compromise which allowed slavery to continue for the time being. The institution of slavery is alluded to in Article 1, Section 2, which counted those “other Persons,”

who were not “free Persons,” as three-fifths of a person. Article 1, Section 9, prohibits Congress from limiting “importation of Persons [slaves]” before 1808. Slave importation did end at that time, but this did not end the ownership or sale of slaves within the country.

The Fugitive Slave Clause, Article 4, Section 2, required all states to return escaped slaves to their owners.

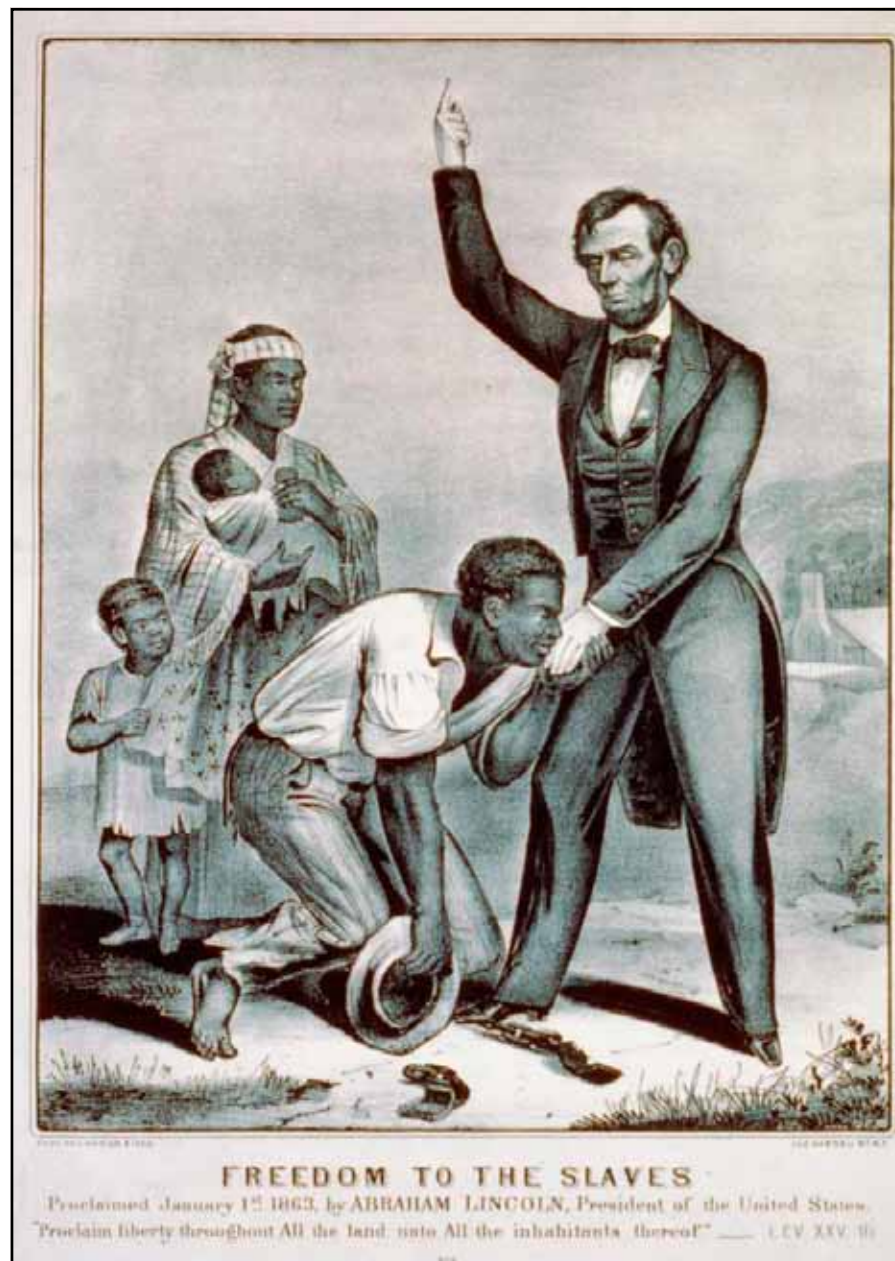
By 1804, all Northern states had ended slavery. But in the meantime, the numbers of slaves in the South grew from about 200,000 in 1750 to 4,000,000 by 1861, driven in large part by the demand for cotton.

The seeds of the Civil War were sown in the compromises of the Constitution and in the continued controversy over the laws concerning slavery that followed. Throughout this time period, abolitionists made powerful arguments against human bondage, yet slave owners and their supporters continued to tighten the grip of slavery in the South. Slaves themselves resisted enslavement in the few ways they could—through work slowdowns, running away, and even rebellion, but the power of the institution of slavery could not be easily overturned.

Rifts over slavery continued to grow until the nation exploded into Civil War in 1861. During the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 as a war measure that freed slaves in states or part of states in rebellion against the U.S. Though the Civil War would rage on for 2 more years, the Emancipation Proclamation was among the most important documents of the 19th century and was a key catalyst in ending the vice-grip of slavery.

After the Union victory, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution were ratified, officially outlawing slavery and spelling out the voting and citizenship rights of all U.S. citizens, including African Americans. During the Reconstruction era (1865-1877), the Federal government implemented new programs and policies to rebuild the South and help ensure the rights of former slaves.

These amendments marked a transformative



change in the legal rights of African Americans. Former slaves were eager to vote and run for office. During Reconstruction, over 2,000 African Americans held public office; fourteen African Americans were elected to the House of Representatives, two to the U.S. Senate, 700 in state legislatures, and hundreds more in local offices.

But African Americans were met with extreme resistance as they attempted to participate fully in American society. In less than a decade, reactionary forces—including the Ku Klux Klan—would reverse the changes wrought by Reconstruction in a violent backlash that restored white supremacy in the South.

Resource: The Emancipation Proclamation marked a major turning point in the Civil War and in the lives of African Americans in the United States. Visit the California History Blueprint at <http://historyblueprint.dss.ucdavis.edu/site/unit/> for primary-source based activities related to the Emancipation Proclamation and other documents.

Related App: The Smithsonian Institution has created an App entitled “Changing America” which includes reactions to the Emancipation Proclamation. The App is a companion to the exhibition entitled “Changing America, The Emancipation Proclamation, 1863 and the March on Washington, 1963.” To learn more visit: www.si.edu/Exhibitions/Details/Changing-America-Emancipation-Proclamation-1863-and-March-on-Washington-1963

A Century of Inequality

In the decades following the end of slavery, blacks faced formidable barriers to political, economic, and social equality. The U.S. Supreme Court institutionalized segregation with the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson “separate but equal” decision. This decision upheld laws requiring racial segregation, as long as those laws did not dictate that separate accommodations and facilities for blacks would be inferior to those for whites.

In the South, Jim Crow laws enforced a rigid racial segregation. (“Jim Crow” was a pejorative term for blacks which became a term used to describe discriminatory race-based segregation practices and laws.) Local poll taxes and literacy tests were aimed at preventing blacks from voting. In the North and West, there were fewer legal barriers, but widespread, blatant discrimination occurred in employment, housing, schools, and other aspects of life.

Race-based violence was also common, and thousands of blacks were lynched or assassinated in the South and elsewhere from the 1870s until the 1960s.

Even though progress was difficult, African Americans leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary McLeod Bethune, Booker T. Washington, George Edmund Haynes, and many others worked to establish organizations to work for their civil rights. In 1909, the National Negro Committee convened, leading to the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1910, The National Urban League was founded to help African Americans migrating to northern

cities to find jobs and housing.

During the 1911-1930 Great Migration, millions of southern African Americans moved north to industrial towns looking for work and better opportunities. More than five million more blacks migrated North and West in the Second Great Migration from 1940 to 1970.

To obtain more employment rights, blacks made efforts to participate in and develop unions, a movement led by A. Philip Randolph. Among Randolph’s many contributions was his leadership in organizing a March on Washington Movement in the 1930s and 1940s aimed at ensuring fair employment and other rights for African Americans. Randolph and others helped motivate President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign an executive order during World War II to bar discrimination in the defense industries.

There were individuals who broke into their “field of dreams.” In 1947, Jackie Robinson played his first game for the Brooklyn Dodgers, becoming the first black baseball player in modern professional baseball.

But it was desegregation in the military that opened the first major opportunity for blacks. In 1948 President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981 ending segregation in the Armed Forces “without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.” Though racism and discrimination did not come to a halt in the armed forces, the military rapidly integrated, providing new opportunities.

In fact it was one million Black soldiers returning from World War II in 1945 who lent



support to the modern Civil Rights Movement. They sacrificed their lives for their country and they felt they deserved equal rights and opportunity under the law. They were not willing to put up with discrimination and Jim Crow laws any longer.

Primary Source Activity: Ask students to read Executive Order 9981 which desegregated the armed forces at the Our Documents site of the National Archives: www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=84. What did this order say, and how did it change the U.S.? Respond in a short essay or class discussion.

Resource: The Montford Point Marine Association, Inc. has an excellent website devoted to the role of African American marines who received training at Montford Point during the World War II era. Visit them at www.montfordpointmarines.com/History.html to learn more about the role of these marines, listen to oral histories, and find links to other relevant sites.

Primary Source Activity: Japanese Americans were sent to internment camps during World War II after President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. Ask students to read this order at www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=74 and discuss the internment policy in relation to the civil rights of Japanese Americans. For an extended activity, students can also research Asian American civil rights efforts.

Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers

At the same time that African Americans were struggling to achieve civil rights, Mexican-American farmworkers started movements to secure their rights as laborers. A key leader in this movement was Cesar Chavez. Chavez was born into a family of migrant workers in Yuma, Arizona in 1927. Throughout the agricultural regions of the U.S., Latino families like his worked long hours harvesting crops for meager wages, with no guarantee of work and no protection from harsh working conditions. In the early 1960s, Chavez helped form the National Farm Workers Association to address these injustices, which later bloomed into the United Farmworkers Union (UFW). Led by Chavez, the UFW launched a boycott of California grapes in March of 1968, urging all consumers to refuse to buy grapes until agribusiness leaders negotiated with the UFW. Learn more at: <http://ufw.org>

Important Publishing Note:

The word that we have obscured (“n----r”) is deeply offensive. This word is used four times in speeches, quotations and stories from Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Elizabeth Eckford, one of the Little Rock Nine students. We have included these references to the word because of its role in understanding their experiences during their fight for civil rights.

The term “Negro,” which is not used as an offensive word, is in quotes and stories over two dozen times. Although the word is seldom used today, people of African descent were by definition referred to as “Negro” or, in plural form, “Negroes.” The terms’ first known use was in 1555 and they were in constant use until recent years.

Jim Crow

Jim Crow was the name of the racial caste system that operated primarily, but not exclusively, in Southern and border states between 1877 and the mid-1960s. Jim Crow was more than a series of strict laws. It was a way of life. Under Jim Crow, African Americans were considered second-class citizens. Jim Crow laws legitimized racism. Christian and political leaders preached about the dangers of having an integrated society. All major societal institutions reflected and supported the oppression of African Americans.

Jim Crow laws touched every aspect of everyday life.

Examples of Jim Crow laws from some southern states included:

- **Education:** The schools for white children and the schools for Negro children shall be conducted separately. – Florida
- **Textbooks:** Books shall not be interchangeable between the white and colored schools, but shall continue to be used by the race first using them. — North Carolina
- **Lunch Counters:** No persons, firms, or

corporations, who or which furnish meals to passengers at station restaurants or station eating houses, in times limited by common carriers of said passengers, shall furnish said meals to white and colored passengers in the same room, or at the same table, or at the same counter. – South Carolina

- **Nurses:** No person or corporation shall require any white female nurse to nurse in wards or rooms in hospitals, either public or private, in which Negro men are placed. – Alabama
- **Intermarriage:** All marriages between a white person and a Negro, or between a white person and a person of Negro descent to the fourth generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited. – Florida

Examples of Jim Crow etiquette norms show how inclusive and pervasive they were:

- A black male could not offer to shake hands with a white male.
- Black and white people were not supposed to eat together.
- Under no circumstance was a black male to

offer to light the cigarette of a white female.

- Whites did not use courtesy titles of respect (Mr., Mrs., miss, sir, or ma'am) when referring to blacks.

Learn more at:

www.ferris.edu/jimcrow

Source: Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia at Ferris State University

(Researched by Jodi Pushkin, Tampa Bay Times)



Bus station in Durham, NC May 1940.

Credit: Library of Congress

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* ended legal racial segregation in public schools.

In 1896 the controversial *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision made racial segregation in public facilities, including schools, legal. It allowed states to have separate schools for blacks and whites as long as they were of equal quality. The term the Court used was “separate but equal.” The schools were separate, but unequal in every way. Black schools had poor quality buildings, fewer teachers, and less financial funding than white schools.

On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed that decision, proclaiming, “In the field of public education ‘separate but equal’ has no place.” The historic ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* overturned the Court’s *Plessy* ruling. The landmark case was a victory for civil rights after a decades-long legal battle waged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and residents of several communities.

Although people often associate the case with Linda Brown, a young girl whose parent, Reverend Oliver Brown (the source of the name of the decision), sued so that she could attend an all-white school, *Brown v. Board* actually consisted of five separate cases. Originating in four states and the District of Columbia, all began as grassroots efforts to either enroll black students in

all-white schools or obtain improved facilities for black students. By the fall of 1952, the Supreme Court had accepted the cases independently on appeal and decided to hear arguments collectively. The NAACP’s chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall—who was later appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1967—argued the case before the Supreme Court for the plaintiffs.

On May 17, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren read the unanimous Supreme Court decision (excerpt): “We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does... We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.”

None of these cases would have been possible without individuals who were courageous enough to take a stand against the inequalities of segrega-



George E. C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit congratulating each other on the Brown decision, May 17, 1954.

Credit: Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection

tion. Today, several of the schools represented in *Brown v. Board of Education* stand as historic reminders of the struggle to abolish segregation in public education.

Learn more at:

www.nps.gov/brvb/index.htm

Credit: National Park Service

Resource: The National Park Service has created excellent lesson plans entitled Teaching With Historic Places. Learn more about the landmark Brown v. Board case and find a related Teaching With Historic Places lesson plan at:

www.nps.gov/history/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/121brown/index.htm

...My dad spoke with someone and then he went into the inner office with the principal and they left me outside. And while he was in the inner office, I could hear voices and hear his voice raised... And then he immediately came out of the office, took me by the hand and we walked home from the school. I just couldn't understand what was happening because I was so sure that I was going to go to school with Mona and Guinevere, Wanda, and all of my playmates.

— Linda Brown Thompson

Source: *Black/White & Brown*, transcript of program produced by KTWU Channel 11 in Topeka, Kansas aired May 3, 2004



Emmett "Bobo" Till, Murder in Mississippi



arrived at Till's great-uncle's house where they took him, transported him to a barn, beat him and gouged out one of his eyes, before shooting him through the head and disposing of his body in the Tallahatchie River, weighting it with a 70-pound cotton gin fan tied around his neck with barbed wire. His body was discovered and retrieved from the river three days later.

His body was returned to his mother, Mamie Till, in Chicago. She insisted on a public funeral service with an open casket to show the world the brutality of the killing. Tens of thousands attended his funeral or viewed his casket. Images of his mutilated body were published in black magazines and newspapers, rallying popular black support and white sympathy across the U.S.



On August 28, 1955, Emmett Louis Till, a 14-year old African-American boy, was murdered in Mississippi after reportedly flirting with a white woman. Bobo, his nickname, was from Chicago, Illinois. He was visiting relatives in the Mississippi Delta region.

There were reports that he asked 21-year-old Carolyn Bryant, the married proprietor of a small grocery store, for a date and whistled at her as he left the store. This violated accepted Jim Crow norms in the South. A black male was never to ask a white woman for a date or whistle at her.

Several nights later, Bryant's husband Roy and his half-brother J. W. Milam

... There was a clear plate glass over the coffin. And I just remember looking down, and an awful scene. I remember the kids saying, "Is that Bobo?" Some of the kids were saying, "Look what they did to Bobo." Kids were just in awe; just frightened and saying, "Why did they do that? What did he do? What happened?" It didn't make any sense.

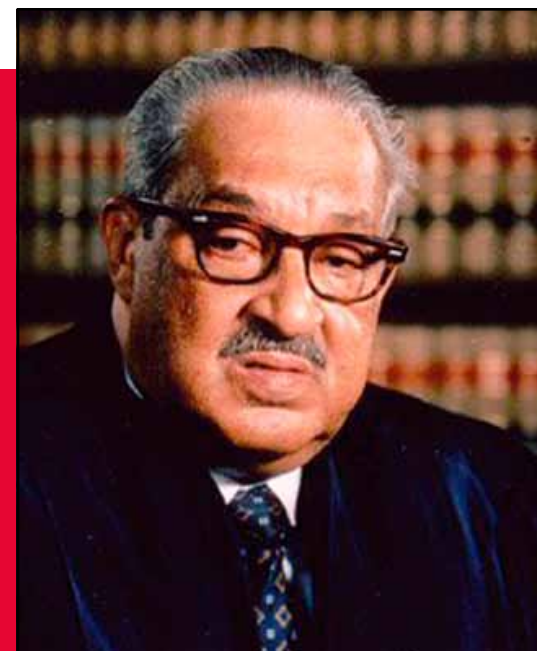
— Theresa Joiner, a neighborhood friend

Bryant and Milam were acquitted of Till's kidnapping and murder by a sympathetic white jury. Justice did not prevail. Months later, protected against a second trial by double jeopardy, they admitted to killing him in a magazine interview. Till's murder is noted as a pivotal event motivating the African-American Civil Rights Movement.

Thurgood Marshall

Born in Baltimore, Maryland on July 2, 1908, Thurgood Marshall was the grandson of a slave. His father, William Marshall, instilled in him from youth an appreciation for the United States Constitution and the rule of law. His accomplishments include:

- 1930, Graduated with honors from the historically black Lincoln University in Chester County, PA.
- 1930, Applied to the University of Maryland Law School, but was denied admission because he was black.
- 1933, Received law degree from Howard U. (magna cum laude); begins private practice in Baltimore.
- 1935, Successfully sued the University of Maryland, which had rejected him, to admit a young African American graduate Donald Gaines Murray.
- 1936, Became Chief Counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).
- 1940, Won first of 29 Supreme Court victories (Chambers v. Florida).
- 1954, Won Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, landmark case that demolishes legal basis for segregation in America.
- 1965, Appointed U.S. solicitor general by President Lyndon Johnson; wins 14 of the 19 cases he argues for the government.
- 1967, Became first African American elevated to U.S. Supreme Court (1967-1991).



Learn more at: www.biography.com/people/thurgood-marshall-9400241

Rosa Parks & the Montgomery Bus Boycott

On December 1, 1955 Rosa Parks, an African American woman, was arrested after she refused to move to the back of a bus, as required under city law in Montgomery, Alabama, triggering the citywide Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Rosa Parks was a seamstress by profession; she was also the secretary for the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP. Twelve years before her history-making arrest, Parks was kept from boarding a city bus. Driver James F. Blake took her payment at the front door, ordered her off to board at the back door, and then drove off without her.

On December 1, when all the seats on the bus were full and a white man entered the bus, that same driver Blake said to four black passengers, "Y'all better make it light on yourselves and let me have those seats." Parks said "The driver wanted us to stand up, the four of us. We didn't move at the beginning, but he says, 'Let me have these seats.' And the other three people moved, but I didn't."

Parks moved, but toward the window seat; she did not get up to move to the newly repositioned colored section. Blake said, "Why don't you stand up?" Parks responded, "I don't think I should have to stand up." ... "When he saw me still sitting, he asked if I was going to stand up, and I said, 'No, I'm not.' And he said, 'Well, if you don't stand up, I'm going to have to call the police and have you arrested.' I said, 'You may do that.'" Blake called the police.

When arrested "I asked the policeman why we had to be pushed around? He said 'I don't know, but the law's the law, and you're under arrest.'" (Source: *Voices of Freedom*, Bantam, New York, 1990, p. 19-20.)



Mrs. Rosa Parks being fingerprinted in Montgomery, Alabama, 1956.

Credit: Library of Congress, *New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection*

Parks was charged with a violation of Chapter 6, Section 11 segregation law of the Montgomery City code, even though she technically had not taken up a white-only seat—she had been in a

colored section. Edgar Nixon, president of the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP and leader of the Pullman Union, and her friend Clifford Durr bailed Parks out of jail the evening of December 2. Found guilty on December 5, Parks was fined \$10 plus a court cost of \$4, but she appealed, formally challenged the legality of racial segregation, which would go all the way to the Supreme Court.

On the night of Rosa Parks' arrest, the Women's Political Council, led by Jo Ann Robinson, printed and circulated 35,000 flyers throughout Montgomery's black community which read:

"Another woman has been arrested and thrown in jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down. It is the second time since the Claudette Colvin case that a Negro woman has been arrested for the same thing. This has to be stopped. Negroes have rights too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negro, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother. This woman's case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday. You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus. You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off all buses Monday."

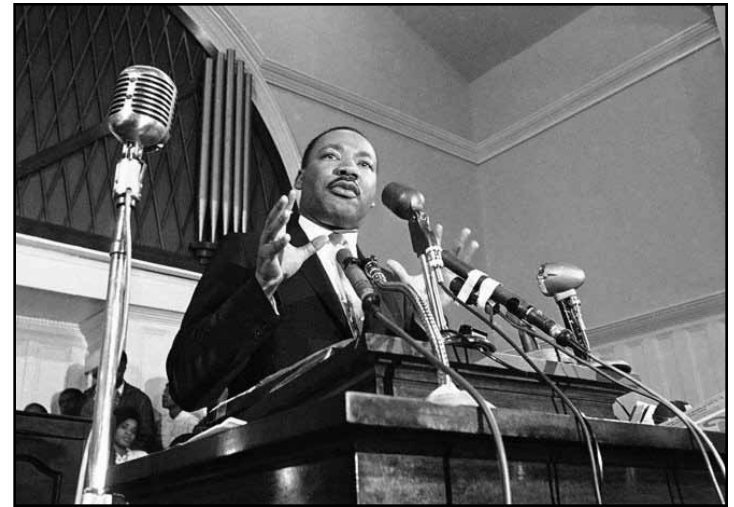
Parks was the ideal plaintiff for a test case against city and state segregation laws, as she was a responsible, mature woman with an excellent reputation. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. said that Mrs. Parks was regarded as "...not one of the finest Negro citizens, but one of the finest citizens of Montgomery." Parks was married and employed, possessed a quiet and dignified demeanor, and was politically savvy.

Edgar Nixon asked her, "Mrs. Parks, with your permission we can break down segregation on the bus with your case..." Rosa's mother gave support, "I'll go along with Mr. Nixon." Her husband said, "I'll support it." Mr. Nixon told his wife, "Baby, we're going to boycott the Montgomery buses."

Nixon called 18 ministers, the first three being Ralph D. Abernathy, Rev. H.H. Hubbard, who said they'd go along with a bus boycott, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had just started his first ministry assignment at the Dexter Street Baptist Church. King initially said, "Brother Nixon, let me think about it a while and call me back." When he called back the response was, "Yeah,

Brother Nixon, I'll go along with it." Nixon replied, "I'm glad of that Reverend King, because I talked to 18 other people, I told them to meet at your church at 3 o'clock."

On December 5th there was a mass meeting at the Holt Street Baptist Church followed by a leadership meeting that established the Montgomery Improvement Association. Nixon proposed Rev. King as its leader, who humbly offered, "Well, I'm not sure I'm the best person for this position, since I'm new in the community, but if no one else is going to serve, I'd be glad to try."



Twenty minutes later he gave his first speech of the boycott, which included his first reference to non-violent action (excerpts): "We are here...because of our love for democracy...the greatest form of government on earth. But we are here in a specific sense because of the bus situation in Montgomery. ... There comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. I want to say that we are not here advocating violence. We have never done that... The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest."

"Taxi cabs agreed to give rides for 10 cents," said Mrs. Parks. "Get tough policy began by forcing cabs to charge 45 cents minimum. Several persons have been fired from their jobs for not riding the bus. Some for driving in the pool..."

The people have walked when they could not get rides in the most inclement weather. Many are still saying they will walk forever before they will go back to riding the bus under the same conditions..."

She knew on January 30, 1956 that, "We are really in the thick of it now. Rev. King's home was bombed last night while we were in the First Baptist Church mass meeting. His wife and baby were in the house, but not hurt."

Rev. King and the community were not intimidated by the bombing. King said, "We must meet violence with non-violence."

In June 1956, the U.S. District Court ruled for the Montgomery Improvement Association. The city appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which reaffirmed the decision that the segregation of Alabama buses was unconstitutional. The decision took effect December 20, 1956, 381 days after Rosa Parks' arrest.

Primary Source Activity: The National Archives has digitized records from the Rosa Parks case including her arrest records. Visit www.archives.gov/education/lessons/rosa-parks to find a related lesson plan including a helpful Document Analysis Worksheet.

Little Rock Nine



After the Brown Decision of the Supreme Court ordering desegregation in schools, the Little Rock, Arkansas school board was the first in the South to announce it would comply. The choice was made even though Superintendent of Schools Virgil Blossom felt “the people of Little Rock, a vast majority of them, were not in favor of integration as a principle.”

As the school year was about to begin, Jefferson Thomas, one of the Little Rock Nine students who volunteered and was selected by school authorities to attend Central High School, asked Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP, “Is there anything they can do now that they lost in court? Is there any way they can stop us from

entering Central tomorrow morning?” She replied, “I don’t think so.” Shortly after, a local news reporter stopped by and asked, “Mrs. Bates, do you know that National Guardsmen are surrounding Central High?”

As the start of the school year approached, resistance to integration grew rapidly. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus addressed the citizens of Arkansas on TV on Labor Day, September 2, 1957. He told them he had called out the National Guard to prevent the nine students from entering Central High because of threats to their lives. He said he was doing it for their “protection.”

In his infamous, and ill-advised words, he stated, “Blood will run in the streets” if Negro students should attempt to enter Central High School. This contributed to mass hysteria gripping Little Rock.

On September 14 Gov. Faubus met with President Eisenhower. Eisenhower refused the governor’s request to help defy the federal court order to integrate. He wanted Faubus to change the mission of the Arkansas Guardsmen to protect the students, not bar them. Faubus refused and removed the Guardsmen on September 23, leaving angry mobs determined to stop the students from entering.

Pres. Eisenhower felt upholding the Constitution, and the Supreme Court Brown Decision, was his duty. After receiving a request for federal assistance from the Mayor of Little Rock, Eisenhower made the decision to send in federal troops. With protection from the 101st Airborne Division, the Little Rock Nine started attending Central High School on September 25, 1957.

One of the students, Melba Pattillo remem-



Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus,
Credit: AP

bered, “The troops were wonderful... They were disciplined, they were attentive, they were caring.”

“Inside Central High, day after day, the Little Rock Nine endure cruel hardship and abuse from the white students—beatings, shoving, jeers, insults, and constant humiliation.” — Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement.

Despite the abuse, eight of the students would complete the year, including Ernest Green, who became the first black student to graduate from Central High. Minniejean Brown was expelled in January after twice responding to hecklers.

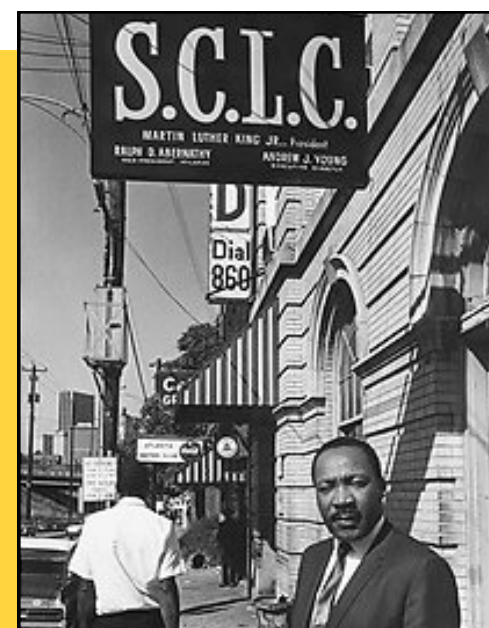
Sadly, Gov. Faubus closed every public school in Little Rock after the end of the school year rather than continue integration. The schools remained closed for a year until August 12, 1959 after the Supreme Court ruled the closing unconstitutional and an “evasive scheme.”

At that time many Americans agreed with Faubus and didn’t agree with the Supreme Court upholding integration. In Decem-

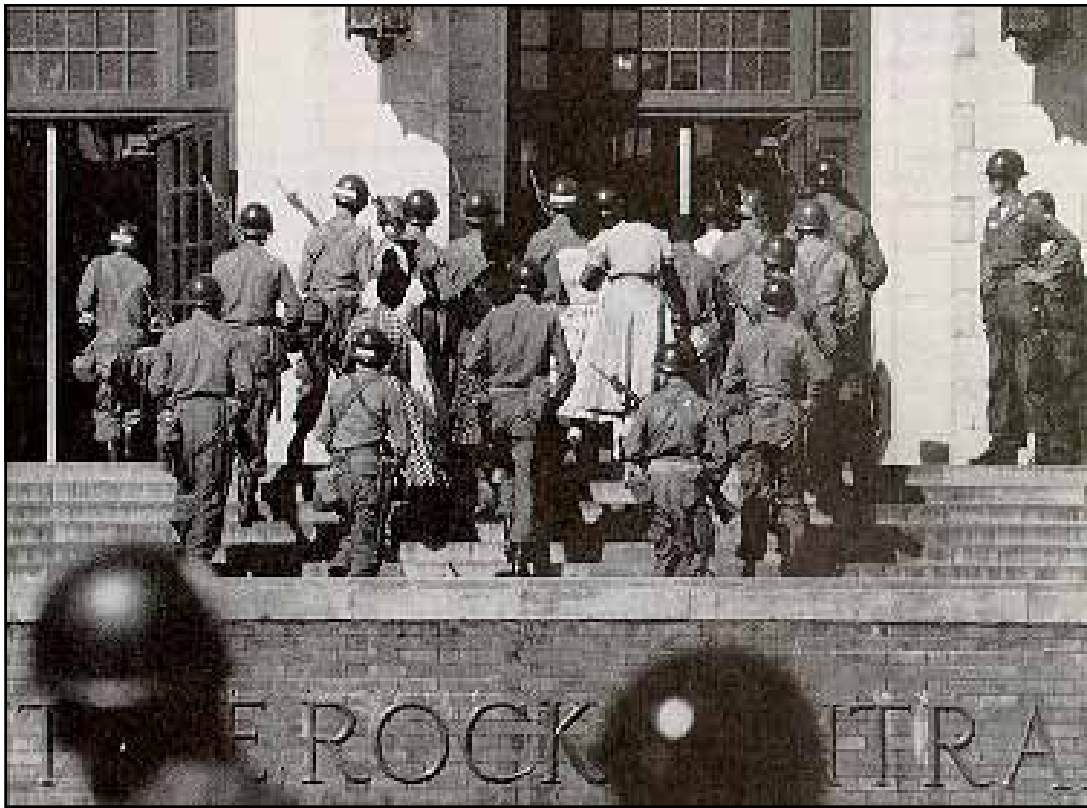
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

In January and February of 1957, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Charles K. Steele, Fred L. Shuttlesworth, and other ministers established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference dedicated to abolishing legalized segregation and ending the disfranchisement of black southerners in a non-violent manner. Female leaders such as Ella Baker also played key roles in the SCLC. King was the first president. The SCLC became a major force in organizing the civil rights movement and based its principles on nonviolence and civil disobedience. According to King, it was essential that the civil rights movement not sink to the level of the racists and hate-mongers who oppose them: “We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline.”

The SCLC was not without controversy, even within the black community. Some black churches thought their mission was to focus on spiritual needs, not political involvement. They thought direct action like non-violent protests and boycotts were radical actions and would excite white resistance, hostility, and violence. The SCLC became one of the most effective Civil Rights organizations in the South, responsible for some of the most important campaigns of the Civil Rights Movement.



Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in front of SCLC Headquarters in Atlanta, GA



Troops from the 327th Regiment, 101st Airborne escorting the Little Rock Nine African-American students up the steps of Central High.

ber 1958 Faubus was named one of the ten most admired men in the world by a Gallup poll along with Pres. Eisenhower, Sir Winston Churchill, Dr. Jonas Salk (polio vaccine), and other prominent leaders.

Resource: The Library of Congress features an online exhibition entitled “NAACP: A Century

in the Fight for Freedom 1909-2009” which includes many primary source documents from the Civil Rights era, including documents related to the Little Rock school desegregation effort. Visit <http://myloc.gov/Exhibitions/naacp/civilrights-era/Pages/SIObjectList.aspx> to explore these resources. Students can pick one primary source to analyze.

Greensboro Four Lunch Counter Sit-Ins

On February 1, 1960, four African American students from North Carolina A&T University held a sit-in to integrate a Woolworth’s lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., launching a decade wave of similar student protests across the South with over 70,000 participants and 3,000 arrests. The sit-ins attracted national media attention and federal intervention in the South. The sit-ins were also the foundation to establish the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in April 1960.

“After selecting the technique, then we said, ‘Let’s go down and just ask for service,’” said Franklin McCain. “It certainly wasn’t titled a ‘sit-in’ or ‘sit-down’ at that time. ...A policeman who walked in off the street...just looked mean and red and a little bit upset and a little bit disgusted. ... You had the feeling that this is the first time that this big bad man with the gun and the club has been pushed in a corner...—he doesn’t know what

he can or what he cannot do. He’s defenseless. ... We’ve provoked him, yes, but we haven’t provoked him outwardly enough for him to resort to violence. And I think this is just killing him; you can see it all over him.” (Source: Howell Raines, *My Soul is Rested*, 1977)

As the sit-ins continued, tensions grew in

There was a little old white lady who was finishing up her coffee at the counter. She strode toward me and I said to myself, “Oh my, someone to spit in my face or slap my face.” I was prepared for it. But she stands behind Joseph McNeil and me and puts her hands on our shoulders. She said, “Boys, I’m so proud of you. I only regret that you didn’t do this 10 years ago.” That was the biggest boost, morally, that I got that whole day, and probably the biggest boost for me during the entire movement. — Franklin E. McCain, Sr. (Source of image & quote: www.loc.gov/exhibits/civilrights/exhibit.html)



Elizabeth Eckford attempting to enter Little Rock High

On September 4, the day they were to enter the school, eight of the students arrived at the meeting location at 12th Street and Park Avenue, but 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford was not aware of the meeting place and arrived alone at Central High. She was soon surrounded by the jeering mob. She recounted, “Someone shouted ‘Here she comes, get ready.’ ...When I steadied my knees, I walked up to the guard who had let the white students in. He didn’t move. When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet... Somebody started yelling, ‘Lynch her! Lynch her!’ I tried to see a friendly face somewhere in the mob—someone who maybe would help. I looked into the face of an old woman and it seemed a kind face, but when I looked at her again, she spat on me. They came closer, shouting, ‘No n---r bitch is going to get in our school. Get out of here!’ I turned back to the guards but their faces told me I wouldn’t get any help from them. Then I looked down the block and saw a bench at the bus stop. ...Kept saying to myself, ‘If I can only make it to the bench I will be safe.’ ...Someone hollered, ‘Drag her over to this tree! Let’s take care of that n---r.’ Just then a white man sat down beside me, put his arm around me...and said, Don’t let them see you cry.’ Then a white lady—she was very nice—she came over to me on the bench. ...She put me on the bus and sat next to me. ...The next thing I remember was standing in front of the School for the Blind, where Mother works.”

Quote Source: *The Eye on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*, Penguin Books, 1991, p. 102-103

Resource: View a related video on History.com at <http://www.history.com/topics/freedom-rides/videos#little-rock-9>

Ask students to analyze the video and respond to the imagery. What kinds of sources are used in this video? What story does the video tell?



Greensboro Four: Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair Jr. (later known as Jibreel Khazan), Joseph McNeil, and David Richmond

Greensboro as more students began a far-reaching boycott of stores that had segregated lunch counters. Sales at the boycotted stores dropped by a third, leading the stores' owners to abandon their segregation policies. Black employees of the Greensboro Woolworth store were the first to



Ministers outside an F.W. Woolworth store in New York City, April 14, 1960, protest the store's lunch counter segregation at the chain's southern branches.

Credit: Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection

be served at the store's lunch counter on July 25, 1960. The next day, the entire Woolworth's chain was desegregated, serving blacks and whites alike.

Freedom Riders

In 1961 the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began to organize Freedom Rides throughout the South to determine whether bus stations were complying with the Supreme Court ruling to integrate interstate public bus travel. Student volunteers were bused in to test the ruling and new laws prohibiting segregation.

The initial plan called for an interracial group to travel south on Trailway and Greyhound buses from Washington, D.C. to Atlanta, then through Alabama and Mississippi to arrive in New Orleans on May 17, 1961, the 7th anniversary of the Supreme Court Brown Decision.

John Lewis, who became SNCC chairman in 1963 and a Georgia Congressman in 1986, was one of 13 Freedom Riders, seven black and six white. As they traveled south they stopped at Rock Hall, S.C. Lewis told of the experience, "As we started in the door of the white waiting room, we were met by a group of white young men that beat us and hit us, knocking us out, left us lying on the sidewalk..."

When the Greyhound bus arrived at Anniston, Alabama, a mob was waiting for them. They decided not to test the terminal, but the crowd slashed at the tires. James Farmer, one of the founders of CORE, said, "The bus got to the outskirts of Anniston and the tires blew out... Members of the mob had boarded cars and followed the bus...the members of the mob surrounded it, held the door closed, and a member of the mob threw a firebomb into the bus... [while] local police mingling with the mob..."

The riders managed to escape the burning bus before it was totally engulfed in flames.

The Freedom Rides expanded even with the violence occurring and the certainty of jail sentences.

"We want the world to know that we no longer accept the inferior position of second-class citizenship. We are willing to go to jail, be ridiculed, spat upon and even suffer physical violence to obtain First Class Citizenship."
— *newsletter of students at Barber-Scotia College, Concord, N.C.*

Hundreds were jailed, a quarter of them women. Most served time in the southern state penitentiaries.

In the summer of 1961, while the Freedom Riders were serving their sentences, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, brother of President John F. Kennedy, petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to develop regulations banning segregation in interstate travel. In late September, the ICC issued regulations enabling the federal government to enforce the Supreme Court ruling that segregation in interstate bus travel is unconstitutional.



Freedom Riders gather with authorities alongside their burning bus after a mob attack outside Anniston, AL. The photo circulated in the national and world press helping people understand the horror of hatred and prejudice.

Credit: FBI

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Statement of Purpose

We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from the Judeo-Christian tradition seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.



This SNCC poster showing John Lewis praying with others. Lewis became SNCC chairman in 1963.

Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hopes ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels enmity. Justice for all overcomes injustice. The redemptive community supersedes systems of gross social immorality. Love is the central motif of nonviolence. Love is the force by which God binds man to himself and man to man. Such love goes to the extreme; it remains loving and forgiving even in the midst of hostility. It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love. By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities.

James Meredith & Ole Miss



Integration at University of Mississippi—James Meredith accompanied to class by U.S. marshals at Oxford, MS, October 1, 1962.

Credit: Marion S. Trikosko / Library of Congress

A 28-year-old married veteran of the Air Force, James Meredith had studied for two years at Jackson State University. But Meredith wanted a better legal education than the historically black

university could offer, and he wanted to get it at Ole Miss.

He tried to enroll at Ole Miss (University of Mississippi). His application was neither ac-

cepted nor rejected, leaving his status in limbo. All universities in the South were segregated. With the help of the NAACP his case was fought in the courts for 16 months. On September 10, 1962 the Supreme Court upheld Meredith's right to attend Ole Miss.

Three days later, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett told a TV audience, "...There is no case in history where the Caucasian race has survived social integration," and that the state, "...will not drink from the cup of genocide." He also spoke at a football game against the "tyrannical" interference by outsiders in Mississippi's affairs.

Behind the scenes Attorney General Robert Kennedy negotiated with and reached an agreement with Gov. Barnett for Meredith to attend to Ole Miss. Meredith was secretly escorted on campus on Sunday, September 30, 1962. Stationed on campus or nearby were 123 deputy federal marshals, 316 U.S. Border Patrolmen, and 97 prison guards. They were assaulted that night by a mob that reached 2,000 people with guns, bricks, and bottles. Federal troops were finally sent in to quell the warfare. Two people were killed, 28 marshals were shot, and 160 people injured.

Monday morning James Meredith became the first black person to register at Ole Miss or any college in the South. He graduated in 1963.

"Nobody handpicked me," Meredith would later say, crediting President John F. Kennedy's inaugural address as inspiring him to attempt what had never before been achieved. "I believed, and I believe now, that I have a divine responsibility to break white supremacy in Mississippi, and getting in Ole Miss was only the start."

Learn more at: <http://microsites.jfklibrary.org/olemiss/home>

President John F. Kennedy Orders Equal Opportunity in Employment and Housing

Executive Order 10925

On March 6, 1961 President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925, with the intent to affirm the government's commitment to equal opportunity and to take positive action to strengthen efforts to realize true equal opportunity for all. It established a Presidential committee that later became the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

An excerpt from the Executive Order states: *The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship.*

Executive Order 11063

Kennedy upheld a 1960 campaign promise to eliminate housing segregation by signing on November 20, 1962 Executive Order 11063 banning segregation in Federally funded housing. The Order "prohibits discrimination in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of properties and facilities owned or operated by the federal government or provided with federal funds."



Letter From Birmingham Jail

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., April 16, 1963

...You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community, which has constantly refused to negotiate, is forced to confront the issue...

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed...

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. ...Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging dark of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old



daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky...; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored

people so mean?"; ...when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "n---r," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; ...when you go forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness" then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait.

Excerpts, full text at: <http://drmartinlutherkingjr.com>

Birmingham, Alabama Campaign of Mass Protests

In April 1963, mass protests began in Birmingham, Alabama (often called Bombingham due to over 50 bombings) by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The main support came from Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR). Shuttlesworth was also a cofounder of the SCLC with Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.



Alabama governor George C. Wallace

"I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny...and I say segregation now...segregation tomorrow...segregation forever," spoke Alabama Governor George C. Wallace at his inauguration January 14, 1963. Many whites in Alabama took comfort in his words.

This was the backdrop for why black leaders felt that a victory in Birmingham would shift

public opinion across America.

Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of SCLC explained the plan: "I wrote a document called Project C—it meant confrontation. My theory was that if we mounted a strong nonviolent movement, the opposition would surely do something to attract the media, and in turn induce national sympathy and attention to the everyday segregated circumstances of a black person in the Deep South. We targeted Birmingham because it was the biggest and baddest city of the South. Dr. King's feeling was that if nonviolence wouldn't work in Birmingham then it wouldn't work anywhere."

Surprisingly, Project C was initiated with high school students. Reverend James Bevel was having trouble recruiting enough adults for the protest because they worked and were also afraid of losing their jobs. It was an economic issue. He came up with this idea: "...Let's use thousands of people who won't create an economic crisis...high school students. A boy from high school, he can get the same effect in terms of being in jail, in terms of putting pressure on the city..."

Rev. King, in his autobiography, related the case of a black teenager who decided to march in



Bill Hudson's image of Parker High School student Walter Gadsden being attacked by dogs was published in The New York Times on May 4, 1963.

the face of his father's objections:

"Daddy," the boy said, "I don't want to disobey you, but I have made my pledge. If you try to keep me home, I will sneak off. If you think I deserve to be punished for that, I'll just have to take the punishment. For, you see, I'm not doing this only because I want to be free. I'm doing it also because I want freedom for you and Mama, and I want it to come before you die." That father thought again, and gave his son his blessing.

The high school students participated by the thousands. On the first day of the Project C campaign, May 2, 1963, Police Chief Bull Connor arrested more than 600 children. The next day an angry Connor met the students with violence unleashing police attack dogs and ordering firemen to blast the students off their feet with high-pressure hoses, injuring many. The young people endured daily attacks as they demonstrated for human rights. By May 6, Bull Connor was housing thousands of child prisoners at the state fairgrounds.

The resulting photographs, video, and written accounts dominated the news across the nation and the world. For the first time Americans could see the nature of segregation and hatred in the South. They were stunned, and ashamed.

A New York Times editorial on May 4, 1963 expressed the feeling of growing numbers of

Americans: “No American schooled in respect for human dignity can read without shame of the barbarities committed by Alabama police authorities against Negro and white demonstrators for civil rights. The use of police dogs and high-pressure fire hose to subdue schoolchildren in Birmingham is a national disgrace. The herding of hundreds of teenagers and younger children into jails and detention homes for demanding their birthright of freedom made a mockery of legal process.”

By May 9, Birmingham’s business leaders had had enough. They negotiated an agreement with Rev. King and Rev. Shuttlesworth. Birmingham businesses would desegregate their lunch counters, restrooms, and drinking fountains. They would hire and promote black employees. The jailed protestors would be freed, and charges dropped. Bull Connor called it “the worst day of my life.”



Activity: Photographs and news footage taken at Birmingham helped focus attention on the protests and raised awareness in the U.S. and throughout the world about inequality and racism. Have students analyze photos or film footage from this time. What role did the news media play in the movement? The Library of Congress has a useful Primary Source Analysis tool to help with this activity: www.loc.gov/teachers/primary-source-analysis-tool

President John F. Kennedy’s Civil Rights Address



On June 11, 1963 President John F. Kennedy spoke to the nation about Civil Rights.

...This Nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

Today, we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free. And when Americans are sent to Vietnam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only. It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having

to be backed up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants and theaters and retail stores, without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street, and it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal. It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated...

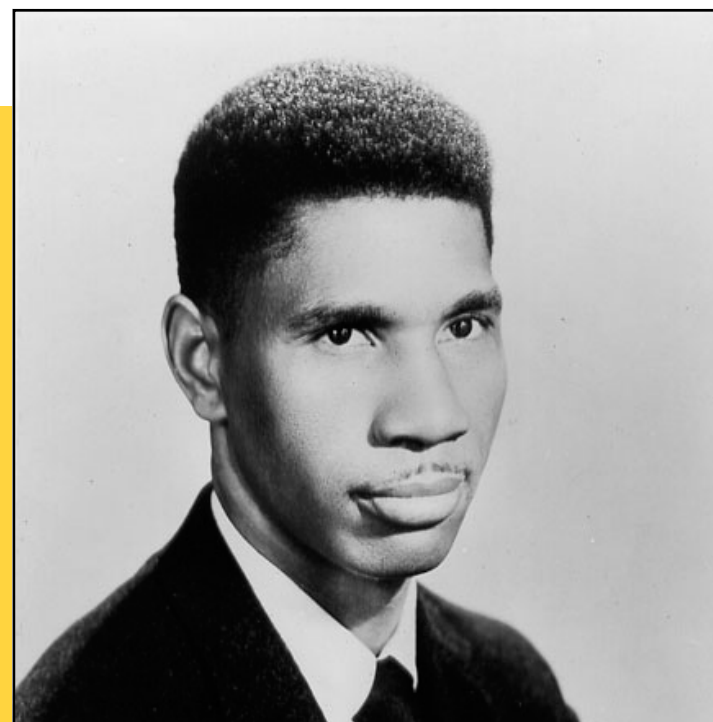
Full text at: www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfkcivilrights.htm

Medgar Evers Assassination

Medgar Evers (1925-1963), field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was one of the first martyrs of the civil rights movement. He was killed the day after President John F. Kennedy addressed the nation on civil rights. His death prompted Pres. Kennedy to ask Congress for a comprehensive civil-rights bill, which after his assassination, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law in 1964.

The Mississippi in which Medgar Evers lived was a place of blatant discrimination where blacks dared not even speak of civil rights, much less actively campaign for them. As a civil right activist, he paid for his convictions with his life, becoming the first major civil rights leader to be assassinated in the 1960s. He was shot in the back on June 12, 1963, after returning late from a meeting. He was 37 years old.

Learn more at: www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history-medgar-evers



March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

Mass marches were never accepted by presidential administrations in the nation's capital, Washington, D.C. Army veteran marches on Washington in 1894 and 1932 had been met with tear gas and arrests.

In the summer of 1941, A. Philip Randolph, founder of the first Black union the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was angry that World War II military spending was lifting whites out of the Great Depression, but black unemployment was ignored. He threatened President Franklin D. Roosevelt with a mass march by 100,000 black citizens for equal employment opportunity.

Roosevelt, like past presidents, brought all of his power to bear to try to stop the march. But Randolph was having none of it. A week before the march deadline, Roosevelt gave into the pressure and created the first national Fair Employment Practices Committee to address the issue of black unemployment. Randolph postponed the march — for what ended up being more than two decades.

The administration of President John F. Kennedy, like those in the past, was concerned about a March on Washington being proposed for August 1963. He felt the nation was on the verge of exploding and a march might be a catalyst to start rioting as had happened with marches in the South. Congress was even more terrified of the march.

President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson met with members of the March organizing committee to dissuade them because they thought it would hurt their efforts to persuade Congress to pass civil rights legislation. Randolph and Martin Luther King disagree with them. They felt a non-violent march would show their strength of numbers and would dramatize the civil rights issue in a positive way. The effort to stop the march only strengthened their resolve. The march was on.

The March on Washington represented a coalition of ten major civil rights and religious organizations. Each had a different approach and different agenda.



The "Big Six" organizers of the March were (left to right) John Lewis, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Martin Luther King, Jr., of the South-

Now the time has come for preachers and everybody else to get to Washington and get this very recalcitrant Congress to see that it must do something and that it must do it soon, because...if something isn't done...our cities are going to continue to go up in flames...The extreme voices calling for violence will get a greater hearing in the black community.

So far they have not influenced many, but I contend that if something isn't done very soon to deal with this basic economic problem to provide jobs...then the extremists voices will be heard more and those who are preaching non-violence will often have their words falling on deaf ears...

We need a movement now to transmute the rage of the ghetto into a positive constructive force...

I can't see the answer in riots. On the other hand, I can't see the answer in tender supplications for justice. I see the answer in...militant non-violence that is massive...attention-getting enough to dramatize the problems, that will be attention-getting as a riot, that will not destroy life or property in the process. And that is what we hope to do in Washington...

— Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., excerpts of comments to Rabbi Gendler about the purpose of the March on Washington

ern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); James Farmer, of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); and Roy Wilkins, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Randolph was chosen as the leader for the march and he chose his assistant, Bayard Rustin, to organize the march. Rustin was a controversial choice because some thought him to be a communist. In return for the choice, Randolph, who thought it should be an all-black march, agreed to invite white religious and labor leaders to help organize, and their members to join the march.

They agreed to a date of August 28, 1963 with the march starting on the Mall at the Washington Monument and ending in front of the Lincoln Memorial. It would be a massive peaceful display of black and white citizens urging justice and equal rights.

The goal was to bring at least 100,000 people to attend. The word went out across the country through the media, in churches and civil rights meetings, and by word of mouth. They organized thousands of chartered trains and buses to move people from all over the country to Washington, D.C. Over 250,000 people arrived for the march, including 60,000 white participants.



They made plans for security to make sure white supremacist groups like the Nazis or the Ku Klux Klan could not disrupt the march and that no one who attended would cause trouble. On the day of the march, 3,900 police from Washington, D.C. and nearby suburbs and 2,000 National Guardsmen were called to duty, and several thousand U.S. troops were on standby in Maryland and Virginia.

A. Philip Randolph opened the speakers program in front of the Lincoln Memorial. He addressed the crowd as, "the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom." He went on to express the 10 demands of the march (see What We Demand).

WHAT WE DEMAND*

1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation from the present Congress—without compromise or filibuster—to guarantee all Americans
 - access to all public accommodations
 - decent housing
 - adequate and integrated education
 - the right to vote
2. Withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.
3. Desegregation of all school districts in 1963.
4. Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment—reducing Congressional representation of states where citizens are disfranchised.
5. A new Executive Order banning discrimination in all housing supported by federal funds.
6. Authority for the Attorney General to institute injunctive suits when any constitutional right is violated.
7. A massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers—Negro and white—on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.
8. A national minimum wage act that will give all Americans a decent standard of living. (Government surveys show that anything less than \$2.00 an hour fails to do this.)
9. A broadened Fair Labor Standards Act to include all areas of employment which are presently excluded.
10. A federal Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination by federal, state, and municipal governments, and by employers, contractors, employment agencies, and trade unions.

*Support of the March does not necessarily indicate endorsement of every demand listed. Some organizations have not had an opportunity to take an official position on all of the demands advocated here.

As the speeches continued, the crowds swelled. City officials became fearful of violence. But this was a peaceful gathering. Many of the speakers encouraged the black people present to step up their civil rights protests. SNCC leader John Lewis' speech, though altered from its original draft, was still the most volatile. He prophesied that with their superior strength of numbers the black people would "splinter the segregated South into a thousand pieces, and put them back together in the image of God and Democracy."

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. gave the final speech. His "I have a dream" speech was full of hope, determination and purpose. It brought the quarter of a million people at the march to a fever pitch of excitement, and to tears.

Immediately following the march, the top 10 speakers met with President Kennedy. The march was successful beyond their wildest dreams and they used its power to push for a stronger civil rights bill.

Kennedy said of the march: "One cannot help but be impressed with the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that characterized the thousands who have gathered in the nation's capital from

across the country to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our democratic form of government..."

News of the peaceful, powerful march, and the words of the speakers, spread across the nation and the world. The march delivered a blow to segregation and the old order in the South from which it would never recover.

Resource: The Our Documents site of the National Archives includes the official March on Washington program available at www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=96.



"I Have a Dream"

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his historic "I Have a Dream" speech in front of hundreds of thousands of participants at the "March on Washington." At the end of his speech, he preached these words about his dream for America. Full text at: www.archives.gov/press/exhibits/dream-speech.pdf

I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."

I have a dream 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 one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

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 today.

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of



our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

And if America is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania! Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado! Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California! But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia! Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee! Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when this happens, when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

Sixteenth Street Church Bombing

They called him Dynamite Bob. Robert Edward Chambliss, a Birmingham truck driver, was a member of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan. He stood outside the Sixteenth Street Church on September 15, 1963. The church had been the rallying point against Bull Connors police dogs and fire hoses.

It was only 18 days after the euphoric March on Washington and four hundred worshipers were at the church. There were four children in the basement changing their clothes.

At about 10:20 AM, fifteen sticks dynamite blew apart the basement, instantly killing Carole Robertson, Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Wesley (ages 14), and Denise McNair (age 11), and injuring 20 others.

It took several years before Chambliss was convicted of

participating in the bombing.

Addie was standing by the window. Denise McNair asked Addie to tie the sash on her dress. I started to look toward them just to see them, but by the time I went to turn my head that way there was a loud noise. I didn't know what it was. I called out Addie's name about three or four times, but she didn't answer. All of a sudden, I heard a man outside holler, "Someone just bombed the 16th Street church." He came in, picked me up in his arms, and carried me out of the church. They took me over to the hospital... The doctor told me after they operated on my face that I had about 22 shards of glass in my face. When it was all over with, they took the patches off my eye and I had lost my right eye, and I could barely see out of my left eye. I stayed in the hospital about two and a half months. — Sarah J. Rudolph, older sister of Addie Mae Collins



The 24th Amendment

Poll taxes, fees that had to be paid in order to vote, were used in the South to discourage blacks from voting. In 1964, five states still retained a poll tax: Virginia, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, and Mississippi. The 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ratified January 23, 1964, states: The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax. Unfortunately southern poll taxes continued to be used to limit the black vote in elections for state and local officials.

Civil Rights Act of 1964

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, signed into law by President Johnson on July 2, 1964, was a revolutionary piece of legislation in the United States that effectively outlawed egregious forms of discrimination against African Americans and women, including all forms of segregation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 terminated unequal application in regards to voter registration requirements and all forms of racial segregation in schools, in the workplace and by facilities that offered services to the general public.

Title provisions of the Act

Title I: Barred unequal application of voter registration requirements and required that all voting rules and procedures be uniform regardless of race. Literacy tests were still allowed.

Title II: Outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion or national origin in hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, and all other public accommodations engaged in interstate commerce; exempted private clubs without defining the term "private."

Title III: Prohibited state and municipal governments from denying access to public facilities on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin.

Title IV: Encouraged the desegregation of public schools and authorized the U.S. Attorney General to file suits to enforce said act.

Title V: Expanded the Civil Rights Commission established by the earlier Civil Rights Act of 1957 with additional powers, rules and procedures.

Title VI: Prevents discrimination by government agencies that receive federal funds. If an agency is found in violation of Title VI, that agency may lose its federal



President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and hands the pen to Martin Luther King, Jr.

funding.

Title VII: Prohibited discrimination by employers on the basis of color, race, sex, national origin, or religion.

Full text of Civil Rights Act of 1964 at:
www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=97

Freedom Summer

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) with CORE, the NAACP, and other civil-rights groups organized a massive African American voter registration drive in Mississippi known as "Freedom Summer" and the "Summer Project."

Over 1,000 out-of-state volunteers participated in Freedom Summer alongside thousands of black Mississippians. Most of the volunteers were young, most of them from the North, 90 percent were white and many were Jewish.

Organizers focused on Mississippi because it had the lowest percentage of African Americans registered to vote in the country, in 1962 only 7%. Many of Mississippi's white residents deeply resented the outsiders and any attempt to change their society. Locals routinely harassed volunteers. Newspapers called them "unshaven and unwashed trash." Their presence in local black communities sparked drive-by shootings, Molotov cocktails, and constant harassment. State and local governments, police, the White Citizens' Council and



the Ku Klux Klan used murder, arrests, beatings, arson, spying, firing, evictions, and other forms of intimidation to oppose the project and prevent blacks from registering to vote for achieving social equality. Over the course of the ten-week project:

- Four civil rights workers were killed & four critically wounded
- 80 Freedom Summer workers were beaten
- 1,062 people were arrested (volunteers and locals)
- 37 churches & 30 black homes and businesses were bombed or burned.



Until then I'd never heard of no mass meeting and I didn't know that a Negro could register and vote. Bob Moses, Reggie Robinson, Jim Bevel and James Forman were some of the SNCC workers who ran that meeting. When they

asked for those to raise their hands who'd go down to the courthouse the next day, I raised mine. Had it up as high as I could get it. I guess if I'd had any sense I'd a-been a little scared, but what was the point of being scared? The only thing they could do to me was kill me and it seemed like they'd been trying to do that a little bit at a time ever since I could remember

— Fannie Lou Hamer

Mississippi Burning

In Neshoba County, near Philadelphia, Miss., the bodies of three civil-rights workers—two white, one black—were found in an earthen dam, six weeks into a federal investigation backed by President Johnson. James E. Chaney, 21; Andrew Goodman, 21; and Michael Schwerner, 24, had been working to register black voters in Mississippi.

On June 21, 1964, they had gone to investigate the burning of a black church. They were arrested by the police on suspicion of arson, incarcerated for several hours, and then released after dark into the hands of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), who murdered them. Their bodies, beaten and shot, were recovered August 4.

Freedom Summer's Effect

Freedom Summer had a significant effect on the course of the Civil Rights Movement. It helped

break down the decades of isolation and repression that were the foundation of the Jim Crow system. Before Freedom Summer, the national news media paid little attention to the persecution of black voters in the Deep South and the dangers endured by black civil rights workers, but when the lives of affluent northern white students were threatened, the full attention of the media spotlight was turned on the state. This evident disparity between the value that the media placed on the lives of whites compared with blacks embittered many black activists. However, the volunteers consider that summer as one of the defining moments of their lives

In the five years following Freedom Summer, black voter registration in Mississippi rose from a mere 7 percent to 67 percent.

"We had a system where people were to call in every half hour or call at appointed times. And if the call didn't come, then within 15 minutes, whoever was receiving the calls was supposed to call the Jackson, MS [main] office. We had a security system we would then put into operation, which involved calling the FBI and calling the Justice Department and calling the local police... So we did that...and nothing was happening. ... We assumed that they were in real danger or dead. We...anticipated...violence, but I remember thinking, 'Boy, they [KKK] are really quick.' We had a lot of fear."

— Sandra Cason (Source: *Voices of Freedom*, Bantam, New York, 1990, p. 188-189.)

MISSING CALL FBI

THE FBI IS SEEKING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE AT PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, OF THESE THREE INDIVIDUALS ON JUNE 21, 1964. EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION IS BEING CONDUCTED TO LOCATE GOODMAN, CHANEY, AND SCHWERNER, WHO ARE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

	ANDREW GOODMAN	JAMES EARL CHANEY	MICHAEL HENRY SCHWERNER
HAIR	White	Negro	White
SEX	Male	Male	Male
DOB	November 22, 1942	May 25, 1942	November 6, 1939
POB	New York City	Meriden, Mississippi	New York City
AGE	21 years	21 years	24 years
HEIGHT	5'10"	5'7"	5'9" to 5'10"
WEIGHT	150 pounds	125 to 140 pounds	170 to 180 pounds
HAIR	Dark brown wavy	Black	Brown
EYES	Brown	Brown	Light blue
TEETH	Good	Good	Good
SCARS AND MARKS		1 inch left side 2 inches above left ear	Perforated holes of forehead, slight scar on bridge of nose, approximately 1/2 inch above left ear

SHOULD YOU HAVE OR IN THE FUTURE RECEIVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, YOU ARE REQUESTED TO NOTIFY ME OR THE NEAREST OFFICE OF THE FBI. TELEPHONE NUMBER IS LISTED BELOW.

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
TELEPHONE: NATIONAL 8-7112

June 23, 1964

Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner

Bloody Sunday

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were aimed at supporting the rights of African Americans to vote. Black voter registration was low in southern states and counties due to discriminatory practices employed such as poll taxes and qualifying tests. Selma, in Dallas County, Alabama had a history of opposition to black voters' rights with only 2% of black residents registered to vote.

Reverend King, the SNCC, and the SCLC were invited by the Dallas County Voters' League, run by local black activists Amelia and Samuel Boynton, to make Selma a national focal point for a campaign for a strong federal voting rights statute.



Images of civil rights marchers in Selma being beaten by Alabama police March 7, 1965 horrified many Americans, including President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Credit: Library of Congress

King and the other civil rights advocates knew Selma would prove a challenge because of the short temper of local Sheriff James G. Clark, Jr. They also knew his hostile tactics would increase news coverage and outrage across the country. Clark did not disappoint them.

As part of their efforts, they also engaged officials in the neighboring Town of Marion in Perry County. At a civil rights march there on February 18, 1965, an Alabama State Trooper shot and killed a black participant, Jimmy Lee Jackson.

Civil rights activists thought that a fitting response to his death would be a mass pilgrimage from Selma to the Alabama state capitol in Montgomery.

The 600 marchers started out on Sunday, March 7, 1965 led by SCLC Hosea Williams and SNCC chairman John Lewis. (King was preaching at his church in Atlanta.) When they reached the

other side of the Pettus Bridge on the edge of downtown Selma, they were blocked by scores of Sheriff Clark's lawmen and Alabama state troopers.

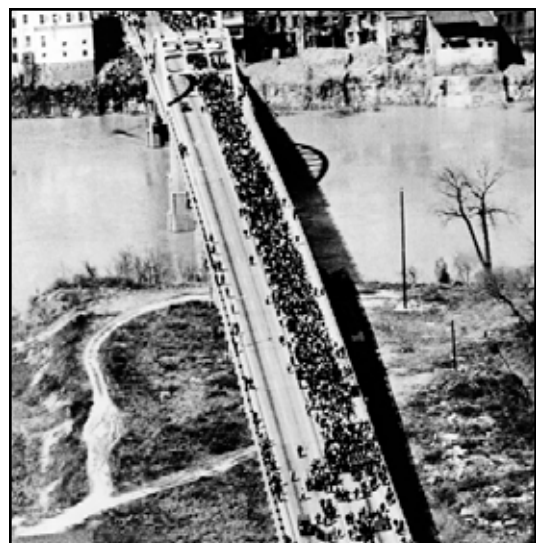
The marchers were instructed to turn around and walk back to Selma. When they didn't move they were attacked. Fifty marchers were hospitalized after police used tear gas, whips, clubs, and mounted horsemen against them. The gruesome incident was dubbed "Bloody Sunday" by the media and led to outrage across the country.

"The first 10 or 20 Negroes were swept to the ground screaming, arms and legs flying and packs and bags went skittering across the grassy divider strip and on to the pavement on both sides," The New York Times reported on March 8, 1965. "Those still on their feet retreated. The troopers continued pushing, using both the force of their bodies and the prodding of their nightsticks." The Times also described a makeshift hospital near the local church: "Negroes lay on the floors and chairs, many weeping and moaning."

Two weeks later on Sunday, March 21, after court approval for the march and with federalized National Guard troops for safety, a larger march of 3,200 started from Selma to Montgomery (the numbers were reduced to 300 along the way for practical issues of food and shelter). After walking 10 miles a day, sometimes in heavy rain, and camping in open fields in simple tents, they reached Montgomery four days later on March 25th, where they held a rally on the steps of the state capitol.

John Lewis said of the march: "I think we all walked those days with a sense of pride and...dignity. ...To me there was never a march like this one before, and there hasn't been one since."

The march is considered the catalyst for pushing through the Voting Rights Act of 1965 five months later.



Marchers Crossing the Edmund-Pettus Bridge, Sunday, March 7, 1965

Credit: Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection

Voting Rights Act of 1965



President Lyndon B. Johnson shakes hands with Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. after signing the Voting Rights Act.

In a landmark victory in African Americans' quest for freedom and equality, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 into law on August 6, 1965. It prohibited the

denial or restriction of the right to vote, and forbade discriminatory voting practices nationwide such as forcing would-be voters to pass qualifying tests in order to vote.

Section 2 of the Act states: No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.

Read the Voting Rights Act of 1965 at:

www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=100

Martin Luther King, Jr., Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

On October 14, 1964, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was named the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The October 15 New York Times quoted the civil rights leader: "I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally, but a tribute to the disciplined, wise restraint and majestic courage of

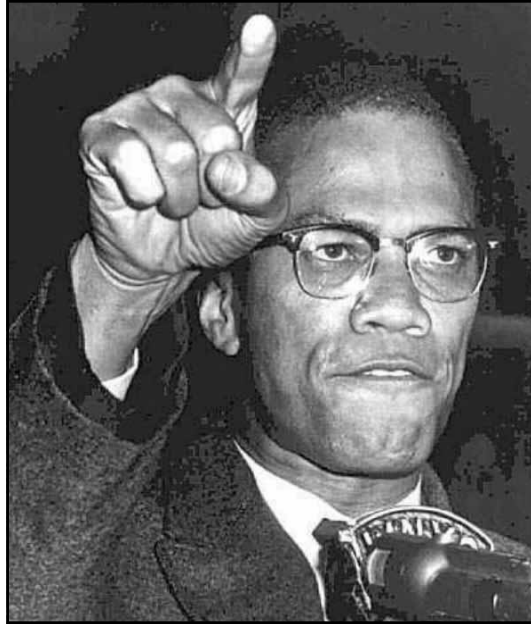


gallant Negro and white persons of goodwill who have followed a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

Black Power

Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and the Black Panthers

Not all African Americans were content with Martin Luther King's nonviolent approach to desegregation. Some thought that King's ways was too slow or not forceful enough. They wanted real change as quickly as possible. They thought an in-your-face approach would tell white people that they weren't going to settle for anything less than equal rights.



Malcolm X

Malcolm X

Malcolm Little (later Malcolm X and El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) was born in Omaha, Nebraska on May 19, 1925. At the time, Marcus Garvey's Back to Africa Movement was gaining momentum. Malcolm's father Earl was a Baptist minister who vocally supported Garvey's Black Nationalist move-

When my mother was pregnant with me, she told me later, a party of hooded Ku Klux Klan riders galloped up to our home... Brandishing their shotguns and rifles, they shouted for my father to come out. — Malcolm X

ment. Under the climate of racial repression in the 1920s, Little's father received death threats from the white supremacist group the Black Legion.

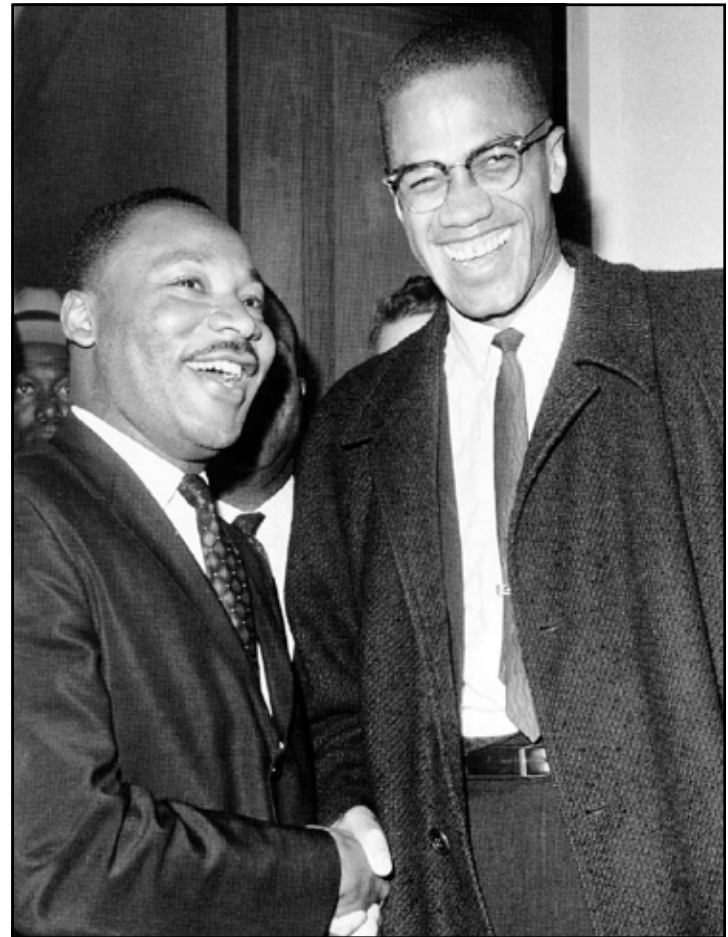
In 1929, the Little's home in Lansing, Michigan was burnt to the ground by the KKK. Two years later Earl Little's body was recovered across town on trolley tracks. Malcolm's mother, Louise, was devastated emotionally and the children were sent to live in foster homes and orphanages.

Despite these extreme hardships, Malcolm was a bright student who was elected class president. Yet over time he was discouraged by some teachers, including one who told him his dream of being a lawyer would never come true. He dropped out of school, moved to Boston to live with his half-sister, and got caught up in a life of crime; he was eventually arrested and convicted of burglary and sentenced to 10 years in prison in 1946.

In prison, Malcolm learned about the teachings of the Nation of Islam (NOI), led by Elijah

Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny and oppression, because power, real power, comes from our conviction which produces action, uncompromising action. — Malcolm X

Muhammad. Malcolm became a devoted follower of the NOI. He read widely during his time in prison, becoming familiar with religious and



Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X

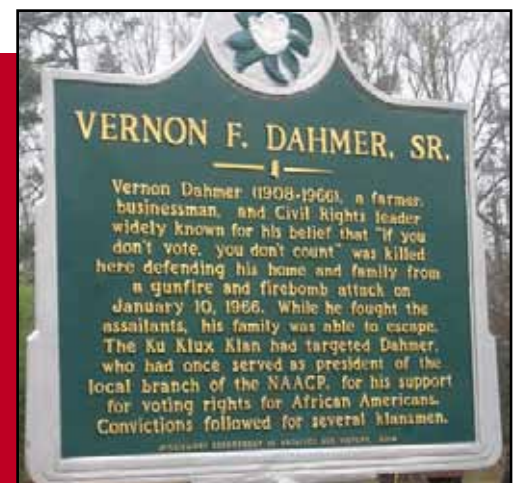
philosophical texts as well as history. He was paroled from prison in 1952 and took the surname "X" rather than keep what he left was a last name rooted in the legacy of slavery. He rose quickly into leadership roles in the NOI, moving to Harlem and serving as minister of Temple No. 7 there. He developed a scathing critique of white society and also of the mainstream Civil Rights Movement. Following from the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, he stressed the importance of blacks forming their own organizations and defending themselves against violence "by any means necessary." Malcolm

Vernon Dahmer, Sr.

My brother Dennis came and woke me up. He told me the house was on fire and he got me out of there. The house was engulfed in flames. My father was covered with smoke and soot, skin was hanging off his arms. My aunt carried him to the hospital. We waited for the fire truck to get there; it took about 35 or 45 minutes to get there and it was just six miles away. Let's just put it this way, they weren't in any hurry to get there. I knew what we were doing about

voter registration, but it never occurred to me that something like this would happen. We were just trying to help other people. — Harold Dahmer (Source: www.loc.gov/exhibits/civilrights/exhibit.html)

Harold had just returned home from the Army when the Ku Klux Klan firebombed his family's home in 1966. His father, Vernon



Dahmer, Sr., a voting rights activist, was severely burned and died from his injuries.

"The common goal of 22 million Afro-Americans is respect as human beings, the God-given right to be a human being. Our common goal is to obtain the human rights that America has been denying us. We can never get civil rights in America until our human rights are first restored. We will never be recognized as citizens there until we are first recognized as humans." — "Malcolm X, "Racism: the Cancer that is Destroying America," in Egyptian Gazette, Aug. 25 1964

X said, "Concerning nonviolence, it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks."

He adopted many of the tenets of the NOI, avoiding alcohol and drugs, and focusing on leadership. He married Betty Dean Sanders (Shabazz) in 1958, and traveled widely through the world including to Egypt, Nigeria and Ghana. A charismatic leader, Malcolm helped establish new mosques in several cities and became well-known by early 1960s.

But tensions between Malcolm and Elijah Muhammad developed as Malcolm became more and more popular; it was Malcolm who was credited with boosting membership in the NOI from 500 in 1952 to approximately 30,000 in 1963. By 1964, Malcolm left the NOI and established a new

organization called the Muslim Mosque, Inc. That year, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and adopted the name El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. This journey was transformative. Upon his return, Malcolm adopted a message of unity and diversity for the world's peoples, creating an organization called the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Malcolm planned to file a petition with the United Nations detailing the human rights violations against African Americans. His plans were cut short, however, when he was shot with gunmen connected to the NOI on February 21, 1965 at the Audubon Ballroom in New York City. He was dead at the age of 39, leaving behind his wife Betty and four children. Regardless of what people thought of him, few could deny that Malcolm X played a key role in the dialogue about race relations in the United States.



Stokely Carmichael

On June 16, 1966, Stokely Carmichael, the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), spoke at a

rally in Greenwood, Mississippi, and argued for Black Power. Carmichael defined this as "a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, and to build a sense of community".

Carmichael also advocated that African Americans should form and lead their own organizations. The NAACP condemned "Black Power" as a "menace to peace and prosperity...no Negro who is fighting for civil rights can support black power, which is opposed to civil rights and integration." Martin Luther King believed that the term "Black Power" was "unfortunate because it tends to give the impression of black nationalism...black supremacy would be as

evil as white supremacy."

Stokely Carmichael also adopted the slogan of "Black is Beautiful" and advocated a mood of black pride and a rejection of white values of style and appearance. This included adopting Afro hairstyles and African forms of dress.

Due to his radical approach, he was replaced at SNCC and joined the Black Panther Party, which better fit his growing militant viewpoint.

Carmichael eventually left America to live in Guinea, Africa. He continued to attack the evils of white power and the business system of America. Over time he faded from the news and died of cancer in 1988.

Black Panther Party

The Watts Riots in of 1965 revealed the anger and frustration of blacks in Los Angeles, and California, who were discriminated against for jobs, housing, and in politics. The police also used fear and intimidation to control blacks similar to the South. A police arrest was the catalyst for the riots. The six days of rioting by nearly 35,000 people from August 11 to 17, 1965 resulted in 34 deaths, 1,032 injuries, 3,438 arrests, and over \$50 million in property damage.

In 1966 Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, two students at Merritt College in Oakland, California, started the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Focused on revolutionary nationalism and self-defense the Party aims were: self-determination, exemption of blacks from the military draft, and end to police brutality and murder.

Newton said, "We had seen Watts rise up... seen the police attack the Watts community after causing the trouble in the first place. We had seen Martin Luther King come to Watts in an effort to

calm the people, and we had seen his philosophy of nonviolence rejected. Black people had been taught nonviolence; it was deep in us. What good, however was nonviolence when the police were determined to rule by force? We had seen all this, and we recognized that the rising consciousness of Black people was almost at the point of explosion... Out of this sprang the Black Panther Party."

The Party's initial focus was on the activities and behavior of the Oakland Police Department toward blacks. They gained national attention when they walked into the California Capitol building carrying shotguns and pistols to protest gun legislation prohibiting the carrying of loaded guns. Party members were known for carrying guns in black neighborhoods to support self-defense.

Eldridge Cleaver, a radical activist, joined the Party in 1967, and became the chief publicist. His goal: "I wanted to send waves of consternation through the white race." (Years later, after leaving



Black Panther Party founders Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton stand in the street armed with a Colt .45 and a shotgun.

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What we want
What we believe

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of the decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

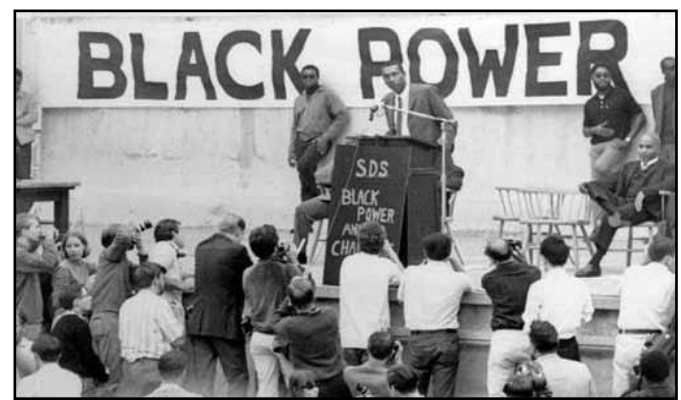
Source: Seize the Time

JUSTIN STAHLMAN/Collegian

the country to avoid criminal charges, he returned as a Christian anti-communist and became a Republican Party member.)

In addition to being known for its revolution-

ary rhetoric and violence, the Panthers became a national organization that operated food, education, and healthcare programs in poor African American communities.



"Black Power" Speech

Stokely Carmichael, July 28, 1966

There is a psychological war going on in this country and it's whether or not black people are going to be able to use the terms they want about their movement without white people's blessing. We have to tell them we are going to use the term "Black Power" and we are going to define it because Black Power speaks to us. ... We are going to build a movement in this country based on the color of our skins that is going to free us from our oppressors and we have to do that ourselves.

Everybody in this country is for "Freedom Now" but not everybody is for Black Power ... We have got to get us some Black Power. We don't control anything but what white people say we can control. We have to be able to smash any political machine in the country that's oppressing us and bring it to its knees... That's Black Power!

Excerpt - Full text at:

www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3401804839.html

Loving v. Virginia Supreme Court Decision

Interracial Marriage Under Jim Crow

In the South, Jim Crow laws and discrimination controlled every aspect of black life including marriage. Most southern states had laws forbidding inter-racial marriage.

In Florida the statute stated: "All marriages between a white person and a Negro, or between a white person and a person of Negro descent to the fourth generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited." Virginia had a similar law, which included a provision banning interracial couples who married in another state from returning to Virginia.

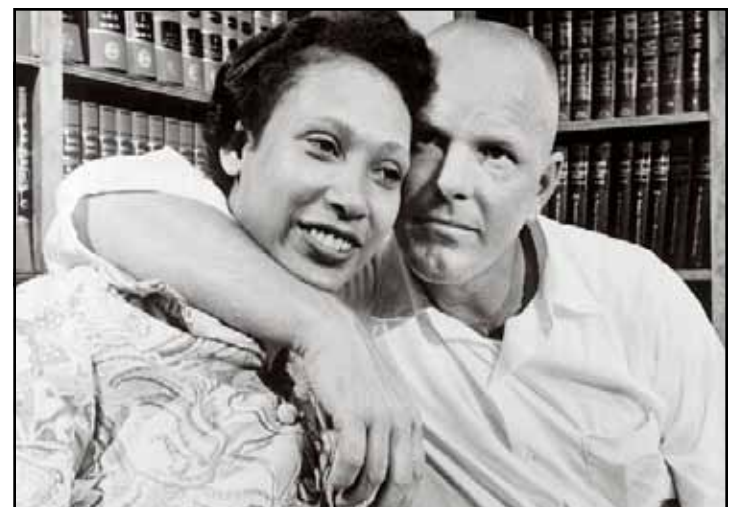
In 1958, deeply in love, a couple from Virginia, Mildred Jeter, a black woman, and Richard Loving, a white man, were married in the District of Columbia. The Lovings returned to Virginia, where they were charged with violating the state's statute banning interracial marriages. The Lovings were found guilty and sentenced to a year in jail. The trial judge agreed to suspend the sentence if the Lovings would leave Virginia and not return for 25 years.

To avoid jail, the Lovings agreed to leave Virginia and relocate to Washington, D.C. where they lived for 5 years and Richard worked as a bricklayer. The couple had three children. Yet they longed to return home to their family and friends in Caroline County, VA.

That's when the couple contacted Bernard Cohen, a young attorney who was volunteering at the ACLU. They requested that Cohen ask the Caroline County judge to reconsider his decision.

"They just were in love with one another and wanted the right to live together as husband and wife in Virginia, without any interference from officialdom. When I told Richard that this case was, in all likelihood, going to go to the Supreme Court of the United States, he became wide-eyed and his jaw dropped," Cohen recalled.

Cohen and another lawyer challenged the Lovings' conviction, but the original judge in the case upheld his decision. Judge Leon Bazile wrote: "Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, Malay and red, and he placed them on separate continents. ...The fact that he sepa-



rated the races shows that he did not intend for the races to mix."

The case was appealed all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which on June 12, 1967 ruled unanimously in the Loving Decision, declaring that laws prohibiting interracial marriage are unconstitutional.

After the ruling, the Lovings moved back to Caroline County, VA to be near their families. Richard's life was cut short in a car accident in 1975.

(Source: NPR)

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Assassinated

Shortly after 6 p.m. on April 4, 1968, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was fatally shot at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tenn.

The day before, on the eve of a protest march for striking garbage workers in Memphis, Tenn., King gave his darkly prescient speech, "I've Been To The Mountaintop".

"Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with

you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land. And I'm happy, tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord".

(Full text at: <http://drmartinlutherkingjr.com>)

King received death threats constantly due to his prominence in the civil rights movement. He believed, and taught, that murder could not stop the struggle for equal rights. After the 1963 assassination of President Kennedy, he told his wife Coretta: "This is what is going to happen to me also. I keep telling you, this is a sick society."

James Earl Ray pleaded guilty to the crime in March 1969 and was sentenced to 99 years in prison.



The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the liar, but you cannot murder the lie, nor establish the truth. Through violence you may murder the hater, but you do not murder hate. In fact, violence merely increases hate.... Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that.

— Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

(Excerpt from "Where Do We Go From Here?" Delivered at the 11th Annual SCLC Convention, August 16 1967)

Civil Rights Today



Great strides have been made in advancing the civil rights of African Americans. The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution permanently provided freedom, citizenship rights, and the right to vote. Subsequent acts of Congress, provided greater civil liberties, due

process, equal protection under the laws, and freedom from discrimination and the rights to full legal, social, and economic equality.

The African American Civil Rights Movement led to great transformation in American society and also helped provide inspiration and blueprints for other movements among immigrants, Latinos, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, women, and gays and lesbians, among others. Americans from all backgrounds, including first generation immigrants, have used the organizing principals and tactics of the Civil Rights Movement to create their own social justice movements.

In 2008, and again in 2012, Barack Obama was elected as the 44th President of the United States of America. He opened his victory speech with these words, "If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer."

Despite these advances in American race

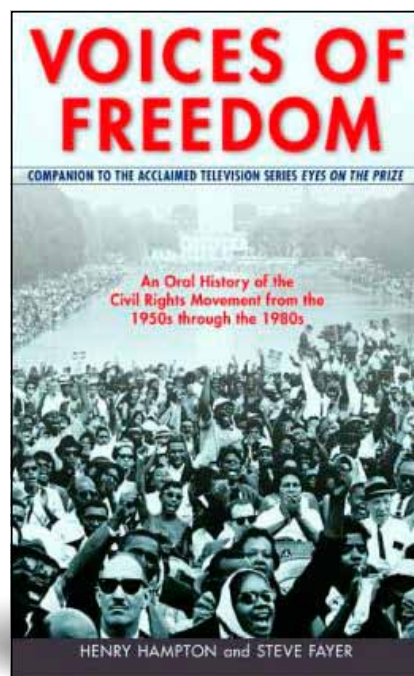
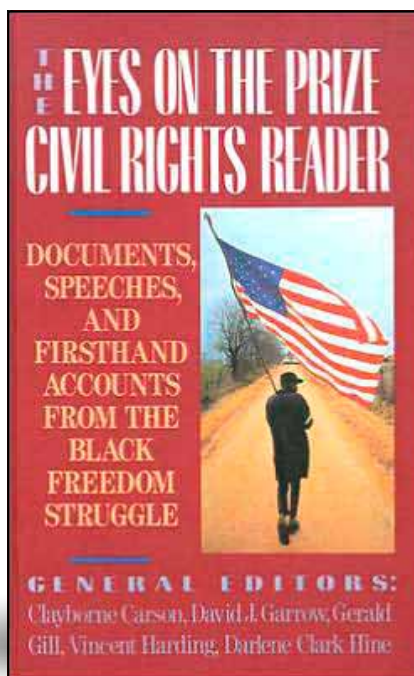
relations, inequalities continue. The 1954 Supreme Court Brown Decision aimed to eliminate segregation and the unequal status of education across the nation. Yet many schools in poor inner-city and rural neighborhoods are as segregated and unequal today as during the civil rights movement.

Today, many civil rights organizations continue to fight for equality for all Americans, regardless of race. Closing the digital divide, providing equal access to education and healthcare, and ensuring voting rights are among the key issues that continue to be debated today. The effort to ensure equal rights for all Americans is on-going.

Civil Rights Movement: Broadening the Lens

Extended Activity: From the suffragettes to the American Indian Movement to the Gay Rights Movement, there are many other groups of people who have fought for civil rights in America. Choose any other movement for civil rights or equality and research this issue or movement. Use the library and as many primary sources as possible in your research. Present your research to your class in a PowerPoint presentation, a short video, or any other format.

Sources used to research the Civil Right Movement for this supplement



This supplement can be used in conjunction with King, which aired on HISTORY® and is now available on DVD at Amazon and retail bookstores.

Online video clips at: www.history.com/shows/king/videos

Civil Rights Movement Online Resources

HISTORY®

www.history.com/topics/civil-rights-movement

Library of Congress:

www.loc.gov/exhibits/civilrights/civilrights-home.html

Civil Rights Museum

www.civilrightsmuseum.org

The Martin Luther King Jr. Papers Project

<http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu>

BIO: Black History Timeline:

<http://www.biography.com/tv/classroom/black-history-timeline>

NAACP: History and Timeline

<http://www.naacphistory.org/naacp/>

The King Center

<http://www.thekingcenter.org/>

AARP: Voices of Civil Rights

<http://www.aarp.org/politics-society/history/voices-of-civil-rights.html>

Library of Congress: Voices of Civil Rights

<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civilrights/cr-exhibit.html>

Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture:

<http://nmaahc.si.edu/>

National Park Service

Historic Places of the Civil Rights Movement

<http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/civilrights/>

National Park Service

Places Reflecting America's Diverse Cultures

http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/cultural_diversity/

Brandeis University Report

The Roots of the Widening Racial Wealth Gap

<http://iasp.brandeis.edu>

Teaching With Historic Places: National Park Service Lesson Plans about the Civil Rights Movement:

<http://www.nps.gov/NR/twhp/topic.htm#civil>

Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture:

<http://nmaahc.si.edu/>

Civil Rights Lesson Plans from the Library of Congress:

<http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/themes/civil-rights/lessonplans.html>

Civil Rights Activists: Video and Background from Bio.com

<http://www.biography.com/people/groups/activists/civil-rights-activists/all>

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