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Civil Rights Movement of the African-Americans
from 1960 until 1963

bakalářská práce

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Contents

1	Introduction.....	7
2	History.....	9
	2.1 Obstacles At the Turn of the Twentieth Century.....	9
	2.2 Rising Chances.....	10
3	Causes of the Birth of the Movement at the Beginning of the 1960s.....	14
	3.1 Change in Economy and the Northward Migration.....	14
	3.2 The Period around the Second World War.....	16
	3.3 Rising Consumption.....	17
	3.4 Inspiration by Women.....	18
	3.5 Role of the Supreme Court.....	19
	3.6 Religious Revival.....	20
	3.7 The New Generation of Educated and Restive Blacks.....	20
	3.8 Black Music, the Young White Generation and New Friendships.....	21
	3.9 “Their Firsts”.....	22
	3.10 World Reorganization.....	22
	3.11 The United Nations.....	22
	3.12 African Liberation.....	22
	3.13 The Cold War.....	23
	3.14 World Media.....	23
	3.15 Rosa Parks.....	23
	3.16 Upcoming Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.....	24
	3.17 Former Methods of Movements and Organizations.....	25
4	Main Events of the Movement between 1960 and 1963.....	27
	4.1 Greensboro Sit-In.....	27
	4.1.1 Origin of the Sit-In.....	27
	4.1.2 Scenography.....	27
	4.1.3 The Place.....	28
	4.1.4 The Appearance.....	28
	4.1.5 The Communication.....	29
	4.1.6 Emotional Discipline.....	29
	4.1.7 Private Life.....	29
	4.1.8 The “Sit-In” 1960.....	29
	4.1.9 Greensboro Followers and The “Jail-In”.....	30
	4.2 Freedom Rides Summer 1961.....	32
	4.2.1 Predecessor of the “Freedom Ride”.....	32
	4.2.2 Incentive to the “Freedom Ride”.....	32
	4.2.3 Differences between the “Freedom Ride” and the “Journey of Reconciliation”.....	32
	4.2.4 The Strategy.....	33
	4.2.5 The “Ride”.....	33
	4.2.6 The Ride Continues.....	35
	4.2.7 Results of the Freedom Rides.....	36
	4.3 Albany Movement.....	38
	4.3.1 The Tame City of Albany.....	38
	4.3.2 Birth of the Albany Movement.....	38
	4.3.3 The Albany Movement Fading.....	39
	4.3.4 A Setback for the Civil Rights Movement.....	40
	4.4 Ole Miss.....	42

4.4.1 Personal Challenge.....	42
4.4.2 Four Attempts to Register and a Secret Pact.....	42
4.4.3 Tougher Means for Maintaining the States' Dignity.....	44
4.4.4 Meredith's Battle Won.....	45
4.4.5 Conclusion.....	45
4.5 Birmingham.....	46
4.5.1 A Need for Momentum.....	46
4.5.2 Planning the Confrontation.....	46
4.5.3 Project "C" Starts.....	47
4.5.4 Letter From Birmingham Jail.....	48
4.5.5 Crusading Children.....	48
4.5.6 Negotiators Sent to Birmingham.....	49
4.5.7 The Momentum Reached.....	49
4.5.8 An Agreement.....	50
4.5.9 Birmingham Legacy.....	50
4.6 The March on Washington, the Acts of President Lyndon B. Johnson and Black Power Coming.....	52
5 Conclusion.....	54
6 Resumé.....	61
7 Annotation.....	67
8 Appendices.....	69
9 Bibliography.....	77

List of Abbreviations:

- NAACP** **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**, an interracial organization, founded in 1909 to promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice.
- U.N.I.A** **Universal Negro Improvement Association**, founded in 1914 by Marcus Garvey. This organization sought to establish a Nation in Africa, where the blacks could develop by themselves.¹
- SCLC** **Southern Christian Leadership Conference**, founded in 1957, after the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Its aim was to struggle for racial equality by nonviolent direct action.
- CORE** **Congress of Racial Equality**, founded in 1942 and pioneered the strategy of nonviolent direct action, especially the tactics of jail-ins, sit-ins, and freedom rides.
- SNCC** **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee**, founded by southern black college students who initiated the lunch-counter sit in movement of 1960.
- WPA** **Works Progress Administration**, work program for the unemployed that was created in 1935 under U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.²
- FDR** **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**
- UNESCO** **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization**

A Note on the Text

While researching the background for this thesis, the author has read hundreds of internet pages as well as encyclopedia entries and historical books and articles in order to establish the timeline of events described in the thesis. Most of what is found here is general, objective history, common knowledge to Americans of this period but not to Czech students of the 21st century. Subjective comments on the history of this period have been marked with a footnote identifying the source.

¹John Henrik, Clarke. "The Harlem Years." *Transition* 46. (1974): 14-15+17-19. 11 Aug. 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2934951>>. 17.

² <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/648178/Works-Progress-Administration>.

1 Introduction

Everybody has the natural rights to life, liberty and personal property, regardless of the legislation and judiciary of a country or state. These basic rights, which naturally belonged also to the people of African ancestry, had been violated and infringed by the White Americans throughout centuries. Starting with bringing the first slaves to North America, continuing by humiliation and disenfranchisement over a hundred years after adopting the Emancipation Proclamation, and ending with walking to the outskirts of a city to find a public restroom for blacks. The gradual socioeconomic and cultural development of the American people and growing influence of the mass media changed the minds and hearts of many whites. The general psychology of white Americans became less prone to prejudice and fear, which was before caused mainly due to separation, and became more based on rationality and humanity.

The 1960s decade, was an age of social, cultural and political change throughout the world. By the beginning of the 1960s many African countries gained independence which prodded African-Americans to stand up for their natural rights and dignity having been too long suffered in a “free” state.

The aim of this bachelor thesis is to describe briefly main points of the nineteenth century history and causes of the civil rights movement of African-Americans, which led to the 1960s race awakening, after a long period of humiliation and suffering. The thesis is focused on the main events at the beginning of the 1960s, as this was the period in which African-Americans began to fight segregation on larger scale and resulted in the passage of the most important acts of the time, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and later Affirmative Action.

Such a huge theme cannot be covered within the framework of a bachelor thesis, and for this reason, I decided to describe the main events and their results of the period between 1960 and 1963, as this period was more pro-integration than in the second half of the 1960s, when the majority of activists employed tactics based on nonviolence.

Despite the fact that Barack Obama has been elected president, the racial question is still not resolved in some parts of the United States, especially in the Deep South.

The decision to focus on this subject was partly as I believe that still the racial tensions are igniting both national and international discrepancies not only in the Unites States, but also all around the world, and partly for I have also encountered prejudice and taunting because of the color of my skin.

2 History

2.1 Obstacles At the Turn of the Twentieth Century

After Reconstruction, white racism did not allow blacks to hold their limited gains. Congress permitted the South to reduce the blacks to a state of peonage and it let the South to disfranchise them by force and intimidation. So did the Supreme Court. Blacks were legally treated as inferior race. Appealing to pseudo-sciences and teaching of inherent racial differences declaring blacks as most primitive, degraded race. At the turn of the twentieth century, Americans could hear or read only little opposing this myths. And even humanitarian views were advocating gradualism in gaining equality, based on the thought that freedmen should be ready for it. As for the disenfranchisement in the Southern states, some of the most common techniques were introduction of poll tax, literacy and good character tests, grandfather clauses and white primaries. Southern blacks were often victims of both physical harm (or murder) and psychological terror. Lynching was a deed that was not punished. Southern states systematically outlawed everything interracial, thus preventing misgenation and deterioration of the purity of white race. By preventing any social contact (laws made any social contact nearly impossible by separating public facilities, places of work, recreation and so forth) Jim Crow led to creating of marginal society facing inequities in all aspects of life. Some blacks accepted the white man's view of black inferiority, others returned to Africa, a few, especially in the North continued the struggle inherited from abolitionists and Reconstruction legacy. Organizations such as Afro-American Council, National Equal Rights League, Antilynching league, and the Niagara Movement failed in their struggle mainly due to lacking adequate finances, white allies, political support, support of greater number of blacks, and lacking access to major institutions creating public policy and opinion which could change white Americans' thought. Even black leaders advocated the idea of gradualism, accommodation and conciliation. Such a propagator was Booker T. Washington. Because of white indifference and black powerlessness the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), organized in 1910, could do nothing. Moreover, blacks were struggling more among themselves than for their common goal.³ One of the biggest

3 Harvard Sitkoff, The struggle for black equality 1954-1992. revised ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993. 3-8.

organizations trying to unify African-Americans was the Universal Negro Improvement Association and its founder Marcus Garvey. During the 1920s about half a million Negroes joined his organization. Marcus Garvey wanted to create a state of negro autonomy. According to him a Negro should appeal to the same spirit of racial pride and love as the great white race was doing for its own preservation. He prophesied that Africa would be one of the greatest commonwealths and would hold the torch of civilization and bestow the blessing of freedom, liberty and democracy upon all mankind. He wanted to improve the condition of the race, with the view of establishing a nation in Africa where Negroes would be given the opportunity to develop by themselves. This idea was abandoned in the mid-1920s after much opposition from European powers with interests in Liberia. Members of U.N.I.A. believed in Brotherhood of Man, the Fatherhood of God, and the general promotion of Negroes everywhere in every country and every field.⁴ According to Genna Rae McNeil

[...]Central to Garvey's ideology was the concept and imperative "race first," which was the controlling factor in determining actions; "race first" meant exclusion of whites from U.N.I.A. membership, rejection of white financial support, commitment to liberation for Africans, cooperation or association with whites only if they endorsed either separation of the races or anti-colonial struggles. A corollary to "race first" was Garvey's belief in racial self-reliance which entailed economic self-reliance and independent educational facilities.[...] ⁵

As ever, for Garvey, the arch-enemy was not the white racist but the racially disloyal Negro.⁶ And of course his ideals were scary for the white society.

2.2 Rising Chances

A certain possibility of chance for improvement was brought by mass migration of blacks to the cities and to the North. The "Great Migration" between

4 Franklin, John Hope, et al. eds. The Negro in twentieth century America : a reader on the struggle for civil rights. (New York: Vintage, 1967.) 108-112.

5 McNeil, Genna Rae. "Review: [untitled]." The Journal of Negro History 62.4 (1977): 405-407. 20 Mar. 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717118>>. 405-406.

6 Ian Duffield , "Review: More Thoughts of Marcus Garvey." The Journal of African History (20. (1979): 591-592. 25) Mar. 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/181791>>.592.

1910 and 1920 brought more than half a million blacks northward. And, in the 1920s, three quarters of a million blacks followed so as to find the Promised Land, though, finding only a ghetto. Nevertheless, a ghetto in the North was far better than poverty, tenantry, ignorance and disease in the South. And it was a step toward life in the mainstream industrial labor force society. Northern blacks could vote and logically they voted for their own representatives or those who were in favor of a better life for blacks. Also cultural emancipation during the Harlem Renaissance, The Black Renaissance, and the New Negro movement sought to free themselves from white symbols and wrote in their own way. By drawing attention, rising pride in their race and protesting, they saw the light of better prospects. The tactics of challenging the myth that blacks were happy with their social status, satisfied with separation of the races, was much more useful in the fight than just waiting for some gradual change and that the situation would settle itself.⁷ However, the writers of the Harlem Renaissance were mostly dependent on the financial backing of white patrons who marketed the works to a predominantly white readership.⁸

In the 1930s, black organizations were not alone, fighting for rights along with trade unions, other ethnic minorities and political minorities. The New Deal stimulated hopes for racial reforms when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt appointed over a hundred blacks to administrative posts and desegregated federal restrooms, cafeterias, and secretarial pools. Also decisions of judges appointed by him to the Supreme Court made the blacks more free men than freedmen. Despite this, segregation still remained the rule. Roosevelt needed the votes of Southern congressmen and thus did not support an anti-lynching bill and a bill abolishing the poll tax.⁹

The racial realignment was to come in the congressional elections in 1934, when FDR's party won a majority of Afro-American voters for the first time in history. By 1936, the strategy pursued under Hoover to turn the Southern GOP 'lily white' was as dead as Prohibition—not to return until Eisenhower Fifties.[...] Republicans inserted a fine-sounding civil rights plank in the national platform

7 Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality* 8-9.

8 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and West. *The Future of the Race*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.) 40.

9 Gary B. Nash, et al. eds. *The American People : Creating a nation and a Society*. (Vol 2. 2nd ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1990.) 835.

that year.[...] the Party effectively reminded Afro-Americans how well they had fared under FDR, after the misery caused by Hoover. ‘Let Jesus lead you, and Roosevelt feed you!’ one popular slogan exhorted. [... the years after 1934,] ‘It was this period that Negro votes and public policy at the presidential level became, in significant degree, cause and effect. Northward migration reinforced the labor-urban-based wing of the Democratic Party, the wing in sympathy with the broader economic and social objectives of the New Deal. Southern Democrats in senior congressional positions not only meant disenfranchisement and segregation for Afro-Americans, but legislative obstructionism in the service of economic conservatism and regional parochialism. As one of the key elements in this new coalition of power, Afro-Americans did, in fact, increase their advantages during the so called Second new Deal(1936-1940). The new, more more responsive Attorney general created the civil rights section in the Justice Department; the Department of Interior imposed racial quotas on WPA contractors; the Civilian Conservation Corps augmented Afro-American enrollment from 6 to 11 percent; other alphabet agencies recruited some 100 of the best and brightest Afro-American university graduates as mid-level bureaucrats. [...] In 1940, the Democratic platform addressed itself directly for the first time to equal protection under law and due process rights for Afro-Americans.¹⁰

Blacks benefited a lot from Works Progress Administration, National Youth Administration, The Federal Housing and the Federal Farm Administration, Social Security and WPA adult education programs.¹¹

In no national election since 1860 were politicians been so Negro-minded as in 1936.¹²

10 David Levering Lewis, “The Origins and Causes of the Civil Rights Movement,” The Civil Rights Movement in America, ed. Charles W. Eagles ,(Jackson ; London: University Press of Mississippi, 1986.) 4-5.

11 Margaret Walker, “Growing Out of Shadow”, *From How I wrote Jubilee and other Essays on Life and Literature*, Bearing Witness : Selections from African-American Autobiography in the Twentieth century. ed. Henry Louis, Gates, Jr., (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.) 98.

12 David Levering Lewis, “The Origins and Causes of the Civil Rights Movement,” The Civil Rights Movement in America, ed. Charles W. Eagles , 6.

In the forties, honored liberals such as Ralph McGill¹³ started to overview some of the oldest and strongest Southern presses. Southern liberals also began to occupy important political posts, such as in the Senate, Supreme Court and advisory offices close to the White House. Liberals demanded lessening of the racial antagonism, enhancement in education and opposed to lynching and discrimination, but not segregation.¹⁴

13 A crusading American journalist whose editorials in the Atlanta Constitution had a profound influence on social change in the southern United States. He was sometimes called "the conscience of the New South," and his influence was also important in interpreting the Southern states to the North and West.

"Ralph McGill." Encyclopædia Britannica. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 27 Jul. 2010 <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/354420/Ralph-Emerson-McGill>>.

14 C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow. (3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974) 126-127.

3 Causes of the Birth of the Movement at the Beginning of the 1960s

3.1 Change in Economy and the Northward Migration

There was a shift from work in agriculture to other areas. Mechanization of work caused that significant areas of farmland were abandoned during the Great Depression and incorporated into national forests. New Deal farm legislation and popularity of synthetic fabrics together with world competition caused decline of the power of King Cotton. Cotton farmers turned to less labor-intensive crops such as soybeans and peanuts and they released their tenants. Southern agricultural population declined from 16 million to 6 million. Seeking better jobs, schooling and freedom from landlord, many blacks moved to Southern cities. So black population was forced to leave farmlands and went to work to factories in cities, where they were forced to learn new skills. Some achieved middle class-status. Still not free, they were prepared to attack Jim Crow. Looking forward to the Promised Land, they headed for northern cities between 1940 and 1960. This migration shifted problem of blacks from regional level to national level. Despite living in houses with electricity, running water and indoor toilets, they were not satisfied with the fact that these houses were in slum ghettos—stinky, dirty and small.¹⁵

The number of blacks living outside the South increased from 2,360,000 to 4,600,000 in the forties. Most went to industrial states. No longer was the black question only a regional monopoly, it became a national problem. The Northern population of blacks was largely urban and the southern was also becoming so.¹⁶ “His [the black’s] power for making effective political demand for his rights has also increased as he has moved northward and cityward.”¹⁷ In the cities they developed social networks and institutions such as the Black Church and community organizations through which they could organize movements.¹⁸ Those who were migrating between the years 1955 and 1960 to the North, sought also better educational possibilities, as, in comparison with those already living in the

15 “Black Americans and Civil Rights,” Nash et al., The American People, 946-948.

16 Woodward 127.

17 Woodward 128.

18 Aldon D. Morris, "A Retrospective on the Civil Rights Movement: Political and Intellectual Landmarks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25. (1999): 517-539. 10 July 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/223515>>. 523.

North. "Southern blacks were lower in educational attainment than blacks of comparable age."¹⁹

¹⁹ Stanley Lieberson. "Generational Differences Among Blacks in the North." The American Journal of Sociology, 75.3 (1973): 550-565. 30 July 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2776257>>. 558.

3.2 The Period around the Second World War

In 1940, the Democratic platform addressed itself directly for the first time to equal protection under law and due process rights for Afro-Americans.²⁰

During WWII, the country was interested in foreign policy, and not so much in domestic policy, but in 1941, Randolph's attempted to build March-on-Washington Committee into an all black mass protest and rise of Afro-American votes, it led Roosevelt to establish the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices and prohibition of discriminatory practices by unions and companies with government contracts. Many blacks, though, were opposed to the idea of a march on Washington. The shortage of labor force during the war made it possible to find jobs for blacks,²¹ even though it was hard to find jobs for black women.²²

The Second World War changed the attitude toward blacks a little, partly because of the ideological character of the war and partly as a cause of the need for manpower and loyalty of all Americans.²³

In 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order (EO) 8587, to cover federal civil service employment. but it did not cover the private hiring of labor. A year later, A. Philip Randolph's threat to march on the capital forced Roosevelt to establish the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC). In 1943 FEPC was reorganized and a nondiscrimination clause in all war-related contracts and subcontracts was added. In 1946, Congress terminated FEPC. Despite some gains for blacks, it was not so effective, for it lacked the power for imposing sanctions.²⁴

President Truman first acted in the area of civil rights when in 1946 the National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence told him of violence and brutalities that occurred in the South. Being determined to end such terror, he appointed a Committee on Civil Rights to inspect this situation. The committee reported that blacks were still second-class citizens in terms of medical aid, housing

20 David Levering Lewis, "Origins and Causes of the Movement," The Civil Rights Movement in America. ed. Charles W. Eagles 5.

21 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality, 11-12.

22 Nash et al. 867.

23 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 14-18.

24 Wayne A. Santoro, "The Civil Rights Movement's Struggle for Fair Employment: A "Dramatic Events-Conventional Politics" Model." Social Forces 81.1 (2002): 177-206. 11 Apr. 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3086531>>. 178-179.

conditions, education and social adaptation. The committee suggested setting a civil rights agenda for the next two decades. At first, Truman hedged, but the changing political situation and his own attitude to justice made him act. In February 1948, a ten-point civil rights program was sent to Congress by Truman, but rejected. Mostly due to southern wing of the Democratic party. With greater force, he issued order barring discrimination in federal establishments, the Navy, the Air force, Marine Corps, and other military services. The need for manpower in the Korean War allowed integration within the army.²⁵ Soldiers who returned home were used to integration in the army and this clashed with the reality in after-war society in the South.²⁶ As historians August Meier and Elliott Rudwick stated, 1948 was the first election since Reconstruction in which the Negro's status was a major issue and in which his political power was a critical factor.²⁷

Most Americans wanted stability after WWII and felt afraid of everything rapid and extremist. Moreover white supremacists counted on the fear of Communism and tried to discredit the civil rights cause. They connected challenges against segregation with un-Americanism and sought every opportunity to connect this issue with Communist ideology. Thus most civil rights groups avoided direct action to prevent any connection with radicalism.²⁸ Hastily did the civil rights leaders condemn the controversial black singer and actor Paul Robeson, because of his pro-Soviet remarks. Neither did they agree with the marxist ideas of W.E.B. Dubois.²⁹

3.3 Rising Consumption

After World War II, there was a huge economic boom. New technology appeared and a lot of goods flooded the market and found their way into most homes. But most African-Americans, still trapped in poverty in inner cities and rural areas, did not enjoy the prosperity of the growing middle class. They could see the white man's improving standard of living and also wanted to have their own

25 Nash et al. 945-948.

26 Sitkoff, Harvard. "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War." The Journal of American History, 58.3 (1971): 661-681. 25 Mar. 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1893729>>.

27 Lewis 6.

28 Sitkoff, Struggle for Black Equality 17.

29 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 17.

share in an affluent society. This was hardly possible in one-parent families in ghettos, where only through swapping and social network black could survive.³⁰ “Alliances between individuals are created around the clock as kin and friends exchange and give and obligate one another.”³¹

“An urban middle class of the race, however, has benefited by a share of the prosperity and has entered the competitive struggle to achieve and maintain middle-class living standards and climb up in the world.”³² “Rises in family income were greater among blacks than among whites. Median family income among whites rose about 25 percent while that of blacks went up 40 percent.”³³ There has been a change in dress, in consumer habits, and in conduct. All these changes were caused by an increased competition for the purchasing power of blacks. And not only these factors, but also growing cultural significance, their growing numbers in academic fields, and in politics reinforced their struggle for higher status.³⁴ During the period from 1947 to 1974, the median income of Black families more than doubled, rising from 51 to 62 percent of white family income.³⁵

3.4 Inspiration by Women

Underlying these impulses for change in African-American lives, was the widespread activism of black women. They were inspiring their men, in the way that they also struggled for women’s rights. Among others Pauli Murray, a lawyer in the 1930s; Ella Baker, a NAACP field organizer; Fannie Lou Hamer in SCLC; Jo Ann Robinson, founder of the Montgomery Improvement Association; Daisy Bates, one of leaders in Little Rock; Ann Moody who worked for Congress of Racial Equality.³⁶

30 Carol B. Stack, All Our Kin : Strategies for Survival in a Black Community. (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

31 Stack 32.

32 Woodward 130.

33, Reynolds Farley and Albert Hermalin. "The 1960s: A Decade of Progress for Blacks?." Demography 9.3 (1972): 353-370. 1 July 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2060859>>. 354.

34 Woodward 130.

35 David Levering Lewis, “Origins and Causes of the Movement,” The Civil Rights Movement in America. ed. Charles W. Eagles 9.

36 John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr, From slavery to freedom : a history of African Americans.(New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 1994) 497.

3.5 Role of the Supreme Court

Ironically, in the First Reconstruction, it was the Court that inhibited the advances in civil rights attempts made by the executive and legislative branches. And now, in the new era, the Supreme Court took in their own hands the exercise of federal power in inhibiting the Jim Crow laws. The segregated transportation was the very symbol of separation of blacks. The early decision decided upon the interstate, not intrastate travel. In 1946, in *Morgan vs. Virginia*, the Court repelled a state law requiring segregation of a carrier crossing the state boundaries. The interstate travel, though, continued with discrimination for years after the Court decision. The courts challenged the discrimination in housing, but the practice of Jim Crow continued under the protection of private covenants. In 1941, in a *Classic Case*, the Court pronounced white primaries unconstitutional. However literacy and intimidation prevented blacks from registration. After 1954, the rise of Southern resistance rose and black registration slowed down. It was clear that if the voter registration and poll supervision were left in hands of local authorities, there would be insignificant participation in this most elementary political right. In 1949, *Sweatt vs. Painter*, the Supreme Court ruled that a hastily established law school for blacks did not meet the standard of equality. In 1950, in *Laurin vs. Oklahoma*, the Court ruled that despite a student being admitted to the University, he did not enjoy equality as long as he was separated in the classroom, cafeteria and library and that this inhibited his ability to study and to learn his profession. By the fall of 1953, thirty-three colleges enrolled black students. In 1954, in *Oliver Brown et al. vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the new Chief Justice Earl Warren passed an unanimous decision that in the public educational facilities the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. This was the most momentous ruling of the century, it changed the trend that arose long before *Plessy vs. Fergusson*. It shakened the segregation wall. Nevertheless, no overnight revolution took place. Segregationist could count on the district judges and their “proximity to local conditions”. In the school year of 1956-57, 723 school districts and school units desegregated. In 1956, the Court ordered the University of Alabama to admit Autherine Lucy, its first black student. Violent mobs threatened her all the time. She was expelled for “outrageous charges” against the trustees. With federal government doing nothing, the University of Alabama was segregated for seven more years.³⁷

37 Woodward 139-163.

3.6 Religious Revival

After the war, people rediscovered their religious sense and church membership doubled between 1945 and 1970, partly as a reaction against godless communism.³⁸ And as the Civil Rights movement was based upon Christianity and non-violence and brotherhood, it is one of the possible reasons why the movement was successful in the second half of the 1950s and in the 1960s. Martin Luther King expressed the opinion that not resisting this nonhuman and unchristian system of segregation was cooperation with evil.

3.7 The New Generation of Educated and Restive Blacks

A lot of states in the South, where slavery had been legal, prohibited education of African-Americans. In my opinion this was based on the principle that uneducated and ignorant people accept things as they are, do not revolt and believe only in information that is generally rumored, thus being influenced by the oppressors' points of view. Not being educated also determines one's economical status and the status within the society. Former slave owners needed to keep cheap labor and resources for their own businesses. Trapped in a vicious circle, blacks could not do much with their status.

Thanks to better income of black families, their children could afford to attend school and they gradually began to appear at northern white universities.³⁹ "The number of blacks in college had soared from about 27,000 in 1930 to over 113,000 in 1950."⁴⁰

There was a new generation of young educated blacks who grew up in the era when the Supreme Court passed its ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* and when, in 1957, the crucial confrontation took place in Little Rock, Arkansas, when for the first time the President had sent National Guardsmen to protect black students coming to Central High School. Even when Eisenhower did not believe in the change of whites' attitudes towards blacks and was not a prosecutor of desegregation, he desegregated Washington, D.C., schools and mandated desegregation in the Navy so as to be a model for the rest of nation.⁴¹

38 Nash et al., 934-935.

39 Lewis 9.

40 Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality* 18.

41 Nash 948-949.

The young generation in comparison to the old generation of blacks, apart from being more educated than the older ones, was much more reckless and impatient. While their parents believed in gradual change, the young wanted to make quick changes and equality promptly. They wanted to go forward to the point of destiny as laid out by themselves, they did not want to see themselves pushed back into the mire of economic serfdom, to be crushed by the grinding mill of exploitation and exposed to the prejudice of the whites. Shocked by the murder of Emmet Till, they were outraged by the fact that the killers were not punished.⁴²

In 1969, during the Affirmative Action, did the Ivy League institutions open their doors to blacks and women.⁴³

3.8 Black Music, the Young White Generation and New Friendships

Whites were listening to jazz and other types of black music. Then, in contrast with sweet romantic ballads of the whites, rhythm and blues performed by black musicians had a strong beat and mournful tone expressing the hardship of black life. This music also treated themes like love in different ways, expressing emotional and physical love in contrast with sentimental love which was expressed in the whites' music. Children of the postwar baby boom showed their different music tastes and passion for the rhythm and blues. This was also in reaction against their parents' views and tastes, as every young personality tries to develop and shape their own opinions, often in contrast with attitudes of their parents. With the growing music market, whites started to imitate the blacks music and often played together in bands. Elvis Presley's gyrating hips and other techniques were borrowed from black music. The popularity of Elvis Presley's rhythm and blues brought blacks singers like Chuck Berry and Fats Domino into the mainstream as well. Many black artists toned down their sexual references and softened the hard beat so that they appealed to white audiences.⁴⁴

Listening to the same music is expression of one's attitude toward life, so new friendships could arise from spending evenings listening to black music not only in America, but also in Europe and Japan.

42 Morris, "A Retrospective on the Civil Rights Movement: Political and Intellectual Landmarks." Annual Review of Sociology 522.

43 Nash et al. eds. xi.

44 Nash et al. 940-941.

3.9 “Their Firsts”

A number of exemplary Afro-Americans boosted race consciousness (poet Gwendolyn Brooks winning a Pulitzer, jurist Williams Hastie, athlete Jackie Robinson, diplomat Ralph Bunche who was awarded Nobel Peace Prize). This challenged the stereotype of racial inferiority.⁴⁵

3.10 World Reorganization

During the 1950s and 1960s, a tremendous number of changes in the world took place. Many colonies in the world were freed during the decolonization era and national liberation spread all around the world.

3.11 The United Nations

Some African-Americans had worked in the United Nations. Ralph Bunche was the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950, for he worked as a mediator in the Palestine dispute. They served on the United States National Commission for UNESCO and African delegations were present at the United Nations headquarters in New York. So the United States government had to improve its policies to gain support from the African states so as to block communism.⁴⁶

3.12 African Liberation

At the turn of the 1950s and 1960s African countries were also decolonized: Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Cameroon, Togo, Mali, Senegal, Madagascar, Congo, Somalia, Benin, Niger, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Chad, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Nigeria, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Tanzania. So there was another reason why African-Americans should feel treated in a “free” country like suppressed.⁴⁷

Congress was forced to enact civil rights legislation not only because of the President’s suggestion or the pressure of civil rights advocates, it was also due to the change of international climate. In March, 1957, Ghana became the first former African colony to join the United Nations. The number of independent sub-Saharan nations grew rapidly. So the American race problem provided stimulus for the

45 Lewis 10.

46 John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, From Slavery to Freedom, A history of Negro Americans, 460.

47 Williams.

movement. Diplomatic representatives from Ghana took up residence at the United Nations and in Washington, in the summer of 1957 Congress began to debate the proposed Civil Rights bill.⁴⁸

Blacks started to feel less like a minority in America and more like a majority in the world.

3.13 The Cold War

Coping with communism, the Cold War era was dominated by the US endeavor to get other countries on her side. America appealed for support in Africa and Asia, and of course with such an attitude towards non-white population in her own country it would be difficult to gain allies in a non-white world. The US somehow had to confront the racial question and prove herself as a real “free world.” Japan focused on the US treatment of her non-white citizens so as to win the loyalty of the peoples of India, China, and Latin America. Also the Soviet Union undercut the appeals to the nations of Asia and Africa by accenting the illtreatment of colored citizens in America.⁴⁹

3.14 World Media

In the fifties and early sixties, nearly every household had a radio or a television and getting information was easier than ever. The clash became much more visible both nationally and internationally. Especially the non-white world could see the savagery of white Americans. “As early as 1958, over 83% of American households owned television sets....Likewise, by the early 1960s communications satellites were launched into orbit. This development made it possible for Black protest to be viewed globally, thus enhancing its ability to affect the international arena.”⁵⁰

3.15 Rosa Parks

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks refused to stand up and give her seat to a white man, when the capacity of free seats was exceeded. By not having surrendered the bus driver’s warning and threats of arresting, she sparked the

48 John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr, From Slavery to Freedom, A history of Negro Americans, 494-495.

49 Sitkoff 16.

50 Morris 522-523.

Montgomery Bus Boycott, which lasted until December 1956, when the Supreme Court ruled against the bus segregation in Montgomery. Dr. Martin Luther King provided a leadership with his Gandhian tactics of nonviolence. The Montgomery Bus Boycott proved that if the blacks remained united and employed nonviolence they could achieve their goal. ⁵¹

3.16 Upcoming Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation

More and more were blacks aware of the upcoming 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1963.

⁵¹ Scott 167-168.

3.17 Former Methods of Movements and Organizations

There were gradualists, both black and white, who believed in mechanical progression and that everything would work out, to what concrete ends, they did not know. The Southern Regional Council saw themselves as advocating this philosophy. It was actually a method which was not working, as it defended the virtue of superhuman fortitude and patience when facing social evil.⁵²

The race chauvinists, such as the Negro press, believed in advocating self-sustaining Negro economic, social and cultural island and seemed to have no fear of the storm roaring in the surrounding sea of the white world. This could not work in America, as well as nowhere else in the world. In a constantly shrinking world, complete isolation and independence would be impossible. And if not impossible, it would sooner or later lead to giving secondary status.⁵³

The educationists believed in educational competence of various “Negro firsts” who would win the respect of the white world. Such advocates were most ly Negro Greek-letter organizations.⁵⁴

There were also individualists who advocated that each person could make compromises so as to bring him the self-fulfillment he seeks. This was an approach promoted by the best-known private Negro colleges and Howard University. Individualists differ only a little from the Educationists, they denied the necessity of co-operation against co-operated evil⁵⁵, thus denying brotherhood—a principle necessary for operation on a wider scale and partly denying the basis of Christianity where people should congregate and socialize.

Finally, there were radicals who saw destruction as an end and would first uproot everything. The National Negro Congress was radical.⁵⁶

None of these were pure, undefiled and seamless. They were influencing each other. But each somehow got into the minds of individual blacks. The main problem was the struggle of black organizations among themselves, confusing

52Franklin, John Hope, et al. eds. The Negro in twentieth century America : a reader on the struggle for civil rights. New York: Vintage, 1967. 113-116.

53 Franklin 113-116.

54 Franklin 113-116.

55 Franklin 113-116.

56 Franklin 113-116.

ordinary blacks and diluting the common goal.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Franklin 113-116.

4 Main Events of the Movement between 1960 and 1963

4.1 Greensboro Sit-In

4.1.1 Origin of the Sit-In

“We don’t serve Negroes here,” the waitress responded to Joseph McNeill on January 31, 1960, at the bus terminal in Greensboro, North Carolina. That night in his dormitory at (*all black*) North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, McNeill, a physics major, recounted the incident to his roommates. They were not content to wait forever for the courts and the white South to grant them rights they felt were their due. They had frequently expressed their desire to act. The movement had arrived.⁵⁸

McNeill came up with the idea to have a boycott. He insisted that they went in and asked to be served until the staff did. The next day the four freshmen walked into the downtown Greensboro Woolworth’s and took their seats at the “white only” lunch counter, and asked for coffee and doughnuts. After hearing the anticipated answer, Blair responded politely, that they had already been served only two feet from there. Then student explained what they called “passive demand for service” to the store manager and promised to remain until they could eat where they sat. While being cheered by some and remained seated until the store closed, and vowed to repeat their demand the next day. By the time they returned to their campus, a local radio station had flashed the news. The college was a beehive of activity. The four students now were joined by fifty student leaders and formed the Student Executive Committee for Justice. They voted to continue the boycott until they got served and agreed on ground rules for new volunteers. The protesters would remain passive, never raise their voices, never indulge in name-calling. Their movement would be one of nonviolence and Christian love.⁵⁹

4.1.2 Scenography

This initial sit-in was a well-prepared action, not a spontaneous eruption of black enmity. The students had prepared the scene for the sit-ins to maximize their

58 Sitkoff. The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 61-63.

59 Sitkoff. The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 63.

social and political effect. They chose the staging, costumes, texts and audience.⁶⁰

They were well aware of the importance of interpretation of the action. The demonstrators performed their “worthiness” regarding equal treatment by adopting “white” identified modes of dress (see fig. 4), speech and behavior, paying for the purchases at one store counter, and then asking to be served at another. Having been served at one counter the protesters staged a situation, in which being denied service at another would appear wholly unjustified on any basis other than that of arbitrary prejudice. They wanted to appeal to logic and moral response. The key elements of their plan were as follows.

4.1.3 The Place

There were spatially segregated social relations that had restricted black access not only to public space, but also to spaces that were the prerogative of the middle class. Blacks often went there to shop in the city’s major department stores such as Woolworth’s, Kress etc. And then there was East Marker Street, which was the center of black’s lives. Whites often came here to listen to the jazz music. Woolworth’s was an important center of local and regional commercial and social interaction and one of the few places downtown where black and white residents came into social contact. But even as cash registers equalized shoppers regardless of race, the store lunch counter then epitomized the illogicality of segregation and symbolized the hypocrisy of white store owners who would take money from blacks when they shopped but not when they ate. The students were tired of complacency and the fearfulness of older blacks. And they did not want their children to be victims of this humiliating system.

4.1.4 The Appearance

Those who organized the sit-ins paid attention to the visual effect of the movement. The volunteers were taught what to wear and how to dress. Students were supposed to wear their best Sunday clothes to look like respectable and economically viable persons, boys ought to wear formal attire and a tie or other pertinent clothing, young ladies should look their best.

⁶⁰ Until further note Rebekah J. Kowal, "Staging the Greensboro Sit-Ins." *TDR (1988-)* 48.4 (2004): 135-154. 7 Apr. 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4488599>>. 135-154.

4.1.5 The Communication

There were appointed speakers chosen to liaison with the public. They were informed what to tell the reporters and how to tell it. Volunteers were asked to direct the reporters or others seeking more information to the speakers so that any misinterpretation would be avoided. Various patterns of conversation were prepared.

4.1.6 Emotional Discipline

Not getting violent and politeness were one of the most important aspects of the future success of the action. Agitators were expected to arouse conflicts and fights, nevertheless, students were instructed not to respond and ignore these persons and neglect these accidents. Giving no reason to create conflicts and keeping a calm head were planned to make the audience think that the students were right.

4.1.7 Private Life

Even in their free time students had to be aware of what they did. No alcohol drinking in the public was allowed. Simply stated, no chance to flaw the planned action and the reputation of the black minority could be given.

The way they protested, the protesters performed their right to be served “as if” they were white, thereby “integrating their black bodies into formerly white public space. They were acting “white”, as “white” was synonym for “civility”. In this way they challenged the stereotype of African American as coarse, uneducated, or uncivilized.

Doing something en masse in a controlled theatrical way and in front of the eyes of the nation and world would make difference and could intervene in political processes with a power equal or even exceeding that of mobilized voting blocks or legislative and judicial processes.

4.1.8 The “Sit-In” 1960

On Tuesday, February 2, twenty-three A & T students and four black women from Bennet College sat in with Blair, McCain, McNeill, and Richmond at the Woolworth lunch counter. None was served. They just sat. By Thursday, they were

joined among others by three white students from the Women's College of the University of North Carolina campus in Greensboro and scores of sympathizers from A & T and Bennet. They overflowed Woolworth's and began to sit in at the lunch counter in the S. H. Kress store down the street. Greensboro became national news. On Saturday a mass rally took place.⁶¹

But, as would happen time and again all over the South, the white leadership of Greensboro, unable to apprehend the depth of black determination, was unwilling to compromise. Whites resisted all pleas for charge. They insisted on preserving the status quo. So pressure applied anew. White officials now offered partial desegregation of the lunch counter. The Student Executive Committee for Justice rejected the offer. Tokenism was no longer acceptable. Greensboro merchants and officials tried another tack, arresting forty-five students on trespass charges on April 21. This provoked a massive boycott of targeted variety stores. After profits had dropped by more than one-third, Greensboro white leaders grudgingly acceded. Six months after the four freshmen sat-in at Woolworth's, Greensboro blacks could sit down at a lunch counter and be served a cup of coffee.

4.1.9 Greensboro Followers and The "Jail-In"

On Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1960, students in Nashville and Tallahassee demonstrated their readiness to rebel. They staged a sit-in at Woolworth's. When the waitress refused to serve them, all the students propped books on the counter and began to read. They stayed until the counter closed. A week later they returned. Again, they were silently reading. This time, they were arrested by the police and charged with disturbing the peace by riotous conduct and unlawful assembly. The number of arrested students rapidly grew. On March 18, student introduced a militant new tactic: the jail-in. They chose to serve sixty-day sentences rather than pay a fine. Despite being in cells they were happy, for they could help the city, state and nation. They strongly believed that Martin Luther King was right when he had said, "We've got to fill the jails in order to win equal rights." Being arrested in the struggle for civil rights became a matter of honor, not shame.⁶²

Gradually, sit-ins spread southward. Thirty-five Alabama State

61 Sitkoff. The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 63-64.

62 Sitkoff. The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 66.

College students demonstrated for service at the Montgomery County courthouse snack shop on February 25. When Governor John Patterson ordered the president of the college to expel the students involved in the sit-ins, the campus staged a mass rally, addressed by Martin Luther King. Nearly a thousand students pledged to quit the college en masse if any expulsions followed the protest.⁶³

The sit-ins, however, more commonly, showed the savagery of white racism in the South. In Houston, a white youth slashed an African American with a knife and three masked white men seized another black, flogged him with a chain, carved the initials KKK on his chest, and hung him from an oak tree. In Jackson, Mississippi, police employed tear gas and police dogs against women and children. Acid was thrown in the face of a sit-in leader in Atlanta. The brutality did not deter the students. Indeed it often forged an even stronger commitment.⁶⁴

Scores of cities in every Southern state, including Mississippi, confronted impatient young blacks. There were “kneel-ins” in churches, “sleep-ins” in motel lobbies, “swim-ins” in pools, “wade-ins” on restricted beaches, “read-ins” at public libraries, “play-ins” in parks, even “watch-ins” in movie theaters.⁶⁵

These demonstrations fundamentally transformed the use of public accommodations in the border and upper South states, where by the end of 1961 nearly two hundred cities began to desegregate. Try as they might, however, students scored few victories in the Deep South. There, the segregationist wall of resistance held.⁶⁶

The Greensboro movement introduced a new type of direct action and, moreover, inspired sit-ins all over the South. The Greensboro “Coffee Party” made direct action the vogue. By August 1961, according to the Southern Regional Council, more than 70,000 blacks and whites had participated in sit-ins and 3,000 had been arrested. It was a watershed.

63 Sitkoff, The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 67-69.

64 Sitkoff, The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 69.

65 Sitkoff, The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 73.

66 Sitkoff, The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 73.

4.2 Freedom Rides Summer 1961

4.2.1 Predecessor of the “Freedom Ride”

In 1947, Bayard Rustin and George Houser, of CORE and a sister organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, planned the “Journey of Reconciliation,” a train and bus trip. The riders, eight black and eight white, traveled through the Upper South, not the Deep South, and tested on the seating on buses. Before this, they gathered in Washington, D.C. and worked out the tactics. Their journey began on April 9. It ended April 23.⁶⁷ This action was in response to the Supreme Court decision in the *Irene Morgan Case* in 1946, saying that segregated seating of interstate passengers was unconstitutional. They were unsuccessful in their ride. Some of them were arrested in North Carolina and served on a chain gang as a result.⁶⁸ Most Americans never heard of it, for there was no interest from the side of the media, which were in infancy their then.

4.2.2 Incentive to the “Freedom Ride”

When James Farmer became CORE’s national director in 1961, he received letters from blacks in the Deep South who complained that when they attempted to sit in the front of buses or to use the bus terminal facilities, they were beaten, or thrown out, or imprisoned, or all three.⁶⁹ This was despite the fact that in December, 1960, the Supreme Court in *Boynton vs. Virginia* handed down the ruling that extended the prohibition against segregation in interstate travel, it covered accommodations as well as buses and trains.⁷⁰

4.2.3 Differences between the “Freedom Ride” and the “Journey of Reconciliation”

Members of CORE decided to ride through the South. And they modeled it on the Journey of Reconciliation.⁷¹ Nevertheless, there were major differences between the Freedom Ride and The Journey of Reconciliation. The Freedom Riders

67 Sitkoff, *The struggle for black equality 1954-1992*, 90.

68 Juan Williams, *Eyes on the prize : America's civil rights years 1954-1965* . (New York: Viking, 1987.) 145.

69Williams 145.

70 August Meier and Elliot Rudwick *CORE : a study in the civil rights movement 1942-1968*. (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1975) 135.

71 Williams 145.

decided to travel through the Deep South, they planned to focus on the terminal facilities and if arrested they would not accept bail or pay fines and would remain in jail. It was the Ghandian jail-no-bail principle.⁷² James Farmer sent letters to President Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, J. Edgar Hoover, the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the president of Greyhound Corporation, and the president of Trailways Corporation.⁷³ They also wrote to the Justice department and to the FBI. No replies came.⁷⁴

4.2.4 The Strategy

The strategy for the “Freedom Ride” was that whites in the group would sit in the back of the bus. Blacks would sit in the front and refuse to move when ordered. They counted on the racists of the South to create a crisis so that the federal government would be compelled to enforce the law.⁷⁵ CORE recruited thirteen people who had spotless reputation so that they would not be smeared in the press by segregationists. Among others, in the group there were James Farmer and John Lewis, who had experience with the Nashville sit-ins, and James Peck, the only Freedom Rider who had also participated in the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation.⁷⁶

Civil rights activists needed the support of the Executive branch, otherwise the Court’s ruling would be meaningless.⁷⁷ CORE wanted to make it more dangerous politically for the federal government not to enforce federal law than it would be for them to enforce federal law. They did not think it as a civil disobedience really, because they were merely doing what the Supreme Court said they had right to do.⁷⁸

4.2.5 The “Ride”

The trip began on May 4, 1961. Two interracial groups of Freedom Riders (seven blacks and six whites) left Washington D.C. for Virginia, North Carolina,

⁷² Meier, Rudwick, CORE : A study in the Civil Rights Movement 136.

⁷³ Williams 145.

⁷⁴ Sitkoff, The struggle for black equality 1954-1992, 90-91.

⁷⁵ Williams 147.

⁷⁶ Williams 147-148.

⁷⁷ Williams 147.

⁷⁸ Williams 147.

and South Carolina. Most black participants had experience with the Southern sit-in movement.⁷⁹ They wanted to arrive in New Orleans on May 17, on the anniversary of the 1954 *Brown* decision. All the Riders were prepared for the possibility of death.⁸⁰ At the beginning of the route, there were only a few incidents as the riders tried to use bus terminal restrooms and lunchrooms in Virginia and the Carolinas. On Mother's Day, they divided into two groups to travel from Atlanta to Birmingham. The only planned stop on the way was Anniston, Alabama.⁸¹

The first group, in the Greyhound bus, was stoned when they were pulling into the Anniston bus depot. A crowd of about 200 people attacked the bus, they cut the tires. The bus raced away and stopped some six miles out of town to fix the tires. But a swarm of people caught up with them, again surrounded the bus and the situation reached its climax when someone tossed a home-made bomb into it. Suddenly one of the mob yelled that the bus was going to explode. Only this made possible that the passengers fled through an emergency exit. In no time at all the bus burst into flames. The next day America's media covered this news.⁸²

The second bus, the Trailways, pulled into Anniston within an hour. [a mob of white people were waiting for them] Two of the white riders, James Peck and Dr. Walter Bergman, were beaten when eight toughs boarded and demanded that the black riders move to the rear.⁸³ Later, it took fifty-five stitches to fix his body.⁸⁴

The Birmingham city police planned to stay away for some time.⁸⁵ "When you go somewhere looking for trouble, you usually find it," stated Alabama Governor John Patterson at a press conference after the attack.

In Washington, President Kennedy was recommended that he should not send troops unless in a state of emergency.⁸⁶

79 Meier/ Rudwick, *CORE : A study in the Civil Rights Movement* 136.

80 Williams 148.

81 Williams 148.

82 Sitkoff, *The struggle for black equality 1954-1992*, 92.

83 Kenneth. O'Reilly, "The FBI and the Civil Rights Movement during the Kennedy Years--from the Freedom Rides to Albany." *The Journal of Southern History* 54.2 May (1988): 201-232. 14 Apr. 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2209399>>. 206-207.

84 Williams 149.

85 until further note Williams 149 onwards.

86 Williams.

The Administration was preparing for the upcoming summit with Nikita Khrushchev and the President was concerned about his image, for the attacks and photographs of the burning and bleeding people were being given international press. The Communist reporters wrote that the uncontrolled racism showed the savagery of American freedom and democracy.⁸⁷ The African and Asian press expressed that

the federal government's compromising with racial discrimination would make it impossible for the United States to 'sell to the outside world, especially the non-white world, that she stands for equality for all men.' Non-Communist European papers deplored America's racial prejudice for encouraging anti-colonial and anti-Western feeling. And almost without exception, the American news media expressed its horror and disgust at the violence against the Freedom Riders. Even the Alabama Associated Press Association condemned 'the breakdown of civilized rule' in that state.⁸⁸

4.2.6 The Ride Continues

After the experiences, the Freedom Riders were considering whether to continue or stop. They decided to continue, but the bus company refused to transport them. Disappointed that the Ride would stop, black students from Nashville decided to continue the journey. On May 17, they left Nashville for Alabama. In Birmingham, they sought to board a bus to Montgomery. Not until May 20, when the bus company was assured by the federal authorities that the vehicle would not be attacked, did they depart.⁸⁹ Alabama State police agreed that every fifteen miles, there would be a state patrol car and that a private plane would fly over the bus. No incidents occurred during the two-hour trip, only when the riders' police car and helicopter escort disappeared once the bus entered the Montgomery city limits, the segregationists appeared and the violence of Birmingham and Anniston took place again.⁹⁰ Kennedy was forced to send 600 marshals there. Then, they had to spend a whole night in the church, while the National Guard eventually dispersed the rioters. On May 24, twenty-seven Freedom

87 Sitkoff, *The struggle for black equality 1954-1992*, 95.

88 Sitkoff, *The struggle for black equality 1954-1992*, 95.

89 Meier/Rudwick 137-138.

90 O'Reilly 213.

Riders departed in Jackson, Mississippi; no violence occurred. There, they were arrested and found guilty of breach of peace. They preferred sixty-seven-day terms in jail to fine. The Attorney General asked the Riders for a cooling-off period, but did not succeed. The aim of the Riders was to create more heat and even though they did not fill the Mississippi prisons, the number of arrested reached 360. But only a handful served their entire sentence. The trials took from place from August 1961 to May 1962. The actions of the Mississippi Court were appealed to the Supreme Court, which reversed the convictions in 1965. Two-thirds of the Riders were college students, and a significant number were rabbis and ministers, only a few were Catholics.⁹¹

4.2.7 Results of the Freedom Rides

Not until the Freedom Riders of CORE were attacked and seriously injured, did desegregation become a major social movement. Hundreds of students formed their own organizations and underwent their freedom rides first in Mississippi, later in other parts of the South. Freedom Rides were the stimulus for the later Albany protests in December 1961 which became the model for movements in other parts of the South. After Freedom Rides, civil rights organizations tried to give guidance for the black struggle which reached its peak in Birmingham, in 1963.⁹²

Many of the Freedom Riders were products of the student sit-in movement. While the legal cases of those arrested took years to settle in the courts, the Freedom Rides had solved the interstate transportation issue within a matter of months. This was a result of what CORE planned before and counted on — the publicity. The public pressure made the federal government act, and it proved successful. At first, the Executive branch was not keen on intervention, because of the delicate balance of forces within Congress. But on May 29, Robert Kennedy told the Interstate Commerce Commission that it abolished segregation in interstate transportation. And, on September 22, ICC issued an order banning Jim Crow facilities in interstate travel.⁹³

The order became valid on November 1, 1961. At first, though, it was avoided in the Deep South. In places like Jackson, Mississippi, and Albany in

91 Meier/Rudwick *CORE : A Study in the Civil Rights Movement* 138-143.

92 Clayborne Carson, "Civil Rights Reform and the Black Freedom Struggle" *The Civil Rights Movement in America : essays by David Levering Lewis ... [et al.]*. Ed. Charles W. Eagles. 25.

93 Until further note see Meier , *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement* 143-147.

southwest Georgia, travelers were refused service at terminals. On the other hand, they had no problems in South Carolina, Florida, and northern Georgia. They were even served at station lunch counters in Birmingham, Montgomery and Anniston, Alabama. CORE and SNCC activists targeted their actions at disobedient communities. During 1961 and 1962, SNCC challenged bus station segregation in Albany. New Orleans CORE activity focused on McComb. The success came on December 1961, when the bus terminal in McComb eventually integrated and by the end of 1962, the interstate travel had been basically won.

In the South, the non-violent movement was fueled again. It also sharpened the antagonism and rivalries among the direct-action organizations and among Negro protest organizations themselves.

CORE stimulated the wave of direct action in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana. Most of the leadership for both the action programs in the Deep South between 1961 and 1962 and for the Voter Registration Projects, which had an significant impact for the civil rights movement, was by the Freedom Rides veterans of CORE and SNCC.

In the North, CORE focused on unemployment problems and problems connected with housing, while in the South, they worked on voter registration. A substantial number of working-class blacks enlisted in these campaigns. New members of organization came with ideas of black separatism. New, impatient CORE members escalated demands for compensatory, preferential employments, using more militant tactics, by blocking driveways and entrances, or leaving garbage on city hall steps.

Thanks to the publicity of the Freedom Riders, Kennedy decided to redirect the movement to voter registration. He was tired of all the violence and publicity which was disturbing his Cold War policy. The power of the ballot box, he thought, would make Southern politicians more interested in needs of their black citizens. Then they would more pay attention to their housing, public accommodations and education. Kennedy recommended philanthropic foundations to contribute to what would become the Voter Education Project.⁹⁴

94 Williams 160.

4.3 Albany Movement

“It was the first attempt to mobilize an entire African-American community in the Deep South to protest the totality of white racism.”⁹⁵

4.3.1 The Tame City of Albany

Before 1961, there was little protest activity in Albany, Georgia. Its black inhabitants and white residents were known for generally peaceful (but unequal) relations. It was a farming capital, where blacks formed forty per cent of its 56,000 inhabitants. Few of the black population could register to vote and their children did not attend integrated schools. However, blacks in Albany owned beauty shops, taxi companies, liquor stores and their grown children attended Albany State College.⁹⁶

Students at Albany State College had not participated in the sit-ins of the spring. Sherrod and Reagon, SNCC field secretaries, had experienced the Freedom Rides and were influenced by the religious grounds of the early student protests. They came to Albany to open a SNCC office. Sherrod decided to go through the way of nonviolent protest so that local blacks would become aware of customized tradition of accommodation. The people were, of course, afraid. They did not want to be connected with those freedom riders. Even in the streets, blacks did not want to cross their way.⁹⁷

4.3.2 Birth of the Albany Movement

Sherrod talked to people in churches and everywhere where he could ridicule the system which told them to be good Negroes instead of being good people. First, they spoke to ordinary people, and later, they received support from the black middle class. The fact that they could use churches for their meetings was invaluable.⁹⁸

On November 1, 1961, came the fruits of his work. Nine students started to sit-in, they tried to see if the ruling, by Interstate Commerce Commission, prohibiting segregation in transportation terminals, worked. As they sat in the

95 Sitkoff, *The struggle for black equality 1954-1992*, 115.

96 Williams 164.

97 Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1995) 56-57.

98 Until further note see Carson, *In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* from page 58.

whites-only waiting room, the Albany police arrived.⁹⁹ As planned, the students left when first threatened with arrest.

On November 17, the Albany Movement arose, a coalition of SNCC, NAACP, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Negro Voters League, the ministerial alliances and other groups interested in racial reform.¹⁰⁰

Later students (five black and five white) were arrested because of attempting to use the dining room at the Trailways bus station.¹⁰¹ Then the blacks were aroused and, for the first time, they had a mass meeting. It took place in Mount Zion Baptist Church and revealed the hidden emotions of local blacks, and, after having heard experiences of the arrested, all sang "We Shall Overcome", which had been adopted as a "freedom song."¹⁰²

On November 27, the trial of five students took place. Two students involved in the sit-ins were excluded from Albany State College, which again ignited the wave of protest. Four hundred people signed a petition so that the students would be reinstated.¹⁰³

On December 10, eight of ten activists (five black and five white) were arrested after the blacks entered the white-only section and the whites the black section at the Albany Railway Station. The national press began to focus on the town. The next day, 267 black students marched on the train station. With every other arrest, new protesters appeared. When the number of arrested hit the number of 500, the governor of Georgia sent 150 national guardsmen to Albany. Local city officials then established a biracial committee to solve the demands for integration of transportation facilities and the release of the demonstrators.¹⁰⁴

4.3.3 The Albany Movement Fading

On December 16, Martin Luther King led a prayer march and together with 250 demonstrators was arrested. Two days later, they were released on bail. Nonetheless, the momentum vanished after some time and when city officials refused to desegregate city bus service, it led to a black boycott in 1962. There were

99 Williams 165.

100Carson, In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s, 59.

101Williams 167.

102Until further note see Carson, In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s, 59.

103Carson, In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s, 59.

104Williams 168.

direct action-oriented attempts, but they received only little attention.

In July 1962, the Movement revived again, when Martin Luther King and his associate, Ralph Abernathy, came back to Albany to serve their sentences connected with the December protests. This resulted in arrests and brick-throwing. Demonstrations continued even when King and Abernathy were released from jail.

On July 24, after small groups led by SNCC and SCLC tried to get into segregated facilities, mass marches to City Hall demanding civil rights ended in rock throwing.¹⁰⁵ An outbreak of violence brought national guardsmen to Albany. King tried to persuade local blacks to remain nonviolent and after some days was arrested while leading a prayer walking to City Hall. Only repeated requests of Albany black leaders resulted in Kennedy's interference. He urged Albany officials to negotiate a settlement. The enthusiasm of local blacks was gradually decreasing. They were not understood by their white neighbors.¹⁰⁶

4.3.4 A Setback for the Civil Rights Movement

The Albany movement may be seen as defeat for those involved in the movement. It failed to reach its goals—general desegregation of facilities and rights to hold peaceful demonstrations. Mass arrests, done with no excessive force, did not attract federal attention.¹⁰⁷ “The Kennedy brothers ... chose not to intervene as long as Albany's segregationists could keep the peace.”¹⁰⁸ Chief of Police Laurie Pritchett created a police state in which he suppressed protest and maintained order. He created a fiction that the arrests of protesters were because of disorderly conduct and parading without permission. And because he managed to keep it from cameras, federal marshals were never sent to Albany.¹⁰⁹ The SNCC workers learned that patient nonviolent action was not enough to prompt federal action. They became aware of the limitations of morale when crushed with strong opposition. Despite not reaching its goals, the Albany Movement served as a model for blacks in other Southern cities where mass struggle was soon to come. Southern racial etiquette was challenged and the blacks started thinking. When SNCC workers left Albany, they left behind a sense of community movement and local leadership. SNCC

105 Carson, *In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*, 61.

106 Carson, *In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*, 56-62.

107 Carson, *In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*, 63-65.

108 Sitkoff, *The struggle for black equality 1954-1992*, 116.

109 Sitkoff, *The struggle for black equality 1954-1992*, 116.

workers learned how freedom songs played an important role in bringing the spirit and morale of the movement. Church music became a symbol of the Civil Rights struggle. Freedom song in Albany stemmed more from the Afro-American cultural heritage than before. The songs made people feel what was happening in the South and remained with the Southern movement for years.¹¹⁰ It was a lesson for King and other leaders that pressure only on political leaders was not enough, because Alabama's black population did not have the voting power. Had they focused the protest more on local businesses, it would perhaps make the merchants negotiate.¹¹¹

110 Carson, *In Struggle : SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*, 63-65.

111 Aldon D. Morris, "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 58.5 (1993): 621-636. 10 July 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2096278>>. 625.

4.4 Ole Miss

4.4.1 Personal Challenge

The all-white University of Mississippi was situated in the city of Oxford. It was one of the very symbols of racial segregation, as was Mississippi. The first black to be enrolled at the University, James Meredith, applied for the university in February, 1961. It took four attempts to apply at the university before the federal powers secured his admission.¹¹² “Meredith had chosen Ole Miss because it was a symbol of white prestige and power, a heaven for the privileged and the finishing school for the sons of the elite.”¹¹³ A grandson of a slave, he had always wanted to challenge the segregation. The final impetus came, when he listened to Kennedy’s inauguration in which the President did not mention Civil Rights.¹¹⁴

He was willing to take on this challenge, he said, for the "interest of and benefit of: 1) my country, 2) my race, 3) my family, and 4) myself. I am familiar with the probable difficulties involved in such a move as I am undertaking and I am fully prepared to pursue it all the way to a degree from the University of Mississippi."¹¹⁵

Meredith decided to inform the U.S. Justice Department of his efforts to enter the university. His letter to officials in Washington was a blunt assessment of the racial situation in Mississippi and an explanation of what he wanted from the federal government.¹¹⁶(use their power and influence)

4.4.2 Four Attempts to Register and a Secret Pact

After much legal wrangling, on September 10,1962, the Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black ordered Meredith to be admitted.”¹¹⁷

112 Marianne Welter, "Letter from America: Trouble at 'Ole Miss'." Transition 8.March (1963): 47-48. 10 May 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2934741>>. 8.

113 Cohodas, Nadine. "James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss." The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education 16.Summer (1997): 112-122. 10 May 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2962922>>. 112.

114Nick Bryant, "The Black Man Who Was Crazy Enough to Apply to Ole Miss." The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education 53.Autumn (2006): 60-71. 10 May 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25073538>>. 60.

115 Cohodas 113.

116 Cohodas 118.

117 Cohodas120.

On September 13, a District Court order was issued so that the integration of the University could start. Governor Barnett declared that “There is no case in history where the Caucasian race has survived social integration. We will not drink from the cup of genocide.” Even personal diplomacy did not help Robert Kennedy to change Barnett’s stance.¹¹⁸

The Administration had no intention to interfere in this situation despite the earlier criticism of Albany officials conduct. Kennedy wanted to avoid direct confrontation with the hard-headed Governor of Mississippi. Kennedy had not only his electoral prospects to consider, but also that of Senator John Stennis, a moderate member of Southern Caucus. Kennedy had to keep his popularity and did not want to be ridiculed as Eisenhower when Little Rock took place.¹¹⁹

On September 20, for the first time, Meredith was to register at Ole Miss University, after spending the night in Memphis and then accompanied onto campus by James McShane, who experienced the Freedom Rides, and U.S. Marshals. Later that morning, Mississippi legislators came up with a new piece of legislation prohibiting anyone who had committed a criminal offense to attend Ole Miss. They came up with an accusation of Meredith’s false voter registration and he was sentenced in absentia on a false charge to a year in jail. The Justice Department prevented any apprehension of Meredith. The same day, Meredith was convoyed onto campus to register at the university. He was greeted by 2,000 segregationists calling “Go Home Nigger!” and the Governor denied to admit him to the university. Astounded, Meredith was driven back to Memphis.¹²⁰

After this, Robert Kennedy suggested registering Meredith in Jackson, a less emotionally charged place. But, on September 25, when Meredith arrived at Woolfolk State Office building in Jackson, a violent mob of 2,000 protesters invited him. In a doorway of University offices stood Barnett and again now for the second time, confounded his attempt and read his speech barring the 29-year-old Navy veteran from registering.

At his third attempt, the next day, a blockade of Mississippi guards prevented him from entering the Ole Miss campus. Again, the federal authority failed. Even after such an embarrassment, Robert Kennedy continued with

118 Bryant 61.

119 Bryant 61.

120 Until further note Bryant 61.

negotiations. Barnett, longing for leaving a heroic memory of him, said that he would give in only when the Administration would show a massive force so that his political reputation would remain flawless. Their following secret pact was shipwrecked due to a crowd of 2,500, consisting of well-known Klansmen and others who were not in favor of nonviolence. The next day, it was ruled in absentia that Meredith's registration was complete and with every day of delay a 10,000-dollar fine would be added.

4.4.3 Tougher Means for Maintaining the States' Dignity

Here the dignity of federal courts would be shook if the ruling would not be obeyed. The president decided to take a more active role and, together with negotiations with Barnett, started preparation of his televised nationwide speech. "Robert Kennedy called Barnett, who had a new plan. On Monday, Meredith could register in Jackson. Barnett would remain in Oxford and pretend that he had been duped by the administration."¹²¹ During the negotiations, Barnett proved a very untrustworthy and unreliable person. To stop his endless conditions, under which he would surrender, the Oval Office threatened that they would make public the records of their negotiations, which would probably lead to impeachment of the Governor if the nation could see his haggling over a theater he wanted to stage to maintain his good political image in front of the Mississippians.

After the Governor had delivered his speech to Mississippians, an uncontrolled riot broke out. When the President appealed to the fair-mindedness and obedience of the law, it had no impact on the rioters, of which some had filled Molotov cocktails with acid and threw them at marshals. An armed insurrection arose. President Kennedy decided to prevent further bloodbath and sent federal troops to Oxford, but it took long hours before the troops were ready to intervene. In the morning Meredith was accompanied by McShane and Doar and completed his registration. "Black Nigger! Black Bastard!" could be heard when Meredith went to his first lecture.¹²²

The streets remained littered with various debris, broken cars, tear-gas canisters and so forth.¹²³

121 Bryant 66.

122 Bryant 60-71.

123 Woodward 175.

2,700 men of the Mississippi National Guard were 'federalized' by the President; 400 U.S. marshals and deputies were sent to Mississippi and guarded Meredith during his move to the campus and subsequent enrollment. As signs of trouble increased, with students assembling in ever larger numbers on the campus and getting more and more restless, more troops were brought in and eventually tear-gas was used.¹²⁴

4.4.4 Meredith's Battle Won

On October 1, 1962, James Meredith became the first black student of the University of Mississippi and in 1963, he received his diploma. Even long after his registration, U.S. Marshals guarded his every step on the campus and James Meredith was bearing the name-calling, outbreaks of violation and hostility of the 5,000 Whites at the University.¹²⁵ Three hundred troops remained until July of 1963.¹²⁶ An enigma has he remained, though, with his later declarations such as that integration was a sham, and that he disapproved of the Affirmative Action.¹²⁷

4.4.5 Conclusion

The battle was not an attack on the demonstrators or blacks, this was a direct riot against the officers and soldiers of the United States Government.¹²⁸ Ole Miss was the victory not only for James Meredith, but also for the Oval Office, which managed to maintain its own respect and dignity of the Supreme Court. It again proved that federal attention was necessary to make put things in motion.

After this, Ole Miss skilfully prevented other blacks from entering the university. For a long time, the university had the Confederate battle flag on the university campus and maintained discriminatory provisions for admission. In the nineties, attempts to improve the universities image were made, but a number of alumni protested.¹²⁹

124 Welter 47.

125 Welter 48.

126 Woodward 175.

127 Cohodas 119.

128 Woodward 175.

129 Cohodas, Nadine. "James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss." 116.

4.5 Birmingham

4.5.1 A Need for Momentum

King wanted to show that nonviolence would still be enough to struggle against violence and hate. The year 1963 would be the year of centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. There was a need for momentum in the freedom struggle. Expectations among blacks were raised and it was important to prevent one's fellows from slipping to extremist ideas, such as that preached by Malcolm X who made a mockery of integration and preached black nationalism, black self-reliance and separatism, self-assertion and self-defense. King wanted to provoke a direct confrontation so that Kennedy would have to act. By 1963, only eight per cent of black children attended integrated schools and two thousand school districts were still segregated in the South, whilst 34 African nations had freed themselves from colonial bondage. Birmingham, alas, "Bombingham" had the reputation of the most segregated and the most dangerous city in the South, with eighteen racial bombings on its list between the years of 1957 and 1963.¹³⁰

4.5.2 Planning the Confrontation

The Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, a grassroots civil rights leader of Birmingham, was the one who invited King to the city to defeat the racial segregation.¹³¹

"Project C", which stood for confrontation, was prepared by King and other SCLC leaders to provoke confrontation with a die-hard segregationist Eugene T. "Bull" Connor. King believed that Connor's reaction would bring national and federal attention necessary for civil rights reforms.¹³² Provocation was one of the most important tasks to bring federal attention, attention of Northern capitalists and that of national and world media. Without achieving an economic and social breakdown, it would be a fruitless effort. Diverse tactics and ability to mobilize enormous number of people were the key elements that enabled the movement to succeed. Civil rights leaders wanted to force the Government to actively support their demands in Birmingham and to create conditions that would force the

130 Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality* 118-121.

131 Scott (An African-American Reader...) 170.

132 Scott 170.

Kennedy Administration to pass legislation outlawing racial segregation.¹³³ Martin Luther said

We believed that while a campaign in Birmingham would surely be the toughest fight of our civil-rights careers, it could, if successful, break the back of segregation all over the nation [...] A victory there might well set forces in motion to change the entire course of the drive for freedom and justice. Because we were convinced of the significance of the job to be done in Birmingham, we decided that the most thorough planning and prayerful preparation must go into the effort"¹³⁴

Martin Luther King, Jr. stated: „Consequently, I have the feeling that if we can get a breakthrough in Birmingham and really break down the walls of segregation, it will demonstrate to the whole South, at least the hard-core South, that it can no longer resist integration. And I think everybody will find themselves brought along with it if we can get a breakthrough in Birmingham.¹³⁵

4.5.3 Project “C” Starts

The first stage of “Project C” started in April. Not by accident started it with sit-ins at segregated lunch counters at this time. To reach the best effectiveness of the Birmingham movement, it was planned for the Easter period, which had not only religious significance for Christians, but also it would have a deep impact on local merchants during this buying period. Local blacks formed a strong purchasing power.¹³⁶ The population of Birmingham was about 341,000 of which 40 percent were blacks.¹³⁷ As planned, the sit-ins and marches were followed by arrests, day after day the jails were fed with demonstrators. By April 10, city officials, hoping that this would stop the ardor of the rising number of blacks in the streets, banned

133 Morris, Aldon D. "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 621-636.

134 Quoted in Morris, Aldon D. "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 623.

135 In the video Citizen King.

136 Morris, Aldon D. "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." 621-636.

137 Meier/Rudwick, *Black Protest in the Sixties* 67.

racial demonstrations. But King decided to violate this immoral injunction on Good Friday.¹³⁸ As he later wrote:

"The time had now come for us to counter their legal maneuver with a strategy of our own. Two days later, we did an audacious thing, something we had never done in any other crusade. We disobeyed a court order [...] When the injunction was issued in Birmingham, our failure to obey it bewildered our opponents. They did not know what to do"¹³⁹

4.5.4 Letter From Birmingham Jail

Nearly a thousand blacks were arrested together with King. In his letter from Birmingham jail, he explained why he came to Birmingham and justified the tactics of direct-action, sit-ins and marches. He criticized unjust laws and stressed that injunction forbidding parading without a permit, was a violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. He answered the question "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact there are two types of laws: "just and unjust. I agree with St. Augustine that an unjust law is no law at all." He also criticized treatment of blacks in jail, in the streets during protests, white moderates who wanted to wait for a more convenient season for the movement. Having hoped that white priests would be the strongest allies, he was frustrated when the white church kept its silence.¹⁴⁰

4.5.5 Crusading Children

After King was released from jail, on "D day", May 2, the whole nation could see, through cameras, a "children's crusade" march out of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, smiling, singing, chanting freedom slogans only to be arrested by Connor. This was criticized as exploitative from the side of both moderates and conservatives.¹⁴¹

"Children face the stinging darts of segregation as well as adults," Martin

138 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 122.

139 Quoted in Morris, Aldon D. "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." 628.

140 Alton Hornsby, Jr., "Martin Luther King, Jr. "Letter From a Birmingham Jail"." The Journal of Negro History, 71.1/4 (1986): 38-44. 10 July 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717650>>. 38-44.

141 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 127-128.

Luther King replied to his critics.¹⁴²

But using children as demonstrators was part of the plan, as most adults were reluctant to march. Victory was all that mattered. In the evening, children filled the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and approved the next day there would be Double-D Day. On May 3, King reached his confrontation. “Bull” Connor barred the exits of the church, where children were receiving their demonstration assignment. Those who escaped from the church were chased by police dogs, hurt by high-pressure water hoses. Parents, having seen the mistreatment of their children, threw rocks and bricks at police. Arrests would follow the beating of children and women. Kennedy knew that he had to act as millions of previously indifferent white Americans saw 2500 demonstrators, many of them children, put into prison. This attracted national as well as international media.¹⁴³

4.5.6 Negotiators Sent to Birmingham

On May 4, Burke Marshall, the Chief Civil Rights Assistant, and Joseph Dolan, the Assistant Attorney General were sent to Birmingham. Their task was to negotiate a settlement between the merchants and the movement. The Administration also used its influence to force Northern capitalists, who had economic interests in Birmingham, agree with protesters’ demands. Businesses were nearly empty, neither black nor white shoppers could be seen there.¹⁴⁴

4.5.7 The Momentum Reached

On May 6, the most massive black protest began. Students and children were chanting for freedom, kicking defiantly, dogs were attacking children. A shocked nation demanded Kennedy to end this horror. May 7 was the climax of the crisis, less submissive students appeared in the streets. About 2,000 young blacks staged sit-ins and pray-ins. Water hoses ripped the bark of trees, tore bricks loose from the wall, dogs were biting, clubs were breaking bones. Birmingham became a synonym for unrestrained police brutality all around the world.¹⁴⁵

142Meier/Rudwick, *Black Protest in the Sixties* 67.

143 Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality* 127-128.

144Aldon D. Morris, "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 630.

145 Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality* 129-131.

4.5.8 An Agreement

On Friday, May 10, both sides of the battle came to an agreement; (1) desegregation within 90 days of lunch counters, restrooms and the like in downtown stores, (2) nondiscriminatory hiring and promotion in employment, (3) release of all arrested blacks on bond or personal recognizance, (4) creation of a biracial committee as a channel between the races.¹⁴⁶

Not long after the agreement, two bombs hit the home of A.D. King, a few minutes later, another bomb exploded in the headquarters of SCLC. At this time a fight between a rampaging mob of blacks and the police started. King asked the blacks to stay nonviolent so that the agreement would not be jeopardized. Order returned to streets when city officials and businessmen started to desegregate.¹⁴⁷

4.5.9 Birmingham Legacy

Birmingham awakened in blacks self pride and confidence in their new power. If desegregation of such a symbol of Jim Crow laws was possible, then every other city or place could be freed from segregation. A new, assertive and fearless black man arose from this movement. He was not afraid of the white man anymore. No more was the black man patient. He demanded fundamental social, political and economic change.¹⁴⁸

Birmingham woke up also poor blacks, who, having smaller sympathy for nonviolence and obedience, accelerated the radicalization of the movement. More radical became also major civil rights organizations; SNCC, CORE, NAACP intensified their effort in correcting education, employment, housing, welfare and health care. CORE mounted a voter-registration campaigns and demonstrations in the South. A fiercer competition arose among civil rights groups, each wanted the biggest share of the of the now incoming money for the civil rights activities. A number of dues-paying members and new activists arose after Birmingham.

Fearing that the mood and ignition of the nation and activists could fade soon, civil rights organizations demanded “as much as they could as quickly as possible.” Frightened officials, considering the possible loss of business in their localities, started registering of African-Americans and enrolling black children to

146 Meier/Rudwick, Black Protest in the Sxties 68.

147 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 133.

148 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 133.

white schools throughout the South.

Hatred, disgust and frustration drove white supremacists to harassment, intimidation, economic oppression, burning houses, businesses and offices of integrationists in the Deep South in the summer and fall of 1963.¹⁴⁹

Events in Birmingham ignited in the following ten weeks nearly eight hundred small “Birmingham”, with 13,786 people arrested in 75 southern cities, following it as its model.¹⁵⁰

The federal government could no longer be the firefighter in the South. “On June 19, 1963, President Kennedy sent a national civil rights bill to Congress, and on July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed into law the 1964 Civil Rights Bill.”¹⁵¹

The Birmingham protest would not have been so successful if there had not been already existing Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR), which provided for activists to be quickly at disposal for the protest.¹⁵² “They thus paved the way for the extraordinary turnout of a quarter-million people of both races at the 1963 March on Washington.”¹⁵³ Birmingham has remained the benchmark in the Civil Rights movement.

The moral dilemma of the Americans was the conflict between their moral valuations on various level of consciousness and generality. The race problem was rather a problem of general phenomenon of the general psychology.¹⁵⁴

Until the mid-1960s, mainly the middle class was involved in the civil rights movement, then, gradually civil rights politics started to interest also the lower income strata of black society¹⁵⁵

149 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 133.

150 Aldon D. Morris, "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." American Sociological Review 633.

151 Aldon D. Morris, "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." American Sociological Review 633.

152 Aldon D. Morris, "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." American Sociological Review 624.

153 Meier/Rudwick, Black Protest in the Sixties 11.

154 David Levering Lewis, “The Origins and Causes of the Civil Rights Movement,” The Civil Rights Movement in America, ed. Charles W. Eagles 8.

155 David Levering Lewis, “The Origins and Causes of the Civil Rights Movement,” The Civil Rights Movement in America, ed. Charles W. Eagles 11.

4.6 The March on Washington, the Acts of President Lyndon B. Johnson and Black Power Coming

On August 28, 1963, the largest demonstration in the history of the national capital took place. More than 200 marchers both black and white made an orderly procession when they moved from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial.¹⁵⁶

“Five score years ago”, King began to sound of a thunderous ovation, “a great American in whose symbolical shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation” The crowd grew quiet as King surveyed the century that had passed since that day, declaiming over and over “One hundred years later ...” and finding that not much had changed. “So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.” He termed the promises of the Declaration of Independence “a sacred obligation” which had proved to be, for blacks, a bad check — “a check which has come back marked ‘insufficient funds.’”¹⁵⁷

When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note in so far as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check. A check which has come back marked "insufficient funds"¹⁵⁸

Hymns, spirituals and folk tunes were heard. On the placards, the main purposes of the March were stated: “We demand decent housing—Now!”, “We demand an end to bias—Now!”, “The March for Integrated schools—Now!”, “We demand freedom—Now!” “Pass that bill!” chanted the marchers. King made his famous “I Have a Dream” speech. His dream was about equality, brotherhood

¹⁵⁶ Franklin, John Hope, and Alfred A. Moss. From slavery to freedom : a history of Negro Americans. 6th ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988. 501.

¹⁵⁷ Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 150.

¹⁵⁸ From Video Citizen King.

between whites and blacks, and of justice and opportunity for all.¹⁵⁹

On the conference, after the leaders of the march came to the White House, the President expressed the idea that a bipartisan support for the Civil Rights bill was needed.¹⁶⁰

After the events of Birmingham, Kennedy said that the time had come for a national commitment, that race has no place in American life or law. He asked Congress to pass a law that would desegregate public accommodations, improve the economic status of blacks, grant authority to the Attorney General to initiate school desegregation suits, withhold public funds from areas where discrimination occurred, and establish a Community Relation Service to prevent racial conflicts.¹⁶¹

After the assassination of the J.F. Kennedy, President Lyndon B. Johnson, demanded from Congress the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights Bill, which was enacted on July 2, 1964. Desegregation of hotels, motel, restaurants, theaters, and all places of public accommodation, came into effect immediately.

But even despite this bill, the black problem was not solved. And, in 1965, to show the dissatisfaction with the difficulties which blacks had to face when attempting to register and vote, they decided to demonstrate for two months in Selma, Alabama. The atmosphere of the Selma protest was different from that of the marches at the beginning of the sixties. This protest remained in memories as a splash of incredible violence. The Voting Rights Act was signed by Lyndon B. Johnson on August 6, 1965, and the long way to peaceful solution in the future was paved. But before this, the struggle was dominated by the slogan “Black Power!”, which was equated with black racism and separatism.¹⁶²

In 1968, Congress enacted a fair-housing bill which outlawed discrimination in sales and renting of houses, but this law had only weak enforcement provisions and it was enacted merely as a reconciliation for King’s assassination.¹⁶³

159 Meier/Rudwick, Black Protest in the Sixties 71.

160 Meier/Rudwick, Black Protest in the Sixties 72.

161 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 147.

162 Woodward 181-200.

163 Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality 211.

5 Conclusion

The aim of my bachelor thesis was to describe briefly the the main points of the history of the civil rights struggle in the twentieth century and to give a general overview of the most striking causes which led to the outburst of the civil rights activities at the beginning of the 1960s.

The first part of my bachelor work focused on the brief history of the civil rights movement, where I described, that mainly the general lack of information opposing the myths about inferiority of African-Americans embedded in the minds of whites, lack of finance, political support, integrity and demands for immediate change were major obstacles to the change in the American attitude towards blacks.

In the second part of my thesis, I described the main causes both preventing and leading to the expansion of the movement. The most striking causes of the boom of the freedom struggle were the change in economy, the Northward Migration, rising incomes, development of new technology and mass media and the Cold War and rising political influence.

In the third part of my thesis I focused on the main events and incidents of the movement from 1960 to 1963. Various tactics were employed by the civil rights activists. Starting with sit-ins, Freedom Rides, jail-ins, continuing with marches, boycotts, nonviolent civil disobedience and ending with riots.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, many blacks faced nearly the same problems as before Reconstruction. The Supreme Court made segregation de facto legal. African-Americans were pushed out of the majority society and this led to spreading of various myths about the inferiority of the black race; actually, white Americans could not hear much contrary to the myths. Even the leaders of most prominent movements advocated only gradual integration of blacks. One of the biggest movements was led by Marcus Garvey who preached liberalization of his race and independence from whites' support. But this idea was not supported by Western European countries. The first signs of chance for improvement were indicated by the migration between the years 1910 and 1920, when in general blacks moved more cityward and northward. In the North the blacks could vote and organize various movements. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt improved the situation of the African-Americans by banning segregation in some public places

and by launching programs against the economic depression and thus positively affecting also the situation of blacks.

The change in economy, when the manual work was substituted by the machines, resulted in migration northwards and escalated the problem of disfranchisement and segregation from a regional level to the national level. Looking for the “Promised Land,” they often found themselves trapped in dilapidated ghettos. But in the cities they could establish their institutions where they could organize their movements. Since the blacks in the North could vote, with growing northward migration, they voted for those who promised improvement of blacks’ living conditions. The question of race became part of political calculations.

In the forties, President Truman ordered the integration of military forces and when the blacks returned home, they were dissatisfied. After WWII, many Americans were afraid of any extremist and non-conformist ideas, as they wished peace and stability. And the civil rights activists wanted to avoid accusations of being supporters of communism. The income of African-Americans doubled between 1947 and 1974 and white merchants started to be more involved. With rising income, the number of black children attending schools rose.

There was a new generation of more restive blacks who wanted an immediate change in the society. As time went by, blacks and whites became socially close when listening to the same music.

Many notable personalities challenged the myth that blacks are inferior, lazy or stupid. Among others there were the athlete Jackie Robinson, the Nobel Prize winner Ralph Bunche, the jurist William Hastie and the poet Gwendolyn Brooks who won the Pulitzer Prize.

Another important fact was that the United Nations delegates from Africa had their headquarters in New York and many African-Americans worked for the United Nations. And responsible U.S. politicians could not neglect that fact. Besides this, at the turn of the fifties and sixties, many African countries were freed from the burdens of their colonizers within the process of world decolonizations. Thus, the African-Americans felt less like a inferior minority in the Unites States and more like a part of world majority.

By this time, if the U.S. wanted to gain allies in the fight against

communism from the non-white countries, the U.S. had to answer to criticism about its treatment of its minorities and the U.S. politics towards African-Americans had to be changed.

The development of modern technologies accelerated the pace of spreading information both on home soil and abroad. By having a television or a radio in every household, both American citizens and the outside world could see and hear about the mistreatment of African-Americans. The media all around the world presented the vicious side of America.

The African-Americans were more aware of the fact that still, after nearly a hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation was adopted, they still could not enjoy the rights of majority citizens in America.

The former methods of the movement were partly the cause of the activist's failure — the chauvinism, gradualism, radicalism or individualism were not the right means of struggle. On the other hand, the tactics of nonviolent protest based on the Christian love proved in most cases successful.

The decisions of the Supreme Court also helped a lot. It was the Court that declared segregation in interstate travel and schooling unconstitutional. The blacks could count on the Court in the fifties and sixties, which was contrary to the situation after Reconstruction.

The most important moments which occurred between 1960 and 1963 and led to the passage of the two most important civil rights acts were Greensboro sit-ins, the "Freedom Rides", the Albany movement (Georgia), the admission of James Meredith at Ole Miss and the Birmingham movement.

The young activists from Greensboro who in 1960 showed how absurd the system where paying in one place and not being served with white customers in another place is. The students made direct action the vogue. While in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the protesters achieved their goals by their absence in the facilities which they wanted to integrate, in Greensboro the activists won their battle by their permanent presence. Their appearance played also an important role, they were aware of how important the interpretation of the action in the media was. Thanks to their "sit-ins", "kneel-ins" in churches, "swim-ins" in pools, and accessing other places nearly two hundred cities started to desegregate. But in the

Deep South the segregation still persisted.

The “Freedom Rides” stemmed from the permanent disobedience of the law in interstate travel. The Supreme Court barred segregation in interstate travel, but colored travelers were still driven out of the transportation facilities. James Farmer and other activists decided to ride through the Deep South to test whether the law was working and to force President Kennedy to act. In Anniston and Birmingham (Alabama) the “Riders” were attacked by white mobs and they had to interrupt their planned route. Kennedy was indeed forced to act. While a new group of activists went on their route to Jackson, the President had to intervene one more time at the state border of Mississippi. Only after that, the “Riders” finished their travel. Thanks to this movement, Kennedy was forced to make the Interstate Commerce Commission desegregate the interstate travel. Due to the publicity of the Freedom Riders, Kennedy redirected the movement to voter registration. The power of the ballot box, he thought, would make Southern politicians listen to the needs of their black citizens.

The city of Albany had not the history of race riots. Its black population was accustomed to the state of segregation. Nevertheless, after some time of agitation by civil rights veterans, Albany blacks also decided for a protest. But instead of reaching some compromise with the white community, the “sit-inners” were arrested and due to lack of publicity, the movement did not prod the President to action. Another problem was, that the protesters did not use enough economic pressure on the local merchants. The political pressure was not strong enough, as local blacks were not voters. But despite a defeat, this movement made local blacks be more assertive. The civil rights leaders also learned how important role played the freedom songs in the maintaining of morale and spirit of the movement.

In contrast with Albany, the admission of James Meredith at the Ole Miss university created much more interest from the side of the media and President Kennedy. In this case, it was not only about the integration of a student. The crucial role played maintaining the dignity of the Supreme Court and the respect of the President. It took Meredith four attempts to register at the university. The delay was caused mainly due to Governor Barnett who was too conceited a segregationist to admit to his voters his negotiations with the Kennedy brothers. After some pressure, Barnett gave in and James Meredith became the first black student at Ole Miss

University.

The year of 1963 was the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. By this time, most African countries were decolonized and in the United States, the blacks still did not have appropriate legislative barring segregation and discrimination. The civil rights leaders realized that there was a need for momentum which would lead Kennedy to enact such a piece of legislation. They decided to create a crisis in Birmingham, as it was the very symbol of the segregation. For the protest, they chose Easter time, for its symbolic meaning for Christians and economic importance for merchants. In this protest, Martin Luther King, for the first time did not obey the authorities not to protest. It shocked the segregationists and they put him into jail. The movement reached its climax, when children and women were attacked by police dogs, knocked down by water hoses and brutally beaten. This interested the national and world media. The consciousness of most Americans was awakened. Kennedy had to act. The settlement was reached in Birmingham and the rest of the country was full of hope, as if Birmingham segregationists could be defeated, then it was possible anywhere. Nearly eight hundred demonstrations happened in other cities. A wave of voter registration swept the country.

Kennedy could not wait any longer. He sent a bill to Congress which barred segregation in public places. In August 28, 1963, the pressure was increased by the March on Washington, where 200,000 marchers gathered under the Lincoln Memorial. After the assassination of Kennedy, President Lyndon B. Johnson enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And in 1965, after the protests in Selma, the Voting Rights Act was enacted.

So joining white and black power, enforcing and showing one's view in a Christian way, showing that intelligent and educated people were advocating the civil rights movement in the non-violent way of mass protests awoke the consciousness of ordinary people and notable politicians. A tremendous importance was also played by the interaction between Mississippi and the Kennedy Administration. When the protesters managed to draw the attention of the media, the Kennedys were forced to act so that they maintained both the dignity of the Administration and of the Supreme Court not only in front of its own nation, but in front of the whole world.

Besides the strategy of changing roles, when Blacks were economically exploited, now the white man was put under economic force of black demand, the majority of the protesters were not hooligans, they were ordinary people, going to work, attending schools, thus showing the savagery of the white man's acting toward the polite and Christian way of expression.

The whole society was changing and the blacks realized that they could also have better life and share the wealth in the American society.

The movement as a whole prodded other organizations, minorities, and other groups to speak for their rights, such as organizations advocating women's rights and other ethnic minorities. Black protests triggered the fight for equality of other minorities and women's movement. The National Organization for Women was started in 1966 to comply with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which also included the discrimination in employment based on gender.¹⁶⁴

As whites were also attacked during the freedom struggle (Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides), it attracted more the media than beating just blacks. It was also an interracial fight for a common goal. White people started to feel ashamed at the savagery that was presented both on national and foreign countries' televisions.

At the beginning of the Sixties, the protesters presented themselves mostly in a Christian nonviolent way and it helped to create better image for the movement. The first half of the Sixties brought two most important bills for the African-Americans. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The movement was fueled also by a rising number of protesters who created mass activism and professional civil rights organizations, thus they were seen and spoken about.

Besides, Kennedy owed the blacks a political debt, so they became angry when he did not mention civil rights in his inauguration address. They were also the biggest minority and drew most of the federal attention.

There were people who still remembered the horrors of the Second World War and the segregation reminded them of the ideology of Nazi Germany.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, people still had the slave

164 William H. Chafe, "The End of one Struggle, the Beginning of Another," The Civil Rights Movement in America, ed Charles W. Eagles 139.

mentality, but gradually the rationality started to prevail over ignorance and thaw icy hearts.

The movement as such eliminated institutionalized racism throughout the States and started to move towards Affirmative Action.

6 Resumé

Ve své bakalářské práci jsem se zaměřila na historii, hlavní příčiny zrodu boje za občanská práva Afroameričanů a hlavní události, které vedly k přijetí dvou nejzásadnějších legislativ týkajících se občanských práv v historii Spojených států amerických.

Na začátku dvacátého století Afroameričané čelili téměř stejným problémům jako v období před Rekonstrukcí. Nejvyšší soud de facto zlegalizoval segregaci. Tím, že se Afroameričané nedostávali do kontaktu s bílou částí americké populace, byli postupně vytlačeni na okraj společnosti. Jejich izolovanost vytvořila u bělošského obyvatelstva xenofóbní atmosféru a různé mýty o podřadnosti černošské rasy zajistily, že je bílá společnost nechtěla přijmout mezi sebe. I tehdejší hnutí ve většině případů prosazovala jen pomalé a postupné začlenění Afroameričanů do společnosti. V čele největšího hnutí ve dvacátých letech stál Marcus Garvey, který prosazoval liberalizaci své rasy, samostatnost a nezávislost na podpoře bílého obyvatelstva a hlásal, že Afričané budou jednou nést pochodeň civilizace. Avšak tato myšlenka byla zmařena nepřízní západních evropských mocností a zároveň nelobováním samotných černochoů. Zárodky posunu k lepšímu se začaly objevovat v období mezi roky 1910 až 1920, kdy probíhala první vlna migrace černochoů z plantáží směrem na sever Spojených států do měst. Zde se mohli někteří Afroameričané účastnit politického života tím, že mohli volit. Za období prezidenta Franklina Delano Roosevelta se situace částečně zlepšila, když zakázal diskriminaci na některých veřejných místech a skrze různé vládní programy, cílené proti ekonomické depresi, zlepšil i ekonomickou situaci černochoů. Avšak ani on nechtěl přijít o přízeň voličů z Jihu a nepřijal legislativu, která by zakázala lynčování.

Změnou ekonomiky, kdy manuální práce v polích byla postupně vytlačována stroji, a putováním za „Zemí Zaslíbenou“ mezi roky 1940 až 1960 směrem na sever, se problém jednoho regionu transformoval na celostátní úroveň. Afroameričany lákala představa bydlení, kde byla tekoucí voda a elektřina. Hledali místo, kde by měli možnost získat vzdělání a možnost volit. Avšak toto se ne vždy vyplnilo. Většinou se černoši ocitli v přeplněných chudinských čtvrtích, kde si o těchto výhodách mohli nechat jen zdát. Avšak ve městech si mohli zřídit různé instituce, skrze které mohli začít organizovat svá hnutí.

Ve čtyřicátých letech zakázal prezident Truman diskriminaci ve vojenských složkách, částečně kvůli nedostatku vojáků. Černoši, kteří si zvykli na integraci v amerických vojenských jednotkách v zahraničí, jen těžko snášeli segregaci na domácí půdě. Po druhé světové válce většina Američanů toužila po klidu a náznaky extrémismu byly zatracovány. Také aktivisté za občanská práva se chtěli vyhnout asociaci s komunismem. Příjem černošské rodiny se mezi roky 1947 až 1974 zdvojnásobil.

Mnoho lidí se začalo hlásit k víře, z části to byla reakce proti bezbožnému komunismu. A jelikož bylo hnutí za občanská práva počátkem šedesátých let založeno na křesťanských myšlenkách, víra sehrála svou roli při boji proti segregaci.

Černoškému obyvatelstvu také pomohla četná rozhodnutí Nejvyššího soudu, který zrušil segregaci v mezistátní dopravě. Mezníkem v boji proti segregaci bylo rozhodnutí z roku 1954, že separátní školství je protiústavní. V roce 1956 nařídil Nejvyšší soud univerzitě v Alabamě, aby přijala svou první černošskou studentku Autherine Lucy, ta však byla záhy vyloučena.

Oproti starší generaci černochoů, byla mladší generace díky vzrůstajícím příjmům svých rodičů nejen vzdělanější, ale také mnohem nedočkavější-preferovali okamžitou změnu sociálního systému, nikoliv gradualismus.

Postupně se začali černoši a běloši sblížovat díky hudbě. Bělošští zpěváci se nechávali inspirovat černošským temperamentem, vytvořily se i smíšené kapely. Jazz a rhythm and blues byly hlavními taháky pro bělošské obecnstvo.

Další roli hrálo také uvědomění, že černá rasa není tak podřadná, jak jim bylo vždy prezentováno. Proti tomuto mýtu stál fakt, že se začal množit počet průkopníků z různých oblastí. Mezi nimi byli například atlet Jackie Robinson či Ralph Bunche, držitel Nobelovy ceny za mír.

Důležitým politickým hlediskem byl fakt, že někteří Afroameričané pracovali pro Organizaci spojených národů a přítomnost afrických delegátů na centrále v New Yorku nemohla nechat americké politiky chladnými. Dalším důležitým faktem byla liberalizace mnoha afrických zemí na přelomu padesátých a šedesátých let. Tímto si Afroameričané uvědomili, že s nimi nemůže být jednáno jako s podmaněnou rasou, když už i africké kolonie získaly svou svobodu. Kvůli

Studené válce si Američané uvědomili, že utiskováním barevného obyvatelstva si rozhodně nenajdou spojence v nebělošských zemích, jako byly například Indie, Čína, Japonsko či Latinská Amerika.

Neméně významnou úlohu hrál také rozvoj moderních technologií. Tím, že po druhé světové válce téměř každá rodina vlastnila rádio či televizi, byla hrůzná jednání s protestujícími černochoy stále více vidět. A později, když byly vypuštěny komunikační satelity na oběžnou dráhu, mohli se o tomto nedůstojném zacházení s černochoy dozvědět i v zahraničí. Média po celém světě informovala o této zvrácené straně Ameriky.

Stále více Afroameričany tížil fakt, že skoro po sto letech, kdy bylo přijato Emancipační prohlášení, nebyli stále svobodní ve „svobodné“ zemi.

Dřívější neúspěchy hnutí za občanská práva černochoů byly částečně způsobeny jejich metodami-gradualisté, šovinisté, radikálové či individualisté nebyli s to zlepšit situaci. Naproti tomu filozofie mírového protestu, podpořená křesťanskou láskou, se prokázala později jako účinná zbraň při získávání občanských práv.

Mezi hlavní události mezi roky 1960 až 1963, které vedly k přijetí dvou nejdůležitějších legislativ zakazujících legální diskriminaci, se řadí hnutí v Greensboro(1960), „Freedom Rides“ (1961), hnutí v Albany (1961-1962), přijetí Jamese Mereditha na univerzitu v Mississippi (1962) a hnutí v Birminghamu (1963).

Mladí studenti v Greensboro svými „sit-ins“ ukázali, jak absurdní je systém segregace-mohli platit na jednom místě, ale nebyli obslouženi spolu s bílými spoluobčany. Toto hnutí vyvolalo celou vlnu protestů po celém jihu a zapříčinilo, že se přímá akce stala módou. Zároveň bylo zajímavé tím, že například oproti bojkotu v Montgomery, kdy cíle bylo dosaženo nevyužíváním segregovaných autobusů, v Greensboro a dalších městech byli aktivisté neustále přítomní v zařízeních, která chtěli desegregovat. Díky protestům v kostelech, motelech, kavárnách, knihovnách a na dalších veřejných místech, skoro dvě stovky měst začaly desegregovat. Dojem v médiích udělalo také vzezření protestujících udělalo; prezentovali se jako slušní lidé, kteří žádají jen to, na co mají logicky právo. Avšak na hlubokém Jihu rasistická zeď pořád stála.

„Freedom Rides“ (1961) vznikly na základě toho, že i přes rozhodnutí Nejvyššího soudu o zákazu segregace v mezistátní dopravě a dopravních zařízeních, byli Afroameričané stále oddělováni od bílého obyvatelstva či bití, pokud chtěli v mezistátní dopravě využívat stejná zařízení jako běloši. Aby vyzkoušeli, jak se dodržuje nařízení Nejvyššího soudu, se James Farmer a další aktivisté rozhodli projet Jih Spojených států, aby donutili prezidenta Kennedyho k přímému zásahu proti nedodržování rozhodnutí Nejvyššího soudu v případě *Boynton vs. Virginie*, které upřesnilo zákaz diskriminace v mezistátní dopravě. Aktivisté počítali s tím, že rasisté na hlubokém Jihu vytvoří krizi, která donutí administrativu jednat. Tak se také stalo. V Annistonu a Birminghamu (Alabama) došlo k hromadným útokům na autobusy, ve kterých aktivisté cestovali. Kennedy byl nucen zasáhnout. I přes jeho snahu zabránit pokračování jízdy podle stanoveného plánu trasy, nová skupina dobrovolníků zamířila z Birminghamu (Alabama) do Jacksonu v Mississippi. Na hranicích státu Mississippi opět došlo ke konfliktu a prezident Kennedy byl nucen zasáhnout. Když dorazili do Jacksonu, žádné násilí neproběhlo, místní policie je rovnou odvedla do věznic za rušení veřejného pořádku. Avšak díky tomuto hnutí Kennedy přinutil Mezistátní obchodní komisi, aby zrušila segregaci v mezistátní i vnitrostátní dopravě. Tato událost vedla Kennedyho také k tomu, aby přesměroval aktivity organizací na registraci černošských voličů, tím přinutil státy, aby se začaly více starat o problémy černošské menšiny.

Albany bylo klidné město, ve kterém jeho černošští obyvatelé vůbec neprotestovali proti zvyklostem segregace. Avšak veteráni z jiných hnutí přišli probudit celou černošskou komunitu na hlubokém Jihu, aby porazili rasismus tamních bělochů. Po dlouhém váhání se černoši v Albany rozhodli pro protest. Studenti, kteří se jej účastnili byli vyloučeni z univerzity. Protestující naplnili místní věznice, ale tato situace nezbudila dostatečně velký rozruch na to, aby přilákala pozornost médií a donutila tak Kennedyho jednat. Dalším klíčovým problémem bylo, že taktika mírového protestu zde nefungovala. Kdyby se byli zaměřili více na bojkot místních obchodů, mohli dosáhnout nějakých ústupků, ale jelikož místní černoši nebyli voliči, tak politický tlak nebyl příliš silný. I přes tuto porážku, přineslo hnutí i jiné výsledky-místní černoši už nebyli tak povolní k systému segregace. Kromě toho, vzrostl význam „freedom songs,” které udržovaly ducha a morálku celého boje proti segregaci.

Naproti tomu, boj Jamese Mereditha za to, aby se jako první černoch dostal na univerzitu Ole Miss v Mississippi, vzbudil dostatečnou pozornost Kennedyho vlády. A nejen to. V tomto případě se nejednalo jen o to, dostat černošského studenta na univerzitu, ale šlo hlavně o zachování důstojnosti Nejvyššího soudu a samotného prezidenta. Až na čtvrtý pokus se Jamesi Meredithovi podařilo zapsat na univerzitu Ole Miss. Toto zdržení bylo hlavně díky ješitnému guvernérovi Barnettovi, který si, jako zapřísáhlý rasista, chtěl zachovat přízeň svých voličů. Vždy, když Meredith učinil pokus o zapsání, narazil na davy protestujících bělochů. Až v době, kdy Robert Kennedy pohrozil tím, že zveřejní záznamy hovorů, kde se Barnett snaží vyjednávat podmínky, za kterých by byl ochoten ustoupit, Barnett povolil. Tato událost nebyla ani tak bojem proti aktivistům, jako spíše vzpoura proti Kennedyho vládě a Nejvyššímu soudu.

Rok 1963 měl být stým výročím Emancipačního prohlášení, ve kterém byli všichni otroci osvobozeni. A nejen to, touto dobou již většina afrických zemí byla svobodná, ale černoši v Americe, stále neměli patřičnou legislativu zabraňující zneprávnění. Aktivisté hnutí za občanská práva černochů potřebovali vytvořit krizi, aby konečně donutili Kennedyho vydat legislativu, která by zrušila segregaci. Rozhodli se proto vytvořit přímý konflikt s rasisty. Pro tuto akci si vybrali Birmingham, který byl znám jako nejsegregovanější a nejnebezpečnější město Jihu. Dobyť Birminghamu by znamenalo, že Jih by konečně musel přijmout integraci. Pro začátek protestu si vybrali duben, kvůli blížícím se Velikonocím. Nejen, že to bylo důležité z hlediska duchovního, ale i ekonomického, protože tím značně snížili tržby obchodníků. I přes zákaz protestovat na veřejnosti, Martin Luther King neuposlechl a posléze byl odveden do vězení. Protest v Birminghamu dosáhl vrcholu, když byly při protestu napadeny děti. Celý národ i svět mohl skrze televizní obrazovky vidět, jak místní policisté pouští psy na aktivisty, mezi nimiž byly z velké části děti, vodní děla jim trhají oblečení a jak jsou posléze odvedeni do vězení. Svědomí Američanů se probudilo. Kennedy byl nyní opravdu donucen jednat. V Birminghamu byla přijata dohoda, která zajistila desegregaci veřejných prostranství, nediskriminační přístup v zaměstnávání, propuštění zadržených protestujících a vytvoření komise pro řešení konfliktů mezi oběma stranami. Úspěch Birminghamu vzbudil naději po celé zemi, když mohlo být dosaženo urovnání v takové baště segregace, tak to bylo možné i kdekoliv jinde. Zvedla se

vlna voličských registrací a kampaní po celém jihu. Bylo zaznamenáno skoro osm set demonstrací v dalších městech.

Kennedy již nemohl dále čekat, poslal Kongresu návrh zákona, který zakázal segregaci na většině veřejných míst. 28.srpna roku 1963 zesílil tlak na přijetí zákona, když 200 tisíc lidí pochodovalo Washingtonem a požadovalo, aby byla tato legislativa přijata. Po atentátu na Kennedyho, byl návrh uzákoněn 2.července 1964, poté, co jej podepsal prezident Lyndon B. Johnson. Ale i přesto museli Afroameričané demonstrovat v Selmě, aby dosáhli zrovnoprávnění i při registraci k volbám. Prezident Johnson pak v roce 1965 podepsal zákon zakazující diskriminaci černošských voličů.

Hnutí bylo ve druhé polovině šedesátých let více militantní a euforie pomalu vyprchala. Na hlubokém Jihu ještě není otázka rovnoprávnosti stále vyřešena, neboť mentalita lidí, která byla v této oblasti po desítky let, se změní až s dalšími generacemi, které budou méně zatíženy předsudky.

7 Annotation

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from 1960 until 1963

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This bachelor thesis focuses on the struggle for civil rights of African-Americans between the years 1960 and 1963, when the struggle was fiercest and the aim was integration of African-Americans. The aim of this thesis is to describe the history and causes of the movement at the beginning of the sixties. I focused on the main events of the movement which led to enactment of the two most important civil rights bills in the history of civil rights struggle.

Key words:

civil rights movement, African-Americans, protest, segregation, Greensboro, Freedom Rides, Albany, Ole Miss, Birmingham

Anotace

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Katedra a fakulta:	Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky, Filozofická fakulta
Název práce:	Hnutí za občanská práva Afroameričanů v letech 1960 až 1963
Vedoucí bakalářské práce:	PhDr. Matthew Sweney, M.A.
Počet příloh:	8
Počet titulů použité literatury:	32

V své práci jsem se zaměřila na hnutí za občanská práva Afroameričanů mezi roky 1960 až 1963, kdy byl boj nejintenzivnější a jeho hlavní myšlenkou byla integrace Afroameričanů. Cílem je popsat historii a příčiny, které vedly ke zniku tohoto hnutí na počátku šedesátých let. Zábývala jsem se také jednotlivými údalostmi, které vedly k přijetí dvou nejdůležitějších zákonů v boji za občanská práva.

Klíčová slova:

hnutí za občanská práva, Afroameričané, protest, segregace, Greensboro, Freedom Rides, Albany, Ole Miss, Birmingham

8 Appendices

Fig. 1



Marcus Garvey (1922)

Source:

"**Marcus Garvey.**" *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 9 Aug. 2010 <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/226276/Marcus-Moziah-Garvey>>.

Fig. 2



Rosa Parks sitting on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, 1956.

Source:

"Rosa Parks." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 9 Aug. 2010 <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/444180/Rosa-Parks>>.

Fig. 3



The Greensboro Four

Left to right: David Richmond, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair Jr., Joseph Mc Neill

Source:

Rebekah J. Kowal "Staging the Greensboro Sit-Ins." *TDR (1988-)* 48.4 (2004): 135-154. 7 Apr. 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4488599>>.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/4488599.pdf>

Fig. 4



Freedom Rides Bus Burned near Anniston 1961

Source:

<http://www.blackpast.org/?q=aah/freedom-rides-1961>

Fig.5



James Meredith, flanked by federal marshals, entering the University of Mississippi.

Source:

"James Meredith." Encyclopædia Britannica. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 10 Aug. 2010 <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/375972/James-Meredith>>.

Fig. 6



**Civil rights demonstrator being attacked by police dogs, May 3, 1963,
Birmingham, Alabama**

Source:

"Birmingham." Encyclopædia Britannica. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online.
13 Aug. 2010 <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/66649/Birmingham>>.

Fig.7



**Civil rights supporters carrying placards at the March on Washington, D.C.,
Aug. 28, 1963.**

Source:

"**March on Washington.**" *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010. Encyclopædia
Britannica Online. 13 Aug. 2010

<<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/636444/March-on-Washington>>.

Table 1

Occupation of Employed Persons by Race and Sex, 1950-1970^a

Occupation	Nonwhites					Whites				
	1950	1960	1966	1968	1970	1950	1960	1966	1968	1970
MALES										
Total percent. . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Prof., managerial . . .	4	5	9	10	13	20	23	28	29	30
Clerical, sales. . . .	4	7	8	9	9	14	15	13	13	13
Craftsmen.	8	11	11	13	14	20	22	20	21	21
Operatives, service . .	36	43	44	43	41	25	26	26	25	25
Laborers	24	22	20	18	17	7	6	6	6	6
Farmers, farm labor . .	24	12	8	7	6	14	8	7	6	5
Delta comparing occupa- tions of whites and nonwhites ^b	37	38	36	33	31					
FEMALES										
Total percent. . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Prof., managerial . . .	7	9	10	12	13	18	19	20	20	20
Clerical, sales. . . .	5	10	16	19	22	40	44	44	44	44
Craftsmen.	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Operatives, service . .	34	36	41	41	44	32	30	29	29	29
Pvt. household workers	42	39	28	24	18	4	4	4	4	4
Laborers	2	1	1	1	1	1
Farmers, farm labor . .	9	4	3	2	1	3	2	2	2	2
Delta comparing occupa- tions of whites and nonwhites ^b	53	47	38	33	30					

a-Figures for 1950 and 1960 refer to the week preceding the census enumeration. Data for other years refer to April of each year.

b-These indices are computed from a detailed distribution of eleven occupational categories.

Source: Daniel O. Price, Characteristics of the Negro Population (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969) Table IV-3; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, Vol. 13, No. 11 (May 1967), Table A-17; Vol. 14, No. 11 (May 1968), Table A-17; Vol. 16, No. 11 (May 1970), Table A-19; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960, PC(1)-1C, Table 88.

Source:

Reynolds Farley and Albert Hermalin. "The 1960s: A Decade of Progress for Blacks?." *Demography* 9.3 (1972): 353-370. 1 July 2010

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