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BLACK RIGHTS MOVEMENT, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT SITUATION
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.....
vlastnoruční podpis

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ABSTRACT

My bachelor thesis is divided into three main parts. The first one describes the situation before the main wave of the Black Rights Movement, a racial segregation as a term, and formation of the first organizations struggling for equality of African-Americans. Second part of the project deals with the movement itself, describing the main events and leaders of the movement, fight for desegregation of education and public facilities and for voting rights of African-Americans. The third and shortest part covers a processing of a questionnaire examining the knowledge of the problematic of the thesis among young people in the Czech Republic.

INTRODUCTION

The reason why I have chosen the theme of the Black Rights Movement as a topic of my bachelor thesis is that I have always been interested in history, and I consider a struggle for freedom of African-Americans in the United States very interesting and important period of the American history. African-Americans were not the only oppressed group of inhabitants, as the Native Americans were denied their civil rights much earlier and the Asian and Hispanic immigrant faced the oppression more recently.

I was astonished by the fact that at certain periods the American society treated African-Americans almost like animals, even though the whole world faces the prejudices against different races as well as towards different religion or sex even nowadays. However, I deny any kind of racial hatred and intolerance, as I think that everybody should have the same and equal rights, and while studying the topic of the Black Rights Movement deeper I confirmed myself in my attitude.

When reading the literature about the movement I have met with several interesting and touching stories of brave and determined people such as Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King and others. But as I wished to bring a new aspect to this much discussed problematic, I decided to make a research among young people in order to find out their knowledge about the Black Rights Movement.

1. Before the main wave of the movement

1.1 Segregation

According to Britannica, the term racial segregation is “the practice of restricting people to certain circumscribed areas of residence or to separate institutions (e.g., schools, churches) and facilities (parks, playgrounds, restaurants, restrooms) on the basis of race or alleged race” (Britannica.com, 2012).

After the end of slavery, all Southern states passed a legislation known as the Black Codes, which meant denial of the vote, possibility to testify against whites or serving on juries for freed slaves. After the Jim Crow laws legalization in 1876, the segregation applied to all public facilities (public schools, public places, restrooms, restaurants and drinking fountains, transportation etc.) (Tindall, Shi; 1996). Furthermore, “separate but equal” (Cliffnotes.com, 2012) doctrine was related to theatres, beaches and sport facilities very soon. However, the equality could be hardly found there. Black schools were given used textbooks and lab equipment from white schools and the school buildings were dilapidated (Cliffnotes.com, 2012). Black people were provided inferior services and thus they were confronted with the economical, educational and social disadvantages as well (Tindall, Shi; 1996).

1.2 The NAACP

In response to the terrible lynch practices and the Springfield race riot in 1908, the oldest civil rights organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed (NAACP.com, 2012). Its establishment was initiated by a group of black and white intellectuals and the majority of the black organizers were former members of earlier organization, the militant Niagara Movement (Morris, 1984). The NAACP itself was established on February 12, 1909, on the 100th anniversary of A. Lincoln’s birth. The document that was written by Oswald Garrison Villard, as an impulse of Mary White Ovington, William English Walling and Henry Moskowitz, was signed by various people (Hughes, 1962).

As Morris (1984) writes, the main tactics such as the persuasion and legal actions were the principals of the NAACP’s attempt to gain the equality for blacks. Using the press releases, pamphlets, speeches and lobbying, the founders strove for change of public opinion on the

blacks. The official organ was *The Crisis*. One of the impressive legal victories was in 1915 the invalidation of the “grandfather clause” (Morris, 1983, p. 2) which discouraged the most of the Southern blacks to vote, or Supreme Court case success in 1927, that was connected with the start of the legal fight against the all-white primary (Morris, 1984).

It is necessary to mention the organization’s close bonds to the black church, as in the South the NAACP was provided finance mainly by the church. In addition, many of the local leaders of the NAACP were priests (Morris, 1984).

1.3 Situation before and during the 1920s

De Freitas (2012) claims that the segregation was a violent and dynamic caste system which enabled whites to “keep blacks in their place”(De Freitas, 2012). Black people, especially soldiers, sensed the chance to fight indignities connected with the white racial supremacy in war. However, between 1918 and 1919, blacks were involved in strikes that burst out the whole America. In case of organizing the struggles, blacks demanded a membership in unions. Nevertheless, racist leaders of the American Federation of Labor forbade the blacks and non-craft labour to enter the membership. According to this policy, the wages of the unions members were depressed. This arrangement was called “Negro pay” (De Freitas, 2012).

African-Americans were isolated and faced the lynch mobs that were set off to control the Black rebellion (De Freitas, 2012). Despite these facts, during the early and mid 1920s Black Nationalist and separatist organizations were formed. Marcus Garvey led the largest of them, the Universal Negro Association (UNIA).

At the same time the Ku Klux Klan stated they had 4-5 million white members. Blacks constantly faced the unemployment that even increased during the time of depression (1929-1933), as De Freitas (2012) states.

1.4 Role of the black church, the great migration

Morris (1984) claims that the black church was the institutional centre of the modern civil rights movement, as the movement was provided with a mass base by the church, an institutionalized financial base, a leadership of clergymen, and places where the masses met

and planned their tactics and strategies. Black church supplied the movement with an important enthusiasm and thus the black church, being an indigenous black-controlled institution, established its role as an independent component of the movement.

One of the main sources of the indisputable position of the black church in the movement was the great migration of the black people to urban areas between 1910 and 1960. The migration caused an enormous growth of the urban church. According to Morris (1984, p.5) “in 1930 the Negroes of Atlanta constituted 33 percent of the total population but owned 57.5 percent of the churches”. Similar situation was to be seen in Birmingham, where 38 percent of black people had 53 percent of the total number of churches. Similar, though slightly lower numbers were found in New Orleans, Richmond, Charleston and Memphis (Morris, 1984). The great migration between 1940 and 1960 caused for example the increase in black population in Montgomery and Birmingham by 40 and 84 percent, respectively.

Southern blacks, who were newly urbanized, established very close ties with the institution of the church. The church offered the migrants a help to facilitate the shift from rural to urban life and it provided them with an alternative to the racism and unfavourable relations existing in the larger communities of town. While the urban churches became an organization with a tremendous power, the black church ministers gained the power due to their charisma. Charismatic ministers were demanded because they were able to command the respect and support through their character (Morris, 1984). One of the most charismatic men was Martin Luther King, Jr., who will be discussed further below.

1.5 Civil rights movement organizations in the 1940s

The formation of the Negro March on Washington, in 1941, was de facto a reaction to the hiring practices in military industries that discriminated the black workers. This movement held huge rallies in churches and union halls across America. Although the march itself never took place, the important victory of this movement was a government demand for law which would forbid a racial discrimination in factories with war production (De Freitas, 2012). Brisbane (1983) writes that the World War II gave job opportunities to black people, as workers were needed in industry. This improved the financial situation of African-Americans. It also encouraged self-confidence of the black population, and De Freitas (2012) considers

the legacy of the organization as an invaluable proof of organizational skills for the late black rights movement in 1950s and 1960.

Another organization connected with the civil rights movement was the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), established in 1942. One of the principal founders was James Farmer, who became its National Director later on in 1961. This organization was interracial from its beginning and the black membership was even smaller than the white one (Morris, 1984). CORE members were usually held pacifist ideas and principles. Tindall and Shi (1996) describe how several CORE black and white people took a two-week bus trip through the South. They rode public transportation in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky. The non-violent action, during which the blacks rode buses in the front part and the whites in the rear or they sat side by side, was held to challenge the segregation laws. The participants of this event were arrested and imprisoned and thus the public was attracted, and several similar actions took place. Later Freedom Rides in 1960s were inspired by these events (Tindall, Shi; 1996).

2. The Black Rights Movement (1955-1968)

2.1 The beginnings of the movement

Period before the black rights movement itself was characterized by “the tripartite system of racial domination” of whites over blacks, as Morris (1984) claims, and it was the Southern whites who set up this type of system. White people were privileged whereas blacks were suffering. Black people in the South were controlled economically, politically, and personally through this structure of society.

To describe the oppression in the economic part, Morris (1984) writes that at least 75 percent of black men were employed in unskilled jobs, such as porters, janitors, cooks, and common labourers during the 1950s, while only about 25 percent of white people occupied such jobs. In addition, Morris (1984, p. 1) states that “in the typical Southern city approximately 50 percent of black women in the labour force were domestics, while slightly less than 1 percent of white women were employed as domestics”. Average income of non-white family was about 54 percent of money earned by the white one.

Political oppression was connected with systematic exclusion of African-Americans from the political life. There were several general rules that affected the life of black inhabitants. Morris (1984) mentions there were no black officials in cities and state governments that related to the poll-tax; there were all-white primaries, intimidation, the grandfather clause, and violent disfranchisement.

Segregation excluded black people from the rest of human race, and by compulsion to use separate schools, waiting rooms, toilets, parks, drinking fountains, etc., the blacks were labelled as inferior. It was not only separation; the segregation defined behaviour between blacks and whites. Morris (1984) says that segregation was a personal form of oppression and he describes it as the Southern government’s iron fist.

Another proof of the segregation of schools can be seen in shorter formal schooling of black children, who were provided education of worse quality than for white pupils.

In spite of the injustice committed on black people, segregation in urban areas of the South had some positive features as well. They were in closer contact with schoolteachers, clergymen, doctors and lawyers, due to the fact that they were forced to live closer to social institutions. It was even easier to develop some black institutions and build communities for blacks.

2.2 Desegregation of education

In 1930s, the NAACP decided to inspect the theory of being “separate but equal” (Tindall, Shi; 1996, p. 677), which set up the segregation itself in 1896. Nevertheless, protests against the decision of the Supreme Court were raised in 1950s (Tindall, Shi; 1996).

2.2.1 Brown v. Board of Education

In relation to Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka case which was debated in the Supreme Court in 1952, there occurred five cases cited in Kansas, Delaware, South Carolina, Virginia, and Columbia district. Earl Warren, president of the Supreme Court, stated that the “separate but equal” doctrine had not its place in the public schooling (Tindall, Shi; 1996). Brisbane (1983) writes that there were more than fifteen hundred blacks attending universities and professional schools in the South by mid 1953.

First reactions of white Southern population were calm but not for a long time. President Eisenhower refused to force Southern whites to obedience, and while the frontier states were becoming integrated since 1954, the South was turning into enmity, which led to establishment of the White Citizens’ Councils (Tindall, Shi; 1996).

2.2.2 Opposition against integration of education

2.2.2.1 Second decision in Brown case

May 31, 1955, produced the second decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka case. Brisbane (1983, p. 24) says that “the Court modified its 1954 decree with the concession that local situations required locally devised programs to comply with the law”. Due to the concession, district courts were assigned to enforce the decision about segregation with “all deliberate speed” (Brisbane, 1983, p. 24). This command entailed postponing the desegregation as long as possible.

2.2.2.2 Closure of schools

To prevent desegregation, the public school system in Virginia decided to close the schools by the beginning of 1958. Scholarship plans and private schools financed by the state were endangered by closure even before Virginia was charged to restore the education system. In order to avoid desegregation, states in the South continued closing schools until 1960 (Brisbane, 1986).

2.2.2.3 The White Citizens' Council

In response to the first Supreme Court decision in Brown case, there was a meeting in Indianola, Mississippi, arranged by a group of fourteen white people. As many chapters of the White Citizens' Council expanded through the South, an Association of Citizens' Councils was formed. Moreover, there were other similar associations of segregationists. Brisbane (1983) mentions, for instance, the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the State Rights Councils, the Pro-Southerners, and the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation.

All these organizations were united into one interstate movement, which was established on December 29, 1955, by James O. Eastland. It was named the Federation for Constitutional Government and its aim was to preserve America under the government of constitutional form (Brisbane, 1986).

In March 1956, 101 Congress members signed the document, known as the Southern Manifesto that accused the Court of abuse of authority (Tindall, Shi; 1996). In addition, Brisbane (1986) claims that the document stated that public-school systems faced up revolutionary changes regardless the Court's decision and it did not demand congressional action.

2.2.2.4 Little Rock

In September 1957, Governor Orval Faubus called up the National Guard to prevent entering of nine black students to Little Rock's Central High School. These students were ordered to visit the school by a federal court and Faubus' refusal was the first case of disobedience

expressed by the authority (Tindall, Shi; 1996). In addition, in case of breaking the Faubus' protest he menaced the city with violence. Despite of this threat, eight of the nine black students appeared at school on the first day of school. They were taken out immediately by the Arkansas National Guard. The ninth student, a black girl, was nearly lynched, because she came alone. She was saved by a reporter, who was then attacked by a mob of white women as well.

Another attempt to integrate Central High School was held on September 23 and Brisbane (1986) says that it had taken three hours and thirteen minutes. After that, nine black children were sent home, while the crowd were attacking black people in the city. President Eisenhower was asked for help by the city mayor, and the nine black students were accompanied to and from school by federal troops for certain time (Brisbane, 1986). Thousand parachutists were called up and soldiers stayed in the city for the rest of the school year. Nevertheless, mass resistance focused on other Southern states, where the integration was allowed not even partly, as Tindall and Shi, 1996, write.

As the end of 1955 had been approaching, the Southern blacks were full of spirit of rebellion. Even though the movement did not have any formal organization, some leadership became evident. Black people were determined to fight the violence by violence until Martin Luther King, Jr., emerged as a leading figure (Brisbane, 1986).

2.3 The person of Martin Luther King, Jr.

He was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. Most of his black American contemporaries suffered the hardships and want while he could grow up in a relatively comfortable environment. Martin Luther's father was a pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church and belonged to open-hearted leaders of Atlanta's black leadership. His parents and grandmother lead him to the attitude that he is somebody important. He was so sensitive that he thought of children of the blacks he saw in Atlanta's breadlines (Oates, 1993).

King went through his childhood without straight racial conflicts in general. He was always told not to feel inferior. His opinions and attitudes to the racial problem were affected by his parents. King's father was a strict gruff man who brought up his children to disciplined way of life, nevertheless, he has never implanted a racial intolerance in his children (Rysková, 1988). On the other hand, Oates (1993) writes about Martin Luther's anger and hate for the whites as he had to drink from a water fountain appointed for blacks or while watching black

people being beaten in the streets. The segregation caused a contradiction in a boy, between his parents' rule and a system which put down him. He even vowed not to become a preacher to indicate a wilful attitude to his father.

With an entrance to Morehouse College in Atlanta, by the age of fifteen, he had decided about his future job. Even though he has been already practising trial speeches for his juridical career, he has chosen the same walk of life like his father, thanks to Morehouse President who convinced him that to be a Baptist preacher could be a respectable way of spreading his ideas as well. Having gained a bachelor's degree, he went to Philadelphia to study at Crozer Seminar where he kept on thinking of black's situation. While studying a history of slave's uprising Martin Luther King respected the fact that a conflict of a minority with armed majority would be thoughtless. However, voluntary segregated society sounded as inadmissibly as an agreement with the status quo to him (Oates, 1993). According to Rysková (1988), Martin Luther was interested in philosophy. His intention was not only momentary. He studied antic philosophers as much as Rousseau or Hobbes.

Likewise some other blacks, King had been attracted by teaching of Mohandas Gandhi, who gave a practical application to Thoreau's essay titled On Civil Disobedience, and who professed a nonviolent resistance. Gandhi stated for strikes, boycotts or protest marches leaded non-violently and based on love for the oppressor, in faith in divine justice. Gandhi's theory revealed King a possibility how to fight with anger and hate in a positive and creative manner (Oates, 1993).

Having finished the Crozer Seminar as the best student, King continued in postgraduate studies at the University of Boston. A theory of personalism influenced his thoughts a lot. There were many black students in Boston in those days. Governments and social foundations of southern states paid their scholarships if they wanted to study in the north. That was the paradox. But the reason for it was to postpone a desegregation of education, mainly at universities in the south (Rysková, 1988).

By the end of 1953, while he was finishing his studies, King had to decide whether to stay at the university or to return back home as was his father's wish. He decided to accept the post of a preacher in Montgomery, Alabama. In March 1954 he became a preacher of Dexter Baptist Church (Rysková, 1988).

2.4 Beginnings of boycotts

2.4.1 The Baton Rouge bus boycott

Morris (1984) claims that Jim Crow laws system divided all public buses into “white part” in the front and “colored part” in the back of the vehicle. Blacks were supposed to stand, when the “colored section” was full, even if there were empty seats in the front. Bus system in Baton Rouge was financed mainly by blacks, income of the bus company was made from two-thirds by the black fares. Black activists reached a small victory in March 1953, when the City Council permitted the called Ordinance 222, that enabled black people to sit wherever they wanted. As the bus drivers refused to respect the order, they started the strike. As a result, the ordinance was later proclaimed illegal.

The mass bus boycott in Baton Rouge started in June 1953, its leader became the Reverend T. J. Jemison, and the boycott lasted ten days. During those days, there were massive meetings held at nights. Transportation problem was solved by “free car lift” offered by the black community. Blacks did not pay any fares. Thus the main tactic of the movement was the economic boycott (Morris, 1984).

The Baton Rouge boycott movement were run by the black church and by an organization formed to control the bus boycott, the United Defense League (UDL). Representatives of the UDL and white power structure in Baton Rouge reached an agreement, a compromise, which “stipulated that the two side front seats be reserved for whites while the long rear seat be reserved for blacks. All the remaining seats were to be filled on a first-come-first-served basis” (Morris, 1984, p. 24).

2.5 Montgomery Bus Boycott

Before the boycott itself started, a group of black women formed the Women’s Political Council of Montgomery (WPC), in 1949, to organize the black community and influence a modification of Jim Crow laws in public transportation (Burns, 2008).

In March 1955, a fifteen year old girl, Claudette Colvin, was arrested as she refused to stand up of a bus seat and provide it to a white passenger. In August, a fourteen year old boy, Emmet Till, was brutally lynched in Mississippi. Another black woman was arrested for not giving up her seat.

2.5.1 Rosa Parks arrest

On December 1, 1955, a forty-two years old tailor assistant, Rosa Parks, from Montgomery, left work and got on bus to go home. Since she refused to give up her seat in the filled whites-only part of the bus, she was arrested. Her act started one year long bus boycott. Her brave deed was considered to be only one bus ride (Williams, 2005). In fact, she served as a secretary in local NAACP chapter (Burns, 2008), and her name was also connected with the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.

According to Garrow (1988), Mrs Parks' case was used by E. D. Nixon and Clifford Durr, to initiate the boycott itself. There was an ordinance in Montgomery segregation law, according which Mrs Parks could not be sentenced for her refusal, because there was no other available place to move on the bus.

The president of WPC, Jo Ann Robinson, acquainted with the situation, spent a night over the leaflets, which announced the start of the bus boycott in Montgomery, on December 5, 1955, the day of Rosa Parks' trial (Burns, 2008). In addition, Martin Luther King, Jr. and his later friend Ralph Abernathy, promised to participate.

2.5.2 The bus boycott

African-American people travelled by taxis, walked or hitchhiked on their way to work or to school on December 5. Garrow (1988) states, the WPC members were aware of loss of their jobs, and there was no other organization, besides the NAACP, which would have sufficient power to run the boycott. So a new organization, The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), was formed by black leaders, headed by Dr. King, elected as its president.

White opposition thought that the boycott would not last a long time, and the white community stuck together, as the White Citizens' Council spread. But there were people as Virginia and Clifford Durr, or Juliette Hampton Morgan, who endorsed the black rights movement (Burns, 2008).

While the boycott continued and about 40,000 blacks of Montgomery supported it, the MIA set up a new transportation system. The officials of the city were not willing to accept the MIA demands. Furthermore, the city set the so called "get tough" (Burns, 2008) policy, during which King was arrested for speeding, and his house was bombed. Vox (2012) writes about another four bombings in African-American churches.

At the beginning of 1956, economy of the city was affected by the boycott, as the bus company got closer to bankrupt. However, city officials did not want to give up, even though the bus company thought about accepting some of the demands, given by the black community. In addition, more than one hundred people, including King, were unjustly accused of boycotting the bus company (Sitkoff, 1993).

In June 1956, Alabama's bus segregation laws were proclaimed unconstitutional, as they violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision was enforced by the Supreme Court in November, and the end of the bus boycott was approved by the MIA. The city even issued an order that made the transportation system illegal, but the injunction was late (Burns, 2008). Finally, on December 17, the last appeal of the city was denied, and on December 21, 1956, the Montgomery bus boycott achieved its aim, and buses were desegregated. Martin Luther King rode the bus beside the white man, Glenn Smiley (Garrow, 1988).

2.6 The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Sitkoff (1993) claims, that many Southern cities found inspiration in Montgomery events. Morris (1984) mentions bus boycotts in Tallahassee or Birmingham. Moreover, the information about African-Americans' actions spread not only in the USA, but also abroad. As America was a world power, to be seen as a state with ideal democratic control and human rights was the most significant thing (Sitkoff, 1993).

In 1957, a new organization was established by black leaders. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference held its first meeting on January 10 and 11 in Atlanta. Working papers, prepared by Bayard Rustin in advance, were discussed at the meeting. It was clarified that "the local protest movements broke from the legal strategies of the past and initiated the new period of mass confrontation", as Morris (1984, p. 84) writes. Nonviolent way of action was emphasized in these documents, and they also summarized the importance of the black church in the mass confrontation. Additionally, the documents called for the supply for the NAACP, as the organization was threatened. Martin Luther King was elected president of the SCLC, and because of his courage, patience, pride, intellect, and his speaking skills, he was beloved by the black people of the South and North (Brisbane, 1983). He gave them hope and there was no place for the violence against blacks anymore.

Nonviolent methods of fighting with segregation in Montgomery inspired many cities, and about 70 thousand blacks participated in protest marches, strikes. According to Brisbane (1983), there were 110 cities in the Southern and frontier states that desegregated public places by August 1961.

2.7 Sit-ins

By the beginning of 1960, approximately seventy cities were involved in students' sit-ins demonstrations. Nevertheless, Morris (1984) also claims, those early sit-ins were organized even between 1957 and 1960. While the desegregation of restaurants, and lunch counters was still out of sight, blacks felt degraded, as children could not visit the same schools as whites did, and they were not allowed to vote (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.7.1 Sit-in in Greensboro

On February 1, 1960, four black students from North Carolina went to the Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro. They sat in the part designated for whites, and insisted on not leaving until being served by the waiting staff. Their attempt failed, but about fifty student leaders affiliated to them at the campus and they formed the Student Executive Committee for Justice. They agreed on keeping a passive and nonviolent attitude. Demonstrations continued until attempts to negotiate with whites took places. Nevertheless, whites refused to accept demands presented by blacks. On April 1, protests started again. Whites persisted in resistance until August 1960, when the black customers were finally served, Sitkoff (1993) claims.

Sit-ins in Greensboro inspired many places in the South. Tindall and Shi (1996) mention organizing similar actions in churches, kneel-ins, or wade-ins in public swimming pools. Despite of the attacks, black protesters refused any protection, and many of them were killed. Brisbane (1983) writes about jail-in policy, which meant that imprisoned students stayed in jail, rather than to pay fines. In fact there were about 70 thousand black and white people who participated in protests by August 1961.

While students were being arrested, more and more Southern cities arranged demonstrations. The nonviolent policy was held by all Southern blacks. Unfortunately, some white racists and KKK demonstrated their disagreement by attacking black protesters with guns, knives and

chains. Sitkoff (1993) states, that the police used dogs and tear gas against women and children.

2.7.2 Protests in Atlanta

Sit-in protests reached Atlanta in March 1960, after the students of Atlanta University got the information about Greensboro. Two of the leaders, Julian Bond and Roslyn Pope, decided to publish a document entitled “An Appeal for Human Rights” (Garrow, 1988, p. 171). Blacks demanded desegregation of public facilities, such as theatres, concert halls, and restaurants, they asked for the voting rights for blacks, and equal education, employment and housing. They called for better health care as well. Not only sit-ins were organized in Atlanta. There were meetings arranged in motel lobbies called sleep-ins, read-ins in libraries, play-ins in parks, or even watch-ins in cinemas (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.7.2.1 The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

In April 1960, a former student of Shaw University in Raleigh, Ella Baker, initiated an establishment of a new organization that would unite all the Southern sit-in protesters. The first meeting of a future gathering was held on April 15 and 16, and the conference attracted about two hundred students (Garrow, 1988).

According to Sitkoff (1993), the Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was formed as an independent organization with its headquarters in Atlanta, although Morris (1984) claims that the SCLC’s leaders expected students would become a youth wing of the SCLC. Later, in October, the word “temporary” was removed from the title, and the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee was finally born as a permanent organization. Brisbane (1988) writes that its major aim was to achieve a full racial equality by using nonviolent tactics.

2.8 The Freedom Rides

In 1960, the decision of the Supreme Court in *Boynton v. Virginia* case, ordered desegregation of interstate travel facilities, including all accommodations (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.8.1 The First Freedom Ride

A project, which attracted the attention of organizations and segregationist of the South, was initiated by CORE. It took place during 1961 (Morris, 1984): The Freedom Ride.

According to Sitkoff (1993), the First Freedom Ride was organized by James Farmer, who took inspiration from the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation. Garrow (1988) writes that the ride of a small integrated group was planned to start in Washington, by the beginning of May, while it would end in New Orleans, on May 17, the anniversary of Brown decision. President Kennedy was informed about the CORE's intention in advance. Then, on May 4, seven blacks and six whites sat on two buses, ran by a Greyhound and a Trailways. The Freedom Riders travelled southward without many problems, until one man was refused to be served in a barbershop, in Charlotte. Then John Lewis and Albert Bigelow were attacked in a white waiting room in South Carolina. The police did not intervene in the aggression as far as a woman was assaulted. Another trouble came in Winnsboro, where a pacifist white man and a black student were arrested for sitting in a white snack counter (Sitkoff, 1993).

On May 14, one of the two buses was attacked by a white mob, outside Anniston, Alabama. Garrow (1988) states, that the attack was expected by Farmer. Only the police intervention helped the bus to escape. Nevertheless, the mob followed the bus in cars and flung a bomb into the bus. As local hospitals refused to give a medical treatment to the participants, injured Freedom Riders were helped by armed caravan of cars from Birmingham, lead by Reverend Shuttlesworth (Sitkoff, 1993). While arriving to Birmingham, the Freedom Riders were expected by a white mob of forty people. According to Vox (2012), the KKK members attacked the second bus, as the local police agreed on giving them fifteen minutes with protesters alone.

Despite of the unpleasant situation, the Freedom Riders did not give up and continued the ride to Montgomery (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.8.2 The Second Freedom Ride

On May 15, the Freedom Riders decided to finish the ride, but there was no bus willing to take them, so that they had to fly to New Orleans instead (Vox, 2012). Garrow (1988) writes that the Second Freedom Ride from Nashville to Birmingham, prepared by a group of ten activists, mainly the members of the SNCC, started on May 17. However, riders were arrested by Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor by their arrival to Birmingham (Garrow,

1988, p. 156). Morris (1984) mentions a SNCC leader, Diana Nash, who insisted on not stopping the rides, despite the fact that the Freedom Riders were in danger. According to Sitkoff (1993), she even drove the riders, left on the Alabama-Tennessee frontier by Commissioner Connor, back to Birmingham, from where the riders continued the ride to Montgomery, on May 20.

When the bus reached the Montgomery station the next day, instead of police officers there was a white mob with baseball clubs and chains, prepared to beat the riders. The police arrived after fifteen minutes. Meanwhile the MIA activists with Ralph Abernathy were helping the protesters (Garrow, 1988).

Sitkoff (1992) says that the inactivity of the police and white mobs attacks in Montgomery provoked the interest of mass media in America and abroad. According to Garrow (1988), Robert Kennedy was disconcerted that the police officials broke their promise to protect the riders. He ordered a federal court injunction that forbade the KKK and other gangs to terrorize the riders.

On May 21, King got the information about the situation, and announced a rally, supported by the MIA. Sitkoff (1993) writes that about twelve hundred people came to Abernathy's First Baptist Church. Some blacks, standing outside the church, were attacked by a larger white mob. Even though the Federal troops disturbed the assault, using tear gas, the white mob was uncontrollable (Garrow, 1988). While the troops dispersed the mob, the assembly inside the church was ordered not to leave the church until the next morning, as Sitkoff (1993) states.

Discussing the next step of the movement, King, Abernathy, Farmer, and two student leaders, John Lewis and Diana Nash, decided that the ride would continue. Two buses from Montgomery to Jackson, Mississippi, were accompanied by the police cars. The ride was ordered to take a "cooling-off period" (Sitkoff, 1993, p. 98). In connection with this interruption, King stated that the ride had lost its sense, as the buses were heavily protected.

Then, in Atlanta, a meeting of King with the SCLC, the CORE, the SNCC, the Nashville movement, and the National Student Association representatives agreed on continuation of the Freedom Rides until the integration of interstate transportation safe for blacks would be reached (Garrow, 1988).

On May 29, the President Kennedy announced the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) had to approve stricter regulations for buses and facilities refusing the integration (Vox, 2012).

As Garrow (1988) states the order of the ICC became effective on November 1, 1961. The interstate transportation system was finally desegregated (Brisbane, 1983).

2.9 Voter registration for blacks

The desegregation of interstate transportation meant that all leaders of the movement decided to come up with new goals. Sitkoff (1993) writes that The Southern Regional Council was concerned about voting rights of blacks for several years. The SRC was introduced with the Justice Department's interests in enfranchisement of blacks. Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, hoped the voter registration would solve the Southern problems. While he met with the CORE, the SCLC, the SNCC and the National Student Association (NSA) representatives, they agreed the voter registration would be more successful than demonstrations. The Justice Department officials offered a financial support, and they also indicated protection for black voters and civil-right workers (Sitkoff, 1993).

Timothy Jenkins from the NSA suggested that students stop the demonstrations and to register instead. Students divided into two factions. The first, led by Marion Barry and Diane Nash, insisted on non-violent strategy. The second faction insisted that the enfranchisement would be profit for the struggle, although the group sympathized with Kennedy. The factions' attitudes differed until James Forman was elected the SNCC's head. He persuaded the SCNN activists to divide into Direct Action Projects, led by Diane Nash, and Voter Registration, led by Charles Jones. In April 1962, a new Voter Education Project was formed, as the CORE, the NAACP, the SCLC and the Urban League joined with the SNCC (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.9.1 The situation in Mississippi

To compare the situation with the rest of the Southern states Sitkoff (1993) claims that only in Mississippi there were no sit-ins in 1960 and Alabama used its power to spoil the protests. Cozzens (1998) mentions that Mississippi was the poorest region of the whole States. Even 86 percent of non-white families lived under the national poverty line. The situation of the black voter registration was dreadful, as only 5 percent of blacks were allowed to vote, although there were 45 percent of black citizens in Mississippi. Initiator of a voter registration project

there was Bob Moses. The first Voter Registration School was opened on August 7, 1962, in Pike County. Blacks were taught how to vote and they were encouraged to visit registry offices.

Putting into jail, threatening, attacking, or torturing of blacks was a response of whites to the enfranchisement. They were even killing the activists, as Sitkoff (1993) states. Blacks who were working for whites and wanted to register were dismissed or their houses were bombed. According to Cozzens (1998), about 310 blacks overcame their worries and came to register office in Madison County. In two days, only seven black people were allowed to complete a test, and once they got in, they had to take another test which prevented blacks from becoming registered voters. While the most whites passed the test, regardless of their education, even blacks with doctoral degrees were not successful (Cozzens, 1998).

2.9.2 Albany

According to Morris (1984), in 1961, activists of the SNCC hesitated whether to be active in demonstrations or to sympathize with activities connected with the voter registration. In Albany, Georgia, the SNCC was involved in organizing the mass movement.

Two of the field secretaries of the SNCC, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagon, came to Albany in autumn 1961. Holliman (2009) claims that they arrived there to form a voter registration base, and to control the observance of the Interstate Commerce Commission order.

2.9.2.1 Albany Movement

The Albany Movement was established in November 1961 by the SNCC, the NAACP, the Ministerial Alliance, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Negro Voter's League, and other organizations (Morris, 1984). Holliman (2009) writes that the movement organized demonstrations because blacks were still being arrested for the bus and trains integration attempts. Morris (1984) states that the movement was determined to clear away all forms of racial segregation in Albany. Nevertheless, the number of arrested people was the highest there.

Garrow (1988) mentions a voluntary ride of eight Freedom Riders to Albany, who were forced to come out of the white waiting room at the train station. Outside they were arrested

for blocking the traffic and put in jail together with another activist, Charles Jones. In connection with their trial, a huge march on the city hall was organized. Garrow (1988) says that about 471 protesters were placed in detention.

In December 1961, the Albany Movement called for help from Martin Luther King. He led a march toward the city hall but the crowd was stopped even before they reached it. Hundreds of people were arrested again. The leaders decided to stay in jail, until the city would accept at least some of the demands (Garrow, 1988). Sitkoff (1993) claims that the city made a move, but promises given to blacks were circumvented. The movement's efforts lasted more than one year, nevertheless, by the end of 1962 there were still segregated schools, bus stations, libraries and swimming pools in Albany, and despite the campaign for enfranchisement, there were only a few who could vote (Sitkoff, 1993).

As the campaign failed in Albany because of Kennedy's attitude not to interfere in the white violate acts, King's non-violent policy aroused doubts amongst blacks (Sitkoff, 1993). On the other hand, Vox (2012) states that King used the experience from Albany later in Birmingham.

2.9.3 Birmingham actions

King came to Birmingham after Reverend Shuttlesworth invitation, as Birmingham was the most segregated city in the States. Only about ten thousand of total eighty-thousand of voters were black people. Blacks even nicknamed the city as "Bombingham" (Sitkoff, 1993, p. 120), because of the bombings and fires between 1957 and 1963. In addition, a racist police commissioner, Bull Connor, led the segregation defenders.

2.9.3.1 Project C

A secret plan called Project C was prepared by King together with the leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, Fred Lee Shuttlesworth, and the SCLC leaders. As Morris (1984) states the letter C in the title stood for confrontation with white power. The campaign was to start on April 3, 1963 (Sitkoff, 1993).

By organizing sit-ins in segregated lunch counters, the first phase of the project started. Followed by arrests, blacks continued in protests to attract the interest of news media.

According to Garrow (1988), there were six main aims to be achieved by the protests in Birmingham. The movement wanted desegregation of the store facilities, an equal opportunity to work in these facilities and in the government, then it sought for dismissal of all charges from previous protests, reopening of the closed recreation facilities, and, finally, an establishment of a biracial committee.

The plan continued with the second phase, marches on City Hall, led by Shuttlesworth and King's brother, Reverend A. D. King (Sitkoff, 1993). As Morris (1984) writes these events were nicknamed as B Day (B for Birmingham). In response, racial demonstrations were prohibited since April 10. However, King announced another march on City Hall to be held on Good Friday, April 12. He led a group of fifty blacks, accompanied by Ralph Abernathy and the blues singer Al Hibbler, who was blind. Connor ordered their arrest (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.9.3.2 King in prison

While King was imprisoned in Birmingham, he justified the black strive for freedom, writing a nineteen-page letter, addressed to blacks and whites who shared his ideas but had doubts about the tactics of the movement. An essay, known as "Letter from the Birmingham Jail", was reprinted in media throughout the States immediately. He stated blacks had no other alternative to show their attitude towards the white leadership and pointed out that blacks could not be requested to wait for desegregation and for equality anymore. He declared the segregation laws were humiliating for blacks and that they had the right to disobey them (Sitkoff, 1993). King said the first night in the Birmingham jail was for him "the longest, most frustrating and bewildering hours I have lived...I was besieged with worry" (Garrow, 1988, p. 243).

2.9.3.3 D Day

The movement was in a complicated situation. King and Abernathy were released from jail to launch the third phase of the Birmingham Project C. D Day went into effect on May 2, 1963, when hundreds of students from grammar schools, high school, and colleges were sent into jail (Morris, 1984). Prisons were almost filled up and Birmingham was in crisis but the masses created a collective power of the movement.

On May 3, there were thousands of students ready to protest and they gathered in headquarters of the movement. Bull Connor ordered to use dogs, baseball clubs and water hoses against them, as Morris, 1984, claims. Garrow (1988) writes that several students were arrested during a small march from Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. King was criticized for the encouraging children and young students, as moderates doubted the safety of children and the conservatives considered this tactics exploitative (Sitkoff, 1993).

President Kennedy was aroused by the pictures of violence in Birmingham appeared in newspapers. He wanted to bring the South into terms with as low harm for his policy as possible. Justice Department was ordered to convince both struggling sides to negotiate about a deal, as Sitkoff (1993) writes.

Nevertheless, the protests culminated on May 6 and 7, when the largest demonstrations took place. Sit-ins, pray-ins and picketing of students, accompanied by marches shouting freedom slogans provoked further brutal attacks and arresting again.

2.10 Desegregation of Alabama

Morris (1984) says that white businessmen agreed on negotiations with movement leaders, which took place late in the evening on May 7, 1962. Desegregation of lunch counters, rest and fitting rooms, drinking fountains, straighter employment opportunities, and formation of biracial committee in Alabama was thus finally declared (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.11 Consequences of desegregation

The victory of black community aroused dissatisfaction among whites. House of A. D. King as well as the Birmingham SCLC headquarters were bombed. On June 11, 1963, Medgar Evers, a field secretary of the Mississippi NAACP chapter, was killed. These incidents evoked new black power and new demonstrations (Sitkoff, 1993).

Blacks felt stronger as the segregation was defeated in Birmingham, Alabama. They assumed the desegregation could be reached in any other country or city. Even though Sitkoff (1993) claims that civil-rights organizations started a struggle for money between each other and became more militant, Morris (1984, p. 274) writes that “the Birmingham movement was successful because it was a carefully planned exercise in mass disruption. It generated unprecedented movement activity in both black community and segments of the white

community. It became clear to many people in 1963 that there is power in organized collective action”.

2.12 The March on Washington for Freedom and Jobs

According to De Freitas (2012), 1963 was probably the most pivotal year of black struggle for freedom. Partly for political reasons, President Kennedy had to react to the event of 1963 and he intervened into the situation. President’s Administration ordered the University of Alabama to admit two black students and Congress was asked to pass a civil-rights law abolishing the segregation of public facilities, as Sitkoff (1993) says.

On August 28, 1963, the March on Washington for Freedom and Jobs took place. It was the largest demonstration of the nation’s capital as about 250,000 protesters took part in the event (Ross, 2007). Firstly gathered at the Washington Monument, the rally, of which one quarter of it was white, paraded to the Lincoln Memorial. The event was accompanied by music performances and several speeches were included. Martin Luther King delivered the most famous one, called “I have a dream” (Ross, 2007).

The goals of the march were the passage of a legislation that would be meaningful for blacks, desegregation of public schools, the protection against police brutality, a public-works employment program and the passage of a law against racial discrimination in employment (Ross, 2007).

Sitkoff (1993) writes that Kennedy was afraid of deterioration of the march into a violent action, which might have worsened the possibility to pass the law, but the event was peaceful and Kennedy invited King with the leaders to the White House.

2.13 Malcom X

However, an opposition to the enthusiasm for the King’s speech in Washington and his non-violent policy appeared. James Baldwin, an African-American writer was not allowed to get a word at the Washington gathering, because he called for fight.

Malcom X, a controversial figure of the movement during 1950s and in the beginning of 1960s, considered the March on Washington a farce. Being a member of the Black Muslims he became one of its spokesmen, as he was a talented speaker. He refused the idea of black and white integration as well as the principle of non-violence being the only form of struggle

for African-American rights. In 1963 he represented a theory of radicalism and criticised moderate black leaders.

Malcom's radicalism did not arouse a great acclaim in 1963, though several demonstrations and riots of African-Americans took place during the summer of 1963 (Rysková, 1988).

2.14 Civil Rights Act of 1964

On November 22, 1963, J. F. Kennedy was assassinated. Lyndon Johnson became a new President and wanted to pass Kennedy's legislation plan in memory of the dead President (Vox, 2012). Sitkoff (1993) states that the Civil Rights Act was signed on July 2, 1964 and its adoption prohibited segregation in most public facilities. Discrimination in employment was also abolished, and a Community Relations Service, providing the financial and technical aid for desegregated schools, was formed.

2.15 The Nobel Peace Prize

In 1964, Martin Luther King was honoured for his efforts for the black rights movement. Rysková (1988, p. 83) claims he was "an apostle of nonviolence". In January he was declared A Man of the Year, as the first African-American man ever. Finally, on December 10, King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (Vox, 2012). Garrow (1988) says that King was the youngest person ever to be awarded by the Nobel Peace Prize, as he was only thirty-five years old.

2.16 The Mississippi Freedom Summer

The March on Washington propelled the SNCC and the CORE efforts to deal with the voter registration. As Mississippi was the poorest and most discriminated state of the country, the SNCC operated there to activate black people to struggle for equality (Sitkoff, 1993).

The Council of Federated Organizations, founded in 1962, organized the Freedom Vote. The aim of the Freedom Vote was to show that blacks wanted to vote and to give them practice, since many of them had never voted (Cozzens, 1998). Mock election was very successful as 93,000 blacks came to vote.

During the summer of 1964, volunteers were sent to Mississippi to run a voter registration campaign, known as The Mississippi Freedom Summer. The goal of the project were an

expansion of the black voter registration, a formation of Freedom Democratic Party, opposite to the whites-only Mississippi Democratic Party, also an establishment of freedom schools and centres providing legal and medical support for blacks. These goals were introduced by Bob Moses (Cozzens, 1998).

2.16.1 Opposition to the project

In response to the campaign, whites in Mississippi prepared a counteraction. The KKK chapter was organized in Mississippi. Violence spread through the city as the headquarters of civil-rights organizations were threatened by bombs and several black churches that were connected with the project were destroyed by fire (Sitkoff, 1993).

On August 4, 1964, dead bodies of three civil-rights workers were found in a dam near Philadelphia, Mississippi (Cozzens, 1998). The passive attitude of the city and police caused that blacks began to equip themselves with arms, as Sitkoff (1993) points out.

2.16.2 The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)

While the regular Mississippi Democratic Party prevented blacks from the voter registration and participation in conventions, the COFO established a new party: The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (Sitkoff, 1993). Convention organized by the MFDP chose sixty-eight delegates, from which four delegates were white, to attend the national convention. As Lyndon Johnson wanted to triumph in presidency elections, the MFDP was promised to have two seats in the National Convention as at-large delegates, if the white delegates pledge the loyalty to the Democratic party's platform, as Cozzens (1998) claims. Sitkoff (1993) states that feeling betrayal the MFDP refused this offer.

Nevertheless, Lyndon Johnson won the elections with 61 percent of votes, as only in Arizona and in states of the Deep South, where less than 45 percent of blacks could vote, his rival candidate, Goldwater, won. Blacks thought that the Democratic Party in the South would profit from the voter registration but President Johnson removed it from his program, because of his fear of the "white backlash", as Sitkoff (1993, p. 172) writes.

2.17 Selma to Montgomery Marches

A voter registration in Selma was not very successful during its first month, January 1965, as local sheriff, James, G. Clark, was similar Bull Connor in behaving towards blacks. Instead of registration, blacks had been arrested. Murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson during a small march in Marion, Alabama, initiated a response of the SNCC and the SCLC activists, who decided to march from Selma to Montgomery (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.17.1 Bloody Sunday

According to Vox (2012), six hundreds civil rights activists marched from Selma on March 7, 1965, including Williams of the SCLC and Lewis of the SNCC. They marched on Route 80, to Montgomery. The march was stopped at the Edmund Pettus Bridge, being blocked by the state troops, who used tear gas, chains and electric prods and about fifty people were injured there, as Sitkoff (1993) says. Rysková (1988) adds that one of the leaders, Lewis, of the SNCC, ended up with a perforated skull. As the whole massacre was broadcast on TV all over the States, the Governor of Alabama, Wallace, was severely criticised. Sitkoff (1993) writes that the Congress was asked for voting-rights legislation and the call for removal of the President appeared, as Johnson's response to the action was rather lax.

2.17.2 Second March

Even though Governor Wallace declared the prohibition on demonstrations, King announced another march on March 9, as Rysková (1988) states. Worried about the repetition of Bloody Sunday attack, King made a deal with Major Cloud, who promised to call off the troops, prepared at the Pettus Bridge. After reaching the bridge and praying for a while, King ordered the marchers to return to the Brown Chapel, from where the crowd came. Only King knew about the deal so the crowd was surprised and disappointed (Sitkoff, 1993).

Rysková (1988) mentions that despite King's gesture white racists attacked three white preachers. As one of them died, President Johnson was hugely criticised. Boston, Washington, New York and other cities held demonstrations, which called for some action from the government and Americans supported Selma with financial and medical aids.

On March 15, President Lyndon Johnson delivered a speech, in which he suggested a passage of a voting-rights act. Judge Frank M. Johnson permitted the march to continue and Governor Wallace lifted the ban of demonstrations and promised to protect the marchers, as Sitkoff (1993) states.

2.17.3 Third March

Three thousand people left Selma, on March 21, to complete the march without opposition, as Vox (2012) writes, but the federalized Alabama National Guard accompanied them, as Sitkoff (1993) claims. Even though Rysková (1988) says that the march was assaulted with offensive words and threats of racists driving by in cars, the crowd of 25,000 of demonstrators, who gradually joined the original march, entered Montgomery. The assembly asked Governor Wallace to negotiate with black representatives. At first he refused, but soon he changed opinion as African-Americans threatened him with an economic boycott.

2.17.4 Voting-Rights Act of 1965

The marches from Selma to Montgomery and the public response helped to speed up the debate about the voting-rights act in Congress (Rysková, 1988). Sitkoff (1993) writes that on August 3 the law was passed by the House of Representatives and the next day the Senate adopted it as well. President Johnson signed the law on August 9, 1965. It illegalized discriminatory voting devices, like literacy tests, before the voter registration (Vox, 2012). According to Rysková (1988), the law should help the Southern states improve the situation, as only 50 percent of citizens were allowed to vote until then. The black rights movement had a huge success.

2.18 Riots

However, a response to a development of the voting rights struggle was not very positive, mainly from black ghettos. A committee that would suggest some measures for improving the poverty in ghettos was appointed. About 31,000 of unemployed African-Americans were provided with a job opportunity. Nevertheless, certain problems in ghettos remained unsolved. Several huge riots broke out during the summer of 1965, Rysková (1988) claims.

2.18.1 Watts Riots

On August 11, 1965, only five days after signing the Voting Rights Act, a race riot began in Watts, a ghetto in Los Angeles (Sitkoff, 1993). An African-American driver was arrested for driving a bus while being under the influence of alcohol. A black mob started fighting with the police and by overturning the cars and breaking shop windows their anger, hidden for a

long time, came out. Blacks began to plunder the city and even though the situation calmed down by dawn, riots continued the next evening and lasted till the morning

About five thousand blacks walked through the quarter, shouting slogans showing the protest against the police brutality and pointing out bad housing conditions, transportation and unemployment in the ghetto (Sitkoff, 1993).

Vox (2012) claims that riots in Watts lasted six days. The rebellion was controlled by 12,000 guardsmen, 1,500 policemen and 1,000 traffic officers. Thirty-four people were killed during the riots and more than one thousand people were injured (Rysková, 1988). Tindall and Shi (1996) write that a property damage caused by the rebellion was about forty-five million dollars and about four thousand people were arrested.

Rysková (1988) states that a committee appointed by the President Johnson to investigate the events reported that the rebellion was caused by poverty, bad conditions for living, unemployment and inaccessibility of education.

2.18.2 Rioting in other cities

However, events in Watts were only the beginning of the four “long hot years” of rioting, as Tindall and Shi (1996, p. 702) claim. During the summer of 1966, several race riots across the States burst out. Blacks in ghettos showed their dissatisfaction by rampaging, there were riots broadcast on TV almost every evening. During the riots in Chicago, Cleveland or San Francisco, the National Guard troops had to supervise the situation, yet at least seven people died, more than four hundred were injured, and three thousand people were arrested, as Sitkoff (1993) writes. The most destructive events came in 1967, as Boston, Buffalo, Maryland and other cities were convulsed with violence. Nevertheless, the worst riots emerged in Newark and Detroit.

2.18.2.1 Motives of the riots

According to Rysková (1988), a wave of African-American's movement moved on to the north-eastern and western cities of the United States during the mid-1960s. The blacks living in ghettos there differed mentally from those in the South. The black young people were not willing to accept the conditions that were acceptable for their ancestors. Sitkoff (1993) claims that except for the usage of violence, blacks in ghettos did not have any other possibility to

change their position in society. Non-violent forms of protest were not attractive for ghettos, as the violence and hatred were a part of their lives (Rysková, 1988). Struggle for civil rights gave the rioters a different point of view on themselves than in 1950s (Sitkoff, 1993).

A committee investigating the riots noticed that unlike the previous racial struggles, which were organized by whites, events of the mid-1960s were initiated mainly by African-Americans themselves. Refusing to tolerate the things that were impossible to solve for the legislation, they had to act (Tindall, Shi; 1996).

2.18.2.2 Riots in Newark

Newark, a city with the highest unemployment, bad housing and medical conditions, was balancing on the edge of a fight between black majority and white-led administration. On July 12, 1967, a black taxi driver was arrested, and as a gossip about his death spread, a massacre started. After five African-Americans were killed, the National Guard was ordered to intervene. Twenty more blacks died and about twelve hundred were injured, as over thirteen thousand rounds of ammunition was used (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.18.2.3 Detroit

Tindall and Shi (1996) write that Detroit's riots were even worse. Even though the rate of unemployment was lower than in Newark and blacks in Detroit were earning more money, relations with the police were similar to other cities. A mass arresting of African-Americans on July 23 started a six-day-long rebellion during which about five thousand blacks lost their homes and the same amount of people became unemployed. Apart from arsons, the riot was accompanied with looting. A total property loss reached approximately 250 million dollars. Much worse was the loss on lives, as forty-three people were killed. Moreover, more than one thousand rioters were injured (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.19 Black Power movement

Assassination of Malcom X in February 1965 caused speculations about the revenge of the Black Muslims, because Malcom X left the organization. Yet his former colleague, Elijah Muhammad, denied it (Rysková, 1988). The CORE white members were forced to leave the organization and by the end of 1964 the membership was black-only for the first time since

the organization was founded (De Freitas, 2012). The wave of violence, brought by the riots of 1965, evoked a formation of a theory of racial separatism. The Black Power movement became predominant amongst young activists, in 1966. Radicals of the SNCC moved away from Martin Luther King's principles and when Stokely Carmichael became a leader of the organization in May 1966, all whites were expelled from it, as it adopted the theory of separatism. Nevertheless, the Black Power movement was considered a mere slogan rather than a tactic (Tindall, Shi; 1996).

2.19.1 March Against Fear

Sitkoff (1993) compares the Black Power with the riots in the North. Black people profited psychologically from it, as the races were polarized by then and blacks were only a fuel for white opposition.

James Meredith, the first integrated student of the University of Mississippi, announced a march from Memphis to Jackson on June 5, 1966, with an intention to encourage blacks to assert their voting right. After his being wounded by a shooting, several leaders of organizations that derided the march hurried to Memphis. Now the two organizations, the CORE, with Floyd McKissick as its head, and the SNCC, led by Stokely Carmichael, were given a chance to popularize their new ideas in the movement. Having different plans, all major civil-rights organizations wanted the march from Memphis to Jackson to continue. A coalition guaranteeing a non-violent march of King with both Carmichael and McKissick was not kept, as the CORE and the SNCC led the march on June 9, shouting violent slogans (Sitkoff, 1993).

Being disappointed, King had to face an argument with the radical wing of the black-rights movement (Rysková, 1988). As Sitkoff (1993) claims, King believed that the slogan, Black Power, and the violence could bring more harm to blacks than to whites. But King was afraid of isolating the Negro community and that it would making "the impression that we are talking about black domination rather than black equality" (Sitkoff, 1993, p. 200) so he tried to soften the original threat the slogan stated.

By 1967, the SNCC was in bankrupt due to a lack of support and financial backing, and its membership decreased to some forty people.

2.19.2 Black Panthers

Nevertheless, in October 1966, in Oakland, California, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was established to fight against the police brutality in ghettos. The party struggled for full employment and self-determination for blacks and it advocated armed revolt. They also initiated free breakfast programs or health clinics for free, though whites saw only their bloody confrontations with the police in Oakland and overstated words that were presented by media. Rysková (1988) writes that leaders of the party were prosecuted for armed riots or smuggling of guns and organizing assassinations, so they had to work illegally. In 1968 Stokely Carmichael became a leader of the party and whites thought that the Black Panthers would make a union with the SNCC (Sitkoff, 1993).

2.20 Black-rights movement and the War in Vietnam

Since 1965, protests against the American intervention in Asia appeared, because more and more crippled and psychologically disabled soldiers were coming home from the war. More distinctive forms of protests were rejections of call-up papers to military service. Foreign policy of the President Lyndon Johnson was hugely criticised and several powerful senators appealed for a removal of arms from Asia, as the American intervention in Vietnam was considered a failure.

In spite of a general disagreement among the leaders of the black rights movement organizations with King's intervention into non-blacks matters, King delivered speeches in which he pointed out that the problem of the war influenced an internal political situation and caused the crisis of the American society. King also criticised the President and on April 15, 1967, a march on Washington was organized by him. The aim was to establish an organization which would coordinate anti-war actions and protests (Rysková, 1988).

Moreover, the radicals were also organizing protests against the Vietnam War. On June 27, 1967, in Newark, a conference of the representatives of the NAACP, the CORE, the SCLC, the SNCC and the radicals agreed on a resolution towards Vietnam, condemning an intervention in Indochina and recommending the blacks to refuse a military service (Rysková, 1988).

2.21 Death of Martin Luther King

On April 3, 1968, Martin Luther King gave his last speech in Clayborn church, in Memphis, as Rysková (1988) claims. He spoke about the progress that had been made by the movement since 1955, and about the future goal. The next day he was shot while standing on a balcony of the Lorraine Motel. When the information about the assassination spread through the nation, uprisings and fires burst out in the ghettos of Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco and many other cities (Sitkoff, 1993).

With the death of Martin Luther King the black nation lost its last hope for an essential change without violence and hatred.

2.22 Consequences

During April 1968, thirty-nine people died in the riots. Black radicals used the tragedy as pretext for various incidents, vandalism, arson, and conflicts with the police. Coretta King and King's closest colleagues became successors of his legacy. Ralph Abernathy was elected a new leader of SCLC (Rysková, 1988).

Nevertheless, the movement stagnated in aimless staggering between poorly organized actions, even though King planned to challenge the American capitalist system, for example by organizing a mass march of the Poor Peoples Campaign on the White House (De Freitas, 2012).

During the late 1960s, the American administration could deal with the situation caused by the radicals, by arresting them in a large quantity. On the other hand, the strategy led to the expansion of the Black middle class, as the administration bought off a part of the civil-rights leadership and used it as a support. Thus, the earnings of the top 5 percent of black workers had increased by 32 percent. The increase could be seen also in business and by 1975, twenty-four banks owned by blacks were opened. However, this progress was only a disguise for cutting of the Black rebellion. Even though the number of black students at universities increased from 75,000 (at the beginning of the struggle) to 660,000 in 1976, the conditions were worse and worse for the majority of blacks (De Freitas, 2012).

2.23 The present situation

Presidents elected during the 1970s and 1980s, led an administration refusing any possible amelioration of African-American conditions. In 1976, Jimmy Carter became the president

mainly thanks to the votes of blacks, but he did not fulfil his programme for the improvement of black's conditions. The situation was even worse during his presidency, due to his economic failures. Moreover, in 1969, the Supreme Court declared that school districts were to order a rejection of busing as a tool of integrations of schools. The next president, Reagan, also did not plan any civil-rights policy. The situation was still the same after the election of George Bush, in 1988 (Sitkoff, 1993).

Furthermore, as Tindall and Shi (1996) claim, that the 1980s were accompanied with a population increase, as a census of 1990 proved the growth of inhabitants by about 10 percent. The census showed that from the total number of 250 million American inhabitants, there were 12 percent of African-Americans, 9 percent of Hispanics, 3 percent of Asians and only 1 percent of the original American inhabitants. A racial diversity provoked fear among African-Americans of economical benefits for new immigrants who came from Mexico, Asian countries, Jamaica, India, Cuba and other countries. During the 1990s riots appeared, this time African-Americans were attacking among themselves, Hispanics were assaulting whites and Asian communities were molested by blacks, whites and Hispanics as well. A sense of belonging has been disappearing from the American society.

In November 2008, Barack Hussein Obama was elected the President and became the first American president of black complexion. People throughout the USA chose Obama's call for a change in the direction of the country, refusing the Republican candidate, John McCain. The election of Obama swept away the last racial barrier in America (Nagourney, 2008).

3. Knowledge of the problematic of Black Rights Movement among young people

A processing of a questionnaire which is attached to this thesis as its practical part should answer the question what knowledge contemporary young people have about the Black Rights Movement in the USA. The questionnaire was created in Google Documents Form and spread among respondents by Internet.

From the total number of 138 respondents, 97 women and 41 men answered the questionnaire (Diagram 8). About 67 percent of people who took part in the research, gave a negative answer on a question about an interest in the American history, as we can see in the Diagram 1. About 62 percent of people have encountered this problematic (Diagram 2), and 80 percent would like to know more about the topic (Diagram 7). Forty people (29 percent) did not know if they want to deepen their knowledge about the movement.

On the basis of a positive answer on the second question of the questionnaire, 85 respondents were allowed to comment on other questions. As they could tick more options, the numbers could be higher. Forty-eight people heard about the topic on TV and at school. The press was a source for twenty-four people. Only seven respondents ticked the option “other” (Diagram 3). Those 85 respondents were also asked when the main wave of the movement took place. 54 percent of them selected the correct option, e.g. that the movement expanded during the 1950s and 1960s. Four respondents believed the main actions occurred in the 30s and 40s of the 20th century, whereas 10 percent tagged the option the 1970s of the 20th century. Twenty-six people admitted they did not know the correct answer (Diagram 4).

In another question 85 respondents were asked which names are connected with the movement. Twenty-three of them ticked Rosa Parks, seventy-two tagged Martin Luther King, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was chosen by ten people and Lyndon Johnson and Ronald Reagan both were ticked by seven people (Diagram 5). It is necessary to mention, that respondents could choose more options.

According to Diagram 6, eighty-five respondents also answered the question about an organization associated with the Black Rights Movement. The NAACP was marked by the majority of them, as 69 percent chose it. The option NATO was ticked by 5 percent, whereas 26 percent of people have chosen the OSN.

The questionnaire was designated for young people over fifteen years, the upper age limit was not firmly restricted. The highest number of all answers, seventy-four, was from the respondents at the age from 22 to 25, followed by a group of forty people at the age of 19 to 21. Seventeen respondents were from 15 to 18 years old. The group of people between 26 and 30 years and the group above 30 showed the two lowest numbers (Diagram 9).

As for the education, the majority of respondents, ninety-three of them, were high school graduates and A- levels. Ten respondents attended the high school without A-levels exams and sixteen people were primary school graduates. There were seventeen university graduates among all respondents and only two of the respondents graduated from higher schools (Diagram 10).

Based on my research it is possible to make a conclusion that the problematic of the black rights movement is relatively familiar to the young people in the Czech Republic.

CONCLUSION

The aim of my bachelor thesis was to describe the development of the Black Rights Movement while dealing with establishment of civil-rights organizations, bus boycotts and non-violent protests, later followed by the Freedom Rides and protest marches.

Moreover, the project shows the oppression of blacks by the white racists and segregationists. Even though the leaders of the movement wanted to fight for freedom and the voting right non-violently, many people, African-Americans as well as whites, died during rioting and attacks.

However, despite the oppression African-Americans proved their courage and desire for equality by joining the actions with relentless activity. They were proud of being black.

Additionally, except from some radicals like Malcom X and the Black Panthers, the Black Rights Movement activists loved whites and held the non-violent attitude and civil disobedience which finally helped them to defeat the racial segregation and brought them the voting right. A success of the movement can be seen in the fact that an African-American president leads the United States for the first time.

Furthermore, results of the research show that contemporary young people in the Czech Republic are relatively familiar with the topic, even though their interest in the American history is not large.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

COFO - The Council of Federated Organizations

CORE - The Congress of Racial Equality

FOR - Fellowship of Reconciliation

KKK - The Ku Klux Klan

MFDP - The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

MIA - The Montgomery Improvement Association

NAACP - The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NSA- The National Student Association

SCLC - The Southern Christian Leadership Conference

SNCC - The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

UDL- The United Defense League

UNIA- The Universal Negro Association

WPC- The Women's Political Council of Montgomery

LIST OF ATTACHEMENTS

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- 2) Questionnaire for my bachelor thesis
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ATTACHEMENTS

1. Dotazník k bakalářské práci

Dobrý den, obracím se na Vás s prosbou o vyplnění dotazníku, který je součástí mé bakalářské práce na téma Black rights movement in the USA /Hnutí za práva Afro-Američanů v USA. Cílovou skupinou jsou osoby starší 15 let, horní věková hranice není omezena. Cílem tohoto dotazníku je zjistit, jaké povědomí mají mladí lidé o daném tématu. Dotazník je anonymní.

Děkuji za Vaši ochotu a čas. Martina Šamajová

1. Zajímáte se o historii USA?

Ano

Ne

2. Setkali jste se s pojmem „hnutí za práva Afro-Američanů“?

Ano

Ne

Nevím

3. Kde jste se s tímto pojmem setkali?

V televizi

V tisku

Ve škole

Doma

Jinde

4. Víte, ve kterém období probíhala hlavní vlna hnutí?

Ano

Ne

5. Pokud ano, kdy?

Ve 30. - 40. letech 20. st.

V 50. - 60. letech 20. st.

V 70. letech 20. st.

6. Která z následujících jmen byste spojili s „Hnutím za práva Afro-Američanů v USA“:

Ronald Reagan

Rosa Parks

Lyndon Johnson

Martin Luther King

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

7. Která z následujících organizací je spojována s tímto hnutím?

OSN

NAACP

NATO

8. Chtěli byste se o tomto tématu dozvědět více?

Ano

Ne

Nevím

9. Vaše pohlaví?

Žena

Muž

10. Kolik je Vám let?

15-18

19-21

22-25

26-30

Více než 30

11. Nejvyšší dosažené vzdělání

ZŠ

SŠ bez maturity

SŠ s maturitou

VOŠ

VŠ

2. Questionnaire for my bachelor thesis

I would like to ask you for filling in a questionnaire for my bachelor thesis which deals with the problematic of the Black rights movement in the USA. The questionnaire is designated for people above 15 years of age and the maximum age limit is not restricted. The goal of this research is to find out what knowledge contemporary young people have about the problematic of the Black rights movement in the USA. Filling in the questionnaire is anonymous.

Thank you for your willingness and time. Martina Šamajová

1. Are you interested in the American history?

Yes

No

2. Have you ever encountered the problematic of the Black rights movement?

Yes

No

3. Where have you encountered the problematic?

On TV

In the press

At school

At home

Other

4. Do you know when the main wave of the movement took place?

Yes

No

5. If yes, when?

During 1930s and 1940s of the 20th century

During 1950s and 1960s of the 20th century

In 1970s of the 20th century

6. Which of these names would you connect with the problematic of the Black rights movement?

Ronald Reagan

Rosa Parks

Lyndon Johnson

Martin Luther King

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

7. Which of these organizations is linked to the movement?

UN

NAACP

NATO

8. Would you like to know more about this problematic?

Yes

No

I do not know

9. What is your gender?

Female

Male

10. How old are you?

15-18

19-21

22-25

26-30

Above 30

11. What is your highest level of education?

Primary school

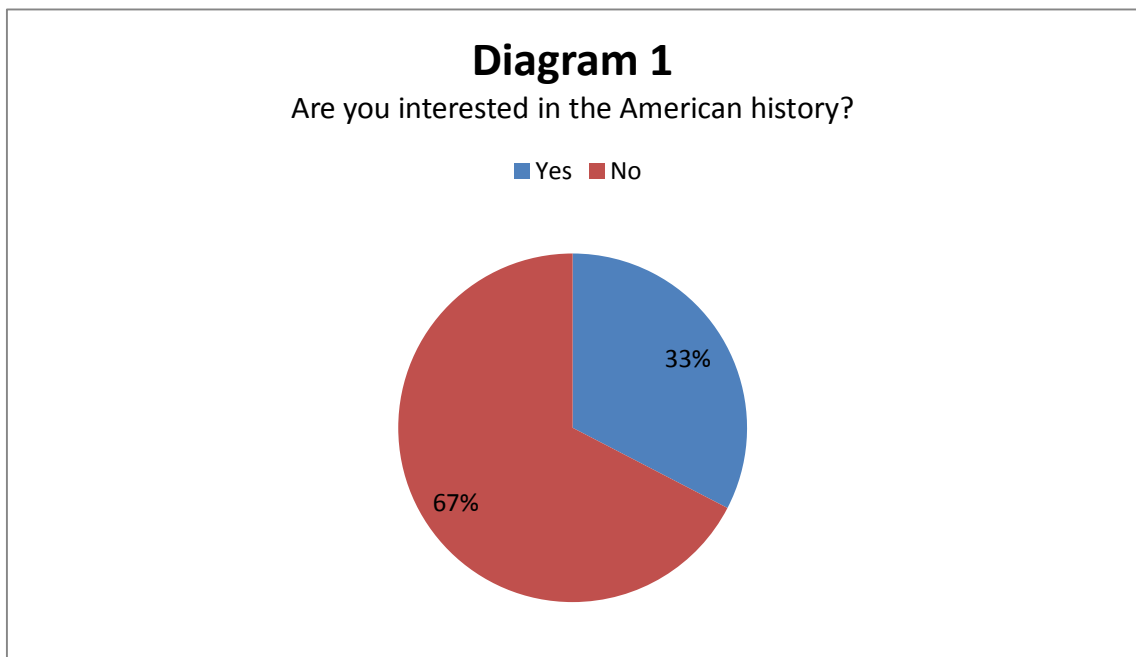
Secondary school without A-levels

Secondary school with A-levels

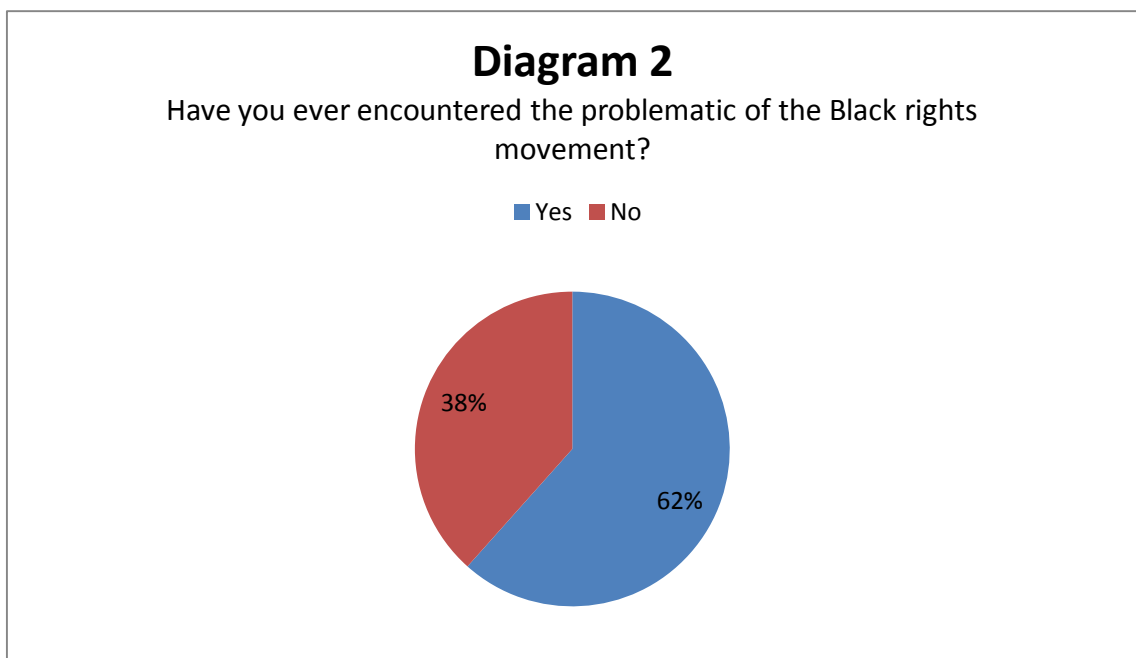
Higher school

University

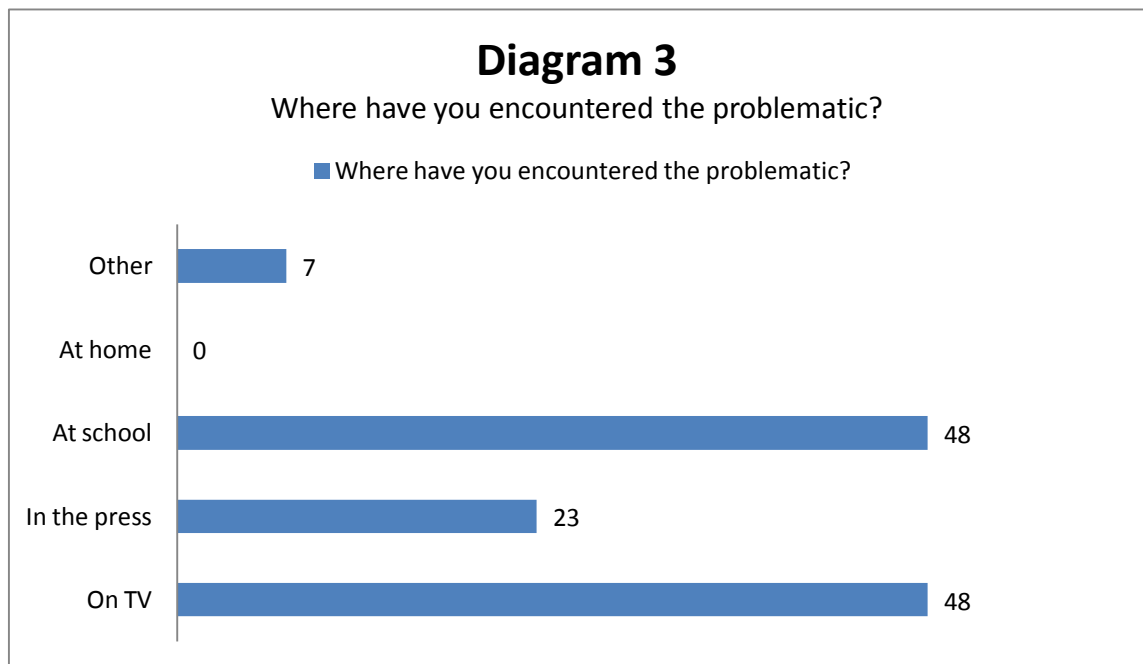
3. Diagram 1



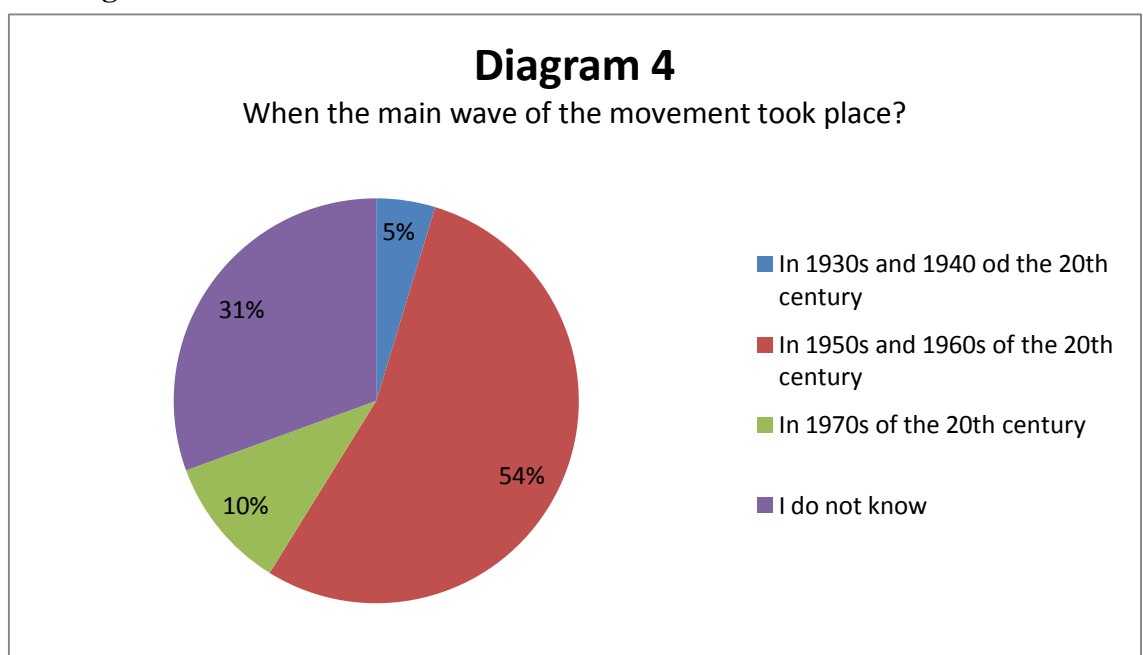
4. Diagram 2



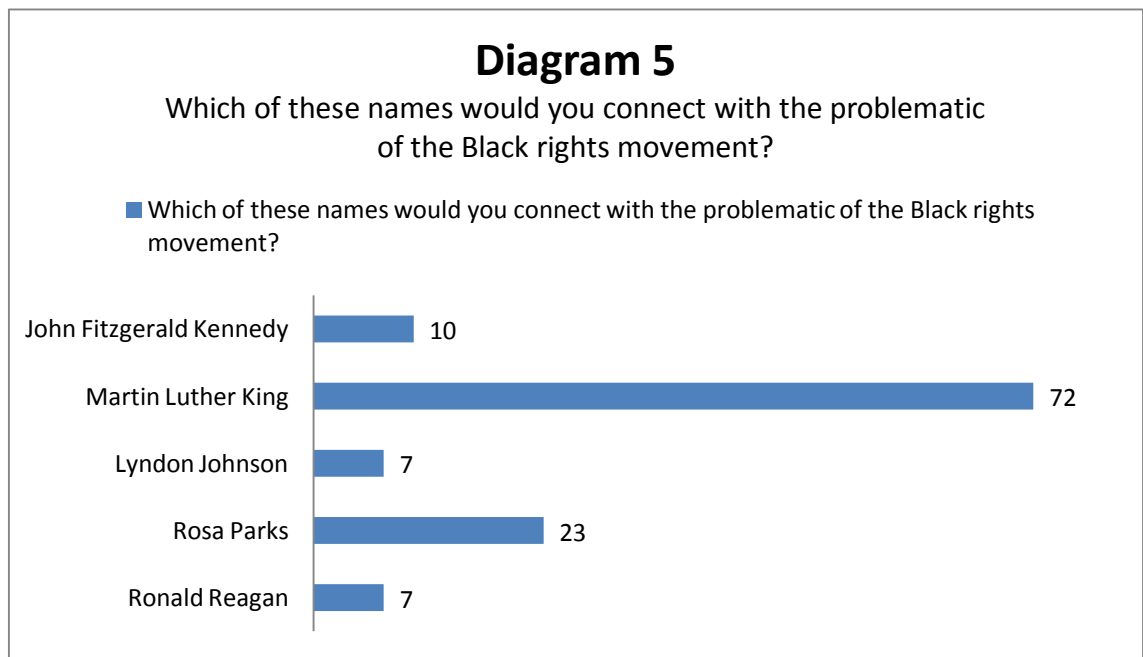
5. Diagram 3



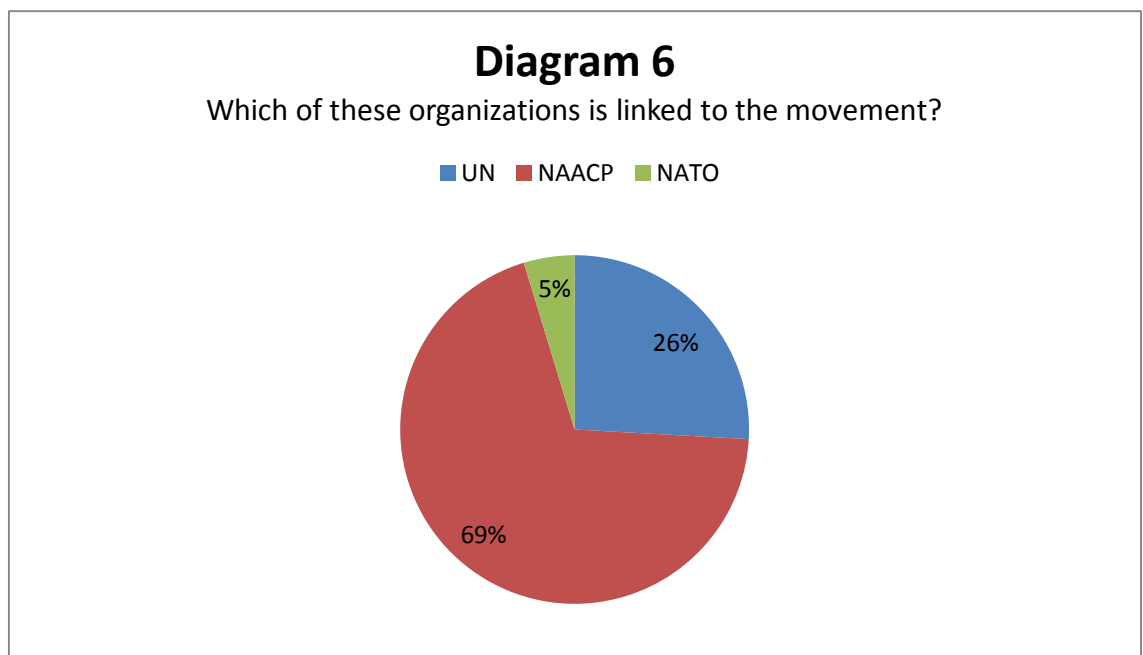
6. Diagram 4



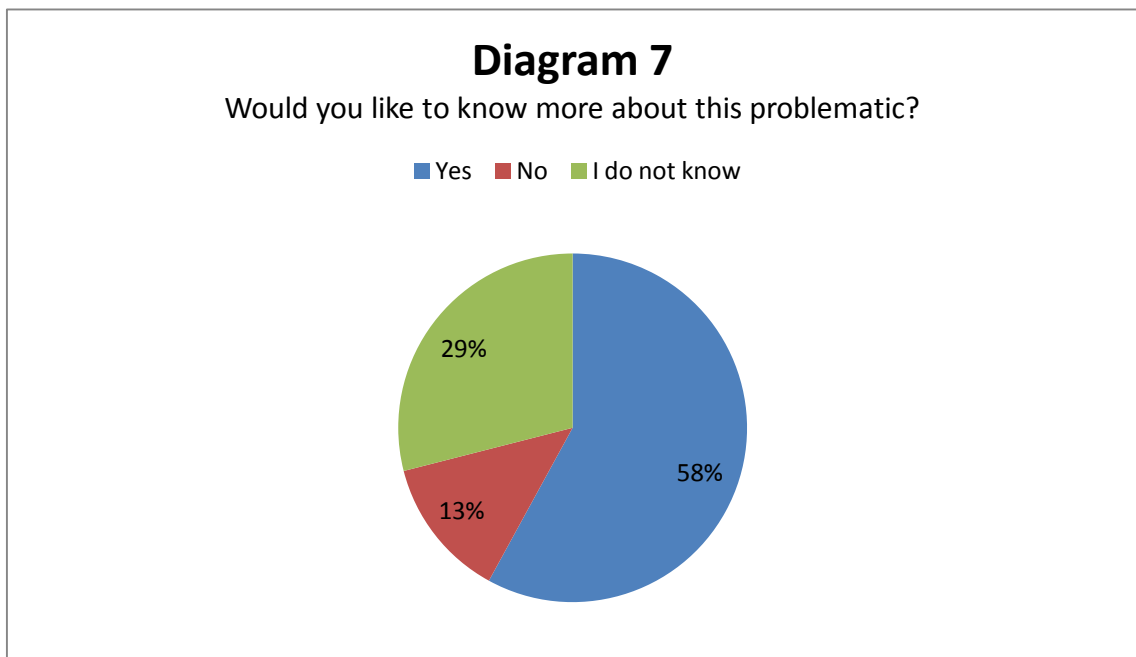
7. Diagram 5



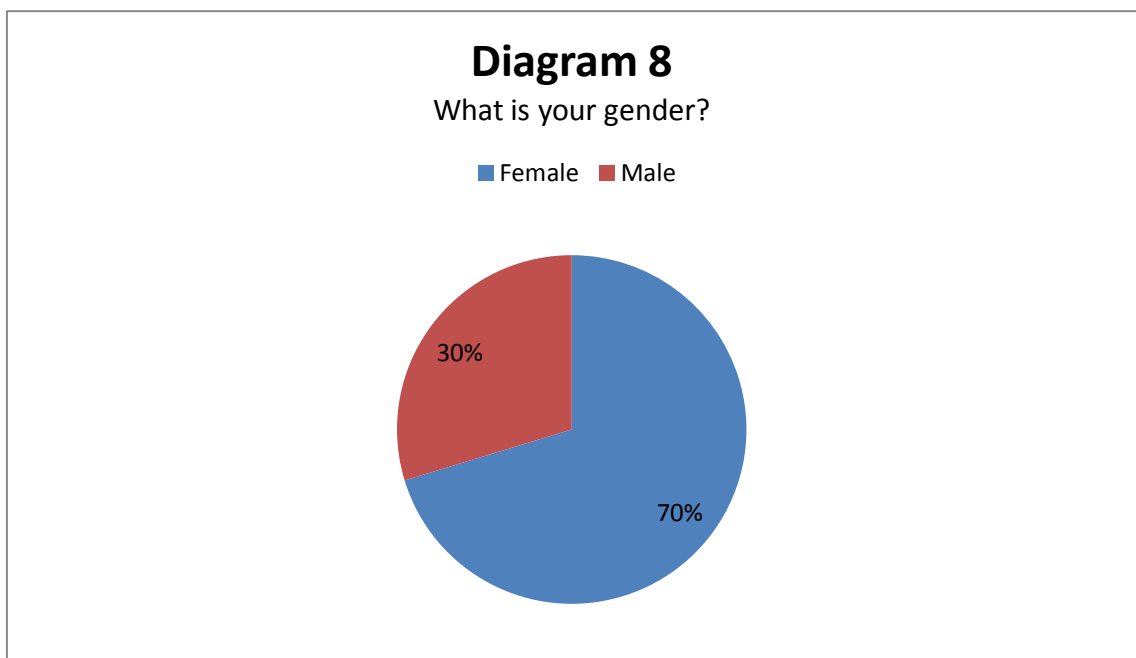
8. Diagram 6



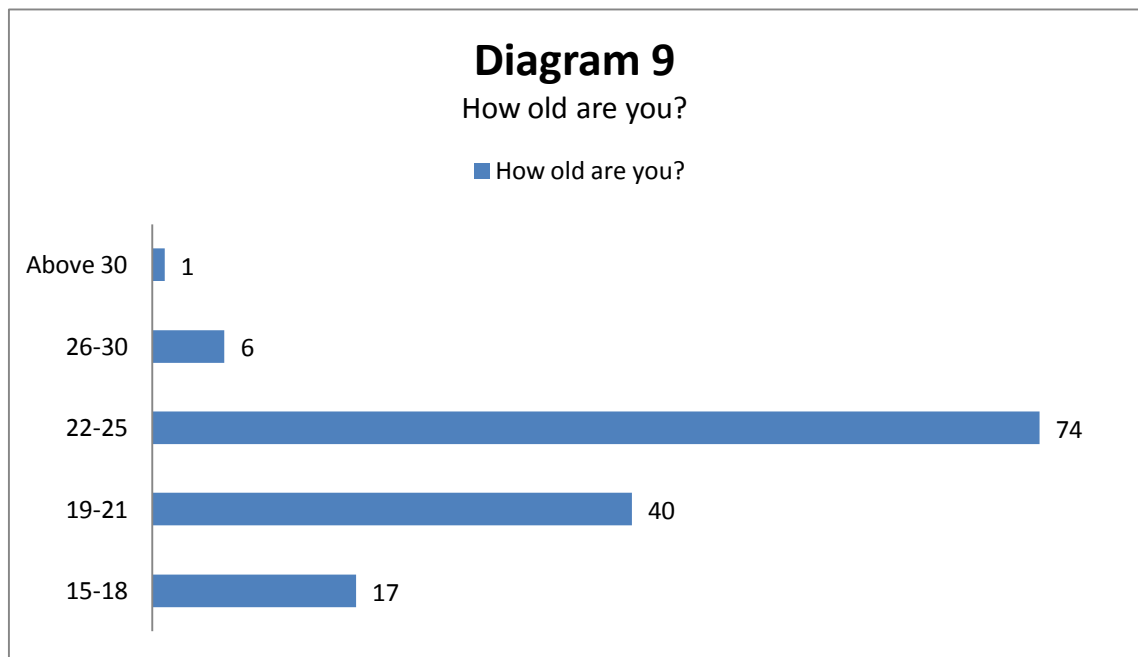
9. Diagram 7



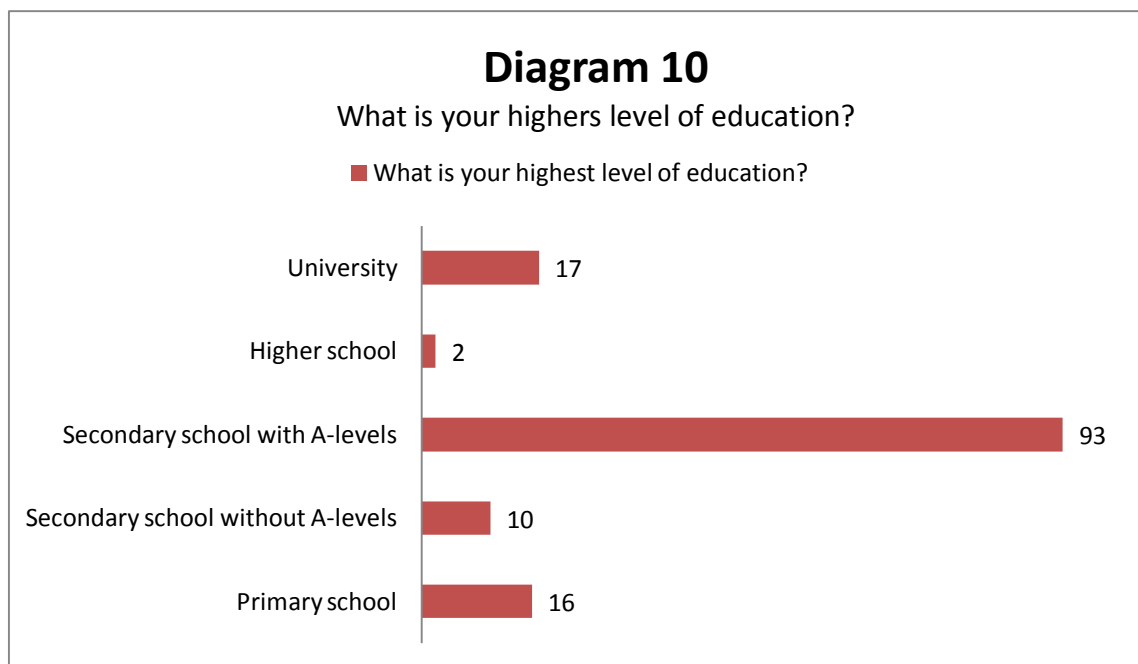
10. Diagram 8



11. Diagram 9



12. Diagram 10



ANOTACE

Jméno a příjmení:	Martina Šamajová
Katedra:	Katedra anglického jazyka
Vedoucí práce:	PhDr. Světlana Obenausová, MLitt, Ph.D.
Rok obhajoby:	2012

Název práce:	Hnutí za práva Afroameričanů, jeho vývoj a současná situace
Název v angličtině:	Black rights movement in the USA, its development and present situation
Anotace práce:	Tato práce popisuje vývoj hnutí za práva Afroameričanů ve Spojených Státech, zejména pak jejich boj za rovnost, spravedlnost a práva Afroameričanů. Práce se zabývá také problémem útisku ze strany bělochů a špatnými životními podmínkami Afroameričanů. Popisuje činnost představitelů a organizací od počátku hnutí v 50. letech 20. století po současnost. Práce zahrnuje také výzkum týkající se povědomí mladých lidí o tématu.
Klíčová slova:	Hnutí za práva Afroameričanů, Spojené Státy, 1950, boj proti diskriminaci, rasismus, Martin L. King, rasová segregace, zpracování dotazníku
Anotace v angličtině:	This project describes the development of the black rights movement in the USA, it mainly concerns the struggle for equality and for the rights for black people. It deals also with the oppression from whites and with bad living conditions of African-Americans. It also describes the activities of the representatives and organizations from the beginning of the movement in 1950s of the 20 th century till the present-day situation. The project includes a research regarding the knowledge of young people about the theme.
Klíčová slova v angličtině:	Black rights movement, the United States, 1950s, struggle against discrimination, racism, Martin L. King, racial segregation, processing of questionnaire
Přílohy vázané v práci:	Seznam zkratk, Dotazník, Grafy
Rozsah práce:	56