Subject: The Freedom Struggle
Grade: 11th
Prepared by: Scott Mace, Leigh Toombs, Eva Nolen
School: West Potomac HS/ Cedar Lane Ctr.
Title or Topic: How far have we come in the “Freedom Struggle”?
Instructional Time: 90 Minutes

PART I.
1. Essential Learning: (Big picture/concept to be learned.)
The student will gain a deeper appreciation for the sacrifices made to achieve fundamental rights in our society. They will also analyze how far we’ve come and explore what more needs to be done in the “Freedom Struggle”.

2. National History Standard (NHS): (Historical Thinking Standard)
Standard 3—Historical Analysis and Interpretation
Standard 5—Historical Issues-Analysis and decision-Making

3. Virginia Standards of Learning (SOL): (Identify by number and descriptor.)
11.13a
The student will evaluate federal civil rights and voting rights developments since the 1950s in terms of the Brown v. Board of Education decision and its impact on education.
11.13b
The student will evaluate federal civil rights and voting rights developments since the 1950s in terms of civil rights demonstrations and related activity leading to desegregation of public accommodations, transportation, housing and employment.
11.13c
The student will evaluate federal civil rights and voting rights developments since the 1950s in terms of reapportionment cases and voting rights legislation and their impact on political participation and representation.
11.13d
The student will evaluate federal civil rights and voting rights developments since the 1950s in terms of affirmative action.

4. Fairfax County Program of Studies (POS): (Identify by number and descriptor.)
Era 9—Redefining America, 1945-1974
Benchmark 9.1—The student describes and evaluates the efforts and accomplishments of individuals and groups, with public and private sectors, to affect social and political change within the increasingly diverse nation.
Performance Indicator D—Examine the role of the Supreme Court in extending civil rights.
Performance Indicator F—Evaluate federal civil rights and voting rights developments in terms of affirmative action.
5. Learning Strategy(s) Objectives:
Students will be able to analyze and interpret five seminal events of the Civil Rights Movement by using specific **resources**. They will execute **selective attention** strategies to focus on key ideas from the reading. Matrix’s are provided so that they can **summarize** the material and **make predictions** based on secondary resources that will be provided. They will also be able to orally translate these stories to their classmates.

1. Assessment:
   Students will be given a worksheet designed to assess their basic and analytical knowledge of one of 5 seminal events of the Civil Rights Era. (See attached.) Working in teams of 3-4 they will exercise peer review of their written responses prior to submission to teacher for the final assessment.

2. Instructional Strategies:
   **I. Introduction:**
   - Lesson is introduced through the use of political cartoon depicting American eagle taking his place at the top of a flag pole much to the consternation of “Jim Crow”. I ask the class to sketch out the cartoon in their notebook and analyze it through the use of symbol, time frame, and message. The symbolism and message are apparent. What is the time frame? I ask the class to brainstorm possible seminal dates in the “freedom struggle” that would be appropriate for this cartoon.

   **II. Activity:**
   - Organize the class in 4-5 groups of 4-5 students each. Pass out readings to the groups profiling each of the following: (each group is responsible for one event). Students will rotate responsibility for reading to the group. Each student will read at least once to their group.
     a. Montgomery Bus Boycott
     b. Greensboro Sit-Ins
     c. Freedom Riders
     d. Freedom Summer
     e. Selma to Montgomery March
   - Pass out worksheets specific to their event.
   - After they’ve had 20-25 minutes to read and process their event have them exchange their worksheets for peer review. Allow them to share their insights and clear up any confusion with the information.
   - Split them into new “expert” groups of the same size. Once in these groups they will be responsible for sharing their “stories” with their classmates. Information gleaned from this meeting will make its way onto the matrix provided.
Divide them one last time into new groups again of the same size. Pass out articles detailing contemporary Civil Rights issues.

- Trent Lott
- Racial profiling
- Slavery reparations
- Affirmative Action
- Confederate Flags

Have them read the articles and be prepared to discuss them relative to the question of: “How far have we come in the ‘Freedom Struggle’”?

Collect the worksheets for a final formal assessment

3. Materials/Resources to be used:

- Copies of handouts profiling the 5 seminal events of the Civil Rights Era
- Worksheets specific to the readings
- Matrix
- Copies of handouts for the contemporary Civil Rights issues

4. Differentiation:

In the special education and ESOL classroom—class size and time will be one of the biggest areas of modification necessary. For the GT population the only modification necessary might be to allow for more time for higher-level discussion of the events.

- In addition to, or instead of, starting with the political cartoon begin the lesson with an assessment prior knowledge using a list of vocabulary/terms and people important to the era. (See attachment Modification #1)
- Depending on the reading level of the students, the teacher will want to model the exercise at least once with one or two of the readings.
- The teacher can read aloud one of the articles with the class and lead the students in answering the questions as a class.
- When it comes time to fill out the grid the teacher may want to have a copy on the overhead projector. Provided are copies of each section of the grid on a separate sheet to accommodate students with difficulty writing and who may need larger spaces to work in. (see attachments Modification #2-6)
- After going through 1 or 2 of the readings as a class, divide the class into groups to cover the remaining articles. Assigning very specific roles for each of the students may be necessary. Handing out highlighters might also be helpful.
- Depending on your class, you might want to bring the class back together to do the grid, as was done during the modeling exercises. By doing the exercise as one group the teacher will be able to assess student understanding.
Depending on time, the next step might need to be moved to day 2. The teacher can use the same strategy as the first day. He or she should model by reading one or two of the articles with the class and discussing each as a class.

Depending on the class, the teacher might have to take a very active role in leading this discussion and helping the students to make the connections to the contemporary Civil Rights issues.

5. Attachments: See Below!
As we look at five seminal events of the “Freedom Struggle” it is important to remember that this was a time when the Federal government was still coming to grips with its roll in the growing conflict. After you have read your profile of one of these events, I’d like you to reflect first on the questions and then on the quotes.

The Big Parade: On the Road to Montgomery

1. Who participated in the March?

2. What was their goal?

3. How did they try to achieve this goal?

4. Who tried to impede the successful completion of this goal?

5. When did this event take place?

Please relate the significance/meaning behind the following quotes:

➢ “George, it’s all over now. We’ve got the ballot.”

➢ “Never has a President spoken so eloquently or so sincerely on the question of civil rights.”

➢ “You will be the people who will light a new chapter in the history books of our nation”

➢ “Too bad Reeb”

What would you be willing to march for?
The Freedom Struggle

“What has four eyes and still can’t see? — Mississippi.”

Popular joke amongst members of “the movement”

As we look at five seminal events of the “Freedom Struggle” it is important to remember that this was a time when the Federal government was still coming to grips with its roll in the growing conflict. After you have read your profile of one of these events, I’d like you to reflect first on the questions and then on the quotes.

Freedom Rides: The Freedom Riders

1. Who made up the Freedom Riders?

2. What was their main goal?

3. How did they attempt to achieve this goal?

4. When did this attempt take place?

5. Were the original Freedom Riders successful? Why/Why not?

Please relate the significance/meaning behind the following quotes:

➢ “We felt that we could count on the racists of the South to create a crisis.”

➢ “We were prepared for the possibility of death.”

➢ “You just can’t guarantee the safety of a fool and that’s what these folks are, just fools.”

➢ “If we cooled off any more, we’d be in a deep freeze.”

What issue(s) are important enough to you that you’d risk your life as the Freedom riders did?
The Freedom Struggle

“What has four eyes and still can’t see?  - Mississippi.”
Popular joke amongst members of “the movement”

As we look at five seminal events of the “Freedom Struggle” it is important to remember that this was a time when the Federal government was still coming to grips with its role in the growing conflict. After you have read your profile of one of these events, I’d like you to reflect first on the questions and then on the quotes.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

1. Who participated in the Boycott?

2. When did the Boycott take place?

3. What was the Boycott’s goal?

4. How did they attempt to achieve this goal?

5. What challenges did they face?

Please relate the significance/meaning behind the following quotes:

➢ “You ought to know better.”

➢ “The once dormant and quiescent Negro community was now fully awake.”

➢ “The time has come when you men is going to have to learn to be grown men.”

➢ “One cold night a small Negro boy was warming his hands at a burning cross.”

What issue(s) are important enough to you that you’d organize a peaceful boycott and suffer the above consequences?
The Freedom Struggle

“What has four eyes and still can’t see? - Mississippi.”
Popular joke amongst members of “the movement”

As we look at five seminal events of the “Freedom Struggle” it is important to remember that this was a time when the Federal government was still coming to grips with its role in the growing conflict. After you have read your profile of one of these events, I’d like you to reflect first on the questions and then on the quotes.

Mississippi and Freedom Summer

1. Who participated in “Freedom Summer”?

2. When was “Freedom Summer”

3. What were their goals?

4. How did they attempt to accomplish their goals?

5. What were the challenges they faced?

Please relate the significance/meaning behind the following quotes:

➢ “We fought during the War for America, Mississippi included.”

➢ “Mississippi is not the place to start conducting constitutional law classes for the policemen. . .”

➢ “Is this America? The land of the free and the home of the brave?”

➢ “There will never be a lily-white delegation again.”

What issue(s) are important enough to you that you’d travel to another part of the country and put your life at risk?
The Freedom Struggle

“What has four eyes and still can’t see? - Mississippi.”
Popular joke amongst members of “the movement”

As we look at five seminal events of the “Freedom Struggle” it is important to remember that this was a time when the Federal government was still coming to grips with its roll in the growing conflict. After you have read your profile of one of these events, I’d like you to reflect first on the questions and then on the quotes.

The Sit-ins

1. Who participated in the sit-ins?

2. What was their goal?

3. How did they attempt to accomplish their goal?

4. When did these events take place?

5. What were the challenges they faced?

Please relate the significance/meaning behind the following quotes:

- “Segregation makes me feel that I’m unwanted.”

- “You know you’re not supposed to be in here.”

- “How about a date when we integrate?”

- “We expect more, not less. . .”

What issue(s) are important enough to you that you’d suffer the indignities of the young men and women involved in the sit-ins?
## The Freedom Struggle

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In 1947, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) planned a "Journey of Reconciliation," designed to test the Supreme Court's 1946 decision in the Irene Morgan case, which declared segregated seating of interstate passengers unconstitutional. An interracial group of passengers met with heavy resistance in the upper South. Some members of the group served on a chain gang after their arrest in North Carolina. The Journey of Reconciliation quickly broke down. Clearly the South, even the more moderate upper South, was not ready for integration.

Nearly a decade and a half later, John F. Kennedy was elected president, in large part due to widespread support among blacks who believed that Kennedy was more sympathetic to the civil rights movement than his opponent, Richard Nixon. Once in office, however, Kennedy proved less committed to the movement than he had appeared during the campaign. To test the president's commitment to civil rights, CORE proposed a new Journey of Reconciliation, dubbed the "Freedom Ride." The strategy was the same: an interracial group would board buses destined for the South. The whites would sit in the back and the blacks in the front. At rest stops, the whites would go into blacks-only areas and vice versa.

"This was not civil disobedience, really," explained CORE director James Farmer, "because we [were] merely doing what the Supreme Court said we had a right to do." But the Freedom Riders expected to meet resistance. "We felt we could count on the racists of the South to create a crisis so that the federal government would be compelled to enforce the law," said Farmer. "When we began the ride I think all of us were prepared for as much violence as could be thrown at us. We were prepared for the possibility of death."

The Freedom Ride left Washington DC on May 4, 1961. It was scheduled to arrive in New Orleans on May 17, the seventh anniversary of the Brown decision. Unlike the original Journey of Reconciliation, the Freedom Ride met little resistance in the upper South.

On Mother's Day, May 14, the Freedom Riders split up into two groups to travel through Alabama. The first group was met by a mob of about 200 angry people in Anniston. The mob stoned the bus and slashed the tires. The bus managed to get away, but when it stopped about six miles out of town to change the tires, it was firebombed. The other group did not fare any better. It was greeted by a mob in Birmingham, and the Riders were severely beaten. Birmingham's Public Safety Commissioner, Bull Conner, claimed he posted no officers at the bus depot because of the holiday; however, it was later discovered that the FBI knew of the planned attack and that the city police stayed away on purpose. Alabama governor John Patterson offered no apologies, explaining, "When you go somewhere looking for trouble, you usually find it . . . . You just can't guarantee the safety of a fool and that's what these folks are, just fools."

Despite the violence, the Freedom Riders were determined to continue. Jim Peck, a white who had fifty stitches from the beatings he received, insisted, "I think it is particularly important at this time when it has become national news that we continue and show that nonviolence can prevail over violence." The bus company, however, did not want to risk losing another bus to a bombing, and its drivers, who were
all white, did not want to risk their lives. After two days of unsuccessful negotiations, the Freedom Riders, fearing for their safety, flew to New Orleans. It appeared that the Freedom Ride was over. At that point, however, a group of Nashville sit-in students decided to go to Birmingham and continue the Freedom Ride. Diane Nash, who helped organize the group, later explained, "If the Freedom Riders had been stopped as a result of violence, I strongly felt that the future of the movement was going to be cut short. The impression would have been that whenever a movement starts, all [you have to do] is attack it with massive violence and the blacks [will] stop." The Nashville students traveled to Birmingham and asked the bus company to let them use their buses. Attorney general Kennedy also leaned on the bus company and the Birmingham police. He was determined to enforce the Supreme Court's decision that called for integration of interstate travel, and he worried that if the Nashville students remained in Birmingham much longer, violence might erupt. On May 17, the Birmingham police arrested the Nashville Freedom Riders and placed them in protective custody. At 2 AM on Friday, the police drove the Riders back to Nashville, 100 miles away, they went right back to Birmingham. Meanwhile, Governor Patterson agreed to meet with John Seigenthaler, a Justice Department aide and a native of Tennessee. In the meeting, Floyd Mann, head of the state highway patrol, agreed to protect the Freedom Riders in between Birmingham. Attorney General Robert Kennedy then pressured the Greyhound bus company, which finally agreed to carry the Riders. The Freedom Riders left Birmingham on Saturday, May 20. State police promised "that a private plane would fly over the bus, and there would be a state patrol car every fifteen or twenty miles along the highway between Birmingham and Montgomery -- about ninety miles," recalled Freedom Rider John Lewis. Police protection, however, disappeared as the Freedom Riders entered the Montgomery city limits. The bus terminal was quiet. "And then, all of a sudden, just like magic, white people everywhere," said Freedom Rider Frederick Leonard. The Riders considered leaving by the back of the bus in hopes that the mob would not be quite as vicious. But Jim Zwerg, a white rider, bravely marched off the bus first. The other riders slipped off while the mob focused on pummeling Zwerg. Floyd Mann tried to stop the mob, but it continued to beat the Riders and those who came to their aid, such as Justice Department official John Seigenthaler, who was beaten unconscious and left in the street for nearly a half an hour after he stopped to help two Freedom Riders. Mann finally ordered in state troopers, but the damage was already done. When news of the Montgomery attack reached Washington, Robert Kennedy was not happy. He decided to send federal marshals to the city. Martin Luther King, Jr., flew to Montgomery and held a mass meeting, surrounded by federal marshals, in support of the Freedom Riders. As night fell, a mob of several thousand whites surrounded the church. The blacks could not leave safely. At 3 AM, King called Robert Kennedy and Kennedy called Governor Patterson. Patterson declared martial law and sent in state police and the National Guard. The mob dispersed and the blacks left safely. After the violence at the church, Robert Kennedy asked for a cooling-off period. The Freedom Riders, however, were intent on continuing. James Farmer explained, "[W]e'd been cooling off for 350 years, and . . . if we cooled off any more, we'd be in a deep freeze." The Riders decided to continue on to Mississippi. They were given good protection as they entered the state, and no mob greeted them at the Jackson bus terminal. "As we walked through, the police just said, 'Keep moving' and let us go through the white side," recalled Frederick Leonard. "We never got stopped. They just said 'Keep moving,' and they passed us right on through the white terminal into the paddy wagon and into jail." Robert Kennedy and Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland had reached a compromise. Kennedy promised not to use federal troops if there was no mob violence. Both men kept up their end of the bargain. Unfortunately, the Freedom Riders were now at the mercy of the local courts. On May 25, they were tried. As their
attorney defended them, the judge turned his back. Once the attorney finished, he turned around and sentenced them to 60 days in the state penitentiary.

More Freedom Riders arrived in Jackson to continue the Freedom Ride, and they were arrested too. Freedom Riders continued to arrive in the South, and by the end of the summer, more than 300 had been arrested.

The Freedom Riders never made it to New Orleans. Many spent their summer in jail. Some were scarred for life from the beatings they received. But their efforts were not in vain. They forced the Kennedy administration to take a stand on civil rights, which was the intent of the Freedom Ride in the first place. In addition, the Interstate Commerce Commission, at the request of Robert Kennedy, outlawed segregation in interstate bus travel in a ruling, more specific than the original Supreme Court mandate, that took effect in September, 1961. The Freedom Riders may not have finished their trip, but they made an important and lasting contribution to the civil rights movement.

http://www.watson.org/~lisa/blackhistory/civilrights
In the early 1960s, Mississippi was the poorest state in the nation. 86% of all non-white families lived below the national poverty line. In addition, the state had a terrible record of black voting rights violations. In the 1950s, Mississippi was 45% black, but only 5% of voting age blacks were registered to vote. Some counties did not have a single registered black voter. Whites insisted that blacks did not want to vote, but this was not true. Many blacks wanted to vote, but they worried, and rightfully so, that they might lose their job. In 1962, over 260 blacks in Madison County overcame this fear and waited in line to register. 50 more came the next day. Only seven got in to take the test over the two days, walking past a sticker on the registrar's office door that bore a Confederate battle flag next to the message "Support Your Citizens' Council." Once they got in, they had to take a test designed to prevent them from becoming registered. In 1954, in response to increasing literacy among blacks, the test, which originally asked applicants to "read or interpret" a section of the state constitution, was changed to ask applicants to "read and interpret" that document. This allowed white registrars to decide whether or not a person passed the test. Most blacks, even those with doctoral degrees, "failed." In contrast, most whites passed, no matter what their education level. In George County, one white applicant's interpretation of the section "There shall be no imprisonment for debt" was "I thank that a Neorger should have 2 years in collage before voting because he don't under stand." (sic) He passed.

The NAACP went to Mississippi in an effort to register more blacks in the late 1950s. Amzie Moore, a local NAACP leader in Mississippi, met with SNCC worker Robert Parris Moses when Moses traveled through the state in July 1960, recruiting people for a SNCC conference. Moore encouraged Moses to bring more SNCC workers to the state, and the following summer he did, beginning a month-long voter registration campaign in the town of McComb, in conjunction with C.C. Bryant of the NAACP. SNCC organized a voter registration education program, teaching a weekly class that showed people how to register. SNCC worker Marion Barry arrived on August 18 and started workshops to teach young blacks nonviolent protest methods. Many of the blacks, too young to vote, jumped at the opportunity to join the movement. They began holding sit-ins. Some were arrested and expelled from school. More were expelled when they held a protest march after the murder of Herbert Lee, who had helped SNCC workers, on September 25. In response to these expulsions, Moses and Chuck McDew started Nonviolent High School to teach the expelled students. They were arrested and sentenced to four months in jail for "contributing to the delinquency of minors."

Other protests by blacks were met with violence. At sit-ins which began on May 28, 1963, participants were sprayed with paint and had pepper thrown in their eyes. Students who sang movement songs during lunch after the bombing of NAACP field director Medgar Evers' home were beaten. Evers himself was the most visible target for violence. He was a native of Mississippi and World War II veteran who was greeted by a mob of gun-wielding whites when he attempted to register after the war in his hometown of Decatur. He later said, "We fought during the war for America, Mississippi included. Now, after the Germans and Japanese hadn't killed us, it looked as though the white Mississippians would." After he was denied admission to the University of Mississippi law school, he went to work for the NAACP. By 1963, Evers was aware that, in the words of his wife Myrlie Evers,

\[\ldots\] Medgar was a target because he was the leader. The whole mood of white Mississippi was that if Medgar Evers were eliminated, the problem would be solved.\ldots And we came to realize, in those last few days, last few months, that our time was short; it was
simply in the air. You knew that something was going to happen, and the logical person for it to happen to was Medgar.

At an NAACP rally on June 7, Medgar Evers told the crowd, "Freedom has never been free . . . I love my children and I love my wife with all my heart. And I would die, and die gladly, if that would make a better life for them." Five days later, he was shot and killed as he returned home around midnight. Byron de la Beckwith, a member of the Citizens' Council, was arrested for Evers' murder, but he was set free after two trials ended in hung juries. He later ran for lieutenant governor.

That fall, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an umbrella organization of local and national civil rights groups founded in 1962, organized the Freedom Vote. The Freedom Vote had two main goals:

1. To show Mississippi whites and the nation that blacks wanted to vote and

2. To give blacks, many of whom had never voted, practice in casting a ballot

The mock vote pitted the actual candidates against candidates from the interracial Freedom Party. 60 white students from Yale and Stanford Universities came to Mississippi to help spread word of the Freedom Vote. 93,000 voted on the mock election day, and the Freedom Party candidates easily won. After the success of the Freedom Vote, SNCC decided to send volunteers into Mississippi during the summer of 1964, a presidential election year, for a voter registration drive. It became known as Freedom Summer. Bob Moses outlined the goals of Freedom Summer to prospective volunteers at Stanford University:

1. to expand black voter registration in the state

2. to organize a legally constituted "Freedom Democratic Party" that would challenge the whites-only Mississippi Democratic party

3. to establish "freedom schools" to teach reading and math to black children

4. to open community centers where indigent blacks could obtain legal and medical assistance

800 students gathered for a week-long orientation session at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, that June. They were mostly white and young, with an average age of 21. They were also from well-to-do families, as the volunteers had to bring $500 for bail as well as money for living expenses, medical bills, and transportation home. SNCC's James Forman told them to be prepared for death. "I may be killed. You may be killed. The whole staff may go." He also told them to go quietly to jail if arrested, because "Mississippi is not the place to start conducting constitutional law classes for the policemen, many of whom don't have a fifth-grade education."

On June 21, the day after the first 200 recruits left for Mississippi from Ohio, three workers, including one volunteer, disappeared. Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney had been taken to jail for speeding charges but were later released. What happened next is not known. Local police were called when the men failed to perform a required check-in with Freedom Summer headquarters, but Sheriff Lawrence Rainey was convinced the men were hiding to gain publicity. The FBI did not get involved for a full day. During the search for the missing workers, the FBI uncovered the bodies of three lynched blacks who had been missing for some time. The black community noted wryly that these murders received nowhere near the same nationwide media attention as the murders of the three workers, two of whom were white.
Meanwhile, Freedom Summer went on. Only a handful of recruits left the orientation session in Ohio. The volunteers helped provide basic services to blacks in the South. "Freedom clinics" provided health care; Northern lawyers worked in legal clinics to secure basic constitutional rights; "freedom schools," though illegal, taught blacks of all ages traditional subjects as well as black history.

One of Freedom Summer's most important projects was the establishment of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to challenge the all-white regular Democratic party in the state. This project actually started before Freedom Summer did, when MFDP won crucial support from the California Democratic Council, a liberal subsection of the state's Democratic party, and Joseph Rauh, head of the DC Democratic Party, vice president of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), and general counsel to the United Auto Workers. President Johnson, however, backed the regular Democratic party because he could not afford to lose their political support.

In June, the names of four MFDP candidates were on the Democratic primary ballot as delegates to be sent to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, but all four lost. Later that month, the regular Democratic party adopted a platform that explicitly rejected the national party platform in the area of civil rights. This put President Johnson in a difficult position. The national Democratic organization required all delegates to make a pledge of party loyalty, but Johnson had to allow the Mississippi Democrats to be seated because otherwise delegates from five other states would walk out. The Mississippi issue was turning what should have been a quiet, routine convention into a racial battleground.

On August 4, the bodies of the three civil rights workers were found in a dam on a farm near Philadelphia, Mississippi. They had all been shot and the one black, James Chaney, had been brutally beaten. The discovery shifted media attention back to Mississippi just 18 days before the start of the Democratic National Convention. Two days later, the MFDP held a convention and selected a 68-person delegation, which included four whites, to go to the national convention. By now, the party had the support of ADA, delegates from nine states, and 25 congressmen. The delegates wanted to be seated instead of the regular delegates at the convention. To do so, they had to persuade eleven of the more than 100 members of the Credentials Committee to vote in their favor. They decided to provide testimony detailing how difficult it was for blacks to vote in Mississippi. Fannie Lou Hamer, one of twenty children of Mississippi sharecroppers, gave an impassioned speech to the Committee:

> If the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America. Is this America? The land of the free and the home of the brave? Where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hook, because our lives be threatened daily?

President Johnson quickly called a press conference to turn news cameras away from Atlantic City, but the evening news that night showed portions of Hamer's testimony. Her emotional statement moved people around the nation.

Senator Hubert Humphrey offered a compromise, with the blessing of the president. The white delegates would be seated if they pledged loyalty to the party platform. Two MFDP delegates, Aaron Henry and Ed King would also be seated, but as at-large delegates, not Mississippi delegates. Neither side liked the agreement, but in the end, both sides accepted. The trouble, however, was not over. When all but three of the Mississippi delegates refused to pledge allegiance to the party, the MFDP delegates borrowed passes from sympathetic delegates and took the seats vacated by the Mississippi delegates until they were thrown out. The next day, they returned. The empty seats had been removed, so the delegates just stood and sang freedom songs.

In the end, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, like the Freedom Riders, did not fully accomplish its goals. The MFDP, however, was far from a failure. It showed blacks that they could have political power. It ensured that, in the words of Joe Rauh of ADA, "there will never be a lily-white [delegation]...
again." It raised the important issue of voting rights, reminding America that the recently-passed Civil Rights Act, which disappointed black leaders because it did not address the right to vote, was not enough. It also helped blacks and other minorities gain more representation in the Democratic party. Freedom Summer, too, was an overall success. Clayborne Carson wrote:

When freedom school students from across the state gathered for a convention early in August, their increased confidence and political awareness were manifest in their approval of resolutions asking for enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, . . . elimination of the poll tax, and many other reforms.

There is no denying the effect that Freedom Summer had on Mississippi's blacks. In 1964, 6.7% of Mississippi's voting-age blacks were registered to vote, 16.3% below the national average. By 1969, that number had leaped to 66.5%, 5.5% above the national average.

http://www.watson.org/~lisa/blackhistory/civilrights
Negro Sitdowns Stir Fear Of Wider Unrest in South

By Claude Sitton

Special to The New York Times

Charlotte, N. C., Feb. 14 -- Negro student demonstrations against segregated eating facilities have raised grave questions in the South over the future of the region's race relations. A sounding of opinion in the affected areas showed that much more might be involved than the matter of the Negro's right to sit at a lunch counter for a coffee break.

The demonstrations were generally dismissed at first as another college fad of the 'panty-raid' variety. This opinion lost adherents, however, as the movement spread from North Carolina to Virginia, Florida, South Carolina and Tennessee and involved fifteen cities.

Some whites wrote off the episodes as the work of "outside agitators." But even they conceded that the seeds of dissent had fallen in fertile soil.

Backed by Negro Leaders

Appeals form white leaders to leaders in the Negro community to halt the demonstrations bore little fruit. Instead of the hoped-for statements of disapproval, many Negro professionals expressed support for the demonstrators.

A handful of white students joined the protests. And several state organizations endorsed it. Among them were the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, an inter-racial group, and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, which currently has an all-white membership. Students of race relations in the area contended that the movement reflected growing dissatisfaction over the slow pace of desegregation in schools and other public facilities.

It demonstrated, they said, a determination to wipe out the last vestiges of segregation.

Moreover, these persons saw a shift of leadership to younger, more militant Negroes. This, they said, is likely to bring increasing use of passive resistance. The technique was conceived by Mohandas K. Gandhi of India and popularized among Southern Negroes by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He led the bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. He now heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a Negro minister's group, which seeks to end discrimination.

Wide Support Indicated

Negro leaders said that this assessment was correct. They disputed the argument heard among some whites that there was no broad support for the demonstrations outside such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

There was general agreement on all sides that a sustained attempt to achieve desegregation now, particularly in the Deep South, might breed racial conflict that the region's expanding economy could ill afford.

The spark that touched off the protests was provided by four freshmen at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro. Even Negroes class Greensboro as one of the most progressive cities in the South in terms of race relations.

On Sunday night, Jan. 31, one of the students sat thinking about discrimination. "Segregation makes me feel that I'm unwanted," McNeil A. Joseph said later in an interview. 'I don't want my children exposed to it.' The 17-year-old student from Wilmington, N. C., said that he approached three of his classmates the next morning and found them enthusiastic over a proposal that they demand service at the lunch counter of a downtown variety store.
About 4:45 P.M. they entered the F. W. Woolworth Company store on North Elm Street in the heart of Greensboro. Mr. Joseph said he bought a tube of tooth paste and the others made similar purchases. Then they sat down at the lunch counter.

Rebuked by a Negro
A Negro woman kitchen helper walked up, according to the students, and told them, "You know you're not supposed to be in here." She later called them "ignorant" and a "disgrace" to their race. The students then asked a white waitress for coffee.
"I'm sorry but we don't serve colored here," they quoted her. "I beg your pardon," said Franklin McCain, 18, of Washington, "you just served me at a counter two feet away. Why is it that you serve me at one counter and deny me at another. Why not stop serving me at all the counters."
The four students sat, coffee-less, until the store closed at 5:30 P. M. Then, hearing that they might be prosecuted, they went to the executive committee of the Greensboro N.A.A.C.P. to ask advice. "This was our first knowledge of the demonstration," said Dr. George C. Simkins, who is president of the organization. He said that he had then written to the New York headquarters of the Congress of Racial Equality, which is known as CORE. He requested assistance for the demonstrators, who numbered in the hundreds during the following days.
Dr. Simkins, a dentist, explained that he had heard of a successful attempt, led by CORE, to desegregate a Baltimore restaurant and had read one of the organization's pamphlets.
CORE's field secretary, Gordon R. Carey, arrived from New York on Feb. 7. He said that he had assisted Negro students in some North Carolina cities after they had initiated the protests. The Greensboro demonstrations and the others that it triggered were spontaneous, according to Mr. Carey. All of the Negroes questioned agreed on this. The movement's chief targets were two national variety chains, S. H. Kress & Co. and the F. W. Woolworth Company. Other chains were affected. In some cities the students demonstrated at local stores.
The protests generally followed similar patterns. Young men and women and, in one case, high school boys and girls, walked into the stores and requested food service. Met with refusals in all cases, they remained at the lunch counters in silent protest.
The reaction of store managers in those instances was to close down the lunch counters and, when trouble developed or bomb threats were received, the entire store. Hastily painted signs, posted on the counters, read: "Temporarily Closed," "Closed for Repairs," "Closed in the Interest of Public Safety," "No Trespassing," and "We Reserve The Right to Service the Public as We See Fit."
After a number of establishments had shut down in High Point, N. C., the S. H. Kress & Co. store remained open, its lunch counter desegregated. The secret? No stools.
Asked how long the store had been serving all comers on a stand-up basis, the manager replied: "I don't know. I just got transferred from Mississippi."
The demonstrations attracted crowds of whites. At first the hecklers were youths with duck-tailed haircuts. Some carried small Confederate battle flags. Later they were joined by older men in faded khakis and overalls. The Negro youths were challenged to step outside and fight. Some of the remarks to the girls were jesting in nature, such as, "How about a date when we integrate?" Other remarks were not.

Negro Knocked Down
In a few cases the Negroes were elbowed, jostled and shoved. Itching powder was sprinkled on them and they were spattered with eggs.
At Rock Hill, S. C., a Negro youth was knocked from a stool by a white beside whom he sat. A bottle of ammonia was hurled through the door of a drug store there. The fumes brought tears to the eyes of the demonstrators. The only arrests reported involved forty-three of the demonstrators. They were seized on a sidewalk outside a Woolworth store at Raleigh shopping center. Charged with trespassing, they posted $50 bonds and were released. The management of the shopping center contended that the sidewalk was private property.

In most cases, the demonstrators sat or stood at store counters talking in low voices, studying or staring impassively at their tormentors. There was little joking or smiling. Now and then a girl giggled nervously. Some carried bibles.

Those at Rock Hill were described by the local newspaper, The Evening Herald, as "orderly, polite, well-dressed and quiet."

'Complicated Hospitality'

Questions to their leaders about the reasons for the demonstrations drew such replies as:
"We feel if we can spend our money on other goods we should be able to eat in the same establishments," "All I want is to come in and place my order and be served and leave a tip if I feel like it," and "This is definitely our purpose: integrated seating facilities with no isolated spots, no certain seats, but to sit wherever there is a vacancy."

Some newspapers noted the embarrassing position in which the variety chains found themselves. The News and Observer of Raleigh remarked editorially that in these stores the Negro was a guest, who was cordially invited to the house but definitely not to the table. "And to say the least, this was complicated hospitality."

The newspaper said that to serve the Negroes might offend Southern whites while to do otherwise might result in the loss of the Negro trade.
"This business," it went on, "is causing headaches in New York and irritations in North Carolina. And somehow it revolves around the old saying that you can't have your chocolate cake and eat it too."

The Greensboro Daily news advocated that the lunch counters be closed or else opened on a desegregated basis. North Carolina's Attorney General, Malcom B. Seawell, asserted that the students were causing "irreparable harm" to relations between whites and Negroes.

Mayor William G. Enloe of Raleigh termed it "regrettable that some of our young Negro students would risk endangering these relations by seeking to change a long-standing custom in a manner that is all but destined to fail."

Some North Carolinians found it incomprehensible that the demonstrations were taking place in their state. They pointed to the progress made here toward desegregation of public facilities. A number of the larger cities in the Piedmont region, among them Greensboro, voluntarily accepted token desegregation of their schools after the Supreme Court's 1954 decisions.

But across the state there were indications that the Negro had weighed token desegregation and found it wanting. When commenting on the subject, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Ala., drew a chorus of "amens" from a packed N.A.A.C.P. meeting in a Greensboro church. "We don't want token freedom," he declared. "We want full freedom. What would a token dollar be worth?"

Warming to the subject, he shouted: "You educated us. You taught us to look up, white man. And we're looking up!"

Praising the demonstrators, he urged his listeners to be ready "to go to jail with Jesus" if necessary to "remove the dead albatross of segregation that makes America stink in the eyes of the world." John H. Wheeler, a Negro lawyer who heads a Durham bank, said that the only difference among Negroes concerned the "when" and "how" of the attack on segregation.
He contended that the question was whether the South would grant the minority race full citizenship status or commit economic suicide by refusing to do so.

The Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, which includes persons from many economic levels, pointed out in a statement that white officials had asked Negro leaders to stop the student demonstrations. "It is our opinion," the statement said, "that instead of expressing disapproval, we have an obligation to support any peaceful movement which seeks to remove from the customs of our beloved Southland those unfair practices based upon race and color which have for so long a time been recognized as a stigma on our way of life and stumbling block to social and economic progress of the region."

It then asserted: "It is reasonable to expect that our state officials will recognize their responsibility for helping North Carolina live up to its reputation of being the enlightened, liberal and progressive state, which our industry hunters have been representing it to be."

The outlook for not only this state but also for the entire region is for increasing Negro resistance to segregation, according to Harold C. Fleming, executive director of the Southern Regional Council. The council is an interracial group of Southern leaders with headquarters in Atlanta. Its stated aim is the improvement of race relations.

"The lunch-counter 'sit-in'," Mr. Fleming commented, "demonstrates something that the white community has been reluctant to face: the mounting determination of Negroes to be rid of all segregated barriers.

"Those who hoped that token legal adjustments to school desegregation would dispose of the racial issues are on notice to the contrary. We may expect more, not less, protests of this kind against enforced segregation in public facilities and services of all types."

The Montgomery Alabama Bus Boycott

"My feets is weary, but my soul is rested."
-- Mother Pollard

The Montgomery Bus Boycott officially started on December 1, 1955. That was the day when the blacks of Montgomery, Alabama, decided that they would boycott the city buses until they could sit anywhere they wanted, instead of being relegated to the back when a white boarded. It was not, however, the day that the movement to desegregate the buses started. Perhaps the movement started on the day in 1943 when a black seamstress named Rosa Parks paid her bus fare and then watched the bus drive off as she tried to re-enter through the rear door, as the driver had told her to do. Perhaps the movement started on the day in 1949 when a black professor Jo Ann Robinson absentmindedly sat at the front of a nearly empty bus, then ran off in tears when the bus driver screamed at her for doing so. Perhaps the movement started on the day in the early 1950s when a black pastor named Vernon Johns tried to get other blacks to leave a bus in protest after he was forced to give up his seat to a white man, only to have them tell him, "You ought to knowed better." The story of the Montgomery Bus Boycott is often told as a simple, happy tale of the "little people" triumphing over the seemingly insurmountable forces of evil. The truth is a little less romantic and a little more complex.

The simple version of the story leaves out some very important people, such as Jo Ann Robinson, of whom Martin Luther King, Jr., would later write, "Apparently indefatigable, she, perhaps more than any other person, was active on every level of the protest." She was an educated woman, a professor at the all-black Alabama State College, and a member of the Women's Political Council in Montgomery. After her traumatic experience on the bus in 1949, she tried to start a protest but was shocked when other Women's Political Council members brushed off the incident as "a fact of life in Montgomery." After the Supreme Court's Brown decision in 1954, she wrote a letter to the mayor of Montgomery, W.A. Gayle, saying that "there has been talk from 25 or more local organizations of planning a city-wide boycott of buses." By 1955, the Women's Political Council had plans for just such a boycott. Community leaders were just waiting for the right person to be arrested, a person who would anger the black community into action, who would agree to test the segregation laws in court, and who, most importantly, was "above reproach." When fifteen year old Claudette Colvin was arrested early in 1955 for refusing to give up her seat, E.D. Nixon of the NAACP thought he had found the perfect person, but Colvin turned out to be pregnant. Nixon later explained, "I had to be sure that I had somebody I could win with." Enter Rosa Parks. Rosa Parks is probably the most romanticized personage in the Montgomery cast of characters. She is often portrayed as a simple seamstress who, exhausted after a long day at work, refused to give up her seat to a white person. While this is not untrue, there is more to the story. Parks was educated; she had attended the laboratory school at Alabama State College because there was no high school for blacks in Montgomery at that time, but had decided to become a seamstress because she could not find a job to suit her skills. She was also a long-time NAACP worker who had taken a special interest in Claudette Colvin's case. When she was arrested in December 1955, she had recently completed a workshop on race relations at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee. And she was a well-respected woman with a spotless record.

On Thursday, December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks boarded a city bus and sat with three other blacks in the fifth row, the first row that blacks could occupy. A few stops later, the front four rows were filled with whites, and one white man was left standing. According to law, blacks and whites could not occupy the same row, so the bus driver asked all four of the blacks seated in the fifth row to move. Three complied, but Parks refused. She was arrested. When E.D. Nixon heard that Parks had been arrested, he called the
police to find out why. He was told that it was "[n]one of your damn business." He asked Clifford Durr, a sympathetic white lawyer, to call. Durr easily found out that Parks had been arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a bus. Nixon went to the jail and posted bond for Parks. Then he told her, "Mrs. Parks, with your permission we can break down segregation on the bus with your case." She talked it over with her husband and her mother, then agreed. That night, Jo Ann Robinson put plans for a one-day boycott into action. She mimeographed handouts urging blacks to stay off the city buses on Monday, when Parks' case was due to come up. She and her students distributed the anonymous fliers throughout Montgomery on Friday morning. That evening, a group of ministers and civil rights leaders had a meeting to discuss the boycott. It did not go well. Many ministers were put off by the way Rev. L. Roy Bennett took control of the meeting. Some left and others were about to leave. Those remaining, however, agreed to spread word of the boycott through their sermons on Sunday, then meet again on Monday night if the boycott went well to decide whether or not to continue it.

Martin Luther King, Jr., minister at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, thought that "if we could get 60 percent cooperation the protest would be a success." He was pleasantly surprised when bus after empty bus rolled past his house that morning. "A miracle had taken place," King would later write. "The once dormant and quiescent Negro community was now fully awake." The group from Friday night met again that afternoon and decided to call themselves the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). They elected King as president. The next decision was whether or not to end the boycott. Some ministers wanted to end it as a one-day success. Then E.D. Nixon rose to speak:

What's the matter with you people? Here you have been living off the sweat of these washerwomen all these years and you have never done anything for them. Now you have a chance to pay them back, and you're too damn scared to stand on your feet and be counted! The time has come when you men is going to have to learn to be grown men or scared boys.

The MIA decided to let the people vote on whether or not to continue the boycott at the mass meeting that night. There, the decision was unanimous. The boycott would continue.

When the boycott began, no one expected it to last for very long. There had been boycotts of buses by blacks before, most recently in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1953. A one-day boycott, followed three months later by a week-long boycott, resulted in buses that were more desegregated but that still had some seats reserved for whites as well as some for blacks. On Thursday, December 8, the fourth day of the boycott, King and other MIA officials met with officials and lawyers from the bus company, as well as the city commissioners, to present a moderate desegregation plan similar to the one already implemented in Baton Rouge and other Southern cities, including Mobile, Alabama. The MIA was hopeful that the plan would be accepted and the boycott would end, but the bus company refused to consider it. In addition, city officials struck a blow to the boycott when they announced that any cab driver charging less than the 45 cent minimum fare would be prosecuted. Since the boycott began, the black cab services had been charging blacks only 10 cents to ride, the same as the bus fare, but this service would be no more. Suddenly the MIA was faced with the prospect of having thousands of blacks with no way to get to work, and with no end to the boycott in sight.

In response, the MIA worked out a "private taxi" plan, under which blacks who owned cars picked up and dropped off blacks who needed rides at designated points. The plan was elaborate and took a great deal of planning; consequently, the MIA appointed a Transportation Committee to oversee it. The service worked so well so quickly that even the White Citizens Council (whose membership doubled during one month of the boycott) had to admit that it moved with "military precision."

Whites tried to end the boycott in every way possible. One often-used method was to try to divide the black community. On January 21, 1956, the City Commission met with three non-MIA black ministers and proposed a "compromise," which was basically the system already in effect. The ministers accepted,
and the commission leaked (false) reports to a newspaper that the boycott was over. The MIA did not even hear of the compromise until a black reporter in the North who received a wire report phoned to ask if the Montgomery blacks had really settled for so little. By that time it was Saturday night. On Sunday morning Montgomery newspapers were going to print the news that the boycott was over and the city's blacks were going to believe it. To prevent this from happening, some MIA officials went bar-hopping to spread the word that the stories were a hoax, that the boycott was still on. Later, the black ministers told King that they hadn't understood the proposal. When that effort to break up the boycott failed, whites turned to violence. King's home was bombed on January 30, and Nixon's home was bombed on February 1. Next, whites turned to the law. On February 21, 89 blacks were indicted under an old law prohibiting boycotts. King was the first defendant to be tried. As press from around the nation looked on, King was ordered to pay $500 plus $500 in court costs or spend 386 days in the state penitentiary.

Whites also tried to break down the "private taxi" system that many blacks relied on as their only means of transportation to and from work. Some churches had purchased station wagons, usually called "rolling churches," to be used in the private taxi service. Liability insurance was canceled four times in four months before King found insurance through a black agent in Atlanta, underwritten by Lloyd's of London. The police also arrested drivers for minor traffic offenses. When King dropped by a pickup point to help transport blacks waiting there, he was arrested for driving thirty miles per hour in a twenty-five mile per hour zone.

Despite all the pressures to end the boycott, blacks continued to stay off the buses. One white bus driver stopped to let off a lone black man in a black neighborhood. Looking in his rear view mirror, he saw an old black woman with a cane rushing towards the bus. He opened the door and said, "You don't have to rush auntie. I'll wait for you." The woman replied, "In the first place, I ain't your auntie. In the second place, I ain't rushing to get on your bus. I'm jus' trying to catch up with that nigger who just got off, so I can hit him with this here stick."

By this point, some members of Montgomery's business community were becoming frustrated with the boycott, which was costing them thousands of dollars because blacks were less likely to shop in downtown stores. Although they were as opposed to integration as the next white Montgomery resident, they realized that the boycott was bad for business and therefore wanted the boycott to end. They formed a group called the Men of Montgomery and tried negotiating directly with the boycotters. Eventually, however, these discussions broke down, and the boycott continued.

But blacks had already begun to fight to end the boycott in court. They would no longer settle for the moderate desegregation plan that they had first proposed. Now, they would accept nothing less than full integration. The city was fighting a losing battle. The blacks were armed with the Brown decision, less than two years old, which said that the "separate but equal" doctrine had no place in public education. Surely it must follow that the doctrine had no place in any public facilities. In addition, the city was not in the prejudiced local courts but in federal court, where even a black man could hope to have a fair trial. When the city defended segregation by saying that integration would lead to violence, Judge Rives asked, "Is it fair to command one man to surrender his constitutional rights, if they are his constitutional rights, in order to prevent another man from committing a crime?" The federal court decided 2-1 in favor of the blacks, with the lone dissent coming from a Southern judge. The city, of course, appealed the ruling, but on November 13, 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the federal court's ruling, declaring segregation on buses unconstitutional. The Montgomery Bus Boycott was officially over. Blacks continued, however, to stay off the city buses until the mandate from the Supreme Court arrived. During that time, MIA officials tried to prepare blacks as best they could for integrated buses. But, as
Martin Luther King, Jr., noted wryly, "not a single white group would take the responsibility of preparing the white community."

Blacks returned to the buses on December 21, 1956, over a year after the boycott began. But their troubles were not over. Snipers shot at buses, forcing the city to suspend bus operations after 5 P.M. A group tried to start a whites-only bus service. There was also a wave of bombings. The homes of two black leaders, four Baptists churches, the People's Service Station and Cab Stand, and the home of another black were all bombarded. In addition, an unexploded bomb was found on King's front porch. Seven white men were arrested for the bombings, and five were indicted. The first two defendants, Raymond D. York and Sonny Kyle Livingston, were found not guilty, even though they had signed confessions. The remainder of the bombers were set free under a compromise that also canceled the cases of blacks arrested under the anti-boycott laws, although King still had to pay his $500 fine. The KKK also tried to scare the blacks, but "it seemed to have lost its spell," King wrote. "...[O]ne cold night a small Negro boy was seen warming his hands at a burning cross." The violence died down after several prominent whites spoke out against it, and the integration of the Montgomery buses was ultimately successful.

On January 10 and 11, 1957, ministers from the MIA joined other ministers from around the South in Atlanta, Georgia. They founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and elected Martin Luther King, Jr., as president. SCLC would continue to work in various areas of the South for many years, continuing the nonviolent fight for civil rights started in Birmingham.

http://www.watson.org/~lisa/blackhistory/civilrights
The Big Parade: On the Road to Montgomery

Freedom March Begins at Selma; Troops on Guard

By Roy Reed

Selma, Ala., March 21; Backed by the armed might of the United States, 3,200 persons marched out of Selma today on the first leg of a historic venture in nonviolent protest. The marchers, or at least many of them, are on their way to the State Capitol at Montgomery to submit a petition for Negro rights Thursday to Gov. George C. Wallace, a man with little sympathy for their cause.

Today was the third attempt for the Alabama Freedom March. On the first two, the marchers were stopped by state troopers, the first time with tear gas and clubs.

The troopers were on hand today, but they limited themselves to helping Federal troops handle traffic on U.S. Highway 80 as the marchers left Selma.

Soldiers Line Highway

Hundreds of Army and federalized National Guard troops stood guard in Selma and lined the highway out of town to protect the marchers. The troops were sent by President Johnson after Governor Wallace said that Alabama could not afford the expense of protecting the march. The marchers were in festive humor as they started. The tone was set by the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, top aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as he introduced Dr. King for an address before the march started. "When we get to Montgomery," Mr. Abernathy said, "we are going to go up to Governor Wallace's door and say, 'George, it's all over now. We've got the ballot.'" The throng laughed and cheered.

Seven Miles Covered

The marchers, a large majority of them Negroes, walked a little over seven miles today. Governor Wallace is not expected to be at the State Capitol when the marchers arrive at the end of their 54-mile journey. An aide has said that he will probably be "in Michigan, or someplace" making a speech Thursday. Not enough buses could be found to escort 2,900 of the 3,200 marchers back to Selma tonight in line with a Federal Court order limiting the number to 300 along a two-lane stretch of highway. The authorities feared for the safety of those returning to Selma, Justice Department officials finally arranged with the Southern Railway for a special train of the Western Railway of Alabama to take them back. The Western is a subsidiary of the Southern.

Johnson Praised

Highway 80 narrows from a four-lane to a two-lane road about five miles past the point where the marchers stopped tonight. It widens to four lanes again as it approaches Montgomery. In his talk at the start of the march, Dr. King praised President Johnson, saying of his voting rights message to Congress last Monday: "Never has a President spoken so eloquently or so sincerely on the question of civil rights."

Then he turned to the crowd in front of Browns Chapel Methodist Church, the thousands of whites and Negroes from Alabama and around the country who were congregated for the march, and said: "You will be the people that will light a new chapter in the history books of our nation. Those of us who are Negroes don't have much. We have known the long night of poverty. Because of the system, we don't have much education and some of us don't know how to make our nouns and verbs agree. But thank God we have our bodies, our feet and our souls. "Walk together, children, don't you get weary, and it
will lead us to the promised land. And Alabama will be a new Alabama, and America will be a new America."

Dr. King's sense of history, if not his optimism, seemed well placed. The Alabama march appears destined for a niche in the annals of the great protest demonstrations.

The march is the culmination of a turbulent nine-week campaign that began as an effort to abolish restrictions on Negro voting in the Alabama Black Belt and widened finally to encompass a general protest against racial injustice in the state. The drive has left two men dead and scores injured. Some 3,800 persons have been arrested in Selma and neighboring communities.

The march got under way at 12:47 P.M., 2 hours 47 minutes late, after a confused flurry of last-minute planning and organizing. The marchers reached the first night's campsite, 7.3 miles east of Selma, at 5:30. When they got there they found four big tents pitched in a Negro farmer's field. Leading the march with Dr. King were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs; the Right Rev. Richard Millard, Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of California, and Cager Lee, grandfather of Jimmy Lee Jackson, the young Negro killed by a state trooper last month at Marion, Ala. Also among the leaders were John Lewis, president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Deaconess Phyllis Edwards of the Episcopal Diocese of California; Rabbi Abraham Heschel, professor of Jewish mysticism and ethics at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York; Mr. Abernathy, and the Rev. Frederick D. Reese, a Negro minister from Selma, who is president of the Dallas County Voters League.

2,000 Spectators
About 2,000 white and Negro spectators watched the procession leave town. That was 4,000 fewer than Army Intelligence had predicted. About 150 whites watched in silence as the march turned from Alabama Avenue and headed down Broad Street toward Edmund Pettus Bridge. A white man hoisted his young son to his shoulder to give the lad a better view. Several persons snapped pictures. Brig. Gen. Henry V. Graham, a National Guard officer, commanded all Federal troops on the scene, including the Regular Army military policemen. General Graham, a tall, square-jawed man, stood in the middle of Pettus Bridge wearing a helmet as he directed the operation. Two state trooper cars led the procession across the bridge. In the lead car was Maj. John Cloud, the man who directed the rout, with tear gas and nightsticks, of 525 Negro marchers near the foot of the same bridge two weeks ago. The marchers passed the site of the bloody incident without signal, except for a reminder from a white heckler. It was to protest the officers' rout of the first marchers that the Rev. James J. Reeb, a white Unitarian minister from Boston, came to Selma with scores of other clergymen. While he was here, Mr. Reeb was fatally beaten by a band of white men on March 9.

The heckler held up a sign as the procession left Pettus Bridge early this afternoon. It read, "Too bad, Reeb." A few feet away, another white spectator held a sign saying, "I hate niggers."

More Hecklers
More whites heckled from a railroad embankment running along the highway. They apparently were upset over the way the marchers were carrying a United States flag. They were carrying it upside down-the position of the distress signal.

On down the road, three cars painted with anti-Negro slogans passed in the south section of the four-lane highway. One car, with a Mississippi license plate, bore the words, "Meridian, Miss., hates niggers." A Confederate flag flew from the radio aerial. The lettering on another car said, "Go home scum." Back in town some 20 stragglers ran up Broad Street toward the bridge with knapsacks bouncing on their backs,
trying to catch the procession, which had already disappeared over the bridge. The marchers walked on
the left side of the highway.
The Federal presence was everywhere, even in the air. About a dozen planes and helicopters, many of
them manned by military personnel, flew over the procession constantly. John Doar, head of the Civil
Rights Division of the Justice Department, walked to one side at the head of the march, watching. Maj.
Gen. Carl C. Turner, Provost Marshal General of the United States Army, was on the scene as the
personal representative of the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Harold K. Johnson.
By radio, Federal agents reported minute by minute to the Justice Department and the Pentagon in
Washington. M.P.'s guarded every crossroad, leapfrogging in Jeeps to stay ahead of the march. There
was one report of violence. An unidentified white minister riding in an advance car was said to have
been attacked by four white men when he got out of the car on the side of the road. A spokesman for the
marchers said the minister had been struck on the face once and knocked to the ground but had not been
seriously hurt.
Today's leg of the journey was cut short four miles by a court injunction obtained by a white landowner
who did not want the marchers camping overnight on his land. A Negro tenant had agreed to let them
camp there. The march leaders found a new campsite. The Negro farmer's field where they slept tonight
is about a quarter of a mile south of the highway.
The field is about 500 yards from the New Sister Springs Baptist Church. It was at the church that the
marchers returning to Selma tonight boarded rented Greyhound buses and numerous automobiles that
shuttled them to the railway loading point about a mile from the campsite. Most of those who left the
march this way spent the night, as many had spent previous nights, with Negro families in Selma. Some
will remain in Alabama and rejoin the march Thursday, the final day. Leaders of the march hope to
arrive at Montgomery in impressive numbers. The military authorities are concerned about protection
for the marchers at night. Show business personalities such as Harry Belafonte and Lena Horne are
scheduled to entertain the group every night. The officials fear that outsiders may come to the camps to
see and hear the entertainers, and that troublemakers may infiltrate at the same time. A military
spokesman said the troops had no authority to search cars for weapons.
Although the weather was relatively warm for the beginning of the march, the temperature dropped
below freezing. The coming of the troops to Selma has produced none of the crushing grimness of the
Federal presence that characterized the Government's intervention at Little Rock, Ark., in 1957 and
The main difference is that troops were used in the earlier instances to suppress violence already out of
hand, while they were brought here to prevent violence.
Most of Selma's whites today went about their Sunday morning business, which is church, and only a
few bothered with the commotion on Sylvan Street. About 30 whites gathered at Broad Street and
Alabama Avenue at midmorning to wait for the march to go by. The march was late, as expected, and
while they waited half a dozen spectators joshed with the four armed military policemen stationed there.
The state and local authorities have repeatedly urged Alabama whites to stay away from U.S. Highway
80 while the march is in progress.
Early this morning, two or three armed M.P.'s were deployed at each intersection on the march route in
the city. More were strung out along Highway 80 on the other side of Edmund Pettus Bridge. Several
state troopers were scattered along the highway on the outskirts of the city. At Craig Air Force Base,
five miles east on Highway 80, a dozen big Army trucks could be seen from the road. They were filled
with armed troops.
The temperature was 2 degrees above freezing when people began gathering in Sylvan Street this
morning. The sun came out brilliantly, and by 11 A.M. the temperature was up to 42 degrees. The
marchers were out in everything from shirtsleeves to heavy coats. One elderly Negro wore a dress Air Force topcoat and a heavy wool headpiece that covered his head, throat and most of his face. Paul R. Screvane, president of the New York City Council showed up in a suit and blue overcoat. He and Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Manhattan's Negro Borough President, joined the milling crowd in front of Browns Chapel at midmorning. Mr. Screvane explained why he was there. "We came to represent Mayor Wagner and, we hope, the people of New York in what we consider to be a just cause," he said. Dozens of union officials and clergymen came in today and joined the hundreds of ministers and students and civil rights workers already here.

A fresh college group arrived, 33 students and three professors from Canisius College, a Roman Catholic institution in Buffalo, N.Y. A sign thrust up from the group said, "Civil Man Wants Civil Rights." Early today, plans for the march were still being hammered out. At 8 A.M., 400 or 500 persons milled in the street. Milling has become the style of the movement in recent weeks, and the character of the milling has changed as hundreds of whites from the North, East, and West have come into town to add their protest to the Negro's. The outsiders mill with a greater air of purpose. The marchers who showed up very early today in front of Browns Chapel were from the hard core of the movement. Others did not begin to appear on Sylvan Street until the sun was high.

The Alabama Freedom March has a long history, as the leaders see it. The Rev. Andrew Young, executive assistant to Dr. King in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told reporters last night that the whole Alabama project went back to the Birmingham church bombing of 1963 in which five Negro children were killed.

"At that time," he said, "we began to ask ourselves, 'What can we do to change the climate of an entire state?'"

http://www.voterights.org/news.html
IN ITS TUMULTUOUS 30-year history, affirmative action has been both praised and pilloried as an answer to racial inequality. The policy was introduced in 1965 by President Johnson as a method of redressing discrimination that had persisted in spite of civil rights laws and constitutional guarantees. “This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights,” Johnson asserted. “We seek… not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result.”

A Temporary Measure to Level the Playing Field

FOCUSING in particular on education and jobs, affirmative action policies required that active measures be taken to ensure that blacks and other minorities enjoyed the same opportunities for promotions, salary increases, career advancement, school admissions, scholarships, and financial aid that had been the nearly exclusive province of whites. From the outset, affirmative action was envisioned as a temporary remedy that would end once there was a “level playing field” for all Americans.

Bakke and Reverse Discrimination

BY the late ’70s, however, flaws in the policy began to show up amid its good intentions. Reverse discrimination became an issue, epitomized by the famous Bakke case in 1978. Allan Bakke, a white male, had been rejected two years in a row by a medical school that had accepted less qualified minority applicants—the school had a separate admissions policy for minorities and reserved 16 out of 100 places for minority students. The Supreme Court outlawed inflexible quota systems in affirmative action programs, which in this case had unfairly discriminated against a white applicant. In the same ruling, however, the Court upheld the legality of affirmative action per se.

A Zero-Sum Game for Conservatives

FUELED by “angry white men,” a backlash against affirmative action began to mount. To conservatives, the system was a zero-sum game that opened the door for jobs, promotions, or education to minorities while it shut the door on whites. In a country that prized the values of self-reliance and pulling oneself up by one’s bootstraps, conservatives resented the idea that some unqualified minorities were getting a free ride on the American system. “Preferential treatment” and “quotas” became expressions of contempt. Even more contentious was the accusation that some minorities enjoyed playing the role of professional victim. Why could some minorities who had also experienced terrible adversity and racism—Jews and Asians, in particular—manage to make the American way work for them without government handouts?

“Justice and Freedom for All” Still in Its Infancy

LIBERALS countered that “the land of opportunity” was a very different place for the European immigrants who landed on its shores than it was for those who arrived in the chains of slavery. As historian Roger Wilkins pointed out, “blacks have a 375-year history on this continent: 245 involving slavery, 100 involving legalized discrimination, and only 30 involving anything else.”
Considering that Jim Crow laws and lynching existed well into the ‘60s, and that myriad subtler forms of racism in housing, employment, and education persisted well beyond the civil rights movement, conservatives impatient for blacks to “get over” the legacy of slavery needed to realize that slavery was just the beginning of racism in America. Liberals also pointed out that another popular conservative argument—that because of affirmative action, minorities were threatening the jobs of whites—belied the reality that white men were still the undisputed rulers of the roost when it came to salaries, positions, and prestige.

**The Supreme Court: Wary of “Abstractions Going Wrong”**

THE SUPREME COURT justices have been divided in their opinions in affirmative action cases, partially because of opposing political ideologies but also because the issue is simply so complex. The Court has approached most of the cases in a piecemeal fashion, focusing on narrow aspects of policy rather than grappling with the whole.

Even in Bakke—the closest thing to a landmark affirmative action case—the Court was split 5-4, and the judges’ various opinions were far more nuanced than most glosses of the case indicate. Sandra Day O’Connor, often characterized as the pivotal judge in such cases because she straddles conservative and liberal views about affirmative action, has been described by University of Chicago law professor Cass Sunstein as “nervous about rules and abstractions going wrong. She’s very alert to the need for the Court to depend on the details of each case.”

**Black-and-White Polemics Turn Gray**

THE DEBATE about affirmative action has also grown more murky and difficult as the public has come to appreciate its complexity. Many liberals, for example, can understand the injustice of affirmative action in a case like Wygant (1986): black employees kept their jobs while white employees with seniority were laid off. And many conservatives would be hard pressed to come up with a better alternative to the imposition of a strict quota system in Paradise (1987), in which the defiantly racist Alabama Department of Public Safety refused to promote any black above entry level even after a full 12 years of court orders demanded they did.

**No Airtight Answers**

IN the last decade the tide has turned against affirmative action, and two states, California and Washington, have gone so far as to abolish it. Yet the questions of fairness and racial equality remain troubling for most of those not at the ideological poles of the issue. Even a once adamant opponent of affirmative action like John Bunzel, president of San Jose State University, has acknowledged that “perhaps the most important lesson I’ve learned is that there are no airtight, completely coherent, unassailable, and holistic answers on the question of affirmative action that are not only theoretically perfect, but instrumentally practical. Any intelligent person who wrestles with it is going to be vulnerable and subject to the twists and turns of unintended consequences.” Serious advocates both for and against affirmative action could easily share such an estimation.

Confederate Flag Controversy

State Flags

On Jan. 30, 2001, the state of Georgia changed its flag, removing the large Confederate battle cross from the 1956 design and replacing it with the state seal of Georgia. Mississippi is now the only state that still prominently displays the "Southern Cross" in its official state flag. (A number of state flags—Arkansas's, Alabama's, and the brand-new version of Georgia's—incorporate elements of the Confederate battle flag.) The controversial Confederate symbol has been described variously as a proud emblem of Southern heritage and as a shameful reminder of slavery and segregation. On April 17, 2001, Mississippi will hold a referendum to decide whether to retain the current state flag or replace it with a less inflammatory design.

Confederate Battle Flag

In the past, several states flew the Confederate battle flag along with the U.S. and state flags over their statehouses. While other Southern states eventually removed the flag from their statehouses, South Carolina remained the lone holdout despite enormous protest. On July 1, 2000, South Carolina relented, moving the flag from the statehouse dome to the capitol lawn. Not all protestors were appeased by this less-than-total concession, however, and an economic boycott of the state continues.

The Confederate battle flag has also been appropriated by the Ku Klux Klan and other racist hate groups. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, more than 500 extremist groups use the Southern Cross as one of their symbols.

Flag Fallacies

There is a common misperception that the Confederate battle flag (the "Southern Cross") was the national flag of the Confederacy. In reality, the flag we most associate with the Confederacy was strictly a battle flag—and not the only battle flag used. The Confederacy actually changed its national flag three times during the course of the war.

Another misperception is that in a number of Southern states some version of the Confederate flag had been flown without interruption since the Civil War. For the most part, the Southern states that raised the Confederate battle flag or incorporated it into their state flag did so during the 1950s and 1960s, in a defiant stand against integration. Denmark Groover, the Georgia House floor leader who in 1956 sponsored the legislation to add the Southern Cross into the state flag, has freely admitted as much. He maintains that he and many of Georgia's legislators at the time were staunch segregationists who had urged that the Confederate symbol be added to the flag as a protest against federal integration orders. In 2001, 45 years later, Groover, now retired, again voiced his opinion on Georgia's flag, this time advocating that the divisive symbol be removed.

Follow the links below for a history of Confederate flags during the Civil War period and how those flags were adopted in the 20th-century South.

http://factmonster.com/spot/confederate1.html
Issue: Racial Profiling

WASHINGTON, D.C. Feb 27 (OW-US) - The oldest and largest civil rights coalition in the United States has demanded that police and other authorities put a stop to the practice of racial profiling, which they said has expanded since September 11, 2001, from targeting African American and Hispanic groups to include the nation's Muslim communities.

"Racial profiling was wrong before September 11 and it is wrong today," said Wade Henderson, executive director of Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR), at the launch Thursday of a report offering evidence both of widespread profiling and the ineffectiveness of such profiling as a law enforcement tool.

The LCCR report comes exactly two years after President George W. Bush condemned racial profiling and announced that it must stop. But his pledge to terminate the practice was lost in the aftermath of September 11.

Among the cases cited by the report was that of African-American Harvard law-graduate Robert Wilkins who, along with members of his family, was stopped and searched while driving a rental car by Maryland police on suspicion of a drug-related offense. Another case involved an African-American advertising executive subjected to a body search when returning to the U.S. from Jamaica.

Statistics collected in Maryland during the late 1990s revealed that 70 percent of those stopped on highways by police were Black, although only 17.5 percent of drivers registered in the state were Black. Evidence of similar trends--in New York and New Jersey, for example--began mounting during 1999 and 2000 when the U.S. Customs Service was also found to be searching a disproportionate number of Black women, ostensibly for drug-related activities.

On February, 2001, both Bush and Attorney General John Ashcroft spoke out publicly on the need to end the practice altogether. "[It is] wrong and we will end it in America," Bush told Congress.

The following June, two Democratic lawmakers introduced the "End Racial Profiling Act 2001" in Congress, forbidding the practice and authorizing lawsuits by individuals who claimed they were targeted along racial lines. The legislation did not pass, and after the terrorist attacks three months later there was a new onslaught of profiling, this time of those thought to be Muslim.

LCCR's report finds numerous cases of unwarranted arrests and harassment of people of Middle Eastern appearance, such as the seizure of an Amtrak passenger wearing a turban on September 12, 2001, and the arrest the same month of Ali al Maqtari, husband of an American servicewoman, who was held in jail for more than seven weeks without any evidence to substantiate the charges against him of violating immigration laws, beating his wife, and conspiring with Russian terrorists.

The report compares the current targeting of Muslims with the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, saying that these are both examples of "what can happen when fear of a distant enemy and irrational responses erode core constitutional values."

The thinking underlying much racial profiling, says the LCCR report, is based on false beliefs, for example, that minorities commit the majority of drug-related crimes. The report challenges this idea and finds that, for example, drug use among Black youths is consistently lower per capita than among White youths.

The report also points to a December 1999 study in New York that found that "hit rates," or the rate at which random stop-and-frisk actions result in an arrest, were higher for White people than for minorities as part of the evidence that racial profiling is not an effective law enforcement tool.

To counter myths that link crime and the nationality or ethnicity of an individual, the report recommends a series of measures ranging from public education on profiling and more diversity within police ranks to an outright ban on race-based profiling at all levels of law enforcement that is legally enforceable, including by victims. Citizens should be able to take out an injunction against racial profiling agencies, according to the report, but not sue them for financial damages.
**The Issue: Slavery Reparations**

- Determining whether or not the descendants of African slaves brought to the U.S. should be repaid for the work and suffering of their ancestors.
- Determining who should be held accountable for the repayment.
- Determining who would be eligible to receive any such payment.
- And determining how any such payment would be made to those eligible, e.g. in the form of cash, governmental benefits, a verbal apology, land grants, education benefits, etc.

**Background:** During the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War, slaves were promised "forty acres and a mule" to help them start their lives as 'free men'. The promise was never kept and the idea of reparations began to grow. The debt owed to African-American descendants of slaves for work and suffering has been estimated anywhere between $1.6 and $777 trillion by those in favor of reparations. There is historical precedence for the payment of reparations. Reparations were awarded to Japanese families in internment camps during World War II by a 1940s court decision. Also an international court has awarded reparations to descendants of Jewish slave laborers who worked in Germany and Austria during World War II.

**The Case For:** Those in favor of slavery reparations argue that compensation promised to slaves upon their release was never paid. Proponents cite the years of labor, horrendous conditions, rape and beatings at the hands of their owners and veritable construction of the country as reasons for the debt that is owed. Deadria Farmer-Paellmann, the plaintiff in the most recent case against U.S. corporations for slavery reparations states, "These are corporations that benefited from stealing people, from stealing labor, from forced breeding, from torture, from committing numerous horrendous acts, and there's no reason why they should be able to hold onto assets they acquired through such horrendous acts." Farmer-Paellmann's case cites "unpaid labor" as the cause of the compensatory damages she and her lawyers are seeking.

**The Case Against:** Reparations opponents, such as conservative activist David Horowitz, one of the most out-spoken of the opponents, argue that paying reparations to African-Americans is a racist idea and that it will hurt the African-American community, in the long run. Horowitz has offered ten reasons why reparations are a bad idea. His reasons have been seen on Salon.com as well as in now famous ads in college newspapers across the country. Horowitz's reasons are, to a large extent, reflective of many common arguments against reparations. They include:

- It is unclear who actually should be responsible for the debt.
- Not all Americans are descendants of slave owners and therefore, the entire populations shouldn't be punished for the actions of a few. In fact, most living Americans have no "lineal connection" to slavery at all.
- Not all African Americans actually "suffer" from the consequences of slavery.
- Reparations have already been "paid" in the form of welfare, Affirmative Action, Civil Rights Acts and racial preferences.

**Recent Legal and Political Actions:** In March 2002, law student Deadria Farmer-Paellmann filed a federal lawsuit against FleetBoston Financial, the railroad firm CSX and the Aetna insurance company; lawyers for the plaintiff promise to name an additional 100 corporations in the suit at a
later date. The suit was filed on behalf of 35 million African-Americans and seeks billions of dollars in reparations for the descendants of slaves in America, accusing the companies names of human rights violations and conspiracy, among other things. Farmer-Paellmann told NBC's Today Show that it is wrong for these companies to benefit monetarily from stealing and raping human beings.

The issue of slavery reparations was raised at an April 26, 2000 joint hearing of the Chicago City Council Finance and Human Relations committees. U.S. Rep. Bobby Rush (D-IL) told the committees that, "The future of race relations will be determined by reparations for slavery.". In 1997 several members of Congress called for the U.S. to issue an apology for slavery.

Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) has been introducing legislation to examine the lingering effects of slavery and the case for reparations in every congressional session since 1989. In every session, his bill fails to win a hearing.

http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher
Does Trent Lott Speak for the South?

By Andrew Beck Grace, AlterNet
December 11, 2002

Last Thursday, at a party celebrating Strom Thurmond's 100th birthday, Senator Trent Lott spoke for Mississippi. During his comments praising the longest serving member of the U.S. Senate, Lott said of Thurmond's 1948 Dixiecrat campaign, a campaign that vigorously opposed a federal anti-lynching law and desegregation legislation, "I want to say this about my state: When Strom Thurmond ran for president, we voted for him. We're proud of it. And if the rest of the country had followed our lead, we wouldn't have had all these problems over all these years, either."

"We voted for him," he said. In a state where, according to the 2000 census, 36 percent of the population is black, Lott feels he has the right to speak for the whole state.

Considering the egregious civil-rights violations of Southern elections from emancipation to the late 60s, it's doubtful whether or not blacks had any voice at all in elections, especially in an election where the sole purpose of the organization of the party was to combat the proposed civil-rights legislation of the Democratic party. It wasn't until 1964, with the passage of the 24th amendment which outlawed the poll-tax that blacks could see the beginning of any realistic voting rights in the South. But, of course, by 1964, Thurmond had lost his bid for presidency by 16 years, and this country was well into what Lott called "all these problems over all these years."

What's troubling about Lott's statement – which he described in a press release as "a poor choice of words" spoken during "a lighthearted celebration" – is that one of the most influential politicians in this country, soon to be the Majority Leader of the Senate, hasn't been affected enough by one of the most powerful moments in American history, a moment which happened in his state, to change what he says among friends during a birthday party.

Al Gore denounced the comments as a "racist statement"; Rev. Jesse Jackson suggested Lott should step down from his Senate post. But to suggest that the attention being placed on Lott's words is merely another sign of partisan bickering is to lessen the gravity of his words. The comments of people in power are almost universally censored by their handlers, speechwriters and PR teams. The way we come to understand the true feelings behind the rhetoric of our ever-polished leaders is to see how they act and hear what they say in "lighthearted celebrations" with friends.

These are the comments we should use to judge our leaders, not the rehearsed, scripted, media-friendly, and sound-biteable comments uttered in front of reporters.

So the question begs to be answered: Does Trent Lott speak for Mississippi and the rest of the South? If you choose to overlook the demographics, which show that roughly 25 percent of the Deep South is African-American, or if you want to believe in the myth of Mammy and Uncle Tom, and think that "well behaved" blacks, had they the right to vote in 1948, would have come out in droves to support the candidate of their oppressors, disregarding the fact that the Democrats offered the only hope for the elimination of Jim Crow, then yes, he does.
But I don't believe Trent Lott is that kind of a racist. Instead, his racism is much more divisive. He is a racist in the grand tradition of powerful white Southern men, unaware and unconcerned with the real history of the region, and preeminently concerned with the narrative of white domination. When a man witnesses the battles and victories of the civil rights era (Lott would have been a law student at the University of Mississippi during the most heated years of the movement) and comes away from that experience unaffected enough to proclaim that a segregationalist president would have done this country good, we should not overly concern ourselves with his interpretation of history.

His story of the region is one that exists only in the minds of unreconstructed Southerners, waving confederate flags outside the state capitol in South Carolina, calling to keep Alabama's 1911 constitution, the longest constitution in the country which still contains laws against interracial marriage and other Jim Crow era holdouts.

In short, Trent Lott's South only exists in myth.

Fortunately, Trent Lott only speaks for that South. Not the real South. Not the South of Morris Dees and the Southern Poverty Law Center. Not the South where one quarter of the population is black. Not the South which has emerged from a tumultuous legacy of racial oppression to make strides toward true racial unity, where the lofty ideals of Martin Luther King Jr. are being achieved in elementary schools across the region. These are the realities of the South today.

What is unfortunate is that we continue to choose leaders who represent a myth as lifeless as a confederate monument. The challenge now for the South is emphatically to deny a voice to those like Lott who want to represent the mythology; not the reality.

Following is a list of Vocabulary/Terms that you might want to go over prior to the lesson. An understanding of these terms and people is necessary for the lesson.

Civil Rights
Boycott
Sit-in
Segregation
Desegregation
NAACP
Rosa Parks
Martin L. King
Integration
Passive Resistance
Demonstration
Separate but Equal
Brown v. BOE
**The Montgomery Bus Boycott**

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## The Freedom Struggle

### The Freedom Riders

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The Freedom Struggle

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“I’ve decided I want my seat back.”. Political cartoon depicting an American eagle about to displace “Jim Crow” from atop an American flag pole. Document is a good visual resource to initiate a discussion on Plessy v. Ferguson; Jim Crow laws; Brown v. Board, and other significant events of the early Civil Rights movement. Mauldin, Bill “I’ve decided I want my seat back.” American Stories, Video Companion to The Americans Evanston, Ill. McDougal Littell