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*The Afro-Americans Struggle For Freedom:  
The Effects of the National Association for the  
Advancement of the Colored People in Ending Racial  
Discrimination*

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## **SUMMARY**

This dissertation deals with the Afro-American struggle for freedom, and particularly to develop a better understanding on the influence or the effective role of the National Association for the advancement of the colored people in ending Segregation. The organization that was the first seeds of civil rights movement, battled not just to get rid of the chains of servitude but getting much rights as human beings before the rights of being American citizens and therefore, having the right to demand more civil rights like the white men. This dissertation will not deal only with the important years of the great civil rights movement, but also tackles it from its roots from slavery, Black codes, and Jim Crow Laws. Then the dissertation shows how the great events that happened in twentieth century through the Great Migration of the blacks, and the Great Depression played a great role in the rise of black self-awareness, and the development of their social position; the right for the blacks as real American citizens and their right to have the American citizenship and the right to enjoy their civil rights as indicated by the terms of the 14<sup>th</sup>, and the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments to the American constitution. Then, it analyses the motives that fired up the rise or the flourishing of the Civil Rights Movement. The dissertation ends up with the years 1964 and 1965, the time when the Civil and Voting Rights Acts were enacted.

### **The Key Words**

African Americans, civil rights movement, slavery, Jim Crow laws, suffrage, boycotts, NAACP, SNCC, SCLC.

## Résumé

Cette thèse consiste la lutte des Afro-Américain pour avoir la liberté, et l'influence ou bien le role effectif de l'Association Nationale pour l'avancement de la communauté Noire, pour mettre fin à la ségrégation. L'organisation est le symbole des premières graines du la mouvement des droits civils, ce combat n'est pas seulement de se débarrasser des chaines de servitude, mais aussi d'voir beaucoup plus du droits comme être- humains, aussi bien comme tous les citoyens Américaines, cependant avoir le droit de demander encore plus des droits civils comme tous les hommes blancs, cette recherche ne sera pas condernée seulement par l'importance des grandes années du mouvement des droits civils, mais aussi traite le problème à partir des racines de l'esclavage, des codes des Noires et de la loi de Jim Crow. Et comment le problème de l'esclavage avait un effet sur l'histoire Américaines. Puis la deuxième partie montrer comment le début du mi vingtième siècle à travers la grandes immigration, la grandes Dépression qui à joué un très grand rôle, et partager l'auto-confiance des noirs, et le développement de la position sociale, le droits de noires comme vrais citoyens Américains et leur droit d' voir la nationalité Américaine et le droit d' voir la jouissance par les droits civil qui leurs seront accordés par la voie des codes ou des amendements 14 et 15 de la constitution Américaine. La troisième partie analyse les motifs ou bien les étincelles qui pourront être projeté sur l'emergence ou le florissant de Grand mouvement des Droits civils, le travail prend fin avec les années 1964 et 1967 et le temps ou les Acts des Droits Civils et du Vote étaient établis et promulguer sur des bases fondamentales.

## ملخص

تسعى هذه المذكرة إلى إعطاء مفهوم لكيفية صراع أو نضال الأفارقة الأمريكيين من أجل الحرية و التخلص من قيود العبودية و بشكل خاص لتطوير فهم أفضل للدور الفعال الذي لعبته الجمعية الوطنية من أجل النهوض بالشعوب المتعددة الأعراق في إنهاء جحيم التمييز العنصري الذي عانى ويلاته السود لما يقارب القرن. المنظمة التي كانت البذرة الأولى لحركة السود الكبرى من أجل الحقوق المدنية حاربت ليس فقط من أجل التخلص من ذل العبودية و لكن بغية الحصول على حقهم الطبيعي كبشر قبل نيل الحقوق المدنية كذلك التي يتمتع بها المواطن الأمريكي الأبيض. في الواقع هذا البحث لا يتعرض فقط للسنوات الهامة التي حققت فيها منظمة السود الكبرى من أجل استرداد الحقوق المدنية انتصارات لكن يتعرض أيضا لموضوع العبودية من الأصول الأولى في زمن سنت فيه حكومة البيض قوانين عنصرية سميت بقوانين السود و "قوانين جيم كرو". البحث أيضا يشرح الأثر الذي خلفته العبودية في التاريخ الأمريكي. وأيضا تعرض للتغيرات الكبرى التي حدثت في النصف الأول من القرن العشرين و التي قام بها السود كذلك المعروفة بالهجرة الكبرى و كذا الكساد الاقتصادي الكبير. كل هذه التغيرات الجذرية ساهمت في تبلور الوعي لدى الإفريقيين الأمريكيين و تحسن مستواهم الاجتماعي وأيضا تولد لديهم حسن الانتماء للوطن الأمريكي و بالتالي طالبوا بحقهم في التمتع بالحقوق المدنية التي نصت عليها التعديلات رقم 14 و 15 من الدستور الأمريكي. كما تطرق البحث إلى تحليل الدوافع أو الشرارات التي أطلقت العنان لظهور و ازدهار حركة السود الكبرى من أجل الحقوق المدنية على الصعيدين المحلي والعالمي. و في الأخير تختتم الأطروحة بالمراسيم الدستورية التي سنت بين العامين 1964 و 1965 أين فازت الحركة في معركتها و توجت جهودها بنيل الحقوق المنشودة و المنتظرة منذ زمن بعيد بما في ذلك حق التصويت والاقتراع.

## **Dedication**

I dedicate “this dissertation” to my beloved Dear mother  
and Father too who created in me the sense of responsibility  
And to my darling precious soft-hearted sisters.

## Acknowledgment

As a devout Muslim, first and foremost all praise is to Our Lord, Allah, as many as He has created, as large as the expansion of His Realm, as heavy as the weight of His Throne, and as varied as His blessings have been.

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## List of Acronyms

<b>COFO:</b>	The Council of Federated Organization
<b>CORE:</b>	Congress of Racial Equality
<b>CRM:</b>	Civil Rights Movement
<b>FBI:</b>	Federal Bureau of investigation
<b>FEPC:</b>	Fair Employment Practices Committee
<b>KKK:</b>	Ku Klux Klan
<b>NAACP:</b>	National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People
<b>MOWM:</b>	March on Washington Movement
<b>SCHW:</b>	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
<b>SCLC:</b>	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
<b>SNCC:</b>	Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
<b>UNIA:</b>	Universal Negro Improvement Association
<b>VEP:</b>	Voter Education Project
<b>WASP:</b>	White Anglo-Saxon Protestants

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## General Introduction

Throughout the events leading to the development of the black's awareness and their conviction about the fact that initiatives of changes should come from their side created in them the sense of self-confidence that they can restore their lost rights and rather their human dignity that was stolen by the white people. In fact, the whites had enslaved and oppressed the blacks from the earliest years of servitude. The most powerful democratic country in the world revealed its obscure gloomy part from the earliest foundation of the new nation. After the poor blacks labored in the vast plantations, their miserable conditions got worse with the inaction of the racial codes of Naturalization Act and the Jim Crow Laws that were the first signs of the racial segregation. Although the Civil War finally contributed to the abolition of slavery, a harsh system of white supremacy continued thereafter, and the emergence of the organization of the Ku Klux Klan is a better proof for that.

This study is an attempt at understanding the central role or the effective part of the first black organization that was known as the National Association of the colored people in ending racial discrimination, which deprived Afro-Americans of the minimum standards of life, and rather from the rights of citizenship.

The study of this topic was a pivot of my interest many years ago since I knew that the Civil Rights Movement was the great black movement that brought to the black Americans their full civil rights.

This study sheds light on the crucial role that was played by the National association for the Advancement of the colored people (NAACP) in ending the era of

the white's oppression and segregation that were practiced on Afro-Americans, as well as destroying the myth of the absolute white supremacy over the black race.

In fact, there are many questions that were raised here for instance; what is the special thing about this association? Did it achieve the goals it was created for? What were its most successful interventions on the political landscape? Was it really the perfect salvation that took Afro-Americans out of the slump of racial segregation? Is the NAACP the one that paved the way for the emergence of the civil Rights movement?

Concerning the methodology of research being adopted in this research process is descriptive analytical method that aims at analyzing the effects of the NAACP as a legal legitimate power in defending the rights of the blacks and ending the racial discrimination.

This research is divided to three major chapters dealing with the topic from different angles. First chapter represents a historical overview about the identity of the Afro-Americans and analyzes their reactions and responses to the harsh predominating circumstances that pervaded America at that time, the hard times they went through because of the oppressed codes made by the white people. The second chapter, deals with the Afro-American identity between distortions and legitimacy, it shows how the great events that happened in the first half of the twentieth century through the Great Migration of the blacks. The Great Depression had played a great role in the rise black self-awareness, and their attempts to ameliorate their social position, and the persistence to fight for gaining much recognition for the black member as being an American citizen as the white man, and having the right to enjoy his civil rights they were given to him by the terms of the American constitution. And then, comes the third chapter that analyses the motives that helped in the emergence of the civil Rights movement. And the dissertation ends with the years 1964 and 1965, the time when the Civil and Voting

Rights Acts were enacted to witness the Blacks triumph in their struggle against racial discrimination.

## **Chapter I**

### **The AFRICAN-AMERICANS**

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

#### **Introduction**

Servitude in America is traced back to 1619 with the first black slaves who have been brought from the shores of Africa to work in the production of some crops like cotton. Slavery practiced in the American colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries and the African-American helped to raise the economic bases of the new world. In fact in the early years of the colony of Virginia, many Africans and poor whites were on the same land, worked side by side in vast fields. This was in the early days of the British colonization of the thirteen colonies. However, things had fully changed with new unjust codes, starting from the Naturalization Act to Jim Crow laws. The Naturalization act that declared that segregation is legal because the act announced that a free white person shall be considered as a citizen of the United States. That means the white persons are not concerned with these oppressed laws. A great debate over Slavery started in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, due to the westward expansion and the abolition movement in the North. As a result, the slavery issue had decimated the United States in the Civil War (1861-65). Despite the fact that the civil war ended with the victory of the Union, and though the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the American constitution freed over 4 million slaves, African Americans were still suffering from the Reconstruction to the civil Rights Movement.

## **I- Servitude:**

### **1-Slavery-living conditions:**

Slavery existed in a number of ancient societies; it is not something new that was found in the new world. Actually the experience of slavery for men, women, and children was equally horrible. Slaves were allowed to have families. Mothers and their children were often separated Hallam noted that:

For black men and women, slavery was an equally devastating experience. Both were torn from homeland and family. Both were forced to perform grueling labor, subjected to mental and physical degradation, and denied their most basic rights [...]

(qtd. in Hallam *"Slavery and the Making of America"* 1)

Usually, babies that were born on the farms became the property of the masters. The differences between the genders lie in the jobs appointed to them. Both men and women were treated like animals. From the first days when the black Americans were brought to the new world, their conditions were worst than the white servants (ibid).

The African slaves were brought to the new world after 1619, and by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century there were more indentured black servants than white. With the increasing number of Africans, however being brought to the colonies as slaves poor white servants started to feel that Africans were stealing their jobs. (Hollis R. "black slavery in the U.S" sec.2).

Accordingly, the seventeenth century is seen as the origin of hatred and racism by whites toward blacks. The slaves' black complexion determined their lives. This is where the problem lies, the color of their skin. In colonial America, a new policy was

issued between the years 1639 and 1682 that transferred the attitude of blacks from servitude to racial discrimination. These laws excluded African slaves from governmental protection (Hodges Root & Branch 68).

Being black at that time meant being slave and slaves worked constantly, no time for rest just hard labor, the White planters saw the utility in having black slaves because it coincided with the property right to own the slaves' children as well (ibid).

In 1705. The Virginia General Assembly unlished a declaration that was soon adopted by other colonies:

All servants imported and brought into the Country [...] who not Christians were in their native Country [...] shall be accounted and be slaves. All Negro, and Indian slaves within this dominion [...] shall be held to be real estate.

(qtd. in Morris Southern Slavery p 172)

In this spirit, Africans and their lineage lost all hope of freedom. Their masters could not be held accountable for the violence they perpetrated on blacks, including death. Negroes were condemned to be no more than the property of their masters and their lives were in the hands of planters.

## **2. The Naturalization Act:**

As provided by Encyclopedia Britannica, in the year of 1705, state's legislative assemblies declared slaves as their master's property (Gichtel). More in 1790, the Naturalization Act that stated that African slaves were not equal human beings within the United States.

The Act legalized Racism and segregation, a free white person considered as a citizen of the United State. No citizenship is given for the black who were deprived of any kind of rights as the right to vote, to own properties.... (ibid).



The treatment of slaves in the United States varied by time and place, but was generally, brutal and degrading. Whipping, execution and sexual abuse including rape were common (David Brion Slavery 136). According to the historian *David Brion Davis*, treatment of slaves was harsh and inhumane. During work and outside of it, slaves suffered physical abuse, since the government allowed it. Treatment was usually harsher in large plantations, which were often managed by supervisors, and owned by slaveholders (140).

Frederick Law Olmsted who is architect, journalist, social critic, and public administrator visited Mississippi in 1853 and wrote:

A vast mass of the slaves pass their lives, from the moment they are able to go afield in the picking season till they drop worn out in the grave, in incessant labor, in all sorts of weather, at all seasons of the year, without any other change or relaxation than is furnished by sickness, without the smallest hope of any improvement either in their condition.

(F. L. Olmsted Slavery 225)

How did slaves reply to the hardship they were forced to subject to? While some slaves did choose suicide, the average appears to be surprisingly down. This is harmonious with suicide rates for Africa and for people of African origin living in other territories of the world, and further supports the theory that a low suicide rate is an element of African culture (Kneeland's "African American suffering"). The sweeping majority of African-American slaves chose to deal with their suffering through a variety of means, including resistance, external submission and spirituality. When slaves did

resort to suicide, it was apparently often in response to a deterioration in their circumstances or unfulfilled expectations (ibid).

### **3. Dred Scott's case and his quest for freedom:**

Dred Scott was an African-American slave, at the end of the 18th century in Southampton County, Virginia. He made a series of lawsuits in which he sought freedom for himself, and his family (Ehrlich 266). Dred Scott first went to trial to sue for his freedom in 1847. Ten years later, his case was finally brought before the United States Supreme Court. The court decided that all people of African ancestry slaves as well as those who were free could never become citizens of the United States ( IPL).

On March 6, 1857, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney read the majority opinion of the Court which stated that slaves were not citizens of the United States and, therefore, could not expect any protection from the Federal Government or the courts. The opinion also stated that Congress had no authority to ban slavery from a Federal territory(John G. and Nicolay).

The decision of *Scott v. Sanford*, considered by legal scholars to be the worst ever studied by the Supreme Court, was turned by the 13th and 14th amendments to the Constitution, which abolished slavery and declared all persons born in the United States have the right of citizenship(ibid).

#### **4. The North and the Abolition of Slavery:**

The South which was very rich in fertile soil and contained large farms and fields could not imagine how could it be possible to manage them without having slave labor. Fortunately not all whites in the United States had the same opinion toward blacks (Maamri from the origin to the civil war 95). The North was more temperate, and the farms there were of a more familiar type. Their owners were not dependent on black labor, They were against slavery both for moral, economic and religious reasons (ibid).

The American Anti- Slavery Society was established in Philadelphia in 1833 and into two years several hundred of their branches were founded throughout the free states. Their goal, to abolish slavery did not go as they thought. Nearly the entire South defended slavery as a necessary good and attempted to prove through scientific and biblical arguments that Negroes were inferior to whites and therefore destined to be slaves (Thomas G Anti-slavery 77) Since a half of the country was pro-slavery, and the other half was antislavery, a conflict was inevitable.

Abraham Lincoln, who was against slavery and was a proponent of abolition, won the presidency in the elections of 1860. The Southerners threatened to secede from the United States, one of the reasons being that they feared the abolition of slavery in case of Lincoln's election which indeed happened (O'Callaghan 48).

The following four years resulted in the bloodiest conflict in American history, what started as a fight for preserving the Union, later transformed into a black struggle for the abolition of slavery which was partially achieved by Abraham Lincoln in 1862.(Maamri 110)

The president issued a preliminary proclamation which claimed "that on the 1st day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or is being designated part

of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free”. (qtd. in Abraham Lincoln’s proclamation).

As provided by Encyclopedia Britannica, The President proclaimed freedom not only for more than three-fourths of the slaves in the United States, but also issued instructions for the executive government to maintain the freedom of these citizens. Furthermore, the right to work for reasonable wages was established as well as the possibility to be accepted into the American army (N. Current).

The Emancipation Proclamation was a tactic used by Abraham Lincoln to urge the black slaves to rebel against their masters in the South (“10 facts” CWPT). After the end of the war, and the defeat of the South President proposed the fourteen Amendments to the American Constitution, which in effect initiated the permanent abolition of slavery in all states. The Amendment was adopted on the 6th of December, 1865 (ibid).

## **II -The Slave Codes and Jim Crow laws:**

### **1 .The Southern “Black Codes”:**

The end of the Civil War witnessed the end of slavery for 4 million black Southerners. But the war also left them landless and with little money to uphold themselves to keep the freedmen subjected to Southerners, special oppressed law codes were created (Kennedy and A. Bailey America 6).

Andrew Johnson succeeded Abraham Lincoln and, he came to clear that, it was necessary to reunite the South with the North. His goal was to get Southern loyalty and support, and to offer them control over their own affairs and interests (Rowley Abraham Lincoln 240).

Nonetheless, the Southerners were decisive to do whatever it takes to keep former black slaves away from everything that was might considered to be white only, and to keep them in their position of inferiority and always disdain them. (O'Callaghan 54).

Southern states enacted laws known as the Black Codes, which calls for the whites supremacy over the black's inferiority, blacks were banned from the right to vote, they were deprived from all rights; no legal protection, no property, no education, could not be jury members in jurisdictions or at any governmental facilities, or rather unlikely to testify against a white man (Berger Government 38 ). These oppressed laws created rage in the North where the Federal Government decided on April 09, 1866, to pass a civil rights act which provide complete civil rights for those who live in the united states territories (ibid).

In addition the Freedmen's Bureau was founded, as the Civil War ended, resettlement of the freed African slaves became the responsibility of the Freedmen's Bureau, which was charged with distributing confiscated land to "loyal refugees and freedmen" and with regulating labor contracts between freedmen and planters, beside, it obliged the South planters to allow the afro-Americans to enjoy their rights (Weyant). Furthermore, the congress introduce the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the Constitution that was ratified on July 9, 1868, and provided citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States which included former slaves recently freed. Additionally, it forbade states from denying any person: life, liberty or property, or to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside; no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of

citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

(qtd. in "Constitution of the U.S ").♦

### **A-How did the South React**

The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment that was ratified in 1868, attempted to repeal the discriminatory state laws. I, e the codes that pervaded much of the Southern states refused it , and argued that, the Fourteenth Amendment was not legitimate because the former Confederate states were not represented in the Congress that proposed it (Berger 95). The South was placed under military rule, and their state governments were replaced with reconstruction governments. However, a storm of wrath, indignation, and fury fell upon them let alone to mention the racism, Southerners were resolute in prohibiting the blacks from their constitutional rights they used so many ways to prevent them from enjoying these rights, they even murdered them(ibid).

### **2. The Ku Klux Racial Problems:**

According to Southern Poverty Law Center website .The Ku Klux Klan was essentially based on the South, it is terrorist organization that advocated extremist reactionary ideologies such as: white supremacy, White Nationalism, and anti-immigration. The religious Christian sect of WASP belongs to it (pars. 1-2).

Most of organization actions were directed against the poor black families in the South were very vulnerable to attack. Despite the fact that, the Blacks were freed and enslavement was abolished by law, still to be black means being a second-class citizen who was limited in his rights (David Van, and Xavier Massot).

Black Americans tried so hard to fight back using non-violent means. The National Association for the advancement of the colored people asked Washington for new laws to help combat and stop the organization's terrorist actions (Reaper The tragedy 77). And so it did, the Klan's men in South Carolina were put on trial, in front of juries. Amos T. Akerman ,who served as United States Attorney General, was largely involved with the prosecutions of these Klan's men. He worked to make America aware of Klan violence . His work led to trials and jail sentences of a few hundred members of the KKK. Many others who were put on trial either fled or was only given a warning. Also, in 1872 the KKK as an organization was officially broken. (Horn Invisible 39-44).

### **3.Jim Crow Laws and its Aftermaths on the Black lives:**

#### **A-Jim Crow Laws**

Jim Crow was a popular 19th-century minstrel song that stereotyped African Americans, "Jim Crow" came to personify the system of government and racial oppression, and segregation in the United States ("The Rise and the fall of Jim Crow "). Jim Crow was the name of the racial caste system, which had been practiced in the southern states, between 1877 and the mid-1960s, Jim Crow laws main aim was to keep black and white people separated, particularly in social settings and social institutions such as marriage, the schools, restaurants, theatres,hospitals,and so many other public places. Under Jim Crow, African Americans were relegated and dismissed to the status

of second class citizens. Jim Crow represented the legitimization of anti-black racism. The states and cities were allowed to punish people who went against these laws (ibid). Between 1870 and 1884 eleven southern states legally banned interracial marriages. This attitude openly expressed the opinion of whites concerning their mastery over blacks and pushed their efforts in preserving their racial virtue.

Examples of laws that caused these extreme tensions in the country included the following:

- **Marriage** - "All marriages between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a person of negro descent to the fourth generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited." (Florida Law)
- **Hospitalization** - "The Board of Control shall see that proper and distinct apartments are arranged for said patients [in a mental hospital], so that in no cases shall Negroes and white persons be together." (Georgia law)
- **Barbering** - "No colored person shall serve as a barber [to] white women or girls." (Georgia law)

**Schools** - "[The County Board of Education] shall provide schools of two kinds; those for white children and those for colored children." (Texas law).

All efforts were wrapped by the phrase separate but equal. In 1896, the United States Supreme Court heard *Plessey v. Fergusson* and separate but equal segregation became the law of the land (ibid). Southern states considered the decision as their victory and the beginning of legal segregation.

Many socialists, at every educational level, inserted the belief that blacks were innately intellectually and culturally inferior to whites. Pro-segregation politicians gave eloquent speeches on the great danger of integration: the



mongrelization of the white race. Newspaper and magazine writers routinely referred to blacks as niggers, coons, and darkies; and worse, their articles reinforced anti-black stereotypes. Even children's games depicted blacks as inferior beings (Wikipedia)

According to Ferris State University website .Whites could physically beat blacks and can get away and even with impunity, blacks who violated Jim Crow norms, for example, drinking from the white water fountain or trying to vote, risked their homes, their jobs, even their lives(Pilgrim pars.1-3). Blacks had little legal recourse against these assaults because the Jim Crow criminal justice system was all-white: police, prosecutors, judges, juries, and prison officials. Violence was instrumental for Jim Crow. It was a method of social control. The most extreme forms of Jim Crow violence were lynchings (ibid).

### **III- The Rise of the Black Awareness:**

#### **1 .Atlanta Race Riot of 1906 white Supremacy Taken to the extreme:**

The Atlanta Race Riot of 1906, broke out between 1898 and 1906 were part of a pattern of anti-black violence that included several hundred lynchings each year(white “a Man Called White “ 5–12) .It was one of the most awful race riots in these years erupted in Atlanta, was it was a mass civil disorder, which began in the evening of September 22 and lasted until September 24, 1906. During the Atlanta Race Riot that occurred in the year of 1906, white mobs killed dozens of blacks, wounded others, and inflicted considerable property damage. (Mixon Atlanta 87).whites benefited from the riots to terrorize black citizens. It was evaluated that there were between twenty-five to forty African American deaths, but only ten were documented. These nameless murders

were only a way of cleaning up the streets to officers and politicians. It seemed as if they thought. (Godshalk Veiled Visions 174).

The main cause of the riots was the rising tensions between whites and blacks, by the end of the Civil War an increased tension between black wage-workers and the white elite began. These tensions were further exacerbated by increasing rights for blacks, which included the right to vote. With these increased rights, African-Americans began entering the realm of politics, establishing businesses and gaining notoriety as a social class in the eyes of the white population. (ibid 190). These newly acquired African-American rights and status brought increased competition between blacks and whites for jobs and heightened class distinctions.( Bauerlein Negrophobia 27)

As provided in Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History. In 1906, M. Hoke Smith and Clark Howell competed for the Democratic nomination. Both candidates were against the blacks rights of franchise. (Allen). Thus they worked to take away these rights from the blacks through many ways; they spread the idea that the current social order was under threat to frighten the whites from the blacks power .Attacking saloons and bars of blacks via newspapers. Spreading rumors about black men raping white women in the Atlanta Georgian and the Atlanta News (ibid).

### **Aftermaths of the riots:**

As mentioned in New Georgia Encyclopedia. Because, the riot had been covered throughout the United States as well as internationally. On Monday and Tuesday, city officials, businessmen, clergy, and the press called for an end to violence, because it was damaging Atlanta's image as a thriving New South city. (“Atlanta Race Riots”

pars.2-4) .Fears of continued disorder pushed some white civic leaders to seek a dialogue with black elites, establishing new perspectives based on the fact that they may convince the Northern whites that racial reconciliation is possible in the South. (ibid).

Black social patterns were an immediate outcome of the riots. The years after the riot, African Americans were most likely living in black communities. These communities were most likely found in the west of the city near Atlanta University or in eastern downtown (D. Schultz "African American Studies"). Black businesses were dispersed to the east, where a thriving black business district soon developed. Other outcomes included as well and, among them the increase in black suffrage in 1908(ibid).

No member of the white mob, police or militia was ever charged in any of the many deliberate crimes of Black Atlantans. After four days of racist terror, one of the papers announced, "It's time to go back to work.( Mathiowetz "Atlanta Race Riot was a massacre" pars. 1-5)

## **2. The Foundation of the NAACP:**

In 1909, the country was still stunned from race riots the whites were attacking the black community, forcing thousands to flee. After the riot, and *as* the twentieth-century had began, W. E. B. Du Bois, and other activists seeking more radical social change came together to form the Niagara Movement, setting the stage for the later National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a truly national struggle for civil rights (Wormser "African American" sec. 6).The NAACP was founded on February, 1909. After a race riot in Springfield, Illinois in 1908, "The Call"

went out to Northerners to find a way to create social equality. In 1909, a group of multi-racial activists held a conference in New York City in response to "The Call" and decided to form the NAACP (ibid sect.8). Among the founders were W.E.B. Dubois, Ida Wells-Barnett, Henry Moscowitz, Oswald Garrison Villard, Mary White Ovington, and William English Walling. With the help of Du Bois the NAACP, was founded, Despite its relatively few successes in the first two decades of its existence, it later became the essential core of the Civil Rights Movement. Its goal was aimed at ending segregation ensuring equal education both for white and black children and providing enfranchisement to all African Americans that based on the 14th and the 15th Amendments, (Franklin and Moss 318-320).

Rather than solving individual cases the NAACP focused its aim on helping and African Americans who might become victims of lynching. The Association pushed for the Federal anti-lynching bill, which had never been passed, in spite of three attempts by the House of Representatives in 1922, 1937, and 1940(ibid 323).

In the 1930s, their work became more focused on desegregating schools. Harvard Sitkoff reports in his book that "the eleven Southern states in 1916 spent an average of \$10.32 per white public-school student, and only \$2.89 per black pupil" (Sitkoff 6). Lower courts were forced to rule on the unequal conditions of segregated schools and other forms of discrimination represented by Jim Crow. The NAACP demanded either the same conditions for blacks and whites or the abandonment of Jim Crow Laws. The 1930s were the years of the Great Depression and balancing black institutions to white facilities created problems. In the following twenty years the NAACP engaged in legal operations aimed at individual states, counties, or city halls who were increasingly required to abrogate Jim Crow Laws (ibid).

## **Conclusion:**

Blacks experienced in each and every day of their lives the injustice of living in the United States, the early 1860s saw the rise of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, through which southern whites launched a brutal war against the blacks and the Republican policies protecting their civil rights. This led to the killing and brutalization of thousands of African Americans over just a few years. The federal government initially attempted to combat these organizations, but by the late 1870s, almost all attempts to uphold civil rights in the south were abandoned, leading to a reign of terror in the south characterized by lynchings, chain gangs, and legislation that blatantly discriminated against blacks. The era of Jim Crow Laws transformed the United States of America for the worst. The lives of many blacks were lost by the hands of the whites even if there was no justifiable reason for them to lose their lives. The Jim Crow Laws ensure that the whites worked tirelessly to segregate and discriminate the blacks from enjoying the America life by all means. On the other hand, he laws provided an opportunity for the blacks to show that they can fight for their own rights and that their race should not be used in any way to discriminate them. They fought tirelessly to diminish the principal of “separate but equal” policy which defined their livelihood in America. African Americans were not slaves any more, and the turn of the century showed that they realized this. Many of them studied at black universities, and others were worried to do whatever was possible to change their tacky status. There was. However so much fear , the fear of being lynched or killed by a white mobs who did not allow individual blacks to defy the system simply because they are deprived from any rights, it was just over a century ago,

in 1909, that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed with the aim of abolishing segregation and discrimination in housing, education, employment, voting, and transportation and securing for African Americans their constitutional rights. Undoubtedly the foundation of such organization was an important milestone in African American history. The NAACP neither represented nor extreme violent organization, neither encouraged violent actions. Leaders of individual branches comprehended that the way to bring change lied in the laws; hence their main interests were put in legal processes.

## End Note

◆Section 1 of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment: Passed by Congress June 13, 1866. Ratified July 9, 1868.” Constitution of the U.S: Amendments 11-21” Webpage [archives.gov](http://www.archives.gov).2007.15 June. 2014<[http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution\\_amendments\\_11-27.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_amendments_11-27.html)> .

## CHAPTER II

### **The Afro-American identity between Distortions and Legitimacy**

#### **Introduction**

Whites were the dictators who controlled and determined the fate the Afro-Americans, blacks were considered inferior, unequal and were put at the bottom of society. They recognized that white Americans would not give them freedom by their own will. Blacks knew that the laws were on the side of whites who inherited hatred for them, passed from generation to generation. Actually, blacks learnt that the only way to turn things into their side is to make changes and new patterns to show to the whites that, they are able to do all what it takes to rise from ashes to the top of food chain. The events of the twentieth century helped foster this change. The Great Migration of the 1920s was very important for the later Civil Rights Movement because it meant a shift from rural to urban areas for thousands of African Americans. Despite the same miserable conditions in cities, blacks managed to have better education and better jobs opportunities there. Black ghettos and neighborhoods in cities were quite large and provided more convenient places where African Americans could gather, and organize for their future struggle unlike the suburban areas. Additionally, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and both World Wars, had increased the strength of black suffrage. All these features were significant events before the movement could erupt.



## **I-The Blacks Aspirations for Freedom**

### **1-The Great Migration:**

Between 1914 and 1920, roughly 500,000 black southerners headed towards the North, fundamentally transforming the social, cultural, and political landscape of cities such as Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Detroit. “The Great Migration “that changed black Americans lives and the nation as a whole (Gregory “The Southern Diaspora” pars.1-5).

Black southerners faced a host of social, economic, and political challenges that increased their migration to the North. The majority of black farmers labored as sharecroppers, remained in perpetual debt, and lived in dire poverty. Their condition worsened in 1915–16 as a result of a boll weevil infestation\* that ruined cotton crops throughout the South (Chad\_ “African Americans and World War I” pars. 2-6), these economic problems became worse due to social and political oppression. By the time of the war, most black people had been disfranchised, effectively stripped of their right to vote .The Great Migration, which lasted until 1930, was the first step in the full nationalization of the African-American population (ibid).

At the end of the nineteenth century, more than ninety percent of African Americans lived in the Southern states and their conditions there were generally much worse than those in the North. The system of sharecropping that spread throughout the South required blacks to work in the fields, often resulting in an uncertain future and, debts in case of poor crops. Between 1890 and 1910, nearly 200,000 sharecroppers fled to the North, while others returned to Africa (Sitkoff 6).

Black women played an important role during this period of upheaval. Days spent in the fields displaced their roles as wives and mothers, forcing them to spend their

nights cooking cleaning or washing, many of them, being weather widows or single mothers left the rural areas and moved to southern cities. Tens of thousands exploited the postwar situation and escaped to the north where they accepted jobs as domestics (ibid 10). In most cases the responsibility for earning a living rested with women who could more easily earn money, boys who were forced from their early childhood to work in the fields missed education, while jobs in the field of industry were often staffed with white immigrants (Tom. E and, cooper,ch.10).

By 1900 black women were generally better educated because they were more likely to finish grade school than black men(ibid) .They often worked for white families, both in the North and the South and giving encouragement to each other raised their spirits. Black women founded clubs for mutual help where they openly defied the lynching of black men, encouraged suffrage for women and higher education for both sexes (Internet Public Library). They felt less threatened by the terrorist practices of white mobs due to their gender. In addition, most black teachers were women which enabled them to defend their blackness, to become leaders, to express pride in them and to teach youngsters about their own self-awareness (ibid).

As mentioned above, the end of the nineteenth century witnessed the first migration of blacks which continued after 1916. European migration to the United States was restricted which offered new job opportunities for African Americans. Another thing the labor shortage experienced during the War along with the persistent anger and rage of southerners which added to a mass departure of blacks moving to the North. (Davis “the History of Jim Crow” sec.1). The years from 1916 till 1919 are known as “the Great Migration” when over half a million blacks fled towards the North.

Similarly, another million left the South during the 1920s. African Americans wished to find a more tolerant society than the one that existed in the South (ibid).

The North represented for them “The Promised Land” as *Nicholas Lemann* entitled his book but here they encountered segregation and discrimination as well. Here, they were similarly exploited in education, housing and job opportunities as they had been in the South. Moreover, Northerners did not feel disposed to accept such an influx of African Americans into their cities and lives (Franklin and Moss 320-321.). While the NAACP, with the cooperation of the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes were helped blacks to adjust to the mainstream of American life, the migration was plagued by race riots brought about by white mobs (ibid).

## **2-IMPACT OF THE GREAT MIGRATION**

As a result of housing tensions, many blacks ended up creating their own cities within big cities, fostering the growth of a new urban African-American culture. The most prominent example was Harlem in New York City, a formerly all-white neighborhood that by the 1920s housed some 200,000 African Americans (Bawa “Great migration”). The black experience during the Great Migration became an important theme in the artistic movement known first as the New Negro Movement and later as the Harlem Renaissance **Ψ**.

The Chicago Defender, which circulated throughout the South, appealed black people to flee from white’s oppression and take advantage of opportunities in the North (Grossman Land of Hope 280-285 ). Even more influential were the letters of the migrants themselves, individuals would often leave to improve conditions, secure a job,

then send for the rest of their family to annex. This sense of community eased a black migrant's transition to city life(ibid).

Southern migrants did not always find the "promised land" they imagined. They frequently endured residential segregation, job discrimination, and in many cases, the hostilities of white residents (Chad prs. 8-10). Older black residents sometimes felt bad about the presence of the new migrants, as neighborhoods became increasingly overcrowded and stigmatized as ghettos (ibid). However, life in the North was despite that better than that in the South. No longer subjected to the indignities of Jim Crow and the constant threat of racial violence, southern migrants experienced a new sense of freedom. Southern culture infused northern black communities with a vibrancy that inspired new forms of music, literature,. (Chad par. 13). The Great Migration marked a significant moment in the economic, political, social, and cultural growth of modern black America (ibid).

## **II-The First World War and the blacks:**

World War 1 was a transformative moment in African-American history. What began as a seemingly European conflict soon became an event with revolutionary implications for the social, economic, and political future of black people. The war directly impacted all African Americans, male and female, northerner and southerner, soldier and civilian (Danette Freedom 8-9). Migration, military service, racial violence,

and political protest combined to make the war years one of the most dynamic periods of the African-American experience. Black people competed the boundaries of American democracy, demanded their rights as American citizens, and asserted their humanity (ibid).

When war erupted in Europe in August 1914, most Americans, African Americans included, saw no reason for the United States to become involved. This sentiment was strengthened as war between the German-led Central Powers and the Allied nations of France, and Great Britain. The black press sided with France, because of its purported commitment to racial equality, and chronicled the exploits of colonial African soldiers serving in the French army (Danette 57). The war did, however, have a significant impact on African Americans, particularly the majority who lived in the South. The war years coincided with the Great Migration, one of the largest internal movements of people in American history(ibid).

Going to Europe and fighting for peace and more democracy meant much for African Americans. In a real sense they saw it as a chance to achieve democracy for themselves either. President Wilson saw the war as a chance to make the world safe for democracy, the war to end all wars (O'Callaghan 90).

The lack in labor during the war opened doors to African Americans to work in several jobs including iron and steel production. The United States was dependant on black laborers who believed that their existence during the war would improve their postwar position (Franklin and Moss 320- 322). The Great Migration that was connected with the war, however, walled black's expectations. The extension of race clashes both in the South and the North pushed the President to make a strong public statement against lynching and mob violence. Meanwhile, Germany recalled racial

incidents to discourage black soldiers from fighting for something they did not have at home. It had, however, no effect on black American soldiers who supported the war enthusiastically stimulated by a belief in their own better tomorrow and bright future (ibid 339-344).

The black soldiers and citizens expected new breath of freedom when they were arriving home whereas, in the South, the terrorist organization of the Ku Klux Klan again resurrected and again it refused to give first-class citizenship to blacks (Weingroff "The Road to Civil Rights"). During the first year after the war, more than seventy black soldiers were lynched by mob violence and fourteen Negroes were publicly burned. The Southern and South-Western states symbolized the everyday fear of blacks for their lives once again. More than two hundred incidents involving clan practices were recorded in twenty-seven states within ten months (ibid). It was not only the burning of wooden crosses in front of houses that terrified blacks.

In Texas, Negroes were forced to work in fields picking cotton for cheap wages (IPL). This was a new tactic used by the clan. Northern blacks were alarmed too, because of new Klan cells was founded there. The year 1919 was especially bloody. Race riots were at their peak and from June to the end of the year twenty-five outbreaks of racial violence disturbed the lives of Americans (ibid). Johnson, who James Weldon was an American, an author, educator, lawyer, and civil rights activist, named it the Red Summer **Q**, because it was a period of strong violent conflicts that the American nation had rarely ever witnessed. The chances for jobs were decreased after the war and segregation in urban cities continued (Franklin and Moss 346-349).

When black Americans realized that everything was returning to the old

orders, they showed the most resolute resistance they could to defy their inferior position. Their willingness to defend themselves was the strongest in their history and the riots of that year could be compared to a war (ibid). It influenced the whole country, from South to North and from East to West. Chicago had the biggest settlement of blacks who were entering white neighborhoods which resulted in a month of terror there. Franklin and Moss comment that “thirty-eight people had been killed, including 15 whites and 23 blacks; of the 537 injured, 178 were white and 342 were black. More than 1,000 families, mostly black, were homeless as a result of the burnings and general destruction of property” (ibid: 351).

For several weeks riots occurred in other states, including Knoxville, Tennessee; Omaha, Nebraska; and Elaine, Arkansas. White Americans attributed the black willingness to fight back to influences caused by war, and their goal was to maintain the black status where it was (ibid: 352).

### **III- The Afro- Americans and the New Deal:**

In the South, black farmers suffered from poverty and bad conditions. Moreover, their crops were destroyed by boll weevils\*(IPL). This natural disaster was so severe that many farms were abandoned, and both black and white rents were dismissed. In fact, the Great Depression had already begun for them. In actual fact, the beginning of the Great Depression is dated to the crash on Wall Street in 1929. Banks failed, mines and various businesses were closed and employees in domestic jobs, personal services and agriculture were dismissed (Franklin and Moss 383-384).

The Depression deprived nearly eight million people of their jobs by 1931. (Klingaman the Great Crash 38). Pessimism among Americans prevailed, and not only

for the reasons of lost jobs, homes or the inability to buy basic goods such as food and clothing (ibid). Americans in particular were totally disappointed with the inactivity of President Hoover and the government. By 1932, twelve million people were unemployed and over 100,000 businesses were closed. More and more Americans became dependant on charity, often standing hours in so called breadlines for a bowl of soup or free bread (O'Callaghan 98).

In 1928, for the first time in the century an African American Congressman was elected. The Republican Oscar De Priest became a symbol for all black Americans in the United States and a sign of hopes (“*Black Americans in Congress*” 1). By that time Negroes rated the same importance as white voters and politicians had to be wary of what they expressed in their opinions on race, employment, foreign policy, etc. After 1932, black legislators were elected more frequently than ever in many states, they could use their influence in decisions concerning black citizens. However, this success was limited only to Northern states (Franklin and Moss 384-401).

As provided in the Encyclopedia Britannica. During the Great Depression African Americans turned their indignation against President Hoover who was ineffectual in solving the enduring economic crisis in the country In addition Hoover was defeated by Franklin Roosevelt who obtained strong black support in part due to his physical handicap but above all due to the strength that he employed in tackling problems(Pells). He manifested an incredible understanding for the financial problems of ordinary people and he determined to help the country and the people. His New Deal♦, provided millions of people with useful work in jobs that were beneficial for the communities they were living in (Maamri The rise of modern America 120).The New Deal also



assisted people with housing, provided better living conditions, stimulated industries, and improved conditions in agriculture (ibid).

The Great Depression during its first years touched nearly all Americans' lives. As it continued, blacks comprehended that even such a plight could not change the white approach towards them. Separate but equal was functioning the same way as usual, and relief supplies were divided unequally between whites and blacks (M.covert 20th Century ). Despite this, Roosevelt's New Deal ensured improving of social and economic conditions for most Americans, including blacks themselves (ibid).

As stated in Encyclopedia Britannica .The Roosevelt administration's accessibility to African American leaders and the New Deal reforms strengthened black support for the Democratic Party. A number of African American leaders, members of a so-called "black cabinet," were advisers to Roosevelt ("African American life "par.4). Among them were the educator Mary McLeod Bethune, who served as the National Youth Administration's director of Negro affairs; William H. Hastie, who in 1937 became the first black federal judge(ibid).

Also as provided in Encyclopedia Britannica African Americans benefited greatly from New Deal programs, though discrimination by local administrators was common. Low-cost public housing was made available to black families. The National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps enabled African American youths to continue their education ( pars.4). The Works Progress Administration gave jobs to many African Americans, and its Federal Writers Project supported the work of many black authors, among them Zora Neale Hurston, , and Melvin B. Tolson( IPL). The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), established in the mid-1930s, organized

large numbers of black workers into labor unions for the first time. By 1940 there were more than 200,000 African Americans in the CIO (ibid).

#### **IV -The American segregated Army in the Second World War:**

##### **1 .Segregation in the United States Military troops:**

There is a closer relationship between the civil Right Movement segregation in the U.S Army Troops. Black Americans had served their country with honor and distinction in both the Civil War and the First World War (Chad sec.4). These men fought in segregated units generally led by white officers. At home these warriors not only suffered the continued humiliation of a segregated society but also were relegated to the status of second-class citizens by a series of rigid anti –Black laws called Jim Crow (ibid). At the outset of World War Two the United States Military continued to be segregated and Black soldiers served primarily in support and rear echelon service positions. As the Second World War progressed, it became evident that America would need every available fighting man, Black or White to fight the enemies (Gates “What Was Black” pars.7-8).

This point is black’s history in struggle is part of a larger unit on civil rights , and one need to understand the concept of segregation, and must be familiar with the tension that was growing within the black community over the social inequalities between African Americans and Whites. Black Americans have been part of the Army Reserve since World War I (Michelle The new Jim Crow 48). In 1917, During the Great Depression, black members of the Officers Reserve troops served in Civilian Conservation Corps camps. As they did in World War 1, African American served in

World War II in segregated units. Segregation ended in 1948 through an executive order signed by President Truman. In reality, integration took time(“African Americans make history”)

Blacks fought against Hitler and saw him as criminal of war and they hated fascism, and the violence directed towards non Aryan races (Krause “Black Soldiers” par. 1). Moreover, they have realized that a fascist victory would have ended everything they had accomplished. Additionally, Hitler’s defeat would allow them to focus on their struggle for civil rights. African Americans who would eagerly take part in the war and fight for the rights of the oppressed now had to focus their efforts on their own rights (ibid). The doctrine separate but equal still applied even in the army and blacks fought to remove and replace it with a more equal approach in the American forces. Many blacks had problems enlisting in some white only areas such as Tennessee and if accepted, they could serve only in subordinate positions such as aids to medical officers or chaplains. In a similar way, the Marines and the Army Air Corps excluded blacks from recruitment completely (2-6).

As mentioned in Encyclopedia Britannica , not wanting to provoke riots and white dissatisfaction, President Roosevelt passed in 1940 the Selective Service Act■, that forbade discrimination in the drafting and training of men but still preserved a black and white army(Ray) . Blacks were outraged by the decision. With the war in progress they could see how segregation negatively influenced service of both white and black Americans(ibid).

## 2 .The March on Washington Movement

As stated in Encyclopedia Britannica. The March on Washington Movement (MOWM) , was the most important force in African American politics in the early 1940s, formed in order to protest against segregation in the armed forces("A. Philip Randolph") The hypocrisy behind calls to “defending democracy” from Hitler was clear to African Americans living in a Jim Crow society, of which the segregated quota system and training camps of the United States military were only the most obvious examples(ibid).

Early pressure efforts to desegregate the military had not persuaded President Franklin Roosevelt to take action. On January 25, A. Philip Randolph, the President of the organization **the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters**, proposed the idea of a national, black-led march on the capitol in Washington, D.C. to highlight the issue. (Beth Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics 21). Randolph had so many proposals behind this march. Mainly , the march would mean a vast grassroots effort mobilizing ordinary people, not political elites. Also , Randolph proposed the march as an independent action organized and led by black people themselves. (Garfinkel The March on Washington Movement 57-58).

Philip Randolph gathered crowd of black people to participate. It is estimated that the march numbered between 75,000 and 100,000 Participants The President responded by establishing the Fair Employment Practice Committee ("A. Philip Randolph"). The unemployment of blacks was at a high of eleven percent in 1940. Their hopes in obtaining better jobs were thwarted by endless queues where whites were always attended to first with their requests for jobs (Steven 8-13).

### **3 .The Detroit Race Riot 1943 and the NAACP:**

In summer 1943, in the midst of World War II, tensions between blacks and whites in Detroit were escalating (“The 1943 Detroit Race Riots” pars.1-7). Detroit's population had grown to 350,000 people since the war began, like many places in the United States, Detroit has a long history of racial discrimination (ibid). Fights between black and white youths started on June 20, 1943, on a warm Saturday evening on Belle Isle. A fist fight broke out when a white sailor's girlfriend was insulted by a black man (Capeci “descriptive profile” pars.1-4). The fight eventually grew into a confrontation between groups of blacks and whites and then spread into the city. The riot escalated with a rumor that a mob of whites had thrown an African-American mother and her baby into the Detroit River(ibid). Historian *Marilynn S. Johnson* a professor in New York University, argues that this rumor reflected black male outrage over white violence against black women and children.

Another false rumor swept white neighborhoods that blacks had raped and murdered a white woman on the Belle Isle Bridge. Angry mobs of whites spilled onto Woodward near the Roxy Theater around 4 a.m., beating blacks as they were getting off street cars. Stores were looted and buildings were burned in the riot, most of them in a black neighborhood in and around Paradise Valley, Detroit, one of the oldest and poorest neighborhoods in Detroit. The clashes soon escalated to the point where black and white start burning cars, destroying storefronts and looting businesses. Both sides were said to have encouraged others to join in the riots with false claims that one of "their own" was attacked unjustly. (Capeci and Wilkerson Violence 49). Demands for relief led to further conflicts. The NAACP leaders became so much anxious because of the tragic aftermaths that the riots left behind where, thirty four people killed, seven

hundred injured, and \$2 million of properties had been destroyed. By the end of the year, 241 cases of racial violence erupted in forty-seven other cities. The NAACP appealed to black people to fight for their rights but to do it through non violence actions and means (Steven 19).

In fact much have been done by the NAACP as a constitutional black power, black leaders recognized the significance of the civil rights struggle courts, and ballot boxes. During the war, the NAACP solved a lot of cases of lynching and so many other forms of violence actions, both at home and in the army.

In addition, they fought against segregation on public buses, unequal educational facilities and called for the conceal of lynching and so many other forms of violence, the resistance was mainly against segregation on public buses, unequal educational facilities and demanded an end to poll tax restrictions. The work of the NAACP was supported during the war by the newly founded organization known as the Congress of Racial Equality, founded in 1942. It originated in black activism and was more openly pointed towards taking direct action ("National association" pars. 9-12). Membership was open to both blacks and whites who believed that direct action could bring quick resolutions to racism problems (ibid). Established in Chicago by pacifists<sup>•</sup>. CORE remained faithful to the principles of non violence. The membership arranged numerous sit-ins and picketing campaigns in the North aimed at the desegregation of public accommodations. Their unusual techniques led to the desegregation of restaurants and movie theatres in Detroit, Los Angeles, Denver, and Chicago. They also fulfilled a great success with restaurants in Washington, D.C, but to a lower extent ("Civil Rights").

**Conclusion:**

During the hard times of the Great Depression, African Americans had completely understood that if they desired equality, they have to fight by lawful means. If laws were to be changed, political influence would be a necessity; they have comprehended that even such a crisis could not change the white's thinking towards them. Separate but equal was functioning the same way as usual. Despite this, Roosevelt's New Deal had ensured improving of social and economic conditions for most Americans, including blacks. The period of Great Depression enabled blacks to rise from the bottom of the heap and strengthen their self-awareness of being on the same level in American society as whites, actually the African American's participation during both world wars had provided them with so many chances to test new protest tactics, such as sit-ins or picketing which were successful in desegregating restaurants in several Northern cities. The newly formed organization CORE was established by pacifists who refused to take part in violent race riots and preferred the non violent actions of sit-ins and picketing. Their approach coincided with appeals of NAACP leaders to avoid violence, although their means differed. Moreover, CORE also welcomed whites who were willing to support equal rights for blacks. Similarly, the MOWM showed that mass actions such as marches could bring success as well. Additionally, race clashes of 1943 confirmed again that open combat would bring only disappointment, injuries and death with no positive effect for future.

## Endnotes

\* The boll weevil: is a beetle small insect length of six millimeters, which feeds on cotton buds and flowers. Thought to be native to Central America, it migrated into the United States from Mexico in the late 19th century and had infested all U.S. cotton-growing areas by the 1920s, devastating the industry and the people working in the American south. During the late 20th century it became a serious pest in South America as well. Since 1978, the Boll Weevil Eradication Program in the U.S. allowed full-scale cultivation to resume in many regions. (Mississippi State University. 1)

**Q** Red Summer “Red Summer”: (meaning “bloody”) following World War I; a manifestation of racial frictions intensified by large-scale African American migration to the North, industrial labor competition, overcrowding in urban ghettos, and greater militancy among black war veterans who had fought “to preserve democracy.”(Encyclopedia Britannica).

**Ψ** Harlem Renaissance: The Harlem Renaissance was a cultural movement that spanned the 1920s. At the time, it was known as the "New Negro Movement", named after the 1925 anthology by Alain Locke (IPL).

⊗Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters :The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was, in 1925, the first labor organization led by blacks to receive a charter in the American Federation of Labor (AFL). It merged in 1978 with the Brotherhood of Railway and



Airline Clerks (BRAC), now known as the Transportation Communications International Union. [.\(culturaltourismdc.org\)](http://culturaltourismdc.org).

◆**Roosevelt's New Deal:** The New Deal was a series of domestic programs enacted in the United States between 1933 and 1936, and a few that came later. They included both laws passed by Congress as well as presidential executive orders during the first term (1933–37) of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The programs were in response to the Great Depression, and focused on what historians call the "3 Rs": Relief, Recovery, and Reform. That is Relief for the unemployed and poor; Recovery of the economy to normal levels; and Reform of the financial system to prevent a repeat depression. Carol, Berkin et al. *Making America: A History of the United States Since 1865*. Cengage Learning, 2011.

■**Selective Service Act:** also known as the *Burke-Wadsworth Act*, enacted in September 16, 1940, was the first peacetime conscription in United States history. This Selective Service Act required those men between the ages of 21 and 35 register with local draft boards. Later, when the U.S. entered World War II, all men aged 18 to 45 were made subject to military service. *United States v. Group*, 459 F.2d 178, at para 4 (1st Cir. 26 April 1972).

●**pacifists:** Pacifism covers a spectrum of views, including the belief that international disputes can and should be peacefully resolved, calls for the abolition of the institutions of the military and war, opposition to any organization of society through governmental force, rejection of the use of physical violence to obtain political, economic or social

goals, the obliteration of force except in cases where it is absolutely necessary to advance the cause of peace, and opposition to violence under any circumstance.

Brock and Socknat .Eds Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945.

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## **CHAPTER 3**

### **The development of the Resistance from the NAACP to the Civil Rights Movement**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Since the very existence of the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it has always fought the oppressive codes of the United States government and its unjust and unfair policies against the African Americans, it defended their primary right to get integrated into the American society, and therefore enjoy the full civil rights as the white American citizens do . Therefore, the NAACP's mission to embrace the blacks cause, was not that easy .However, the influence of the organization was strengthened much more when the membership to the association multiplied.

Undoubtedly, the NAACP played a great part in paving the way for the rise of what is known in the American history as the great black civil rights movement. In fact there are sparks that fueled the fires of this great movement amongst, is the murder of Emmett Till, a black teenage boy who was brutally beaten and lynched by whites kidnapers. Also the arrest of a member in the NAACP called Rosa Parks who refused to give up her seat to a white man, and this event helped spark the Montgomery bus boycott. Also, the Mississippi Summer project when three civil rights workers were kidnapped and killed by the KKK. In addition to, the land mark decision of Brown v. Board of Education ,by United States Supreme Court that banned by the terms of the constitution racial segregation in the public places. Likewise, the Great black's March

to the capital Washington D.C, which was organized by Philip Randolph who is a civil rights activist. And at last comes the years 1964 and 1965 when the Civil and Voting Rights Acts were enacted.

## **I- The first Steps toward the Movement**

### **1. The impact of the ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NAACP Organization:**

In fact the makeable contributions of the NAACP organization helped in increasing the blacks enthusiasm in fighting for restoring their dignity, and for their legitimate right that was given to them a century ago under the terms of the 14<sup>TH</sup>, and the 15<sup>TH</sup> Amendment of the American constitution. These amendment that addressed citizenship rights and equal protection for the Afro-Americans. (Edieth « the 13th, 14th and 15th »). That is why the NAACP was created to revive Lincoln's ideologies that all blacks are free, and since they are so they are equal in the citizenship with the white Americans as long as they are living within the American territories (ibid) .Actually, the NAACP was the salvation of the fate so many Blacks who were condemned and sentenced to lynching, (Cedric black movement 54).

Indeed, the modern era after the years of the 1940's, the NAACP tried so hard to convince president Henry Truman to sign constitutional documents that prevent the racial segregation in the Army forces, Indeed, the attempts succeeded and the president ultimately, signed the Executive Order which ended up segregation in the united states army troops(“president” pars.1-3).

As provided in the Encyclopedia Britannica. The NAACP organization in fact did much, and changed entirely the lives of the African Americans; it even challenged the parasite enemies who form a real hazardous danger on the stability and the equilibrium of the black unity that is the leader of the organization that is known as Universal Negro Improvement Association. “Marcus Garvey“.( « Marcus Garvey profile » ).

## **2 .The NAACP VS UNIA:**

### **A-THE UNIA and its Goals:**

Marcus Garvey from Jamaican origin, a black leader who organized the first important American black nationalist movement and the largest black organization in America as well as a popular movement for African American self-reliance, racial pride, and economic power (« Marcus Garvey »). Garvey inspired millions of African Americans with the dream of separate, promises of a black industry companies. He also preached about the need for international unity among people coming from African origin (ibid).

UNIA established the Black Star Steamship Line, the Negro Factories Corporation that was a successful project (library of Congress). The company sought to build factories and facilities in the big industrial zones in vast parts of the United States : Central and West America, as well as Africa to manufacture every marketable commodity. (Cronon story of Marcus Garvey 65 ). Also there are so many projects and goals that the association wished to fulfill amongst:

a-To establish a Universal Confraternity among the race

- b- To promote the spirit of race pride and love. Especially into the black race.
- c- To promote a sense of the belonging to the Christian religion among the native tribes of African American (Hill, "The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement").

### **3- The Ideological Clashes between the NAACP and the UNIA:**

As stated in the Encyclopedia Britannica .Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association programs and projects defer fully from De du Bios' programs, who despised Gravery to the core, because most black leaders in the U.S. criticized him as an imposter, more specifically after he announced, himself, that he is the founder of the Empire of Africa, and that give him the right to be as temporal president.( « Marcus Garvey profile »). The NAACP competed with the UNIA concerning the issue of which side is going to win the backup of the black's mob. The competition was exacerbated by Marcus Garvey's personal conflicts with W.E.B. Du Bois and other NAACP officials and mutual accusations (ibid).The luck wasn't on the side of the UNIA leader, Marcus who was exposed and arrested because of fraud charges of sailing the stock of the Black Star Line (Cronon 98), and therefore the NAACP won the battle.

Despite the fact the UNIA did not finish its mission to achieve the goals it hoped, but it was still a symbol for a nationalist organization and independence movement that was engrafted in the memory of the African Americans. Here again the NAACP demonstrate its talent and skillful policies and strategies to discredit it from the legitimacy of its opponents, and stand for the real and the only blacks defiant legal power.

## 3.2 The sparks that ignited the Great Civil Rights Movement:

### 1. The murder of Emmett Till:

An innocent fourteen years old boy went to see his relatives near, Mississippi, called Emmett Till, the boy had experienced segregation in his hometown of Chicago, but he was unfamiliar with the severe segregation he faced in Mississippi (Williams Eyes on the Prize 46). At Bryant's Grocery, a store owned by a white couple, Roy and Carolyn Bryant, Till is said to have whistled at Mrs. Bryant. Several days later, on August , Till was kidnapped, brutally beaten, shot, and thrown into the Tallahatchie River,(ibid 87).His mutilated corpse was barely identified. Roy Bryant and his half-brother, J. W. Milam, were arrested for the murder (Borgna« Justice Overdue »). His mother, Mamie Till-Mobley, insisted on having Emmett's mutilated body returned to Chicago, where she had prepared a funeral for him. A picture of Emmett's mutilated, bloated face was shown around the country and was one of the sparks that fired up of the Civil Rights Movement (ibid). The images of Till's mother while she opens the coffin funeral of Till's body, printed in The Chicago Defender and made international news and directed attention to the rights of the blacks in the U.S. South. In fact, the murder of Emmett Till left a great impact not only on the psyche of blacks, but also it affected the white Americans as well (Metress Lynching 25).



## 2. The Montgomery Bus Boycott :

As stated in the Encyclopedia Britannica .Rosa Parks was an activist member in the NAACP organization she refused to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery, Alabama. She was subsequently arrested right away .The event sparked a bus boycott that inspired mass protests elsewhere ,to speed the rapidity of the civil rights reforms.("Montgomery bus boycott"). The boycott of public buses by blacks in Montgomery began in the day of the trial of Rosa Parks in the higher U.S Supreme Court. The court hearings lasted 381 days. The U.S. Supreme Court eventually, ordered Montgomery to integrate its bus system (ibid).After that boycott supporters chose Baptist minister Martin Luther King, to be a prominent civil rights activist leader. He was the one who headed the Montgomery Bus Boycott, while international attention to Rosa Parks' case increased in Alabama (Williams 121).Martin Luther King entered the world history. King formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1957 and served as its president. He headed the committee until1968. (ibid)

Nonviolent resistance adopted by king advocated neither cowardice, nor passivity, though he may have been physically attacked, he never reacted with violence, in fact most of his peaceful approaches comes from the Christian faith. (Ladah "the nonviolent"). He was always for a non-violence resistance in dealing with things in hard times, and he wanted everyone, all races to come together and form equality (ibid).

According to Martin Luther King, In his memoir of the Montgomery bus boycott, "*Stride Toward Freedom*", he said about it is "the diary of 50,000 Negroes who took to heart the principles of nonviolence, who learned to fight for their rights with the weapon

of love, and who in the process, acquired a new estimate of their own human worth”  
(King, 9).

With these words, the long, difficult struggle for the civil rights movement began.  
King also said in a word addressed to the African American society:

in our protest there will be no cross burnings.... We will be guided by the  
highest principles of law and order. Our method will be that of persuasion, not  
coercion. We will only say to the people, "Let conscience be your guide" ...  
[O]ur actions must be guided by the deepest principles of our Christian faith.  
Love must be our regulating ideal. Once again we must hear the words of Jesus  
echoing across the centuries: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and  
pray for them that despitefully use you.

(qtd. in "Civil Rights Movement").

The involvement of the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference,  
Martin Luther King in the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott made him vulnerable to  
several white's mob indignation and segregationists. (Chandler "Home Of Dr. Martin  
Luther»). The African Americans of Montgomery endured for nearly a year after the  
Alabama's incident. The indignations of whites violence and brutalization went further  
including the bombing of King's home when they blew King's house. ("Civil Rights  
Movement." West Encyclopedia of American Law).

### **3 .The Land Mark Decision of Brown v. Board of Education**

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (Kansas), was a land mark decision in the U.S history. On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court decided unanimously that racial segregation in public schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution (Balkin Brown v. Board 31). The incident contributed to the rise of the great liberation movement which explicitly outlawed racial segregation of public education facilities, the U.S supreme court condemned the segregated educational facilities that separated black children in public schools totally from the white children, and considered them outlawed and unconstitutional (ibid). The court stated that the "segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group." (Balkin 47)

In its 9-0 decision, the Court declared that *Plessey v. Ferguson*, which established the "separate but equal" doctrine of segregation, was unconstitutional, and ordered to nullify this doctrine (ibid). This Supreme Court decision was one of the decisive and serious attempts to desegregate the racial segregated areas.

#### **4 .The Mississippi Summer project:**

In order to maintain discrimination and reject the citizenship rights of the Afro-Americans, the government of the Southern State of Mississippi turned the state into a "closed society" ruled by fear to terrorize the Afro-Americans especially with the active cells of the KKK within territories of the state. (McAdam Freedom 66). The "Summer Project" was organized and led by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Council of Federated Organizations (ibid). In Mississippi during the summer of

1964, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) used its resources to recruit more than one hundred college students( *ibid*). Even the NAACP supported the project. Most of the financial buck up for the Summer Project came from the SNCC. The SNCC undertook and directed the summer project.( Carson *In Struggle* 75).

In fact, an ugly homicide took place within the Mississippi state, three civil rights workers, James Chaney a black man and two white New Yorkers, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, who were working to register black voters in Mississippi during Freedom Summer and had gone to investigate the burning of a black church. were all abducted and murdered by members of the Ku Klux Klan, (Brunner *The Murders of James, Goodman, and Michael*). Surprisingly, when they were arrested and charged none of them even defend themselves( *ibid*).

## 5. The Great March to Washington C.D

"The Great March on Washington", was held in the summer of 1963, it is remembered as one of the great successes of the Civil Rights Movement. The march was the largest of its kind in history( King, "I Have a Dream," 125; 122) .The great multitude of mobs of the Afro-Americans shouted words of the civil rights movement and phrases that condemned the murder of Emmett Till(ibid). As stated in the Encyclopedia Britannica d in A civil rights leader called Philip Randolph, planned a March on Washington in support of demands for the cancel of employment discrimination in, the march was canceled when Roosevelt's administration met that demand by issuing the Executive Order 8802,that prevents racial discrimination.("A. Philip Randolph").

Franklin D. Roosevelt made sure that his administration's position would have no discrimination treatment, and this is one of his most effective quotes on the necessity to reject the racial segregation in public facilities:

I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this Order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.... All these statements are aimed towards abolishing racism within the Department of Defense and its sister departments.

(qtd.in « Franklin D. Roosevelt quotes » ).

President Roosevelt established the Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FEPC). To meet demands for equality, and the organization was given little power to regulate employment practices Executive Order 8802 was amended several times.( Takaki Multicultural 90).

The March, which became a key monument in the development struggle for the Afro-American civil rights civil rights in the United States, culminated in Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, called for the right for racial justice and equality.

### **III- Afro-Americans win the battle for the civil Rights**

#### **3.3 The Civil and the Voting Rights:**

##### **1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964:**

As stated in the Encyclopedia Britannica, the In a televised address on June 1963, President John F. Kennedy urged the nation to take action toward guaranteeing equal treatment of every American regardless of race, and proposed for the Congress a bill to ensure that ("Civil Rights Act"). Despite Kennedy's assassination in November of 1963, the bill was requested by President Lyndon Johnson on June 1964, who signed the new Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law with Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders (ibid). The Act outlawed segregation and prohibited discrimination in public places, provided for the integration of schools and other public facilities, and made employment discrimination illegal. This step was a sequel to finish what Kennedy hoped to achieve.

After all, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 affected the nation profoundly, because it is for the first time in the American history that segregation and discrimination in employment and businesses and public places and other facilities were totally halte

## **2 .The Voting Rights Act of 1964**

After the U.S. Civil War (1861-65), the 15th Amendment, ratified in 1870, prohibited states from denying a male citizen the right to vote based on “race, color or previous condition of servitude. Nevertheless, in the coming next years, several discriminatory practices were used to prevent African Americans, particularly those in the South, from exercising their right to vote (history stuff). The 1965 Voting Rights Act followed the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Ironically, the 1964 Act resulted in an outbreak of violence in the South. White racists had launched a campaign against the success that Martin Luther King had in getting African Americans to register to vote (History Learning Site).

As a result, Johnson introduced to Congress the idea of a Voting Rights Act in what is considered to be one of his best speeches:

Rarely are we met with a challenge.....to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved Nation. The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such as an issue.....the command of the Constitution is plain. It is wrong - deadly wrong - to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country."

(qtd.in « Lyndon B. Johnson quotes » ).

The Act was passed. It outlawed literacy tests and poll taxes as a way of assessing whether anyone was fit or unfit to vote (our documents.com). Only American citizenship and the registration of one’s name on an electoral list were needed for voting (E. W. Kenworthy, « Johnson » ). The impact of this act was dramatic. By the end of

1966, only 4 out of the traditional 13 Southern states had less than 50% of African Americans registered to vote. By the end of the year, nearly 250,000 new African Americans added their names to the rolls (ibid.) .The most significant change was recorded in the Deep South:

“In Mississippi black registration leaped from 6.7 percent in 1964 to 59.4 in 1968 . . . In Alabama jumped from 23 percent to 53 percent. In Dallas County . . . from less than 1,000 to over 8,500 within months after the suffrage law took effect” (Steven 116).

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is a sweeping federal law that seeks to prevent voting discrimination based on race, color, creed.

### **Conclusion:**

The years from 1963 to 1965 brought many changes and improvements to the lives of African America. The Civil Right Movement achieved several goals that were intended to be achieved in its programs. Under the direction of brilliant leaders such as Du Bois, A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, and Ella Baker . . . , the Movement adopted policies of non-violent protests that forced many Southern officials, whites and governors to accept integration. They won its battle against the oppressed Laws and the racial discrimination. The U.S government that had long turned a blind eye towards the racial injustices against the Black Americans, especially in the American South and preventing them to claim for their legitimate and constitutional rights given to them as the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the American constitution declared .The non-violent protest movement had chocked the U.S government and helped in the spread of a great revolutionary federal reforms, including two major Acts, The Civil Rights Act that was



signed in 1964, which outlawed and outlawed segregation and required equal employment opportunity of people of all races, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, that prohibited all forms of discrimination at each and every single states polls.

## **General Conclusion**

This study tended to examine the contributions of the black civil Right organization called The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in decimating the oppressed laws that generated segregation and degradation of the black people in every aspect of the American society. Initially formed by a multiracial activist group, the NAACP was founded on February 1909, as a direct response to racial riots in Springfield. The association that removed all barriers of racial discrimination through the democratic means and non-violent resistance, its adaptation to such peaceful policies enabled it to achieve equality of rights and eliminated race prejudice among the citizens of the United States. The NAACP left a credible print in history world it rather became the transcendent model for other nations in the struggle for civil rights. The organization served as an important voice against lynching particularly by seeking to influence the anti-lynching bills in the 1920s and 1930s.

Undoubtedly, *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* was one of the most important court cases in the history of civil rights in the United States. When an African American called Oliver Brown requested assistance from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to end segregation in schools in Topeka. The association urged the court to issue an authoritative warning and require the Topeka, Kansas school district to put the name of Brown's daughter in the white elementary school. The United States Supreme Court decided that school segregation on the basis of race was unconstitutional.

After this decision, the NAACP became the grass-roots for the great civil rights movement. It was the organizing part in preparing the marches and demonstrations as well as giving much support to other important civil rights organizations such as CORE and SNCC. Thanks to the NAACP the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed followed by the Voting Rights Act in 1965. Now if any state or local authority tried to exclude Afro-American citizen from voting in the elections, they would face federal prosecution if charged.

Historically, the U.S. government has played an important role in the oppression and exploitation of Afro-American people. For example, the statement, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" that was written in the Declaration of Independence, had not been practiced in real grounds by the racist whites. Furthermore, when the United States successfully fought a revolution to "free itself" from the British colonialism, Black people were kept as slaves.

The pursuit of civil rights and liberties has been a common theme throughout American history; there were key figures in the black resistance who fought, sometimes with their lives, for those "undeniable" rights guaranteed for the blacks in the U.S. Constitution. Within the Civil Rights Movement, the NAACP is known as the nation's oldest and largest nonpartisan civil rights organization, it was the talent and tenacity of NAACP members that saved lives and changed many negative aspects of American society. It really succeeded in its mission to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights for the black Americans and to eliminate racial hatred and racial discrimination all over the country.

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## **Thesis and Dissertation**

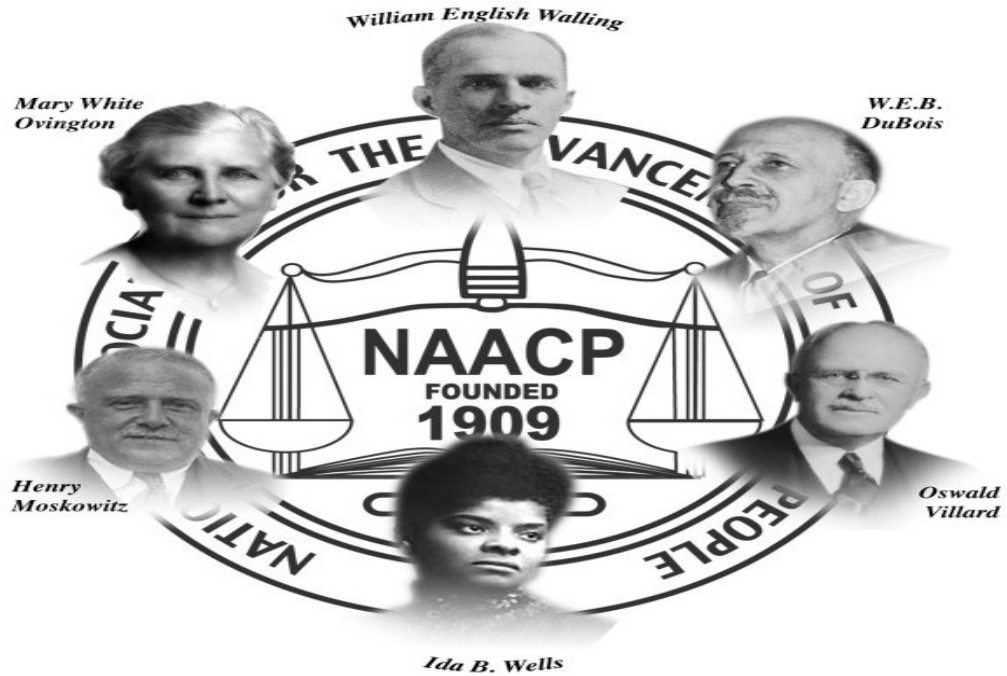
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## Appendices

### The Founding Fathers of the NAACP



### The NAACP Logo

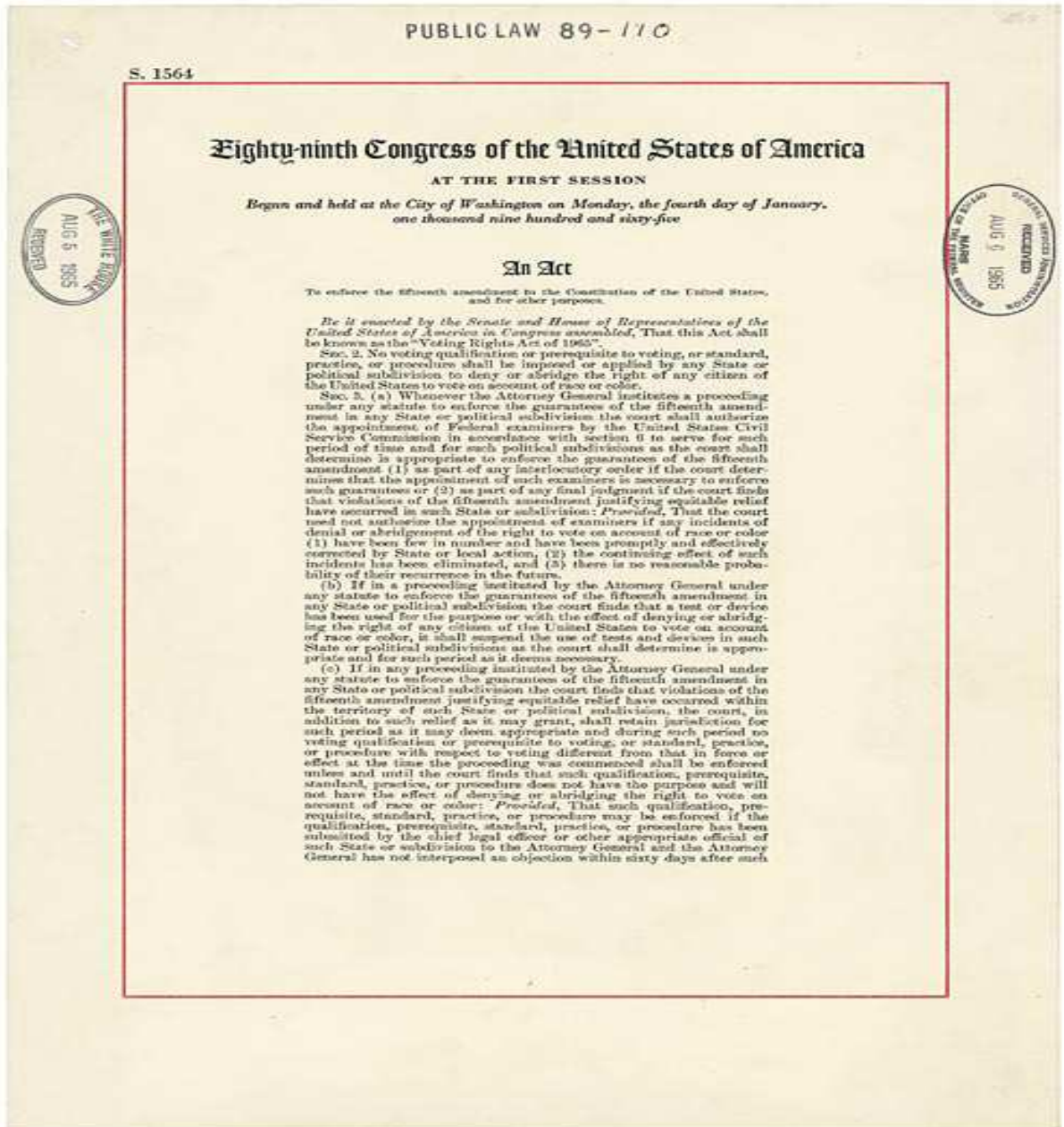




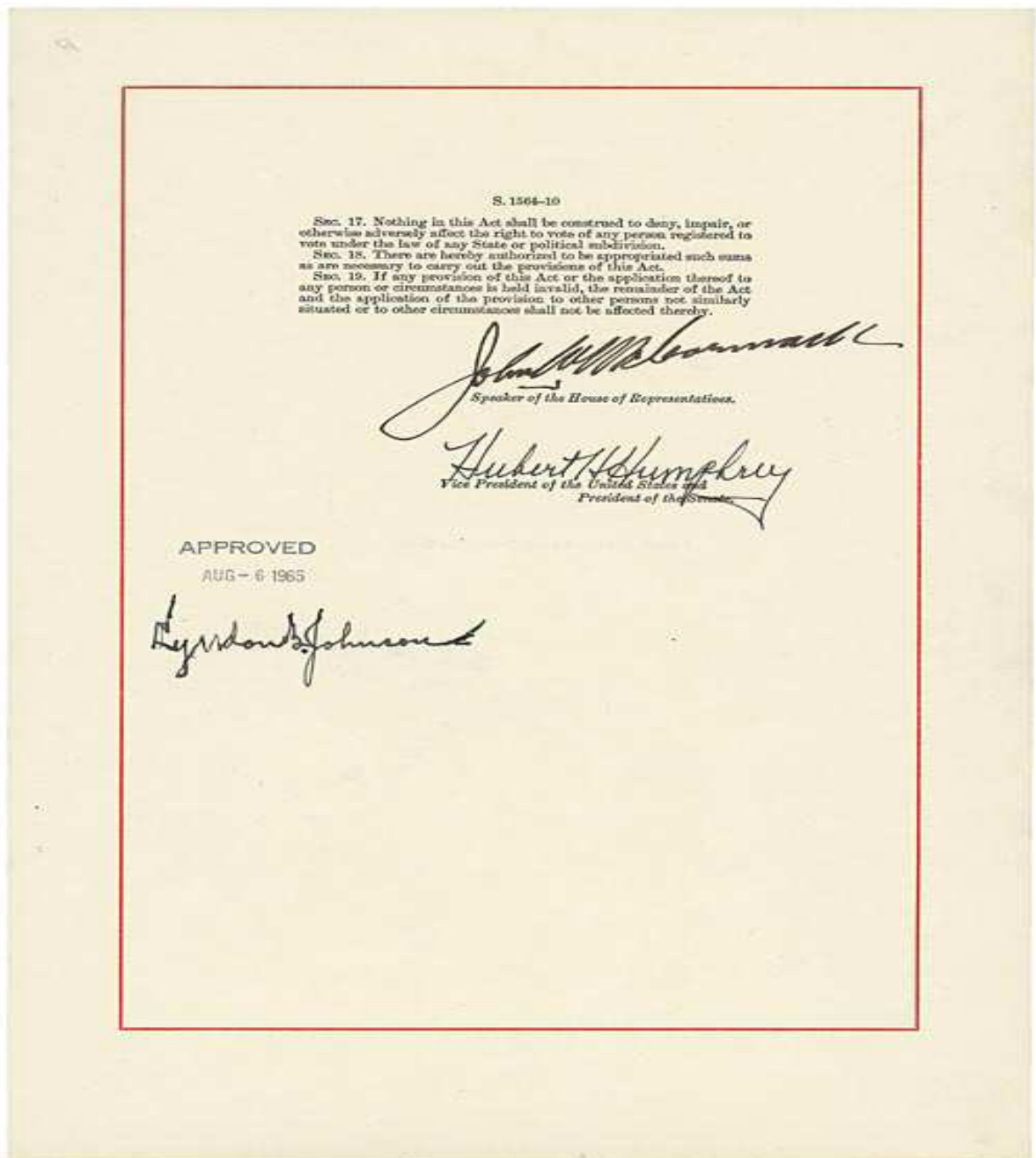
NAACP officials at the Twentieth Annual Session of the NAACP in Cleveland, Ohio, June 26, 1929. Photograph. NAACP Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (066.00.00) Courtesy of the NAACP

# Voting Rights Act (1965)

First Document Image



Second Document Image



S. 1564-10

Sec. 17. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise adversely affect the right to vote of any person registered to vote under the law of any State or political subdivision.

Sec. 18. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Sec. 19. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

*John W. McCormack*  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

*Hubert H. Humphrey*  
Vice President of the United States and  
President of the Senate.

APPROVED

AUG - 6 1965

*Lyndon B. Johnson*