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Nation Building and the Rule of Law: Lessons from the Civil Rights Movement

by

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A paper submitted to the Faculty of the Naval War College in partial satisfaction of the requirements of the Department of Joint Military Operations.

The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.

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Abstract

The Joint Operating Concept (JOC) for Military Support to Stabilization, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction Operations (SSTR) pointed out the need to work on six “major mission elements (MMEs)” concurrently. The military is comfortable with the security mission and most of the others, but not with promoting governance. Iraq has shown this can be even more challenging when armed ethnic groups are competing for power, yet history can teach operational commanders ways to understand ethnic tensions and to find workable solutions. These solutions are not foreign to our own history, and while many are not proud of the American Civil Rights Era, the movement was successful in bringing about phenomenal social change. This paper draws out numerous operational ideas from the Selma, Alabama voting rights campaign of the Civil Rights Movement that can be used today to assist with SSTR operations. This paper explains similarities and differences between Selma and Iraq and then draws conclusions about what operational commanders should do to achieve the six desired effects the SSTR JOC lists for the MME of establishing a representative, effective government, and the rule of law.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT	2
SELMA, ALABAMA.....	4
IT’S A LONG WAY FROM SELMA, ALABAMA TO IRAQ	7
LESSONS FROM SELMA FOR SSTR TODAY	10
Establishment of political institutions and processes	12
Establish basic tenets of the rule of law and governance.....	14
Establishment of a credible judiciary.....	15
Host nation police forces capable of enforcing law	16
Establishment of a system of rights	19
Participation of the host nation population in the political process	20
PROS AND CONS OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT	21
CONCLUSION.....	22
APPENDIX A.....	25
BIBLIOGRAPHY	41

INTRODUCTION

“We’re willing to be beaten for democracy”

- C. T. Vivian after having his face bloodied on the steps of the Dallas County Courthouse steps

Those who do not study history are condemned to repeat the mistakes of the past. History, however, is often ignored or applied incorrectly when addressing current-day problems, thereby exacerbating the problem. Joint Task Force Commanders (JTF/CC) in Iraq and Afghanistan are struggling to build peace in nations where diverse ethnic and religious groups are challenged simply to peacefully co-exist. The question of how to bring together different groups and integrate them as one nation is not foreign to our history.

When the United States invaded Iraq, we expected to be welcomed as liberators. That hasn’t quite been the case: “Events in Iraq can now be classified according to the triumvirate of dissonance which has haunted the state since its inception: the traditional role of leadership for the Sunni has resulted in a Sunni-associated insurgency through fear of disempowerment; Kurdish nationalism is fueling a drive for autonomy with hints of possible secessionist tendencies; and Shi’i marginalization under the Sunni is now forcing their leaders to attempt to impose their will over the institutions of the new Iraq.”¹ As bad as Hussein was, he compelled Iraq to remain unified. Without his oppressive unification efforts, sectarian violence has radically increased. The result is a violent power struggle, with the American military squarely in the middle. The problem we face now is how to meld these groups together into a democracy that ensures no group is left disenfranchised.

This struggle spans the spectrum of strategic to tactical challenges. For example, Army Lt Col Chris Hickey, was sent to Iraq to command a cavalry squadron and found he was also playing peacemaker between Shiites and Sunnis.² Hickey formed a Reconciliation Committee to bring the two groups together to resolve their differences peacefully.³ Lt Col

Hickey and many others like him have been taking such steps on their own, but there are lessons from America's past operational commanders should use to provide guidance in the future. For example, the Reconciliation Committee Lt Col Hickey helped form has striking similarities to the Biracial Committees formed in Alabama and other Southern states at the height of the Civil Rights struggle. While many are not proud of the Civil Rights Era, it was successful in many ways, particularly when compared to other nations that turned to genocide to solve ethnic problems.

There are numerous operational ideas that can be harvested from the Civil Rights Movement and used today to assist with Stabilization, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) operations. History can teach operational commanders ways to understand ethnic tensions and to find workable solutions. The history of Selma, Alabama specifically shows operational commanders how to establish a representative, effective government, and the rule of law.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Two prominent authors who see history as a way to understand the present, Neustadt and May, propose using what they call "mini-methods" to dissect a problem and correctly use history to help solve it.⁴ One method is time-lining since any situation, institution, or person can be better understood by exploring their history and then placing them into their wider historical context. While the text that follows provides an overview, Appendix A is a detailed timeline of events in Selma, in the Southern Civil Rights Movement, and elsewhere. This helps depict how the movement was spread over time and space, and how events in one place influenced events somewhere else.

The Civil Rights Movement in America is not viewed as a shining moment of

American history and, therefore, is often ignored when we study history for solutions for today's problems. This neglect is unfortunate because of the powerful, albeit painful, lessons from the successes of the movement. The movement's most unique characteristic was that it consisted of "...ordinary people using nonviolent resistance to change a nation."⁵ And the scope of resulting social change was phenomenal.

While slaves were freed in the Confederate states in 1863 by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, African Americans were still a long way away from having an equal voice in government. Immediately after the Civil War, there was a brief period where things looked hopeful and, blacks were even elected to offices in numerous Southern states.⁶ This progress was short-lived once the federal government ended the occupation of the South. Southern whites, utilizing what can only fairly be characterized as terrorist tactics, re-exerted control at the ballot box and forced black officeholders from their positions. Southern lawmaking bodies then passed what are known as "Jim Crow Laws." Without actually reinstating slavery, such laws essentially established total segregation in every aspect of life.



In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* outlawed the doctrine of "separate but equal." This ruling gave strength to a fledgling movement and the first significant non-violent campaign took place a year later when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery city bus sparking a boycott. The challenge to bring about change was immense: Virginia's Prince Edward County public

schools closed for years; public swimming pools were filled in; library seats and tables were removed; etc. all rather than have them integrated.⁷ Yet the movement spread.

The Civil Rights Movement was often mistaken to be a national movement orchestrated by one charismatic leader, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. This was not so. While



Prince Edward County, Virginia students demand re-opening of their schools which have been closed for years to prevent court-ordered integration. White children were given vouchers to attend segregated "private academies" taught by white public-school teachers.

King was charismatic, the movement was actually a series of local movements, several of which Dr. King crafted into what appeared to be a unified effort. This is an excellent example of a leader weaving together tactical-level actions and operational-level

“campaigns” for strategic effects. To highlight the operational-level nature of the movement, this paper will focus on a single campaign that took place in Selma, Alabama.

SELMA, ALABAMA

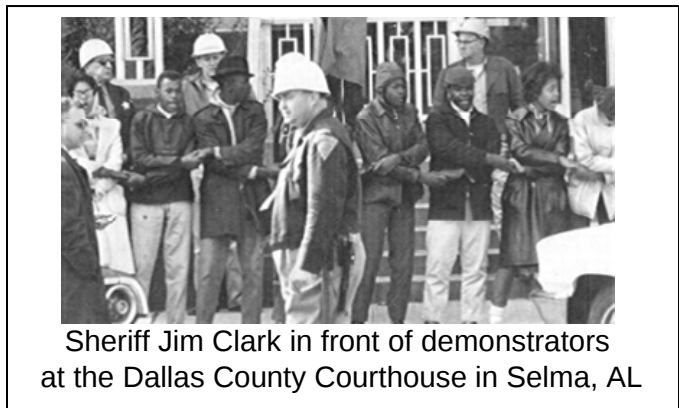
Selma, Alabama, in the early 1960’s was typical of many Deep South cities, yet it was the stage for one of the most interesting campaigns of the movement. It marked the end of the larger non-violent efforts, and it succeeded in the adoption of significant federal legislation. Most importantly, it involved one of the most basic tenets of democracy we want to establish abroad: the right to vote.

In 1960, Selma was a small city with a population of about 14,400 white residents and 14,000 blacks.⁸ Out of the total population, only 5,744 were voters.⁹ While sharecropping had largely ended by that time, the opportunities available for African

Americans were few. The city council had a great deal of power and was run by a tight-knit group which was significantly influenced by the Burns-Heinz “machine” which dominated Selma politics.

“In any ranking of Alabama’s cities in the 1950s and 1960s, Selma would very likely have emerged as its single most inflexibly and fervently segregationist.”¹⁰ Selma had an extremely high resistance to change, and the right to vote was not easily obtained by its black residents. To register to vote, applicants needed to wait in long lines at the registrar’s office which was only open two days a month. Often employees showed up late, took long lunches, and left early.¹¹ Registrars also unfairly administered literacy tests asking questions such as, “How many bubbles are in a bar of soap?”¹²

A voter campaign began in 1963 and marches to the courthouse to register to vote became common. These resulted in regular and sometimes violent confrontations with Sheriff Jim Clark and his deputies. Clark’s temper worked against him when he roughly handled the highly-respected Amelia Boynton while a television camera captured his actions in time to show them on the evening news.¹³ It inspired over a hundred of Selma’s teachers to march to the courthouse, a



significant event as teachers and ministers were the informal leaders of the black community.¹⁴ Once these two groups were willing to risk their jobs to march, everyone, including children, would follow causing the movement to grow.

The killing of a demonstrator by an Alabama state trooper gave rise to a call to march

from Selma to the capitol to dramatize their plight, and the 50-mile march was planned for Sunday, 7 March 1965. The group marched in a neat line of 2-by-2s to Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge.¹⁵ Downtown Selma was eerily quiet, but once they crested the bridge they could see the line of Alabama state troopers, some on horses, others with billy clubs, and many in riot gear. The troopers fired tear gas on them and beat them back across the bridge.

The brutality of "Bloody Sunday" (as this day would come to be known), was broadcast on televisions all over America that evening. ABC interrupted its prime time movie, *Judgment at Nuremberg*—a movie about Nazi war crimes—to show footage of the Selma melee.¹⁶ It did not take long at all before "people from



Photo of marchers on the Edmund-Pettus Bridge walking from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama in protest of discriminatory voting practices, 1965. (Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and the Sun Newspaper Photograph Collection)

all over the nation, led by hundreds of white clergymen and nuns, began converging on Selma.”¹⁷ One of the visiting clergy, Reverend Reeb, was clubbed in the head by segregationists and died two days later.

Reeb's death helped draw even more national attention to the events transpiring in Selma. Four days after Reeb's death, President Johnson sent his voting rights bill to Congress saying in a nationally televised speech that Selma, “is part of a larger movement... Their cause must be our cause,

too. Because it's not just Negroes, but really it's all of us who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome.”¹⁸ Johnson's use of the movement's catch phrase brought tears to Dr King's eyes and shocked the white resistance.

President Johnson federalized the Alabama National Guard to provide the needed security. Despite threats of violence 25,000 people marched to the capitol in Montgomery. The Selma campaign was successful, and in 1965, the Voting Rights Act was passed to ensure fair access to the democratic voting process for all. While more whites supported the movement than ever before, the nonviolent movement as a whole was crumbling and as the heat of summer rose, so did the riots in the big cities.

IT'S A LONG WAY FROM SELMA, ALABAMA TO IRAQ

While Selma, Alabama may seem far in both space and time from the problems we face in Iraq, there are many lessons Selma can bring to light. Neustadt and May suggested turning to history carefully: “Quickly jotting down the *Likenesses* and *Differences* can block use of potentially misleading analogies....[and] can also help define concerns.”¹⁹ Surprisingly, this method, displayed in Table 1, turned out many similarities between these two vastly separated situations and points to specific areas that should be considered in future SSTR operations.

Table 1. Selma and Iraq –Likenesses and Differences

	Selma, Alabama	Iraq
<i>Security, Justice, and Governance</i>		
Likenesses	Outside party is involved – US Federal Government	US Government / Military involved plus UN and other nations
	Constitution and Federal control is challenged and requires “top cover” to resolve	Same
	KKK terror tactics to quell efforts to bring about change – bombing homes, kidnapping, lynching	Al Qaeda terror tactics follow similar vein – suicide bombers, kidnapping, executing
	KKK funding and support from outside and sometimes unknown sources	Al Qaeda and insurgents also receive funding from outside often unknown

		sources
	The military played an important role in providing security for the social change effort by protecting the marchers as they made their way from Selma to Montgomery. (The Alabama Guard was called up in a Federal status to do this and their effort to sweep for roadside bombs, etc. was extensive.)	The American military has played an important role in providing security for the Iraqi people as the Iraqi security forces are brought online.
	The military's ability to provide security was strictly defined to one area (i.e. the march route and the marchers) but local authorities were responsible for security the rest of the time. This did not always work out.	As Iraqi security forces are established, they will assume control of areas that the US military will no longer secure. Yet breaches in security anywhere will still likely be viewed as American responsibility and will reflect poorly on our overall efforts to bring security to Iraq.
	The legitimacy of the local police force was doubtful at best – the county Sheriff was clearly on the side of the white supremacists	The legitimacy of the local police force, especially the local militias which are formed of one ethnic group pose a significant challenge
	Voting provided an important starting point to empower the minority group	Voting provided an important beginning to show all groups would have a voice in the new Iraqi government
	Those who attempted to register to vote were threatened with physical and economic harm and some were actually beaten, killed or fired from their jobs – many were willing to take this risk anyway	Terrorists told the Iraqi people not to vote and threatened violence – thousands were willing to take this risk anyway
Differences	Voting was open to all on the surface, but not actually available to everyone in practice	Voting open to all, some boycotted at first but more participation over time
	Federal laws strengthened as a goal/result of the campaign	Iraq may separate into ethnically divided autonomous regions – decreasing centralized power
	Ruling powers stayed in place and those who would not change were gradually voted out of office	De-Baathification almost instantly removed most of the government from power
	The US had a robust Federal legal system. It might have been slow, but it came around eventually.	Iraqi legal system is in the process of being re-created.
<i>Local Movement v. National Leadership</i>		
Likenesses	The disenfranchised group (African Americans) is not always unified in their social change efforts. Some are moderates willing to wait things out a bit, while others want more radical changes quickly.	Not all Iraqis are violent extremists; many are “understanders” ²⁰ and moderates. They cannot be viewed as one unified group, but a people with a variety of opinions.
	The American Civil Rights Movement was a municipal-level movement – not a national movement	Iraq consists of provincial-level problems – the entire country is not experiencing the same levels of ethnic violence

	The “Ruling” group is not always unified in their desire to prevent social change efforts – many white moderates exist but are afraid to speak up for fear of reprisal	Many moderate Iraqis do not have a safe forum to express their opinions and demonstrate unity
	The local culture and the movement is heavily based and motivated by religious beliefs – African American preachers were often the major form of leadership in the African American communities and they were extremely influential.	In Iraq, the Muslim religious leaders are also extremely influential informal leaders
	“outside agitators” involved – White liberals from up North	“outside agitators” include Al Qaeda and “freedom fighters” from all over
	In Dallas County, blacks were the majority group and they had not been in power	Minority group had been in power and wielded it ruthlessly at times
	Some extremists (on both sides) could not be won over	same
	Several groups united efforts for this campaign and the overall failure to unify afterwards eroded the movement as a whole	Iraq has failed so far to unify many disparate groups
	In addition to the minority group leaders, members of the majority group also led integration efforts	There are also Shiites advocating that Sunnis have a voice in the new government
	Unlikely informal leaders at the local level become highly influential in the movement’s success (for example the teachers becoming involved)	Local-level leaders will make the difference in bringing about change which is why they are often targeted
Differences	Our own nation was involved as a third party	Outsiders involved as a third party
<i>Nonviolence and Information Operations</i>		
Likenesses	TV played a significant role with events that could spark confrontation “staged” for the media – i.e. Selma was chosen like a Hollywood set with Sheriff Clark’s temper, etc.	Insurgents frequently stage events specifically for media coverage, i.e. video-taping beheadings
	TV cameras and coverage of violence key to turning America’s attention towards Selma	TV coverage of violence has focused America’s attention in Iraq
	Those in power (Sheriff Clark, segregationists, etc.) attempted to prevent the media from getting the story out	Those in power are clamping down on allowing journalists free speech, and extremists target the press for kidnappings and murder
Differences	More moderates on both sides were enticed to support the movement as the violence was made more public and US leaders became more vocally against it	Muslim moderates are threatened by insurgents, but not becoming more emboldened or unified
	National “celebrity” (Dr. King) was brought in to help draw media attention	While insurgents have celebrity-type leadership, national strong leaders outside the government have not emerged
	SCLC and other groups conducted extensive training on nonviolent techniques – all ages	Not done

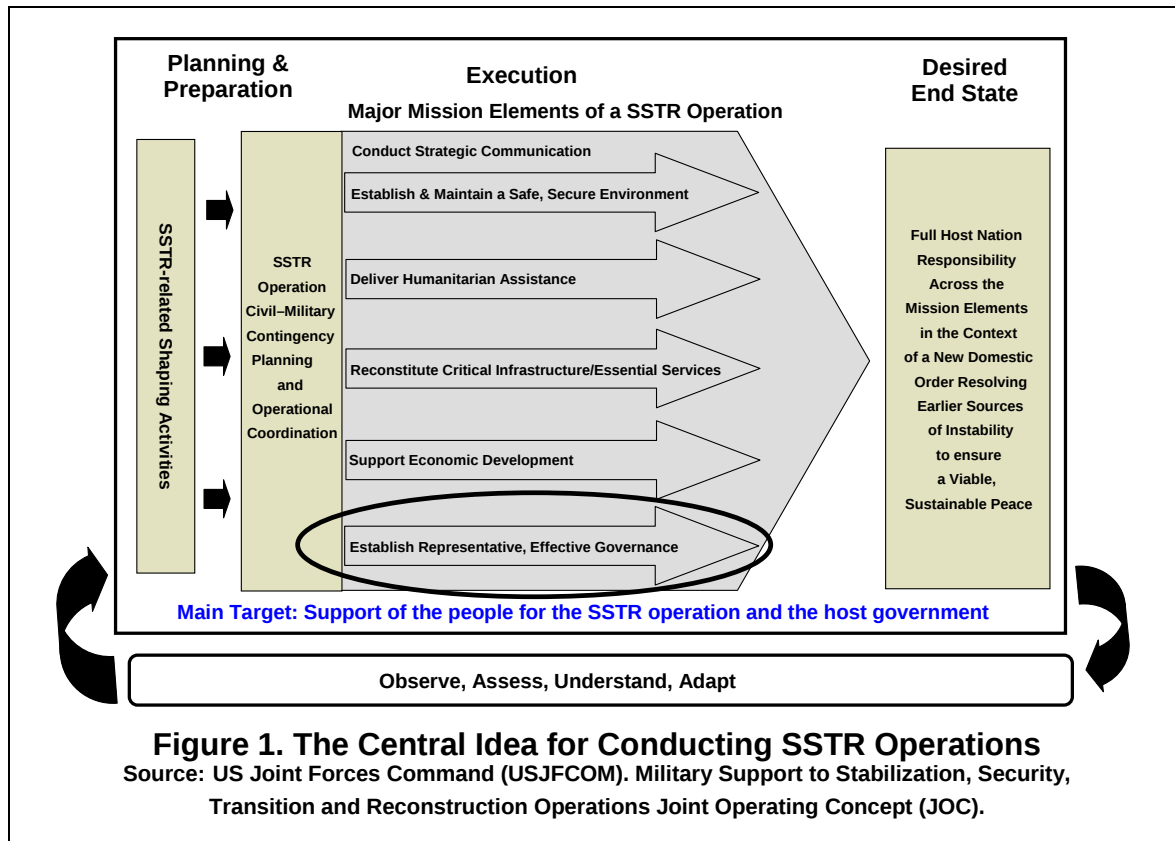
	were welcomed and some were not able to “pass”	
	Regular re-motivation during the heat of the campaign to stay nonviolent – weekly mass meetings with reminders and immediately after the Bloody Sunday attack, etc.	Not done – conflict is most often responded to with more violent conflict
<i>Religion, Culture, and Society</i>		
Likenesses	Many extremists (KKK for example) saw the movement and this campaign as a Jewish conspiracy	Many extremists see this as a Jewish-Christian conspiracy
	Southerners greatly resented “outsiders” on their territory, trying to change their way of life. Merely the presence of outsiders exacerbated their anger	Extremists resent the very presence of American and other foreign forces
	Religion is used by both sides to both prevent and encourage the social changes. Many white Southerners interpreted the Bible to justify their defense of the status quo	The Koran is also interpreted differently by extremists and moderates to justify their actions
Differences	Culture and religion was predominantly Christian	Predominantly Muslim

LESSONS FROM SELMA FOR SSTR TODAY

Faced with the overwhelmingly complex task of rebuilding a nation, JTF/CCs may not be sure where to start. As a result, they may choose to go with what they know and tackle security problems first. This, however, could be dangerous. “We found that if we concentrated solely on establishing a large security force and targeted counterinsurgent combat operations—and only after that was accomplished, worked toward establishing a sustainable infrastructure supported by a strong government developing a free-market system—we would have waited too long.”²¹ The new Joint Operating Concept (JOC) for Military SSTR Operations pointed out the need to work on six “major mission elements (MMEs)” concurrently (Figure 1).²² As a military, we are comfortable with the security mission and most of the others on the chart; we are not experienced at promoting governance. Not only is this the foundation upon which the other MMEs rest, this is the one area where Selma provides the most lessons, both on what to do and what to avoid.

This MME is described in the JOC as: “The ability to engage in the early restoration

of local governance activities, e.g. restoring city/regional councils, developing transparent reconciliation processes, restoring or possibly reforming the internal security and judicial systems, and resolving property claims and disputes.”²³ While the military may only do this



function at the very beginning of SSTR operations, the goal is to build host nation government structures that are, “representative and inclusive, responsive to constituents, and accountable for their actions”²⁴ – which means the military must be taking immediate actions to support long-term goals. The JOC listed six desired effects for this MME:

1. Establishment of political institutions and processes both interim and long term that are accepted as legitimate by the host nation population
2. Establish basic tenets of the rule of law and governance
3. Establishment of a credible judiciary
4. Host nation police forces capable of enforcing law
5. Establishment of a system of rights
6. Participation of the host nation population in the political process²⁵

All of these are key elements of a functioning democracy and Selma shows how these must

go more than skin-deep if they are to endure beyond our occupation.

Establishment of political institutions and processes

Political institutions and processes need to be established at the national and local levels. At each level: “Political reform efforts must take into account deep-seated rivalries and distrust among ethnic and religious communities, should they exist. The new political agreements must provide all groups / communities with the opportunity to participate meaningfully in the governance process, including mechanisms to protect minority groups from discriminatory actions by the majority.”²⁶ Selma and Iraq have highlighted the challenge of bringing about this type of political reform.



March 7, 1965: Marching for the vote, Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma. AL – Bloody Sunday



January 30, 2005: Thousands of Iraqis walk to a polling station in Al Alamara. (AP Photo)

In Iraq, this is a much greater challenge than it was in the United States which already had established political institutions and processes. In Iraq, the goal is to bring about a, “stable, consolidated democracy, with a constitution enshrining the rights of individuals and recognizing the multi-ethnic nature of the state. Such requirements are easily stated, but they have rarely, if ever, appeared in Iraq’s tortured eighty-year political history. Assuming

democracy will emerge as the natural state of being for Iraqis, the building blocks of democratic order must be created from scratch rather than rediscovered in the wreckage of Iraqi political culture.”²⁷ Another challenge in Iraq has been the removal of the Ba’ath Party which left a power vacuum.²⁸

Unfortunately, Iraqi voters are likely to align themselves with demography rather than political agendas which means, “the electoral victor will rule in the name of the largest fragment, rather than that of the country as a whole.”²⁹ Much like Selma, the majority in Iraq (Shiite community leaders) like the idea of voting since they believe it will significantly shift power in their favor and keep it there. Yet the experience of Selma shows how national-level voting and effective national-level lawmaking processes can help the minority group have a say in government and not just be at the mercy of the majority. Selma also showed that both the majority and minority groups need to stay involved in the effort of ensuring political processes remain fair. Without the efforts of many whites in the federal government and the efforts of many other whites in the North and the South, attention would not have been brought to Selma, and national and local-level change would not have occurred.

In addition to national-level political institutions and processes, it is also important to establish similar local structures and systems. One of the lessons learned from the Civil Rights Movement was that it was actually a compilation of *local* uprisings brought to the forefront by a strong, charismatic leader. Local campaigns such as Selma were not necessarily linked to each other, nor were they similar. They were inspired and carried out by *local* leadership to resolve a *local* problem. Donnie Williams, who found himself the owner of the bus on which Rosa Parks made her stand, put it bluntly: “I know one thing. The Civil Rights Movement did not happen as many Yankee journalists and out-of-state

historians have led the world to believe: that Martin Luther King, Jr., was stricken by a sudden light, like Saul on the road to Damascus, and that he sprang up full-blown as the leader of his people, delivering them single-handedly from the bonds of racism into the broad open daylight of democracy.”³⁰ This concept applies when conducting stabilization operations abroad. Understanding local politics is even more important when we are helping groups establish new power relationships with each other, yet all too often it is easiest to focus solely on the national level. Just as the Civil Rights Movement didn’t rely on one charismatic leader who planned every campaign, our SSTR work should use local leadership to help bring change.

Establish basic tenets of the rule of law and governance

Nowhere is the challenge of establishing a rule of law and governance more apparent than in Iraq. Major General Chiarelli described this challenge in Iraq where “all levels of command were intimately involved in educating and mentoring the emerging Iraqi federalist-based, democratic system. In many instances there was a degree of unlearning that needed to occur. Although the population despised the rule of law under Saddam Hussein, it was the only model they knew, and they were prone to fall into patterns of governance reminiscent of that regime.”³¹ This is becoming clear, for example, in the newly created set of laws in Iraq that criminalizes “speech that ridicules the government or its officials”, some resurrected verbatim from Saddam Hussein’s penal code.”³² This is a frightening sign of the direction in Iraq and it highlights the importance of the local and national political processes and institutions to provide appropriate checks and balances.

Selma showed simply having the institutions of government established is not enough to have a true democracy for all citizens. Even in America—with our well established

Constitution and set of laws—we needed refinements to include all Americans. While the Constitution theoretically gave everyone the same rights, local enactments such as Jim Crow laws and restrictions on voter registration actually took these rights away. It took local nonviolent movements to raise awareness and federal attention to explicitly define rights for things to change in Selma. Selma and what is currently taking place in Iraq also show the challenge associated with returning to a previous set of laws as the military occupiers leave. Just as the US South adopted unfair Jim Crow laws shortly after Reconstruction ended, it appears Iraqis may fall back on some of their old ways as they struggle to combat violence within their nation. As Gen. Chiarelli described, operational-level military leaders who are aware of this issue can educate and mentor Iraqis to help them find a way ahead.

Establishment of a credible judiciary

One of the important checks and balances to ensure a fair and equitable rule of law is a justice system that effectively applies the rule of law. This serves as a deterrent to potential wrongdoers, and helps healing and reconciliation to begin. For example, those charged with the murders of two of the Selma supporters killed during the campaign were found not guilty by local, all-white juries. For decades, this had been a regular occurrence throughout the South. In the Luizzo case, the US Justice Department, becoming frustrated with Southern juries, eventually charged three people with conspiring to violate Mrs. Liuzzo's civil rights. They were found guilty and sentenced to the maximum sentence—10 years.³³ This was a landmark case as it was the first time Klansmen were convicted in a civil rights murder and it sent an important message.³⁴ Gradually, the justice system of the South began to change.

The Iraqi justice system needs to establish similar checks and balances. This includes having judges who will fairly hear cases, and, as the 6th Amendment to the US Constitution

guarantees, a trial by a jury of one's *peers*. In Selma, there were only a handful of blacks in the jury pool, and they were rarely called. There was no way for a black citizen to get a fair trial, and whites who committed crimes against blacks were never found guilty. We need to ensure the same does not happen in Iraq. Jury pools must reflect the demographics of the population so defendants can be confident they will get a fair trial.

Selma also shows the importance of establishing checks and balances with an appellate process. Many decisions made by trial courts in Selma were overturned on appeal, and this helped minorities gain a sense they could be fairly treated. Saddam's trial provides a public example of the changes taking place in the Iraqi judiciary. The effect this trial and its broadcast are having on the Iraqi people cannot be understated. Commanders must understand the importance of establishing a credible judiciary at all levels, and they need to ensure word gets out about it since it is a powerful deterrent to lawlessness.

Host nation police forces capable of enforcing law

Any SSTR operation cannot succeed without the first "S" – security. Justice and the rule of law provide the foundation and legitimacy for security, but there must be a police force to ensure the law is enforced. These forces need not only be robust to provide security, but they also must be seen as legitimate for them to be trusted. This can be a challenge when local militias spring up to fill security vacuums.

Building a police force is a priority, particularly if the existing police force has collapsed. In the case of Iraq, dissolution of the Iraqi Army left a gaping hole where missing security forces were replaced by coalition forces. It is important to turn this function over to the host nation as quickly as feasible. A survey in Baghdad found, "72 percent of the local populace stated there was a direct correlation between their sense of security and the

presence of the IPS [Iraqi Police Service].”³⁵ One problem encountered while rebuilding the Iraqi police was a difference of opinion about how to use security forces. The Ministry of the Interior preferred “strike forces that conduct blitz operations rather than operate as the “cop on the beat.””³⁶ Like Sheriff Clark’s posse, these forces are likely to do what they are trained to do, raising the level of violence instead of reducing it.

The insurgents recognize the importance of a capable police force and, therefore, have repeatedly targeted police recruits. But there is hope even in the face of this adversity as this example shows: “In May 2004, on the death of approximately 100 potential IPS recruits at a police station targeted by terrorists using a car laden with explosives, an amazing thing happened: on the following day there were over 300 potential recruits standing tall, ready to join the Iraqi Police Service—not out of nationalistic feelings, but to “honor those who have fallen.” Tribal, religious, and familial honor drove a new batch of recruits to defend the honor of those killed—and this was not an isolated occurrence.”³⁷ The challenge comes when they come to seek revenge for their fallen family members and act in ways that cause the police force to lose its legitimacy.

Establishing legitimate security forces has been a challenge in Iraq, but steps are being taken to turn things around. For example, Iraqi authorities recently “suspended an entire brigade of as many as 1,200 police officers for suspected connections to kidnappings and executions.”³⁸ This was followed by removing the Iraq’s two senior police commanders “in the first broad move against the top leadership of Iraq’s unruly special police forces.”³⁹ The situation in Iraq is strikingly similar to groups such as the KKK who did not want the Federal laws to be enforced. Often local police were part of these groups and *actively* helped prevent the enforcement of federal laws in Selma, to include targeting those they were sworn

to protect. Just like the counterinsurgency efforts in Iraq, the federal government had to intervene and ensure police corruption was rooted out. It also took another kind of militia—the National Guard—to provide needed security for the Selma campaign.

The US National Guard provides a good example of how to have a militia with a local focus that can still fall under federal control. At the same time, Selma shows the dangers of a militia (like Sheriff Clark's posse) that is not under the control of a competent authority and is not averse to using violence to get their way. This issue of militias presently stands in the way of Iraq's security. As if the collapse of the police force was not bad enough, disestablishing the Iraqi Army on 23 May 2003 added approximately 400,000 more unemployed Iraqi men to the recruiting pool for the growing insurgency.⁴⁰ Many joined local militias, and their growth has coincided with an upsurge in ethnic violence. Not taking steps to disarm and disband these militias sent a signal they were necessary to augment official forces to maintain law and order. Many unauthorized militias operate under the guise of civilian organizations with the goal of preserving local order: "For example, the Badr brigades renamed itself as the Badr organization, and gave itself an explicitly humanitarian mandate although it retained some 10,000 armed personnel."⁴¹ Recent events in Iraq have shown the importance of getting the militias under control, just as Selma needed to get their extremist groups under control.

Military operational commanders are going to be involved in helping to provide security and raise up the host nation's capability to provide their own security, so these considerations are important to keep in mind. Initially, military occupying forces will help design the host nation security forces merely by picking which forces they acknowledge as legitimate. Commanders must ensure that the mistakes of Selma aren't repeated in Iraq.

Establishment of a system of rights

Denying anyone their rights—especially the right to vote—denies democracy to all. Selma shows the importance not only of establishing a system of rights, which in itself is a challenge in a multi-ethnic mixing pot like Iraq, but also ensuring those rights are actually afforded individuals at the local level. Equal rights may not seem like an important issue at this point in our occupation, but it can easily creep up after our departure, much like it did in the South after Reconstruction. Equal rights also play an important role in establishing security. It has been found in Iraq that “a direct correlation existed between the level of local infrastructure status, unemployment figures, and attacks on U.S. soldiers.”⁴² “As the Shi’a continue to press for control of the state, the Kurds seek to redress the injustices of nearly a century ago, and the Sunni’s struggle to come to terms with their disempowerment, a political solution needs to be found which is based upon consensus, an understanding not to resort to violent means, and compromise—hardly defining features of Iraq’s political history.”⁴³ One solution is the example of the nonviolent movement in the Selma campaign.

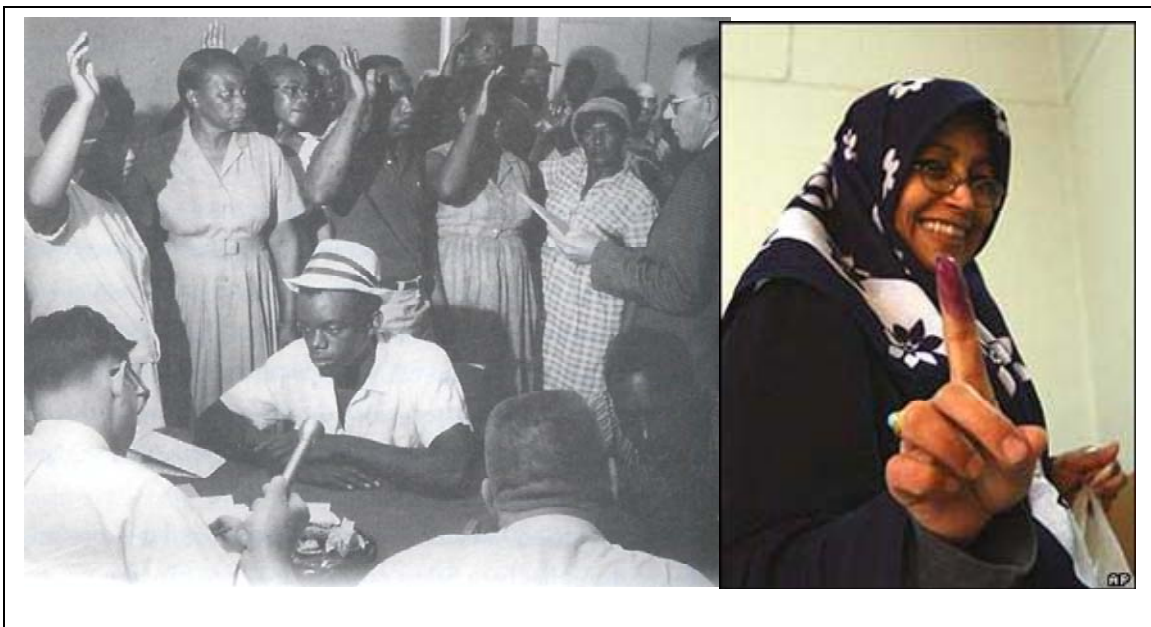
The nonviolent nature of the movement, combined with significant information operations support, is what made the movement unique—and successful. Non-violent workshops had trained thousands of all ages, with not everyone passing their strict requirements.⁴⁴ Without the TV cameras catching and sharing footage of the violence against passive resistance, the American people would not have known or been persuaded to encourage a change. When the nonviolent movement eroded and violence erupted in many American cities—the pace of change slowed down significantly. While teaching nonviolent methods to the most extreme insurgents in Iraq is probably out of the question, there are moderates in each group in Iraq who would do well to understand the importance of

combining nonviolence and information operations to obtain and ensure their rights under the new Iraqi government.

Participation of the host nation population in the political process

One of the major lessons from Selma is the importance of the vote. In addition to having a legitimate political process and abolishing laws preventing participation in the political process, it is also important to address the issue of intimidation. “It is useful to remember that Saddam also held elections, enjoying an immense turnout giving him 99.99 percent of the vote, yet he used elections to bolster the legitimacy of his dictatorship rather than promoting representative government.”⁴⁵ Likewise, in Selma white moderates were thoroughly intimidated by the White Citizen’s Council who would pay them a visit or even blacklist them if they supported changing the status quo. Iraq’s elections have required a high level of security in order to ensure the citizens feel safe participating in the political process and this has encouraged successful elections.

The process of voting is also extremely empowering, and provides a safe outlet for



those who have been wronged or are hoping for a change. Some of the most hopeful scenes in Iraq were those showing the joy on citizen's faces as they proudly displayed the purple ink on their fingers – a visible reminder things were changing. The new SSTR JOC discusses the challenges in a situation like Iraq: "When conducting "high end" SSTR operations, the most critical determinant of success will be convincing the local populace to recognize the legitimacy of the existing or new government and to actively support the government's efforts to build a "new domestic order." Clearly, winning hearts and minds to actively believe in and support the government is the center of gravity in Iraq.⁴⁶ If solid governance is in place and the population doesn't participate, it may as well not be there at all.

It is important not just to vote in national elections, but also to have an impact at the local level. While much attention is given to voting for national-level issues, in Iraq it is important that we encourage this process to be used on a local level and military commanders have been faced with the challenge of conducting local elections. This process would be more likely to encourage host nation participation if operational-level commanders ensure that security is provided and intimidation of the moderates is quashed.

PROS AND CONS OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT

While many of the SSTR missions clearly belong to the military, this is one that should primarily be led by civilians. Yet as the SSTR JOC described, "in the opening weeks of military support to SSTR operations, especially when the environment is hostile and contested, the Joint Force may need to engage in early restoration of local governance activities....Additionally, early governance reform activities must help set the trajectory toward the political end states established as both the mid-term goals and long term vision associated with the SSTR operation."⁴⁷ Whether the military likes it or not, even if they are

only called to do this mission short term, they must understand it well enough to take actions that will be viable in the long term.

CONCLUSION

While we are busily creating strategic level guidance for SSTR operations, military commanders have been adapting at the tactical level to bring about change. Operational level guidance of these efforts is missing. As the American Civil Rights movement showed, it was not the national-level victories that made all the difference, but the collection of local “campaigns” that were woven into a bigger picture. This same concept can work abroad. If we are going to be successful at winning this war, we need success at the operational level.

Ethnic challenges are not an exclusively foreign problem; many would say our own recent struggles with race have not yet been resolved. The difficulty of this challenge, however, does not excuse us from working to find solutions. How we accomplish this task in Iraq must be an important consideration as JTF/CCs prioritize limited resources.

Understanding our past helps us understand how things can go wrong with our SSTR operations if proper protections are not put in place before we leave. Selma showed operational commanders the importance of establishing an effective representative government and the rule of law. The Civil Rights Movement proved ordinary people can make massive changes – partially because of the “...strength of our democratic form of government and its ability to respond to the people.”⁴⁸ This should leave us with an even stronger desire to make things right for others – it is the American way.

¹ Alex Danchev and John MacMillan, *The Iraq War and Democratic Politics* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 36.

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- ⁴ Richard Neustadt and Ernest May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers* (New York: The Free Press, 1986).
- ⁵ Sara Bullard, ed., *Free At Last: A History of the Civil Rights Movement and Those Who Died in the Struggle* (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching Tolerance, 2004), 3
- ⁶ Bullard, 5.
- ⁷ Bullard, 14.
- ⁸ J. Mills Thornton III, *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 382.
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- ¹⁰ Thornton, 380.
- ¹¹ Donald T. Phillips, *Martin Luther King, Jr. on Leadership: Inspiration and Wisdom for Challenging Times*, (New York: Time Warner Books, 1998), 199.
- ¹² Sam Walton (Selma's National Voting Rights Museum) interview by the author, 24 January 2006.
- ¹³ Phillips, 201.
- ¹⁴ Phillips, 201.
- ¹⁵ Phillips, 203.
- ¹⁶ *Eye on the Prize: Selma, Bridge to Freedom*, Video, Blackside, Inc, 1986.
- ¹⁷ Phillips, 210.
- ¹⁸ Bullard, 73.
- ¹⁹ Neustadt and May, 235.
- ²⁰ General Anthony Zinni, USMC (Ret), "Battle for Peace: A Frontline Vision for America's Power and Purpose" (lecture, Naval War College, Newport, RI, 11 September 2006).
- ²¹ Major General Peter W. Chiarelli and Major Patrick R. Michaelis, "Winning the Peace: The Requirement for Full-Spectrum Operations," *Military Review*, July-August 2005, 4.
- ²² US Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM), Military Support to Stabilization, Security, Transition and Reconstruction Operations Joint Operating Concept (JOC), Version 2.0 (Suffolk, VA: U.S. Joint Forces Command, August 2006), iii.
- ²³ USJFCOM, viii.
- ²⁴ USJFCOM, 46.
- ²⁵ USJFCOM, C-9.
- ²⁶ USJFCOM, 46.
- ²⁷ Danchev and MacMillan, 135.
- ²⁸ Danchev and MacMillan, 141.
- ²⁹ Danchev and MacMillan, 170.
- ³⁰ Donnie Williams and Wayne Greenhaw, *The Thunder of Angels; The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the People Who Broke the Back of Jim Crow*, (Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill Books, 2006), 18.
- ³¹ Chiarelli and Michaelis, 13.
- ³² Paul von Zielbauer, "Iraqi Journalists Add Laws to List of Dangers." *New York Times*, 29 September 2006, <http://aimpoints.hq.af.mil/display.cfm?id=14149> (accessed 30 September 2006).
- ³³ Bullard, 75.
- ³⁴ Bullard, 75.
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- ³⁶ Chiarelli and Michaelis, 8.
- ³⁷ Chiarelli and Michaelis, 9.
- ³⁸ Kim Murphy and Doug Smith, "Iraqis Suspend Police Brigade." *Los Angeles Times*, 5 October 2006, <http://aimpoints.hq.af.mil/display.cfm?id=14270> (accessed 20 October 2006).
- ³⁹ Sabrina Tavernise, "Iraq Removes Leaders of Special Police." *New York Times*, 18 October 2006, <http://aimpoints.hq.af.mil/display.cfm?id=14503> (accessed on 20 October 2006).
- ⁴⁰ Danchev and MacMillan, 165.
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- ⁴² Chiarelli and Michaelis, 10.
- ⁴³ Danchev and MacMillan, 155.
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⁴⁵ Danchev and MacMillan, 147.

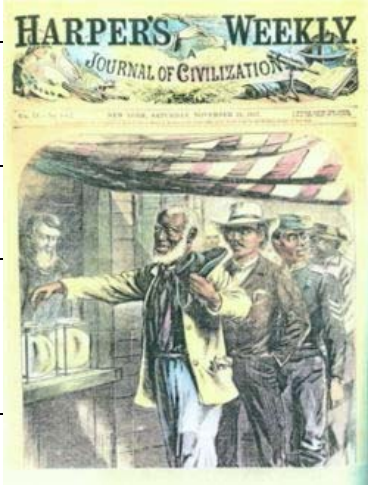
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⁴⁷ USJFCOM, 46.

⁴⁸ Bullard, 32.

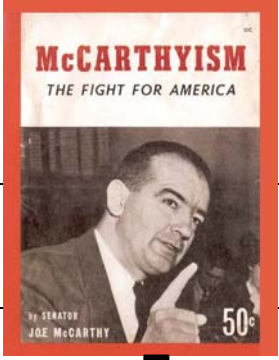
APPENDIX A

American Civil Rights Movement Timeline

Year	Selma, Alabama	Southern Movement	International/ National
1865			-Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1865) – outlawed slavery ⁴⁹
1868			-Fourteenth Amendment (1868) – protected the rights of the newly freed slaves ⁵⁰
1870		During Reconstruction, 14 blacks served in Congress between 1870 and 1876. ⁵¹	-Fifteenth Amendment (1870) – gave black citizens the right to vote ⁵²
1875			-Civil Rights Bill of 1875 mandated equal treatment in public facilities regardless of race or color. ⁵³
1893			-Gandhi, traveling in South Africa was told he could not ride in the first-class section of the train as a “colored” man –he was forcibly removed from the train. ⁵⁴ This was when he began to develop his ideas about using nonviolence to bring about social change.
1894		-Mississippi changed its flag to incorporate the Confederate battle flag – today MS is the last state to still fly a representation of the Confederate flag ⁵⁵	-Between 1885 and 1901 alone it is estimated that more than 2,000 Blacks were lynched – many in front of large, cheering crowds. ⁵⁶
1896			-The United States Supreme court upholds the new Jim Crow laws with its <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> ruling that separate facilities were legal as long as they were equal. ⁵⁷
1901		-Alabama Constitution of 1901 added requirement of either the ability to read and write English or the ownership of \$300 or more of property in order to register to vote ⁵⁸	
1906		-13 Aug, Brownsville, TX	

		residents oppose black infantry unit in their town and tensions explode in a shootout, all 167 soldiers were discharged without honor for closing ranks and refusing to reveal who was involved in the shootout ⁵⁹	
1910	-Nearly 7,000 black tenant farmers in Dallas County ⁶⁰		
1917			-WWI-hundreds of thousands of blacks move to Northern cities. In East St. Louis, whites protesting employment of blacks go on a rampage driving thousands of blacks from their homes and stabbing, clubbing, and hanging at least 40 ⁶¹ -Jul 28, New York, 10,000 participate in NAACP silent march against lynching ⁶²
1918	-Selma NAACP established		
1919			-“Red Summer” 27 race riots, including 13 days of rioting in Chicago leave 38 dead, 1,000 homeless ⁶³ -Gandhi’s first all-India nonviolent protest campaign results in Amritsar Massacre with 379 Indian men, women and children killed ⁶⁴
1925			-Aug, Wash DC, KKK march draws 40,000 participants ⁶⁵
1929			-Martin Luther King, Jr. is born -Stock market crash and Great Depression, unemployment is 25% nationwide and over 50% for blacks in some cities ⁶⁶
1930			-Gandhi leads 240-mile march to the sea as part of Salt Campaign ⁶⁷
1931			-Scottsboro Boys – nine African-American youths aged 13-19 convicted by all-white Alabama jury of raping two white women on shallowest possible evidence ⁶⁸

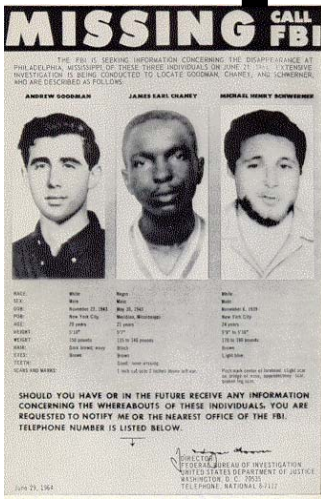
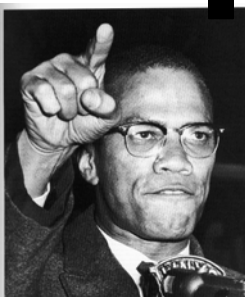
1932	-Wholesale grocer and city council president Lucien P. Burns becomes Selma's Mayor and this marks the beginning of the machine control in Selma ⁶⁹		-Oct, Iraq gains independence under King Faisal ⁷⁰
1939			-Marian Anderson barred from singing in Constitution Hall by the Daughters of the American Revolution because she is black – she sang instead at the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday for 75,000 from all races ⁷¹
1940	-Craig Air Force Base established in Selma ⁷²		
1941			-7 Dec, Pearl Harbor attacked, US joins WWII -Roosevelt issued executive order banning discrimination in war industries ⁷³
1942		-Black pilots began to graduate from Tuskegee Air Field in Alabama – the “red tails” performed well in WWII and never lost a bomber -1942, a group of civil rights advocates founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) on the University of Chicago campus	-Race riots exploded in army training camps, in Detroit, and in Harlem
1943		-Montgomery voter registration effort ⁷⁴	
1944		Martin Luther King's junior year high school essay: “We cannot have an enlightened democracy with one great group living in ignorance....We cannot have a nation orderly and sound with one group so ground down and thwarted that it is almost forced into unsocial attitudes and crime....So as we gird ourselves to defend democracy from foreign attack, let us see to it that increasingly at home we give fair play and free opportunity for all people.” ⁷⁵	
1945		-103 Tuskegee Airmen arrested and charged with	-14 Aug, Japan surrenders WWII ends

		insubordination after trying to enter the Freeman Field Officers' Club in Indiana. (Their names were cleared in 1995) ⁷⁶	-WWII, black servicemen, who fought Germany and Japan, were less willing to be victims of racism once they came home and the seeds of the civil rights movement were planted
1947		-Alabama "Voucher system" validated by both federal and state courts: an effective disenfranchising device where applicants needed to provide two trustworthy persons (vouchers who were already registered to vote) to appear personally before the board ⁷⁷	-Jul, British pass Indian Independence Act-Gandhi disappointed by India-Pakistan division ⁷⁸
1948			-30 Jan, Gandhi shot by Hindu extremist, he blessed his assassin before dying ⁷⁹ -President Truman enacted Executive Order Number 9981 which directed equal treatment and opportunity in United States Armed Forces ⁸⁰
1949	-Selma opens its first black high school finally giving blacks an opportunity for a public high school education ⁸¹		
1950		-Aug, Private First Class Thomas Brooks was shot in the back and killed in Montgomery for using the front door of a city bus – police ruled it as self-defense ⁸²	
1951		-Christmas, NAACP organizer in FL and his wife were killed by a bomb in their home	
1952	-Councilman Chris B. Heinz runs unopposed for mayor and wins – the machine control of Selma becomes the "Burns-Heinz machine" ⁸³	-Montgomery, Hillard Brooks shot dead by police after an argument with a bus driver ⁸⁴	
1953	-24 Apr, Mayor Heinz' eldest daughter attacked in her home by a black man. This was the 9 th such incident in Selma and William Fikes was prosecuted. ⁸⁵ His death sentence was later reversed by the US Supreme court for failure to obtain his confession correctly and no blacks in the jury pool. This was a significant shock for Selma's local authorities.	-Bonner Amendment removes property qualifications for voting and adds a uniform questionnaire that is used as a test ⁸⁶ -Baton Rouge, LA bus boycott	-Height of McCarthyism

1954	-Selma forms chapter of the White Citizen Council⁸⁷ -19 & 26 Sep, arsonists burn two rural black schools to the ground. -Black well digger Israel Page sued Deputy Sheriff Lee who seriously injured him while driving recklessly, but the night before court was taken from his home, beaten and his unconscious body dumped in a swam 35 miles from home-the suit was dropped.⁸⁸		-17 May, <i>Brown-v-Board of Education</i> decision outlaws segregation in public schools⁸⁹ -April, Eisenhower makes his “Domino Theory” public⁹⁰
1955	-June, Selma’s White Citizen Council counts one fourth of all white males in the county as members. “We intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates de-segregation to find and hold a job, get credit, or renew a mortgage.”⁹¹ -Oct, Selma’s only black grocer is targeted by the same police he thinks are protecting him and he leaves town after a bullet grazes his wife’s forehead while she is in their home.⁹²	-1 Dec, Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat on a Montgomery city bus.⁹³ -5 Dec, Montgomery bus boycott begins	-28 Aug, Emmet Till, 14 year old from Chicago killed while visiting in Money, MS for speaking to a white woman. His mother, Mamie Till allows the public to view his disfigured remains⁹⁴ (Later an all white jury takes one hour to find his kidnappers not guilty.⁹⁵)
1956	-S.W. Boynton, a black insurance salesman, community leader, and civil rights advocate was hospitalized for a stroke, the day he left the hospital he was caned by a white segregationist⁹⁶ 	-Judge Walter Jones forbids the NAACP to operate in Alabama⁹⁷ -101 southern congressmen sign “Southern Manifesto” against school integration⁹⁸ -30 Jan, Dr King’s home is bombed⁹⁹ He told the crowd that gathered “to manifest love, and to continue to carry on the struggle with the same dignity and with the same discipline.”¹⁰⁰ -21 Dec, Black riders return to Montgomery busses – boycott lasted 381 days^{101 102} - Georgia adopts a new state flag that incorporates the Confederate battle flag to protest forced integration (it is removed in 2004)¹⁰³	
1957	-Nov, Ku Klux Klan klavern established in Selma and burned five crosses at each entrance to the city to celebrate¹⁰⁴	-Dr King becomes the president of the new Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)¹⁰⁵ -May, “Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom draws 20,000 to Washington, D.C. King spoke for 10 minutes, his message: “give us the right to vote.”¹⁰⁶ -4 Sep, Little Rock Central	-29 Aug, Civil Rights Act of 1957. Weak, but first civil rights legislation in 82 years¹⁰⁹

		High surrounded by troops at Gov Faubus' orders to keep it segregated.¹⁰⁷ -24 Sep, Eisenhower sent US soldiers to protect the Little Rock nine as they went to class¹⁰⁸	
1958	-26 Aug, A 60-car Klan motorcade led by a car with a four-foot lighted cross weaved through black neighborhoods in Selma for almost three hours¹¹⁰ -A store owned by a black man in nearby Lowndesboro is damaged by dynamite¹¹¹	-Sep, Little Rock, Gov Faubus shut down public schools to avoid integration – they reopened in Aug 1959¹¹² -Greensburg, LA-black farmer Izell Henry voted in primary and next morning he was beaten by white men and left for dead¹¹³ -20 Sep, Dr. King stabbed in the chest while at a department store in Harlem by a woman with mental illness – he did not press charges but asked authorities to “Get her healed.”¹¹⁴	-14 Jul, Iraqi Hashemite monarchy wiped out¹¹⁵ -27 Jul, Military coup in Iraq establishes independent Islamic republic¹¹⁶ 
1959	-FBI begins inquiry into Dallas County voter registration practices¹¹⁷ -May, A public fishing lake built with federal funds (and therefore not segregated) opened outside Selma and three black airmen from Craig AFB were attacked by a white mob when they tried to use it¹¹⁸	-Apr, Blacks in Mobile filed suit to end segregation on city busses, the case was not ruled upon until April 1964¹¹⁹ -1 May, Prince Edwards County schools closed down for five years rather than integrate	
1960	-Sheriff Clark formed his 66-member mounted and 350-member unmounted posse: “We must meet force with force. The day of passive resistance has passed.”¹²⁰ All members came from the White Citizen’s Council and the Klan. -A black man was seen riding in a car with a white woman and was abducted and beaten by two carloads of whites.¹²¹	-1 Feb, Greensboro, NC sit-in at the Woolworth’s whites-only lunch counter begins and sit ins spread rapidly¹²² (One of these four, Joseph McNeil, later became an Air Force Brigadier General) -Alabama State sit-in in Montgomery -Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formed -Oct, Presidential candidate John F. Kennedy intervenes to get King released from prison and nearly all blacks voted Democratic in November—Kennedy wins by smallest margin to date¹²³	-Civil Rights Act of 1960  
1961	-Dallas County council was saluted as the top council at the White Citizen’s Council national convention.¹²⁴	-4 May, Freedom Riders set out to test access to bus terminals¹²⁵ -10 May, Freedom Riders mobbed by 200 whites in Anniston, AL, windows	-12 Apr, Soviets put their first man into space orbit¹²⁹ -17 Apr, Bay of Pigs operation fails -Nov, Kennedy sends the

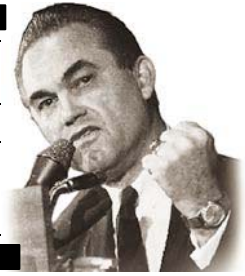
		smashed, tires slashed, Molotov cocktail thrown through rear door and front escape blocked. Passengers stoned and beaten as they fled¹²⁶ -14 May, Mother's Day, Freedom Riders attacked by a mob in Birmingham¹²⁷ -Freedom Riders attacked by a mob in Montgomery -a presidential aide monitoring the crisis was also injured¹²⁸	first 7,000 US troops to Vietnam¹³⁰ -Conflict begins in Iraq with Kurds over their national rights¹³¹
1962	-May, U.S. Justice Department's suit charging the Dallas County Board of Voting Registrars with racial discrimination was tried. Thirty six black teachers who testified or cooperated with the Justice Department are fired¹³² -1 Oct, an advance party of Selma's White Citizen's Council flies to Univ of Miss to see if they can help by bringing out a larger delegation. They can't even get into town and are infuriated to see that about half of the troops at the airport are black.¹³³	-30 Sep, Univ of Miss campus riots leave two dead and 375 injured when James Meredith, a black student enrolls¹³⁴ 180 of the wounded were U.S. marshals.¹³⁵ Kennedy ordered federal troops to protect Meredith¹³⁶ -George Wallace elected governor of Alabama and announces: "Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!"¹³⁷ - Georgia's all-white legislature votes to raise the Confederate battle flag on their statehouse (where it remained until 2001)¹³⁸ -Winter, LeFlore Co. Miss-govt. surplus food program cutoff in retaliation for voter registration drive¹³⁹	-Oct, Cuban Missile Crisis  
1963	 -Apr, First mass meeting in Selma for voter registration drive (the day after S.W. Boynton died) and only about 350 blacks had courage to attend, most of whom were teenagers. The church was surrounded by city police, sheriff's deputies and 50 posse men¹⁴⁰ King and the SCLC were asked to come help with this drive, but they were busy in Birmingham¹⁴¹	-2 May, Birmingham's notorious Police Commissioner, Bull Connor orders police violence against Birmingham, AL demonstrators which is broadcast on television – to include dogs and fire hoses used on schoolchildren¹⁴⁸ -5 May, 1,000 marchers in Birmingham are stopped by police and kneel to pray. Bull Connor orders the fire hoses turned on them again but this time the firemen refused, some with tears in their eyes¹⁴⁹ -Dr. King's letter from a Birmingham jail -11 Jun, Alabama Gov	-11 Jun, JFK announced he was sending a new, tougher civil rights bill to Congress¹⁵⁵ -28 Aug, March on Washington and Dr King's "I Have a Dream" speech¹⁵⁶ 

	-May, Selma's library removed all tables and chairs to prevent interracial contact¹⁴² -Nov – FBI finally gets all voter registration records originally requested in 1959¹⁴³ -Sep, investigators from the National Council of Churches met with Selma's leadership to attempt to open communication and concluded, "Selma has set itself on a collision course with the United States Constitution..."¹⁴⁴ -Fall, a group of white moderates began meeting weekly at the People's Bank¹⁴⁵ -1 Oct, group of black airmen took seats in the front of a bus on base and remained as they rode into town where they sought service in a white restaurant and entered the white section of the movie theater—Selma authorities left them alone.¹⁴⁶ -Dec, Sheriff Clark led a raid on SNCC's Selma headquarters in response to their boycott of Selma's downtown merchants¹⁴⁷	Wallace stands in the schoolhouse door to stop integration at Univ of Alabama in Tuscaloosa¹⁵⁰ -12 Jun, Medgar Evers, director of Mississippi NAACP gunned down in driveway of his home¹⁵¹ -5 Sep, Gov Wallace ordered schools in Birmingham to close and told the the New York Times that in order to stop integration Alabama needed a "few first-class funerals."¹⁵² -15 Sep, 16th Street Baptist Church bombed in Birmingham, 4 schoolgirls killed¹⁵³ -Alabama Governor George Wallace raised the Confederate battle flag over the capitol to protest a visit by Robert Kennedy (it remained until 1992)¹⁵⁴	-22 Nov 22, President John F. Kennedy assassinated in Dallas¹⁵⁷ -The Defense Department considers closing all military bases located near segregated communities and base commanders are authorized to declare towns off limits if the town segregated against black soldiers, sailors, or airmen stationed there.¹⁵⁸ -Dr. King is <i>Time</i> magazine's "Man of the Year"¹⁵⁹ 
1964	-John Lewis, the national chairman of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) moved to Selma to help organize a bus boycott after a pregnant woman was dragged to death after failing to get off of a bus quickly enough.¹⁶⁰ -May, Selma's public housing allows the first black to receive an apartment—Airman Enoch Fears from Craig¹⁶¹ -5 Jul, near riot erupted in Selma as the new Civil Rights Act was tested and Sheriff Clark responded by arresting blacks in direct defiance of the act¹⁶² -10 Jul, Judge forbids civil rights groups to have three or more persons assemble in public – mass meetings come to an end¹⁶³ -Aug, segregation signs removed from courthouse drinking fountains¹⁶⁴ -Oct, First election since Reconstruction in Selma with black candidates for municipal office¹⁶⁵ First seriously contested mayoral election since 1932 – Joe Smitherman wins¹⁶⁶ and uses his inaugural address to denounce creating a biracial committee¹⁶⁷ -6 Nov, despite his inaugural address, Smitherman had his first meeting with Selma's black leaders¹⁶⁸	-Jun 20, Freedom Summer launched – 1,000 college students from the north go to Mississippi¹⁷² -Jun 21, Schwerner, Goodman, and Cheney, all Freedom Summer workers, are kidnapped and killed in Philadelphia, MS¹⁷³ 	-Summer, black areas of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia torn by riots¹⁷⁴ -2 July, Civil Rights Act of 1964 signed outlawing segregation in public facilities¹⁷⁵ -Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley¹⁷⁶ -Dr. King receives Nobel Peace Prize and gives the entire \$54,000 to the civil rights movement¹⁷⁷ -Malcolm X gains popularity with his more militant approach and even labeled King an "Uncle Tom"¹⁷⁸ 

	-11 Nov, Amelia Boynton, one of the influential informal leaders of Selma's black community, asked Dr. King and the SCLC yet again to get involved in a voter registration campaign in Selma¹⁶⁹ -19 Dec, white air force sergeant James O Burke beat severely for defending a group of black teenagers who were assaulted by white parishioners when they attempted to attend mass at a white church¹⁷⁰ -21 Dec, two whites attacked and put a 15-year-old black into a coma for failing to yield the sidewalk to them¹⁷¹		
1965	-Jan, Selma's restaurant owners comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act and integrate, without waiting for federal injunction requiring them to do so¹⁷⁹ King and SCLC came to Selma¹⁸⁰ -2 Jan, King announces demonstrations will begin on 18 Jan and continue for more than two months – these demonstrations became a contest not only between the city's whites and blacks. But also between the Selma police under the more moderate Wilson Baker, and the county sheriff's office under Jim Clark¹⁸¹ (Clark's jurisdiction began at the steps of the county courthouse, where the voting registrar was located, and outside Selma. Baker's police escorted the marchers safely to the courthouse, where Clark and his deputies were waiting for confrontation.)¹⁸² -19 Jan, first arrests begin with Amelia Boynton, her rough handling is captured by a TV camera¹⁸³ -22 Jan, 125 black public school teachers marched to the courthouse which was "electrifying" since "no group of blacks in the region was more easily intimidated"¹⁸⁴ -10 Feb, Sheriff Clark arrested 120 black students staging a silent protest and took them on a three-mile forced march into the countryside. He and his deputies encouraged them to keep moving by shocking them with electric cattle prods¹⁸⁵ -18 Feb, 500 students in nearby Marion marched from a church to jail to protest the arrest of SCLC secretary James Orange. Troopers and police charged them, beating and arresting them.	-16 Mar, Six hundred civil-rights marchers in Montgomery, many of them college students, are attacked as patrols on horses wade into the crowd smashing them with clubs.	-21 Feb, Malcolm X murdered by a black Muslim¹⁹⁴ -9 July, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act¹⁹⁵ -Summer, rioters destroy Watts section of LA, 34 dead, 5,000 arrested¹⁹⁶



	Jimmie Lee Jackson is shot by a state trooper in Marion, AL while protecting his mother and grandfather from a beating¹⁸⁶ -26 Feb, Jimmie Lee Jackson dies in a Selma hospital and the idea for a march to Montgomery is born¹⁸⁷ -7 Mar, Bloody Sunday-marchers attempting to go to Montgomery brutally beaten by state troopers¹⁸⁸ 40 canisters of tear gas, 12 canisters of smoke, and 8 canisters of nausea gas were used on the marchers, 56 blacks were hospitalized¹⁸⁹ -9 Mar, Rev. James Reeb of Boston clubbed in head by segregationists, he dies two days later¹⁹⁰ -25 Mar, Marchers arrive at capitol in Montgomery. Viola Liuzzo, white mother of five from Detroit, shot and killed by Klansmen¹⁹¹ -18 Apr, Clark's posse was found to be illegally constituted and was ordered to be disbanded¹⁹² -30 Apr, Selma's bus company goes out of business after black boycott for refusing to hire any black drivers (bus service would never resume)¹⁹³	  Parade in Harlem, New York City, New York, March 1968 with 15,000 participants (Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and the Sun Newspaper Photograph Collection)
1966	-May & Nov, Wilson Baker defeated Jim Clark for Sheriff. The election required Justice Department intervention after M. Alston Keith, the county Democratic Executive Committee chair and also founder of Selma's White Citizen's Council "ordered the exclusion of returns from the black precincts because of various technical errors"¹⁹⁷	-6 Jun, James Meredith shot in the back and wounded the second day of his one-man, anti-segregation "March Against Fear" from Memphis to Jackson, MS¹⁹⁸  -Jan, Dr. King begins Chicago campaign with Reverend Jesse Jackson to educate people about the conditions in the ghettos¹⁹⁹ -5 Aug, Marquette Park march through an all-white middle-class community turns violent, King is knocked to the ground by a brick thrown at his head²⁰⁰
1967	-Fall, the number of black voters in Dallas County passed 10,000 and they made up about half of the county's total electorate²⁰¹	-4 Apr, Dr. King speaks out publicly for the first time against the Vietnam War²⁰² — even the SCLC asked him not to make further critical remarks about the war²⁰³ -SCLC begins Operation Breadbasket in Cleveland, OH-riots broke out all over US, but none in Cleveland that summer²⁰⁴
1968	-From 1964 to 1968, Selma's total number of registered voters grew from 6,000 to 13,500, and the number of black voters from 250 to 5,000²⁰⁵	-3 Apr, Dr. King spoke to striking sanitation workers in Memphis: "We've got some difficult days ahead, but it doesn't matter with me now because I've been to the mountain-top."²⁰⁶ -Student riots at Columbia University²⁰⁷ -2 Mar, Kerner Commission released study on urban race rioting-America "is moving toward two societies, one black and one white—separate and

			unequal.” ²⁰⁸ -4 Apr, Dr. King assassinated, riots erupt in 130 cities across the US and over 60,000 National Guard troops called out, 20,000 were arrested and at least 45 were killed ²⁰⁹ -9 Apr, President Johnson declared a national day of mourning ²¹⁰ -Civil Rights Act of 1968 passes (known as Open Housing Act)
1969			-20 Jul, Apollo II lands on the moon ²¹¹ -Student riots at Harvard ²¹²
1970	-Sheriff Clark was convicted three times in Montgomery of writing bad checks ²¹³ -Selma hired six black city police, Sheriff Wilson Baker appointed two black deputies and about 8-10 blacks had been hired as clerks in downtown Selma’s stores ²¹⁴		-30 Apr, Nixon announced draft extensions – demonstrations/riots at campuses all over America result ²¹⁵ -4 May, Kent State riots result in four students killed by guardsmen ²¹⁶
1971			
1972	-Sheriff Clark tried for racketeering ²¹⁷	-15 May, Arthur Bremer tried to assassinate George Wallace at a presidential campaign rally in Laurel, Maryland. Wallace was hit four times and is partially paralyzed ²¹⁸	
1974	-Only 58 tenant farmers are left in Dallas County ²¹⁹		
1977	-Craig AFB is closed ²²⁰		
1978	-Sheriff Clark pleaded guilty to importing 6,000 pounds of marijuana into the US from Columbia ²²¹		
1982		-George Wallace apologized for his previous segregationist stance and is elected governor again with substantial support from African American voters. ²²²	
1989			-Berlin wall fell and East and West Germans sang “We Shall Overcome”
1990	-Selma’s white population fell to 41% of total to 9,700 ²²³ -13 Feb, Protest to “tracking” black students into slow classes leads to school boycott, racial brawls and National Guard called up to protect		

	remaining white students. ²²⁴ Most remaining whites fled to private schools and other towns. -28 Aug, Agreement made that the race of Selma's school board president would alternate annually and the other ten members on the board would always have equal racial division. This marked the first time Selmians negotiated a racial dispute by themselves ²²⁵		
1994	-Selma High School had 60 white students out of 1,173-three quarters of the whites resided at the orphanage ²²⁶		
1995	-Selma celebrates 30 year anniversary of march to Montgomery, former Governor George Wallace participates ²²⁷	←	
1996	-Selma had 7,349 black and 5,768 white voters ²²⁸		
2000	-Smitherman, elected Mayor in 1964 using motto "Thirty Years is Long Enough," is unseated by an African American, James Perkins, Jr., by this time, Selma's electorate is 65% black ²²⁹	←	



⁴⁹ US Constitution.

⁵⁰ US Constitution.

⁵¹ Sara Bullard, ed., *Free At Last: A History of the Civil Rights Movement and Those Who Died in the Struggle* (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching Tolerance, 2004), 5

⁵² US Constitution.

⁵³ Donald T. Phillips, *Martin Luther King, Jr. on Leadership: Inspiration and Wisdom for Challenging Times*, (New York: Time Warner Books, 1998),13.

⁵⁴ Alan Axelrod, "Gandhi and Nonviolent Revolution (1893): The Decision to Prevail Without Bloodshed," in *Profiles in Audacity; Great Decisions and How They Were Made* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 2006), 158.

⁵⁵ Borgna, Brunner, "Confederate Flags of the New South," <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/confederate2.html>, (accessed 20 October 2006).

⁵⁶ Bullard, 6.

⁵⁷ Bullard, 6.

⁵⁸ J. Mills Thornton III, *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 435.

⁵⁹ Edmund Morris, *Theodore Rex* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), 453 and 467.

⁶⁰ Thornton, 414.

⁶¹ Bullard, 6.

⁶² Bullard, 6.

⁶³ Bullard, 6.

⁶⁴ Alan Axelrod, *Profiles in Audacity; Great Decisions and How They Were Made* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 2006), 162.

⁶⁵ Bullard, 7.

⁶⁶ Phillips, 18.

⁶⁷ Axelrod, 162.

⁶⁸ Axelrod, 180.

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- ⁶⁹ Thornton, 380.
- ⁷⁰ Anne Francisce, *The Problems of Minorities in the Nation-Building Process: The Kurds, The Copts, The Berbers* (New York: Vantage Press, 1971), 85.
- ⁷¹ Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Negro and the Constitution," ed. Clayborne Carson, Vol. 1, *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 110.
- ⁷² Thornton, 420.
- ⁷³ Phillips, 19.
- ⁷⁴ Thornton, 436.
- ⁷⁵ Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Negro and the Constitution," ed. Clayborne Carson, Vol. 1, *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 110.
- ⁷⁶ Tuskegee Airmen, Incorporated, "Who Were the Tuskegee Airmen?" <http://tuskegeeairmen.org/history.html> (accessed 22 October 2006).
- ⁷⁷ Thornton, 437.
- ⁷⁸ Axelrod, 163.
- ⁷⁹ Axelrod, 163.
- ⁸⁰ Tuskegee.
- ⁸¹ Thornton, 416.
- ⁸² Donnie Williams and Wayne Greenhaw, *The Thunder of Angels; The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the People Who Broke the Back of Jim Crow*, (Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill Books, 2006), 14.
- ⁸³ Thornton, 382.
- ⁸⁴ Bullard, 12.
- ⁸⁵ Thornton, 387.
- ⁸⁶ Thornton, 437.
- ⁸⁷ Thornton, 392.
- ⁸⁸ Thornton, 407.
- ⁸⁹ Bullard, 4.
- ⁹⁰ Paul Johnson, *A History of the American People* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997), 879
- ⁹¹ Thornton, 393.
- ⁹² Thornton, 397.
- ⁹³ Axelrod, 179.
- ⁹⁴ Bullard, 13.
- ⁹⁵ Bullard, 39.
- ⁹⁶ Thornton, 446.
- ⁹⁷ Thornton, 447.
- ⁹⁸ Phillips, 20.
- ⁹⁹ Axelrod, 182.
- ¹⁰⁰ Phillips, 298.
- ¹⁰¹ Axelrod, 182.
- ¹⁰² Bullard, 13.
- ¹⁰³ Brunner.
- ¹⁰⁴ Thornton, 406.
- ¹⁰⁵ Johnson, 891.
- ¹⁰⁶ Phillips, 54.
- ¹⁰⁷ Bullard, 15.
- ¹⁰⁸ Bullard, 98.
- ¹⁰⁹ Axelrod, 186.
- ¹¹⁰ Thornton, 406.
- ¹¹¹ Thornton, 407.
- ¹¹² Bullard, 15.
- ¹¹³ Bullard, 24.
- ¹¹⁴ Phillips, 65-66.
- ¹¹⁵ Francisce, 85.
- ¹¹⁶ Francisce, 93.
- ¹¹⁷ Thornton, 441.
- ¹¹⁸ Thornton, 408.

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- ¹¹⁹ Thornton, 444.
¹²⁰ Thornton, 411.
¹²¹ Thornton, 407.
¹²² Johnson, 891.
¹²³ Phillips, 144.
¹²⁴ Thornton, 404.
¹²⁵ Johnson, 891.
¹²⁶ Phillips, 125.
¹²⁷ Bullard, 18.
¹²⁸ Bullard, 18.
¹²⁹ Johnson, 858.
¹³⁰ Johnson, 880.
¹³¹ Francisse, 93.
¹³² Thornton, 446.
¹³³ Thornton, 412.
¹³⁴ Johnson, 892.
¹³⁵ Phillips, 151.
¹³⁶ Bullard, 15.
¹³⁷ Phillips, 160.
¹³⁸ Brunner.
¹³⁹ Bullard, 25.
¹⁴⁰ Thornton, 450.
¹⁴¹ Thornton, 475.
¹⁴² Thornton, 452.
¹⁴³ Thornton, 442.
¹⁴⁴ Thornton, 405.
¹⁴⁵ Thornton, 466.
¹⁴⁶ Thornton, 457.
¹⁴⁷ Thornton, 472.
¹⁴⁸ Axelrod, 189.
¹⁴⁹ Phillips, 170.
¹⁵⁰ Bullard, 99.
¹⁵¹ Bullard, 99.
¹⁵² "George Wallace," <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAwallaceG.htm>, (accessed 22 Oct 2006).
¹⁵³ Bullard, 99.
¹⁵⁴ Brunner.
¹⁵⁵ Axelrod, 189.
¹⁵⁶ Axelrod, 190.
¹⁵⁷ Axelrod, 190.
¹⁵⁸ Thornton, 457.
¹⁵⁹ Phillips, 287.
¹⁶⁰ Phillips, 198.
¹⁶¹ Thornton, 465.
¹⁶² Thornton, 462.
¹⁶³ Thornton, 463.
¹⁶⁴ Thornton, 467.
¹⁶⁵ Thornton, 433.
¹⁶⁶ Thornton, 433.
¹⁶⁷ Thornton, 468.
¹⁶⁸ Thornton, 467.
¹⁶⁹ Thornton, 475.
¹⁷⁰ Thornton, 468.
¹⁷¹ Thornton, 469.
¹⁷² Bullard, 27-28.
¹⁷³ Bullard, 100.

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- ¹⁷⁴ Bullard, 31.
- ¹⁷⁵ Johnson, 892 – The Civil Rights Act of 1964 “...restored the federal government’s power to bar racial discrimination for the first time since the 19th century. Title II requires open access to gas stations, restaurants, lodging houses and all ‘public accommodations’ serving interstate commerce, and places of entertainment or exhibition. Title VI forbids discrimination in programs accepting federal funds. Title VII outlaws any employment discrimination and creates the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.”
- ¹⁷⁶ Johnson, 893.
- ¹⁷⁷ Phillips, 192.
- ¹⁷⁸ Phillips, 198.
- ¹⁷⁹ Thornton, 469.
- ¹⁸⁰ Thornton, 474.
- ¹⁸¹ Thornton, 479.
- ¹⁸² Thornton, 480.
- ¹⁸³ Thornton, 480.
- ¹⁸⁴ Thornton, 482.
- ¹⁸⁵ Thornton, 484.
- ¹⁸⁶ Thornton, 486 and Bullard, 29.
- ¹⁸⁷ Bullard, 29.
- ¹⁸⁸ Bullard, 29.
- ¹⁸⁹ Thornton, 488.
- ¹⁹⁰ Bullard, 72-73.
- ¹⁹¹ Bullard, 29.
- ¹⁹² Thornton, 489.
- ¹⁹³ Thornton, 490.
- ¹⁹⁴ Johnson, 893.
- ¹⁹⁵ Bullard, 29.
- ¹⁹⁶ Bullard, 31.
- ¹⁹⁷ Thornton, 498.
- ¹⁹⁸ Johnson, 892.
- ¹⁹⁹ Phillips, 231.
- ²⁰⁰ Phillips, 236.
- ²⁰¹ Thornton, 498.
- ²⁰² Phillips, 293.
- ²⁰³ Phillips, 295.
- ²⁰⁴ Phillips, 272.
- ²⁰⁵ Thornton, 498.
- ²⁰⁶ Johnson, 893.
- ²⁰⁷ Johnson, 893.
- ²⁰⁸ Bullard, 31.
- ²⁰⁹ Phillips, 331.
- ²¹⁰ Phillips, 331.
- ²¹¹ Johnson, 859.
- ²¹² Johnson, 893.
- ²¹³ Thornton, 427.
- ²¹⁴ Thornton, 531.
- ²¹⁵ Johnson, 894.
- ²¹⁶ Johnson, 894.
- ²¹⁷ Thornton, 427.
- ²¹⁸ “George Wallace.”
- ²¹⁹ Thornton, 414.
- ²²⁰ Thornton, 534.
- ²²¹ Thornton, 427-428.
- ²²² “George Wallace.”
- ²²³ Thornton, 553.

²²⁴ Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (Thorndike, Maine: G.K. Hall, 1998), 518.

²²⁵ Thornton, 552.

²²⁶ Thornton, 557.

²²⁷ “George Wallace.”

²²⁸ Thornton, 553.

²²⁹ Thornton, 559.

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