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MASTER THESIS

Letters and English Languages
English Language
Literature and Civilization

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Civil Rights Movement under the Leadership of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.

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Academic Year: 2020 - 2021

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I thank God for giving me the strength and patience to accomplish this task, then my sincere gratitude goes to my supportive and compassionate supervisor for guiding me, with her invaluable expertise, through this journey of writing. Also I thank the examiners for granting their precious time for the reading of the dissertation.

Abstract

Throughout the history of the United States, the modern Civil Rights movement, intensively, has been subject to debates. Meanwhile, this movement was powered by two prominent leaders, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. both of the two leaders fought the injustice that devoured the American society at the time. They raised the awareness of the black laymen to fight in their part. They worked for the same objective but their methods were different. However, this study is an attempt to identify who are Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, mainly, it is a way to understand the differences and similarities between the two activists. Equally important, the object of this study is to locate the range of their success and influence. This research aims to interpret historical events by adopting Qualitative research that involves collecting and analysing non-numerical data, using the Narrative approach to examine the stories that are recorded and to explain them. Throughout the work we discover the power of the individual that ended a hundred years of exploitation and freed millions of men.

List of Abbreviations

CORE: Congress of Racial Equality

MLK: Martin Luther King

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NOI: Nation of Islam

UNIA: Universal Negro Improvement Association

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General Introduction

The American history has never been free of racial injustices against the blacks. The civil war was a fight for salvation for the African Americans (slavemen), but eventually it turned out to be another beginning to racial hatred. The Civil War had officially abolished slavery, but it didn't end discrimination against Black people, they continued to endure the devastating effects of racism, especially in the South. The African descendants, as a result of the Civil War, were emancipated and were then granted basic civil rights through the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution. During the reconstruction period (1865–77), the government gave African Americans certain equal rights (protection and voting), but these amendments were not welcomed, especially by the southern, therefore, Jim Crow laws were established, which totally separate blacks from whites. Although, Black Americans never rest their shoulders, and the fight for lawful rights continued, but this time, the resistance took another observed dimension which is the Civil Rights Movement.

The Civil Rights movement was a struggle for social justice that took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for Black, it is even as old as United States' history, it did not suddenly emerged during the twentieth-century out of nowhere, in fact, it is the connection of previous efforts to improve the life of African American. Moreover, the roots of this uprising is dated back to various reasons, the reaction against African American deployment in World War II in 1941, indeed it was a demanded right by the Blacks, but eventually African American veterans questioned the logic of fighting for the country's democracy while the country itself gives no such right for them. This incident followed by Rosa Parks case on December 1, 1955, a black woman who refused to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery, Alabama bus, Rosa Parks and many other events became life force of Civil Rights Movement, the later stimulated

Civil Rights activists to launch a massive protests (The March on Washington) to raise awareness and to accelerate the momentum for passage of federal civil rights legislation. The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was the largest civil rights protest in US history, and contributed to the successful implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (guarantee equality) and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (full voting right).

The era between 1950s and 1960s was led by two heroic figures Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr., both are radically Black activists and sought only for Black interests, although, they did not share the same ideologies, on one hand, Malcolm X advocated black self-reliance, cultural pride, and self-defence in the face of racial violence. The approach that he spearheaded came to be known as Black Power, while on the other hand, Martin Luther King Jr.'s approach known as non-violence doctrine.

However, the movement reached its peak during 1960s, when two programmes dominated the public consciousness, both aim for racial equality but each one holds a unique dogma, one program aimed at complete integration through nonviolent protest. The other program focused on autonomy through African-American self-reliance. The most noted leader of assimilationist group, and the non-violent advocator was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the extreme contrast to King's doctrine of non-violence emerged in the form of Black Power advocates led by Malcolm X. To begin with, the two prominent voices had a different philosophies drove by religious forces, King, a Christian Baptist pastor, led the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and preached his message in churches. Malcolm X was a convert to Islam by the influence of the Nation of Islam organization, significantly, he raised the religious movement's profile, preaching his message first on street corners and then moving to larger venues as the movement grew in popularity. Furthermore, for King who advocated for

integration with white men as one society, Malcolm X denied that he was even an American, he appealed to separation from white society. Also, Malcolm opposed non-violence as a means of attaining freedom. "That's what you mean by non-violent," he said, "be defenceless.", he criticized King's peaceful method rather than fighting fire by fire, illustrated in his famous saying "by all means necessary".

Aim and Materials

The moment I was exposed to these historical events I got hooked up by them, therefore, my research aims to make the readers aware of such significant historical events that shaped the whole being of a great nation (U.S), and influenced the globe, I tend to identify the prominent figures of this movement, and explain the procedure that makes America's legislation the way it is now. Also, the research aims to show how the black people participated in shaping their own future, and I want to spot the light on the idea of how the contribution of a mere human could alter the fate of dozens of generations ahead and honour generation passed.

However, one way of revealing the massive difference between the two ideologies of Malcolm X and Martin Luther king is by going the primary sources, this is by examining their famous speeches, and testing the autobiographies of Malcolm and King. Furthermore, in this study I will attempt to answer these main questions, to what extent the two leaders' methods and contributions helped in reconstruct the American society during the movement? To answer this question, we must first analyse the speeches of the two leaders in order to reveal how much influential the two leaders were. Since their contributions were mainly educational and motivational for the black people, especially the case of Malcolm X, who mostly contributed verbally. Further, I will investigate the events that shaped their ideologies to rationalize their

beliefs. Meanwhile, since the topic is concerned with the Civil Rights Movement; I will explain the outbreak of the movement and its outcomes.

The other materials that I will rely on to carry on the investigation are several of books, articles and dissertation dealing with the same topic. However, the speeches that I will examine are "Message to the Grass Roots " and The "Ballot or The Bullet " by Malcolm X, on the other hand, Martin's famous speech "I Have a Dream " and his letter "Letter from Birmingham Jail ". I have selected the most famous speeches and writings of the two leaders in which they showed their true self, so by analysing them we more likely to understand the two figures.

Through American history mainstream, the black people have been mistreated by the whites, even though they played dynamic role in boosting the advancement of the country. This mistreatment is still practiced nowadays, some white extremists whom are racist in their mind seeking to implant false image about the blacks. Therefore, it is our duty to study this magnificent historical culture, and the school institution should encourage students to study black history in its own right. In my position, I contribute in providing a fine picture of the African-Americans culture through digging inside the historical records of those discriminated and marginalized black voices, aiming to present for the reader a fine research about a tiny clip of a very long tape of African American history.

The dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first chapter, also, is divided into sections, the first section will give a general overview about the Civil Rights movement, with its outcomes. Then, there will be two sections, each one is devoted for a character. The two sections describe the life and the ideology of the two leaders. Then, there will be a space for describing the relationship between the two figures, also the criticism of each other. The second and the third chapters will be solely devoted for Malcolm X and Martin Luther King's rhetorical analysis

and their legacies. Whereas, throughout the readings, I found out the majority of the works are misrepresenting Malcolm X, therefore, I devoted a section in the second chapter to discuss the representation of Malcolm X.

Chapter One: The Civil Rights Movement and the Emergence of the Two Leaders

1. Introduction

Black Americans consider 1865 as a celebrating year for them. It marked the end of slavery. It also, unluckily, marked a new era of oppression. Racism filled the air of the American society; the African Americans did not enjoy their alleged new freedom.

By the twentieth century, Black Heroes emerged as freedom fighters. They raised the demand, but this time to completely make their voice heard. During the period of World War II, the black movement witnessed a massive growing. Precisely the era between 1950s and 1960s, which is our main concern on this chapter.

This research offers a general overview of the evolution of the Civil Rights movement, and its outcomes. Also it highlights the contributions of two prominent leaders during the time, Malcolm X and Martin Luther king, Jr. whom they are seen as the cornerstone of the modern Civil Rights movement. Thus, this chapter attempts to present the leaders' historical background and relate them to the leadership of the movement. Also, it provides a conceptualization of two philosophies that both of them have relied on. Besides, I will shed the light on the differences and the convergence of these two leaders.

2. Civil rights movement

The injustice accompanied African Americans even before the colonies became independent, when the slavery was considered as fact of life. This nightmarish journey lasted until the end of the Civil War in 1865. when the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S Constitution was passed in 1965, the south strongly opposed the amendments (Fourteenth and Fifteenth), therefore, it established Jim Crow laws. While the Fifteenth Amendment gave black the right to

vote, most black people couldn't vote because they were unable to pass voter literacy tests that was institutionalized by southerners. Jim Crow laws were not adopted in northern states; however, Black people still experienced discrimination at different sectors, workshops for instance.

As the tension grows higher along with the sense of freedom, many courageous blacks began the fight for equality; the resistance began in the late 1940s and ended in the late 1960s. Many history books call it Civil Rights Movement; sometimes it is called Black Freedom movement (Venable 07).

Injustice stirred African American to fight for equality. In early 1900s, a new group known as National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had emerged to fight racism and discrimination, and this group became powerful over the years. By the 1930s, its lawyers were taking cases to court to challenge discrimination, it won many of these challenges, and the very famous one is the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, it is considered as the most important and the boost of the Civil Right Movement. The case issued school segregation. In 1954, the Supreme Court decided "separate but equal" law. This decision was seen as the first major victory of the movement. Despite government decision, the rights that blacks hoped for were not fulfilled yet (segregation did not end), therefore, people decided that they had to fight for their rights (Venable 08).

In Montgomery, Alabama, at the time, the African-Americans were obliged to maintain in their segregated (colored) corners. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks was in her way home after big day of work, the black militant set in in the front seats that is specified for the blacks, and when the driver ordered her to give up her seat to a white man, she bravely refused, the driver called the police and Parks was arrested. This courageous act ignited the black leaders to

raise a bus boycott, led by the prominent leader Martin Luther King Jr., the boycott lasted for 381 days, all black people refused to ride buses anymore. The Supreme Court decided that bus segregation was illegal, and then it was ended. By this time, the event spread widely, it made King famous, then he became the most powerful voice of the movement, and his ideology helped in refining his reputation (History.com).

Blacks all over the country were inspired by the boycott. By the end of 1956, no black student was attending school with white children in the south. When school started in the fall of 1957, nine black students tried to enrol at Little Rock Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. The governor tried to halt the students, but President Dwight Eisenhower send soldiers escort students to the school, then the school closed for a year to prevent integration (Joseph 64).

After the success of the boycott and president's help for students, young people participated in nonviolent protest; they used sit-ins in segregated facilities and refused to leave. Young black people organized groups to fight discrimination; they formed Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), along with many organized groups. After series of events (the Freedom Riders, Police firing, Ku Klux Klan bombing, killing of civil rights leader Medgar Evers), King delivered his famous speech "I have a dream", after leading huge march of approximately 250,000 people of all races (Venable 13-19).

The situation in the south improved, but, in the north people started worry about how slow was the change. So, blacks questioned King's nonviolence method and they followed another black leader, Malcolm X. His method differs from King's. Malcolm advocated for using power against power, also he was against integration, and he stated that blacks should not live together with whites. His views became increasingly popular, especially after the death of King. People lost faith in living peacefully with whites, and they began agreeing with Black Power

movement. The supporters of this movement cherished Malcolm's belief that blacks need to be completely independent from whites, and they formed a group called Black Panther Party advocates (Venable 24, 25).

Civil Rights Movement brought tremendous victories for the blacks. Blacks in the south had access to the ballot, also they occupied fundamental positions in the country, even won national election (Obama elected as U.S. president). However, many influential leaders were assassinated, but they accomplished great achievements to be remembered as long America may live.

2.1 Major Achievements of the Movement

Although the movement had driven by contradiction of ideologies and contrasting voices and messages, such as those of King and Malcolm X, it was the most successful social movement in American history (Venable 27). In 1954, Brown v. Board of Education case marked the first steps towards victory, but in reality it was a small push towards a greater fight. Moreover, during the 1960 Presidential Election, John F. Kennedy showed support to the movement. In 1963, President Kennedy promised to push a civil rights bill through the congress, Civil Rights leaders considered this as a major victory. After Kennedy's death, Lyndon B. Johnson shared the dream of equality of his predecessor, and he pushed the Congress to pass Civil Right Act of 1964. This law outlawed segregation in all public places (Karatzas 32). Black leaders wanted to insert their voice inside the government, so they worked on breaking vote restriction, and register more black people to vote. The protest to registration turned into tragic event known as "Bloody Sunday". Consequently, President Johnson persuaded the Congress to pass another law. On August 6, the president signed the Voting Rights act of 1965 (Joseph 15). This law required the national government to supervise voter registration. Also, President

Lyndon B. Johnson released Kerner Commission Report in July 1967, the report, which declared that “our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal,” called for expanded aid to African American communities in order to prevent further racial violence and polarization (History.com).

The success of this movement continued beyond the timeline when the movement occurred (1950s-1960s). Now the African Americans are rooted deep down in all country's position. They are mayors, governors, congressmen (senators and representatives), and the big harvest was in 2008, when African descendent (Barack Obama) won the presidency and made the history for the blacks. Despite the countless efforts and priceless triumphs, the Civil Rights movement did not escape the inevitable failure, even the brightest light leaves the dark shadow behind it.

2.2 Failure of the Movement

The Civil Rights movement was widely seen as a huge success, whereas, some argued that the new reformers proved its lack of success when it comes to African Americans economic conditions. It is true that the movement helped breaking down the legal foundation of racism, but it did not provide much of betterment to poor African-American masses. Civil Rights' advocates innocently supposed that equal access and equal opportunity would be enough to produce significant social and economic equality between African Americans and whites (Owens 03). All in all, it is clear to notice how the movement did not fully succeed in its demands, even in its glorious age (King's time). We can see that blacks advocates were killed (King and Malcolm X), which only indicates that the hate against the blacks may not end. Even now, blacks are been exposed to racism. Therefore, the Civil Rights movement was a marvellous deed, but still not enough to eliminate racism.

2.3 Significant Time Line for the Civil Rights Movement

In this section I will list dates of some very crucial events that stimulated the movement to reach its final outcomes.

- **May 18, 1896:** The Supreme Court decides in Plessy v. Ferguson case that segregation is legal as long as blacks have access to equal facilities under the slogan “separate but equal”.
- **February 12, 1909:** the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is founded
- **May 17, 1954:** Brown v. Board of Education, The Supreme Court decides that segregation in school is illegal.
- **August 28, 1955:** Brutal murder of the 14-years-old boy named Emmett Till.
- **December 1, 1955:** Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery, Alabama bus.
- **November 13, 1956:** After 381 days of bus boycott, Supreme agrees that Alabama's bus segregation laws were unconstitutional.
- **September 4, 1957:** Nine Black students known as the “Little Rock Nine” are stopped from enrolling in Little Rock Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. President Dwight D. Eisenhower eventually sends federal troops to escort the students.
- **February 1, 1960:** The first sit-ins takes place in North Carolina.
- **1961:** Freedom Rides protests
- **August 28, 1963:** The March on Washington, approximately 250,000 people take part in for Jobs and Freedom.
- **July 2, 1964:** President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law.

- **February 21, 1965:** Black religious leader Malcolm X is assassinated.
- **March 7, 1965:** Bloody Sunday. In the Selma to Montgomery March, to protest against Black voter suppression, at the time local police block and brutally attack them.
- **August 6, 1965:** President Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- **April 4, 1968:** Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.
- **November 4, 2008:** Barack Obama is elected as the first black president of the United State.

3. Emergence of the Two Leaders

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. (Frederick Douglass)

The twentieth century was an era characterized by conflicts and confusion for the country. The century also witnessed the Great Depression, American dominance in world politics, and the fall of colonialism and communism. So much changes occurred that altered the social status of the country, but for blacks, the situation remained almost the same, especially after the Second World War, when the African Americans had high hopes for social changes, but only the continues fight remained . But William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1900), one of the most prominent and influential black leaders of the twentieth century, wrote: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the reaction of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." (Gordon 97).

Du Bois' assessment of the black people' future was correct. In addition, Blacks have been revolting against the unfair social system since the day of the first black slave man put foot in the new world (Gordon 97). Many ran away, others chose passive resistance and they gave the slave owner the minimum level of cooperation (Gordon 98).

1950s-1960s was a turbulent time for people of colour, a time of oppression, brutality, and nothing but more suffering and struggling for the demanded rights. From within this racial battle, two voices rose up to speak the right and correct the wrong, Martin Luther King, Jr and Malcolm X. Despite immense background differences, the two sought the same path, the path of liberating their own people; the black people. On one hand, one-man fostered the nonviolent resistance, fortified it by the saying "we shall overcome", he advocated for integration with white people as one society. The other man believed only in taking the rightful rights "by any means necessary", he called for black empowerment, and separatism (Thompson 01).

Furthermore, both of the two leaders were involved in the Civil Rights movement, but one was recognised more than the other. For King, he was presented as the big picture, due to his participation on marches, public speeches, and protests. For Malcolm X, he acted behind the scene through his powerful speeches, also his influence reached its peak only after his assassination. On and on, after series of militancy, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr proven their positions as the pillars of 50s and 60s Civil Rights movement.

Each of these men shaped history with their powerful personalities, their incredible charisma, their intelligence, and their dedication to fighting against oppression. To really understand them, however, it is essential for our gaze to be carefully attuned to the context of history, and of each of their lived experiences. To understand them we must look at the picture in the most whole sense possible.

4. Biography of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.

4.1 Malcolm X

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska on May 19, 1925. He grew up in a family where both of his parents were active in the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the largest 20th century mass-based Black Nationalist organization. His father, Earl Little, a Baptist minister, headed UNIA chapters in midwestern cities like Omaha. His mother, Louise Norton Little was a corresponding secretary for these chapters, worked as a reporter for the chapters. Malcolm's family represented a threat to white extremists (Sales 30). Unluckily Malcolm X was born in the era so-called Second Ku Klux Klan. At the time the Klan achieved political respectability, so his family was targeted and harassed by KKK. The family moved to Lansing, Michigan, there, a racist white group burned their home to the ground when Malcolm X was just four years old. Four of his uncles were murdered, then his father, leaving Malcolm only a six years old boy (Fatima 03).

However, as the financial situation worsened, the mother got fired from white-household because of her skin, Malcolm's first trouble with the authorities came at this time. He began to steal food and occasionally would be caught. Mrs. Little could not maintain her sanity to which her children were transferred to the custody of another family. Afterwards, Malcolm X went to live with some neighbours. At the age of 13, Malcolm who had often been in trouble at school was sent to a detention home in Mason, Michigan right after his expulsion from school in 1938 (Shepard ch. 1-3). As he claimed in his Autobiography, Malcolm did well at the detention home. The high point of his career was being elected class president in the seventh grade. This was a real accomplishment because Malcolm was learning to succeed in terms negotiated by white society. (Shepard ch. 1-3)

During this period, Malcolm learned to be a submissive, well-behaved black male, but he was still unable to adapt fully to this situation. Because of the discouragement he had from his teacher by laughing at his dream of becoming a lawyer saying “no realistic goal for a nigger.” (SparkNotes 09) Malcolm X distrusts whites again. Later on, his half-sister Ella Collins visited him and took him in her custody and lived in Boston.

In his book written by Alex Haley, Malcolm X describes his sister as the most powerful woman he faced. Ella was strong and politically conscious Black Nationalist, she assisted him to locate himself inside U.S working class. He worked as a dishwasher, then as a shoeshine, later as a porter in railroads, before he moved to Harlem, New York, the capital of the black world, where he developed a deep sense of peoplehood of the African American (Sales 31). Here, Malcolm X involved in illegal works, he began to sell drugs for instance. At the time, the choice of legitimate or illegitimate pursuits was not an option for a black person (31). After a while, he returned to Boston in October 1944. Then he became involved in burglary. He was arrested on January 12, 1946, in a jewellery store trying to reclaim a stolen watch he had left for repair. He was accused for selling firearms on January 15, 1946. In January 1946, Malcolm X was sentenced to ten years in prison for breaking and entering. He first entered the Charlestown State Prison in Massachusetts, later moving successively to Concord State Reformatory and the Norfolk Prison Colony (Shepard ch. 8-12).

In the prison, Malcolm X rethought himself and started teaching himself some basic aspects of any respectful man should have. He learned reading and writing, and articulation, with the support of another inmate called Bimbi (Sales 33). Hence, it was in the jail Malcolm X found his religious mentor, named Honourable Elijah Muhammad. With this new conversion to Islam, he found a noble purpose for life, and he gained self-respect and discipline. He was released

from prison on August 7, 1952. In September 1952 he was officially recognized by the Nation of Islam as Malcolm X (Moberg 04).

In the prison, Malcolm X was frequently receiving letters from his family, which holds the teaching of Islam and the history of alleged messenger Elijah Muhammad, and the story about Yacub's History, which will be explained in details later in the chapter. Then, he had been accepted by Elijah. Malcolm X developed his public speaking through engaging in debates. Through time, Malcolm's intelligence and devotion to the Nation of Islam attracted Elijah Muhammad's attention, and he quickly rose to a position as one of his most trusted members (Shepard ch. 8-12). For being active in drawing black people to enrol in the Nation, Malcolm met with Elijah and he appointed as minister of the temple of Detroit, then he assigned to Harlem temple (SparkNotes 21).

At the Harlem temple, Malcolm met a nursing student, Betty X, and they got married in January 1958. Furthermore, Muslims became well-known, because of Malcolm's persuasive speeches (Shepard ch. 13-16). However, after his visit to Mecca, his views began to change about NOI and the whites, due to the intimate experience he had with different races, He had seen that all whites were not inherently evil and racist, contradicting to Elijah's teaching (Haley 338). Malcolm X divorced from the NOI, and he adopted the concept of Pan-Africanism after visiting some African countries (Sales 37). Despite the change in attitude towards whites, he still believed that racial separatism was the most natural and workable solution to America's problems. El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Malcolm's Islamic new name) formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity in June 1964, a political group which unites all black despite the religion (Sales 37).

Malcolm X was and still an African American iconic leader. His participation helped in improving black lives, especially after his assassination on February 21, 1965. His words spread like fuel in the flame, inspiring millions of black people. He animated the Civil Rights movement by his sane mind. His soul may left the world, but his legacy will live as long as humanity does.

4.2 Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr was black Civil Rights activist. By King's contribution and many other black leaders, the American legalized racist laws shifted its tendency towards the African American. Through overcoming the different obstacles, he desegregated the system and earned the hero title.

Martin Luther King, Jr was born Michael Luther King in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 15, 1929. He was the middle child of Michael King Sr. and Alberta Williams King. His father was an activist who raised a protest against inequality for teacher's salary. Martin Luther King Sr. in honour of the German Protestant religious leader Martin Luther he adopted his name. Later, the son followed his father's lead and adopt the name himself. To add, King enrolled in the seminary to become a minister, and he viewed the Christianity as a potential force for social change. Then king was accepted in Boston University to finish his doctorate, where he met Coretta Scott and they got married later (Biography.com).

After Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to white man, the black community met up and they called for bus boycott, they elected a young twenty-seven-year-old clergyman, Martin Luther King, Jr., for leadership. Within five days, the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed, with King as its president. King's skilful rhetoric fuelled the Civil Rights movement with energy. The movement lasted for 381 days despite the government continues hindrance (harassment, violence). Reverend King and his followers were arrested for illegally boycotting

the buses. However, Supreme Court finally decided that bus segregation is unconstitutional. Now the star of King shone brighter (Gordon 119).

In January 1957, King and other black minister and civil rights activists founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). With this new created base, leaders highlighted the necessity of correcting the ballot. In February 1958, the SCLC sponsored more than 20 mass meetings in key southern cities to register Black voters in the South. Afterwards, King's visit to India inspired him more about the non-violent protest, and with the help of his associate, he dedicated himself to the principles of nonviolence (Biography.com).

In February 1960, a group of students organized sit-in movement. Thus, SCLC held a conference with this movement leaders. King encouraged the students to proceed with the non-violent protest. Therefore, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formed out of the meeting (Biography.com).

In 1963, King was jailed after he organized a demonstration in downtown Birmingham, Alabama. That incident brought a huge public attention. Inside the prison, he wrote letter known as Letter from Birmingham Jail. In these letters, King articulated the nonviolence theory (Biography.com). By the end of Birmingham campaign, King and his followers launched a massive demonstration, a march for equal rights (jobs and freedom). On August 28, 1963, more than 250,000 people gathered in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. At this historical moment, King made his iconic speech "I Have a Dream", a dream in which King wishes one day black and white people could settle disputes (Biography.com). He said: "I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." (Martin Luther King, Jr. / "I Have A Dream" speech, August 28, 1963).

As we discussed before, as a result of King's militancy, the Congress passed Civil Rights Act of 1964. This human feat authorized him to worth the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. However, the battle continues, On March 21, approximately 2,000 people began a march from Selma to Montgomery, consequently, the 1965 Voting Rights Act was signed (Venable 22).

After dedicating his life on the rightful causes, Martin Luther King, Jr was assassinated on April 4, 1968, while standing on the balcony of a motel in Memphis, Tennessee. In the wake of his death, a wave of riots swept major cities across the country, while President Johnson declared a national day of mourning.

5. Malcolm X vs Martin Luther King

The historical Civil Rights movement was supplied by two power sources, therefore, the movement was divided into two fronts. One led by Malcolm X, the other one by Martin Luther King, Jr. the two figures never contracted in goals, which is break the wall of inequality, but the way to achieve the goal was way too different. First, Malcolm and the Black Power advocates urged the use of any mean necessary including violence as a method of self-defence. Second, Martin Luther King who criticized violence method in bringing desirable peace, and his message emphasized nonviolent resistance. Moreover, the two leaders never preached side by side, but their speeches worked together, all for the sake of freeing the African American from injustice of the society. Both made it to the top as a representative of the movement, and both ended the same way, by the bullets (Owens 05, 06).

The upbringing of the two men is the main catalyser that shaped their approaches. Without the childhood events, perhaps the world will not witness Malcolm X and King that we know today. On the one hand, the tragic life that is filled with blood and murder even to his loved ones (his father), Malcolm build a hateful attitude towards the whites people that is also

enforced by the teaching of his mentor Elijah. These overweighting reasons explain his righteous anger and his enmity to the white people, and his appeal for total separation from white society, which he addressed them in his speeches as minister of NOI (Carson 22, 23).

On the other hand, the religious upbringing of King moulded his ideology, as he embraced the love of people whom they are all children of God, and he believed in integration using peace, essentially non-violent methods (Carson 22, 23). Also, their adulthood experiences made the differences between the two. During his formative years, Malcolm had far less exposure than did King to positive aspects of black culture and history. He was an outsider who fitted himself as respectable African American.

To boot, In his book titled *The Sword and the Shield the Revolutionary Lives of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr*, Peniel E. Joseph relate the upbringing of the two together by one event: "They're both impacted by the movie *Gone With The Wind*. It premieres in Atlanta when Dr King is ten years old. Malcolm is 14 years old and sees that movie in Mason, Michigan, and talks about squirming in the movie theatre at all the racial stereotypes that the movie's filled with. It's filled with black women who are servants and are getting slapped in the face by white women who are masters, and it's this sepia-toned, nostalgic vision of racial slavery. So that's similar." (Gordon 02).

Indeed, Malcolm X is self-educated. During his terms in the prison, Malcolm took the opportunity to re-educate himself (Haley). After he improved his reading and writing, he moved to a second phase, "homemade education" phase, when he engaged with other prisoners and clergy on topics of history, philosophy, politics, and science (Haley 172). Later he met Elijah and joined NOI. The Nation's eclectic philosophy combined aspects of black nationalism, Pan-

Africanism, and religious creeds that identify the whites as devils, created by evil scientist named Yacub (Joseph 27, 28).

At the time, Malcolm's judging to white people reached its peak, his ideology developed to the extent that he sees whites as a devils and evil that should be put away by all means. His black pride enraged, until the day he Visited Mecca. After doing the pilgrimage, Malcolm's extremism attitudes softened and he departed from whites as devils theme, when he met "men with white complexions [who] were more genuinely brotherly than anyone else had been" (Haley 338). Hence, Malcolm X perspective did change in fact, and that was observed in his speeches, but for his black ideology, it ended with his death. Furthermore, for any listener, he may notice the change in tones when it comes to whites, but when it comes to black people, Malcolm X was a proudly Black Nationalist.

The most extreme contrast to Malcolm's doctrine emerged as assimilationist and nonviolent group headed by reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. King grew up in religious family (son of church minister), which influenced him massively to choose the same direction and becoming minister himself. King included his religious teaching deep into his speeches. To add, King's childhood experience may be less harsh than Malcolm's, therefore his hatred was lesser than Malcolm's towards the whites (Cone 174). King always embraced the idea of integrating with white society. By that, the complete rights of the black people should be preserved and equal as the whites. Peniel E. Joseph described King as "defence attorney". King's fight for African American citizenship was expansive, his demands exceeded voting rights or ending segregation, and he will not sheathe his sword and rest his shoulders until the black lives the same as the white. His continues protests involved human rights, such as job rights, health, income, and political engagement (Gordon 03).

In fact, both black leaders agreed and disagreed on multiple matters, but the desire for the black dignity and citizenship were indisputable for them. Meanwhile, the disagreements were shown on their ways of seeking their desires. In the sense that one condemned the other for preaching the Negroes to be defenceless, and the other one saw that engaging Negroes in violence will only reap grief (Carson 26). King said “Malcolm has done himself and our people a great disservice. Fiery demagogic oratory in the black ghettos, urging Negroes to arm themselves and engage in violence, as he has done, can reap nothing but grief.” (King, Playboy interview, Jan. 1965)

6. Malcolm X Critics for Martin Luther King

Malcolm X is mirror reflection of Martin Luther King. As an enraged Black Nationalist, Malcolm criticized King’s way of marching the movement. Since the outside is very dangerous for black man to speak his rights, being non-violent is simply being defenceless. Malcolm X concluded that the nonviolent strategy was either too accommodating to the whites or it is subsidised by white America to keep African Americans defenceless (Gordon 04), as he commented in his speech:

If that’s what you mean by non-violent, be defenseless in the face of one of the most cruel beasts that has ever taken people into captivity, that’s the American white man. A hundred years ago, they used to put on a white sheet and use a bloodhound against Negroes. Today, they have taken off the white sheet and put on police uniforms; they have traded in the bloodhounds for police dogs, and they are still doing the same thing, and just as Uncle Tom back during slavery used to keep the Negroes from resisting the bloodhounds or resisting the Ku Klux Klan, by teaching them to love the enemy. Martin Luther King Jr is just a twentieth century, or modern Uncle Tom or a religious Uncle

Tom, who is doing the same thing today. (“Malcolm X Interview 1963 at Kenneth Clark” 03:25–04:10)

Malcolm X made it clear when it comes to “loving your enemy”. He saw the white society as a “sinking ship” that cannot be integrated with (Cone 76). He insisted that blacks should protect themselves “by any means necessary”. Also Malcolm believed that only through violence you can defeat violence. Moreover, racism is rooted deep in white Americans mind, and there is no place of a Negro among the racist white. Therefore, Malcolm x proposed a separated nation for the blacks, better than waiting and begging the white to change their minds for the blacks: “If you take up arms, you will end it. But if you sit around and wait for the ones who’s in power to make up his mind that he should end it... you will be waiting” (Fatima 05).

7. Martin Luther King Critics for Malcolm X

Although, King saw Malcolm as “very articulate” and he is skilful in his speeches, he criticized his “demagogic oratory” that call preaches for black revolution (Carson 16). King strongly opposed Malcolm’s rhetorical militancy, and he believed that nothing but nonviolent works the best for the Civil Rights movement. Reflecting on their differences, King asserted:

I have often wished that he talk less of violence, because violence is not going to solve our problem. And in his litany of articulating the despair of the Negro without offering any positive, creative, alternative, I feel that Malcolm has done himself and our people a great disservice. Fiery, demagogic oratory in the black ghettos, urging Negroes to arm themselves prepare to engage in violence, as he has done, can reap nothing but grief. (King, Playboy interview, Jan. 1965)

Unlike Malcolm X, King did not preach for hate and riot, but encouraged his listeners to love. He stated that all people are God's children. Arguing with Malcolm's method, King spoke: "Malcolm is clearly a product of the hate and violence invested in the Negro's blighted existence in this nation" (Martin). King blindly followed one way to victory, through nonviolence, and condemning all other ways (Thompson 12, 13).

8. The Relationship between the Two Leaders

Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. walked two different paths as leaders of the black movement. They did not work under the same organization, nor did they agree on methods. They were organizationally and ideologically contradicted. These differences prevented the two men from becoming closely connected by friendship or association.

As Malcolm mentioned in his Autobiography, he became known of King as early as the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955. On the other hand, Martin came to know Malcolm when Malcolm proved his position as the spokesman of NOI (Baldwin 395). After that, the first attempts for communication between the two occurred when NOI invited SCLC for a dialogue in 1957, which eventually doomed to failure. Then, in 1960, Martin refused Malcolm's invitation to attend a Harlem rally. On 31 July 1963, Malcolm called for other Civil Rights movement leaders to reason their mind, and overcome their differences. Malcolm X even publicly called for unity. "If capitalistic Kennedy and communistic Khrushchev can find something in common on which to form a United Front despite their tremendous ideological differences, it is a disgrace for Negro leaders not to be able to submerge our 'minor' differences in order to seek a common solution to a common problem posed by a Common Enemy," he wrote. (Kelly and Erin 38, 40)

The big change in Malcolm's view happened when he left NOI, after he visited some African countries and the Middle East (Sales 37). Malcolm tossed Elijah's fiery teaching away.

Simultaneously, Martin invited him to confer his position on the violent matters, but he ignored it. Whereas, the one and only actual meeting happened in United States Senate building on Thursday, March 26, 1964. That day, the Senate debated the pending Civil Rights Bill, which was designed to end racial discrimination in public life. Later it signed The Civil Rights Act of 1964. Malcolm and Martin attended as participant observers to witness this historical event. After King's press conference, Malcolm bumped into King in full view of the press. Malcolm stretched his hand.

“Well, Malcolm, good to see you,” King offered.

“Good to see you,” Malcolm grinned. Then, the reporters crowded around, and flash bulbs flared

“Now you're going to get investigated,” Malcolm teased.

During the moment, the historical picture of the two great black leaders shaking hands was captured. However, such encounter could not happen between two men, who as the media claimed that hate each other. Perhaps the playful manner which Malcolm saluted King must have diffused the anxiety that they held for each other. But, the two showed the world their common love for black humanity and clinging for black citizenship. Martin and Malcolm never developed close friendship, but their mutual goals spoke of their relationship.

Another converge from Malcolm when he visited King in Selma, Alabama. At the time, king was in jail, so Malcolm gave an opportunity to speak to his wife, Coretta Scott King, assuring that ‘I want Dr. King to know that I didn't come to Selma to make his job difficult. I really did come thinking that I could make it easier...’ he showed respect and concern to King (Baldwin 398). On his turn, King showed great affection for Malcolm after his assassination, he

said: “as I said, this has come as a great shock to so many of us, and although we had constant disagreements, I had a deep affection for Malcolm X and I am very sorry about this whole thing”. And he sent a telegram to Betty Shabazz, Malcolm’s widow sympathizing with her for this tragic event. (Baldwin 408)

Ideological differences made it impossible for Malcolm X and Martin King to be in friend zone. Also, fiery rhetoric and name-calling were inevitable for overwhelmed leaders, especially in their early appearance. Malcolm X castigated Martin in his speeches calling him “a fool”, “a traitor”, “a false shepherd”, and “a twentieth century religious Uncle Tom”. In return, Martin reprehended Malcolm by referring to him as “crazy”, “tragic”, and “demagogic” (Baldwin 399, 403). In the later part of his life, Malcolm showed sincerely care and sympathy for Martin’s struggle, and he showed his readiness for help. On the counter side, Martin, especially after Malcolm’s death, he appreciated the existence of leadership of Malcolm X, because it made the black movement more acceptable to the larger white society. Further, Martin became much more interested in race and blackness.

9. Conclusion

The struggle of the African-Americans for freedom and justice existed from antebellum eras to the twentieth century, only the tension differs from period to another, and the most intense period existed within 1950s and 1960s era. When liberation movement rose up simultaneously with the rise of racial violence, two spokesmen had shown in the big picture.

The emergence of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King gave the movement a powerful boost, as if it had worn a knight armour with a sword in hand and shield on the other hand. They both bravely defied the raciest society, which only judges the person on skin colour. The two leaders earned their titles as the heroes of the black people through generations. Despite the

contrasted views, yet they accomplished the African-Americans dream. And who would image what they would accomplish if they joined forces.

However, their reputation preceded their time. Until nowadays, Malcolm and King are without a doubt the two most powerful icons in the African-American community. Now they are depicted are slogan for liberation and civil rights fighters. And their legacies are taught in schools, and memorised by history.

Chapter Two: Malcolm X

1. Introduction

Malcolm X, also known as El-Hajj Malik El-Shabaz, was an African-American leader, who converted to Islam and became the minister of the NOI during the Civil Rights movement. Malcolm advocated for self-defence by the use of any means necessary. Many people, among them historians and researchers, viewed Malcolm as a “radical” black leader who propagated violence. Comparing to his twin, Martin Luther King, Jr. who adopted non-violence methods which became popular during the time of the movement.

Malcolm X was unfairly depicted as extremist and violence advocator. Whereas, Malcolm X condemned turning the other cheek, but attaining the freedom “by all means necessary”, including arming the “Negroes” as he preached. As we said before, the contemporary image has been stripped from its positivity in the favour of Malcolm. He is represented, for instance, as a warmonger. Indeed, his perplexed figure brought many debates around him; also his evolution through his militancy shaped the different views about him.

However, the representation of Malcolm had been polarized into two controversial opinions. My aim is to clarify the complexity of Malcolm’s current representation, and to justify his radical black power that stood against the face of social oppression at the time when the voice of the black people had no possibility to be heard, only by doing this, we have to dig inside his speeches and texts. Also, in this chapter, we will discuss the legacy of Malcolm X that lasted for generations.

As stated above, this chapter will be devoted for Malcolm X ideological discussion, and investigate whether he is truly violent in nature, or the hard situation made him like this. Also, we will analyse his violent ideology and see if it is justifiable or not.

2. Representation of Malcolm X

Malcolm X had become a point of engagement, where different opinions contrasted in defining the real identity of the man. Some glorified him as symbol of liberation, others demonized him as warmonger and extremist. While in fact, even after his physical death, Malcolm symbolic existence continued through television shows, films, baseball caps, posters, textbook, postage stamps, and t-shirts, all of these indicate how Malcolm X is influential. Nevertheless, the man was assassinated in 1965, but he continued to exist as a signifier in the collective consciousness of Americans of all cultural backgrounds (Joseph 260).

Before we discuss Malcolm X's representation, we must understand what representation is. Briefly, in the book titled: Representation – Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, Stuart Hall started defining the concept as follow: “The concept of representation has come to occupy a new and important place in the study of culture. Representation connects meaning and language to culture” (Stuart 15). He proceeded “One common-sense usage of the term is as follows: 'Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people.' You may well ask. "Is that all?"

Well, yes and no. Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things (a figure)”. Stuart Hall illustrated how the presentation occurs only through mediator (image). He also clarified that our perception of a person (the represented) is an understanding shaped by another projection. Therefore, in our case, Malcolm X was a subject of wrong-description by the media. The Media has described Malcolm X as an aggressive, black nationalist Muslim, whereas, the representation that was given by him and written by Alex Haley in the book titled The Autobiography of Malcolm X, the

representation contrasted the one of the media. In the book, Malcolm described himself as man who elevated from lowlife to a higher social position (a respectful leader). A man who preached for social justice and a dignity for black people (Kostovic 09).

In addition, Stuart illustrated a further definition from English Dictionary, he wrote: To put it briefly, representation is the production of meaning through language. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary suggests two relevant meanings for the word:

1. To represent something is to describe or depict it, to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal or imagination; to place a likeness of it before us in our mind or in the senses; as, for example. In the sentence, “This picture represents the murder of Abel by Cain.”
2. To represent also means to symbolize, stand for, to be a specimen substitute for; as in the sentence, “In Christianity, the cross represents the suffering and crucifixion of Christ.”
(Stuart 16)

The figures in the painting stand in the place of, and at the same time, stand for the story of Cain and Abel. Likewise, the cross simply consists of two wooden planks nailed together; but in the context of Christian belief and teaching, it takes on, symbolizes or comes to stand for a wider set of meanings about the crucifixion of the Son of God (reflecting the Christian brief), and this is a concept we can put into words and pictures. Hence, the contemporary image of Malcolm X speaks louder than his description in his Autobiography book.

Malcolm currently is presented as cultural icon who dedicated his life of the black cause. Through generation, the name of the leader, who once seemed to be hated and feared, now adorns street signs, public schools, community centres, and other social institutions. Also, his

Autobiography had become one of the most reading books in 1990s, besides, the production of Spike Lee's 1992 film, put Malcolm X in another level of popularity during the early to mid-90s (Yousman 02).

As Shapiro (1988) points out, Malcolm X was attacked by the American press during his lifetime, and he was pictured as extremist who sought blood and violence. The press accusation was not surprising because in his speeches Malcolm X questioned the structure and integrity of American society itself. Demonizing and marginalizing him was therefore a defensive tactic on the part of the media, a way of "maintaining our political peace of mind" (Shapiro 56).

has said, "[t]hus it is that Malcolm X's name no longer belongs to him, no longer refers simply to his tall body or to his short life" (Dyson 232). Dyson meant that Malcolm X became a title which any liberator or justice seeker would adopt it. As we said before, Malcolm X is very much alive in the representation despite his physical body no longer lives.

2.1 Autobiography of Malcolm X

Of course, our first hand materiel is the Autobiography of Malcolm X, and by analysing it, we will understand the status of the man during the time. Before we discuss the Autobiography of Malcolm X, let us first have a general overview of the autobiography. Definitely, the autobiography is non-fictional story of a person's life written by that person, narrated in first-person point of view. Usually, it tells the whole progress of the story of the writer, from early ages to the end of writing the autobiography (Autobiography: Definition & Examples). Sometimes it exceeds the life-time of the writer, like in the case of Malcolm X. Malcolm X's autobiography is written by Alex Haley and narrated by Malcolm, Alex Haley emphasises this notion in the foreword, where he writes the following: "After signing the

contract for this book, Malcolm X looked at me hard. 'A writer is what I want, not an interpreter.' "I tried to be a dispassionate chronicler" (Haley 139).

The autobiography has been heavily criticized in the literary studies. One reason is that autobiographies are written by one source (the author), and the story is straight forward first-person point of view, dealing only with the author's experiences, therefore, the reader becomes unaware of other facts surrounding the main character, like how other people experienced the events. Other aspects that are noticeable, is the glorification or dramatization that autobiographies may be used to entice their readers (Kostovic 10, 11; Yousman 04).

Unlike the biography, autobiography is commonly thought as a representation of "truth", or real events narration. Whereas the biography, which is fictional in nature, it tends to realize thoughts but it is not expected to represent "true life"(Yousman 03). In regard to biographical genres specifically, Parini (2000) argues that biographers tend to blur fiction and fact because they must invent a mythos to make sense of the events of a subject's life. Since the biography is written by the person himself, various biographers can produce various explanations for the same events, which will eventually lead to subjectivity. Fish (1999) goes further by suggesting that any explanation of a subject's life that the biographer comes up with is no more than a fabrication and that only autobiographers can ever tell the truth about their own lives. In a sense Fish is claiming that biographies must be read as fiction, while autobiographies are always non-fiction. In brief, the Autobiography of Malcolm X is legitimate and reliable source in grasping the true picture, while the biographies may serve the purpose of demonizing and diminishing the real essence of Malcolm X (03, 04).

Although, many scholars struggled to define the true identity of Malcolm X. while some said that the real self of Malcolm is located in the selfhood of the boy, thus the man's entire life

is said to be understandable only through a psychoanalytic examination of his childhood traumas (Perry). The others argued that his identity is larger than to be put in small section of his life, rather it is a sequence of changes that determined the known X, or further El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Benson).

However, each part of Autobiography is an essential transistor that stimulated the creation of the identity and the self of Malcolm X. Solomon notes that autobiography "is an attempt to formulate and convey the significance and value one perceives in one's life" (Solomon 354). From this perspective we should consider Solomon's argument that often autobiographies by leaders of social movements may be an instrument by which we come to understand the identification of the person, also to understand the experience and the struggle of that person. Malcolm's autobiography shows the experience of the black people under the white's supremacy. It serves in many ways as a testament to the culture of that time, and it raises the awareness of the blacks' struggle, so they can identify with such turmoil.

The status of Malcolm X exemplifies how images and symbols can be articulated and rearticulated to a wide range of contradictory purposes. Malcolm X's meaning is being constantly constructed, torn down, and reconstructed by his writers and his readers. Thus, seeking to find definitive meaning in Malcolm X is simply not possible. Therefore, whatever the particular meaning to which he is articulated, Malcolm X's enduring significance may be best found in his unwillingness to accept the status-quo of oppression, his refusal to let others dictate the terms of his identity, and his courage to speak his own truth to power. We must not let the ideological/economic agendas of historians and biographers and the economic/ideological agendas of the culture industries mask Malcolm X's enduring power as a symbol of resistance and dissent (Yousman 16).

Nonetheless, Malcolm X is in many ways the representative of the oppressed blacks, and he is the whatever-standing voice against the oppressor whites. On the whole, Malcolm's brave speeches made the strongest leader that America ever witnessed, through analysing some of his famous speeches, we may, more, understand the significance of this person in the black history, also to get more acquaintance with Malcolm X.

3. Speeches of Malcolm X

As we have seen before, Malcolm X is prominent figure in the Civil Rights movement. He is famously known by his persuasive speeches and his charismatic way, which were acknowledged by the audience and even by his rivals. Somehow, his style is connected to his upbringing. Malcolm developed a good rhetorical style during his self-education phase, as we discussed before, also his father was a preacher, so he inherited the ability to express himself orally. However, Malcolm devoted his speeches to one pursuit, the advocating for black power and black pride. According to Malcolm X, African-American inherited the mentality of slavery, the African-American at the time, still seeking the acceptance and recognition of the whites, they thought of themselves as a "lower" ethnic group than white people, therefore, Malcolm stood as a saviour to regain the black pride, also to teach them how to glorify their African race and their heritage (Kostovic 18).

It is true that Malcolm, in a certain time, was a radical and black power advocator, but define him to those aspects deteriorate his messages, especially when he attempted to negotiate with the white society at the end of his life. Malcolm's rhetoric was diverse, and his ideology was controversial. Yet, some historians misinterpreted him. In his autobiography, Malcolm spoke about those who will profit from his death in misjudging him and taint his legacy, he wrote in the chapter "1965":

I know, too, that I could suddenly die at the hands of some white racist. Or I could die at the hands of some Negro hired by the white man. Or it could be some brainwashed Negro acting on his own idea that by eliminating me he would be helping out the white man, because I talk about the white man the way I do. Anyway, now, each day I live as if I am already dead, and I tell you what I would like for you to do. When I am dead – I say it that way because from the things I know, I do not expect to live long enough to read this book in its finished form – I want you to just watch...he will make use of me dead, as he has made use of me alive, as a convenient symbol of ‘hatred’ – and that will help him to escape facing the truth that all I have been doing is holding up a mirror to reflect, to show, the history of unspeakable crimes that his race has committed against my race (388)

In the passage above, Malcolm warned his readers from those who “will make use of me dead...as a convenient symbol of hatred” he said, and they will depict him as extremist and emblem of hatred. We may encounter different opinions about Malcolm X, some glorify, and others demonize him. Again, in the same chapter “1965”, Malcolm stated his ideological belief and his support for justice no matter who he will stand with, including white people: “I’m for truth, no matter who tells it. I’m for justice, no matter who it is for or against.” In this quote, we notice a sign of cooperation with the whites from Malcolm X (Kostovic 22).

Evidently, Malcolm X’s journey was dynamic; changing from a hustler to a preacher, so judging him from one point of his life is unfair to his reputation. In order to fully understand Malcolm X, there is no accurate way but to analyse his speeches. I will examine two of the most famous speeches, "Message to the Grass Roots," and "The Ballot or the Bullet". "Message to the Grass Roots" speech was given while Malcolm was still the leading spokesman for the Nation of

Islam. And "The Ballot or the Bullet" speeches was given after Malcolm X was separated from Elijah Muhammad. Thus, it represents Malcolm X's own interpretation of the Muslim religion and perhaps more clearly articulate his personal philosophy than earlier speeches, where he was primarily a spokesman for the Black Muslims. The two speeches serve two different stages of his life, therefore, we can locate the changes in ideology that Malcolm X experienced.

3.1 Message to the Grass Roots

The speech was delivered on November 10, 1963, at Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference in Detroit. It is one of the last speeches before he departed from NOI. This speech is considered one of the most influential statements on Black Power. It addressed the black problems in racist society, and it proposed solution (radical ones) for the blacks. In the beginning, Malcolm introduced incompatibility between the African-American and America: "America has a very serious problem...but our people have a very serious problem. America's problem is us" he is implying that black people are alienated and should be separated from America. Also they should submerge their differences and unite against the oppressor:

We have a common enemy. We have this in common, we have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite -- on the basis of what we have in common. And what we have foremost in common is that enemy -- the white man. He's an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell. (Malcolm X "Message to the Grassroots" par. 04)

Then, Malcolm drew the boundaries between black revolution and negro revolution. He posed the question what is black revolution and Negro revolution, or what is revolution first. For Malcolm, revolution is independence, revolution is bloodshed, there is no so-called non-violent

revolution; he asserted. Also he gave the example of American usage of violence to exploit lands. If violence is justifiable for America, then why it is not for African-Americans? Or, if violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad; as Malcolm said in his speech.

Malcolm X heavily criticized the non-violent approach, he assumed that no revolution could occur without the use of violence, otherwise, you end up betraying your cause, and this is what Negro revolution ended up to, in the hands of the non-violent advocator, a betrayed cause.

However, the Negro revolution is turn-the-other-cheek revolution, loving your enemy revolution, this how Malcolm viewed the non-violent protest. This is highly connected to Martin Luther king, Jr. and his peaceful method in standing against the oppressor, which made no sense for Malcolm:

So I cite these various revolutions, brothers and sisters, to show you that you don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn-the-other-cheek revolution. There's no such thing as a nonviolent revolution. The only kind of revolution that is nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It is the only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to the white folks -- on the toilet. That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis for all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality. (Malcolm X "Message to the Grassroots" par. 17)

Through his polished skills in rhetoric, Malcolm put the audience in parallel to revolutionaries in Africa and Asia. He pointed out that they all share the same fate, which is defeating the oppressor, and negotiating was not an option, but total separation from the colonizer.

In Kenya... they were revolutionary, they believed in scorched earth, they knocked everything aside that got in their way, and their revolution was also based on land, a desire for land. In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists, they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into France. They told France, to hell with France, they wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle. (Malcolm X "Message to the Grassroots" par. 16)

Malcolm's speech abounds in powerful, judicious similes, metaphors, and analogies which enrich the total texture of his presentation. They do not occur haphazardly; there is a discernible pattern revealing the brilliant play of Malcolm's wit and rhetorical talent. The key pattern is polarity: the Grass Roots versus Grass Leaves, colonized people's versus the colonizing people, "landless against the landlord," violence versus non-violence, "swinging" versus "singing", field niggers against house niggers, the Patient versus the Dentist, pain versus novacain, Martin Luther King against Malcolm X (Campbell 101-110). Malcolm X created these dichotomies to emphasise the two dominant ideologies in the Civil Rights Movement. In other words, to highlight how violent method workable in the current situation, unlike the non-violent that is adopted by King, who was depicted by Malcom as a negro-traitor, and the twentieth century Uncle Tom; the slave who refused to use violence against tyrant slave-master (Baldwin 399).

Also, Malcolm gave another example of the house-negro, which resembles those who advocated integration; such as King, who accept to work under the white authority, despite the inappropriate treatment. On the other hand, there is the field-negro, those who suffered the white

supremacy and resisted their oppression by any means necessary, within this category, Malcolm identified himself, as one of the field-negroes (Cone 81).

Malcolm message was loud and clear, there is no place for black people among whites. Malcolm called for complete separation and building a black nation powered by only blacks. Moreover, Malcolm never stopped speaking how the black being marginalized and discriminated, and told to suffer peacefully, not by the oppressor himself but by Uncle Tom the Negro. Also, he used several ways to reach this insight, speaking about the blacks as being patients at the dentist, who is the essential cause of violence through his attempts to defend the Patient. And the Patient must endure this violence because someone “has taught [him] to suffer—peacefully.” The field-negro will endure no such suffering. He will be “peaceful... courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on [him, he will] send him to the cemetery” (Malcolm X "Message to the Grassroots")

In addition, Malcolm’s view towards the massive March on Washington was not good as the gathering was. At first, a field-negroes erupted on their own and began to take to the streets, and they started to mobilize for a march on Washington which will bring full rights or close the city down. The black revolution then became Negro revolution, when few house-negroes joined hand with the white to pacify the black rage. The march on Washington becomes "a picnic, a circus" led by "white clowns and black clowns." It becomes something worse (Campbell 105).

Also, Malcolm emphasised on black unity, and the Negroes should not ask hand from the whites. He affirmed that the African-American should help each other, and stop begging the whites to support them, as they did for the March. He added, the whites weaken the black, this is the reason why Malcolm negatively opposed the March. He said the coffee becomes tasteless

when you add cream in it. It used to be hot, then it becomes cool. It used to be strong, then it becomes weak. It used to wake you up, now it puts you to sleep (Joseph 131, 132).

This is what the white did with the march on Washington. Which Malcolm X pointed out in the speech from the following quote: “It's just like when you've got some coffee that's too black, which means it's too strong. What do you do? You integrate it with cream, you make it weak. But if you pour too much cream in it, you don't even know you ever had coffee” (Malcolm X "Message to the Grassroots").

According to Malcolm X's personal and religious belief (one he was under supervision of Elijah Muhammad), freedom can be taken only by force. Malcolm was radical Black Nationalist and separatist who believed that black and white are extremely two different entities that should not be put together in the same society. They never lived in peace in the past and there should be no peace in the future for them.

However, Malcolm's tactics contradicted the one of Dr. King. He saw no rational in loving the enemy, and fight by singing. During his life as a minister of NOI, Malcolm did not personally hate King as much he disagreed with him about the validity of absolute non-violence as a revolutionary tactic. Malcolm in this particular speech (Message to the Grassroots) does not designate his ultimate feelings about Dr. King as a person or himself as a leader. The evidence is clear that after he left the Islamic organization and he visited Mecca, Malcolm's views toward the Civil Rights movement changed drastically. Also he became more open to other black leaders, which will be discussed in his speech "The Ballot or the Bullet".

3.2 The Ballot or the Bullet

The Ballot or the Bullet is an address delivered in April 3rd, 1964 in Harlem, Cleveland nearly after the split from Nation of Islam. As Malcolm X famous for his skilful rhetoric inspired and persuaded the audience. The speech alluded to President Lincoln's speech made in 1865. For Lincoln, the bullet was not an option, but not for Malcolm who proclaimed that the bullet stronger than the ballot, and he claimed that it is necessary option for Africans self-defence: "It's got to be the ballot or the Bullet" (Malcolm). However, the newfound-religious-man continued his pursuit to the Black Nationalism. As an introduction to his speech The Ballot or the Bullet, Malcolm reminded the audience how clingy he is to his philosophy, the black power philosophy. Malcolm, also, called for black unity despite religious differences. He stated that no matter how your religious is, African-Americans should overcome religion and unite against the one enemy. Additionally, the main focus of Malcolm's message is political rather than religious, which is illustrated in his words:

In fact I am Black Nationalist freedom fighter. Islam is my religion, but I believe my religion is my personal business. It governs my personal life, my personal morals. And my religious philosophy is personal between me and the God in whom I believe; just as the religious philosophy of these others is between them and the God in whom they believe. And this is best this way. Were we to come out here discussing religion, we'd have too many differences from the outstart and we could never get together. So today, though Islam is my religious philosophy, my political, economic, and social philosophy is Black Nationalism. You and I -- As I say, if we bring up religion we'll have differences; we'll have arguments; and we'll never be able to get together. But if we keep our religion at home, keep our religion in the closet, keep our religion between ourselves and our God,

but when we come out here, we have a fight that's common to all of us against enemy who is common to all of us. (Malcolm X "Ballot or Bullet" 03:05–04:35)

Equally important, Malcolm discussed moral and social behaviour that the so-called Negroes should conduct. He argued that blacks must become conscious and make serious efforts to remove the evils such as alcoholism, drug addiction. He did not just make a witty preacher, but a good teacher and an expert leader. He stated: "The social philosophy of black nationalism only means that we have to get together and remove the evils, the vices, alcoholism, drug addiction, and other evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our community. We ourselves have to lift the level of our community" (Malcolm "The Ballot or the Bullet" par. 50).

Moreover, Malcolm urged the black people to be aware of their economic status, and contribute to its prosperity: "the economic philosophy of Black Nationalism means...controlling the economics of our community. If we own the stores, if we operate the business, if we try and establish some industry in our own community, then we're developing to the position where we are creating employment for our own kind" (Malcolm). Not forget to mention that Malcolm spoke of Black National politics. He said that the black should control his own politic in the sphere of his own community: "the political philosophy of the Black Nationalism only means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community" (Malcolm).

Malcolm X reminded the audience how the African-Americans were victims of Americanism, and how they were politically, economically, and socially oppressed. Also, he cleared how far they have been exploited and how futile to try to change the face of America by singing in the streets with the white men. He goes on to say: "All of us have suffered here, in this

country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man”.

The suffering of African-Americans is long lived America, it is dated back when the slaves worked hard and received none as a return: “Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return— I mean without a dime in return”. To add, Malcolm as an individual, he isolated himself from being American, he said: “I don't even consider myself an American”. In a brief, the following saying highlights the assumption of Malcolm X:

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver -- no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare. (Malcolm “Ballot or Bullet” par. 10)

In discussing this nightmare, Malcolm X identified the source of all problems which was important for him to identify a common enemy that all of black America could easily unite against. He blamed the United States government for the perpetuating exploitation, degradation, and oppression of the black community. Also, he argued that the Democratic Party plotted the black people to vote for them, in return for few false promises. Especially the Democratic leader Lyndon B. Johnson, who Malcolm blamed for not passing any kind of significant Civil Rights legislation, despite their effectiveness in two chambers of the United States legislation, because they held the majority of seats against the Republican (Farrah 401).

However, Malcolm's awareness of white deception tricks led him to propose for a wider range of the Civil Rights movement. Since the US government is the core of the problem, the black should not take their grievance to it; therefore, Malcolm suggested a world wide solution which is the United Nations. He sought to expand the struggle of Civil Rights in to struggle for Human Rights, he said:

When you expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, you can then take the case of the black man in this country before the nations in the UN. You can take it before the General Assembly. You can take Uncle Sam before a world court. But the only level you can do it on is the level of human rights. Civil rights keep you under his restrictions, under his jurisdiction. Civil rights keep you in his pocket. Civil rights mean you're asking Uncle Sam to treat you right. Human rights are something you were born with. Human rights are your God-given rights. Human rights are the rights that are recognized by all nations of this earth. And any time anyone violates your human rights, you can take them to the world court. (Malcolm X "Ballot or Bullet" par. 35)

As have been noted before, Malcolm X's upholding for violence may be loosened a bit after the divorce from NOI, but he never quite calling for violence as a self-defence tactic. Malcolm felt that when government failed to protect its people, so people should protect themselves. For him, the necessity for adopting violence was justifiable for self-defence.

Malcolm pointed out the legitimacy of whites to buy guns and arm themselves for self-defence, but when blacks take up arms to protect themselves against lynch mobs, it is viewed as danger and radicalisation. Malcolm stated: "I'm for justice. When the law fail to protect Negroes from whites' attack, then those Negroes should use arms, if necessary, to defend themselves" (Malcolm). He carried a further justification for using violence by demonstrating that whoever

stand against a black person exercising his rights is criminal and should not be dealt with by the law. He cleared:

Whenever you're going after something that belongs to you, anyone who's depriving you of the right to have it is a criminal. Understand that. Whenever you are going after something that is yours, you are within your legal rights to lay claim to it. And anyone who puts forth any effort to deprive you of that which is yours, is breaking the law, is a criminal... Whenever you demonstrate against segregation... the law is on your side, and anyone who stands in the way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law; they are not representatives of the law. Any time you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog, kill him. (Malcolm X "The Ballot or the Bullet" par. 29)

Undoubtedly, Malcolm true philosophy is a Black Nationalist; but, after the spiritual trip he paid to Mecca, he found the true teaching of Islam, therefore, his radical philosophy softened. He does not, anymore, see the whites as devils. In the following statement, Malcolm asserts that he is ready to work with anyone (white people), as long as this one understands and respects the black people's rights, he stated: "we will work with anybody, anywhere, at any time, who is genuinely interested in tackling the problem head-on, non-violently as long as the enemy is nonviolent, but violent when the enemy gets violent" (Malcolm X "The Ballot or the Bullet" par. 57).

Again, Malcolm did not courage the so-called Negroes to be violent, unless they treated with violence by the white authority, or their rights are violated by the non-coloured as Malcolm described them. The message of Malcolm X was clear, yet, the whites (media) tainted his image by depicting him as a violence monger and extremist. Meanwhile, Malcolm X's legacy

succeeded in presenting the main purpose of his militancy, which is for the black people and the black pride (Kostovic 09; Joseph 187).

4. Legacy of Malcolm X

Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little May 19, 1925, was assassinated February 21, 1965, and buried El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Malcolm's famous name is associated with black liberty and the fight for black justice against American imperialism. His strong weapon was his logic, persuasive, and motivated rhetoric. However, Malcolm taught his people to love themselves unapologetically, and "they should be proud of being black and God knows they should be. This is a very important thing to hear in a country that assures you that you should be ashamed of it" (Malcolm).

Malcolm showed that negative images of Africa were skilfully concocted by whites to make African-Americans hate their African origins, speaking to Detroit audience: "We hated our heads, we hated the shape of our nose... we hated the colour of our skin, hated the blood of Africa that was in our veins. And in hating our features and our skin and our blood, why we had to end up hating ourselves" (Malcolm). Malcolm raised the psychological consciousness of the black people, so they can embrace their blackness and fight for their rights. With his charismatic speaking, Malcolm decolonized the black mind, and thereby transformed "Negroes" into proud black African people. Muhammad Ali, for instance, proclaimed "I am the greatest" and so many others started to show how proud they are for being black (Cone 221).

Then, the African-Americans stood by themselves in the face of injustice and discrimination. We have the case of George Floyd protest. Last year, black people manifested a huge demonstration for police brutality against the non-white citizens. Moreover, the notion of Africa and belonging to the African continent rose up, "It's nation time" and "We are an African

people" could be heard in where the black people are. The influence of Malcolm X reached the mainstream Civil Rights leaders, preachers, and politician acknowledged his insight and integrity. Though he was assassinated before black consciousness reached its peak, the power of his presence stretched beyond the grave (Cone 221, 222).

More importantly, Malcolm transferred the sufferance of his people and the injustice of the government, which he described as nightmare, into a ferocious-yet-elegant speech that made him Harlem's hero and, over time, an icon of the Black Power movement. His ideology, also, contributed to numerous offshoot movements in the United States. These include Black Power movement; the Black Panther movement to the Black is Beautiful movement. By the 1990s, Malcolm reincarnated in the African-America political culture mainstream through rap lyrics, music videos, television films (Spike Lee's Malcolm X movie in 1992), and US postage commemorative stamp in 1999. His memory is immortalised, and his legacy is glorified by the freedom fighters (Joseph 260).

However, the integrationists thought that eliminating segregation laws would improve the life of the discriminated blacks. Malcolm thought otherwise, his future vision was correct when he believed that integration will not solve the problem. In a way or another, African-Americans, nowadays, are still suffering the racism. Who would think to happen if Malcolm X is still alive? To conclude, the most remarkable legacy that shapes the memory of Malcolm X is his pride, gentleness, respect, and passionate.

5. Conclusion

Undoubtedly, Malcolm X was a successful leader, and a genius orator. He dedicated his life on seeking the black power for his people. Due to the immense failures by the American government, Malcolm appealed for black separation. He advocated for self-defence tactics, and

the use of violence if necessary. However, Malcolm had been wrongly represented to the public; they have portrayed him as extremist, revolutionist, and warmonger. Meanwhile, Malcolm spoke about how powerful the media is in shaping the image of the person, he said: “The media is the most powerful entity on earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that’s power. Because they control the minds of the masses”. Whereas, the misrepresentation of his messages made no effect on him, he continued the militancy for the social justice.

Malcolm went through hell to become the Malcolm the world knows. Since the early ages, in his Autobiography, he described his life as agony, moving from place to place because of the white harassment, then the criminal life that ended with prison, in which he found salvation. These stages of evolution were necessary in making the ideological leader and the skilful rhetorician. Thus, judging from his own experience, and the historical experiences of black people in America, Malcolm justified his use of violence as a self-defence against an enemy who will never understand only by fight-back.

In brief, Malcolm X is symbol of hope and liberation for the blacks. He gave his life for the black cause. They may cease him from talking by the bullets, but his words will echo for ever. Malcolm once said: “it is a time for martyrs now, and if I am to be one, it will be for the cause of brotherhood. That's the only thing that can save this country” (Malcolm X).

Chapter Three: Martin Luther King

1. Introduction

Certainly, the one name that is strongly associated with the Civil Rights movement was Martin Luther King, Jr. Apostle of non-violence and the symbol of peace. King gained the respect and the supports from the two fronts, both the blacks and the whites agreed to follow him. He was more like a bridge between the white and black society. However, King followed the footsteps of his father, and devoted his life to be a church minister. Soon, King gained local recognition in Montgomery's black community, then he was called to lead the Montgomery Bus Boycott. This incident marked the making of Martin Luther King the hero.

In the spectrum of the Civil Rights movement, King carried non-violent resistance ideology. He also believed that the African-Americans and the White-Americans are very much alike; and together they build the American society. Unlike Malcolm X, King predicted no future for the black people without the coexistence with the whites, he resorted to love and peace to gain the black respect and status. He was not primarily concerned about Negroes loving white people, but he assumed that the Negroes teaching (Christianity) contradicts the retaliatory violence. King believed that his affection for peace is connecting to his upbringing. He lived in religious middle-class family, he grew up safely ensconced in the world of the black elite, during his childhood, King lived in harmonious environment where love was part of the belief, Martin once said: "It is quite easy for me to think of a God of love mainly because I grew up in a family where love was central and where lovely relationships were ever present. It is quite easy for me to think of the universe as basically friendly" (Martin).

Throughout his peaceful fight, King developed a strong image of himself that the world still remembers. Dr. King moved the audience by the words of his speeches, therefore, they

gathered around him and joined his heroic quest to break the shackles that drained the African-Americans freedom. Giving the importance to the leader's speeches, however, in this chapter I will discuss and analyse two of the most well-known pieces of discourse Martin King Luther had given. First, the undeniably most well-known "I Have a Dream" speech, then, I will investigate King's letter that he delivered during his prison time, it is called "Letter from Birmingham Jail. Afterwards I will briefly state the legacy of this phenomenal leader.

2. The Speeches of Martin Luther King

MLK was a brilliant orator, he combined his religious teaching with the social contemporary situation, in the end, he succeeded in stirring up and motivate the people around him. He enraged the oppressed black to stand for their rights as one peaceful unit, also he persuaded the white to follow his lead. In all, King's rhetoric skills and the powerful charisma made him one of the giants of the last century.

Malcolm's first speech as a leader of the bus boycott showed the cleverness of his oratory. In about twenty minutes after he elected as the leader of the boycott, Martin was tasked to deliver a speech to entire black citizenry of Montgomery. During this very limited timing, King outlined the speech before it was time to deliver it. After ten minutes of extemporaneous speaking, the congregation erupted in applause so loud and so long that King was forced to wait and then shout his next lines over the din. This moment revealed how skilful King was (Hansen 08).

However, the height of the civil rights movement was the era of King's famous March on Washington, the setting for his "Letter from Birmingham Jail," and his nonviolent demonstrations in numerous Southern cities. Due to their significance in the Civil Rights

movement development, therefore, the following sections will be devoted for the analysis of the two discourses.

2.1 I Have a Dream

“I Have a Dream” would be delivered and coined in a historic speech by Martin Luther King, Jr. on August 28, 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C (Ciesinski 01). A quarter million people joined the March on Washington, in which Mr. King delivered his famous speech. Speaker after speaker trooped to the rostrum, then came King, the last speaker of the day. “I started out reading the speech,” he said later, when “just all of a sudden, the audience was wonderful that day, and all of a sudden this thing came to me that I have used, I’d used it many times before, that thing about ‘I have a dream’, and I just felt I wanted to use it here” (Jakoubek 83). For only fifteen minutes, MLK made the historical speech. However, no one has communicated the idea of the American dream with greater moral and oratorical power, with greater political and religious imagination, than Martin Luther king, Jr. as it appears in the quote above, King always embraced the notion of the American dream, and this idea dominated the speech and the writing of him. No metaphor of his life is widely known and more often repeated than this. Most of people refer to him as the "dreamer ". His name is highly associated with the word dream. Thus, the most cited quote in his I have a Dream Speech is his dream to live without being judged upon the skin colour, he said: “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by their character” (Cone 13).

One glimpse at King’s speech “I Have a Dream”, you would notice that the speech is mainly decorated with this rhetorical device, the metaphor. Metaphor is often seen as an aesthetic element, an ornamentation, but in fact, the metaphors are more than a flowery language that used

to enforce the arguments, they are argument themselves. Instead of using a metaphor to supplement an argument, metaphoric critics argue that metaphors themselves are, and can be used, as influential arguments (Ciesinski 10). In his book *Readings in Rhetorical Criticism*, Carl R. Burghardt emphasises the function of metaphors as an argument supply, he wrote:

Metaphoric criticism is not a unified method; rather, it is a perspective that places metaphors at the heart of rhetorical action. The metaphoric critic, however, believes metaphors are more than the superficial ornamentation: they are the means by which arguments are expressed. Moreover, metaphors may provide insight into a speaker's motives or an audience's social reality. (Burghardt 305)

More support to the quote above. In Burghardt's book titled “Metaphors – Imaginative Reality.” He writes “that the human conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Burghardt 336). Therefore, the human mind builds conceptions through metaphors. From what Burghardt stated, since the metaphor is natural to human, and when Martin addressed the audience using metaphors, he is in the same time giving them the chance to identify and conceptualize with his words, which make them present and active with what he says, also reflect and act on the arguments given in the speech.

Dream metaphors allowed King to transfer his audience to the conclusion of his narrative. He moved his listener to a place where his dream wanted to reach, King transfer them to a racially harmonious America. However, the meaning of King's dream has deep historical roots in the African-American struggle for justice in the United States. Also, it has future hopes that one day this struggle will end when the black and white live equally (Cone 13). The ambitious and rhetorical force of this passage dictate that it can be quoted in full:

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed— we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, that one day, right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made straight, and the glory of the Lord will be revealed and all flesh shall see it together (King 14-20).

King uses the technique of repetition to convey his intense feelings in the American dream (Morgan). MLK wanted to carve this words in the mind of the listeners, due to his belief that one day this words will be fulfilled. Repetition is rhetoric (literary) device, it is used to place

emphasis on things the orator sees as significant (the MasterClass staff), or usually the theme of the address, it tells the audience that the words being used are central enough to be repeated. Usually this device used in poetry and songs, also a various famous public speakers use this technique (Literary Terms), Martin Luther King is the most suitable example for using repetition technique in his speeches.

In addition, the “Dream” speech is a commemoration of the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, and of the unrealized democratic promises. King reminded the audience of the black situation after one hundred years of signing the historic document, and the black people are still not free. Meanwhile, the opening words of his speech, “Five score years ago” echo the opening words of the Gettysburg Address by Lincoln in the Emancipation Proclamation speech, Lincoln opened the speech by: “Four score and seven years ago”. Gettysburg Address resembles the victorious day when the civil war ended, and the slaves freed “came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice” (King). So for King, this speech was a hope for another victory for the black people. Further, he compared the Declaration of Independence (the freedom of the thirteen colonies), to the Emancipation Proclamation (the freedom for nearly four million black slaves) (Washington 16).

To conclude, the speech of MLK may deviated from the main purpose of the march, a march for jobs and freedom. Yet, he delivered an iconic speech which services the demand of his followers. In his speech, Martin spoke the desire of each listener, despite it lacks other necessary programs, politics for instance. Besides, as mentioned before, even with the shortage of time, he managed to create such a masterpiece. I may ask the question, what if MLK well prepared the

speech and spoke for more than twenty minutes? What his speech would be? In brief. King's speech forever will be remembered

2.2 Letter from Birmingham Jail

On April 3, 1963, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. with his follow launched a protest, marches and sit-ins against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama. The protest was countered with dogs and fire hoses by the police (History.com). On April 12, Good Friday, King, along with his fellow, were arrested and put in jail. In the prison, King wrote the Letter from Birmingham Jail as a response to criticism by eight white clergymen, calling the protest "unwise and untimely", and they condemned him as an "outsider", Martin responded: "I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere". Meanwhile, MLK began to write in the margin of a newspaper he had from "a friendly negro" as he said, where he was held in solitary confinement. After, the letter was published in newspaper, TIMES magazine, a pamphlet, and later it became a central chapter in King's *Why We Can't Wait* (1964) (Sherriff).

The Letter is not as it says in the opening words "My dear fellow clergymen". One might assume the eight clergymen to be the audience, while in fact, it is a public letter, therefore, it does not have one direct audience (the clergymen), but a larger one (the public reader) (Fulkerson 123). However, the Letter rationally and ethically convinced its readers. King's prose exerts a strong attraction, it is magnetic; and it is this quality that primarily accounts for the Letter's appeal beyond the audience of eight Southern clergymen to whom it is ostensibly addressed, beyond them to the much broader audience of lay readers (Klein 30, 31).

As one of the significant point in the Letter, King linked his profound knowledge of the Bible with his involvement in Birmingham protest. He felt compelled to respond to injustice anywhere he can go, like Apostle Paul. He compared his fight to the journey of the Apostle Paul, when he travelled beyond his homeland to spread Christian gospel (Colaiaco 04). In addition, Martin, at first, tended to ignore the criticism, but because the criticism came from fellow clergymen (of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths) King felt the urge to correct the mentality of even some sincere people of good will, that might spread a misunderstanding of him and his religious ideology (God's love) that moved the civil rights movement (Colaiaco 02).

On the other hand, King, also, profited the criticism to introduce his most important part in the Letter, he exposed the philosophy of nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience. Martin strongly believed that the individual has the right to disobey the laws that are contrary to eternal law of God, or the natural law of the human. To exemplify, America's founding fathers brought liberty in the basis of the civil disobedience (depending on the philosophy of John Locke). The freedom of India also brought by Mahatma Gandhi's the civil obedience resistance. The civil disobedience had proven itself to be effect in opposing unjust laws, also it ensures the involvement of the individual whether to accept or reject the laws that are practiced by a certain authority. And the most outstanding example in the Western world of the effectiveness of mass civil disobedience is the American civil rights movement under Martin Luther King, Jr (Colaiaco 05).

Birmingham, undoubtedly, was the most racist city in the south, and perhaps it was the most segregated place in the United States (Jakoubek 72). Series of demonstrations held by black leaders, but all ended the same way, by false promises. For King, he saw that negotiations are futile, instead, he called for non-violent direct action. But first, he urged for self-purification

before to start the protest. He claimed that if the blacks are not ready enough to suffer the pain without retaliating, or they are not prepared to love their enemies, otherwise, the non-violent protest will degenerate into violence anarchy. So the purification was essential to the success of the demonstration. As King stated: “we repeatedly asked ourselves: are you able to accept blows without retaliating? Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?” King was convinced that no matter how extreme the provocation, violence is immoral. Moreover, he maintained that the end never justifies the means. As he declared near the conclusion of his letter: “Over the past few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. I have tried to make clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends.” King believed that it is impossible to achieve a moral end by immoral means without harming the soul and making oneself unworthy of the end” (Colaiaco 06).

Not only is the "Letter from Birmingham Jail" the best exposition of King's method and goals, but it also exerted great influence in winning broad support for the civil rights movement. As King asserted in an interview with Alex Haley in 1965: “The letter helped to focus greater international attention upon what was happening in Birmingham.” And it was this worldwide attention that furthered the civil rights cause. King continued: “And I am sure that without Birmingham, the march on Washington wouldn't have been called - which in my mind was one of the most creative steps the negro struggle has taken.... It was also the image of Birmingham which, to a great extent, helped to bring the Civil Rights Bill into being in 1963” (Colaiaco 06). The Letter expressed the aspiration of the black American more than any other document, also, it is worthy today more than any other time.

3. Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King was shot before he could live up his dream. In April 1968, standing in the balcony of motel in Memphis, Tennessee, was shot by white-man assassin. King's murder made him more alive. The name of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was referred to as the hero of the liberation movement. On Friday, April 5, 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered the stars and the stripes to be flown at half-mast and proclaimed the following Sunday a day of national mourning (Fairclough 123). And, during the third Monday of each January, America celebrates his birthday with many tributes and speeches, remembering his contribution. Similar events are held during the first week of April to mark his assassination. A quarter of a million people returned to Washington to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the "The March and the Dream" (Cone 219). However, these tributes helped to refine the name of King to be the most important Civil Rights leader the history of America ever witnessed.

Although. Martin's legacy, also, had its share of criticism. Researchers had judged his University doctoral dissertation as being plagiarized, and many of his published writings were wholly or partly ghost-written. Also, King was criticized by the governor of the state of California, Ronald Reagan. Reagan once said: "we began compromising with law and order, and people started choosing which laws they'd break" he publically admitted to having disagreements with Civil Rights demonstration. However, during his presidency term, he signed Martin's day into a law on November 02, 1983, to honour the man whom he considered as symbol of political radicalism (Joseph 258).

King's most recognized effort is his fight for equalizing the life of the black people with the white people. Hence, African-Americans gained equal access to public services and public accommodations. They dramatically improved the quality of their schools, and some entered

previously all-white universities. Many have found well-paying jobs. Blacks also won a substantial share of political power. Yet, discrimination in social sphere still remarkable, but the old days of daily humiliation, systematic oppression, and unrestrained brutality are long gone. The destruction of white race supremacy went beyond American continent (Fairclough 131).

4. Conclusion

Martin Luther King, Jr. had become an international symbol of liberation, he is recognised as one of the greatest United States figures. The man of faith stood against the tyranny with love and compassion. He sacrificed himself for the sake of the coming generation to live in peace and love, as he said in his famous I Have a Dream speech, the historical speech that fuelled the Civil Rights movement. Despite the segregation that is forced by the government, King never isolated himself from being American, he idolized the American dream the same as he idolized his African identity. Indeed, King considered the pulpit as a weapon to non-violently fight the unjust, and to spread the love between all different races of the human beings. Tragically, before Martin could live the dream he preached for, he met his death with a violence deed, ironically, his whole life advocated against. The journey of the peacemaker ended but his words never die.

General Conclusion

The Civil Rights movement during the era between 1950s and 1960s undoubtedly was one of the greatest movements for all Americans, blacks and whites. However, it did not successfully guard the full rights for the black people, but, surely it pushed the black's situation for the best. Also, it offered the chances for future struggles for the black rights. Although, the 50s and 60s era brought an observable changes for African-Americans, thanks to its black leaders, even so, the quality of life for many black Americans still lagged behind that of white Americans. Despite the enforced Acts by the legislation, racism remained. To certain extent one might believe that social inequality in America is unchangeable fact. Notwithstanding these facts, a brave black leaders stood up rebutting the belief that the African descents are meant to be minor. Those who marked the success of black liberation movement, and the best example for the leaders are the peerless Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Malcolm X and Martin Luther King were two important ingredients in the liberation process of the oppressed African-Americans. Despite the differences in ideologies and tactics, both managed to achieve a certain victory to their people. However, there are many debates about who was right more than the other, while in fact, both of their manners succeeded in persuading the crowds. And both of them taught the illiterates and poor how to respect and love themselves no matter how bad the society obliged them see themselves. Before we jump to judgment, we should not forget that they came of an age in America when the dream and dignity of black people were trampled by the feet of the white society.

There is no way to understand the history, struggle, and debate over race and democracy in contemporary America without understanding Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.'s relationship to each other. Not as it seems like, but they are interrelated to each other. Indeed,

they came from two different communities, Christian and Muslim, although both communities proclaim God's unconditional love for everyone, Meanwhile, these two men fought the same enemy, preached the same people, conveyed the same message (black pride), and met their fate by the same way, lately, at the end of their journey, both targeted a bigger picture, which is the Human Rights. During their final days, these men were still growing, learning, and changing. Their views were developing towards more understanding for each other. We might ask the question, what would happen if they lived longer? And what would happen if they joined forces?

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الملخص

طوال تاريخ الولايات المتحدة، كانت حركة الحقوق المدنية الحديثة، وبشكل مكثف، موضع عدة نقاشات. في هذه الاثناء، كانت الحركة مسيرة من قبل اثنين من القادة البارزين، مالكوم اكس ومارتن لوثر كنج الابن. كلا الزعيمين حاربا الظلم الذي طغى على المجتمع الأمريكي انذاك. وساهموا في توعية العرق الأسود من أجل القتال لمصالحهم المستحقة. القائدان في تلك الحركة عملوا لنفس المسعى لكن الطرق اختلفت. ان هذه الدراسة تطمح لتعريف بمالكوم اكس ومارتن لوثر كنج، وكذلك تسعى لفهم الاختلاف والتشابه بين هذان الناشطين. وبنفس قدر الأهمية، فإن الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو تبين مدى نجاح الحركة وتأثيرها على المجتمع. يهدف هذا البحث الى تفسير احداث تاريخية من خلال تبني البحث النوعي الذي يتضمن جمع وتحليل البيانات العديدة، باستخدام منهج السرد لفحص الاحداث التي تم تسجيلها. من خلال هذا العمل سنكتشف قوة القادة التي انتهت مائة عام من الاستغلال وحررت ملايين الرجال.