UPSTREAM REVIEW

POTENTIAL SERIAL NOMINATION OF U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT SITES

STATEMENT OF OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE:

The United States Civil Rights Movement Sites represent the integration of space to achieve racial equality during an era of global challenges to the color line of white supremacy in the Twentieth Century. African-American activists adapted international nonviolent techniques to directly confront and dismantle racial segregation in the built environment, thereby gaining tangible integration and intangible equality and freedom while inspiring nonviolent movements the world over.

JUSTIFICATION UNDER CRITERION (iv)

CRITERION (iv) Significance in Human History:

"To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage (s) in human history."

The buildings of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites reveal that postwar protests by African Americans arose in part over structural discrimination—the unequal allocation of space—with the resulting nonviolent demonstrations resolving the conflict through the dismantling of concrete barriers and other physical divisions manifested as a typology of racial integration. The tangible reality of the altered built environment with the public sphere now open space to all regardless of race marked a significant stage in human history, the global dismantling of legal white supremacy in the Twentieth Century.

Collectively the Civil Rights Movement Sites are an outstanding example of the typology of racial integration. A century ago, racial segregation prevailed across the built environment of the United States South, restricting access to space according to racial identity, thereby provoking nonviolent protests that resulted in desegregation and the removal of the racial restrictions. Best understood by the "white" and "colored" signs posted in public places—informally referred to as the "Jim Crow" South—the racial divisions existed everywhere in the region, from modal hubs to businesses and stores, public areas to private neighborhoods, places of work to places of leisure. In dismantling these barriers—once identifiable as separate and unequal entrances, whites-only lunch counters and restaurants, separate seating in theatres, cinemas, houses of worship, in transportation waiting areas and on vehicles, separate and unequal schools, public parks, elevators, and bathrooms, indeed across residential, commercial, and industrial areas—the civil rights movement opened up these spaces to all people regardless of race. When considered in tandem and compared with the historic sites of Liberation Movements of the Twentieth Century such as the independence campaigns against colonialism in India, across Africa, and elsewhere in the world alongside the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, the U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites join in identifying a typology of racially integrated

properties at which nonviolent protests removed structural barriers thereby creating equality in the built environment and differentiating a significant stage in human history.

The Outstanding Universal Value of the proposed listing is not found in the divisive impediments that once existed in the landscape and inequalities constructed into buildings, all designed by local and state laws to enforce legal white supremacy, but rather in how the racial segregation within the built environment led to nonviolent protests that resulted in racial desegregation and the physical dismantling of structural inequalities, manifested today as accessibility and integration. The southern built environment displays this typology of integration in its historic facilities and landscapes supporting education, public accommodations, voting rights, and neighborhoods, all of which contribute to the periodization of the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Nonviolent protests over racial segregation at these particular heritage sites of the potential serial nomination—over the separate and unequal allocation of space—resulted in federal reforms that required racial desegregation, implemented as structural changes that altered public spaces, opening them up and making them accessible to all people regardless of race.

The academic literature clearly documents the tangible ways a legal defense of white supremacy infiltrated the built environment through the construction of racial barriers. The otherwise ordinary appearance of these sites—the often vernacular design using common building materials and techniques—belies their significance as exemplars of racial change. This fundamental redesign of the public sphere mandated by desegregation forced alterations to existing structures, landscapes, places of business, housing patterns, indeed required changes to all future designs. In places where racial segregation had held forth by laws defending legal white supremacy, little evidence remains today save for "shadows" of previous physical configuration; instead the desegregated spaces bear witness to the typology of racial integration. While movement sites share many intangible associations such as freedom and equality, the tangible ones focus on literal concrete changes to the built environment such as the removal of separate entrances, replacement of inferior schools, and opening up of lunch counters and waiting areas to everyone.

JUSTIFICATION UNDER CRITERION (vi)

CRITERION (vi) Heritage Associated with Events of Universal Significance:

> "To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)."

The U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites mark global events of outstanding universal significance that inspired movements worldwide because the application of international ideas of nonviolence resulted in equal access to space through racial integration as tangible gains but also such intangible gains as freedom and equality, values associated with the sites now treated as shrines and visited by civil rights pilgrims. In sync with other Liberation Movements of the Twentieth Century against legal white supremacy in the built environment maintained by colonialism, apartheid and racial segregation, the U.S. civil rights movement adapted Gandhian nonviolence practiced during the independence struggles in India as well as similar efforts in Africa and elsewhere to demand the removal of racial barriers constructed across the public

sphere. Indeed, a symbiotic relationship evolved among leaders of these various campaigns as international ideas about nonviolence fueled contemporaneous struggles for freedom and equality and inspired future actions around the world.

During the early modern era, the struggle for racial equality developed out of Enlightenment ideals that articulated human rights as best described in the United States *Declaration of Independence* and *Bill of Rights*, and the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. In the nineteenth century, nonviolence evolved as a strategy of protest against the violation of human rights. The American Henry David Thoreau published in 1849 his essay *Civil Disobedience* which encouraged passive resistance to unjust governmental actions, ideas elaborated upon by Russian Leo Tolstoy in his 1898 *Writings on Civil Disobedience and Nonviolence*. Building on these ideas, Gandhi honed a strategy of non-compliance and nonviolent direct action called *satyagraha* (soul force or sacrifice for truth) that he first applied in South Africa against racial segregation in transportation and public accommodations. Returning to India, Gandhi advocated noncompliance with colonialism and led peaceful demonstrations that British authorities met with violent suppression such as the Salt March of 1930 as *satyagraha* gained international attention. Although short-lived, the 1952 Defiance Campaign in South Africa used nonviolent tactics to challenge racial barriers that created "whites-only" areas.

Identifying with liberation movements in India and Africa, Black leaders in the United States South embraced nonviolent protest as a strategic way to challenge racial inequalities in the public sphere at home. Led by new ministers who incorporated strategies of nonviolence into a progressive Black theology, the civil rights movement used churches as organizational centers. Black agency provoked the nonviolent protests of the Modern Civil Rights Movement that became globally significant. A student walkout led to the *Brown* decision which signified to the world—especially following its enforcement at Little Rock—changes in U.S. race relations. The application of the decision with the Montgomery Bus Boycott to areas beyond schools announced an end to racial segregation. Despite its imperfections, federal policy upheld the ideal of racial equality and the world took note as movement leaders met with their international counterparts in Asia and Africa. In February 1960, four Black men began the Greensboro sit-ins that fellow students spread like wildfire across the U.S. South, and the next month in South Africa, students there protested the passbooks that restricted their movements, getting shot at Sharpeville. While Black and white civil rights activists undertook the Freedom Ride to test the desegregation of interstate transit in 1961, in Australia, activists created their own Freedom Ride in 1965 to demand equal rights for Aboriginal peoples. Civil rights protests in Birmingham convinced Buddhist monks in Vietnam to nonviolently resist state suppression. The world found inspiration in the speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr. at the March on Washington and Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial. After authorities brutally suppressed the Selma to Montgomery March at the foot of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, Irish activists seized on nonviolent protest to address religious sectarianism and experienced their own "Bloody Sunday" in Londonderry in 1972. Indeed, the nonviolent actions of African Americans demanding tangible structural changes in the built environment and intangible equality and freedom during the civil rights movement inspired countless demonstrations around the globe by activists confronting their own challenges. Perhaps nowhere is the influence of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement more evident than in the removal of the Berlin Wall. As East and West nonviolently gathered on either side of the structure erected to separate the German people into spaces segregated as capitalist and communist, they sang the anthem of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, "We Shall Overcome," while taking apart the hated concrete barrier that separated them.

The demonstrations against racial discrimination that occurred at the U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites during the 1950s and 1960s garnered global attention and encouraged the use of nonviolence by human rights campaigns the world over organized to create a more equitable and open society. Since then movement sites have become shrines celebrating the nonviolent protests that gained such tangible changes as racial integration in the public sphere and such intangible ones as freedom and equality.

BRIEF SYNOPSIS

By 1900, the United States and European Powers had erected barriers of colonialism and racial segregation that separated the races around the world to privilege white supremacy. The African American intellectual W. E. B. DuBois captured the onset of racial resistance with his observation that "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." Once the United States Supreme Court upheld racial segregation as "separate but equal" in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, DuBois mobilized other Black reformers and white supporters to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1910 to overturn the ruling and advocate for racial integration. Already resistance to the colonial Color Line had led activists in British India to form the Indian National Congress in 1885. In South Africa, Indians joined Black, white and colored people as the African National Congress in 1912. All three of these Liberation Movements interacted over the enforcement of legal white supremacy in the built environment. As DuBois recognized, the organized resistance to the erection of the Color Line around the world marked a "significant stage in human history."

While practicing law in South Africa, the Indian attorney M. K. Gandhi advocated nonviolent direct action—*satyagraha*—against racial oppression there before taking his campaign home as a leader of Indian independence. African American ministers met with Gandhi in India to discuss nonviolent direct action in the U.S. South. In 1935 theologian and Howard University professor Howard Thurman traveled to India with four other African American ministers to meet Gandhi. There he questioned the Mahatma on nonviolent direct action and learned from Gandhi the importance of nonviolence as a way of life. In his closing remarks to Thurman, Gandhi stressed "it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world." Traveling to India in 1936 and meeting with the Mahatma, Benjamin Mays commended Gandhi's ability to "discipline people to face death, to die, to go to jail for the cause without fear and without resorting to violence as an achievement of the first magnitude. And when an oppressed race ceases to be afraid, it is free." Both Black men—Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta where he taught a young Martin Luther King, Jr., and Thurman, a Morehouse graduate and professor at Boston University who mentored King in graduate school—impressed on their pupil the teachings of Gandhi as they incorporated nonviolent protest into a new progressive Black theology of Protestant Christianity. Other civil rights activists who had studied *satyagraha* included the Reverend James Lawson, Bayard Rustin and Glenn Smiley. Consequently, for the emerging civil rights movement, nonviolent protest became the dominant approach used against racial discrimination.

The Axis war aim of racial superiority during World War II further highlighted the injustices of the Color Line. With peace, oppressed people called for an end to colonialism and racial segregation. The Indian National Congress led the way with Gandhi's Quit India Movement resulting in the 1947 partition of the subcontinent into independent countries. Across

Africa, nationalists waged independence movements in a protracted struggle against European powers. Yet elsewhere white supremacists strengthened the Color Line. In 1948 defenders of racial segregation organized the Dixiecrat movement in the U.S. South while the victorious African Nationalist Party in South Africa—having consulted with American segregationists—instituted a policy of racial separation called apartheid. Yet at the international level, the newly formed United Nations General Assembly rebuked the Color Line in 1950, declaring the "policy of 'racial segregation' (apartheid) is necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination." Shortly thereafter emerged the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the U.S. South and Nelson Mandela in South Africa as leaders with the same goal of breaking down the Color Line of legal white supremacy.

Demanding quality education in post-World War II America, Black students and their parents engaged in protests that led the NAACP to file lawsuits over inferior school buildings and racially segregated education systems in the South that characterized the typology of racial integration in education. Protesting over the cheaply constructed tarpaper classrooms and other structural inequalities at Moton High School in Farmville, Virginia, student Barbara Johns led other Black youth out of the building in a demand for better educational facilities. They engaged in a walk-out, using this early form of nonviolent civil disobedience to garner support for a law suit. Although a "whites-only" elementary school in Topeka, Kansas stood a few blocks away from her house, because of her race Linda Brown had to travel across town to attend the racially segregated Black Monroe Elementary School. Taking up their cause, and organized under the lead case of *Brown*, the NAACP combined it with the Moton case and three others to challenge *Plessy v. Ferguson* and its "separate but equal" ruling which formed the country's legal basis for racial segregation. With the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954, the United States Supreme Court overturned *Plessy,* finding it "inherently unequal." The court ruled unanimously on the unconstitutionality of racial segregation in public schools. The decision signaled to the world the changing attitude of the United States towards legal white supremacy. African leaders saw the ruling as the most significant U.S. action on race since the Emancipation Proclamation. In French West Africa, *Afrique Nouvelle* declared: "At last! Whites and Blacks in the United States on the same school benches." The city government in Sao Paulo, Brazil, praised the *Brown* decision as "establishing the just equality of the races, essential to universal harmony and peace." When a white mob tried to resist enforcement of the ruling in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower sent in troops to escort the "Little Rock Nine" Black students into the formerly all-white Central High School, demonstrating federal commitment to upholding the court ruling that called for racial desegregation in public education. Dutch newspapers compared Eisenhower's action to his military leadership during D-Day and the liberation of Western Europe.

In the aftermath of World War II, the United States not only expanded its global influence but also attracted increased global attention especially regarding domestic race relations. The Cold War competition between East and West over developing nations and their resources especially in Asia and Africa made the maintenance of white supremacy in the U.S. South a liability to American foreign policy. International newspapers regularly reported on acts of racial oppression while also closely monitored the emerging civil rights movement. Widespread coverage followed the *Brown* decision as the U.S. Information Agency promoted an ideal of racial equality to counter Soviet criticism of American white supremacy. Indeed, international opinion over the school desegregation crisis in Little Rock encouraged federal authorities to uphold the *Brown* decision. Not only did international journalists see their coverage of the U.S. civil rights movement within a global competition between capitalism and

communism, but their stories expanded an awareness of nonviolent direct action as a strategy for change.

Yet other laws racially segregated southern society. African American religious institutions such as Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, coordinated grassroots protests by the Black community. Segregated by race and by law required to maintain separate seating, movement churches promoted a Black theology that embraced nonviolent protest to challenge white supremacy in the built environment, marking a typology of racial integration in public accommodations. With weekly mass meetings, charismatic leadership, and familiar rituals and culture, movement churches—both their congregations and their structures—became centers of the nonviolent struggle.

Following the arrest of Rosa Parks for failing to surrender her seat to a white man, Black women mobilized the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955, but what began as a one-day protest evolved into a year-long demonstration during which the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. emerged as a leader of the Modern Civil Rights Movement. As pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, King hosted the organizational meeting and was elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) which led the boycott and filed the lawsuit challenging racial segregation. He welcomed students of *satyagraha* Bayard Rustin and Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) to assist the MIA in training volunteers in nonviolent resistance. When the Montgomery case *Browder v. Gayle* reached the federal courts, the judges referenced the *Brown* decision and decreed that in all areas of racial segregation "separate but equal" was inherently unequal and therefore legal white supremacy was unconstitutional. With other Black ministers heading up local civil rights movements, King formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) during a meeting at Ebenezer Baptist Church in 1957. The SCLC elected King president and headquartered the new organization in Atlanta, where King returned to his home church of Ebenezer as co-pastor.

Having grown up reading in the *Atlanta Daily World* and other publications of the Black press accounts of colonial struggles against the Color Line in Africa, India, and across the world, King recalled, "I knew about all of the struggles, and all of the pain, and all of the agony that these people had gone through for this moment." He had followed the 1952 Defiance Campaign which through the ANC mobilized Black, white, Colored, and Indian people to challenge racial separation in the built environment of South Africa by entering without passes and occupying "whites only" areas in a direct-action challenge to the new apartheid laws. With the release of the 1955 Freedom Charter, the white supremacist state arrested Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders, subjugating them to the Treason Trials. King observed Human Rights Day in 1957 attending a rally in support of Mandela and the other defendants. Gaining global recognition for his leadership in Montgomery, King received an invitation from President Kwame Nkrumah to witness the birth of independent Ghana in 1957. In 1959, King undertook a pilgrimage to India to meet with Gandhi's disciples at his ashram in Ahmedabad and returned to the United States with a deeper understanding of Gandhi's absolute self-discipline and rejection of material possessions.

Meanwhile in Birmingham, the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth led its civil rights movement from the pulpit of Bethel Baptist Church where he advocated for nonviolent direct action against racial segregation. Following the successful conclusion of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1956, he called on Birmingham leaders to obey the court order, vowing to test desegregated seating on public transit on the day of the ruling's enforcement. The night before white supremacists dynamited Shuttlesworth's church and parsonage; yet miraculously he survived the blast and led the direct-action challenge to segregated seating. Twice more vigilantes dynamited Bethel Baptist Church in a failed attempt to assassinate Shuttlesworth. As

a result, night watchmen—some of whom secretly carried concealed weapons—guarded the sanctuary. Other Black leaders such as Robert F. Williams in North Carolina and then later the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana and the Black Panthers nationally openly promoted armed self-defense. Yet leaders in the civil rights movement such as Shuttlesworth and King along with the vast majority of their supporters remained steadfast in their commitment to nonviolent resistance in their protests over legal white supremacy.

On February 1, 1960, four Black male undergraduates entered the F. W. Woolworth Department Store in Greensboro, North Carolina and requested service at the whites-only lunch counter, igniting the sit-in campaign that quickly swept the South. As the protest spread, this particular L-shaped counter that served fast food, located inside a typical American downtown five-and dime store, came to symbolize the sit-in movement and the typology of racial integration in commercial spaces. Over the next six months 70,000 Black college students and others participated in sit-ins. By chance preaching in nearby High Point, Shuttlesworth witnessed the protest first hand and called SCLC headquarters to inform Executive Director Ella Baker and King that the movement needed to promote this revolutionary form of nonviolent direct action. A modification of the United Auto Worker's Sit-Down Strike strategy, the sit-ins attracted widespread support among Black—and some white—college students in other communities, with Nashville, Tennessee foremost among them. There the Reverend James Lawson, a Black seminarian at Vanderbilt University who had studied *satyagraha* while serving as a missionary in India, conducted nonviolent workshops that trained Diane Nash, C. T. Vivian, John Lewis, James Bevel, Bernard Lafayette and others who quickly emerged as new leaders in the civil rights movement. Weeks later the students—assisted by Ella Baker—gathered at Shaw University to form the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). In addition to sit-ins, the civil rights movement used other forms of direct action such as wade-ins on segregated beaches in Biloxi, Mississippi; swim-ins at segregated pools in St. Augustine, Florida; and kneel-ins at white churches that refused Black worshipers in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Elsewhere activists adapted nonviolent direct action to suit their protest needs such as Native Americans who, along the Canadian border in 1964 staged fish-ins to uphold treaty rights.

A month after the sit-ins broke out in the United States, youth in South Africa gathered on March 21, 1960 in an act of defiance in Sharpeville near Johannesburg singing freedom songs and marching to the police station to surrender their apartheid-required pass books that restricted mobility. Officers opened fire, killing sixty-nine people. Two more Black demonstrators died later that day following clashes with authorities in Langa Flats outside Cape Town. A week later the courts dismissed the treason charges against Mandela and the ANC leaders held in captivity since 1956, finding no evidence of Communism behind their nonviolent Defiance Campaign and the Freedom Charter or that they had attempted to violently overthrow the South African government. The apartheid state responded to the courts by banning the ANC, whose leaders then went into hiding while its militant wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, embraced armed resistance.

As students continued the sit-ins in the United States, the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) organized the Freedom Ride to test compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Boynton v. Virginia* that called for the desegregation of interstate transit. CORE recruited Black and white, young and old committed practitioners of nonviolence to board Greyhound and Trailways buses departing Washington, D. C. for New Orleans, with the intention to disembark at stops throughout the Deep South to test the desegregation of lunch counters, restrooms and waiting areas. The journey proved uneventful until it crossed into Alabama where on May 14, 1961, white supremacists disrupted the Freedom Ride by refusing to allow activists to disembark at the segregated Greyhound Bus Terminal in Anniston and later firebombing the Greyhound bus, then beating up nonviolent integrationists when their Trailways bus arrived at the station in

Birmingham. Shuttlesworth sent supporters to rescue the stranded activists and took them to Bethel Baptist Church. When Nashville volunteers arrived in Birmingham to replace CORE's participants who had flown on to New Orleans, Shuttlesworth arranged assistance to enable the Freedom Ride to continue. The novelty of the nonviolent direct-action tactic inspired students at the University of Sydney who launched a Freedom Ride across Australia in 1965 to highlight the ongoing struggle for Aboriginal Rights that had been taking place there since the 1950s.

Building on the demands for equal access demonstrated by the sit-ins and Freedom Rides, Black students in Birmingham supported by Shuttlesworth and the local movement promoted a 1962 boycott of department stores to discourage Black patrons from purchasing new outfits for Easter. Shuttlesworth convinced King and the SCLC to join in the effort by launching the Birmingham Campaign in the spring of 1963. Initially a tightly-controlled focus on sit-ins with an accompanying boycott of white merchants, under Shuttlesworth's insistence the campaign adopted new direct-action tactics including protest marches to city hall and picket lines outside segregated businesses. After a month of protests, the movement shifted tactics to recruit school children who gathered in Sixteenth Street Baptist Church before embarking on protest marches journalists named the Children's Crusade. Initially white authorities suppressed the demonstrations with police dogs used for crowd control but then expanded their efforts using water blasts from high-powered fire hoses to trap African Americans in the segregated Kelly Ingram Park. Media coverage of the state violence against nonviolent Black students shocked the nation and world which demanded federal intervention and race reform. In Ethiopia, leaders of the newly independent countries gathered to form the Organization of African Unity issued a formal condemnation of the U.S. government and the defense of white supremacy taking place in the streets of Birmingham. While a negotiated truce halted the local protests, national and international pressure forced the Kennedy Administration and U.S. Congress to act. Within weeks watershed legislation appeared before the U.S. Congress that once passed as the 1964 Civil Rights Act ended legal white supremacy in the country by removing racial barriers constructed into the built environment and opening the American system to all people regardless of race.

Celebrating the success of the Birmingham Campaign and supporting the proposed civil rights legislation, movement leaders gathered for the March on Washington at the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963. From its steps King delivered his "I Have A Dream" speech before an audience of 250,000 gathered down the National Mall while millions more watched the televised broadcast internationally. Simultaneous marches took place across the United States and the world such as in Kingston, Jamaica; Accra, Ghana; Cairo, Egypt; Tel Aviv, Israel; Oslo Norway. Even the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and the deaths of four Black girls on September 15, 1963—targeted by white supremacists trying to stop court ordered school desegregation in Birmingham—failed to prevent the sea changes underway. Across the U.S. South, local and state governments removed the legal restrictions and actual racial barriers that had maintained white supremacy in the built environment.

Yet in South Africa a different story unfolded at the same time as authorities maintaining apartheid arrested the underground ANC leaders at Liliesleaf Farm in July 1963. The state began the Rivonia Trial in October during which Mandela delivered his "I Am Prepared to Die" speech prior to the June 1964 conviction and imprisonment of the ANC leaders on Robben Island. In the United States, federal authorities outwardly defended the rights of movement activists across the South, yet local and state officials often violated these rights in a defense of racial segregation designed to uphold legal white supremacy. Vigilantes supplemented the overt suppression by the state through covert violence that could result in death. And like Mandela, the American civil rights leaders professed a willingness to die for desegregation.

Resistance to racial change proved particularly strong in Mississippi where the NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers assisted local movements with sit-ins, wade-ins, and other demonstrations against segregated space. Infatuated by Jomo Kenyatta and the Mau Mau's struggle over British colonialism, Evers joined others in the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to promote Black voter registration and nonviolent direct action campaigns across Mississippi. On the July 1963 night of President John F. Kennedy's televised address broadcast globally announcing his support for civil rights legislation to create a racially integrated society, an assassin murdered Medgar Evers outside his home in a racially segregated neighborhood of Jackson. Later that week the venerated Vietnamese monk Thich Quang Duc—having recognized the power of media coverage of civil rights protests in the United States—invited journalists to witness his self-immolation on a busy Saigon street in protest of the Diem dictatorship's desecration of temples as part of a brutal crackdown on Buddhism.

The advocacy by Evers and COFO to secure desegregation through such voting rights campaigns as Mississippi Freedom Summer, and of SNCC with its Southwest Georgia Voter Education Project, all culminated in rural Alabama in 1965 where SCLC assisted local Black school teachers trying to register to vote while SNCC mobilized the potential Black electorate. Although having a majority Black population, a white minority held political power across rural areas of the U.S. South through Black political disfranchisement. In Selma, Alabama, white resistance at the Dallas County Courthouse where the sheriff and deputies refused entrance to Black applicants seeking registration as voters extended to the foot of the Edmund Pettus Bridge where municipal jurisdiction ended and county authority began. On March 7, 1965, nonviolent activists began the Selma to Montgomery March, walking two-by-two from movement churches through town before topping the bridge and crossing that jurisdictional line where county authorities joined by state troopers attacked, routing the demonstrators. Caught on film, networks broadcast "Bloody Sunday" around the world. Within days, President Lyndon B. Johnson submitted to congress legislation which passed as the Voting Rights Act of 1965, making the bridge an exemplar of the typology of racial integration in the political sphere. When in 1967 The Troubles erupted in Ulster, activists inspired by the civil rights and anti-apartheid movements, formed the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in Belfast to promote nonviolent civil disobedience as an alternative to sectarian violence in the struggle against religious discrimination in housing, employment, and voting rights. Northern Ireland experienced its own "Bloody Sunday" when state police shot nonviolent protesters marching in Londonderry in 1972.

With the *Brown* decision and other federal court rulings, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the federal government addressed the immediate demands for race reform by ending legal white supremacy through desegregation and by securing voting rights. The goals evolved too as the civil rights movement splintered into factions by 1966 with King and the more mainstream organizations working within the system for "Freedom Now," while more radical elements withdrew to promote Black separatism expressed as "Black Power." Having largely gained the racial integration of the public sphere through the structural desegregation of space, King turned to more abstract notions of human rights, linking racism with war and poverty. King proposed an audacious display of direct action with the "Poor People's Campaign," a nonviolent occupation of Washington, D. C. with protesters sitting in the halls of Congress and other federal buildings while living in Tent City erected adjacent to the Lincoln Memorial on the National Mall. King mobilized the nation's poor—Black sharecroppers from Mississippi, Native Americans from western reservations, white farmers from Appalachia—to fill the ranks of dispossessed demonstrators who planned to shut down the federal government until the U.S. Congress adopted meaningful reforms for economic justice.

Over the winter of 1968, Reverend James Lawson convinced King to support the Sanitation Worker's Strike in Memphis, Tennessee, as a precursor to the Poor People's Campaign. Yet when the two led a nonviolent march through city streets on March 28, 1968, agent provocateurs started looting as police attacked the activists. Critics charged King and the movement with the violence, suggesting the same fate awaited the nation's capital during the Poor People's Campaign. The next day strikers carried "I Am A Man" signs on the picket line as King planned another march to demonstrate the efficacy of nonviolence. On the eve of the march as King stood on the balcony of the segregated Lorraine Motel, an assassin shot him dead. Four days later his widow, Coretta Scott King, and their children, led 42,000 people in a silent march through the streets of Memphis mourning King's death, showing support for the striking sanitation workers, and demonstrating the power of nonviolence. As the SCLC implemented the Poor People's Campaign that summer, the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968 with its provisions on Fair Housing that brought an end to legal real estate practices designed to maintain racially segregated neighborhoods by enabling the racial integration of residential areas. Having accomplished the initial goals of removing legal white supremacy from the built environment yet faltering over demands for economic justice, and with movement activists increasingly divided over tactics of integration or separatism and distracted by the war in Vietnam and other issues, the era of the Modern Civil Rights Movement drew to a close.

Within days of the movement events of global significance, civil rights pilgrims—initially domestic but increasingly international—began visiting the sites of nonviolent direct action. In the decades since the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, movement leaders and grassroots activists joined owners of historic properties, civic and government officials, and entrepreneurs promoting heritage tourism, to turn the sites of the civil rights movement events into shrines to racial integration that celebrate the associated values of freedom and equality.

THIRTEEN SITES INCLUDED IN THE SERIES

The thirteen Civil Rights Movement Sites are the authentic settings of the protests over racial segregation in the built environment that ended legal white supremacy by desegregating schools, integrating public accommodations and private enterprise, extending voting rights for Black political empowerment, and ending discriminatory housing practices. Indigenous protests led by Black students and parents at **Moton High School** in Farmville, Virginia, **Monroe Elementary School** in Topeka, Kansas, and **Central High School** in Little Rock, Arkansas, resulted in the United States Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling and its enforcement that ended legal racially-segregated public education. Centered in African American religious institutions such as **Dexter Avenue, King Memorial Baptist Church** in Montgomery, Alabama, **Bethel Baptist and Sixteenth Street Baptist Churches** in Birmingham, Alabama, and **Ebenezer Baptist Church** in Atlanta, Georgia, and led by organizations promoting integration such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Council of Federated Organizations, the civil rights movement mobilized the African-American community behind nonviolent direct action protests over racial discrimination in the built environment. White resistance at businesses such as the **F. W. Woolworth Store** in Greensboro, North Carolina during the Sit-Ins, and the Anniston, Alabama, **Greyhound Bus Terminal** during the Freedom Rides, underscored the black determination to end racial discrimination across the public sphere. The NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers assisted civil rights leaders across Mississippi and despite his murder outside the **Medgar and Myrlie Evers House** in

Jackson, his efforts bore fruit with equal access in public accommodations and the drive for voting rights. Similarly, despite the brutal beating the nonviolent demonstrators received at the foot of the **Edmund Pettus Bridge** in Selma, Alabama, the violence failed to prevent their Selma to Montgomery March which resulted in federal voting rights. The March on Washington culminated at the once segregated space of the **Lincoln Memorial** to call for fair employment. Plans to return to the nation's capital five years later with the Poor People's Campaign echoed the demand as did the Sanitation Workers' Strike in Memphis, Tennessee. Even the 1968 assassination of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., at the **Lorraine Motel** failed to stop nonviolent protest, the Poor People's Campaign, or its calls for economic justice. Local, state, and federal governments responded to the civil rights movement by desegregating schools according to the *Brown* decision of 1954, removing racial divisions in public accommodations and private enterprise according to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, guaranteeing black political participation through the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and making residential discrimination illegal with the Civil Rights Act of 1968. At the same time, domestic and international pilgrims began appearing at the components of the serial nomination, turning them into shrines celebrating racial integration and creating a need for interpretation and visitation services. The completeness of the ensemble speaks to the universal value of racial equality enshrined in the U.S. Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

STATEMENT OF SELECTION:

The landmark 1994 *Expert Meeting on the 'Global Strategy,'* recommended two concurrent actions: "rectification of the imbalances on the List between regions of the world, types of monument, and periods, and at the same time a move away from a purely architectural view of the cultural heritage of humanity towards one which was much more anthropological, multi-functional, and universal." This diversification of subject and decentering of architecture required new "thematic approaches" such as consideration of "modes of occupation of land and space" when considering cultural sites. As the 1994 *Global Strategy* emphasized, "Twentieth Century architecture should not be considered solely from the point of view of 'great' architects and aesthetics, but rather as a striking transformation of multiple meanings in the use of materials, technology, work, organization of space, and more generally, life in society."

The challenge has been how best to interpret this "striking transformation" through the World Heritage Criteria. In considering Criterion (iv) and recognizing the definition of "typology" is but a list, then heritage sites where protests achieved the removal of structural barriers and opened up equal access to space marks a distinct type of property in a now altered built environment manifested by integration. Similarly when considering Criterion (vi) concerning events and ideas, the Liberation Movements of the Twentieth Century that embraced nonviolence to gain tangible access and intangible equality and freedom warrant recognition as being of outstanding universal significance. While this particular Serial Nomination addresses racial equality, such an approach to the World Heritage Criteria might be applied to a variety of nominations from those concerning ethnic, sectarian, and religious beliefs to gender, sexuality, and physical abilities.

In 2004 the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) released its follow-up study, *The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps—an Action Plan for the Future*, that listed "under-represented categories or themes," among which it identified the modern era. The ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on the Twentieth-Century Heritage took the lead developing thematic frameworks for the Twentieth Century, first at an expert meeting convened in 2011 at the Getty Conservation Institute and then with the subsequent 2021 publication by

Getty of *The Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework*, both of which concluded "much of the world's heritage from this period is unrecognized or undervalued, and is thus at risk and in need of analysis and protection." Relevant for this discussion the *Framework* used the theme of "Human Rights/Civil Rights" to parse out subthemes, "Struggle for and recognition of human rights," and "Social movements and the recognition of individual rights," while identifying "Sites related to human rights abuses" and "Sites related to social movements." In referring to the U.S. civil rights movement, the *Framework* singled out as an example Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. One outcome of Liberation Movements in the Twentieth Century has been a fundamental reorganization of access to space brought about by dismantling the Color Line, ending legal white supremacy, and enabling racial integration, a before and after difference akin to night and day.

When the United States updated its Tentative List for World Heritage in 2008, it added the Three Alabama Churches associated with the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s: Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church in Montgomery, Sixteenth Street Baptist and Bethel Baptist Churches in Birmingham. In 2013, the National Park Service Office of International Affairs (NPS-OIA) gathered representatives from the Smithsonian Institution, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, State Department, and UNESCO World Heritage Centre to consider the viability of a civil rights themed nomination for potential inscription on the List. The gathering recommended focusing on the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s and called for additional sites to be added to the Three Alabama Churches. In 2016, the U.S. National Committee of ICOMOS published its *U.S. World Heritage Gap Study Report*, which argued that "cultural diversity, sites of conscience and cultural landscapes would be addressed with an expanded Civil Rights Movement serial nomination." In addition to Central High, it added as examples the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, and the Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historical Park in Atlanta, Georgia. With these and other such properties, the serial nomination could "effectively represent Civil Rights and Voting Rights struggles," and connect with the "passive resistance teachings of Gandhi" which provide "important links to international influence." US/ICOMOS encouraged promoting "diverse heritage and peoples, including non-dominant cultural groups" and "recent heritage of the 20th century." The report concluded "these sites may need to be considered at the landscape scale, assessing the significance of specific sites and the potential statement of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for a serial nomination. This is an important nomination to make progress toward."

Willing to finance that effort, the State of Alabama contracted with the Georgia State University World Heritage Initiative (GSU WHI) to develop a potential serial nomination of U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites for possible inscription on the World Heritage List. Although the World Heritage program is overseen in the United States through the NPS-OIA, private interests bear the expense of preparing nominations. Encouraged by the NPS-OIA to expand the Tentative List beyond the Three Alabama Churches, the GSU WHI followed its recommendations, those of its 2013 investigative committee, and US/ICOMOS. It consulted with more than seventy-five scholars of the African American Freedom Struggle and engaged in conversations over identifying the most significant civil rights heritage sites. In 2017 the GSU WHI convened a *U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites Symposium* and invited scholars, historic preservationists, and representatives of movement heritage properties to campus for a series of panel discussions regarding a potential world heritage serial nomination. To advance the debate and join in conversation at the *Symposium*, the GSU WHI formed a Committee of Scholars comprised of specialists on the movement as well as a Committee of Historic Preservationists that included local, state, and federal authorities. In addition to relevant scholarship, the experts

consulted the general NPS study, *Civil Rights in America,* as well as the four National Historic Landmark thematic studies organized around the themes of education, voting rights, public accommodations, and housing. After great deliberation, *Symposium* participants recommended the potential serial nomination focus on the African American Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. From this, the GSU Initiative developed a list of more than 300 potential heritage properties identified with the movement and took exploratory site visits to half of them. Through continual deliberation with scholars and preservationists, the GSU WHI developed a list of leading properties that best fit with a draft statement of Outstanding Universal Value that engaged various criteria for justification of inscription on the World Heritage List. Over the past seven years the GSU WHI has revised draft documents, assembled information for a potential serial nomination dossier, consulted with the property owners and stewards of civil rights heritage sites on management plans, and promoted historic preservation practices while building local support among stakeholders for participation in the World Heritage program.

The debate regarding "Sites of Recent Conflict" provides an opportunity to clarify if and how the issue is relevant to the U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites, whether or not they should be characterized as "negative and divisive" or "positive," and what it means to see them as "Sites of Memory." The findings of the Open-Ended Working Group as approved by the World Heritage Committee at its 17th extraordinary session in December 2022 offered a broad definition of "Sites of Recent Conflict," emphasizing the potentially unresolved nature of the contestation while suggesting all such nominations are worthy of consideration on a case-by-case basis according to the existing Operation Guidelines. The assessments by ICOMOS in 2018, O. Beazley and C. Cameron in 2020, and the African Virtual Meeting in 2021 differentiate between sites of war and genocide, and sites of slavery and liberation, between "negative and divisive" sites and "positive" ones. Action and outcome suggest the fundamental differences. With war and genocide, the action is of oppression, the outcome death and destruction on a massive scale, often leaving behind bitter divisions, hence "Sites of Recent Conflict of Negative and Divisive Memories." With liberation, agency belongs to the oppressed with the outcome of freedom, hence "positive" memories. While conflict existed during Liberation Movements that might have resulted in violence and even death at the hands of oppressors—often precipitating events that drew international attention—the global significance is not the violence but the liberation that ended the oppression, resolved the conflict, and created an open society.

STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

The integrity of the nominated property is based on the careful selection of the thirteen component sites that demonstrate the key attributes of the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, for they best represent the events of global significance expressed through the property's Outstanding Universal Value. Each of the components bears unique testimony to Black resistance to white supremacy as expressed through nonviolent direct action during the postwar African American freedom struggle over racial discrimination in the built environment of segregated schools, separate public accommodations, the electoral process, and neighborhoods. Each site represents a key event that achieves international influence and collectively they embody in its entirety the nonviolent struggle to end legal white supremacy and gain racial integration in the U.S. South. The boundaries of each component site are of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes that convey the property's Outstanding Universal Value. All the elements necessary to demonstrate the global significance of the dozen movement sites are still physically present. The standing structures,

landscape features, and architectural elements necessary to convey the OUV are in excellent condition, well maintained, and do not suffer from neglect. None are currently threatened by adverse development and all will be protected adequately to ensure the attributes that express the OUV will remain intact in the future.

STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY

The thirteen U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites demonstrate a high degree of authenticity that expresses the Outstanding Universal Value of the proposed serial property. For the most part, the component sites have remained remarkably unchanged in their overall form and design since the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. During the period of significance several of the components underwent alterations through the removal of the once legally required "white" and "colored" designations of separate entrances, waiting rooms, restrooms, and dining facilities although in some cases shadows of these discriminatory distinctions remain behind. Some components are virtually unchanged while others have seen new buildings added to the existing historic structures. Nevertheless, the substance of the component sites remains intact, excepting the alterations and additions that occurred according to national preservation standards. Many sites retain their original function and offer interpretation and on-site access to visitors. Some of the sites have new functions, that of a museum or visitor center. Regardless, all have been conserved with their authentic attributes preserved and protected. The location and setting for each of the component sites remains relatively intact, thereby enabling each to retain its cultural value. All of the components of the potential Serial Nomination of U.S. Civil Rights Movement Sites express a spirituality and feeling of being as in a sacred space. All have evolved into shrines where the public goes to comprehend how nonviolent protests removed racial barriers to achieve tangible racial integration and intangible associated values of freedom and racial equality.

SUGGESTED INDIVIDUAL COMPONENTS OF THE SERIAL PROPERTY

1. **ROBERT RUSSA MOTON HIGH SCHOOL/MUSEUM**
   Address: 900 Griffin Boulevard, Farmville, Virginia 23901, U.S.A
   Location: 37°17'28.70" N, 78°23'51.32" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in educational sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to *Brown* decision
Interpretative museum celebrating integration, freedom and equality

The walkout by Black students led by sixteen-year-old Barbara Johns on April 23, 1951 over the inferior educational facilities they received at the African American Robert Russa Moton High School, and the subsequent lawsuit they filed, *Davis* v. *County School Board of Prince Edward County*, contributed to the 1954 landmark *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision that shook the foundations of legal white supremacy in the world by declaring racially based school segregation in the United States unconstitutional.

Opened in 1939 for Farmville, Virginia's Black students, Moton High School demonstrated separate and unequal educational facilities as it suffered from severe overcrowding while lacking an auditorium, gymnasium, and cafeteria as found in the white high school across town. Rather than racially integrate the separate black and white schools and thereby create equal educational opportunities, the local board of education at first used temporary tarpaper shacks in which to house Black students, and then, when ordered to desegregate, voted to close all schools in Prince Edward County. A second U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 1964, *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward,* forced the county to reopen its now desegregated schools and provide a public education to all its citizenry.

Moton High remained an integrated educational facility until 1992 when it became surplus property that was sold in 1997 to the African American Martha E. Forrester Council of Women that reopened the facility as a museum in 2001 on the fiftieth anniversary of the student walkout. Later conservation and expanded exhibits were completed in 2013. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Robert Russa Moton High School are included within the proposed boundary: the school building, its grounds and ball field, and a reconstructed tarpaper shack.

2. MONROE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL/BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
Address: 1515 SE Monroe Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612, U.S.A.
Location: 39°02'16.35" N, 78°23'51.42" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in educational sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to *Brown* decision
National Park Service Historical Park celebrating integration, freedom and equality

Concerned over the safety of his daughter Linda Brown, who had to walk across a dangerous railroad switching yard to reach a bus stop that took her across town to the African American Monroe Elementary School, the Reverend Oliver Brown joined with twelve other Black parents representing twenty children in filing a lawsuit challenging segregated education in Topeka, Kansas, which combined with Moton High's *Davis v. County* and four other cases to become the landmark U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

The local school board had adopted a policy of providing "separate but equal" racially-segregated educational facilities, and Monroe Elementary, built for Black children in 1927, was virtually equal to "white only" Sumner Elementary which the Browns wanted to attend because they lived nearby. With four other appeals filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People challenging racial segregation in education on its docket in December 1952, the U.S. Supreme Court consolidated them under the name *Oliver Brown, et al. v. the Board of Education of Topeka*. On Monday, May 17, 1954 the court issued its unanimous decision that racially segregated schools—whether materially equal as in Monroe Elementary or unequal as in Moton High—violated the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The court's decision noted, "We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe it does." The ruling signaled to the world the changing attitude of the United States towards legal white supremacy. Reflecting international opinions around the globe, the Municipal Council of Santos, Sao Paulo, Brazil, celebrated the *Brown* decision as "establishing the just equality of the races, essential to universal harmony and peace." Monroe Elementary remained open as an integrated school until 1980 after which the Board of Education sold the

property that, after several owners and years of neglect, became part of the National Park Service in 1992 which reopened the school as a museum on the fiftieth anniversary of the *Brown* decision in 1994. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Monroe Elementary School are included within the proposed boundary: the school building and its grounds.

3. LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
Address: 1500 S Park Street, Little Rock, Arkansas 72202, U.S.A.
Location: 34°44'18.75" N, 92°18'17.34" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in educational sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to *Brown* decision
Active school, adjacent NPS Historic Site celebrates integration, freedom and equality

Responding to the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, southern state governments adopted a strategy of Massive Resistance to thwart school desegregation orders by the federal courts. The strategy failed at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, over 1957-1959 when nine African American students desegregated the whites-only institution in accordance with the *Brown* decision despite resistance from white supremacists who compelled the federal government to intervene and uphold the law on behalf of racial equality in education.

The governor's refusal to enforce the court ruling and prevent an escalation of white mob violence—and the international embarrassment over the incident—convinced President Dwight Eisenhower to send in troops from the 101st Airborne to take charge of the situation. As the armed soldiers escorted Black students into the previously whites-only school, international sentiment such as that of the Dutch recalled the president's D-Day service liberating Western Europe in World War II. European newspaper headlines declared "Eisenhower's airborne troops again are bearers of democracy." Little Rock signified the failure of Massive Resistance to

defend legal white supremacy, for it demonstrated that the federal government would support court ordered racial desegregation.

Today the National Park Service operates a nearby interpretative center and offers tours of the active school. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Central High School are included within the proposed boundary: the school building and its front and side grounds.

4. DEXTER AVENUE KING MEMORIAL BAPTIST CHURCH
Address: 454 Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama 36104, U.S.A.
Location: 32°22'47.14" N, 86°18'30.51" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in residential sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to the Montgomery Bus Boycott
Active church and shrine celebrating integration, freedom and equality

The day after police arrested Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat to a white man, thereby setting the stage for the Montgomery Bus Boycott, one hundred black leaders gathered in the African American Dexter Avenue Baptist Church where they joined its pastor, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., in planning the protest that would last 381 days and result in the application of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown* decision requiring school desegregation in cases filed against all forms of legal white supremacy.

Built as a separate black church on the site of a former slave holding pen used when the Alabama capital boasted one of the nation's largest domestic slave trading markets, the originally named Second Colored Baptist Church was completed in 1889 and attracted a membership of elite African Americans associated with the city's black professional class and its historically black Alabama State College. Parks' arrest triggered a long-planned protest over racial discrimination in public transportation that saw, through the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), a united black community engaged in direct action that ushered in a new era of protest and attracted both national and international media attention. The arrival in Montgomery of Bayard Rustin and Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), two students of *satyagraha* who encouraged King's embrace of nonviolence not only as a tactic but also as a way of life, conducted workshops to teach nonviolent strategies to the MIA members. King's training in a progressive black theology of Protestant Christianity that embraced nonviolent direct action as a strategy for social change came to characterize the integrationist philosophy of the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The U.S. Supreme Court's *Browder v. Gayle* ruling that the MIA filed extended the *Brown* decision to all areas of segregation by finding that "separate but equal" was inherently unequal and therefore legal white supremacy was unconstitutional. King resigned his pastorate of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in 1959 in order to return to Atlanta, Georgia, as president of the newly formed civil rights organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and as co-pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Following King's assassination in 1968, the Dexter Board of Deacons recognized the church attracted civil rights pilgrims and in 1978 the members voted to change the name to the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church. Today the church has an active congregation and is open daily for tours. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church are included within the proposed boundary.

5. EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH (HERITAGE SANCTUARY)
Address: 407 Auburn Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia 30312, U.S.A.
Location: 33°45'18.71" N, 84°22'27.14" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in residential sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to King and the civil rights movement
National Park Service managed property interpreting/celebrating integration, freedom and equality

Four generations of the King family have preached from the pulpit at the African American Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, where, following the Montgomery Bus Boycott, civil rights leaders under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1957 to help coordinate direct action confrontations over segregation in the built environment and where a decade later the world came to mourn the slain apostle of nonviolence.

Founded as a separate black church in the Fourth Ward area of Atlanta in 1886, the Reverend Adam Daniel Williams, King's grandfather, assumed the pastorate in 1894 and moved the congregation to nearby Auburn Avenue in 1914. The Atlanta Race Riot of 1906 had dramatically transformed the area, for in its aftermath, city officials undertook town planning on racial segregation as white residents moved out of the neighborhood, enabling a concentration of Atlanta's Black middle class to congregate along Auburn Avenue that became known as the richest Black street in America. As co-pastor under his father at Ebenezer, King occasionally preached while promoting nonviolent social change through the SCLC. On February 4, 1968, King delivered his final sermon in Ebenezer Baptist Church, a personal eulogy called "The Drum Major Instinct." Two months later an assassin killed him in Memphis. Thousands of mourners viewed King's body as it lay in state in the Ebenezer sanctuary as a recording of the sermon played over loudspeakers.

With his death, civil rights pilgrims began to visit King's church and birthplace, so his widow, Coretta Scott King, constructed the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc., that included an archive, auditorium, chapel, and a reflection pool containing the crypt of the Kings on land located between the birth home and historic Ebenezer Baptist Church. Annual events are held in the church on the anniversary of King's January birthday—a national holiday—to celebrate their lives. As part of the Martin Luther King, Jr., National Hisorical Park, the church is open daily to the public. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Ebenezer Baptist Church are included within the proposed boundary.

6. BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH (HISTORIC SANCTUARY)
Address: 3233 and 3228 29th Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama 35203, U.S.A.
Location: 33°33'06.43" N, 86°48'02.63" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in residential sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to the Birmingham Campaign
Shrine interpreting/celebrating integration, freedom and equality

Because the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth led the Birmingham civil rights movement in nonviolent direct action campaigns from the pulpit of the African American Bethel Baptist Church, white supremacists targeted the sacred space with dynamite bombings three times, the first nearly assassinating Shuttlesworth by destroying the adjacent parsonage and damaging the sanctuary, and the other two causing serious damage to the segregated structure, drawing international attention to the Birmingham civil rights struggle.

When the U.S. Supreme Court upheld *Browder v. Gayle* and ordered the desegregation of public transportation, Shuttlesworth announced the movement would test the ruling in Birmingham. On Christmas night 1956—the eve of the challenge—white supremacists tossed a bundle of dynamite between Bethel Baptist Church and its Parsonage next door. Although the blast caused

the house to collapse with Shuttlesworth in the front room near the explosion, he survived the assassination attempt and emerged from the rubble unscathed to lead the protest the next day. In a second attempt to silence the civil rights movement, white supremacists left lit explosives beside Bethel Baptist Church on June 29, 1958, but black guards discovered the bomb and moved it so that when it exploded the church walls did not collapse although the shockwaves again knocked out the stained-glass windows. The third bombing of Bethel Baptist Church occurred on December 13, 1962 as children inside the sanctuary prepared for Christmas, and while they escaped harm, the parsonage and other structures again suffered damage. Bethel became one of several dozen movement churches that regularly hosted mass meetings on Monday nights where supporters of civil rights reform met with Shuttlesworth and other leaders to plan nonviolent direct action confrontations over separate and unequal "white only" and "colored" sections of transit stations and other public accommodations, schools and parks, culminating in the climatic spring 1963 demonstrations in segregated Kelly Ingram Park and the surrounding streets of downtown Birmingham. At the same time on the other side of the world, the heads of newly independent governments in Africa gathered at the invitation of Emperor Haile Selassie in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in a meeting "without parallel in history" to form the Organization of African Unity. From Ethiopia, Uganda's Prime Minister Milton Obote sent an open letter criticizing President John F. Kennedy over the events in Birmingham: "The Negroes who, even while the conference was in session, have been subjected to the most inhumane treatment, who have been blasted with fire hoses ranked up to such pressure that the water could strip bark off trees, at whom the police have deliberately set snarling dogs, are our own kith and kin." Speaking as if for all the African delegates, Obote concluded: "The eyes and ears of the world are concentrated on events in Alabama and it is the duty of the free world and more so of the countries that hold themselves up as the leaders of the free world to see that all of their citizens, regardless of the color of their skin, are free."

Bethel Baptist Church remains an active congregation that in 1997 constructed a new sanctuary nearby while opening up for tours the historic building as a museum that showcases exhibits on Shuttlesworth and the Birmingham movement. Designated by President Barack Obama as part of the Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument in 2017, the proposed boundary of the site includes all the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of Bethel Baptist Church: the church, the memorial garden where the original parsonage stood, and the replacement parsonage across the street.

7. F. W. WOOLWORTH DEPARTMENT STORE/INTERNATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS CENTER AND MUSEUM
Address: 134 S Elm Street, Greensboro, North Carolina 27401, U.S.A.
Location: 36°04'18.20" N, 79°47'26.08" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in commercial sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to the Sit-In Campaign
Museum/Shrine celebrating/interpreting integration, freedom and equality

Indistinguishable from the dozens of other F. W. Woolworth Department Stores across the southeastern United States, the Greensboro facility, constructed in 1929 on a prominent corner in downtown Greensboro, North Carolina, provided a racially segregated retail experience for customers that included a segregated lunch counter. This provoked a nonviolent confrontation by four Black college students who challenged white supremacy in the built environment and caused an event of global significance that revitalized the civil rights movement.

On February 1, 1960, African Americans Ezell Blair, Jr., Franklin McCain, Joseph McNeil, and David Richmond took seats at the Greensboro Woolworths "white only" lunch counter and asked to be served. The movement spread to other lunch counters in the city, state and region. The Reverend James Lawson, who as a Methodist missionary in India had studied *satyagraha* then returned to the United States and as a seminarian at Vanderbilt University trained future civil rights activists Marion Barry, James Bevel, Bernard Lafayette, John Lewis, Diane Nash, and others, coordinated sit-ins in Nashville, Tennessee. Others conducted protests in Atlanta, Birmingham, and New Orleans. Within six months seventy thousand people had participated in the direct-action challenge to legal white supremacy. Participants organized the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to assist the protests, for the sit-ins generated national and international media attention as the movement spread across the segregated South. In addition to sit-ins, a boycott of downtown businesses pressured Greensboro merchants and the city government to desegregate all lunch counters in July 1960. Once it reopened its desegregated lunch counter, the Greensboro Woolworths continued to operate until 1993 when the business closed.

In 1995 local black activists formed the Sit-In Movement, Inc. to purchase the building and turn it into a museum which opened in 2010. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Greensboro Woolworth Department Store are included within the proposed boundary: the building, its separate racial entrances, and its main interior feature, the enshrined lunch counter.

8. GREYHOUND BUS TERMINAL
Address: 1031 Gurnee Avenue, Anniston, Alabama 36201, U.S.A.
Location: 33°39'29.21" N, 85°49'52.20" W


Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in the commercial sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to the Freedom Rides
National Monument interpreting/celebrating integration, freedom and equality

Under the leadership of James Farmer, CORE reprised the Journey of Reconciliation, an earlier challenge against segregation in interstate transportation staged in 1947, as the 1961 Freedom Ride to test compliance with the recent U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960) which called for the desegregation of public accommodations in southern transportation terminals, but unlike the overlooked previous protest, this time the nonviolent direct action confrontations over racially separate waiting rooms, restrooms, and dining facilities attracted international outrage because of a violent response from white supremacists in Alabama.

Around 1:00 pm on Sunday, May 14, 1961, a Greyhound Bus carrying seven black and white Freedom Riders along with two reporters, two members of the Alabama Highway Patrol and five other passengers, entered Anniston, Alabama. As soon as the bus pulled into the alleyway beside the Greyhound Bus Terminal, Ku Klux Klansmen descended upon it as a white mob filled the street. With screaming men beating on the vehicle trying to get in, highway patrolmen on board moved to keep the door closed so that the integrationists could not exit the bus and test the desegregation of the station's accommodations. For twenty minutes the white vigilantes violently attacked the vehicle, breaking the glass of the windows and stabbing the tires. Once police arrived and escorted the bus to the Anniston city limits, members of the white mob followed in cars down the old Birmingham Highway until flat tires forced the bus off the road.

Then klansmen firebombed the vehicle, nearly immolating the people inside. Images of the burning Greyhound Bus quickly spread around the world, sparking support for the demonstrations and encouraged others seeking racial justice. Rather than halt the Freedom Ride, the white supremacist violence provoked additional ones as the protest tactic spread across the South demanding equal access in public accommodations. Inspired by the Freedom Rides, Native Americans formed the National Indian Youth Council in 1961 and staged fish-ins in 1964 to protest denial of treaty rights in Puget Sound. In 1965, students in Australia staged a similar protest over Aboriginal rights. The Greyhound Bus Terminal retains the separate entrances and other architectural designs of racially separate spaces once marked "white only" and "colored."

Designated by President Barack Obama as the Freedom Riders National Monument in 2017, the site includes all the elements necessary to express its significant attributes being the historic bus station in Anniston.

9. MEDGAR AND MYRLIE EVERS HOUSE MUSEUM
Address: 2332 Margaret W. Alexander Drive, Jackson, Mississippi 39213, U.S.A.
Location: 32°20'27.56" N, 90°12'45.45" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in residential sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Event as global reaction to Evers assassination and voting rights campaign
National Monument celebrating integration, freedom and equality

The assassination of Mississippi's first NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers in the driveway of his home in a segregated neighborhood of Jackson only minutes after President John F. Kennedy addressed the nation on the need for race reform on June 12, 1963, shocked the world and galvanized the civil rights struggle in the United States.

Evers' earlier infatuation with Jomo Kenyatta and the Mau Mau's violent resistance to British colonialism in Kenya in 1952 gave way to advocacy for nonviolent direct action as Evers recruited new members for the NAACP, assisted activist chapters in Mississippi with their protests, and investigated racially motivated murders such as the one that killed fourteen-year-old Emmett Till in 1955. Eager to promote nonviolent direct action challenges to legal white supremacy, Evers of the NAACP joined with Robert Moses of SNCC, Aaron Henry of SCLC, and Dave Dennis of CORE in forming the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) that used Voter Education Project funds from the Southern Regional Council to create "Freedom Schools" and organize voter registration drives. The effort culminated in the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964 during which the Ku Klux Klan burned several black churches and killed three civil rights activists—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner—while Fannie Lou Hamer and other grassroots activists demanded seats at the Democratic National Convention. In 1963, white supremacists had thrown a Molotov cocktail at the Evers' ranch style house located in the black middle-class section of Jackson two weeks prior to a sniper shooting Evers dead in his driveway. The murder occurred the same week that the monk Thich Quang Duc, recognizing the power of media coverage of civil rights protests in the United States, invited international journalists including David Halberstam to witness his self-immolation on a busy Saigon street in protest to the Diem dictatorship's brutal crackdown against Buddhism in Viet Nam. Thousands mourned Evers' death by attending his funeral in Jackson's Stringer Grand Lodge Masonic Temple and his burial in Arlington National Cemetery in Washington, D.C., after which his widow fled Mississippi with their three children for California.

Myrlie Evers continued to own the house in Jackson until 1993 when she donated the property to historically black Tougaloo College that opened it as a house museum showcasing the civil rights leader and the Mississippi movement. Designated by President Donald Trump as a National Monument in 2020, the site includes within the proposed boundary all the elements necessary to express its significant attributes as the Medgar and Myrlie Evers House.

10. SIXTEENTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

Address: 1530 6th Avenue N, Birmingham, Alabama 35203, U.S.A.
Location: 33°31'00.30" N, 86°48'53.76" W

Criterion (iv)

Exemplar of typology of racial integration in residential sector.
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)

Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to the Birmingham Campaign
Active church with shrine celebrating integration, freedom and equality

In 1873 when a black congregation formed as the First Colored Baptist Church, it requested and received a parcel on which to construct a segregated facility on the north side of town, later changing its name to reflect its location, the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. The congregation hired the African American architect Wallace A. Rayfield to design the new sanctuary and parsonage that opened in 1911 as the largest and grandest Black-owned public space in Birmingham. Whenever leading African Americans visited the city, they spoke from the pulpit of Sixteenth Street because of its ability to accommodate notable guests and the crowds that came to hear them.

By early May 1963 the world watched nightly film footage showing the distinctive twin brick towers and tiled domes of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church with its front doors wide open as enthusiastic Black youth proceeded down the stairs into the streets where Birmingham's officers and firemen tried to keep the young civil rights protesters penned in the Black section of town. The African American church provided the movement a staging ground for the thousands of school children who confronted water hoses and police dogs in the surrounding streets and adjacent "colored" Kelly Ingram Park at the height of the nonviolent demonstrations for race reform during the 1963 Spring Campaign. The Children's Crusade forced the nation to accept an end to legal white supremacy.

Four months later on the eve of court-ordered school desegregation in Birmingham, an explosion at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church rocked the city, pushing cars out into the street, blowing the

windows out of surrounding buildings, and imploding the exterior wall into the ladies' restroom where Black youth had gone to ready themselves for their parts in the Sunday church service. The dynamite blast that claimed the lives of four black girls on September 15, 1963, revealed to the world the depths white supremacists would sink to defend racial segregation in Alabama. The violence shocked good people in Alabama and across the South as well as the nation and world as outrage immediately followed. In Wales, children collected pennies to donate to the church, using the funds to create a stained-glass window later installed above the balcony of a black man pushing against oppression and reaching out in forgiveness.

Over time, the congregation started a visitation program for the numerous pilgrims to the site and created a "Memory Nook" in its downstairs fellowship hall that contains photographs, memorabilia, and shows a documentary. Designated by President Barack Obama as part of the Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument in 2017, the proposed boundary of the site includes all the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church: the church and its parsonage.

11. LINCOLN MEMORIAL AND GROUNDS

Address: 2 Lincoln Memorial Circle NW, Washington, District of Columbia 20037, U.S.A.
Location: 38°53'21.47" N, 77°02'59.45" W

Criterion (iv)

Exemplar of typology of racial integration in government sector.
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)

Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to the March on Washington
National Park Service property celebrating integration, freedom and equality

Initially planned for August 28, 1963 as a massive civil rights protest in the streets of the nation's capital, the March on Washington Movement evolved into a global celebration of human rights witnessed by millions of people who endorsed the proposed race reforms being debated in the U.S. Congress. The "I Have A Dream" speech delivered by the charismatic Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., eloquently expressed the goals and aspirations of the nonviolent black and white integrationists. Representing the SCLC, King shared the dais with the Chairman of SNCC John Lewis, the head of the NAACP Roy Wilkins, James Farmer of CORE, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, and Bayard Rustin and A. Phillip

Randolph of the March on Washington Movement along with others such as the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, widow Myrlie Evers, and popular singers Joan Baez and Mahalia Jackson. A quarter of a million people descended on the national mall in Washington D.C. as millions more watched the events internationally over live television broadcasts. Support petitions for U.S. civil rights circulated across Europe while simultaneous demonstrations and marches occurred in Kingston, Jamaica; Accra, Ghana; Cairo, Egypt; Tel Aviv, Israel; Oslo, Norway; and elsewhere in the world.

The demonstration culminated at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial, a racially symbolic space because of its association with the president who had proposed the Emancipation Proclamation but also because of previous demonstrations there for racial equality. Efforts to memorialize Lincoln began shortly after his assassination in 1865 but took decades to implement with groundbreaking occurring in 1913 and the construction of the memorial modeled on a Greek temple lasting until 1922. Inside sits the statue designed by Daniel Chester French of Abraham Lincoln looking down the reflecting pool of the National Mall landscape of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. President Warren G. Harding dedicated the memorial before a segregated audience that heard addresses by such speakers as Tuskegee Institute President Robert Russa Moton who, being a black man, was denied a seat on the dais with the president and other white speakers. Because of the racial discrimination, leading African Americans in Washington boycotted the dedication service. When in 1939 the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to permit a performance by the renowned black opera singer Marian Anderson in its segregated Constitution Hall, an outraged First Lady of the United States, Eleanor Roosevelt, resigned her membership in the DAR and arranged a free Easter concert by Anderson, picking the steps of the nearby Lincoln Memorial for the desegregated performance. A racially integrated audience of 75,000 people including the president and first lady, his cabinet, congressmen, and the members of the U.S. Supreme Court assembled to hear Anderson sing arias and Negro spirituals.

Building on this legacy, the 1963 March on Washington culminated at the Lincoln Memorial with speeches delivered from its marble steps. King's address is the best known: "I have a dream," he said, quoting the Declaration of Independence, "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.'" King continued, "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood." A year later at the conclusion of the Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela echoed King, "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all person live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." Imprisoned under brutal conditions on Robben Island for eighteen years, then in Pollsmoor Prison for an additional decade, Mandela befriended his enemies and developed an awareness that enabled him to negotiate a nonviolent transition with representatives of the National Party that ended apartheid, removed the barriers that maintained legal white supremacy, and ushered in a new democratic state. At his inauguration as South Africa's first black president in 1994, Mandela again echoed King's "I Have a Dream Speech," saying of the new nation and its people, "Free at last! Free at last!"

As the civil rights movement focused its attention on economic justice in 1968, King harkened back to Randolph and Rustin's original 1941 strategy of the March on Washington and proposed the Poor People's Campaign, a nonviolent occupation of the nation's capital fanning out from a shanty town of temporary housing called Resurrection City constructed on the national mall beside the Lincoln Memorial. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Lincoln Memorial are included within the proposed boundary: the Memorial, the Reflecting Pool and grassy lawns on either side, along with the area that housed Resurrection City.

12. EDMUND PETTUS BRIDGE

Address: US80, MP 85.415, Selma, Alabama 36703, U.S.A.
Location: 32°24'19.21" N, 87°01'06.27" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in government sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)
Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to the Selma to Montgomery March
Active bridge open to traffic, seen as symbol of freedom and equality

Years of grassroot mobilization against racial discrimination in the built environment and for the registration of black voters across the southeastern United States—especially in Georgia and Mississippi—culminated in the March 7, 1965 brutal beating of nonviolent demonstrators at the foot of the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, causing international outrage and resulting in federal voting rights legislation.

In the winter of 1965, King and the SCLC joined with the indigenous voting rights campaign in Selma that had been receiving assistance from SNCC by staging a march to the "white only" entrance of the Dallas County Courthouse where the clerk of court controlled the electoral process and refused to register black voters. On Sunday, March 7, nonviolent activists led by John Lewis of SNCC and Hosea Williams of SCLC began the "Selma to Montgomery March" as they silently led five hundred people in lines of two out of Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church through Selma's business district and up the Edmund Pettus Bridge. At the apex, as they looked out over the Alabama River into Dallas County whose jurisdiction began at the foot of the bridge, they observed gathered Sheriff Jim Clark and his deputies on horseback joined by State Highway Patrolmen sent by Alabama Governor George Wallace, all lined up to stop the march from continuing to Montgomery. Descending to and crossing the county line and its jurisdictional representation of the racially segregated courthouse and the denial of the ballot, the young and old demonstrators knelt in prayer. "Troopers Advance," came the call as the state fired teargas into the crowd and pandemonium erupted. Wearing gas masks and swinging nightsticks, the state troopers waded into the activists as they turned to run back towards town. Like cavalrymen, the deputies charged on horseback, jabbing protesters with electric cattle prods. White law enforcement officers chased the black demonstrators back into Selma where they could not even find refuge in their churches. Television crews captured on film the savage attack and rushed the footage to New York City where the networks interrupted the evening's programs to broadcast reports of "Bloody Sunday."

Speaking with the press, King linked the civil rights fight of black Americans with anticolonial struggles around the world, noting that "millions of dollars can be spent every day to hold troops in South Viet Nam and our country cannot protect the rights of Negroes in Selma." In a live televised broadcast of an address to Congress on March 15, President Lyndon B. Johnson quoted the anthem of the civil rights movement saying, "We Shall Overcome," then announced legislation to promote black political empowerment being sent to the U.S. Congress. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 authorized federal registrars to enroll voters and the justice department to end gerrymandering, at-large elections, and other mechanisms designed to negate the black vote. Federal District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., authorized the movement to proceed and on March 21, the "Selma to Montgomery March" began again, this time with eight thousand people joining movement leaders as they crossed unimpeded the Edmund Pettus Bridge and headed east the fifty-four miles to Alabama's capital. The crowd swelled to twenty-five thousand people and included such internationally significant religious leaders as Greek Orthodox Archbishop Lakovos and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, Protestant leaders and celebrities who joined Martin and Coretta Scott King as they walked past the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church where ten years before they had led the bus boycott, and on up to the state Capitol where King addressed the crowd. After Selma, several universities invited King to speak in South Africa but the apartheid government denied him a visa in 1966. Speaking in New York, King said, "In South Africa today, all opposition to white supremacy is condemned as communism, and in its name, due process is destroyed," adding "a medieval segregation is organized with twentieth century efficiency and drive. A sophisticated form of slavery is imposed by a minority upon a majority which is kept in grinding poverty. The dignity of human personality is defiled; and world opinion is arrogantly defied." Seven years after Bloody Sunday, John Lewis returned to Selma with other civil rights leaders to reenact the bridge crossing in 1972, thereby initiating perennial events such as Selma's Bridge Crossing Jubilee that have turned the structure into a shrine. The National Park Service Interpretative Center, located in downtown Selma across the street from the bridge offers interpretation for visitors. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Edmund Pettus Bridge are included within the proposed boundary: the bridge and the highway running from downtown Selma to the area of Dallas County where the event took place.

13. LORRAINE MOTEL/NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS MUSEUM
Address: 450 Mulberry Street, Memphis, Tennessee 38103, U.S.A.
Location: 35°08'04.48" N, 90°03'29.75" W

Criterion (iv)
Exemplar of typology of racial integration in commercial sector
Significant Stage in Human History dismantling legal white supremacy

Criterion (vi)

Exemplar of nonviolence
Global Event as seen through response to King and the Poor People's Campaign
Museum/Shrine interpreting/celebrating integration, freedom and equality

As all manner of protests upended social order around the world in 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to focus the Modern Civil Rights Movement on the issue of economic inequality for Black and other impoverished Americans. While planning the Poor People's Campaign, King received an urgent call to join striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee, who earned so little pay they often worked two jobs or relied on government assistance to feed their families; so they demanded higher wages, better safety conditions, and recognition of their union. When in Memphis, King often stayed in the black-owned Lorraine Motel that during segregation had been among the only public accommodations opened to African Americans until the Civil Right Act of 1964 desegregated the city's hotels.

In January 1968, a new mayor in Memphis refused to pay garbage collectors overtime or replace old equipment, and on February 1, a malfunctioning truck crushed to death two sanitation workers. The lack of a response by the city convinced the employees in the Memphis Department of Public Works to go on strike, and when they conducted a nonviolent march to city hall on February 23, police used teargas to break up the demonstration. The violent suppression galvanized the local civil rights community as the chairman of the strike committee, the Reverend James Lawson, organized the Committee on the Move to Equality (COME) and invited King to Memphis. Speaking on March 18, 1968 before 25,000 people gathered in support of the striking garbage collectors, King emphasized unity: "we are all tied in a single garment of destiny." Yet when he returned to lead a demonstration on March 28 that included thousands of school children, the heightened racial tensions in the city could not be contained. Unable to control the crowd of protesters, King and Lawson abruptly ended the march and sent the demonstrators back to Clayborn Temple but police followed them into the movement church, discharged tear gas within its sanctuary and beat the nonviolent activists as they gasped for air. A riot broke out in the streets of Memphis, and during the ensuing clashes, police killed a sixteen-year-old unarmed African American. The next day striking sanitation workers held "I Am A Man" signs on their picket lines.

Determined to demonstrate the efficacy of nonviolence, King returned to Memphis on April 3 and, that night, when strikers implored him to speak, delivered in Mason Temple his impassioned last address: "I've seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight that we, as a people, will get to the Promised Land." Preparing to depart the Lorraine Motel on the evening of April 4, 1968, King stepped out of Room 306 onto the balcony to speak with the SCLC leaders standing beside the cars parked in the lot below when a single shot fired from a boarding house across the street pierced his head and brought down the apostle of nonviolence. News of King's assassination spread quickly in the media as Lawson appealed for calm over the Memphis radio. Four days later Coretta Scott King led 42,000 people in a silent march through the streets of Memphis mourning King's death and showing support for the striking sanitation workers.

The black owners of the Lorraine, Walter and Loree Bailey, kept vacant as memorials King's Room 306 and the adjacent 307 that the SCLC had used for strategy sessions, while transitioning the rest of the motel into residential housing. Later foreclosed on, the motel faced demolition until black activists led by D'Army Bailey purchased the building in 1982 for conversion into an African American history museum. The resulting National Civil Rights Museum, which opened in 1991, retains the façade of the motel and the two enshrined Rooms 306 and 307 as historic relics of the event that occurred there in 1968. All the elements necessary to express the significant attributes of the Lorraine Motel are included within the proposed boundary: the front façade and balcony where King stood, the plaza and road in front of the motel.