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Faculty of Arts and Philosophy

**A Comparison of the Political Ideas and Rhetoric in Selected Speeches
of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X**

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Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

In the first chapters the theoretical background including descriptions of the types and uses of rhetorical devices in political speeches should be included. Then the historical background should be traced out describing the most important United States political issues in the 1960s, for example the civil rights movement and the Vietnam war. Pertinent biographical information on King and Malcolm X should be featured, including descriptions of their most significant speeches and public appearances. Finally the types and uses of rhetorical figures in selected addresses by both men should be analyzed, leading to a comparison of the devices between King and Malcolm X. Some overall basic conclusions should be drawn about the similarities and differences between the types and uses of rhetorical devices as well as the specific goals each was trying to achieve in his speeches.

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Abstract

This bachelor thesis covers the topic of comparison of two black leaders' political ideas and rhetoric, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X, based on their speeches. The first part of the paper deals with rhetoric and political speech in general. These terms are explained and examples are given. The historical background follows, i.e. an issue of the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War in connection with the leaders. Biographies of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X are provided and they are followed by analyses of their famous speeches. The last part of the thesis covers the comparison of these two African-Americans. Their similarities and their different attitudes in gaining freedom for the black nation in the United States are described. The conclusion summarizes and compares all results found in their speeches.

Keywords:

rhetoric, political speech, African-American, freedom, integration, separation, violence, nonviolence

Anotace

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá porovnáním politických idejí a rétoriky Martina Luthera Kinga, Jr., a Malcolma X na základě jejich veřejných politických projevů. V první části této práce se nachází vysvětlení pojmů rétorika a politický projev, kde jsou poskytnuty i příklady týkající se tohoto druhu projevu. Další část je zaměřena na historický kontext související s problematikou M.L. Kinga a Malcolma X, t.j. občanské hnutí za občanská práva ve Spojených státech amerických a válka ve Vietnamu. Dále jsou pak uvedeny životopisy Martina Luthera Kinga a Malcolma X, které následuje analýza jejich nejvýznamnějších projevů. Poslední část této práce se zabývá porovnáním idejí v rámci občanské komunity ve Spojených státech; společné a protichůdné názory jsou podrobně rozebrány. Na závěr jsou všechny výsledky nalezené v projevech shrnuty a porovnány.

Klíčová slova:

rétorika, politický projev, Afro-Američan, svoboda, integrace, separace, násilí, nenásilí

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Introduction

“I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin, but by the content of their character.” (Martin Luther King, Jr. Quotes, 2012) This is a quote by Martin Luther King, Jr., which was taken from his famous speech “I Have a Dream.” Martin Luther King had a dream that the black nation would be integrated in the United States of America and would finally be accepted by white Americans. On the other hand, Malcolm X was an opponent of King and his aim was separation – the separation of blacks from whites.

Martin Luther King and Malcolm X were two great black leaders whose ideas were completely opposite of the other, so they were basically rivals in the 1960’s in the United States. But even these two unlike personalities had something in common. This bachelor paper deals with the topic of comparison of the political ideas and rhetoric of these two men according to their selected speeches.

The first parts of the paper are more theoretical, such as the explanation of the terms rhetoric or political speech, the description of the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War, and the attitude of M.L. King towards the war. The following chapters are biographies of Dr. King and Malcolm X which are followed by analyses of their famous speeches. Last but not least, is the chapter about comparing the ideas of these two men where their similarities or differences are described. The conclusion summarizes and compares all of the results found in the selected speeches.

1. Characterization of Rhetoric

Rhetoric – the science of speaking – has its origins in ancient Greece where it was considered to be an important part of public life. People of this period loved the beauty of the spoken word. (BUCHTOVÁ, 2006: 16, my translation) Even nowadays, students of universities realize that it is important to be able to dominate the art of speaking if they want to get a good job in the future. (BUCHTOVÁ 2006: 7, my translation)

There is no definite definition of rhetoric, because during its historical studies its content and extent have changed. Therefore, an attribute is required for a more precise understanding of the rhetorical concept, such as *ancient (classical) rhetoric, sophistic rhetoric, Aristotelian rhetoric, contemporary (modern) rhetoric...* The term rhetoric is also understood as rhetorical theory, rhetorical art (*rhetorica, docens*), rhetorical training (*oratoria utens*), or as a negative evaluation of a discourse. (LOTKO 1997: 11, my translation)

1.1. Types of Rhetorical Speeches

Many rhetorical speeches that are divided by their theoretical and practical meaning exist. The aim of this analysis is to deal with political speeches. They belong to a group which differs from the others in dealing with aims and social meaning of the speeches. (KUBÁT 1988: 24, my translation) The division according to the Czech linguist Václav Kubát is the following:

- social speeches
- political speeches
- judicial speeches
- religious speeches
- didactic speeches

1.2. Political Rhetoric

Political speeches belong to a group whose function is to inform and to persuade. The Polish speaker J. Bralczyk differentiates eight qualities which are closely related to the world of political speeches. These are *importance, generality, proximity, necessity,*

correctness, coherence, progress and permanence. According to these qualities which are promoted by the speaker the audience becomes fascinated and the qualities are accepted. Therefore, the relationship speaker – the recipient may come into existence. (LOTKO 1997: 111, my translation)

The qualities mentioned above are expressed by a huge quantity of language tools. The most typical tools are provided. (LOTKO 1997: 112, my translation)

1.2.1. Importance

Importance primarily reflects numerous adjectives, such as *main, basic, important, exceptional* or *historical*. Their meaning is often emphasized by the superlative, for example *very*. (LOTKO 1997: 112, my translation)

As an example, Malcolm X uses the word *basic* in his speech “Black Man’s History” in such phrases as *basic understanding, basic colour* or *basic difference*. (Black Man’s History, 2003) On the other hand, Martin Luther King uses this word in his famous speech “I Have a Dream” only once in the phrase *basic mobility*. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

1.2.2. Generality

Keywords expressing this category are words including *every, each, everybody, all, many, much, millions*, etc. By the frequent usage of these words (especially the usage of the pronouns *each* and *all*) the speaker wants to present versatility of his or her own attitude towards their policy. (LOTKO 1997: 112, my translation)

All men, all God’s children or *all white people* are some examples taken from King’s speech and it is clear that he uses the word *all* with people quite a lot. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

1.2.3. Proximity

The political speeches indicate the proximity between the speaker and the recipient. The speaker often has an emotional effect on the listeners and they begin to

identify with the speaker. The keywords which mainly express proximity are *we* and *our*. The aim of these words is to express common interests and desire (*we want to, we know, we can*) of the speaker and the recipients. Among the terms which are supposed to identify this group belong the words such as *country, nation, homeland, friendship, brotherhood, partnership, cooperation, unity*, etc. (LOTKO 1994: 112-113, my translation)

In King's speeches a lot of examples of the proximity can be found. In his speech "I Have a Dream" one sentence which is the perfect example of this term appears. It says: "in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers." (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

1.2.4. Necessity

In this category the speaker talks about the necessity of the past, the present and the future necessity. The terms of this group are for instance *necessity, task, interest, journey, consequence*, etc., which are usually determined by adjectives such as *only, right* and *essential*. (LOTKO 1994: 113, my translation)

In King's speech "Beyond Vietnam" only once the word *necessity* appears and it is preceded by the adjective *absolute*. Whereas the *task* can be found more often in this speech, for example in the phrase *necessary task*. (Beyond Vietnam, 2011)

1.2.5. Correctness

Another category that is expressed in the political speeches is the correctness (truthfulness). This feature is closely connected with the previous one – necessity, because correctness is a consequence of necessity. The speaker often refers to history, because it confirms truthfulness. Examples of this group are nouns and adjectives such as *indicator, evidence, result, cause, source, real, concrete*, etc. (LOTKO 1994: 113-114, my translation)

Malcolm X uses the adjective *real* in his speech "The Black Revolution" and it is a premodification of the subject *enemy*. (The Black Revolution, 2003) "Noun premodification is where one or more words (normally adjectives) are placed in front of

a noun, to further describe or define the noun.” (Noun premodification, 2011) In this case, the noun is *enemy* and the premodifier is the adjective *real* – *real enemy*.

1.2.6. Coherence

In this category the recipient should have an optimistic feeling of satisfaction that he or she understands the meaning of the political speech. The terms used in this group are for example *system, structure, unity, identity, communication*, etc. to which the other attributes are connected, i.e. *morally political unity*. The connection in the political speeches can be expressed by verbs *to connect, to integrate*, etc. (LOTKO 1994: 114, my translation)

1.2.7. Progress and Stability

Our world has been changing but everything in it has its own reason. This has been frequently mentioned in the political speeches. Keywords expressing this group are the ideological words *progress* and *development* which are the opposites of the term *stagnation*. (LOTKO 1994: 114-115, my translation)

“And I would see *developments* around there, through various emperors and leaders.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011) This is a quotation from King’s speech “I’ve Been to the Mountaintop” where the subject *development* appears.

1.3. Techniques of Political Speeches

1.3.1. Euphemisms

“The act or an example of substituting a mild, indirect, or vague term for one considered harsh, blunt, or offensive,” (Euphemism, 2012) for example the phrase *recent affairs* used instead of the term *crisis, protest, demonstration*, etc. (LOTKO 1994: 115, my translation)

Euphemisms are one of the techniques used in political speeches, but both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King usually did not use them very often. They were not afraid of expressing their ideas openly and freely.

1.3.2. Metaphors

Metaphors are one of the most frequent techniques used by political speakers. (LOTKO 1994: 115-116, my translation) It is “figure of speech in which a word or phrase denoting one kind of object or action is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them.” (Metaphor, 2012)

Martin Luther King, Jr., uses quite a lot of metaphors in his speech “I Have a Dream;” for instance, “to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice” or “to lift our nation from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

1.3.3. Slogan

Another technique is a slogan. The real slogan does not give the recipient the possibility to respond or to start a dialogue. It refers more to the enthusiasm, hatred, and political feelings than to the motto as it is. One of the most typical slogans is: “*We will win, because we are stronger!*” (LOTKO 1994: 116-117, my translation)

“Free at last! Free at last!” are the words which are used by King at the end in one of his speeches. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012) It could also be considered as a slogan, because it is short and gives the recipient the feeling of enthusiasm.

1.3.4. Negation

Negation is used in political speeches, because it serves as an emphasis of the content the speaker wants to tell the audience. The typical phrase of negation is: “*We cannot disagree with...*” (LOTKO 1994: 117, my translation)

2. Historical Background

2.1. Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement was a “mass protest movement against racial segregation and discrimination in the southern United States” (CARSON, 2012) and “was at a peak” between years 1955 and 1965. (COZZENS, 1998)

“This movement had its roots in the centuries-long efforts of African slaves and their descendants to resist racial oppression and abolish the institution of slavery.” (CARSON, 2012)

2.1.1. Bus Boycott in Montgomery

“The Montgomery Bus Boycott officially started on December 1, 1955,” (COZZENS, 1998) when Rosa Parks, a black woman at the age of 42, refused to give her seat on a bus to a white newcomer in Montgomery, Alabama. The police was called and Mrs. Parks was arrested. (FABER, 1991: 40) Responding to the arrest of Parks, a one-day boycott of the buses in protest was suggested. (FABER, 1991: 41) On December 5, the boycott was organized and all black citizens of Montgomery should not ride the bus to work, to town or to school. (FABER, 1991: 42)

That same day the Montgomery Improvement Association, MIA for short, was formed which “was instrumental in guiding the Montgomery Bus Boycott” under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr. (Montgomery Improvement Association, 2012) King was elected to be its president, “mainly because he had never been identified with the leadership of any of the other black organizations,” (FABER, 1991: 44) and it was “decided to continue the boycott until the city met its demands.” (Montgomery Bus Boycott, 2012)

In June 1956 a federal court in Montgomery “ruled that any law requiring racially segregated seating on buses violated the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.” (Montgomery Bus Boycott, 2012) The city officials appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but in November the Supreme Court declared “Alabama’s state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional.” (FABER, 1994: 51)

“It took a month for the official order to reach Montgomery. On December 20, 1956, the Supreme Court ruling was formally received. At a meeting that night, King announced the end of the bus boycott. It had lasted 381 days.” (FABER, 1994: 51)

2.1.2. Birmingham

On April 3, 1963, “the battle of Birmingham started.” The city was supposed to vote on a new mayor the day before, but two men claimed victory – the police chief ‘Bull’ Connor and the more moderate Albert Boutwell. “Until the courts decided who was mayor, the old officials, including Connor, remained in office.” The voters elected Albert Boutwell, thus black people “marched in protest and were arrested.” (FABER, 1994: 71) King was imprisoned. While in jail, he wrote his famous “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.” “This became one of the classic statements of protest in American history.” (FABER, 1994: 73)

“King was released on April 20. Meanwhile, SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) organizers started to plan ‘D Day.’ Unlike the other demonstrations, all of the D Day demonstrators would be children.” Children had the same effect on the protest as their parents, but the difference was in terms of the job. Children could not be threatened from being fired, because they only attended schools and did not have any jobs. (COZZENS, 1998) May 2 was the first day when children started to march in protest against segregation. “Before the end of the day, about nine hundred children had been arrested and taken to jail.” (FABER, 1994: 75) The next day, more than 2,000 children showed up. Bull Connor did not want to let the children get downtown, but there was no space left in jail. “He brought fire fighters out and ordered them to turn hoses on the children.” The children escaped in panic. (COZZENS, 1998)

“The demonstrations escalated” (COZZENS, 1998) and “on May 10, an agreement was finally reached.” (FABER, 1994: 77)

“It provided that in ninety days, lunch counters, rest rooms, and drinking fountains in the downtown area would be desegregated. Within sixty days, blacks would be hired in clerical and sales positions, and within two weeks, a biracial committee would be set up to establish a channel of communications. Also, blacks who had been arrested would be released.” (FABER, 1994: 77-78)

2.1.3. The March on Washington

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was the largest demonstration for human rights in the history of the United States. It was organized to show that the new civil rights bill which was proposed by President Kennedy after Birmingham had widespread support. (COZZENS, 1998) On August 28, 1963, more than 250,000 demonstrators gathered at the Washington Monument and then “marched the mile-long National Mall to the Memorial.” At the Lincoln Memorial King’s most famous speech “I Have a Dream” was delivered. (Official Program for the March on Washington, 2012)

The March on Washington was a great success for the Civil Rights Movement, because there was no violence and although “Kennedy’s civil rights bill was not passed for nearly a year,” the event “affected just about everyone who participated or watched in some way.” (COZZENS, 1998)

2.1.4. 1964 Civil Rights Act

In 1960 John F. Kennedy promised a new Civil Rights Act in his “presidential election campaign.” “However, during the first two years of his presidency, he failed to put forward his promised legislation.” In 1963 the Civil Rights Act “was brought before Congress,” but “was still being debated when Kennedy was assassinated in November, 1963.” Kennedy’s successor, Lyndon Baines Johnson, took up the issue and finally, on June 5, 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed. (1964 Civil Rights Act, 2012)

“The 1964 Civil Rights Act made racial discrimination in public places, such as theatres, restaurants and hotels, illegal. It also required employers to provide equal employment opportunities. Projects involving federal funds could now be cut off if there was evidence of discriminated based on colour, race or national origin.” (1964 Civil Rights Act, 2012)

2.2. War in Vietnam

The war in Vietnam was the longest war of American history and lasted between the years 1950 and 1975. It is considered one of the most tragic events in U.S. modern history. (NORTON, 1984: 474)

2.2.1. History of the Vietnam War

During the late nineteenth century France took over the area of Vietnam and created a strong influence. (NORTON, 1984: 475) In 1945 Vietnam declared themselves independent and France tried to reconquer its former colony with the help of the United States. In 1954 the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu and an agreement was reached at the Geneva conference. (HUSSEINI, 2007) The United States refused to sign, set about to sabotage it and planned secret operations against the North, because Vietnam was temporarily divided along the 17th parallel of latitude to the North and the South. (NORTON, 1984: 475) The war continued, but both sides were far from victory. The war could not be won and this is the reason why the American president Johnson decided to change the course of the war and ordered that the bombing over North Vietnam would be stopped. Johnson's successor, Richard M. Nixon, began to withdraw American troops from Vietnam, but increased the bombing in the North to force Hanoi to make concessions. (NORTON, 1984: 478) In January 1973, a cease-fire agreement was signed and the Americans promised to withdraw its remaining troops from Vietnam within 60 days. (NORTON, 1984: 479) In 1975 the capital city of South Vietnam fell and surrendered and Vietnam was reunited. (Learn About the Vietnam War, 2003)

2.2.2. Martin Luther King on the War in Vietnam

Martin Luther King was strongly against the war in Vietnam. He explains in his speech "Beyond Vietnam" and his sermon "Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam" why his attitude towards the war is negative.

King sees the connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle which has been waged in America. The reason is a similar approach to people living in poverty. Both in the U.S. and in Vietnam, the government promised to its people that the living conditions would improve. With the outbreak of the war this vision was denied. In the U.S., the poverty program was not implemented, because financial means for the program were invested into the war. (Beyond Vietnam, 2011) It is worth mentioning that King even compares precise amounts of money spent on the soldiers and on people in the U.S. It was \$500,000 to kill each enemy soldier and only \$53 for each person who

was classified as poor. (HUSSEINI, 2007) In Vietnam the war raged on, making it impossible to even dream of improving the living conditions. (Beyond Vietnam, 2011)

King calls the Vietnam War a “dreadful conflict” and he has several reasons for that. First of all, one big irony appears there. White and black American boys were sent to Vietnam to fight side by side, but they would most definitely not find themselves living next to each other when they returned back home from the war as King claims in his speech. Second, he criticizes the war, because many innocent women and children suffered because of it. He also mentions that the children did not deserve to live like animals, on the streets and homeless without their clothes. Third, he proclaims that the United States destroyed the “most cherished institutions” and those are the family and the village. The American soldiers ruined the Vietnamese families, because men were killed and women corrupted; together with it they destroyed their land and home. (Beyond Vietnam, 2011)

King talks in his sermon about love to America and says in this context that this is the reason why he is opposed to the war in Vietnam. He loves America and would like to see his country “standing as the moral example of the world.” But he is disappointed with the deeds of the American government, because they failed to deal with “racism, economic exploitation, and militarism”; this includes the situation in Vietnam. Moreover, he mentions that if he did not love America, there would not be such great disappointment. (HUSSEINI, 2007)

3. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Michael Luther King, Jr., later changed his name to Martin Luther King, Jr., was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, and died on April 4, 1968, when he was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. (Martin Luther King - Biography, 2012) King “was a great man who worked for racial equality and civil rights in the United States.” (Martin Luther King Jr., 2007) He was also a Nobel laureate in 1964 (The Nobel Peace Prize 1964, 2012) when “at the age of thirty-five was the youngest man to have received the Nobel Peace Prize.” (Martin Luther King – Biography, 2012)

3.1. Biography

Martin Luther King was born in 1929, in the first year of the Great Depression, to Martin Luther King, Sr., and Alberta Christine Williams King. Martin grew up in the South where “segregation was not merely a tradition; it was the law” (FABER, 1991: 10) and saw every day what black people were forbidden to do. His father, preaching at Atlanta’s Ebenezer Baptist Church, told Martin one day that he did not care how long he had to live with this system, he would never accept it. (FABER, 1991: 16) This and segregation outside the Ebenezer Baptist Church where King spent most of his childhood made an impact on him and such situations were some of the reasons why he started fighting for the racial equality later.

King was a good student in school. In 1942 he “entered Booker T. Washington High School, the only black high school in Atlanta.” (FABER, 1991: 17)

“He had a remarkable speaking vocabulary. He liked long words and he liked to use them. Even as a younger child, he had enjoyed listening to sermons by his father and visiting preachers. [...] As an eleventh grader, M.L. entered an oratorical contest in Valdosta, Georgia. [...] His speech was on ‘The Negro and the Constitution,’ and won a prize.” (FABER, 1991: 17)

In 1948 King received the B. A. degree from Morehouse College, “a distinguished Negro institution of Atlanta.” (Martin Luther King – Biography, 2012) Then he started attending the Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania and “for the first time attended an integrated school.” (FABER, 1991: 23-24) In 1951 King graduated from Crozer and was awarded with a bachelor’s degree. (Martin Luther King –

Biography, 2012) After graduation, he enrolled at Boston University where he received another degree in 1955. (Martin Luther King – Biography, 2012) In Boston King met Coretta Scott and married her in 1953. (FABER, 1991: 33)

In 1954 Martin Luther King, Jr., moved to Montgomery, Alabama and became a pastor at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. (Martin Luther King Jr., 2011) He was also “a member of the executive committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the leading organization of its kind in the nation.” (Martin Luther King – Biography, 2012) Then in 1955, he accepted “the leadership of the first great Negro nonviolent demonstration” in the United States, (Martin Luther King – Biography, 2012) after Rosa Parks refused to give her seat on a bus to a white man and was arrested. (Martin Luther King Jr., 2011)

In 1957 King and other black ministers created the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Martin Luther King Jr., 2011), “an organization formed to provide new leadership for the burgeoning civil rights movement,” and King became its president. (Martin Luther King – Biography, 2012)

Between the years 1957 and 1968, King travelled around the world and gave speeches or sermons over twenty-five hundred times. “In these years, he led a massive protest in Birmingham, Alabama, that caught the attention of the entire world.” Martin Luther King, Jr., became the “symbolic leader of American blacks and also a world figure. (Martin Luther King – Biography, 2012)

On April 4, 1968, King was murdered by a criminal James Earl Ray who stalked him in several locations and shot him in Memphis, Tennessee. (Martin Luther King Jr., 2011)

At the end of King’s life, he changed his attitude and after the year 1965, King began emphasizing more and more on pride and uniqueness of the black race; this was the topic he tried to avoid his entire life. However, the increasing popularity of the radical group *Black Power* forced him to do this. During the years of 1965 and 1966, his pessimism reached its limit and King even dared to criticize the American government. (HRUBEC, M. 2010: 74, my translation)

3.2. Gandhi's Influence on Martin Luther King, Jr.

During King's studies at Crozer, he "attended a lecture by Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University," who had visited India and talked about Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings. Gandhi "practiced nonviolent resistance to injustice in his native India and helped his country gain independence from its British rulers." King had already heard of Gandhi, but at this time these teachings made a great impact on him. (FABER, 1991: 25)

"King learned that nonviolent resistance meant more than refusing to cooperate with those who caused injustice. It also aimed to bring about change by appealing to the best instincts of the oppressor, and it was based on love for the enemy rather than hate. [...] Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction among individuals to a powerful, effective social force on a large scale." (FABER, 1991: 25)

According to Gandhi's teachings, King decided that "this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom." (FABER, 1991: 25)

In February and March of the year 1959, King made a trip to the land of Gandhi – India. His primary goal was to study Gandhi's philosophy and techniques of nonviolence. When King returned, he became "more convinced than ever before that nonviolent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom." (KING; WASHINGTON, 1991: 25)

3.3. Selected Speeches by Martin Luther King, Jr.

3.3.1. *I Have a Dream* Speech

The "I Have a Dream" speech was delivered on August 28, 1963, by Martin Luther King, Jr., during the demonstration called the March on Washington where he spoke before hundreds of people at the Lincoln Memorial. This 17-minute long speech is considered his most popular and King talks in it about discrimination, racism against black people in the United States and calls for racial equality. (I have a dream, 2010)

At the beginning of the speech, King mentions few hints from the history of the U.S., such as the Emancipation Proclamation. The Proclamation gave hope to the black slaves that would finally be free. King continues with the statement that “one hundred years later” black people have still been treated badly and still are not free. He explains that because their dream has not come true they came “to dramatize a shameful condition.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

Next, King starts using a lot of metaphors from the economic area: “a check,” “a promissory note,” “insufficient funds.” African-Americans came to Washington D.C. “to cash a check”, because the promise they were given by the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence was not fulfilled. “A promissory note to which every American was to fall heir” was signed when authorized people wrote the Declaration of Independence. “This note was a promise that all men, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the ‘inalienable Rights’ of ‘Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.’” This “promissory note” was defaulted, thus black citizens have been fighting for their civil rights and racial equality. They came to Washington D.C. “to cash a check, the check that will give them upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

“Now is the time” is another phrase which is repeated quite often by King. He wants to emphasize that the black nation should gain their freedom at this time and that an end should be put to segregation. It all should happen now and not later in the future. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

King stresses that nonviolence is the only thing that should be conducted in their struggle for freedom. He says that they “must not allow their creative protest to degenerate into physical violence.” He was a supporter of nonviolence throughout his entire life. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

The “I have a dream” phrase appears almost at the end of the speech. When he gets to this passage, he stops looking into his notes, speaks from his heart and his voice becomes more intense. King uses a repetition to emphasize reasons why racial equality is so important for black men. For example, King’s wish is that his four children “will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character,” then, that

whites and blacks “will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.” He also uses a quotation from the *Bible*: “and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

When King approaches to the end of his speech, he uses words of the song “Let Freedom Ring” and in the end, he gets to the conclusion:

“And when this happens, when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2012)

While saying these words, he is raising his hands in the air and is intensifying his voice to emphasize all of these words. (I have a dream, 2010)

3.3.2. I’ve Been to the Mountaintop Speech

“I’ve Been to the Mountaintop” is Martin Luther King’s famous and last speech which was delivered the day before his assassination on April 3, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011)

King begins his speech with the words that if he were given a question in which age he would like to live in he would say he would start living in ancient Egypt. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011)

He “would watch God’s children in their magnificent trek from the dark dungeons of Egypt through, or rather across the Red Sea, through wilderness on toward the promised land.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011)

With these words, King refers to the *Bible*. Moses was the chosen who was supposed to lead the Jewish nation from Egypt where the Jews suffered from the oppression of their Egyptian rulers. They were supposed to reach the Promised Land and they really did it. King could see himself as Moses who leads his nation – the black nation – from the claws of the superior one – the white men.

Repetition in King's speeches is his favourite technique; even in this speech it is no exception. When King finishes talking about his imaginary journey to Egypt, he says: "I wouldn't stop there." This phrase is repeated for many times, because King explains that he would also visit in his imaginary travels the Roman Empire, the period of the Renaissance and next, he would visit the man whose name he has - Martin Luther, and he would end in the present – in the sixties, because he is happy to live in this period, although "the world is messed up. The nation is sick." He is happy to live in this period, because he wants to see the world healed and wants to be a part of it. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011)

He also appeals to the unity, because "when slaves get together, that's the beginning of getting out of slavery." In this case, he uses the example from history of Egypt again. He explains that "whenever Pharaoh wanted to prolong the period of slavery, [...] he kept the slaves fighting among themselves." That is the reason why the black nation should remain united, because then the white men could be defeated. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011)

King reminds that black people are going to march again. This time, they would not protest against the violence done to them and would not call for freedom. This time, they will call for the same economic rights as the whites have. Along with it, he recalls the conflict with Bull Connor which happened in Birmingham when the blacks, especially the children, marched towards downtown and were stopped by Connor's order to "turn the hoses on." But King reminds them that they "won their struggle in Birmingham" and he is concerned not to allow losing in Memphis. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011)

In comparison with the "I Have a Dream" speech, this speech is related to economical problems of the black society in the U.S. King calls for the rights which the blacks should have not to be deprived of not having enough money for basic living needs. On the other hand, he says that black men are much richer than "all the nations in the world, with the exception of nine" – the United States of America, Russia, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, etc. He adds that the blacks are poor when they are compared with the white society in America. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011)

King continues with the story of how he was almost killed by a woman. She tried to kill him with a letter opener. Afterwards, he found out that if he had sneezed, he would have died, because “the tip of the blade was on the edge of his aorta.” Next, he starts repeating the phrase “if I had sneezed” and calculates which events he would miss if he did die. He mentions the year of the battle of Birmingham or the year when he was talking about his dream in his famous speech. Finally, he gets to the point that he has been to the mountaintop and does not care what will happen next. He says he is happy and is not “worried about anything.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011) These words sound as he supposed that his life was nearly at the end, because the day after this speech was delivered, Martin Luther King, Jr., was killed by an assassin.

4. Malcolm X

Malcolm Little, later Malcolm X, was born on May 19, 1925, in Nebraska, and died on February 21, 1965, in New York. He was a Civil Rights Activist, nationalist leader, and one of the most charismatic spokesmen for the Nation of Islam until leaving this group shortly before his assassination in 1965. (Malcolm X. Biography, 2011)

4.1. Biography

Malcolm Little was born in 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska, as the fourth of eight children born to Louise and Earl Little. (Malcolm X. Biography, 2011) Louise was a homemaker and Earl was a Baptist minister, a member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. (Haley, 2001, p. 79) The family moved to Lansing, Michigan, where Malcolm grew up. After the death of his father, he was placed in a foster home, then reform school, and afterwards he moved to Boston where his half-sister lived. Leaving school early, he desperately wanted to go to New York, so he made his way to this city where he worked in Harlem. Soon he became a part of the underworld and began selling marijuana and became addicted to cocaine. He turned to burglary and in 1946 was sentenced to ten years in prison. (Haley, 2001, p. 1)

Another period of Malcolm's life begins in prison. During his incarceration, he was constantly reading books to make up for the years of education he had missed by leaving school so early. (Malcolm X. Biography, 2011) He was also visited by siblings who had joined Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, an organization designed to uplift African-Americans in America (Nation of Islam, 2011) and

“a small sect of black Muslims who embraced the ideology of black nationalism – the idea that in order to secure freedom, justice and equality, black Americans needed to establish their own state entirely separate from white Americans.” (Malcolm X. Biography, 2011)

Malcolm X became a disciple of the Nation of Islam sect and “paroled in 1952, he spent the next ten years travelling throughout the country speaking on behalf of the Black Muslim movement.” (Haley, 2001, p. 1) It was at this time that he abandoned his surname ‘Little’ which he considered the “white slave master name” and replaced it with ‘X’, symbolizing the “true African family name.” (Haley, 2001, p. 296) In 1958 he

married Betty Sanders, a member of the Nation of Islam; she supported him until the end of his life. (Malcolm X. Biography, 2011) In 1963 Malcolm X left the Nation of Islam, because his faith in Elijah Muhammad had been shaken and he was not able to trust Muhammad as he had trusted him before. (Haley, 2001, p. 403)

A new period begins for Malcolm X after breaking away from the group of Black Muslims in 1963. A year later, in 1964, he formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm's own protest group, and "renounced his earlier racism against whites, encouraging international brotherhood instead." (Haley, 2001, p. 1) That same year, he made the Hajj, the holy pilgrimage to Mecca, during which he changed his name to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz and converted to traditional Islam. (Malcolm X. Biography, 2011) Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom in New York. (Biography of Malcolm X, 2011)

4.2. Selected Speeches by Malcolm X

4.2.1. The Ballot or the Bullet Speech

"The Ballot or the Bullet" speech is a famous speech given by Malcolm X and was delivered on April 12, 1964, in Detroit, Michigan. He disagreed with Martin Luther King, Jr., who supported nonviolence and "the Christian tradition that inspired King." (Malcolm X's "The Ballot or the Bullet" Speech, 2012)

Malcolm X starts the speech with the explanation of his "own personal position." He says he is a Muslim, his religion is Islam and became the "Minister of the newly founded Muslim Mosque, Inc.," which is situated in Harlem – "the black belt in New York City." Along with it, he mentions Dr. King who is a "Christian Minister, in Atlanta, ... but he has become more famous for being involved in the civil rights struggle." He talks about other Christian Ministers, but explains that all of them do not present themselves as Christian Ministers, because they came as "fighters in some other category." Whereas Malcolm X presents himself as the Muslim Minister and he has been acting like that – he does not believe "in fighting today in any one front, but on all fronts," because he in fact is a "black Nationalist Freedom Fighter." ("The Ballot or the Bullet", 2012) He adds what Islam and Black Nationalism means to him:

“Though Islam is my religious philosophy, my political, economic, and social philosophy is Black Nationalism. [...] if we bring up religion we will have differences; we will have arguments; and we will never be able to get together. But if we keep our religion at home, keep our religion in the closet, keep our religion between ourselves and our God, but when we come out here, we have a fight that is common to all of us against an enemy who is common to all of us.” (“The Ballot or the Bullet”, 2012)

The enemy he is talking about is the white man – white people whose commands black people are not willing to follow anymore. According to this, Malcolm X stresses that “the political philosophy of Black Nationalism” means that the blacks are going to live in a “black community,” because living in such community would mean that the black men would be able to “own, operate and control the economy of their community” and then they would not be dependent on the whites as they were then. He also mentions that the blacks should be able to start their own businesses, although it would take a long time. But Malcolm X adds that this is alright and gives the example of General Motors, the company that started its own business and it had taken such a long time before it became famous and successful. To start a business is important for everyone in the community, because the employment would be suddenly increased as Malcolm X says. (“The Ballot or the Bullet”, 2012)

He begins talking about religion again. Again he emphasizes that religion is not the topic he would like to talk about, because people are not attacked because of their faith, but because they are black. (“The Ballot or the Bullet”, 2012)

Next, Malcolm X returns to the term “black nationalism” and speaks about the philosophy of nationalism itself. He points out that every nation which gained independence did not get it through singing “We Shall Overcome” as the blacks do whenever they march in protest, but they gained it through the philosophy of nationalism. Nationalism “unites people of different classes and ideologies, can create harmony [...] and give people a sense of identity.” (Nationalism, 2012) Malcolm X stresses that only “black nationalism” can gain the freedom for the African-Americans in the United States. (“The Ballot or the Bullet”, 2012)

Finally, he gets to the point what “the ballot or the bullet” actually means. He says that it is “liberty or death,” “freedom for everybody or freedom for nobody.” The

explanation can be easily found in questions of politics. The year 1964 is the year of elections and the “civil rights legislation” is still in debate. The legislation “is supposed to guarantee voting rights” to the African-Americans who still cannot vote in their states. The Senators of these states oppose and filibuster the legislation, because they are afraid of losing their seats in case the blacks would be able to vote. On the contrary, Malcolm X adds that it would not matter in the end, because those blacks would be able to go to the elections and in any case they would have to choose some party and whatever the blacks chose at the elections, it would end badly for them. The white men will still treat the black men the same way as they have until now. That is the reason why the blacks want “action.” The black community is no longer patient with the “false promises of the white man.” What Malcolm X asks for is that white people should “give the black man” in America “everything that is due him, everything.” (“The Ballot or the Bullet”, 2012)

At the end of the speech, he appeals to “unity and harmony” and the blacks will be able to gain their freedom, because the “battle will be over.” (“The Ballot or the Bullet”, 2012)

4.2.2. The Black Revolution Speech

The speech “The Black Revolution” was given by Malcolm X in 1963 in the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, New York. (The Black Revolution, 2003) The main theme of the speech is separation of the blacks from the whites. While delivering this speech, Malcolm X was still a member of Black Muslims and followed the leader of this group “The Honorable Elijah Muhammad.”

First, Malcolm X calls for complete separation and refuses segregation and also integration; he stresses that the black masses “do not want to be integrated with the white man,” but they “want to be separated from the white man.” He refers to Elijah Muhammad who teaches that “this is the only intelligent and lasting solution to the present race problem.” (The Black Revolution, 2003)

“In order to fully understand why the Muslim followers of The Honorable Elijah Muhammad actually reject hypocritical promises of integration, it must first be understood by everyone that we are a religious group, and as a religious group we

can in no way be equated or compared to the nonreligious civil rights group.” (The Black Revolution, 2003)

Suddenly, Malcolm X begins emphasizing that his religion is Islam and he and other followers of Mr. Muhammad believe in the only God, Allah. Their religion is not Christianity and their God is not Jesus. Muhammad teaches that all Muslims are obliged to obey and submit to God. Then, Malcolm X explains why he talks about the religion in connection with the integration or separation. The explanation is in what Elijah Muhammad teaches: “Islam is the religion of naked truth, undressed truth, [...] and that truth is the only thing that will truly set our [black] people free.” Malcolm X adds that truth not only shows them who their enemy is, but also gives them the strength to separate themselves from that enemy. (The Black Revolution, 2003)

“The Black Revolution” speech is more about Elijah Muhammad’s teachings than about the ideas of Malcolm X, but Malcolm represents the ideas of Mr. Muhammad here. Elijah describes the American black people as the “Lost Sheep” who are lost for a very long time. The explanation can be found in the scripture in the *Parable of the Lost Sheep* where people muttered that Jesus entertained even sinners. (Luke 15, 2012) Jesus told them instead: if someone had a hundred sheep and one of them would be lost, they would go looking for it and the rest would stay in the open country. Afterwards, they would find the sheep, come home and rejoice over the lost sheep. Jesus ends his story with the statement: “[...] there will be more rejoicing in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who do not need to repent.” (Luke 15, 2012) In the story, the sheep was found, but as Muhammad says the black people are lost and need to be found to be happy again. (The Black Revolution, 2003)

To support the idea of the separation of the blacks from the whites, Malcolm refers to the scriptures where it does not appear that God would “integrate his enslaved people with their slave masters,” but he “always separates his oppressed people from their oppressor.” Next, Malcolm X continues that “Moses never taught integration, he taught separation.” (The Black Revolution, 2003) Moses was the one who guided the oppressed Jews out of Egypt and brought them to the Promised Land.

Another reason for separation is that desegregated public places are only a temporary solution. “The only lasting and permanent solution is complete separation” somewhere what the blacks could call their own land. It did not matter where this place would be, but the blacks and whites would live apart from each other. This place would have the size according to the black population, but it must not be in the desert; the demands of the blacks are: “fertile and productive land” where they would be able to provide their people with “food, clothing, and shelter.” At the beginning of living there, America would be obliged to supply the blacks with everything they needed, such as machinery and other tools, until the black nation became independent and was able to produce and supply the needs on their own. (The Black Revolution, 2003)

Malcolm X ends his speech with the words: “And the *Bible* says that God can then give the kingdom to whomsoever he pleases.” Again he stresses the fact that separation is the only solution for the black nation. (The Black Revolution, 2003)

4.2.3. Term “Uncle Tom” Used in Malcolm X’s Speeches

The term “Uncle Tom” appears for example in “The Ballot or the Bullet” and “The Black Revolution” speeches delivered by Malcolm X and it refers to black people in America.

The term “Uncle Tom” “portrays black men as faithful, happily submissive servants” and “is presented as a smiling, wide-eyed, dark-skinned server: fieldworker, cook, butler, porter, or waiter, [...] dependable worker eager to serve” who is no threaten to the whites. (The Tom Caricature, 2005) This is a portrait of “Uncle Tom” in a novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* written by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Nowadays, this term is used in a more negative context and “is primarily used by blacks against blacks.” (The Tom Caricature, 2005) Two variations of the explanation of the term exist:

“Version A is the black person who is a docile, loyal, religious, contented servant who accommodates himself to a lowly status. Version B is the ambitious black person who subordinates himself in order to achieve a more favourable status within the dominant society. In both instances, the person is believed to overly identify with whites, in Version A because of fear, in Version B because of opportunism. This latter use is more common today.” (The Tom Caricature, 2005)

Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement were also called “Uncle Toms” by “more militant blacks.” For instance, “Martin Luther King’s unwillingness to advocate retaliatory violence led Stokely Carmichael to accuse him of ‘Uncle Tomism.’” (The Tom Caricature, 2005)

5. Martin Luther King, Jr. vs. Malcolm X

Martin Luther King and Malcolm X are two great men who lead their people at the same time, but in different ways. (Malcolm X vs. M.L. King, 2011) Their attitudes differ in areas, such as religion, using violence or nonviolence, racial integration or separation. (HRUBEC 2010:65, my translation) On the other hand, similarities of the two appear in the use of the *Bible*.

5.1. Similarities

Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, “how different they may have seemed to be, had the same goal: They wanted to end exploitation, discrimination and racism.” (Comparison of Martin and Malcolm, 1998)

“Although Malcolm and Martin loved their families, they had totally devoted themselves to their movement and their church, so that they were often away from home. Religion took the central role in their lives and thinking, as it had done in their fathers’. Both were ministers, who held on to the Bible, and both had experienced a transforming personal vision of God, when they found themselves at a point, where they had to decide which way they should take for the future. For Malcolm, this happened in his prison cell, and Martin had his vision in a night of total despair in his kitchen shortly after the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott.” (Comparison of Martin and Malcolm, 1998)

One of their similarities consists in the changes of their ideas throughout their lives. King was fighting for the racial equality for his entire life, but even this went through a change. At the beginning, King focused only on the equality of black people, but later he even started fighting for their economic rights. At the end of his life, he started criticizing the government of the United States and the Vietnam War. He avoided the topic of emphasizing pride and uniqueness of the black race, but even this topic started being discussed nearly at the end of his life. On the other side, Malcolm X went through various changes throughout his whole life. When he was young, he did not grow up in a complete family and later got to New York City, Harlem, where he started using and selling drugs. He did not care about anything. After some time, Malcolm X was arrested and sent to prison where he discovered the teachings of the leader Elijah Muhammad who spread the Islam religion across America. Malcolm X converted and became a Muslim. After he was released, he started fighting for the rights

of black people. He also spread the teachings of Mr. Elijah Muhammad, but in 1964 he stopped having faith in the leader, left the Nation of Islam and converted to traditional Islam. Malcolm X still emphasized the separation of the black nation, but not in such a radical way.

The main similarity between Malcolm X and Martin L. King is based on the use of the *Bible*. Both of them used quotations from the scriptures in their speeches quite often. King spoke about how Moses had managed to guide the Israelites out of Egypt to Israel, the Promised Land. Similarly, Malcolm X mentioned Moses and his journey out of the country that oppressed his nation. Both of them used the same example from the *Bible*, from the part *Exodus*, but in two different ways. Martin Luther King used this to show black people that even they could be freed of oppression, whereas Malcolm X talked about it to show people that even in the *Bible* it was separation that was stressed and not integration.

Other examples of the use of the *Bible* differ, because King or Malcolm used the quotations or instances which were suitable for the given speech. For instance, Malcolm X mentioned in his “The Black Revolution” speech the illustration from the *Parable of the Lost Sheep* where he gave the example of the lost sheep and applied it on the current situation of black people in the United States. On the other hand, King used in his “I’ve Been to the Mountaintop” speech the example of the *Parable of the Good Samaritan*. It tells a story of a man who was assaulted by thieves and was almost killed. A Levite and a priest passed by, but “a man of another race,” Samaritan, did not and helped the hurt man; no matter what could happen to him. (Martin Luther King, Jr., 2011) King wanted to show people that they ought to take care of what could happen to those who are in need and not what could happen to them if they help.

Both King and Malcolm X appealed to unity of the black nation in their speeches. In King’s case it was in his most popular speech - the “I Have a Dream,” Malcolm appealed to it in “The Ballot or the Bullet” speech.

Political rhetoric of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X does not differ from each other, because they both used techniques that are typical for political speeches. One of Malcolm’s and King’s favourite techniques is repetition. Repetition is very common in

this type of the speech, because repeating words emphasizes what the speaker wants to tell the audience. Metaphors are another tool which are used quite often by these two leaders. For instance, Malcolm X used this technique in his “The Black Revolution” speech where he says: “white wolves that have already been sucking on our blood.” (The Black Revolution, 2003) The phrase *white wolves* refers to white people who were constantly treating black people with injustice. Then, slogan is the technique which was used by Martin L. King in his famous “I Have a Dream” speech when at the end he started repeating “Free at last!” This can be considered a slogan, because it is short and gives the recipient the feeling of enthusiasm. Otherwise, slogans were not a favourite language tool of King and Malcolm X, because they did not use them a lot. It is interesting that the last technique – euphemisms, also were not used by them. The reason for that is because they were not afraid of expressing their ideas openly and freely.

Nearly at the end of their lives, King and Malcolm’s beliefs became more similar. After Malcolm left the black Muslim movement, he “emphasized unity and change through black pride and respect for oneself rather than through hate and revenge.” On the other hand, King “became somewhat angry at the lack of progress made on equality.” (Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, 2009)

Another big example of the similarity between M.L. King and Malcolm X consists in the way they died, because both King and Malcolm X were assassinated.

5.2. Differences

First, it is worth mentioning that King and Malcolm X “grew up in different environments.” (Martin Luther King Jr. Vs Malcolm X, 2012) Martin Luther King comes from a middle-class family that put stress on education, while Malcolm X was raised in a poor family that split up after the death of Malcolm’s father. Malcolm was actually a self-taught man who had never received a good education until he discovered the teachings of Mr. Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the group called the Nation of Islam. The differences in their childhood environments affected them in their future behaviour and had the effect on forming their personalities. Martin L. King is often described almost as a saint-like person struggling for conciliation and forgiveness,

whereas Malcolm X is usually characterized as a man full of hatred. (HRUBEC 2012:65, my translation)

King “had a more positive attitude than Malcolm X,” because he believed that the blacks would be able to achieve full equality with the whites through peaceful demonstrations and arguments, whereas “Malcolm X’s despair about life was reflected in his angry, pessimistic belief that equality is impossible because the whites have no moral conscience.” (Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, 2009)

“Malcolm never stopped criticizing Christianity and calling it a ‘master of suspicion’ for not practicing what it thought and preached. Although Martin was a Baptist minister, he was not afraid of heavy critique and named racism the chief moral dilemma of American Christianity. But while Malcolm always spoke of the ‘bitter and unanswerable present’ and warned white America of outburst of violence in a tone that shocked most of whites, Martin had to be moderate, because the civil rights movement was supported and financed by many whites.” (Comparison of Martin and Malcolm, 1998)

Malcolm X even criticized Christianity in his speech “The Ballot or the Bullet” where he actually despised Christian ministers. Martin Luther King in any of the selected speeches did not mention anything about Malcolm’s religion. Moreover, Malcolm stressed in both of the selected speeches, “The Ballot or the Bullet” and “The Black Revolution,” the facts about his religion. King did not put a stress on the fact that he was a Christian. On the other hand, King was talking about history in his speeches, whereas Malcolm X was not. For instance, King spoke about signing the Emancipation Proclamation in the “I Have a Dream” speech and in the second speech, “I’ve Been to the Mountaintop,” he imagined travelling across history.

The aim of Martin Luther King was to reach the ideal of a “beloved community” where the blacks and the whites would live in peace next to each other and everyone would be equal regardless of their race, class, sex or nationality. This circumstance could be achieved through the racial integration. (HRUBEC 2010:67, my translation) Malcolm X insisted on racial separation and claimed that it was impossible for the black nation to live together with the white one. He demanded a separate state wherever it was possible in the world and where they could create and govern their own institutions. In

this country, according to Malcolm X, black people would finally be able to live in peace without discrimination coming from the whites against the blacks.

Speeches of Malcolm X “were delivered in a revolutionary tone which could incite his listeners to hatred of white America.” On the other side, he “used direct and to the point language which could be understood by all levels of society.” Martin L. King “was an equally strong speaker. However, most of his speeches were given to encourage white and black people to work together for racial harmony.” (Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, 2009)

Another issue that divided the ideas of Malcolm X and King was the question of violence and nonviolence. Malcolm X was a supporter of violence and to support this idea he said in one of his speech:

“If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us, and make us violent abroad in defence of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defence of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.” (Malcolm X On Violence, 2012)

Malcolm X supported violence, because according to what he said, the black nation should use every kind of weapon to defend its own people, whereas Martin Luther King was a supporter of nonviolence for his entire life. During his studies he was influenced by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, but was convinced more than ever before that nonviolent resistance was the right thing when he returned from the journey across India. (KING; WASHINGTON, 1991: 25) King stands up for nonviolence philosophy, because:

“The nonviolent resister is just as strongly opposed to the evil against which he protests as is the person who uses violence. His method is passive or nonaggressive in the sense that he is not physically aggressive toward his opponent. But his mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade the opponent that he is mistaken. This method is passive physically but strongly active spiritually. A second point is that nonviolent resistance does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding.” (KING; WASHINGTON, 1991: 7)

Last of all, one of the main differences between these two great men fighting for the rights of African-Americans, are their religious beliefs. King was a Christian, but Malcolm X was a follower of Islam. King's faith was already formed in his childhood, because his father was a Christian priest. Malcolm X was an atheist until he got to prison and discovered the teachings of Elijah Muhammad who spread Islam; Malcolm converted, became a Muslim and joined the organization called the Nation of Islam. Main tenet of this ideological group "is the raising of the moral, social, and economic standing of non-whites." (Nation of Islam, 2012) "Although the group's name implies that it is a part of the Islamic religion, its beliefs diverge so greatly from Islam that most Muslims consider it to be a different religion." (The 'Nation of Islam' is Not Islam, 2011)

"Although Elijah [Elijah Muhammad] claimed that the Qu'raan was the book of Muslims, he mostly referred to the Bible in his teachings. Actually, the main text of the cult was a book composed of some of his speeches and newspaper articles which he called Message to the Black Man in America. (Farrakhanism, 2011)

Although the followers of Elijah Muhammad representing the Nation of Islam believe in Allah, the Islamic God, it is far from traditional Islam to which Malcolm X converted after breaking with the Nation of Islam nearly at the end of his life.

Conclusion

This bachelor thesis deals with the comparison of political ideas and rhetoric in selected speeches given by Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. Both King and Malcolm X were great leaders of the black movement in the 1960's in the United States. These two personalities have a lot in common, but the differences between them are more than obvious.

The theoretical part concerns the explanations of such terms as rhetoric or political speech and the latter is followed with the specific examples. Historical background follows where the Civil Rights Movement and its main events are explained. It also contains the issue of the Vietnam War and King's negative attitude towards the war according to his "Beyond Vietnam" speech and "Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam" sermon. The biographies of Dr. King and Malcolm X are also provided.

The analytical part is based on analyses of the speeches "I Have a Dream" and "I've Been to the Mountaintop" by King and Malcolm X's "The Ballot or the Bullet" and "The Black Revolution." The comparison of these two leaders, i.e. their different attitudes and similarities are described.

Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., are both considered leaders who fought for a change in the United States. But both of them had different ways of promoting their ideas. Malcolm's approach was a much more extremist, but King had a calm approach. (Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, 2009) Using violence and nonviolence is the biggest difference between King and Malcolm X. M.L. King holds the view that nonviolence is the best way for gaining freedom for the blacks. While Malcolm's point of view is the opposite. He claims that violence should be used in defending his own people. Separation and integration is another issue that divides opinions of the two. According to Malcolm X, separation is the only and permanent solution for black people, whereas Martin Luther King claims that integration of the African-Americans with the whites is the best thing to do. He dreams of a place where the blacks and whites would live in peace next to each other. Another big difference

between these two men are their different beliefs. King was a Christian, but Malcolm a Muslim. Moreover, the latter propagated in his speeches the Islamic religion.

Similarities of these two African-Americans appear in the use of the *Bible*. Both of them used specific examples from the scriptures in their speeches. Next, their political rhetoric does not differ from each other. Both King and Malcolm used similar or same language tools in their addresses.

Despite the different attitudes towards gaining freedom for black people, a common goal of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X was to achieve equality between all races. (Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, 2009)

Resumé

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá porovnáním politických idejí a rétoriky Martina Luthera Kinga, Jr., a Malcolma X na základě jejich vybraných veřejných politických projevů. Martin L. King a Malcolm X patří mezi nejvýznamnější osobnosti hnutí v boji za občanská práva, který probíhal v 60. letech 20. století ve Spojených státech amerických.

V úvodní části se tato práce zaměřuje na vytyčení terminologie související s tématem, t.j. vysvětlení pojmů rétorika a politický projev. U posledního zmíněného jsou poskytnuty příklady, které s tímto pojmem souvisí. V další části je práce zaměřena na historický kontext, tj. občanské hnutí za občanská práva ve Spojených státech amerických, kde jsou uvedeny nejdůležitější události boje za práva amerických černochů. Válka ve Vietnamu je dalším faktorem, kterému se vnučí historický výklad. To není opomenuto ukázkou postoje Martina L. Kinga k válce jako takové. V další části jsou poskytnuty nejdůležitější informace ze života Martina Luthera Kinga, Jr., a Malcolma X.

Praktická část této práce je zaměřena na analýzu nejvýznamnějších projevů, tj. Kinga v "Mám sen" a "Byl jsem na vrcholu hory", dále pak "Volební lístek" a "Černá revoluce" od Malcolma X. Porovnání názorů a rétoriky těchto dvou představitelů navazuje na rozbor projevů, jelikož zde se projevil jejich společný i protichůdný postoj.

Pojem rétorika nemá jednotnou definici, tudíž závisí na mnoha faktorech, jak si každý tento pojem vyloží. Na druhé straně politický projev jako takový má jedinou úlohu, a to úlohu informační a přesvědčovací. Jedním z cílů této práce bylo porovnat rétoriku M.L. Kinga a Malcolma X. Jejich rétorika se v ničem mnohém neliší, jelikož jazykové prostředky, které užívali, byly téměř identické. Jedním z takových prostředků je užití metafor. Jak Malcolm X, tak King nešetřil metaforami ve svých projevech. Takové příklady mohou být například najity v Kingově nejznámějším projevu "Mám sen," kde King používá ekonomické termíny jako "dlužní úpis" k tomu, aby poukázal na vše, co Američané slíbili Afro-Američanům a nesplnili. Dalším takovým jazykovým prostředkem typickým pro politickou řeč jsou eufemismy. Ty označují záměrně drsného

slova za slovo více společensky přijatelné. Jelikož se King ani Malcolm X nebáli říkat své názory otevřeně, eufemismy se téměř v jejich veřejných projevech nevyskytují. Jedním z nejdůležitějších znaků politického projevu je opakování slov i slovních spojení. I tohoto znaku typickým pro tuto éru se Malcolm X a King drželi. Opakovali určitá slovní spojení za účelem zdůraznění důležitosti významu takového spojení. Opakováním určitých slov se lidem více vryje do paměti jejich význam a to, co tím vlastně někdo chtěl sdělit.

Martin Luther King, Jr., a Malcolm X jsou dvě tak odlišné osobnosti, že člověk se nechce ani vzdát, že tito dva muži mají i mnoho společného. Jedním z takových společných znaků je zejména postoj a názor oběh jejich života. Martin L. King se zpočátku zaměřoval jen na rovnost černochů ve Spojených státech, ale pak se začal zajímat i o ekonomické problémy svého národa a snažil se zasadit o zlepšení ekonomických podmínek pro všechny lidi. Téměř po celý svůj život se snažil vyhnout zdůrazňování a prosazování jedinečnosti své rasy, ale ke konci svého života se nevyhnul ani tomuto tématu. Téměř na sklonku života se z postoje optimistického stal postoj pesimistický a King se dokonce odvážil kritizovat kroky americké vlády. Na druhé straně Malcolm X prošel mnoha změnami už během svého života. První takovou změnou bylo, když se dostal do vězení za krádeže a držení drog. Ve vězení se seznámil s učedníkem Elijah Muhammada, muže, který šířil islám. Malcolm X konvertoval, stal se věřícím a členem Muhammadovy organizace Národa islámského. Malcolm poté začal bojovat za práva černochů a šířil ideje této organizace, ale roku 1963 se s Muhammadem nepohodl, odešel z Národa islámského, stal se umírněnějším a tentokrát konvertoval k tradičnímu islámu Východu.

Hlavním společným znakem Malcolma X a M.L. Kinga je jejich užívání Bible. Oba tito muži používali příběhy z Bible jako ukázkou toho, na co chtěli poukázat ve svých projevech. Jedním takovým příběhem je Mojžíš a jeho odchod spolu se svým utlačovaným lidem z Egypta. Jak King, tak Malcolm X použili stejný příběh, ale každý s jiným významem. King chtěl tímto poukázat na to, že i on a jeho lidé se mohou zbavit útlaku vedoucího od bílých Američanů. Zatímco Malcolm X poukázal na Mojžíše z toho důvodu, že chtěl zdůraznit, že separace jako taková, a ne integrace, byla dokonce zdůrazňována i v Písmu svatém. Další příběhy užití Bible jako takové se v jejich

projevech už celkem liší. Malcolm X se například ve svém projevu “ černá revoluce” zmíjí o Podobenství o ztracené ovci, kde chce poukázat na souasně postavení černošské populace ve Spojených státech. M.L. King na druhé straně používá příběh Podobenství o dobrém Samaritánovi, kde apeluje na svůj lid, aby pomáhal ostatním dle svých sil.

Posledním, ale neméně důležitým společným znakem těchto dvou vědců byl způsob jejich smrti. Jak Martin Luther King, tak Malcolm X se stali obětmi atentátu.

Jedním z důležitých rozdílů mezi Dr. Kingem a Malcolm X bylo jejich prostředí, odkud pocházeli. M.L. King pocházel z rodiny střední společenské třídy, která kladla důraz na vzdělání. Malcolm X ale pocházel z chudé rodiny, která se po smrti jeho otce rozpadla. Malcolm pak vyrůstal v různých rodinách a vzdělání se mu teprve dostalo poté, co se dostal do vězení za všelijaké krádeže. Rozdílnost prostředí, odkud tyto muži pocházeli, se zapíjínala o to, že tyto muži zastávali ve svých pozdějších životech tak protichůdné názory a postoje.

Martin Luther King, Jr., byl z těchto dvou porovnávaných mužů ten umírněnější. Po celý svůj život zastával postoj nenásilí. K tomuto postoji došel už na svých studiích, kde se seznámil s učení Inda Mahátmy Gándhího, který prosazoval v každém boji za svobodu tu šlechetnější formu - formu nenásilí. Díky nenásilí získal indický lid svobodu a takto chtěl i Martin L. King získat svobodu a nezávislost pro svůj lid. I když King propagoval nenásilí po celý svůj život, poté co se vrátil z cest po Gándhího zemi - Indii, byl King přesvědčen ještě více než předtím, že forma nenásilí je tou pravou cestou v boji za získání svobody pro černošské obyvatelstvo. Na druhé straně, Malcolm X zastával opačný názor. V boji za svobodu pro svůj lid nebyl proti násilí. Jedním z důvodů pro tuto formu boje uvedl, že není nic špatného na tom, když člověk použije násilí v případě, že brání svou rodinu, ženu, dítě, atd. Dále uvádí, že v případě, kdy je správné bránit Ameriku a to i v případě užití násilí, je i správné bránit svůj vlastní lid za každou cenu, a to i cestou násilí.

Dalším velmi zřetelným rozdílem mezi těmito dvěma vědci byl jejich postoj k integraci i separaci černošského obyvatelstva. Cílem Martina L. Kinga byla taková společnost, kde by Afro-Američané a běloši žili bok po boku v míru bez ohledu na rasu,

společenskou třídu, pohlaví a národnost. Tento stav by mohl být dosažen cestou rasové integrace. Malcolm X ale zastával zcela jiný názor. Trval na celkové separaci afroamerického obyvatelstva a tvrdil, že je nemožné pro Afro-Američana, aby žil bok po boku bělochovi. Požadoval plně oddělený a samostatný stát kdekoli na světě, kde by si mohli sami spravovat své vlastní instituce. V takové zemi by konečně afroamerické obyvatelstvo bylo schopné žít bez diskriminace pramenící od národa jiné barvy pleti.

Posledním, ale neméně důležitým rozdílem mezi těmito dvěma muži byla jejich odlišná víra v Boha. Martin L. King byl křesťan, zatímco Malcolm X muslim. King byl zastáncem křesťanské víry už od narození, jelikož jeho otec byl katolickým knězem. Na druhé straně, Malcolm X byl zpočátku bez vyznání, ale poté, co se dostal za mříže a setkal se s učením Elijah Muhammada, stal se z něho muž s islámským vyznáním. I když ale věřil v boha Aláha a byl islámské víry, nebyl muslim jako takový. Malcolm X byl členem organizace Islámského národa a aťkoliv tato organizace nesla jméno islámského náboženství, lišila se svými názory a přesvědčeními tak hodně, že samotní muslimové to považují za zcela jiné náboženství. Hlavním cílem této organizace byl vzestup morálního, společenského a ekonomického postavení afroameričanů. Ke konci života se ale Malcolm X nepohodl s vedením organizace Islámského národa a přestoupil k tradičnímu islámu.

Martin Luther King, Jr., a Malcolm X jsou považováni za vůdce, kteří bojovali za změnu postavení Afro-Američanů v 60. letech 20. století ve Spojených státech amerických. Aťkoliv každý zastával jiné postoje a názory, jejich cíl byl společný. Jejich cílem bylo dosažení rovnosti afroamerického obyvatelstva.

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