

# Go Our Own Way: The Ideal of Autonomy in US Civil Rights Movement 1954–1978

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# About the Course (Contains Information on Grading) PLEASE READ

See MOODLE For All assignments and due dates

## The Course

“Every civil rights bill was passed for white people, not black people. I am a human being. I know ... I have right(s). White people didn’t know that. ... so [they] had to ... to tell that white man, “he’s a human being, don’t stop him.” That bill was for the white man.... I knew [my rights] all the time.” Stokely Carmichael spoke for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee viewpoint in 1966. The Black Panther Party enacted basic civic responsibilities in their programs. Ella Baker spoke of autonomy in community. This seminar brings voices across generations speaking to current affairs.

**Readings** are on e-reserves with password POSC or hyperlinked in Moodle.

## Course Requirements

This research seminar offers a case study of praxis--link between theory and practice--focusing on black liberation during a period of civil rights liberation movements in the United States. We will look at the political and actions of black liberation leaders including: Martin Luther King, Jr. Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Huey Newton, Kathleen Cleaver, Angela Davis, George Jackson, and Mumia Abu-Jamal. These leaders represent a diversity of voices seeking community and autonomy in on-going struggles for civil rights, human rights, liberty, dignity, responsibility, and equality. American political thought supplies some of the background to the ideal of autonomy found in the discourses of the Civil Rights Movement, the Nation of Islam, SNCC, the Black Panther Party. Karl Marx (often via Lenin and Mao) supplies another thread. We will find, however, that much of the deep debate among liberation thinkers and do-ers comes primarily from reflections on the experience of subjugation and oppression. How do the reflections among writers differ? What reading and thinking has influenced the manner of reflecting and making sense of suffering and liberation? How have the cross-currents of political action--the discourse among these figures, actual or figuratively speaking--influenced *their* ideals of autonomy, community, and liberation and *our thinking* today?

In addition to considering what has been handed down to us from primary sources--the texts of speeches, letters, and essays of these engaged political figures--how have the representations of events by scholars, court decisions, and popular media influenced our understandings? Consider that the Black Panther Party hoped to institute its own news and information service--because, in that community's view, mainstream mass media seldom covered party activities accurately. We will see examples of media coverage that will enable you to render your own judgment of public representations of liberation leaders, organizations, and actions. In sum, this seminar

Your research papers will reflect this link between theory and practice. To aid your research, you will be asked to write discussion questions for each class (forums provided on moodle) and to post an analytical paper (3-5 pages maximum) covering an aspect of the readings that will offer a starting point for one class discussion, which you will lead. In this paper you will choose one theme from the reading to explore as your thesis for the paper. You must post your paper no later than 10:00 pm TWO DAYS prior to your assigned day for leading discussion (e.g. if you lead discussion on Tuesday, post your discussion paper on Sunday evening; if you lead discussion on Thursday, post your paper on Tuesday evening). On the same day and time, you must also upload your discussion paper as an assignment, which I will evaluate. In short, the class needs to have access to your paper so that we can discuss your ideas; I need to have the paper uploaded as an assignment in order to grade it. You post it for the class and upload it as an assignment for me. It is appropriate to bring your own research to bear on this analysis of the ideas found in the assigned readings.

You will hand your seminar research paper in at three points (reflecting work done on two major parts of the paper and the final work) and participate in a final presentation of our seminar’s works. Here’s how this paper writing works:

On the dates specified below you will hand in, in this order, your [literature review](#), theoretical/[analytical framework](#), and, ultimately, the final paper in which you have revised these two important parts of any research paper and completed the exposition of your thesis and drawn a conclusion (i.e. a finished, complete paper). These are each graded assignments. It may seem strange that we would “count” a final version of the paper as on par with two of its sections. But learning to write these sections of the paper will be some of the most important work of the class. The [literature review](#) and framework assignments are not meant to be drafts, although they may certainly be revised for the final paper. In short, the final paper is in a sense only as good as the way you’ve established your analysis.

Our paper presentations will also take a novel approach. Each of you will be teamed up with another seminar member to present your seminar colleague’s paper. To give an adequate presentation of a colleague’s work, you must study their work closely and present to the group the paper that the colleague may have wished to she or he had written. This teamwork will help each of you produce an excellent paper. The timing of these presentations allows for revisions of the final project before the final date on which I will accept your papers.

Grades will be computed as follows:

Seminar Paper Total	80
Lit Review Assignment	20
Theoretical/ <a href="#">Analytical Framework</a>	20
Final Overall Paper	20
Presentation in Workshop	20
Discussion Questions (weekly)	20
Discussion paper and leading (once)	
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Last modified: Wednesday, 2 January 2019, 10:02 AM

[◀ A Student Paper that Has a Lit Review a](#)

[Question Forum Tuesday January 15 ▶](#)

You are logged in as Barbara Allen: Student (Return to my normal role)  
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# Go Our Own Way: The Ideal of Autonomy in the US Civil Rights Movement 1954–1978

POSC 307

Prof: Barbara Allen

Tues Thurs 10:10–11:55

Weitz 231

 [Announcements](#)

 [Discussion Leader Sign Up](#)

Choose one day on which you will write a discussion analysis paper and help lead our discussion.

 [Let's Talk About America: Occupy Wall Street](#)

A film by Sam Feigenbaum and Jacob Hamalian

 [Literature Review Notes Power Point](#)

Uploaded 19/01/18, 06:58

These are notes from our discussion of how to write a [literature review](#).

 [Examples of Papers with Various Kinds of Literature Reivews](#)

Consult these papers for several forms of [literature review](#). You can also open just about any paper published in *American Political Science Review*, *Americon Historical Review*, *Journal of American History*, or *Review of Politics* to see some form of [literature review](#).

 [Self Editing](#)

Uploaded 24/01/18, 12:45

Fold into a rectangle and keep handy

 [A Student Paper that Has a Lit Review and an Interesting Method](#)

Uploaded 30/01/18, 12:07

## ABOUT THE COURSE

### MUST READ TO UNDERSTAND PURPOSE, ACTIVITIES, GRADING

 [About the Course \(Contains Information on Grading\) PLEASE READ](#)

POSC 307

Prof: Barbara Allen

Tues Thurs Weitz 231

10:10– 11:55

## 6 January – 12 January

### Part 1 Political Theory and Practical Politics

Tues Jan 8 **Foreground: Language and Perception: The Meaning of “Race” and a New Phase of the Movement**

Read Taylor Branch. 1988. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954–1963*. New York: Simon and Schuster. [Preface](#) and [Chapter 4](#) and [Chapter 5](#)

Everyone reads Preface to Taylor Branch.

Caroline Carty, Jonathan Elwell, Katherine Erickson, Shelby Jones, and Wilson Li read Chapter 4.

Lucas Mueller, Sogra Nassri, Luke Norquist, Jordyn Pigott, and Genesis Rojas read Ch 5.

Thurs Jan 10    **Background of American Thought on "Autonomy"**

Three Examples of Inherited Ideas about "Liberty": Emerson, Douglass, Dewey

For the readings below, EVERYONE reads all three authors. And EVERYONE studies Douglass's ideas carefully. Then

Caroline Carty, Jonathan Elwell, Katherine Erickson, Shelby Jones, and Wilson Li focus on Emerson (and compare with Douglass), while

Lucas Mueller, Sogra Nassri, Luke Norquist, Jordyn Pigott, and Genesis Rojas focus on Dewey (and compare with Douglass)

Read: Ralph Waldo Emerson. 1841. "[Self Reliance](#)," Project Gutenberg

Frederick Douglass. 1872. "[Self-Made Men](#)." Monadnock Valley Press. 1–21.

John Dewey. 1888. "[The Ethics of Democracy](#)," University of Michigan, Philosophical Papers, Second Series, Number 1. Andrews & Company Publishers, 1–29.

## 13 January – 19 January

Tues Jan 15    **Law and Rights in a Constitutional Context**

Thurgood Marshall and Martin Luther King on Civil Rights

Read: Thurgood Marshall. 1951. "[The Supreme Court as Protector of Civil Rights: Equal Protection of the Laws](#)," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 275, Civil Rights in America (May, 1951), pp. 101–110. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1028197>

Thurgood Marshall. [Oral Argument in Briggs v. Elliott](#), 342 U.S. 350 (1952). (This is the first case of the *Brown* decision.)

Thurgood Marshall. [Continuation of Oral Arguments in Briggs v Elliott](#), 342 U.S. 350 (1952). (This is the first case of the *Brown* decision.)

Thurgood Marshall. 1954. [Reargument in Brown. \(Brown II\)](#). Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court of the United States: Constitutional Law. Philip B. Kurland and Gerhard Casper, eds. Vol. 49A Brown v. Board of Education (1954 & 1955) University Publications, Inc. 1–28.

Recommended: Thurgood Marshall. 1939. "[Equal Justice Under Law](#)," Crisis 46 (July) 199–201.

MLK. 1944. "[The Negro and the Constitution](#)," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 1: Called to Serve*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 109–111.

Thurs Jan 17    **I. Autonomy in Community: Writings of ML King—Focus on Montgomery**

Read: [MLK original typescript: "Holt Street Church" December 5, 1955](#)

MLK. [1955] 1997. "[MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church](#)" December 5, 1955" in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 3: Birth of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 70–79

MLK "[Desegregation and the Future \[Address to the National Committee for Rural Schools\]](#)" December 1, 1956

MLK "[Statement by the President of the MIA](#)," original typescript, December 20, 1956 \*

MLK "[Comments on Bus Company's Decision to End Segregation on Its Lines](#)," transcription, April 24, 1956

MLK “[The Negro’s New Self Respect](#),” transcription, April, 27, 1956 & MLK, “[Paul’s Letter to American Christians](#),” a sermon preached in the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church,” November 4, 1956.

MLK, “[The Death of Evil Upon the Seashore](#),” a sermon preached at the Service of Prayer and Thanksgiving in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, NYC” May 17, 1956.

MLK in James, M. Washington, ed. *A Testament of Hope*:

“[Our Struggle](#),” 1956; “[Walk for Freedom](#)” 1956, 75–84.

## II. More Background on Montgomery Context

Mary Fair Burks. 1990. “[Trailblazers: Women in the Montgomery Bus Boycott](#),” in Vicki L. Crawford, et al. eds. *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941–1965*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing. 71–83.

Charles Payne. 1990. “[Men Led, but Women Organized](#),” in Vicki L. Crawford, et al. eds. *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941–1965*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing. 1–11.

And of interest: Walker Percy. 6 July 1956. “[Stoicism in the South](#),” *The Commonweal*. 342–345.

RECOMMENDED David Garrow. 1986. [Bearing the Cross](#). New York: Vintage Books, Ch 1 pp. 11–82.



### [Question Forum Tuesday January 15](#)

Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.



### [Question Forum January 17](#)

Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.



### [Discussion Leaders for January 15 and 17 Turn in Papers](#)

Hand in Papers Here by 11:55 pm two days before you lead discussion.



### [Assignment MONTGOMERY: Citations for the two "mainstream" and two African American News Stories Here](#)

Post the complete citations for the two "mainstream" and two African American (four total) News Stories that you found on the topic of civil rights in Montgomery 1955–1956.

Also post the page view pdf of the article. Use ProQuest, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Historical Black Newspapers, and Readers’ Guide Retrospective to find at least TWO accounts of Montgomery Civil Rights activity 1955–1956 in a “mainstream” newspaper or magazine and two accounts of the same activity in an African American newspaper. POST The citation of these articles on our forum and upload the “**page view**” pdf of the article HERE.



### [Assignment BROWN: Citations for the two "mainstream" and two African American News Stories Here](#)

Post the complete citations for the two "mainstream" and two African American (four total) News Stories that you found on the topic of the Brown decision and its implications.

Also post the page view pdf of the article. Use ProQuest, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Historical Black Newspapers, and Readers’ Guide Retrospective to find at least TWO accounts of the Brown decision and its implications in a “mainstream” newspaper or magazine and two accounts of the decision in an African American newspaper. POST The citation of these articles on our forum and upload the “**page view**” pdf of the article HERE.



### [Comparing the "Mainstream" and African American News Coverage of Brown](#)

ASSIGNMENT: Use ProQuest, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Historical Black Newspapers, and Readers’ Guide Retrospective to find at least TWO accounts of the Brown decision and its implications in a “mainstream” newspaper or magazine and two accounts of the decision in an African American newspaper. POST The citation of these articles on our forum and upload the “**page view**” pdf of the article HERE.

## 20 January – 26 January



## Tuesday January 22 Field Trip to [Guthrie Theater](#) to see [Lauren Yee's "The Great Leap,"](#) Bus leaves campus 5:45 pm; play starts 7:30 pm

Tues Jan 22    III. How Events are Represented: Montgomery and *Brown*.

### Montgomery

Joe Azbell. 1955. “[‘At Holt Street Baptist Church: The Rosa Parks Protest Meeting,’](#) *The Montgomery Advertiser* 7 [December 1955](#),” in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 228–231.

L.D. Reddick. 1956. “[The Bus Boycott in Montgomery: They Have Already Won, Dissent Winter 1956](#),” in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 252–265.

Ted Poston. 1956. “[The Negros of Montgomery: Montgomery Bus Boycott, June 1956](#),” in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 266–279.

“[Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story](#),” Graphic Short Story, New York: Fellowship of Reconciliation circa 1957

“[Passive Protest Spreads](#),” *Life*, V. 40, June 11, 1956. P. 48

MLK 1958, From [Stride Toward Freedom](#), in James, M. Washington, ed. *A Testament of Hope*. 417–490.

Review Taylor Branch. 1988. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954–1963*. New York: Simon and Schuster. [Ch. 5, 143–205](#).

See "[Ted Poston: Assignment in Cicero](#)," *Newsweek* 30 July 1957.

A Sample from the renowned African American Journalist, Ted Poston. All stories are brief. Take a look.

"[On the Appeal to the Supreme Court](#): Portraying the winner of a recent batch of antisegregation cases, which gave the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] one of its important gains on its anniversary," *The Survey*, 85,1 (January 1, 1949) 18–21.

"[Martin Luther King, Jr. the Preacher Who Fights](#)," *Afro-American*, 8 June 1956.

"[This is Montgomery](#)," *Afro-American*, Jul 14, 1956.

"[This is Montgomery: Separated by a 7-Foot Wall](#)," *Afro-American*, Aug 04, 1956.

"[This is Montgomery: The White Citizens Councils](#)," *Afro-American*, Aug 18, 1956.

"[This is Montgomery: No Hat in Hand](#)," *Afro-American* Aug 25, 1956.

[This is Montgomery: No Longer Afraid](#)" *Afro-American*, Sep 01, 1956.

"[This is Montgomery: Separate and Unequal](#)," *Afro-American*, Sep 15, 1956.

"[What They do for A Living in Montgomery: Anything Hot, Heavy, and Hard](#)," *Afro-American*, Sep 08, 1956.

### Brown

[Thurgood Marshall Gives Press Statement on the Decision](#). NBC News



**Lost Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall interview with Mike Wallace on Night Beat ,Dumont Television & Jotto**

from **IRA GALLEN**

07:05 |



Metro Media Ch 5 New York. Mike Wallace Interview with Thurgood Marshall circa 1956–1957

[March 1960 Hearings on Atlanta Desegregation Plan](#). From CBS Report “Who Speaks for the South?”

[A 1969 oral history interview with Justice Thurgood Marshall](#) conducted for the LBJ Presidential Library by T.H. Baker, who headed the LBJ oral history program. CSPAN.

Listen from about 22:40–44:00. Discussion of 1957 bill that eventually became the Civil Rights Act 1964 starts around 26:17

Report on ASSIGNMENT: Use ProQuest, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Historical Black Newspapers, and Readers’ Guide Retrospective to find at least TWO accounts of the Brown Decision and what it will mean in a “mainstream” newspaper or magazine and at least TWO accounts of the same activity in an African American newspaper. POST The citation of these articles on our forum and upload the “page view” pdf of the article under “Assignment: Comparing “Mainstream” and African American News Coverage of Brown.”

Thurs Jan 24 I. **King on Nonviolence and Self-Determination**

**We divide these readings among groups for team reporting:**

All in James, M. Washington, ed. *A Testament of Hope*.

[“Nonviolence and Racial Justice 1957,”](#) [“The Most Durable Power 1958,”](#) [“The Power of Non-Violence, 1958”](#) [“An Experiment in Love 1958,”](#) [“My Trip to The Land of Gandhi 1959,”](#) [“The Social Organization of Nonviolence 1959.”](#) in James, M. Washington, ed. *A Testament of Hope*

**EVERYONE READS: MLK [“Letter from the Birmingham City Jail”](#)**

II. Obstacles to Success and the “New South” Concept

Read MLK: [“Give Us The Ballot—We Will Transform the South 1957,”](#) [“Who Speaks for the South? 1958,”](#) [“Bold Design for a New South 1963”](#)

II. Context: “The New South” and the SCLC Founding

Recommended: David Garrow. 1986. *Bearing the Cross*, New York: Vintage Books, Ch 2 pp. 83–125. (SEE link above)

Henry W. Grady. [1886] 1910. [“The New South,”](#) in Edwin DuBois Shurter, ed., *Orations and Speeches of Henry W. Grady*. Norwood, MA: Norwood Press. 7–22.

Atticus G. Haygood. [1880] 1950. [“Thanksgiving Sermon \[AKA “The New South”\]](#) Judson C. Ward, ed. *The New South*. Atlanta: The Library Emory University. Introduction and Sermon. v–xi and 3–12.

Everyone reads: Barbara Allen. 1990. [“MLK’s Civil Disobedience and the American Covenant Tradition,”](#) *Publius the Journal of Federalism*, 39, 4 (fall) 71–112.

**THURS Jan 24 NOON WORKSHOP: [Literature Review](#) and [Analytical Framework](#)**

**30 minutes following our class in our classroom**

Assignment for the Workshop: Using any of our main analytical expositions on civil rights and the courts (e.g. Garrow, Branch,) theoretical writings from nineteenth and early twentieth century thinkers (e.g. Emerson, Douglass, Dewey) , pick one idea, claim, point made about Marshall, Brown, King, Montgomery, or the Civil Rights Movement organizationally (e.g. "gender and civil rights") as your topic. You have three paragraphs in which you should:

1.State the Garrow and/or Branch views of your event, idea, or claim about the movement or movement figures in the 1950s. Compare and contrast the

views of the authors you have chosen (e.g. Garrow's view contrasted with Branch's view).

2. Use at least three of our other texts in the class (e.g. King's speeches and sermons, Marshall's oral arguments or law review articles, newspaper coverage of events) as *evidence* to pose a hypothesis in support or as refutation of the understandings given by either/both Garrow and Branch (or whomever you choose as your authority).

3. Lay out your "case" and its significance (why we should care) in two paragraphs. Post your work on the forum provided below.

Look at [“Memorabilia From SCLC”](#)

#### [Question Forum January 22](#)

Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the COMMON readings. Each TEAM posts a synoptic point or question linking the team's readings to the common readings.

#### [Question Forum January 24](#)

Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.

#### [Comparing the "Mainstream" and African American News Coverage of Montgomery](#)

ASSIGNMENT: Use ProQuest, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Historical Black Newspapers, and Readers' Guide Retrospective to find at least TWO accounts of Montgomery Civil Rights activity 1955–1956 in a “mainstream” newspaper or magazine and two accounts of the same activity in an African American newspaper. POST The citation of these articles on our forum and upload the “**page view**” pdf of the article HERE.

#### [Discussion Leaders for January 22 Turn in Papers](#)

Hand in Papers Here by 10:00 pm two days before you lead discussion.

#### [Literature Review Exercise for Discussion](#)

Post your 3 paragraph [literature review](#) here by Wednesday, 18 January, 9:00 p.m.

#### [Results of News Story Comparison Assignment](#)

This file contains urls and pdfs submitted to compare "mainstream" and African–American press coverage of events during the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

## 27 January – 2 February

### Part 2: The Self Defense Alternative

Tues Jan 29 Malcolm X: Dignity, Community, Self-Reliance

Read: Malcolm X with Alex Haley. 1964. [The Autobiography of Malcolm X](#). New York Ballentine Books, Read ALL plus Epilogue, by Ossie Davis.

WATCH:

Chicago NBC Affiliate WMAQ, “City Desk,” 17 March 17 1963

by Jim Hurlbut, Floyd Kalber, Len O'Connor, and Charles McCuen

Thurs Jan 31     **"Albany Failure," SCLC, SNCC, Freedom Rides, and the "Communist Connection"**

### Everyone Reads:

Carson, Clayborne. 1995. *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

On Line Resource at Gould Library

<https://www-fulcrum-org.ezproxy.carleton.edu/concern/monographs/pn89d663n> Read Introduction, Chapters 1–7 (Sit ins through March on Washington)

AND "[How and Why Did Women in SNCC \(Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee\) Author a Pathbreaking Feminist Manifesto, 1964–1965.](http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/SNCC/intro.htm#one)" At <http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/SNCC/intro.htm#one>

Take note of the the documents used to construct this history (linked at the site).

Find the "Waveland Memo" here: [Document 43: \(name withheld by request\), Position Paper #24, \(women in the movement\), Waveland, Mississippi, \[6–12 November 1964\], Elaine DeLott Baker Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University](#)

**Recommended:** David Garrow. 1986. *Bearing the Cross*, New York: Vintage Books, Ch 3 pp. 127–172. (See Link Above) And David Garrow. 1986. *Bearing the Cross*, New York: Vintage Books, Ch 4 pp. 173–230. You can compare and contrast Garrow and Carson.

"[The Nation's Future](#)" transcript of a debate between MLK and James Kilpatrick (look up James Kilpatrick to see who he is). November 26, 1960

Louis Lomax, "[The Negro Revolt Against the Negro Leaders, Harpers June 1960](#)," in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 494–509.

### Team reporting on the following document folders.

#### *Southern Christian Leadership Conference Founding documents:*

MLK. 25 April 1957. "[The Role of the Church in Facing the Nation's Chief Moral Dilemma](#)," *Proceedings of the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations*. Nashville: The Call. 29–32.

2005. "[From Myles Horton 20 March 1959](#)," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 5: Threshold of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 143–144.

2005. "[Notes from Dunbar Reddick](#) on SCLC Administrative Committee Meeting on 2 April and 3 April 1959," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 5: Threshold of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 177–179.

MLK [for SCLC] [1955] 2005. "[Statement on House Committee](#) on Un-American Activities Hearings on the United Packinghouse Workers of America," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 5: Threshold of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 226–227.

MLK "[To Amzie Moore](#) 20 May 1958," original Typescript

SCLC [1957] 2000. "[To Dwight D. Eisenhower](#), 11 January 1957," "[To Richard M. Nixon](#)," 11 January 1957," and "[A Statement to the South and the Nation](#)," Issued by the Southern Negro leaders Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration," and "[To Dwight D. Eisenhower](#), 29 May 1958 in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 4: Symbol of the Movement*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 99–106 and 414–415.

*Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) founding documents:*

SNCC [1960] 2005. "[Statement to the Press at the Beginning of the Youth Leadership Conference](#) 15 April 1960," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 5: Threshold of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 426–427.

SNCC. [1960] 2005. "[Outline, The Philosophy of Nonviolence](#) 14 October 1960," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 5: Threshold of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 520–521.

*Re: Communism c. 1960 documents:*

1962. J. Edgar Hoover, "[Communism's Target—The United States](#)," Chapter 11 of *The Study of Communism*. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston. 156–181.

2005 "[From Harris Wofford](#), 1 April 1960," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 5: Threshold of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 403–405.

MLK [1960] 2005. "[To Harry S. Truman](#) 19 April 1960," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 5: Threshold of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 437–438.

MLK [1960] 2005. "[To Benjamin J. Davis](#), 23 April 1960," in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. V. 5: Threshold of a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 442–443.

*Representations of Direct Action in North Carolina:*

Albert L. Rozier, Jr. [1960] 2003. "[Students Hit Woolworth's for Lunch Service](#)," *The Register* (North Carolina A&T) 5 February, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 431–432.

Claude Sitton. [1960] 2003. "[Negro Sitdowns Stir Fear of Wider Unrest in South](#)," *The New York Times* 15 February, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 433–439.

[Video of King Discussing Kennedy](#) CNN

**Team Report on An Additional Reading.***Problems in Organizational Structure?*

Read: James H. Cone. 1990. "[Nothing but Men](#)," *Martin and Malcolm In America: A Dream or a Nightmare*. New York: Orbis Books. 272–287.

Grace Jordon McFadden. 1990. "[Septima Clark and the Struggle for Human Rights](#)," in Vicki L. Crawford, et al. eds. *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941–1965*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing. 85–97.

### *Considering the Albany Context*

John A. Ricks III. 1984. "[DeLawd' Descends and Is Crucified: Martin Luther King, Jr. in Albany, Georgia](#)," *The Journal of Southwest Georgia History*. 2 (Fall): 3–14.

William G. Anderson and Norma D. Anderson. 1994. "[Reflections on the Origins of the Albany Movement](#)," *The Journal of Southwest Georgia History*. 9 (Fall): 1–13.

Michael Chalfen. 1994. "[Rev. Samuel B. Wells and Black Protest in Albany 1945–1965](#)," *The Journal of Southwest*

### **Representations of Albany**

Take a Look at the News Coverage:

Trezzvant W. Anderson.[1961] 2003. "[Over 500 Arrested in Albany](#)," *The Pittsburgh Courier*. 23 December, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 629–632.

Murray Kempton. [1962] 2003. "[The Hostile Witness](#)," Excerpt from *America Comes of Middle Age: Columns 1950–1962* in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 654–656.

Howard Zinn. [1962] 2003. "[Kennedy: The Reluctant Emancipator](#)," *The Nation*, 1 December, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 702–709.

Reese Cleghorn. [1962] 2003. "[Epilogue in Albany: Where the Marches Worthwhile?](#)" *The New Republic* 20 July, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 882–889. \**Georgia History*. 9 (Fall): 37–64.



## Friday Turn in [Literature Review](#)

 [Literature Review](#)

 [Question Forum Jan 29](#)

Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the COMMON readings. Each TEAM posts a synoptic point or question linking the team's readings to the common readings.

 [Discussion Leaders for January 29 Turn in Papers](#)

Hand in Papers Here by 10:00 pm two days before you lead discussion.

 [Question Forum January 31](#)

Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the COMMON readings. Each TEAM posts a synoptic point or question linking the team's readings to the common readings.

 [Choose a Document Collection January 31](#)

Choose one of the six document collections as an example of research materials relevant to the history of the SCLC and MLK.

 [Choose An Additional Reading January 31](#)

Choose one of the following texts to read and report to class

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## 3 February – 9 February

Tues Feb 5    Malcolm on Rights in Struggle

### I. Discuss Literature Reviews

### II.    Malcolm on History, Race, the Individual, Society and Political Institutions

Read from *Last Speeches*: “[America’s Greatest Crisis Since the Civil War](#),” “[20 Million Black People ...](#),” from *Malcolm X Speaks*: “[The Ballot or the Bullet](#),” “[The Black Revolution](#),” “[The Harlem ‘Hate-Gang’ Scare](#),” “[Confrontation with an Expert](#),” from *By Any Means Necessary*: “[Answers to Questions at the Militant Labor Forum](#),” “[Harlem and the Political Machines](#),” “[Founding Rally of OAAU](#),” “[Second Rally of OAAU](#),” “[Homecoming Rally of OAAU](#),”

Listen:

[The Ballot or the Bullet](#) 12 April 1964

Watch these speeches

[Malcolm X Speech Los Angeles 1962](#)

[Text](#) of Malcolm X’s Speech at the Founding Rally of the Organization of Afro–American Unity 28 June 1963



Founding Rally of OAAU 28 June 1964

[Democracy is Hypocrisy](#) 2 February 1965 Carleton OnLine Video

### III. Consider the Birmingham Context

Read: Read: MLK. "[Eulogy for the Martyred Children \(1963\)](#)

David Garrow. 1986. *Bearing the Cross*, New York: Vintage Books, Ch 5 pp. 231–286. (See Link above)

[Four letters from Fred Shuttlesworth regarding Birmingham](#): to Martin Luther King, Jr. and Wyatt T. Walker (15 March 1963); to Martin Luther King, Jr. (7 November 1963); to L.H. Pitts (11 December 1963) and to J.L. Ware (11 November 1963).

Review: "[Letter from the Birmingham Jail](#)" in the form sold for 10¢ by the Friends Service Committee with King's signature

Research Resources:

[Selected Birmingham Police Reports on Mass Meetings 1963](#)

Eugene "[Bull](#)" Connor Papers "[Wire Tap of King Conversation 16 April 1963](#)."

#### Representations of Birmingham

Several short readings reflecting media coverage:

Harrison E. Salisbury. [1960] 2003. "[Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham](#)," *New York Times* 12 April, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 447–452.

Len Holt [1963] 2003. "[Eyewitness: The Police Terror at Birmingham](#)," *The National Guardian* 16 May, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 795–800.

Raymond R. Coffey. [1963] 2003. "[Waiting in the Rain at the Birmingham Jail](#)," *Chicago Daily News* 7 May, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 801–803.

Claude Sitton. [1963] 2003. "[Rioting Negroes Routed by Police at Birmingham](#)," *The New York Times* 8 May, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 804–808.

Hedrick Smith. [1963] 2003. "[9-Block Area Lies Devastated: Buildings Still Burn After Riot](#)," *The New York Times* 13 May, in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 809–812.

Michael Dorman. [1963] 2003. From [We Shall Overcome, in Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963](#). Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 813–819.

**ASSIGNMENT:** 1) Use ProQuest, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Historical Black Newspapers to find at least one account of Birmingham Direct Action 1962–1964, in a “mainstream” US newspaper or magazine and at least one account of the Birmingham campaign in an African–American newspaper.

2) Use ProQuest, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Historical Black Newspapers to find at least one

account of the "Harlem Hate Gang Scare" OR the 1965 bombing of Malcolm X's home OR the 1962 Los Angeles shootings.

POST The citation of these articles on our forum and upload the “page view” pdf of the article under “Assignment: Comparing “Mainstream” US and US African American News Coverage to the Foreign Press Coverage of Birmingham.

Thurs Feb 7

Self Defense

Read from *Malcolm X Speaks*: “[At the Audubon \(Dec 13 & 20\)](#),” from *By Any Means Necessary*: “[Interview by A.B. Spellman](#),” “[Young Socialist Interview](#),” *From Last Speeches*: “[Whatever is Necessary to Protect Ourselves](#)”

WATCH IN CLASS Excerpts from

Make it Plain. David McCullough, 150 min.



### [Question Forum February 5](#)

Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the COMMON readings. Each TEAM posts a synoptic point or question linking the team's readings to the common readings.



### [Question Forum February 7](#)

Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.



### [Discussion Leaders for February 7 Turn in Papers](#)

Hand in Papers Here by 10:00 pm two days before you lead discussion.



### [Comparing “Mainstream” US and US African American News Coverage on an Event Concerning Malcolm X](#)

Post citations for your news stories here.



### [Comparing “Mainstream” US and US African American News Coverage of Birmingham](#)

Post citations for your news stories here.



### [Comparing “Mainstream” US and US African American News Coverage of Birmingham](#)



### [Comparing “Mainstream” US and US African American News Coverage of an Event Concerning Malcolm X](#)



### [Condeleeza Rice Recollections of Birmingham](#)

An interview from the Washington Post



### [Choose Reading on Representation of Birmingham January 29](#)

Choose one of the following short reading sets for team reports on representations of Birmingham.

# 10 February – 16 February

## Mon Feb 11 Midterm Break

**Field Trip [Penumbra Theater](#) to see [Ifa Bayeza's "Benevolence,"](#) Bus leaves campus 5:45 pm; play starts at 7:30 pm**

Tues Feb 12 Comparing SNCC, Malcolm, and SCLC: Is Direct Action Enough? (How Do We Evaluate that Question?)

Read: [Stokely Carmichael Black Power Speech](#)

Listen:

Or Watch:

Black Power Speech

Stokely Carmichael Black Power Speech October 1966 Berkeley, CA

Read:

Clayborne Carson. 1995 *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

On Line Resource at Gould Library

<https://www-fulcrum-org.ezproxy.carleton.edu/concern/monographs/pn89d663n>

Read Introduction, Chapters 12–18 (Focus especially on Ch 14, Black Power).

MLK. [Transcript of ‘Meet the Press’](#) Television news Interview 1966,” “[Black Power Defined 1967](#),” “[Transcript of ‘Face to Face’](#) Television News Interview 1967,” “[Showdown for Nonviolence 1968](#),” “[A Testament of Hope 1968](#),” in James M. Washington, ed. *A Testament of Hope*.

Recommended: David Garrow. 1986. *Bearing the Cross*, New York: Vintage Books, Ch 7, 8, and 9 357–430 and 431–474 and 475–525. (See Link Above)

## II. Regional Contexts--The “North,” Urban America, East Coast and West Coast

Read: “[Playboy Interview: Martin Luther King, Jr. 1965](#),” in James M. Washington, ed. *A Testament of Hope*.


James Baldwin [1960] 2003. “[Fifth Avenue, Uptown: Letter from Harlem 1960](#),” in *Reporting Civil Rights, Part One: American Journalism 1941–1963*. Clayborne Carson, David Garrow, Bill Kovach, and Carol Polsgrove advisors. New York: The Library of America. 510–519.

Watch Footage On the Cicero March

Watch News Coverage at these Links

- [Chicago Riots](#)
- [Moving Image Archives](#)
- [Chicago Film Archives](#)

See Malcolm X on Front Page Challenge January 5, 1965, CBC Interview On 1968 Chicago DNC Protests



Malcolm X on Front Page  
Challenge (January 5, 1965,  
CBC)

from [Mecca\\_Audio](#)



Student News Conference Right of Dissent

Thurs Feb 14 Drawing Distinctions and Advocating Separation Stokely Carmichael from Black Power to Black Panther

Read: Stokely Carmichael. "[Toward Black Liberation](#)." Stokely Carmichael. 2007 [1965].*Stokely Speaks*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books. "[Foreword 1971 by Mumia Abu Jamal](#);" Jane Stembridge, "[Notes About a Class](#)."

Stokely Carmichael:"[Who is Qualified?](#)" "[Power and Racism](#);" "[Dialectics of Liberation](#);" "[Pitfalls of Liberalism](#);" "[A New World Built](#);" "[From Black Power Back to Pan–Africanism](#)."

Rec:Donald J. McCormack. 1973. "[Stokely Carmichael and Pan–Africanism: Back to Black Power](#)," *Journal of Politics*. 35(2): 386–409.

The Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation and the Demystification of Violence, London 1967

Stokely Carmichael at the Free Huey Rally April 6, 1968 in two parts

**Friday Feb 15 Turn in Analytical Framework (and as necessary revised Literature Review)**

 [Analytical Framework](#)

Turn in the Analytical Framework and, if you have revised, your [Literature Review](#)

 [Question Forum Feb 12](#)

Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.

 [Question Forum Feb 14](#)

Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.

 [Discussion Leader for February 12 and 14 Turn in Papers](#)

Hand in Papers Here by 10:00 pm two days before you lead discussion.

 [The Persistence of Racial Resentment](#)

New York Times Study

# 17 February – 23 February

## Part 3 Separation, Civil Rights, and International Liberation Movements

### Tues Feb 19 The Black Panther Party

#### I. Discuss Analytical Frameworks

#### II. Party Formation, Aims, and Rules

Read: David Hilliard. 2008. "[Introduction to the Black Panther Party Survival Programs](#)" *The Black Panther Party: Service to the People Programs*. University of New Mexico Press.

And These Example Programs

Intercommunal Youth Institute, Community Learning Center, Son of Man Temple, Seniors Against a Fearful Environment (SAFE), Peoples Free Medical Research Health Clinics, Peoples Free Ambulance Service, Free Breakfast for School Children Program, Free Food Program, Black Student Alliance, Landbanking, People's Free Employment Program, Intercommunal News Service, Peoples Cooperative Housing Program, Child Development Center, Organizing a People's Campaign.

Paul Alkebulan. 2007. *Survival Pending Revolution : The History of the Black Panther Party*. University of Alabama Press.

On Line Resource through Gould Library: <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.carleton.edu/book/2329/>  
Read Introduction, Ch 1–4.

Curtis J. Austin. 2006. *Up Against the Wall: Violence in the Making and Unmaking of the Black Panther Party*. University of Arkansas Press. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctt1ffjh84. On line resource through Gould Library

<https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.carleton.edu/stable/j.ctt1ffjh84>

Ch 1–3 and Appendices A and B

MLK. "[A Time to Break Silence 1967](#)," *The Trumpet of Conscience* 1967," "[A Christmas Sermon on Peace 1967](#)," "[Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution 1968](#)," in James M. Washington, ed. *A Testament of Hope*.

Recommended: David Garrow. 1986. *Bearing the Cross*, New York: Vintage Books, Ch 10 and 11, and Epilogue, 527–574 and 575–625. (See link above)

### Thurs Feb 21 Huey Newton

Read: Selected Readings from *The Black Panther Speaks*. Focus on "The Genius of Huey Newton,"

Huey Newton, 2009. *To Die for the People*. Toni Morrison, ed. Foreword by Elaine Brown City Lights Books.

Read: [Foreword](#); Introduction; [Executive Mandates 1–3](#); [The Correct Handling of a Revolution](#); Speech Delivered at Boston College: November 18, 1970; [Fear and Doubt](#), May 15, 1967; [In Defense of Self-Defense I & II](#); [Black Capitalism Reanalyzed I & II](#); [On the Peace Movement](#); [The Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements](#); [To the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention](#).

Black Panther Party Footage



[Question Forum February 19](#)



Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.



### [Discussion Leader for February 19 Turn in Papers](#)

Hand in Papers Here by 10:00 pm two days before you lead discussion.



### [Discussant Assignments for Colloquium](#)

Each of you is assigned a paper written by one of your peers to read and present. Discussants will present a review of the work and with comments on steps to improve the argument. Plan to make a presentation of about 10 minutes. Authors may have a 5 minutes to respond. Please also prepare and give WRITTEN comments to the authors. Here are your assignments:

## 24 February – 2 March

Tues Feb 26      More from Huey Newton, Elaine Brown, Kathleen Cleaver, Angela Davis, George Jackson, Mumia Abu Jamal

Read:

Paul Alkebulan. 2007. *Survival Pending Revolution : The History of the Black Panther Party*. University of Alabama Press. On line resource through Gould Lib Ch 5, 6 and Epilogue

<https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.carleton.edu/book/2329/>

Kathleen Cleaver. 2001. "[Women, Power, and Revolution](#)," in Kathleen Cleaver and George N. Katsiaficas. *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party : a new look at the Panthers and their legacy*. New York: Routledge. 123–27.

Angela Davis. 1971. from *If They Come in the Morning*, Angela Davis ed. New York: New American Library: [Political Prisoners, Prisons, and Black Liberation](#); [Lessons from Attica to Soledad](#).

Huey Newton. 1966. "[Prison Where is Thy Victory?](#)" in *If They Come in the Morning*, Angela Davis ed. New York: New American Library.

Bobby Seal and Erika Huggins. 1971. "[A Message from Prison](#)," in *If They Come in the Morning*, Angela Davis ed. New York: New American Library.

Erika Huggins. "[A Letter to Erika from Angela](#)," 1971. in *If They Come in the Morning*, Angela Davis ed. New York: New American Library.

Eve Pell. "[How a Prison Picks its Victims](#)," 1971. in *If They Come in the Morning*, Angela Davis ed. New York: New American Library.

George Jackson, "[Toward a United Front](#)," and "[Letters to Jonathan Jackson](#)" from George Jackson," in *If They Come in the Morning*, Angela Davis ed. New York: New American Library.

Thurs Feb 28      Bringing the Conversation Forward.

Read:

Mumia Abu-Jamal. "[A Life in the Party](#): An Historical Retrospective Examination of the Projections and Legacies of the Black Panther Party," in Kathleen Cleaver and George N. Katsiaficas. *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: a new look at the Panthers and their legacy*. New York. 40–50.



Selections from Mumia Abu-Jamal. 2015. *Writing on the wall: Selected Prison Writings of Mumia Abu-Jamal*. City Lights Publishers: [Christmas in a Cage I & II](#); [The Power of Truth](#); [Voting for Your Own Oppression](#); [Welfare Reform or War on Women?](#) [Rosa Parks, Claudette Colvin, and JoAnn Robinson](#); [Before Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib—the Black Panthers](#); [Decolonization: The Influence of Africa and Latin America on the Black Freedom Movement](#); [Obama's Reelection: What it Means, What it Doesn't](#); [The Meaning of Ferguson](#).

Watch Kathleen Cleaver Oral History Interview

[Kathleen Cleaver](#)

Kathleen Cleaver and Noam Chomsky at MIT 1997

Fri Mar 1 Research Papers Due for Colloquium Presentations

-  [Research Papers Complete for Colloquium Presentation](#)
-  [Question Forum February 26](#)

Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.

-  [Question Forum February 28](#)

Discussion Leader Posts a 3–5 page paper. Each seminar member posts at least one question pertaining to the readings and the discussion leader paper.

-  [Discussion Leaders for February 26 and 28 Turn in Papers](#)

Hand in Papers Here by 10:00 pm two days before you lead discussion.

3 March – 9 March

- Thurs Mar 5

Mini Conference Class Presentations
- Thurs Mar 7

Mini Conference Class Presentations
- Discussants Final Projects

10 March – 16 March

- Tues Mar 12

Individual Conferences on Papers

\*\*\*\*\* PAPERS DUE IN No Later than 5:00pm Friday March 15\*\*\*\*\*

-  [FINAL PAPERS DUE IN CLASS](#)

WE WILL DISCUSS OUR PROGRESS ON OUR COLLOQUIAL RESEARCH VENTURE. NO LATE PAPERS.

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