



Mohamed Khider University of Biskra  
Faculty of Letters and languages  
Department of English Language and Literature



# American Civilization African Americans in US History and Society

Lectures and Documents  
for Master 1 Students of Anglophone Studies  
Literature and Civilization - Semester 2

Salim Kerboua





# **African Americans in US History and Society**

**AMERICAN CIVILIZATION subject of MASTER 1 - Semester 2**

By

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Maitre de conférences A

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## Course Description

### Introduction

The present course handout aims at providing **Master 1 students of Anglophone Studies**, option **Literature and Civilization** (as well as other options such as Language and Culture), with an introduction to African American history and African American Studies. The course handout falls within the **syllabus of the American Civilization subject of Master 1 - Semester 2**, as designed by the Department of English Language and Literature of Biskra University and validated by the Algerian Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. Some updated revisions have been made to meet the historical developments and recent issues in the US public scene.

African American experience in the United States' history and society is a peculiar and tragic one. The course explores the history, experience, and contribution of African Americans in the United States. It emphasizes their struggle for freedom, civil rights and justice in a society that was initially designed by whites for whites. The course evolves within the recent but interesting field of African American Studies (Black Studies), one that questions the classical history of the United States. In that sense the course explores issues such as slavery, Reconstruction, racial segregation; and it also sheds light on the role and influence of key African American intellectual and political actors and activists, their movements and ideological affiliations and divergences, as well as the achievements of the broad and diverse Civil Rights movement. The course also probes recent issues, such as police brutality and systemic inequality, and movements, such as the Woke culture and the Blacks Lives Matter movement.

### Course Objectives

At the end of the course, the students should be able to identify the landmarks of African American history. They should be able to identify the key concepts, events, and figures that have contributed to the African Americans quest for rights and justice. Students should be able to critically read and examine documents related to African American history and culture. They should be able to probe African American social, cultural, economic, and political experiences from slavery to the present day.

### Course Prerequisites

Before taking the course and in order to benefit from its full content, the students should be equipped with a satisfactory mastery of the English Language (especially the reading and writing skills). They should have acquired some satisfactory understanding of the general history of the United States of America, from the Colonial Period to the end of the nineteenth century.

## Course Format

The course covers 12 to 14 weeks (one semester). It consists of two sessions per week: a lecture (1 hour 30 minutes) and a tutorial (1 hour 30 minutes).

## Suggested Evaluation

1. Summative evaluation: achievement Test (end of semester exam)
2. Continuous and formative evaluation:
  - Readings/class participation assessment of about forty-five minutes to one hour per session (6.0 points). The class discussion is led and moderated by the teacher who guides talk with pertinent questions on the documents (questions about the format and the general content of the document). The teacher then may ask more specific questions on the ideas and arguments (or facts) developed in the documents. Students have to demonstrate that they have read the document. Critical reading and critical analysis are required. Students are also encouraged to provide their own explanations and even opinions.
  - Midterm test/ in-class assignments: short written composition (on document) or document summary. A session will be devoted to this activity in the semester (8.0 points)
  - Take-home assignment followed by a short oral presentation of no more than 10 minutes (6.0 points)

## A Note on Tutorials

Students are required to read the assigned documents before every session. Students should make the connection between the documents and parts of the lectures. They should prepare notes on their readings (or better, a critical summary). They will be asked questions on those readings. They are supposed to participate and contribute to the class discussion.

Grading: Readings and class discussion (out of 6.0)

Grade	Corresponding observation
5.0 - 6.0:	The student has read and understood the document. The student has significantly contributed to the class discussion.
3.5 - 4.0:	The student has read but has more or less understood and has contributed to the class discussion.
2.5 - 3.0:	The student has read but has not fully understood the document. No sufficient contribution to class discussion.
1.0 - 2.0:	The student has not done his/her readings properly.
0:	Students did not attend the tutorial(s)

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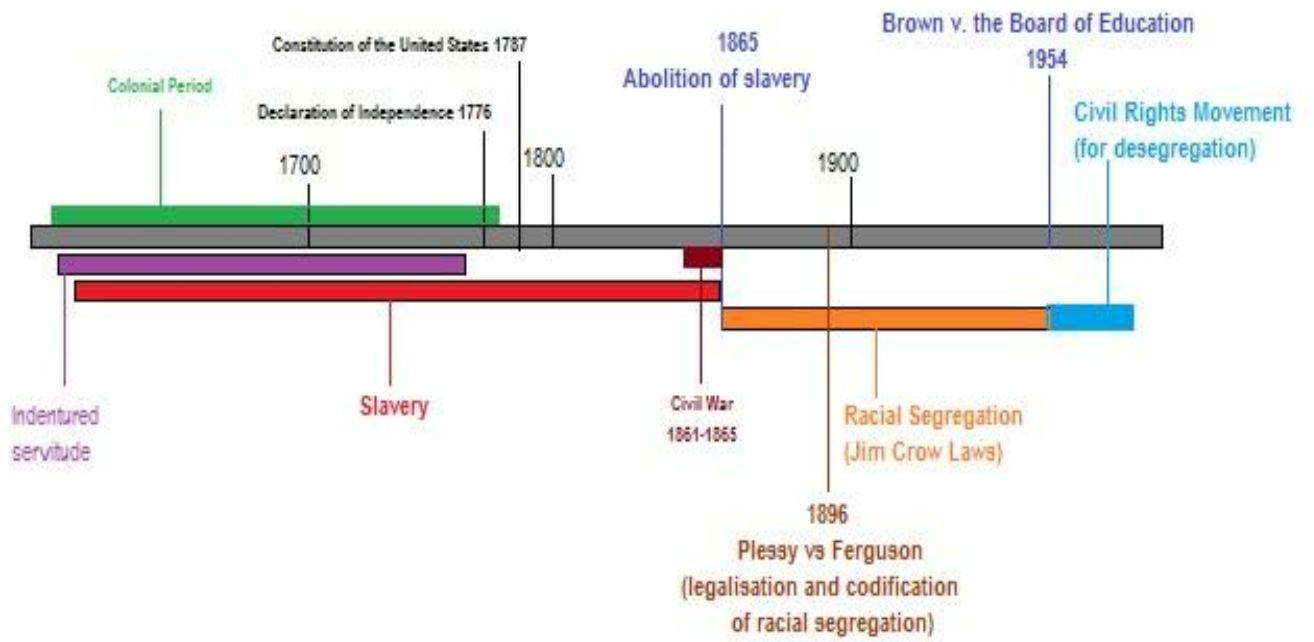


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## African American History: A Brief Timeline



# LECTURE 1

## INTRODUCTION TO AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDIES

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1. Definition and scope of African American Studies
2. Historical context and importance of African American Studies

### *Objectives*

*The students should be able to identify the main topics covered by African American Studies. They should be able to understand the importance of studying Black historical, political, and culture experience in contemporary America.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*In what sense is the field of African American Studies interdisciplinary?*

*When and Why did the field of African American Studies appear and develop?*

*What importance does the field of African American Studies have in US society and academia?*

### **1. Definition and scope of African American Studies**

African American Studies is an interdisciplinary field of study that looks into the history, culture, experiences, and contributions of people of African descent in the United States. It includes a wide range of disciplines in the human and social sciences, including history, literature, sociology, anthropology, political science, and cultural studies. The scope of African American Studies is broad and it integrates a deep exploration of African American history, culture, politics, and social dynamics.

The field of African American Studies emerged after the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, as scholars and activists sought to challenge the marginalization of African Americans in US society and academic research. Since then, the field has expanded significantly, and today it includes a myriad of subjects and approaches.

#### *African American History*

Scholars and researchers in African American Studies look into the history of slavery, Reconstruction, the Jim Crow era, the Civil Rights Movement, and critical contemporary issues such as systemic racism, economic inequality, mass incarceration

and police brutality. They examine the ways in which African Americans have contributed to American history, from the Colonial period to the present day.

### *African American Literature*

African American Studies scholars study the literary traditions of African Americans, from slave narratives to contemporary fiction and poetry. They examine the ways in which African American writers have used literature to challenge stereotypes and express their experiences of oppression and resistance.

### *Social Sciences*

African American Studies scholars analyze the social dynamics of African American communities, including issues such as poverty, racism, and discrimination. They also study the ways in which African Americans have built and sustained communities, from the Black church to Black fraternities and sororities.

### *Political Issues*

African American Studies scholars examine the political struggles of African Americans, from the Civil Rights Movement to contemporary issues such as voting rights and Black Lives Matter. They also study the ways in which African Americans have participated in American politics, from grassroots organizing to running for political office.

### *African American Culture*

African American Studies scholars study the cultural contributions of African Americans, from music and dance to visual arts and film. They examine the ways in which African Americans have created and influenced American popular culture, from jazz and blues to hip-hop and R&B.

## **2. Historical context and importance of African American Studies**

The historical context of African American Studies dates back to the early 20th century when scholars began to study the African American experience in the United States. However, the field gained significant momentum during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, when African Americans demanded equal rights and an end to racial discrimination. The Civil Rights Movement brought attention to the contributions and experiences of African Americans, inspiring scholars to focus on the study of African American history, culture, and social dynamics.

The importance of African American Studies lies in its ability to challenge the dominant narratives of American history and culture that have often excluded or misrepresented



the experiences and contributions of African Americans. By focusing on the history and culture of African Americans, the field of African American Studies has given voice to a community that has been marginalized and oppressed throughout American history. It has also contributed to a deeper understanding of the complexities of American society, culture, and politics.

African American Studies has been instrumental in bringing attention to the systemic racism and social injustices faced by African Americans in the United States. By studying the history and culture of African Americans, scholars have been able to highlight the ways in which racism and discrimination have been perpetuated through policies, practices, and institutions, such as slavery, Jim Crow laws, redlining, and mass incarceration.

Moreover, African American Studies has also contributed to the development of broader interdisciplinary fields such as Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies, which seek to understand the experiences and contributions of other marginalized groups in the United States. African American Studies has played a crucial role in shaping our understanding of American history, culture, and society, and continues to be an important field for challenging dominant narratives and promoting social justice.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Talmadge Anderson, James Benjamin Stewart. *Introduction to African American Studies*. Black Classic Press, 2007.

## LECTURE 2

# AFRICAN AMERICAN SLAVERY

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1. Historical context and origins of African American slavery in the US
2. Slave resistance and abolitionist movements
3. Legacy of slavery in African American culture and society

### *Objectives*

*The Students should be able to understand the development of the slave system in North America, during the Colonial Period and the first half of the 19th Century. They should be able to identify the main topics covered by African American Studies.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*How did Africans come enslaved in the colonies of North America?*

*How did Blacks resist slavery?*

*What ended slavery in the United States?*

### **1. Historical context and origins of African American slavery in the US**

African American slavery in the United States has a complex and deeply rooted history that spans over 400 years. The origins of African American slavery in the US can be traced back to the early 17th century when the first African slaves were brought to the English colonies in North America.

#### *The transatlantic slave trade*

The transatlantic slave trade was part of the triangular trade (see Fig. 1). It was a system of trade in which African slaves were transported across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas. That trade began in the 16th century and continued until the early 19th century. It was driven by European demand for cheap labor in their colonies. Millions of Africans were forcibly transported to the Americas where they were sold in auctions to white colonists who became their "masters" (see Fig. 2 and Fig. 3). African slaves had to work on plantations, mines, and other industries. The transatlantic slave trade brought millions of African slaves to the Americas, including the United States.

### *The origins of African American slavery in the United States*

The first African slaves arrived in the English colonies in North America in 1619 when a Dutch ship brought 20 enslaved Africans to the colony of Virginia. Initially, slavery was not a legal institution in the English colonies, but it gradually became institutionalized as the colonies developed their economies around agriculture, particularly tobacco, rice, and then cotton. Slavery gradually replaced **indentured servitude** and became legally recognized in the United States. **Slave codes** were implemented. These codes regulated the life of Black slaves in the plantations of the American South.

Figure 1: The Triangular Trade (17th-18th centuries)<sup>2</sup>



<sup>2</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/summary/Transatlantic-Slave-Trade-Key-Facts>

Figure 2. Africans as they were transported to the Americas<sup>3</sup>

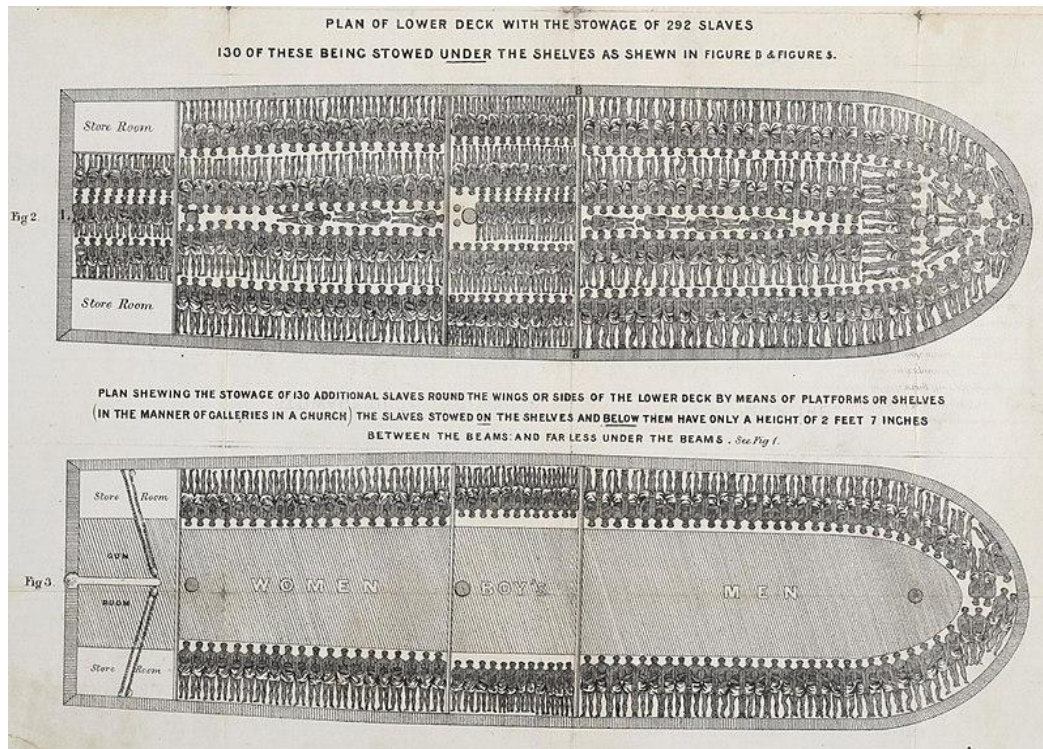
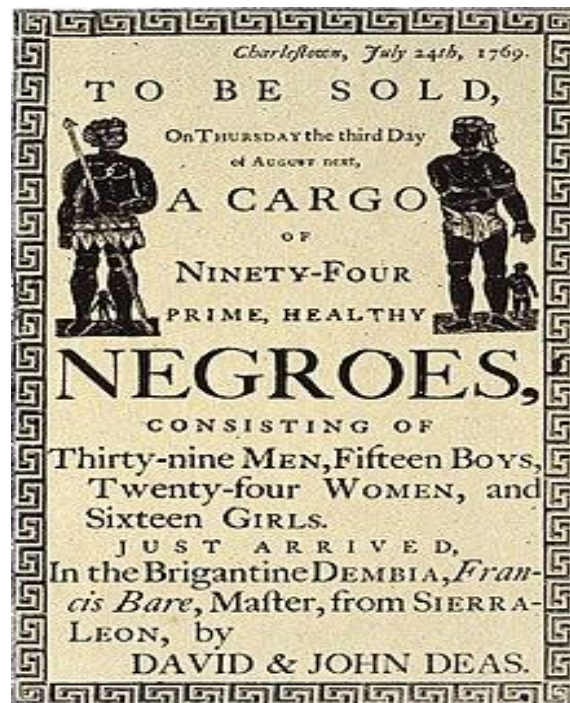


Figure 3: Ad on the sale of Africans in public auction<sup>4</sup>



<sup>3</sup> Public domain.

<sup>4</sup> Unknown author. <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/bf/aa/66/bfaa660a3b297993ea7bf5e3ade3cca4.jpg>

### *The expansion of slavery in the South of the United States*

As the demand for labor grew in the colonies, so did the demand for African slaves. The expansion of slavery in the United States was fueled by the growth of the cotton industry in the South, which required vast amounts of labor to cultivate and process cotton. The expansion of slavery also contributed to the growth of the American economy, as the profits from the sale of cotton and other slave-produced goods flowed into the Northern and European economies. **Slaves were considered the property of their masters. Slaves did not have any right. They could be bought, sold, and mortgaged. Marriage among slaves was not recognized.**

### *The abolitionist movement*

Despite the economic benefits of slavery, there were also many who opposed it on moral grounds. The abolitionist movement emerged in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. **Abolitionists sought to put an end to (to abolish) slavery in the United States.** Abolitionists argued that slavery was a violation of basic human rights and that it was incompatible with the principles of democracy and freedom upon which the United States was founded. The abolitionist movement gained momentum in the 1830s and 1840s and contributed to the eventual abolition of slavery in the United States with the adoption of the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution after the Civil War, in 1865.

In conclusion, the origins of African American slavery in the US can be traced back to the transatlantic slave trade, which brought millions of African slaves to the Americas. Slavery became institutionalized in the United States in the early 17th century and was driven by the demand for cheap labor in the colonies. Slavery expanded in the United States with the growth of the cotton industry in the South and contributed to the growth of the American economy. The abolitionist movement emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries and contributed to the eventual abolition of slavery in the United States.

## **2. Slave resistance and abolitionist movements**

Slave resistance and abolitionist movements played a crucial role in the fight against African American slavery in the United States. Enslaved people resisted their enslavement in a variety of ways, from overt acts of rebellion to subtle acts of resistance. The abolitionist movement emerged in the late 18th century and sought to end slavery in the United States through political and social action.



### *Resistance to slavery*

Enslaved people resisted their enslavement in a variety of ways. Some engaged in overt acts of violent rebellion, such as the **Stono Rebellion** in South Carolina in **1739**, the **Gabriel Prosser** conspiracy in Virginia in **1800**, and the **Nat Turner Rebellion** in Virginia in **1831**. Others engaged in more subtle acts of resistance, such as slowing down their work pace, pretending to be ill, or breaking tools. Enslaved people also resisted by preserving their African cultural traditions and developing new forms of cultural expression, such as music and dance.

### *The importance of Underground Railroad*

The **Underground Railroad** was a network of **secret routes** and **safe houses** used by runaway slaves to escape to freedom in the North. The Underground Railroad operated from the late 18th century until the Civil War, and estimates suggest that between 40,000 and 100,000 enslaved people escaped to freedom through the Underground Railroad.

### *The abolitionist movement*

The abolitionist movement emerged in the late 18th century and sought to end slavery in the United States through political and social action. Abolitionists argued that slavery was a violation of human rights and that it was incompatible with the principles of democracy and freedom upon which the United States was founded. Abolitionists used a variety of tactics to achieve their goals, including publishing anti-slavery literature, organizing lectures and rallies, and supporting political candidates who opposed slavery.

### *Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*

**The Emancipation Proclamation** was issued by President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War (1861-1865) and more precisely in **1863**. It declared that all enslaved people in the Confederate states were to be set free. The Emancipation Proclamation did not immediately free all enslaved people in the United States, but it marked a significant step towards the abolition of slavery.

### *The 13th Amendment to the US Constitution*

The **13th Amendment** to the US Constitution, adopted in **1865**, officially abolished slavery in the United States. The amendment stated that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Slave resistance and abolitionist movements played a crucial role in the fight against African American slavery in the United States. Enslaved people resisted their enslavement in a variety of ways, from overt acts of rebellion to subtle acts of resistance. The abolitionist movement emerged in the late 18th century and sought to end slavery in the United States through political and social action. The Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th Amendment marked significant steps towards the abolition of slavery, but the fight for racial equality and justice in the United States continues to this day.

### **3. Legacy of slavery in American culture and society**

The legacy of slavery has had a profound impact on African American culture and society, and continues to shape the experiences of Black Americans to this day.

#### *Economic inequality*

Slavery created a system of economic inequality that has persisted for generations. Enslaved people were not paid for their labor, and the wealth generated by their labor was used to enrich slave owners and build the American economy. After slavery was abolished, Black Americans were systematically excluded from many of the economic opportunities available to White Americans, such as home ownership, access to credit, and well-paying jobs. Today, African Americans are more likely to experience poverty and unemployment than White Americans.

#### *Persistent racism*

Slavery was based on the belief that Black people were inferior to White people, and this belief has persisted in American society. African Americans continue to face discrimination and racism in many areas of life, including employment, housing, education, and the criminal justice system. This discrimination has led to disparities in health outcomes, educational achievement, and economic opportunities between African Americans and White Americans.

#### *Cultural contributions*

Despite the trauma and oppression of slavery, African Americans have made significant contributions to American culture. African American music, literature, and art have had a profound impact on American culture and have been celebrated around the world. African American culture has also played a crucial role in shaping American identity and values, and in inspiring social and political movements for justice and equality.

*Intergenerational trauma*

The trauma of slavery has been passed down through generations of African Americans, creating **intergenerational trauma** that can manifest in various forms, such as depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This trauma is compounded by ongoing experiences of racism and discrimination, which can further impact mental and physical health.

*African American resilience and resistance*

Despite the many challenges created by the legacy of slavery, African Americans have shown remarkable **resilience** and **resistance** in the face of adversity. African American communities have developed their own institutions and cultural practices, such as churches and fraternal organizations that have provided support and strength. African Americans have also organized and mobilized for social and political change, leading to the Civil Rights Movement and other movements for justice and equality.

The legacy of slavery has had a profound impact on African American culture and society. The economic inequality, racism, and intergenerational trauma created by slavery continue to shape the experiences of Black Americans today. At the same time, African American culture and resilience have contributed to American culture and inspired social and political movements for justice and equality. Understanding the legacy of slavery is essential to addressing the ongoing struggles for racial justice and equality in the United States.

## LECTURE 3

# RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

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1. Historical context and impact of Reconstruction and Jim Crow laws
2. African American struggle against the Jim Crow laws and racial segregation

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture, the students should be able to identify the main implications of the Reconstruction era. They should be able to identify the main features of the Jim Crow era and the beginning of racial segregation in the United States.*

### *Questions to consider*

*Did Reconstruction succeed in providing African Americans with their full rights?*

*What did the Jim Crow laws consist of?*

*How was Plessy v. Ferguson significant in African American history?*

### **1. Historical context and impact of Reconstruction and Jim Crow laws**

**Reconstruction (1865-1877)** was a period of significant change in the United States. It followed the Civil War (1861-1865) and the abolition of slavery. During that period, the federal government sought to rebuild the South and establish civil rights for African Americans. However, their attempts failed. The end of Reconstruction and political and social failure of Reconstruction marked the establishment and consolidation of the **Jim Crow laws. The latter enforced racial segregation and discrimination in the South.**

#### *Reconstruction (1865-1877)*

Following the Civil War, the federal government sought to implement a Reconstruction plan to rebuild the South and establish civil rights for African Americans. The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution were ratified during this period. These amendment respectively abolished slavery, granted citizenship to African Americans, and protected their right to vote. The Federal government, controlled by the **Radical Republicans** of the North established Reconstruction governments in the South. These governments included African American politicians and officials. However, **Reconstruction was met with fierce resistance from Southern whites who wanted to maintain their power and control over African Americans.**

### *Jim Crow Laws and racial segregation (1870s-1960s)*

The Southern whites ultimately took control of the South again and they implemented the **Jim Crow laws**. They were a series of **state and local laws** in the South that enforced **racial segregation** and **discrimination** against African Americans. Examples of Jim Crow laws included segregation in schools, public transportation and other public facilities, as well as laws that restricted African Americans' right to vote, to own property, and to work certain jobs. Additionally, in the aftermath of the Civil War, some white racial supremacists founded the **Ku Klux Klan** (in 1865). It was an organization that started to use **violence to terrorize African Americans**.

**Ultimately, In 1896**, the **Supreme Court** upheld segregation in the **Plessy v. Ferguson decision**. That decision established the "**separate but equal**" doctrine that allowed for racial segregation as long as the separate facilities were deemed equal.

Jim Crow laws were enforced through **violence, intimidation, and the threat of punishment**, including **lynchings** and other kinds of violence. Hundreds of African Americans were victims of lynching in the South: they were killed by white mobs without any reason and without any judicial basis (see Fig. 4). White Southerners from the Ku Klux Klan wanted to oppress and terrorize the African Americans who dared ask for equality and their civil rights.

Figure 4: Lynching of an African American by a white mob (1882)<sup>5</sup>



<sup>5</sup> Jamiles Lartey and Jim Morris. "How White Americans Used Lynchings to Terrorize and control Black people." *The Guardian*. April 26, 2018.

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/apr/26/lynchings-memorial-us-south-montgomery-alabama>



### *Impact of Reconstruction and Jim Crow Laws*

Reconstruction established civil rights for African Americans and paved the way for political and social progress. However, the end of Reconstruction and the establishment of **Jim Crow laws led to the institutionalization of racism and discrimination in the South, and African Americans faced widespread oppression and violence.**

Jim Crow laws perpetuated economic and social inequality, as African Americans were denied access to education, jobs, and other opportunities.

**The legacy of Jim Crow laws continues to impact African American communities today,** as disparities in education, employment, and the criminal justice system can be traced back to these discriminatory laws and practices.

The Jim Crow laws and racial segregation had a significant impact on American history. They **institutionalized racism and discrimination in the South.**

## **2. African American struggle against the Jim Crow laws and racial segregation**

The Jim Crow era, which lasted from the late 1800s to the mid-1960s, was a time of widespread racial discrimination and segregation in the United States, particularly in the Southern states. As a response to the Jim Crow Laws and widespread segregation, oppression, and violence, a number of important African American political and social movements started to emerge and develop. Their main aim was to challenge segregation and discrimination and improve the lives of African Americans.

### *The Civil Rights Movement*

The Civil Rights Movement was a broad-based movement that aimed to end segregation and discrimination against African Americans. Key leaders of the Civil Rights Movement included Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, and Malcolm X, among others.

The Civil Rights Movement employed a range of tactics, including protests, boycotts, and legal challenges to segregationist policies. Some of the most significant events of the Civil Rights Movement during the Jim Crow era include the **Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955-1956)**, the **March on Washington (1963)**, and the **Voting Rights Act of 1965.**

### *Black Nationalism*

Black Nationalism was a political and social movement that emphasized the importance of **African American culture, heritage, and identity**. Key leaders of the Black Nationalism movement included Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad, and Stokely Carmichael, among others.

The Black Nationalism movement promoted **black pride** and **self-determination**, and some groups advocated for the creation of a separate African American nation. Black Nationalism was a significant influence on the Civil Rights Movement, with some activists embracing its message of black empowerment.

### *Anti-Lynching Movement*

The Anti-Lynching Movement aimed to end the practice of lynching, which was a common form of violence against African Americans during the Jim Crow era. The movement was led by African American activists, including **Ida B. Wells** and **Mary Church Terrell**, who sought to raise awareness about the brutality of lynching and push for federal legislation to prevent it.

While the Anti-Lynching Movement was not successful in ending lynching altogether, it helped to bring attention to the issue and mobilized support for anti-lynching legislation.

### *The NAACP*

The **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) was founded in 1909 and became one of the most influential civil rights organizations of the United States.

The NAACP focused on legal challenges to segregationist policies, and its legal team played a key role in landmark cases such as **Brown v. Board of Education (1954)**. The NAACP also worked to mobilize African American voters and to push for political change at the local, state, and national levels.

In conclusion, the Jim Crow era was a challenging time for African Americans, who faced widespread discrimination and injustice. However, political and social movements emerged during that time. They aimed at challenging the status quo and fighting for civil rights, justice, and equality. The Civil Rights Movement, Black Nationalism, the Anti-Lynching Movement, and the NAACP were all important forces for change.

## LECTURE 4

# AFRICAN AMERICANS' GREAT MIGRATION

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1. Waves of the Great Migration
2. Causes of the Great Migration
3. The role of the Chicago Defender
4. Effects of the Great Migration

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture, the students should be able to identify the successive waves of African Americans' Great Migration. They should be able to identify its causes and its consequences.*

### *Questions to consider*

*What did the Great Migration consist of?*

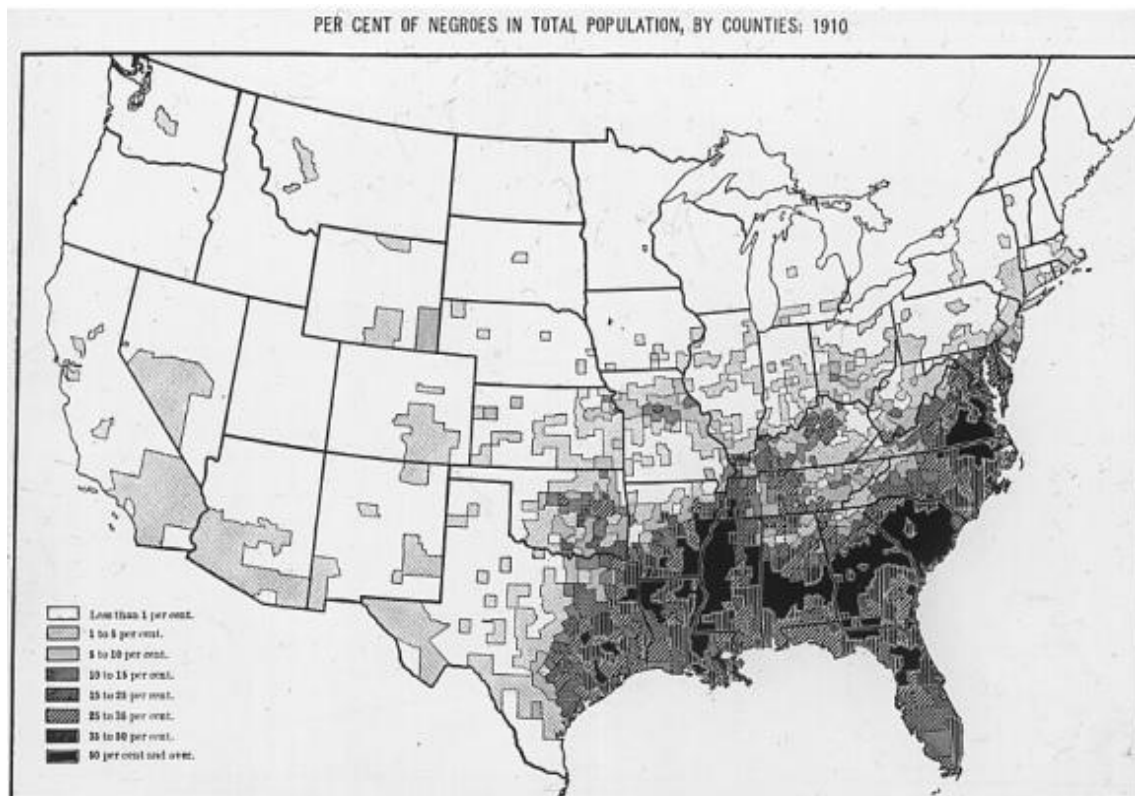
*What were its causes?*

*What consequences did the successive waves of Great Migration have on African American life?*

The Great Migration was a series of resettlements from the **Black Belt** of the South to the North and from rural to urban areas. Those waves of human movement occurred intermittently from the 1870s to the 1970s, and they underscore the general idea that hundreds of thousands of African Americans left the South for political, social, and economic reasons.

### **1. The Waves of the Great Migration**

The first signs of migration occurred in the 1870s. Large numbers of newly freed African Americans moved to Texas, Kansas, and other western areas to escape the injustice and racial oppression that dominated social life in the Deep South. Another quarter of a million African Americans migrated to the Northern states between 1890 and 1910. Additionally, about 35,000 moved to the Far West (mainly California and Colorado).

Figure 5: Geographical location of African Americans in the United States in 1910<sup>6</sup>

The departures increased dramatically in the years between **1914 and 1929, the period that generally refers to the Great Migration**. During these years between 300,000 and 1,000,000 African Americans resettled in the North. Their main destinations during that wave were cities in the Northeast and Midwest, including New York City, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago. Many African Americans also migrated to industrial cities in the South, such as Birmingham and Atlanta, and to the West such as Los Angeles and San Francisco (see Fig. 5).

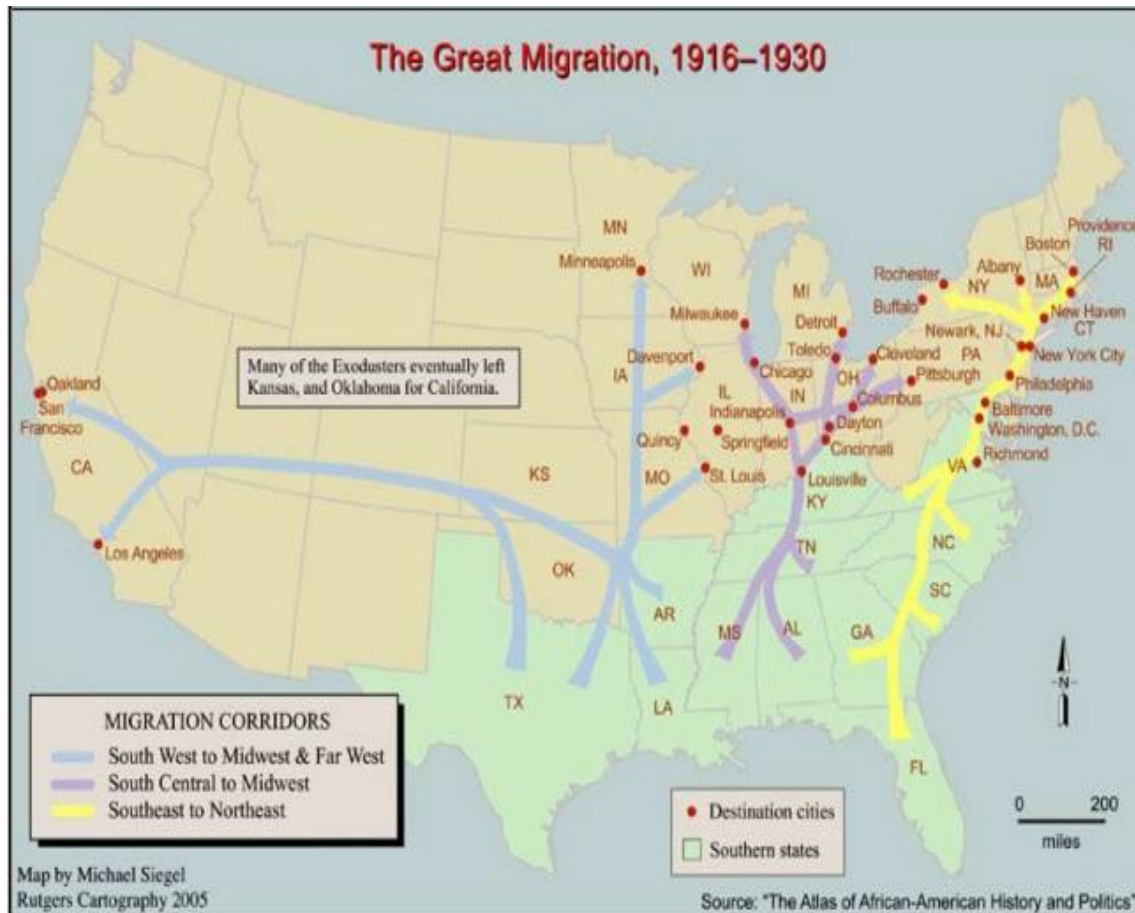
In fact, the process that happened in the years between 1914 and 1929 paved the way for a pattern that would continue for much of the 20th century, except during the Great Depression (1930s), when the trend slowed for a time.

With the beginning World War II, however, the process of black migration rose again. It was the second big phase of the Great Migration. Indeed, three million African Americans moved out of the South from 1940 to 1970. They continued to migrate to cities in the Northeast and Midwest, with Chicago, Detroit, and New York City

<sup>6</sup> James Grossman. "The Great Migration: An Online Professional Development Seminar." Florida Virtual School. p. 11. <https://americainclass.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/WEB-Great-Migration-Presentation.pdf>

remaining the main destinations. Additionally, many African Americans migrated to cities in the West, such as Los Angeles and Oakland. The African Americans who left their homes during these years hoped to find better jobs and a new sense of actual citizenship. They sought human freedoms and equality for themselves, their families, and their new communities in the big cities of the North and the West.

Figure 6: The Great Migration (1916-1930)<sup>7</sup>



## 2. Causes of the Great Migration

After the failure of the Reconstruction era, whites had taken back all the political offices, and they assumed control of all of the South's political institutions. Later in 1896, in the landmark case of **Plessy v. Ferguson**, the Supreme Court held that segregation laws were not forbidden by the 14th Amendment. Thus, racial segregation was institutionalized. African Americans were restricted to "colored" facilities clearly inferior to those reserved for white citizens.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 8



Moreover, racial segregation was coupled with extremely violent deeds towards African Americans who claimed some form of freedom or justice. 3,000 African Americans were lynched in the South between 1892 and 1903. African Americans and progressive/ anti-segregationist whites persistently drew the media's attention to the practice of **lynching** from the early twentieth century onward, and anti-lynching campaigns were a major focus of early civil rights activists. **Lynching was the summary execution by a mob, typically by hanging. It was a brutal practice used to terrorize African Americans and maintain white social control in the American South.** The aim of the southern lynch mobs was not so only to "punish" individual African Americans, but it also aimed at instilling fear in entire African American communities. Many lynchings went unrecorded. White supremacists in Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas were the leading practitioners of ritualized terror against African Americans. Increased visibility and brutality of southern lynch mobs accompanied a rise in influence of the Ku Klux Klan and it helped to persuade many African Americans to leave the South.

### 3. The role of the *Chicago Defender*

Oppression and violence against African Americans were exposed in newspapers like *The Chicago Defender*, an African American journal that published articles exposing the manifest racism of white southerners, political oppression, and the perpetual threat of lynching. **Robert Sengstacke Abbott** founded the *Chicago Defender* on May 6, 1905. In its pages, the *Chicago Defender* denounced racial segregation, disenfranchisement, and oppression.

*The Chicago Defender* also called for African Americans to leave the South for the North and especially Chicago. It provided contact information for shelter and people who were ready to help or potential employers. Thousands of African American southerners made contact with northern churches and employers as a result of Abbott's work. With the onset of World War I, the *Chicago Defender* became more visible and influential than ever. The *Chicago Defender* was the most influential African American weekly in the nation during the first half of the twentieth century. It reached an estimated audience of 500,000. Two thirds of its readers lived outside Chicago. Abbott's newspaper was suppressed in parts of the South, but was smuggled in by an underground network of African American readers.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Melba J. Duncan. *A Complete Idiot's Guide to African American History*. New York: Pearson, 2003, p. 90.

Figure 7: Front page of *The Chicago Defender* (1919)<sup>9</sup>



#### 4. Effects of the Great Migration

##### *The Whites' Reactions*

The Great Migration had a big impact on the South. While W. E. B. Du Bois saw the mass movement as the end of the South's old order of African American oppression, many white southerners took another view. They feared that the South could not survive without Black labor force. Even some progressive southerners tried to halt the migration by promising better pay and improved treatment, but segregation and violence was too heavy and too oppressive. Some white planters tried to keep African American workers by intimidation. Some whites even boarded trains to attack African American men and women in an attempt to return them forcibly to their homes. However, none of these measures could change the pattern.<sup>10</sup>

##### *Demographic Changes*

The Great Migration changed the demographic structure of the United States. From the 1890s to the 1960s the African American population

- in the South fell from 90.3 percent to 60 percent
- in the North grew from 9.7 percent to 34 percent.

<sup>9</sup> <https://chicagoraceriot.org/history/>

<sup>10</sup> Duncan, *African American History*. pp. 87-90.

The percentage of African Americans living

- in the country fell from 90 percent to 27 percent,
- in cities rose from 10 percent to 73 percent.<sup>11</sup>

African Americans turned to what they viewed as the “Promised Land” of the North in search of jobs and acceptance. Many found what they sought. Unlike the South, the North was a place where African Americans could start their own businesses and even enjoy some kind of political rights, provided they settled in the right cities and kept their expectations low. Some of those who had traveled to Chicago from the South eventually became successful entrepreneurs and prominent public figures in their new home.

### *Social problems and urban tensions*

The growth of the African American population in major northern cities brought also some problems and was a source of social disunion among African Americans. There were sharp economic and educational divisions between already established African American communities and newcomers from the South.

Additionally, the Great Migration’s dramatic expansion of African American communities in the North brought **about urban tensions and conflicts**. A striking example was the case of an African American named Eugene Williams. On July 27, 1919, he accidentally went into a “whites-only” section of a public beach. A group of white men quickly murdered him. The crime was followed by six days of dreadful race riots. 38 people died. **The Chicago race riots** were to be followed by many others in the North throughout the twentieth century. A commission established to determine the causes of the bloodshed in Chicago found a series of **urban problems**. These problems included **rigidly separated African American and white communities**, poor quality living conditions and serious social evils, among which crime, vice, poverty, and broken homes, in the African American neighborhoods. Moreover, there was a legacy of alienation and cultural, social, and geographical separation between African American and white sectors in the city. In the years since the Great Migration, the same basic pattern has emerged in other major American cities.<sup>12</sup>

### *Cultural effects*

When moving north, southern migrants did not forget to bring along their culture, which ultimately changed the environment of the northern cities. The songs and art that personified the **Harlem Renaissance** in New York City came with the Great Migration. Restaurants featured southern-style menus. Southern foods appeared in African American-owned groceries. As with many attempts to locate the “Promised Land,” the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. pp. 93-94.

Great Migration had its share of disappointments. For most migrants, the North was a step up from the South, but it was no paradise. As in the South, segregation in housing and hiring were the norm, and northern racism sometimes took on a brutality that equaled anything in Mississippi or Alabama. Most often, new arrivals could land only low-paying jobs as janitors, elevator operators, domestics, and unskilled laborers. Often, employers established discriminatory salary policies that kept wages down for African American workers.

The Great Migration was a thus complex and multifaceted event in American history. It had a profound impact on the country. It allowed millions of African Americans to escape poverty and discrimination in the South and to find better economic opportunities in the North and West. At the same time, it led to the formation of segregated ghettos and increased tensions between African Americans and whites in many cities. Today, the legacy of the Great Migration can still be felt in the demographic, cultural, and political landscape of the United States.

## LECTURE 5

# KEY AFRICAN AMERICAN FIGURES IN THE EARLY FIGHT FOR RIGHTS AND JUSTICE (1870s-1920s)

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1. Key African American intellectual and political figures (1870s-1920s)
2. The Washington - Du Bois Debate on early African American struggle
3. The influence of W.E.B. Du Bois on the African American struggle
4. Marcus Garvey and Black Separatism

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture, the students should be able to identify the main African American intellectual and political figures of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They should be able to grasp their main achievements. They should be able to understand the diverse ideological trends and the diverse intellectual and political postures of key figures such as Booker T Washington, WEB Dubois, and Marcus Garvey.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*What kinds of different issues did African American intellectuals and activists fight for?*

*What was the main ideological divergences between Booker T Washington and WEB Dubois?*

*What was the main ideological divergences between WEB Dubois and Marcus Garvey?*

### **1. Key African American intellectual and political figures (1870s-1920s)**

There were many African American figures who played a significant role in the improvement of Blacks from the 1870s to the 1920s.

1. **Frederick Douglass** (1818-1895) - Douglass was an abolitionist, writer, and orator who escaped slavery and became one of the leading voices of the abolitionist movement. He continued to advocate for civil rights and suffrage for African Americans during Reconstruction and beyond.
2. **Booker T. Washington** (1856-1915) - Washington was an educator and founder of the **Tuskegee Institute** in Alabama. He believed in vocational/ industrial

education and economic self-sufficiency as a means for African Americans to gain acceptance and equal rights in American society.

3. **W.E.B. Du Bois** (1868-1963) - Du Bois was a sociologist, historian, and civil rights activist. He was the first African American to earn a PhD from Harvard University. He was a leading voice in the fight for full civil rights and equality for African Americans. He was a founder of the Niagara Movement (1905) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909.
4. **Ida B. Wells-Barnett** (1862-1931) - Wells-Barnett was a journalist, suffragist, and civil rights activist who fought against lynching and racial segregation. She was one of the founders of the NAACP.
5. **Mary Church Terrell** (1863-1954) - Terrell was an educator, writer, and civil rights activist. She fought for suffrage and civil rights for African American women. She was one of the founders of the **National Association of Colored Women**.<sup>13</sup>
6. **Marcus Garvey** (1887-1940) - Garvey was a Jamaican-born activist who founded the **Universal Negro Improvement Association** (UNIA). He advocated for **Black Nationalism** and the **economic empowerment** of African Americans.
7. **James Weldon Johnson** (1871-1938) - Johnson was a writer, educator, and civil rights activist. He was a leader of the NAACP. He is perhaps best known for writing the lyrics to the song entitled "Lift Every Voice and Sing." The latter is often referred to as the "Black National Anthem."<sup>14</sup>

These individuals and many others played a significant role in the improvement of Blacks from the 1870s to the 1920s. Their work paved the way for the civil rights movement and the ongoing struggle for racial justice in the United States.

## 2. The Washington - Du Bois Debate on early African American struggle

**Booker T. Washington** and **W.E.B. Du Bois** were two prominent African American leaders of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, they had different ideas about the best way for African Americans to achieve greater rights and equality. Though they can be viewed as belonging to the **mainstream liberal pluralist trend** in African American activism, their respective ideas diverged with regard to African American priorities of the time.

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<sup>13</sup> National Women's History Museum website. <https://www.crusadeforthevote.org/nacw>

<sup>14</sup> *Lift Every Voice and Sing II*. Church Publishing, 1993.

### *Booker T. Washington*

Booker T. Washington was born into slavery and went on to become one of the most influential African American leaders of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Washington believed that African Americans should focus on economic self-sufficiency and practical education rather than political agitation and confrontation with white society. Washington emphasized the importance of vocational education and job training, arguing that this would enable African Americans to gain economic independence and social acceptance. Washington believed that African Americans should accept segregation and discrimination in the short term, and work to improve their position gradually over time through hard work and economic success.

### *W.E.B. Du Bois*

W.E.B. Du Bois was a prominent African American intellectual and civil rights leader who was the first African American to earn a PhD from Harvard University.

Du Bois believed that African Americans should fight for full equality and civil rights through political activism and direct confrontation with white society. Du Bois argued that the focus on economic self-sufficiency would not be enough to overcome the deep-seated racism and discrimination that existed in American society. Du Bois believed that African Americans should demand full citizenship rights, including the right to vote and the right to an education on par with white Americans.

### *Divergence of opinion*

Washington and Du Bois' divergence of opinion came to a head in 1893, eight years after Washington had made an address at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. There, Washington delivered his famous "**Atlanta Compromise**" speech.

In his speech, Washington emphasized the importance of vocational education and economic self-sufficiency for African Americans, and urged them to accept segregation and discrimination in the short term.<sup>15</sup>

In a 1903 essay, Du Bois rejected Washington's opinion. Du Bois asserted that "Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission."<sup>16</sup> Du Bois criticized Washington's approach, claiming that the latter would

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<sup>15</sup> Booker T Washington, "The Atlanta Exposition Address." In *Encyclopedia of African American Culture and History*. Vol.6. Colin A. Palmer, ed. Thomson-Gale, 2006. pp. 2428-2430

<sup>16</sup> W E B Dubois. "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others." *The Souls of Black Folk*. Brent Hayes Edwards, ed. Oxford U P, 2007. p.38



lead to the acceptance of a permanent racial caste system. Du Bois believed that African Americans should demand full equality and civil rights, rather than accepting second-class citizenship and segregation.<sup>17</sup>

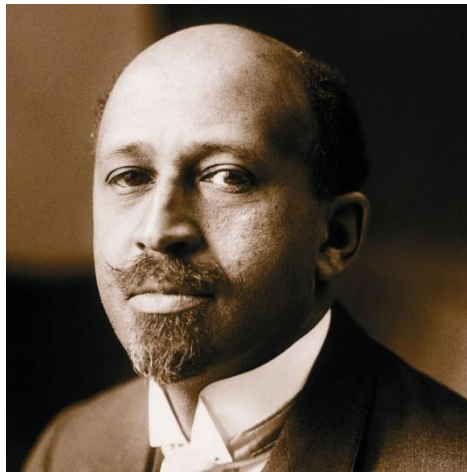
The debate between Washington and Du Bois was an example of the many diverse and sometimes divergent ideas about the best way for African Americans to claim for their rights and to achieve equality.

Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois had hence different ideas about the best way for African Americans to achieve greater rights and equality. While Washington emphasized technical education, economic self-sufficiency and gradual progress, Du Bois believed in liberal education, direct confrontation with white society and the demand for full rights and citizenship.

### 3. The influence of W.E.B. Du Bois on the African American struggle

W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963) was a prominent African American intellectual, writer, and civil rights activist who made significant contributions to the advancement of African American rights and equality in the United States. His ideas and activism were influential in shaping African American history and continue to be studied and celebrated today.

Figure 8: W E B Dubois



*W E B Du Bois: The Scholar*

Du Bois was the first African American to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard University, and he used his scholarly training to conduct groundbreaking research on African American history and culture. He also used his sociological expertise to show racism and

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. pp. 38-44.

inequality.<sup>18</sup> His most famous work, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), is a classic in African American literature and social commentary. The book explored the idea of "double consciousness" and the **experience of being both American and African American**, and it helped to define the concept of race in American society. In that sense Du Bois was not a separatist. **He believed in the pluralist and multicultural dimensions of the American society.**

#### *W E B Du Bois: The Political Activist*

Du Bois was a leading civil rights activist and worked to improve the social, economic, and political status of African Americans throughout his life. He was a co-founder of the **Niagara Movement in 1905**. In **1909**, he co-founded the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**, which is still one of the most prominent mainstream civil rights organizations in the United States. He served as the editor of the NAACP's journal, *The Crisis*, and used it as a platform to promote racial justice and equality.

#### *W E B Du Bois: The Pan-Africanist*

Du Bois was a strong advocate for **Pan-Africanism**, which is the idea that people of African descent share a common history, culture, and destiny. He believed that African Americans should unite with people of African descent throughout the world to fight against racism and imperialism. He was a co-founder of the **Pan-African Congress** and helped to organize several international conferences on African affairs.

#### *Integration vs. Separation*

Du Bois was a leading voice in the debate over integration vs. separation in the African American community. **He believed that African Americans should fight for full integration into American society.** He also contended that **education and economic advancement** were key to achieving this goal. However, he also recognized the value of African American culture and history and argued that African Americans should be proud of their heritage.

#### *Du Bois' legacy*

Du Bois's ideas and activism have had a lasting impact on African American history and culture. He helped to shape the modern civil rights movement and his writings continue to be studied and celebrated today. His work on the idea of **double consciousness**, the

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<sup>18</sup> Mona Chalabi. "WEB Du Bois: retracing his attempt to challenge racism with data." *The Guardian*. Feb. 14. 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/14/web-du-bois-racism-data-paris-african-americans-jobs>

role of education in African American progress, and the importance of Pan-Africanism continue to be influential in academic and political circles.

W.E.B. Du Bois's ideas and activism were important in African American history because of his contributions to scholarship, political activism, Pan-Africanism, the debate over integration vs. separation, and his lasting legacy as a civil rights leader and intellectual. He was a key figure in the struggle for racial justice and equality in the United States and his work continues to inspire new generations of activists and scholars.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4. Marcus Garvey and Black Separatism

Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican-born **black nationalist** and entrepreneur who became a prominent figure in the early 20th-century Pan-African movement. Garvey was born on August 17, 1887, in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, and died on June 10, 1940, in London, England. He is best known for his advocacy of **black self-reliance** and his efforts to establish an **independent African state**.

Marcus Garvey's ideology, known as Garveyism, emphasized the importance of **black self-determination** and **economic self-sufficiency**. Garvey believed that **black people around the world needed to unite and work together to achieve political and economic independence**. He argued that black people had been oppressed and exploited for too long by colonial powers and white-dominated societies and that the only way to achieve true freedom was through **self-determination**. In that sense, **Garvey's ideology opposed Du Bois's thinking. Garvey belonged to the separatist tradition** in the African American struggle for rights and justice.<sup>20</sup>

Figure 9: Marcus Garvey



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<sup>19</sup> Mark. Stafford, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Scholar and Activist*. Chelsea House Publishers, 2005.

<sup>20</sup> Mary Lawler. *Marcus Garvey: Black Nationalist Leader*. Chelsea House Publishers, 2005, p. 61-62.

One of Garvey's most famous slogans was "One God, One Aim, One Destiny,"<sup>21</sup> which reflected his belief that black people were a single global community with a shared history, culture, and destiny. Garvey also believed in the importance of education and the need for black people to take pride in their heritage and culture.

### *Garvey's UNIA*

Garvey's influence was felt throughout the African American community in the early 20th century. He founded the **Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)** in 1914. It quickly became the largest black organization in the world. He also published a newspaper: *The Negro World*. The UNIA promoted black economic empowerment through the establishment of businesses and cooperative enterprises, and it advocated for the creation of an independent African state.

Garvey's message of **black self-determination** and **empowerment** resonated with many African Americans, particularly in the 1920s. His speeches and writings inspired a sense of pride and confidence in black people, who had been marginalized and oppressed for centuries. Garvey's influence extended beyond the United States and the Caribbean, and he was recognized as a leader and visionary by many black people around the world.

Despite his influence, Garvey faced opposition from both white authorities and some black leaders who disagreed with his methods and ideology. In 1922, he was arrested and convicted of mail fraud. He served time in prison and was eventually deported to Jamaica in 1927.

Despite his setbacks, Garvey's legacy has endured, and his ideas continue to inspire and influence black leaders and activists today. Garveyism played an important role in the broader struggle for black liberation in the United States and around the world.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p.33

## LECTURE 6

# AFRICAN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND CULTURE

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1. Overview of African American literature, music, and art
2. Themes and motifs in African American cultural works
3. Two Examples: Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940) and Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* ((1952)

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture, the students should have been introduced to the main African American cultural achievements in the fields of literature and music. They should be able to identify the main themes and motifs raised in these cultural productions. Students should be able to identify the key literary authors, artists, and their influence on African American culture.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*What themes were generally explored in African American literature and culture?*

*How has African American experience influenced literature and art?*

### **1. Overview of African American literature, music, and art**

African Americans have made significant contributions to literature, music, and art, despite facing numerous obstacles and discrimination throughout American history. Here is a detailed account of their contributions:

#### *African American Literature*

African American literature has a long and rich history, dating back to the 18th century with the works of authors such as Phillis Wheatley and Jupiter Hammon. During the 19th century, writers like Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs used literature to expose the horrors of slavery and advocate for its abolition. In the early 20th century, the **Harlem Renaissance** saw a flowering of African American literature, with writers such as **Langston Hughes**, **Zora Neale Hurston**, and **James Baldwin** producing seminal works that explored the experiences of Black Americans. In more recent years, African American writers like **Toni Morrison**, **Maya Angelou**, and **Ta-Nehisi Coates** have continued to produce powerful and influential works of literature that speak to the Black experience in America.

### *African American Music*

African American music has had a profound impact on American culture, influencing everything from **jazz** and **blues** to **hip hop** and **R&B**. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, African American musicians developed new forms of music, such as **ragtime** and **blues**, that would go on to shape the course of American music. **Jazz**, which originated in African American communities in New Orleans, became a major cultural force in the 1920s and 1930s, with artists like **Louis Armstrong** and **Duke Ellington**. In the 1950s and 1960s, African American musicians played a key role in the development of rock and roll, with artists like **Chuck Berry**, **Little Richard**, and **Jimi Hendrix** making significant contributions to the genre. In recent years, hip hop has emerged as one of the most popular and influential forms of music in the world.

### *Black Art*

African American art has a long and complex history, with artists creating works that both reflect and challenge the realities of racism and discrimination in America. During the Harlem Renaissance, African American artists like Aaron Douglas, Augusta Savage, and Jacob Lawrence created vibrant and dynamic works that celebrated Black culture and history. In the 1960s and 1970s, the **Black Arts Movement** saw a resurgence of African American art, with artists like Romare Bearden and Elizabeth Catlett using their work to explore issues of identity, race, and politics. In recent years, African American artists like Kara Walker, Kerry James Marshall, and Kehinde Wiley have gained international recognition for their powerful and thought-provoking works that continue to push the boundaries of contemporary art.

Overall, African Americans have made significant contributions to literature, music, and art, producing works that both celebrate and challenge the Black experience in America. Their contributions have enriched American culture and continue to inspire new generations of artists and creatives.

## **2. Themes and motifs in African American cultural works**

African American cultural works, including literature, music, and art, have long explored a wide range of themes and motifs that reflect the experiences and struggles of Black people in America. Here is a detailed analysis of some of the most prominent themes and motifs in African American cultural works:

### *Themes of racism and discrimination*

One of the most consistent themes in African American cultural works is the experience of racism and discrimination. Whether through explicit depictions of overt racism, or

more subtle explorations of the effects of systemic inequality, African American artists have used their work to expose the realities of racism and advocate for change.

#### *Themes of Identity and self-discovery*

African American cultural works often explore themes of identity and self-discovery, as Black people have long struggled to define themselves in a society that has historically marginalized and oppressed them. This theme can be seen in works like James Baldwin's "The Fire Next Time" and Toni Morrison's "The Bluest Eye," which both examine the complexities of Black identity and the search for self-acceptance.

#### *Themes of Community and solidarity*

Despite facing numerous obstacles, African Americans have long maintained strong communal bonds and a sense of solidarity with one another. This theme is explored in works like Langston Hughes' "I, Too, Sing America" and Maya Angelou's "Still I Rise," which celebrate the strength and resilience of the Black community.

#### *Themes of Spirituality and religion*

African American cultural works often incorporate themes of spirituality and religion, as Black people have historically turned to faith as a means of coping with the hardships of life in America. This can be seen in works like Ralph Ellison's "Invisible Man," which explores the role of Christianity in African American culture, and the gospel music tradition, which has played a central role in the development of African American music.

#### *Themes of the Black experience*

Perhaps the most overarching theme in African American cultural works is the exploration of the Black experience in America. Whether through poetry, music, or visual art, Black artists have sought to capture the complexities of Black life in America, from the joys and triumphs to the struggles and injustices.

#### *Motifs*

In addition to these themes, African American cultural works often incorporate a variety of motifs that serve to underscore these themes and provide deeper meaning to the works themselves. Some of the most common motifs include the following:

1. *The color black*: The color black is often used as a symbol of strength, resilience, and solidarity in African American cultural works. It can also be used to represent the hardships and injustices faced by Black people in America.

2. *The use of dialect*: African American cultural works often incorporate dialect or vernacular language, which can serve to highlight the unique cultural expressions and experiences of Black people.
3. *The significance of music*: Music has long been a central component of African American culture, and is often incorporated into cultural works as a means of expressing the joys and struggles of Black life.
4. *The use of symbolism*: African American cultural works often incorporate symbolism to convey deeper meaning and underscore important themes. For example, the use of chains can symbolize the history of slavery and oppression, while the use of a broken mirror can represent the struggle for self-acceptance and identity.

Overall, African American cultural works are characterized by a rich and complex set of themes and motifs that reflect the experiences and struggles of Black people in America. Through their work, African American artists have given voice to the Black experience, and continue to inspire and challenge audiences today.

### **3. Two Examples: Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940) and Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952)**

Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940) and Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952) are two landmark works of African American literature that explore themes of identity, race, and social inequality in America.

#### **Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940)<sup>22</sup>**

##### *Themes explored in Native Son*

1. *Racism and oppression*: The central theme of "Native Son" is racism and its effects on both the individual and society. Wright explores the ways in which racism leads to oppression and marginalization of Black people in America, and how this oppression can lead to violence and rebellion.
2. *Alienation and isolation*: The protagonist of the novel, Bigger Thomas, is a deeply isolated and alienated figure, whose experiences of racism and poverty have left him feeling disconnected from the world around him. Wright uses this theme to explore the psychological toll of racism on Black people.
3. *Power and control*: Another prominent theme in "Native Son" is the struggle for power and control, as Bigger navigates his way through a society that seeks to

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<sup>22</sup> Richard Wright, *Native Son*. Perennial, 1940. Andrew Warnes, *Richard Wright's Native Son: A Routledge Study Guide*. Taylor and Francis, 2007.



dominate and subjugate him. This theme is most evident in Bigger's interactions with his white employers and the justice system.

4. *Poverty and inequality*: Another key theme in "Native Son" is poverty and inequality, and the ways in which they contribute to the sense of hopelessness and despair felt by the novel's protagonist, Bigger Thomas.
5. *Violence*: Violence is a recurring theme in "Native Son," and is often used to underscore the desperation and frustration felt by the novel's characters in the face of overwhelming oppression.

#### *Motifs probed in Native Son*

1. *Nature and the environment*: Throughout the novel, Wright uses descriptions of the natural world to underscore the contrast between Bigger's experiences and the larger society in which he lives. Nature is often depicted as a source of solace and freedom for Bigger, even as he is trapped by the constraints of his environment.
2. *Violence and fear*: Violence and fear are recurring motifs in "Native Son," as Bigger struggles to cope with the violence he experiences and the fear he feels in response to it. These motifs serve to underscore the sense of alienation and isolation that Bigger experiences.
3. *Religion and spirituality*: Wright also incorporates religious and spiritual motifs into the novel, as Bigger seeks meaning and purpose in his life. However, these motifs are often used to critique organized religion, which Wright views as complicit in the oppression of Black people.

#### *Symbols highlighted in Native Son*

1. *The rat*: The rat that Bigger kills early in the novel serves as a symbol of his own precarious position in society, as well as the violence and fear that pervade his life.
2. *The typewriter*: The typewriter that Bigger steals from his employer's home represents his desire to communicate with the world around him, even as he struggles to articulate his own experiences.
3. *The airplane*: The airplane that Bigger sees flying overhead represents his desire for freedom and escape from the constraints of his environment, even as he recognizes that these desires are ultimately futile.

## Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952)<sup>23</sup>

### *Themes explored in Invisible Man*

1. *Identity and self-discovery*: The central theme of *Invisible Man* is the search for identity and self-discovery, as the unnamed protagonist navigates his way through a society that seeks to deny his humanity. Ellison uses this theme to explore the complexities of Black identity and the search for self-acceptance.
2. *Racism and oppression*: Like *Native Son*, *Invisible Man* also explores the theme of racism and its effects on Black people in America. However, Ellison's approach is more nuanced, as he examines the ways in which racism operates on both a personal and societal level.
3. *The power of language*: Another prominent theme in *Invisible Man* is the power of language and the ways in which it can be used to control and manipulate others. Ellison uses this theme to explore the role of language in shaping identity and shaping societal norms.
4. *Individualism vs. community*: Another key theme in *Invisible Man* is the tension between individualism and community. The novel explores how individualism can be empowering, yet also isolating, while community can provide support and belonging, yet can also be limiting and oppressive.

### *Motifs probed in Invisible Man*

1. *The color black*: The color black is a recurring motif in "Invisible Man," and is often used to symbolize the protagonist's sense of invisibility and marginalization. It is also used
2. *Sight and blindness*: Sight and blindness are recurring motifs in *Invisible Man* and are used to explore the complexities of perception and identity. The protagonist's invisibility is linked to his ability to see things that others cannot, while his eventual "awakening" is linked to a newfound ability to see and be seen.
3. *Masks*: Masks are another important motif in *Invisible Man* and are used to explore the ways in which African Americans must often present a false front in order to navigate a racist and oppressive society. Masks also symbolize the ways in which identity can be constructed and performed.

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<sup>23</sup> Michael D. Hill and Lena M. Hill. *Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man: A Reference Guide*. Greenwood Press, 2008.

*Symbols highlighted in Invisible Man*

1. The briefcase: The briefcase is a powerful symbol of the protagonist's identity, and represents both his aspirations and his limitations. The briefcase is a source of empowerment
2. The Sambo Doll: The Sambo Doll is a symbol of the racism and oppression faced by African Americans in America. It represents the way that black people are dehumanized and reduced to caricatures by the dominant culture.
3. The Battle Royale: The Battle Royale is a symbol of the violence and brutality faced by African Americans in America. It represents the way that black people are forced to compete with each other for limited resources, and how this competition can be used to reinforce the power of the dominant culture.
4. The Liberty Paints Factory: The Liberty Paints Factory is a symbol of the way that capitalism and commercialism can be used to reinforce the power of the dominant culture. The factory's use of "Optic White" paint to symbolize purity and superiority is a clear example of how dominant culture constructs and reinforces racial hierarchies.

## LECTURE 7

# THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

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1. Historical context and key figures of the Civil Rights Movement
2. The role of NAACP
3. Some notable achievements of the Civil Rights Movement

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture, the students should be able to identify the key figures of the African American Civil Rights movement of the 1950s-1960s. They should be able to identify the landmarks that led the desegregation period of the 1960s.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*How was the *Brown v. Board of Education* significant in the African American Civil Rights movement?*

*What were the achievements of the Civil Rights movement?*

The Civil Rights Movement was a socio-political movement in the United States that spanned from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s. It aimed at putting an end to racial segregation and oppression against African Americans and other minorities, and it struggled to secure legal and political rights and equal opportunities for all citizens regardless of their color, race, or religion. The movement was a response to the long history of slavery, segregation, and oppression against African Americans in the United States.

### **1. Historical context and key figures**

#### *Historical Context*

The Civil Rights Movement emerged in the context of a rapidly changing United States, which witnessed the growth of the civil rights, feminist, and anti-war movements. The movement was also influenced by the global decolonization movement, the Cold War, and the rise of nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience as political strategies.

The movement had its roots in the **1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education***, which declared segregation in public schools **unconstitutional**. That landmark decision overturned the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, and it enabled a

generation of activists to challenge segregation in the many areas of the US social space, including public transportation, housing, employment, and voting rights.

### *Some Key Figures of the movement*

The Civil Rights movement was led by a **myriad of group leaders** who employed a variety of tactics to achieve their goals such as **nonviolent protest, legal action, and political lobbying**. Here are some of the key figures of the movement:

1. **Martin Luther King Jr.:** Perhaps the most famous leader of the Civil Rights Movement, King was a Baptist minister and civil rights activist who advocated for nonviolent resistance to racial injustice. He played a key role in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Birmingham Campaign, and the March on Washington, where he delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.
2. **Rosa Parks:** Parks was a civil rights activist who refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus to a white person in 1955. Her arrest and subsequent boycott of the Montgomery bus system helped spark the Civil Rights Movement.
3. **Malcolm X:** Malcolm X was a Black nationalist leader who advocated for racial separatism and self-defense against white oppression. He was a prominent figure in the Nation of Islam before breaking away and forming his own organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity.
4. **Thurgood Marshall:** Marshall was a civil rights lawyer who argued several landmark cases before the Supreme Court, including *Brown v. Board of Education*. He went on to become the first African American Supreme Court Justice.
5. **Fannie Lou Hamer:** Hamer was a civil rights activist who helped organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which challenged the all-white Democratic Party in Mississippi in 1964.
6. **Ella Baker:** Baker was a civil rights activist and organizer who played a key role in the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.
7. **John Lewis:** Lewis was a civil rights activist and politician who was a leader in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and participated in many of the movement's key events, including the March on Washington and the Selma to Montgomery march. He went on to serve in Congress for over three decades.
8. **Bayard Rustin:** Rustin was a civil rights activist and organizer who played a key role in organizing the March on Washington in 1963. He was also a close advisor to Martin Luther King Jr. and helped him develop his philosophy of nonviolent resistance.

9. **James Baldwin:** Baldwin was a writer and social critic who wrote extensively about race and racism in America. His essays and novels, such as *Notes of a Native Son* and *The Fire Next Time*, helped to shape the intellectual and cultural landscape of the Civil Rights Movement.
10. **Diane Nash:** Nash was a civil rights activist and organizer who played a key role in the sit-in movement, which aimed to desegregate lunch counters in the South. She was also a leader in the Freedom Rides, which challenged segregation on interstate buses.
11. **Gloria Steinem:** Steinem was a feminist activist and writer who played a key role in the women's rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. She co-founded Ms. magazine and helped to organize the National Women's Conference in 1977.

These and many other figures played important roles in the Civil Rights Movement, helping to transform American society and secure greater rights and freedoms for all citizens

## 2. The role of NAACP

The **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) is one of the oldest and most influential civil rights organizations in the United States. The NAACP was formed in 1909 in response to the widespread discrimination and violence faced by African Americans in the United States. The organization has played a significant role in shaping the civil rights movement and advancing the cause of racial justice in America.

The NAACP was founded on **February 12, 1909**, in New York City by a group of black and white activists, including **W. E. B. Du Bois**, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and Mary White Ovington. The organization was formed in response to the **1908 Springfield Race Riot** in Illinois, which had resulted in the deaths of several African Americans and the destruction of black-owned businesses and homes.

In its early years, the NAACP focused on legal challenges to segregation and discrimination. The organization's lawyers successfully challenged segregation in public schools, transportation, and housing. The NAACP also conducted investigations into lynchings and other acts of violence against African Americans and worked to bring perpetrators to justice.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the NAACP played a significant role in the civil rights movement. The organization was instrumental in the legal battles that led to the landmark **Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision of 1954**, which **declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional**. The NAACP also played a

key role in the **Montgomery Bus Boycott**, the **sit-in movement**, and the **March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963**.

The NAACP has had many influential leaders throughout its history. Some of the most prominent figures include W. E. B. Du Bois who was a founding member of the NAACP and a prominent African American intellectual and activist, and Roy Wilkins who served as the executive director of the NAACP from 1955 to 1977. He played a key role in the civil rights movement, advocating for voting rights, desegregation, and equal employment opportunities. The NAACP's primary objective is to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate racial hatred and discrimination.

### 3. Some notable achievements of the Civil Rights Movement

- **The Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and ended racial segregation in public spaces and schools.
- **The Voting Rights Act of 1965**, which eliminated barriers to voting for African Americans and other minorities, such as literacy tests and poll taxes.
- The desegregation of schools, public transportation, and other public spaces, which was achieved through a combination of legal action and nonviolent protest.
- The increased political and economic power of African Americans and other minorities, as more people were able to vote and gain access to jobs and education, mainly due to the policy of **Affirmative Action** (see Lecture 8).
- **Fair Housing Act of 1968** - The NAACP worked to pass this law, which prohibited discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of housing based on race, religion, national origin, or sex.

Overall, the Civil Rights Movement was a transformative period in American history, marked by the courage and determination of countless activists who fought tirelessly for equality and justice. Their legacy continues to inspire new generations of activists and advocates for social change.



## LECTURE 8

# GOVERNMENTAL MEASURES: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

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1. History of Affirmative Action
2. The impact of Affirmative Action
3. Affirmative Action: the pros and the cons
4. Racial Quotas
5. Controversies and Debates

### *Objectives*

*The students should be able to identify the main governmental measures associated with the policy of Affirmative Action. They should be able to identify the main arguments of the proponents and of the opponents of this policy.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*What has been the main aim of Affirmative Action?*

*What have been the achievements of the Affirmative Action policy?*

*What are the respective arguments of the proponents and the opponents of this policy?*

Affirmative action is a policy aimed at promoting diversity and addressing historical and current disparities in education, employment, and other areas of society. The policy involves **taking steps to actively recruit and promote members of historically marginalized groups, such as African Americans, Hispanics, and women**. One controversial aspect of affirmative action is the use of racial quotas, which set specific targets for the number or percentage of minority applicants admitted to schools or hired for jobs.

### **1. History of Affirmative Action**

Affirmative action policies were first implemented in the United States in the 1960s as part of the civil rights movement. **In 1961**, President John F. Kennedy signed an executive order requiring federal contractors to take "**affirmative action**" to ensure that applicants were not discriminated against based on their race, color, religion, or national origin. The policy was expanded in **1965** under President Lyndon B. Johnson to include affirmative action goals and timetables for hiring and promoting minority employees in federal agencies.

In **1978**, the Supreme Court ruled in the landmark case **Regents of the University of California v. Bakke** that the use of **racial quotas in college admissions was unconstitutional**, but that **affirmative action could still be used to promote diversity in admissions decisions**. Since then, affirmative action policies have been debated and implemented at the federal, state, and institutional levels.

Affirmative action policies have been implemented in a variety of settings, including **education, employment, and government contracting**.

In education, colleges and universities have used affirmative action policies to increase the diversity of their student bodies. For example, the University of Texas at Austin uses a holistic admissions process that takes into account factors such as race, socioeconomic status, and first-generation status in addition to academic achievement.

In employment, affirmative action policies have been used to promote diversity and address disparities in hiring and promotion. For example, the city of San Francisco implemented an affirmative action policy that required contractors to hire a certain percentage of minority and women workers on construction projects.

## **2. The impact of Affirmative Action**

The impact of affirmative action policies on educational and employment outcomes has been a subject of debate and research. Some studies have found that affirmative action policies have led to greater diversity and increased opportunities for marginalized groups. For example, a study by the National Bureau of Economic Research found that affirmative action policies in college admissions increased the number of Black and Hispanic students admitted to selective colleges.

## **3. Affirmative Action: the pros and the cons**

### *Arguments for Affirmative Action*

Proponents of affirmative action argue that the policies are necessary to address historical and current disparities in education and employment. They argue that affirmative action policies are a form of reparations for the injustices faced by marginalized groups, and that they are necessary to promote diversity and ensure that institutions reflect the demographics of society.

Proponents also argue that affirmative action policies do not involve strict racial quotas or preferences, but rather consider a range of factors in admissions and hiring decisions. They argue that affirmative action policies promote meritocracy by providing opportunities for highly qualified applicants who may have faced discrimination in the past.

### *Arguments against Affirmative Action*

Opponents of affirmative action argue that the policies are unfair and lead to reverse discrimination against white and Asian applicants. They argue that affirmative action policies undermine the principles of meritocracy and reward individuals based on their race rather than their qualifications.

Opponents also argue that affirmative action policies perpetuate a culture of victimhood and encourage individuals to see themselves as members of a group rather than as individuals. They argue that affirmative action policies create resentment among individuals who feel that they have been unfairly excluded from opportunities because of their race.

Opponents of affirmative action also argue that the policies do not address the root causes of disparities in education and employment. They argue that affirmative action policies do not address issues such as unequal access to quality education or the effects of discrimination on career opportunities.

#### **4. Racial Quotas**

One controversial aspect of affirmative action policies is the use of racial quotas, which set specific targets for the number or percentage of minority applicants admitted to schools or hired for jobs. The Supreme Court's ruling in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* in 1978 established that strict racial quotas were unconstitutional, but that affirmative action policies could still be used to promote diversity.

Instead of strict racial quotas, affirmative action policies today use a holistic approach that considers a range of factors in admissions and hiring decisions. For example, colleges and universities may consider factors such as race, socioeconomic status, first-generation status, and academic achievement in their admissions decisions.

#### **5. Controversies and Debates**

Affirmative action policies and racial quotas have been the subject of heated debates and controversies in the United States. Opponents of affirmative action argue that the policies are unfair and lead to reverse discrimination against white and Asian applicants. They argue that affirmative action policies undermine the principles of meritocracy and reward individuals based on their race rather than their qualifications.

Proponents of affirmative action argue that the policies are necessary to address historical and current disparities in education and employment. They argue that affirmative action policies are a form of reparations for the injustices faced by

marginalized groups, and that they are necessary to promote diversity and ensure that institutions reflect the demographics of society.

The debate over affirmative action and racial quotas is likely to continue in the United States. As the country becomes more diverse, the need for policies to promote diversity and address disparities may become even more pressing.

Affirmative action policies and racial quotas have been controversial issues in the United States for decades. While supporters argue that these policies are necessary to address historical and current disparities, opponents claim that they are unfair and lead to **reverse discrimination**. Despite the controversies surrounding these policies, many institutions in the United States continue to use affirmative action policies to promote diversity and address inequalities.

## LECTURE 9

# THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

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1. The Black Power movement: Key figures and organizations
2. Contributions of the Black Power movement
3. The influence of Malcolm X

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture the students should be able to identify the key individuals and organizations of the Black Power movement. They should be able to understand the ideology and objectives of that militant African American trend.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*What was the difference between the Black Power movement and the mainstream NAACP?*

*What were the key ideological tenets of the Black Power Movement?*

The **Black Power movement** emerged in the late 1960s and developed in the 1970s as a response to the perceived limitations of the mainstream Civil Rights Movement, which had focused primarily on integration and nonviolence. The Black Power movement, in contrast, emphasized **self-determination**, **cultural pride**, and **political power** for African Americans.

### **1. The Black Power Movement: Key figures and organizations**

The Black Power movement was **diverse** and **decentralized**, and it included a range of organizations and figures. Here are some of the key organizations and figures, as well as their achievements and the problems they encountered:

1. **Black Panther Party:** The Black Panther Party was founded in 1966 in Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. The party's platform called for an end to police brutality, the release of all black prisoners, and the establishment of community control of police. The party also provided free breakfast programs, health clinics, and other social services to the black community. However, the party's militant rhetoric and actions, including open-carry patrols, led to conflicts with law enforcement and other groups, and the party was targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO program.

2. **Malcolm X:** Malcolm X was a charismatic and controversial figure who emerged as a leader of the Nation of Islam in the 1950s and 1960s. After leaving the Nation of Islam in 1964, he became an advocate for black self-determination and international solidarity. He founded the **Organization of Afro-American Unity in 1964**, which aimed to unite African Americans and people of African descent around the world. However, his criticism of the Civil Rights Movement and his advocacy for black separatism made him a target of the FBI and other groups.
3. **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC):** The SNCC was founded in 1960 and became one of the most important and influential organizations of the Civil Rights Movement. The SNCC's focus on youth and grassroots organizing helped to bring attention to issues of voting rights, segregation, and economic inequality in the South. However, the SNCC faced internal conflicts over its leadership and strategy, and it was criticized by some for its shift towards black nationalism in the late 1960s.
4. **Angela Davis:** Angela Davis is a prominent activist and scholar who emerged as a leader of the Black Power movement in the late 1960s. She was a member of the Communist Party and a vocal critic of racism, sexism, and imperialism. Davis was also a member of the Black Panther Party and was involved in the movement to free political prisoners. She was arrested in 1970 on charges of murder and conspiracy, which sparked an international campaign for her release. She was acquitted in 1972, and her case helped to bring attention to the issue of political repression in the United States.

## 2. Contributions of the Black Power movement

One of the key contributions of the Black Power movement was its emphasis on black self-determination and self-sufficiency. The movement encouraged African Americans to take control of their own communities and institutions, and to create their own economic, political, and cultural systems. This led to the rise of black-owned businesses, schools, and cultural centers, which helped to strengthen the African American community and promote self-sufficiency.

Another important contribution of the Black Power movement was its emphasis on black pride and cultural identity. The movement encouraged African Americans to embrace their cultural heritage and to reject the idea that white culture was superior. This led to a resurgence of **interest in African culture and history**, as well as the creation of new forms of African American art, music, and literature.

The Black Power movement also had a significant impact on the political landscape of the United States. It helped to inspire a new generation of African American activists,

who were more radical and militant than their predecessors in the Civil Rights Movement. The movement also helped to shift the focus of the African American struggle for civil rights from the South to the urban North, where issues of police brutality, housing discrimination, and economic inequality were more pressing.

The Black Power movement made a number of important achievements, including:

- Shifting the focus of the African American struggle for civil rights from the South to the urban North, where issues of police brutality, housing discrimination, and economic inequality exacerbated African Americans' situation..
- Encouraging African Americans to embrace their cultural heritage and reject the idea that white culture was superior. That led to a resurgence of interest in African culture and history, as well as the creation of new forms of African American art, music, and literature.
- Promoting black self-determination and self-sufficiency. That led to the creation of black-owned businesses, schools, and cultural centers, and helped to strengthen the African American community and promote self-sufficiency.

However, the Black Power movement also faced a number of challenges and problems, including:

- Internal conflicts over leadership and strategy, which sometimes led to the fragmentation and disintegration of organizations.
- Repression and surveillance by law enforcement and intelligence agencies, including the FBI.
- Criticism and opposition from some mainstream African American leaders and organizations, who saw the movement as too militant and radical and its activities as counter-productive.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the Black Power movement played an important role in the African American struggle for civil rights. It helped to shift the focus of the movement from integration and nonviolence to self-determination and political power. It also encouraged African Americans to embrace their cultural heritage and reject the idea that white culture was higher. The movement also helped to inspire a new generation of African American activists, who were more militant and radical than their predecessors in the Civil Rights Movement.



### 3. The influence of Malcolm X

Malcolm X, also known as El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, was an African American Muslim minister and human rights activist who played a crucial role in the civil rights movement in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. He was a powerful and influential speaker, known for his radical ideas and uncompromising stance on racial issues.

Malcolm X was born in Omaha, Nebraska in 1925, and grew up in poverty. His father was a Baptist minister and a supporter of Marcus Garvey, a black nationalist leader who advocated for the economic and political independence of African Americans. Malcolm X's childhood was marked by violence and instability, and he was deeply affected by the racism and discrimination he experienced as a young man.

As a teenager, Malcolm X moved to Boston and became involved in criminal activities, eventually leading to his imprisonment. While in prison, he discovered the teachings of the Nation of Islam (NOI), a black nationalist and separatist religious organization that emphasized the superiority of black people and the need for self-reliance and self-defense. After his release from prison, Malcolm X joined the NOI and became one of its most prominent leaders. However, Malcolm X's worldview began to shift during his travels to Africa and the Middle East, where he met with leaders of various countries and became exposed to different political and religious ideologies. He began to distance himself from the Nation of Islam's separatist and anti-white rhetoric, and instead **he advocated for a more inclusive approach to racial justice. In 1964 Malcolm X broke with the NOI and he quit the organization and joined mainstream Sunni Islam.**

Malcolm X's departure from the Nation of Islam was a significant moment in the civil rights movement and in his own personal development as a leader and activist. It marked a turning point in his political views and paved the way for his later advocacy of Pan-Africanism and more inclusive approaches to racial justice.

Malcolm X's ideas and contributions to the African American struggle for rights and justice can be summarized in the following key points:

#### *Malcolm X's early views on Black Nationalism and the critique of integration*

Before he left the Nation of Islam (NOI), Malcolm X was a strong advocate for black nationalism and self-defense and did not support the goal of integration with white society. He argued that integration was impossible because of the deep-seated racism and prejudice of white people, and that African Americans should focus on building their own economic and political institutions. He believed that African Americans should have their own separate nation, free from white domination and oppression. He

also believed in the right of black people to defend themselves against racist attacks and violence, and called for the establishment of armed self-defense groups. Later in his life, when left the NOI and adopted Sunni Islam, Malcolm X gave up radicalism and Black Nationalism to focus on unity and racial justice and equality.

#### *Malcolm X and Pan-Africanism*

Malcolm X was a proponent of Pan-Africanism, the idea that all people of African descent should unite to fight against colonialism, imperialism, and racism. He believed that the struggle for African American rights was part of a larger global struggle for freedom and equality.

#### *Malcolm X and the critique of Civil Rights Leadership*

Malcolm X was critical of the leadership of the mainstream civil rights movement, particularly the nonviolent tactics of Martin Luther King Jr. and other leaders. He argued that these tactics were ineffective and that African Americans needed to be more militant in their approach.

#### *Malcolm X, Islam, and Black Identity*

Malcolm X's conversion to Islam was a central aspect of his identity and his activism. He saw Islam as a way to reclaim the dignity and pride of African Americans, and to reject the Christianity that had been used to justify slavery and oppression.

Malcolm X's ideas and contributions were controversial and often challenged by other civil rights leaders and organizations. Nevertheless, his legacy continues to inspire many activists and organizations today, particularly in the areas of black nationalism, self-determination, and pan-Africanism.

## LECTURE 10

# AFRICAN AMERICAN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

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1. Representation
2. Participation
3. Examples of key political figures

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture the students should have acquired some knowledge on African Americans achievements with regard to their place and role in the United States political scene.*

### *Question to Consider*

*How far have African Americans succeeded in achieving political representation in the US system of government?*

African American political representation and participation in the US political system have a complex and often turbulent history. Despite significant barriers and ongoing challenges, African Americans have made significant strides in both areas over the past few decades.

### **1. Representation**

Historically, African Americans were excluded from political representation and they were denied voting rights through laws and policies that upheld white supremacy (the Jim Crow Laws). However, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s paved the way for greater representation of African Americans in elected offices. Nowadays, there are 57 African American members of Congress, including two senators and 55 representatives, which makes up 10.8% of Congress. This is a significant increase from the first African American to serve in Congress, Hiram Revels, who was elected in 1870. Additionally, there are four African American governors, and numerous African Americans who serve as mayors, city council members, and other elected officials at the state and local level.

## 2. Participation

African Americans have long faced obstacles to political participation, including poll taxes, literacy tests, and other discriminatory practices designed to prevent them from voting. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 helped to dismantle many of these barriers, but voter suppression remains a significant issue in some parts of the country. Despite this, African Americans have made gains in voter turnout and political engagement. In the 2020 election, African Americans made up 12% of the electorate, and 87% of eligible African American voters were registered to vote, the highest of any racial or ethnic group in the country.

## 3. Examples of key political figures

Despite a legacy of racial prejudice and marginalization, many Black figures have emerged as leading political leaders. **The most important and recent achievement has been the election of Barack Obama to the presidency of the United States in 2008, and his reelection in 2012.** In 2008, Barack Obama became the first non-white president in the history of the United States. Other examples of African American leadership can be mentioned:

- Kamala Harris made history in 2021 as the first African American and South Asian American woman to be elected as Vice President of the United States.
- In 2020, 112 African Americans were elected to Congress, a historic high.
- Stacey Abrams, an African American woman, led voter registration and mobilization efforts in Georgia that helped to flip the state in the 2020 presidential election and secure two Democratic seats in the Senate runoffs.
- African Americans have been key figures in the civil rights movement, including Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, and John Lewis, who later served as a member of Congress for over 30 years.

Despite these successes, African Americans continue to face challenges in both representation and participation, including voter suppression, gerrymandering, and the disproportionate impact of money in politics. However, the ongoing efforts of activists, organizers, and elected officials have helped to advance the cause of African American political power and continue to pave the way for future progress.

# LECTURE 11

## CONTEMPORARY TRENDS:

## THE BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT

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1. Origins of the Black Lives Matter movement
2. BLM's ideology and objectives
3. The controversial issue of police brutality in the United States
4. Examples of African Americans victims of police brutality
5. Other issues facing African Americans

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture the students should be able to identify the main characteristics and ideological tenets of the Black Lives Matter movement. Students should be able to grasp the issue of police brutality towards African Americans and the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement as a reaction to that issue.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*How did the Black Lives Matter movement emerge and develop?*

*What are the objectives of the BLM movement?*

*How has police behaviour towards African Americans become an important issue in the United States?*

### **1. Origins of the Black Lives Matter movement**

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement emerged in 2013 in response to the killing of **Trayvon Martin**, an unarmed African American teenager, by George Zimmerman, a neighborhood watch volunteer in Florida (see Fig. 10). The movement was founded by three black women: **Alicia Garza**, **Patrisse Cullors**, and **Opal Tometi**, who began using the hashtag **#BlackLivesMatter** on social media to draw attention to **police brutality and racial profiling** against black people.

The movement gained national attention following the killing of Michael Brown, an unarmed African American teenager, by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri in

2014. Protests and demonstrations spread across the country, calling for an end to police violence and systemic racism against black people.

Since then, the BLM movement has continued to evolve and grow, with chapters and affiliated organizations working on a range of issues related to racial justice and equality. The movement has also faced criticism and backlash, with some opponents accusing it of being divisive or promoting violence.

Figure 10: Protest after the killing of Trayvon Martin, 2014.<sup>24</sup>



## 2. BLM's ideology and objectives

The guiding ideology of BLM is rooted in black feminism and intersectionality, which recognizes that race, gender, class, and other social identities intersect to create unique experiences of oppression and marginalization. The movement also draws on the legacy of the Civil Rights Movement and other social justice movements, but seeks to center the experiences and voices of black people.

The movement's primary objective is to end police brutality and systemic racism against black people. BLM also seeks to raise awareness of the ways in which racism and

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<sup>24</sup>Deepti Hajela, "Trayvon Martin, 10 Years Later: Teen's Death Changes Nation." *Associated Press*. February 24, 2022.

<https://apnews.com/article/Trayvon-Martin-death-10-years-later-c68f12130b2992d9c1ba31ec1a398cdd>

oppression are woven into the fabric of American society and to create a platform for marginalized communities to have their voices heard.

Despite these challenges, the BLM movement has had a significant impact on US society and politics, raising awareness of issues of police brutality and racial injustice and sparking important conversations about the role of race in American society. The movement has also inspired new forms of activism and political engagement among young people and people of color, and has helped to shape the political discourse around issues of racial justice and equality in the US.

### 3. The controversial issue of police brutality in the United States

The issue of police brutality towards African Americans is a complex one that cannot be explained by any one factor. There are many reasons why police brutality against African Americans is disproportionately high, even though some police officers involved in these incidents are also Black. Here are a few possible explanations:

1. **Systemic Racism:** Police brutality against African Americans is a manifestation of systemic racism that has been ingrained in American society for centuries. It is a product of historic and ongoing racial biases, stereotypes, and prejudices that contribute to the mistreatment and dehumanization of Black people.
2. **Implicit Bias:** Policemen, like all individuals, are subject to implicit biases that can influence their actions and decision-making. These biases may lead officers to perceive African Americans as more threatening or suspicious than other groups, even when there is no evidence to support these perceptions.
3. **Police Culture:** The culture of policing in the United States is often characterized by a "warrior" mentality that prioritizes control and compliance over community service and de-escalation. This culture may contribute to an environment in which police officers are more likely to use force, even when it is not necessary.
4. **Lack of Accountability:** Police officers are often shielded from accountability for their actions by qualified immunity, police unions, and other legal protections. This lack of accountability can create a culture of impunity in which police officers feel free to use excessive force without fear of consequences.

It is important to note that not all police officers engage in police brutality, and many officers are working to change the culture of policing and improve relations with the communities they serve. However, addressing the issue of police brutality towards African Americans will require a concerted effort to dismantle systemic racism and address the root causes of police violence.

#### 4. Examples of African Americans victims of police brutality

- George Floyd: Floyd was killed by Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin in May 2020 (see Fig. 10). Chauvin was found guilty of second-degree murder, third-degree murder, and second-degree manslaughter in April 2021.<sup>25</sup>
- Breonna Taylor: Taylor was killed by Louisville police officers in March 2020 during a botched raid on her apartment. No officers were charged directly in her death, but one was charged with wanton endangerment for firing into a neighboring apartment.<sup>26</sup>
- Michael Brown: Brown was killed by a Ferguson, Missouri police officer in August 2014. The incident sparked protests and unrest in Ferguson and across the country.<sup>27</sup>
- Eric Garner: Garner was killed by a New York City police officer in July 2014, who put him in a chokehold during an arrest for selling loose cigarettes. His final words, "I can't breathe," became a rallying cry for the Black Lives Matter movement.<sup>28</sup>
- Philando Castile: Castile was killed by a police officer in a suburb of St. Paul, Minnesota, in July 2016, during a traffic stop. The officer was acquitted of all charges.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Evan Hill et al. "How Floyd Georges Was Killed in Police Custody," *The New York Times*. May 31, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html>

*CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/20/us/police-brutality-cases-explained-trnd/index.html>

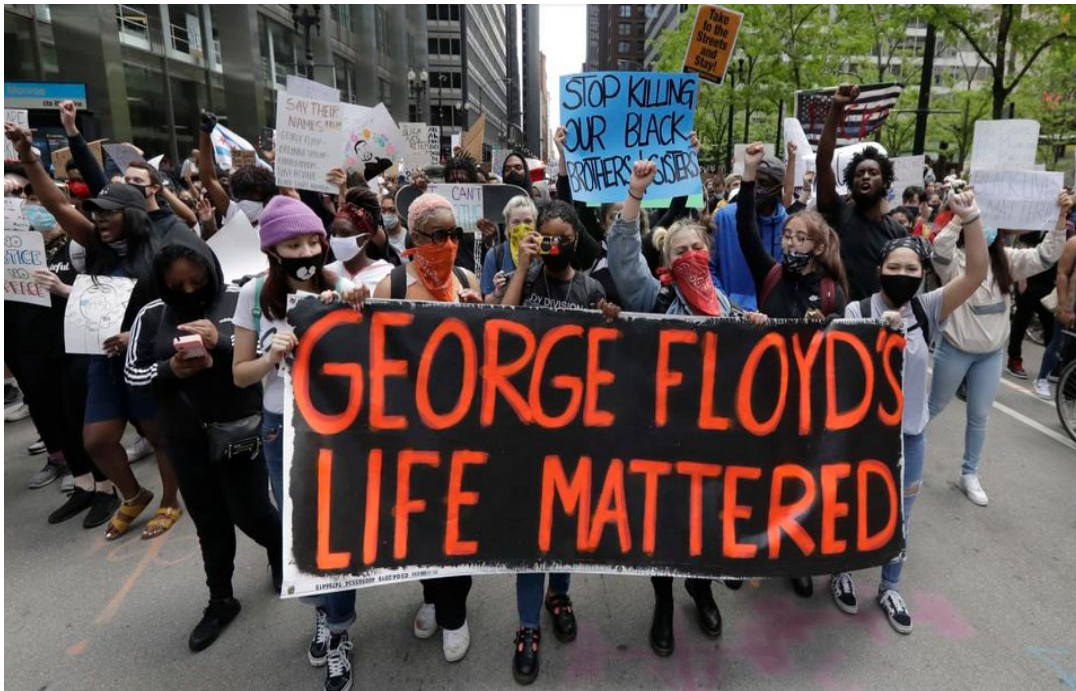
<sup>26</sup> *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/article/breonna-taylor-police.html>

<sup>27</sup> *NBC News*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/michael-brown-shooting>

<sup>28</sup> *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-death-of-eric-garner>

<sup>29</sup> *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2020/07/14/884247845/philando-castile-a-name-you-should-know-but-might-not>



Figure 11: Protest following the murder of Floyd Georges, 2020<sup>30</sup>

Police brutality towards African Americans is a complex and deeply concerning issue that has received widespread attention in recent years.

*Some statistics on police brutality towards African Americans*

- According to **Mapping Police Violence**, a research and advocacy group, Black people are three times more likely to be killed by police than white people in the United States. In 2021, as of September 28th, police have killed at least 876 people in the United States, and Black people accounted for 28% of those killed, despite only making up 13% of the population.<sup>31</sup>
- In a study published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, researchers found that Black men and women are 2.5 times more likely to be killed by police than white men and women.<sup>32</sup>
- According to a 2020 report by *The Washington Post*, Black people are more likely to be unarmed when killed by police than white people.<sup>33</sup>

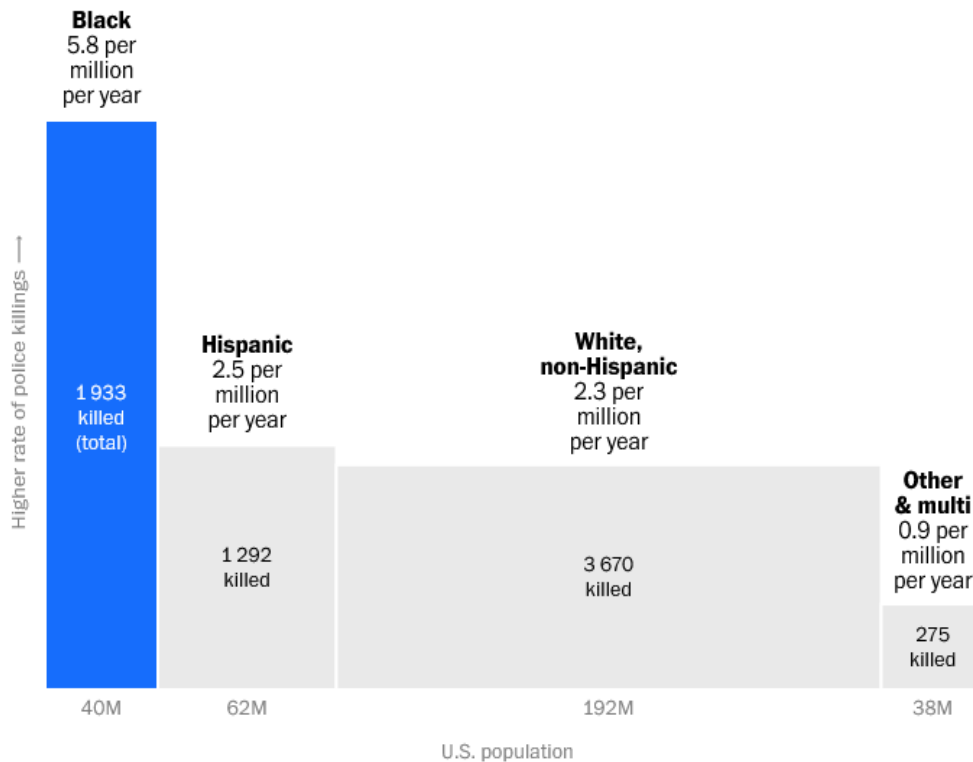
<sup>30</sup> NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/george-floyd-s-death-painful-reminder-chicago-history-police-n1224076>

<sup>31</sup> Mapping Police Violence website. <https://mappingpoliceviolence.org/nationaltrends>

<sup>32</sup> John Hagan ed. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. July 2019. <https://www.pnas.org/content/116/34/16793>

- The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund reports that Black people are more likely to be stopped, searched, and arrested by police than white people. As a matter of fact, in 2019, Black people were 2.4 times more likely than white people to be arrested for drug offenses, though there have generally been similar rates of drug use among the two groups.<sup>34</sup>

Figure 12: People killed by the police (in the different ethnic groups) in the USA<sup>35</sup>



<sup>33</sup> *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>

<sup>34</sup> *NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund*. <https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Cracked-Justice.pdf>

<sup>35</sup> *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>

## 5. Other issues facing African Americans

There are several social, economic, and political issues currently facing African Americans in the United States.

### *Persistent Systemic Racism*

Systemic racism remains a pervasive issue for African Americans, affecting every aspect of life from education to employment, housing, and criminal justice. The Black Lives Matter movement and other social justice advocates are working to address these issues and demand systemic change.

### *Police Brutality and Racial Profiling*

The killing of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and other Black individuals by police officers has brought attention to the issue of police brutality and racial profiling. There are calls for police reform and accountability to address these issues.

### *Economic Inequality*

African Americans continue to experience significant economic inequality compared to their White counterparts. They are more likely to be unemployed, underemployed, and have lower wages. There are also disparities in access to education, healthcare, and other resources that contribute to economic inequality.

### *Inequality in Education*

African American students are more likely to attend underfunded schools, and they often face discrimination and racial bias in the classroom. The achievement gap between Black and White students remains a significant issue.

### *Disfranchisement (with regard to voting rights)*

African Americans have historically faced voter suppression, and efforts to restrict voting access continue to be a concern. Advocates are working to protect voting rights and expand access to the ballot box.

### *Mass Incarceration*

African Americans are disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system, from arrests to sentencing and incarceration. There are calls for criminal justice reform to address racial disparities and reduce the number of people incarcerated in the United States.

## LECTURE 12

# CONTEMPORARY TRENDS: THE WOKE CULTURE

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1. Origins and development in the United States
2. Objectives of the Woke culture
3. Key figures
4. Examples of movements adopting Woke culture
5. Ongoing debate over the Woke culture

### *Objectives*

*At the end of the lecture, the students should be able to identify the main characteristics and the ideological tenets of the recent Woke culture. They should be able to identify its key figures and the ongoing and heated social and cultural debate over its rise and place in the United States social scene.*

### *Questions to Consider*

*How has the Woke culture come into being?*

*What are its main ideological principles and objectives?*

*What are the arguments of those defending the Woke culture and those criticizing it?*

The "Woke" movement, also known as "woke culture" or "social justice activism," is a **radical left-wing movement** that has gained significant attention in recent years for its focus on issues of **systemic racism, social inequality**, and other **forms of oppression**. The movement has its roots in Black American culture and has since expanded to encompass a broad range of social issues.

### **1. Origins and development of the Woke culture in the United States**

The term "woke" is believed to have originated in the African American community in the early 20th century as a reference to being "awake" to the realities of racial discrimination and injustice. However, a recent usage of the term can easily be traced back to the **Black Lives Matter movement**, which gained significance in 2013 following the killing of Trayvon Martin, a black teenager, by a white neighborhood watchman. The movement has since grown to include a wide array of social issues, including gender and LGBTQ+ rights, economic inequality, and climate change.

More recently, the Woke movement gained widespread attention in the United States in the wake of the protests following **the killing of George Floyd, a black man, by a white police officer in Minneapolis in May 2020**. The movement has since become a central point of political and cultural debates, with critics arguing that it promotes intolerance and "cancel culture" and suppresses free speech. However, the supporters of the movement argue that it is necessary for challenging entrenched systems of oppression.

## 2. Objectives of the Woke cultural movements

The main objective of the Woke movement is to raise awareness of issues related to systemic racism, social inequality, and other forms of oppression, and to advocate for social and political change to address these issues. Key objectives of the Woke movement include **ending police brutality and combatting systemic racism in law enforcement, achieving gender and LGBTQ+ equality, addressing economic inequality and poverty, and combating climate change**.

## 3. Key figures

- Kimberlé Crenshaw: A professor of law at UCLA and Columbia Law School, Crenshaw is credited with coining the term "**intersectionality**," which refers to the interconnected nature of social identities and systems of oppression.
- Ta-Nehisi Coates: An author and journalist, Coates has been a prominent voice in the Woke movement, writing extensively on issues related to race and social justice in publications such as *The Atlantic* and *The New York Times*.
- Patrisse Cullors: A co-founder of the Black Lives Matter movement, Cullors has been an influential figure in the Woke movement, advocating for police reform and other social justice issues.
- Ibram X. Kendi: A professor of history and international relations at Boston University, Kendi is the author of several books on race and racism, including *How to Be an Antiracist* and *Stamped from the Beginning*.
- Angela Davis: An activist and scholar, Davis has been involved in social justice movements for decades, advocating for issues such as prison abolition, racial and gender equality, and economic justice.

## 4. Examples of movements adopting Woke culture

- **The Black Lives Matter movement**, founded in 2013, is a key example of the Woke movement in action, advocating for an end to police brutality and systemic racism in law enforcement.

- **The #MeToo movement**, which gained momentum in 2017 following allegations of sexual harassment and assault against Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein, is another example of the Woke movement in action, advocating for gender equality and an end to sexual harassment and assault.
- **The Sunrise Movement**, a youth-led organization focused on climate change, is another example of the Woke movement in action, advocating for climate justice and a transition to a sustainable, equitable economy.

## 5. Ongoing debate over the Woke culture

### *Proponents of the Woke culture*

Proponents of the Woke culture argue that it is necessary to raise awareness about social injustices and to challenge systemic inequalities. They believe that the movement is a response to a long history of oppression and marginalization and that it provides a platform for marginalized voices to be heard. Proponents of Woke culture believe that it is essential to use inclusive language, acknowledge privilege and systemic biases, and be actively anti-racist to create a more just and equitable society.

- **Black Lives Matter (BLM)**: BLM is a decentralized movement that began in 2013 in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman, who fatally shot 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in Florida. BLM advocates for the end of police brutality and **systemic racism** against Black people in the United States. The movement gained significant momentum following the murder of George Floyd in May 2020 and the subsequent protests.
- **Feminist activists**: Feminist activists such as Gloria Steinem and Bell Hooks have been important advocates of **intersectional feminism**. This trend acknowledges the ways in which different forms of oppression converge, intersect, and reinforce each other. For example, the condition of being black and being a woman intersect in a society that marginalizes (and often oppresses) these two conditions. Intersectional feminism advocates for the recognition and inclusion of marginalized voices and experiences.
- **LGBTQ+ activists**: Activists in the LGBTQ+ community have been advocates of the Woke culture, pushing for greater visibility and acceptance of different gender identities and sexual orientations. They have also been advocates for inclusive language and policies that support LGBTQ+ individuals.

*Critics of the Woke culture*

On the other hand, critics of the Woke culture argue that it has gone too far and has become a form of intolerance and censorship. They believe that the movement promotes a culture of victimhood and encourages people to see themselves as oppressed or oppressed by others, leading to a divisive society. Critics of the Woke culture also argue that the movement suppresses free speech and academic freedom, particularly on college campuses, where controversial ideas are met with hostility and censorship.

Critics of the Woke culture also argue that the movement's focus on identity politics and intersectionality has led to an overemphasis on individual identities and experiences at the expense of shared values and a collective sense of purpose. They argue that this creates a divisive society where individuals are encouraged to focus on their own identity group at the expense of broader societal goals.

In conclusion, the Woke culture is a recent and controversial social and political movement that has its supporters and critics. Proponents argue that it is necessary to raise awareness about social injustices and to challenge systemic inequalities, while critics argue that it promotes a culture of victimhood and intolerance. Ultimately, the debate about the Woke culture is a reflection of larger debates about the role of identity, equality, and free speech in society.

## DOCUMENTS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

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### DOCUMENT 2.1

#### **A North Carolina Law Prohibits Teaching Slaves to Read or Write, 1831** <sup>36</sup>

Whereas the teaching of slaves to read and write, has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion, to the manifest injury of the citizens of this State: Therefore, *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, That any free person, who shall hereafter teach, or attempt to teach, any slave within the State to read or write, the use of figures excepted, or shall give or sell to such slave or slaves any books or pamphlets shall be liable to indictment in any court of record in this State having jurisdiction thereof, and upon conviction, shall, at the discretion of the court, if a white man or woman, be fined not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than two hundred dollars, or imprisoned; and if a free person of color, shall be fined, imprisoned, or whipped, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty nine lashes, nor less than twenty lashes.

Be it further enacted, That if any slave shall hereafter teach, or attempt to teach, any other slave to read or write, the use of figures excepted, he or she may be carried before any justice of the peace and on conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to receive thirty nine lashes on his or her bare back.

#### *Questions*

- 1. How many kinds of peoples are prohibited from teaching slaves to read and write? Who are they?*
- 2. Are these peoples subject to the same punishments? What are these punishments?*
- 3. What can we conclude with regard to the differences of punishment?*

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<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, Edward J. Blum, and John Gjerde. *Major Problems in American History, Volume I: to 1877.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Wadsworth Cengage Learning. p. 360.



## DOCUMENT 2.2

### Samuel Cartwright, a Southern Doctor, Theorizes About the Peculiar Diseases of Slaves, 1851<sup>37</sup>

#### 1.— DISEASES AND PECULIARITIES OF THE NEGRO RACE .

By Dr. Cartwright of New-Orleans—(Concluded.)

#### DRAPETOMANIA , OR THE DISEASE CAUSING NEGROES TO RUN AWAY .

Drapetomania .... is unknown to our medical authorities, although its diagnostic symptom, the absconding from service, is ... well known to our planters and overseers.... The cause, in the most of cases, that induces the negro to run away from service, is as much a disease of the mind as any other species of mental alienation, and much more curable, as a general rule. With the advantages of proper medical advice, strictly followed, this troublesome practice that many negroes have of running away, can be almost entirely prevented, although the slaves be located on the borders of a free state, within a stone's throw of the abolitionists....

To ascertain the true method of governing negroes, so as to cure and prevent the disease under consideration, we must go back to the Pentateuch, and learn the true meaning of the untranslated term that represents the negro race. In the name there given to that race, is locked up the true art of governing negroes in such a manner that they cannot run away. The correct translation of that term declares the Creator's will in regard to the negro; it declares him to be the sub- missive kneebender. In the anatomical conformation of his knees we see "genuflexit" written in his physical structure, being more flexed or bent, than any other kind of man. If the white man attempts to oppose the Deity's will, by trying to make the negro anything else than "the submissive knee-bender," (which the Almighty declared he should be,) by trying to raise him to a level with himself, or by putting himself on an equality with the negro; or if he abuses the power which God has given him over his fellow-man, by being cruel to him, or punishing him in anger, or by neglecting to protect him from wanton abuses of his fellow-servants and all others, or by denying him the usual comforts and necessaries of life, the negro will run away; but if he keeps him in the position that we learn from the Scriptures he was intended to occupy, that is, the position of submission; and if his master or overseer be kind and gracious in his bearing towards him, without condescension, and at the same time ministers to his physical wants, and protects him from abuses, the negro is spell-bound, and cannot run away....

When left to himself, the negro indulges in his natural disposition to idleness and sloth, and does not take exercise enough to expand his lungs and to vitalize his blood, but dozes out a miserable existence in the midst of filth and uncleanness, being too indolent, and having too little energy of mind to provide for himself proper food and comfortable

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid. pp. 360-362

lodging and clothing. The consequence is, that the blood becomes so highly carbonized and deprived of oxygen, that it not only becomes unfit to stimulate the brain to energy, but unfit to stimulate the nerves of sensation distributed to the body. A torpor and insensibility pervades the system; the sentient nerves distributed to the skin lose their feeling in so great a degree, that he often burns his skin by the fire he hovers over without knowing it, and frequently has large holes in his clothes, and the shoes on his feet burnt to a crisp, without having been conscious of when it was done. This is the disease called dysæsthesia....

The complaint is easily curable, if treated on sound physiological principles.... Any kind of labor will do that will cause full and free respiration in its performance, as lifting or carrying heavy weights, or brisk walking; the object being to expand the lungs by full and deep inspiration and expirations, thereby to vitalize the impure circulating blood by introducing oxygen and expelling carbon....

According to unaltered physiological laws, negroes, as a general rule to which there are but few exceptions, can only have their intellectual faculties awakened in a sufficient degree to receive moral culture and to profit by religious or other instructions, when under the compulsory authority of the white man; because, as a general rule to which there are but few exceptions, they will not take sufficient exercise, when removed from the white man's authority, to vitalize and decarbonize their blood by the process of full and free respiration, that active exercise of some kind alone can effect....

... The dysæsthesia æthiopica adds another to the many ten thousand evidences of the fallacy of the dogma that abolitionism is built on; for here, in a country where two races of men dwell together, both born on the same soil, breathing the same air, and surrounded by the same external agents—liberty, which is elevating the one race of people above all other nations, sinks the other into beastly sloth and torpidity; and the slavery, which the one would prefer death rather than endure, improves the other in body, mind and morals; thus proving the dogma false, and establishing the truth that there is a radical, internal or physical difference between the two races, so great in kind, as to make what is wholesome and beneficial for the white man, as liberty, republican or free institutions, etc., not only unsuitable to the negro race, but actually poisonous to its happiness.

### ***Questions***

- 1. What does the peculiar "disease" Drapetomania consist of ?*
- 2. How does the Southern "doctor" justify the need for African Americans to be "kneebenders"? To whom shall they be as such?*
- 3. What is the second "disease" and how does it appear?*
- 4. What do you think of these two "diseases"?*
- 5. What do you think of the basis on which basis the "doctor" make his diagnosis?*

## DOCUMENT 2.3

### **African American Josiah Henson Portrays the Violence and Fears in Slave Life, 1858<sup>38</sup>**

I was born June 15th, 1789, in Charles County, Maryland.... My mother was a slave of Dr. Josiah McPherson, but hired to the Mr. Newman to whom my father belonged. The only incident I can remember which occurred while my mother continued on Mr. Newman's farm, was the appearance one day of my father with his head bloody and his back lacerated. He was beside himself with mingled rage and suffering. The explanation I picked up from the conversation of others only partially explained the matter to my mind; but as I grew older I understood it all. It seemed the overseer had sent my mother away from the other field hands to a retired place, and after trying persuasion in vain, had resorted to force to accomplish a brutal purpose. Her screams aroused my father at his distant work, and running up, he found his wife struggling with the man. Furious at the sight, he sprung upon him like a tiger. In a moment the overseer was down, and, mastered by rage, my father would have killed him but for the entreaties of my mother, and the overseer's own promise that nothing should be said of the matter. The promise was kept—like most promises of the cowardly and debased—as long as the danger lasted....

... The authorities were soon in pursuit of my father. The fact of the sacrilegious act of lifting a hand against the sacred temple of a white man's body ...this was all it was necessary to establish. And the penalty followed: one hundred lashes on the bare back, and to have the right ear nailed to the whipping-post, and then severed from the body....

The day for the execution of the penalty was appointed. The Negroes from the neighboring plantations were summoned, for their moral improvement, to witness the scene. A powerful blacksmith named Hewes laid on the stripes. Fifty were given, during which the cries of my father might be heard a mile, and then a pause ensued. True, he had struck a white man, but as valuable property he must not be damaged. Judicious men felt his pulse. Oh! he could stand the whole. Again and again the thong fell on his lacerated back. His cries grew fainter and fainter, till a feeble groan was the only response to his final blows. His head was then thrust against the post, and his right ear fastened to it with a tack; a swift pass of a knife, and the bleeding member was left sticking to the place. Then came a hurrah from the degraded crowd, and the exclamation, "That's what he's got for striking a white man." A few said, "it's a damned shame"; but the majority regarded it as but a proper tribute to their offended majesty....

... [F]rom this hour he became utterly changed. Sullen, morose, and dogged, nothing could be done with him. The milk of human kindness in his heart was turned to gall.... No fear or threats of being sold to the far south—the greatest of all terrors to the Maryland slave—would render him tractable. So off he was sent to Alabama. What was his fate neither my mother nor I have ever learned....

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. pp. 363-365

Our term of happy union as one family was now, alas! at an end. Mournful as was [Dr. McPherson's] death to his friends it was a far greater calamity to us. The estate and the slaves must be sold and the proceeds divided among the heirs. We were but property—not a mother, and the children God had given her.

Common as are slave-auctions in the southern states, and naturally as a slave may look forward to the time when he will be put upon the block, still the full misery of the event—of the scenes which precede and succeed it—is never understood till the actual experience comes. The first sad announcement that the sale is to be; the knowledge that all ties of the past are to be sundered; the frantic terror at the idea of being “sent south”; the almost certainty that one member of a family will be torn from another; the anxious scanning of purchasers' faces; the agony at parting, often forever, with husband, wife, child—these must be seen and felt to be fully understood. Young as I was then, the iron entered into my soul. The remembrance of breaking up of McPherson's estate is photographed in its minutest features in my mind. The crowd collected around the stand, the huddling group of Negroes, the examination of muscle, teeth, the exhibition of agility, the look of the auctioneer, the agony of my mother—I can shut my eyes and see them all.

My brothers and sisters were bid off first, and one by one, while my mother, paralyzed by grief, held me by the hand. Her turn came, and she was bought by Isaac Riley of Montgomery County. Then I was offered to the assembled purchasers. My mother, half distracted by the thought of parting forever from all her children, pushed through the crowd, while the bidding for me was going on, to the spot where Riley was standing. She fell at his feet and clung to his knees, entreating him in tones that a mother only could command, to buy her baby as well as herself, and spare to her one, at least of her little ones. Will it, can it be believed that this man, thus appealed to, was capable not merely of turning a deaf ear to her supplication, but of disengaging himself from her with such violent blows and kicks, as to reduce her to the necessity of creeping out of his reach, and mingling the groan of bodily suffering with the sob of a breaking heart? As she crawled away from the brutal man I heard her sob out, “Oh, Lord Jesus, how long, how long shall I suffer this way!” I must have been then between five and six years old. I seem to see and hear my poor weeping mother now. This was one of my earliest observations of men; an experience which I only shared with thousands of my race.

**Questions:**

1. *Why did Josiah's father attack the overseer?*
2. *What punishment was Josiah's father subjected to?*
3. *Why wasn't he sentenced to death?*
4. *What happened to Josiah's siblings and mother?*
5. *What was the reaction of the mother's new master when she begged him to keep her with her youngest child?*

## DOCUMENT 3.1

### Louisiana Black Codes Reinstate Provisions of the Slave Era, 1865<sup>39</sup>

**Section 1.** Be it therefore ordained by the board of police of the town of Opelousas. That no negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the limits of the town of Opelousas without special permission from his employers, specifying the object of his visit and the time necessary for the accomplishment of the same....

**Section 2.** Be it further ordained, That every negro freedman who shall be found on the streets of Opelousas after 10 o'clock at night without a written pass or permit from his employer shall be imprisoned and compelled to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars.

**Section 3.** No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town under any circumstances, and any one thus offending shall be ejected and compelled to find an employer or leave the town within twenty-four hours....

**Section 4.** No negro or freedman shall reside within the limits of the town of Opelousas who is not in the regular service of some white person or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said freedman....

**Section 5.** No public meetings or congregations of negroes or freedmen shall be allowed within the limits of the town of Opelousas under any circumstances or for any purpose without the permission of the mayor or president of the board....

**Section 6.** No negro or freedman shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim to congregations of colored people without a special permission from the mayor or president of the board of police.... to carry firearms, or any kind of weapons, within the limits of the town of Opelousas without the special permission of his employer, in writing, and approved by the mayor or president of the board of police....

**Section 7.** No freedman who is not in the military service shall be allowed to carry firearms, or any kind of weapons, within the limits of the town of Opelousas without the special permission of his employer, in writing, and approved by the mayor or president of the board of police....

**Section 8.** No freedman shall sell, barter, or exchange any articles of merchandise or traffic within the limits of Opelousas without permission in writing from his employer or the mayor or president of the board....

**Section 9.** Any freedman found drunk within the limits of the town shall be imprisoned and made to labor five days on the public streets, or pay five dollars in lieu of said labor.

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<sup>39</sup> Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, Edward J. Blum, and John Gjerde. *Major Problems in American History, Volume II: Since 1865*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Wadsworth Cengage Learning. pp. 6-7.

**Section 10.** Any freedman not residing in Opelousas who shall be found within the corporate limits after the hour of 3 p.m. on Sunday without a special permission from his employer or the mayor shall be arrested and imprisoned and made to work....

**Section 11.** All the foregoing provisions apply to freedmen and freedwomen....

*E. D. ESTILLETTE,*

*President of the Board of Police.*

*JOS. D. RICHARDS, Clerk.*

*Official copy: J. LOVELL, Captain and Assistant Adjutant General.*

*Condition of the South, Senate Executive Document No. 2, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 92–93.*

### **Questions**

1. *Who issued the laws and where do they apply?*
2. *To whom are the instructions and bans addressed?*
3. *Whom do the “freedmen” refer to?*
4. *What requirement is needed for a freedman to live in Opelousas?*
5. *In the document above, who has replaced the master of the slavery era?*

**DOCUMENT 3.2****Lucy McMillan, a Former Slave in South Carolina, Testifies About White Violence, 1871<sup>40</sup>**

SPARTANBURGH, SOUTH CAROLINA, July 10, 1871.

LUCY McMILLAN (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

QUESTION . Where do you live?

ANSWER . Up in the country. I live on McMillan's place, right at the foot of the road.

QUESTION . How far is it?

ANSWER . Twelve miles.

QUESTION . Are you married?

ANSWER . I am not married. I am single now. I was married. My husband was taken away from me and carried off twelve years ago....

QUESTION . How old are you now?

ANSWER . I am called forty-six. I am forty-five or six.

QUESTION . Did the Ku-Klux come where you live at any time?

ANSWER . They came there once before they burned my house down. The way it was was this: John Hunter's wife came to my house on Saturday morning, and told they were going to whip me. I was afraid of them; there was so much talk of Ku-Klux drowning people, and whipping people, and killing them. My house was only a little piece from the river, so I laid out at night in the woods. The Sunday evening after Isham McCrary was whipped I went up, and a white man, John McMillan, came along and says to me, "Lucy, you had better stay at home, for they will whip you anyhow." I said if they have to, they might whip me in the woods, for I am afraid to stay there. Monday night they came in and burned my house down; I dodged out alongside of the road not far off, and saw them. I was sitting right not far off, and as they came along the river I know some of them. I know John McMillan, and Kennedy McMillan, and Billy Bush, and John Hunter. They were all together. I was not far off, and I saw them. They went right on to my house. When they passed me I run further up on the hill to get out of the way of them. They went there and knocked down and beat my house a right smart while. And then they all got still, and directly I saw the fire rise. Excerpt from Testimony Taken by the Joint

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid. pp. 13-14.

QUESTION . How many of these men were there?

ANSWER . A good many; I couldn't tell how many, but these I knew. The others I didn't.

QUESTION . Were these on foot or on horseback?

ANSWER . These were walking that I could call the names of, but the others were riding. I work with these boys every day. One of them I raised from a child, and I knew them. I have lived with them twelve years.

QUESTION . How were they dressed? ANSWER . They had just such cloth as this white cotton frock made into old gowns; and some had black faces, and some red, and some had horns on their heads before, and they came a-talking by me and I knew their voices.

QUESTION . How far were you from where they were?

ANSWER . Not very far. I was in the woods, squatted down, and staid still until they passed; but then I run further up the hill.

QUESTION . Have you any family with you there?

ANSWER . I had one little daughter with me. I had one grown daughter, but my grown daughter had been up the country to my mother's staying, and my little girl was staying there with me.

QUESTION . Had you your little girl out with you?

ANSWER . Yes, sir; I could not leave her there.

QUESTION . What was the reason given for burning your house?

ANSWER . There was speaking down there last year and I came to it. They all kept at me to go. I went home and they quizzed me to hear what was said, and I told them as far as my senses allowed me.

QUESTION . Where was the speaking?

ANSWER . Here in this town. I went on and told them, and then they all said I was making laws; or going to have the land, and the Ku-Klux were going to beat me for bragging that I would have land. John Hunter told them on me, I suppose, that I said I was going to have land....

*SOURCE:*

*Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States (Washington, 1872), printed in Dorothy Sterling. ed., Trouble They Seen: The Story of Reconstruction in the Words of African Americans. New York: Da Capo Press, 1994.*



**Questions**

1. *What does Lucy's answer about her age imply?*
2. *Who were the people who terrorized Lucy and wanted to harm her? What relation did she have with one of them?*
3. *What happened to Lucy's family?*
4. *Why did the Klan burn Lucy's house?*

## DOCUMENT 4.1

### **Uplifting the Race: Black Sociology and Migration Studies before the First World War** <sup>41</sup>

Black migration studies were born with the earliest attempts to delineate a black sociology, specifically with W. E. B. Du Bois' path-breaking *The Philadelphia Negro*. It is hard to overstate the importance of Du Bois' effort, which was one of the first attempts to challenge with empirical data the racist suppositions that were commonplace in much of the scholarly literature of the day (Katz and Sugrue 1998). Much of what passed for social science orthodoxy was rooted in the evolutionary rhetoric of social Darwinism that culminated with Frederick Hoffman's 1896 study *Race Traits and Tendencies*, a work that synthesized much of the racist pseudo-science in concluding that blacks were biologically and culturally inferior and doomed to extinction (Bay 1998).

Du Bois embraced the belief of many progressive reformers that social science methodologies were a necessary tool in combating society's evils and an integral element in the ideology of racial uplift, a complex of ideas and strategies which spanned the African American political spectrum but which held in common the desire to re-appropriate the black image from white supremacy (Gaines 1996). Du Bois spent a year in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward interviewing residents and observing social trends. He concluded that it was a lack of opportunity, accompanied by severe environmental constraints, that afflicted the black community and not some natural inferiority (Du Bois 1899).

However, while *The Philadelphia Negro* laid the foundation for a more objective assessment of the African American situation, Du Bois was unable to shrug off his Victorian sensibilities, especially when discussing the impact of southern migrants. He argued that this migration threatened the moral stability of neighborhoods. Criminal activity emanated from the dysfunctional structure of migrant families. Single black women posed a particular problem. By attributing to these newcomers a sort of urban pathology, Du Bois touched on a theme that compromised many early sociological studies of black urban communities, some of which devolved into racist stereotyping (Daniels 1914), a theme that has had some staying power to the present. These ideas certainly influenced the important work of the African American sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, whose study of the black family in Chicago updated many of Du Bois's arguments (Frazier 1939).

Of course there were important exceptions. In 1906, R. R. Wright of the University of Pennsylvania explicitly rejected the social pathology argument. His was one of the first studies to map the geographic origins of the migrants, as well as their destinations. Wright was one of the first scholars to focus on causation, especially the economic dislocations in the South (Wright 1906). Two early studies by George Haynes described the "push-pull" of

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<sup>41</sup> Mark Andrew Huddle. "Exodus from the South." *A Companion to African American History*. Alton Hornsby, Jr, Ed. Blackwell Publishig Ltd, 2005, pp.450-51

economic forces transforming the southern economy and drawing migrants northward. Haynes was also quick to attack the violence of southern life and the horrible inequities of Jim Crow, presaging his work for the Department of Labor, the National Urban League and then as a long-time professor of sociology at Fisk University (Haynes 1912, 1913).

Another event of great importance to the study of the black migration was the relocation of Robert E. Park from Tuskegee, where he had served as an aide and ghostwriter to Booker T. Washington, to the University of Chicago in 1913. The timing of Park's move was propitious. His theory of cyclical race relations – which exemplified conflict, change, and accommodation in a biracial society – was eagerly embraced by sociologists and policy-makers struggling to make sense of the demographic revolution taking place around them. He trained many of the most influential sociologists of his generation, including E. Franklin Frazier and Charles S. Johnson, and his ideas held sway in the profession for a quarter-century and did much to displace the racial determinism of earlier scholarship (Stanfield 1982).

### *Questions*

- 1. Who was the first researcher to study the effects of the Black Migration?*
- 2. What did he achieve?*
- 3. What was the problem with previous studies, such as those of Hoffman, on African Americans?*
- 4. What did Du Bois want to achieve through his research?*
- 5. What were Du Bois' early conclusions?*
- 6. Who were the other researchers in the field of Black Migration and what were their respective focuses?*

## DOCUMENT 4.2

### **Exodus from the South: The First World War, Mass Migration, and the Politics of Uplift** <sup>42</sup>

In December 1916, *Chicago Daily News* reporter Junius B. Wood authored a series of articles describing the waves of African American migrants arriving in Chicago. According to Wood, the world war raging in Europe had choked off immigration from that source, fueling labor shortages and drawing black southerners northward in tremendous numbers. Sounding much like a representative from the chamber-of-commerce, Wood extolled black businesses, investments, and professional and political life, praised the contributions of black musicians, artists, and writers, and offered advice to these new Chicagoans on how to secure both employment and housing (Wood 1916). On one level, Wood was simply reporting a story. On another level, however, he and his newspaper – along with other African American newspapers, like the *Chicago Defender* – crafted a primer for these newcomers on what to expect from the urban experience, a primer whose gist was distributed via informal communications networks back to the South.

As many as 400,000 African Americans left the South during the First World War to seek the expanded economic opportunities in northern industries and to escape the political, economic, and social tyranny of Jim Crow. In the process, what many Americans once termed a “southern problem” was now national in scope. White America viewed the migration with ambivalence. It was obvious to most observers that this was a logical response to wartime necessities and was driven by demand for labor in the war industries. On the other hand, northerners – white and black – looked with alarm at growing African American ghettos while southern employers took a dim view of what was transpiring and often took extraordinary measures to stem the tide, stopping trains, banning labor agents, and even arresting migrants.

Many of the migration studies undertaken during the war – even those undertaken by the federal government – reflected those changing political realities. These studies displayed a much greater depth and sophistication than the pre-war scholarship and showed (during the war) a commitment to national service, while at the same time continuing to reflect a belief in the ideology of racial uplift and the role to be played by social science in that process. Black civil rights leaders sought to use the migration as a “lever for social change” (Cohen 1991; Arnesen 2003), and wartime contingencies forced the Wilson Administration to respond to African American demands for greater representation within the government. In October 1917, Emmett Scott, Booker T. Washington’s former secretary, was named Special Adviser to the Secretary of War and in April 1918 sociologist George Haynes was appointed director of the newly created Division of Negro Economics in the Department of Labor. Haynes led one of the first full-scale studies of wartime migration (Department of Labor 1919). His team gave a much more detailed rendering of the economic conditions in the South that led to the

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, pp.451-453.

out-migration. The ravages of the boll weevil, floods, the inefficiency of land tenancy, poor schools, the corrupt court system, lynching, labor agents, and press coverage in the North were all cited. In the midst of all these economic data, the migrants themselves tended to recede from view, a failing that many of these sociological studies shared.

Emmett Scott quickly emerged as one of the great publicists of this demographic phenomenon. He published the letters of the migrants themselves in Carter Woodson's *Journal of Negro History* to demonstrate that they were active participants in this movement to the industrial North. His own research culminated in the publication of *Negro Migration During the War* (Scott 1920). Scott attempted to capitalize on increasing media attention to lobby for the creation of a permanent Bureau of Negro Affairs. His bid failed, but he was able to capitalize on the surge of interest to secure a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to commission a series of studies from the sociologists Monroe Work and Charles S. Johnson, and from the journalist T. Thomas Fortune (Cohen 1991; Work 1924; Johnson 1925).

As mentioned above, there was a general consensus that economic factors in North and South were the chief reasons for the exodus. However, many of the studies from the First World War into the early 1930s were quick to use this population movement to shine a light on southern racism. Not only did they give detailed explanations of the causes of the migration that included a stinging critique of race relations in the South, many contained prescriptions for improving those relations (Scott 1920; Work 1924; Donald 1921; Kennedy 1930; Kiser 1932), thus rooting those studies in the uplift tradition.

There were dissenters. Charles S. Johnson, for instance, used Georgia census data to show that there was no direct correlation between lynchings and black out-migration in counties where those lynchings took place. In fact, Johnson argued, there was greater out-migration of whites than blacks (Johnson 1923). Thomas Jackson Woofter, Jr, a former Fellow with the Phelps-Stokes Fund and a member of the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, argued that the migration was the natural result of the post-bellum reorganization of the southern rural economic order. Woofter saw that reorganization unfolding in stages, beginning with the collapse of plantation agriculture, stages that picked up momentum in response to wartime conditions. He saw the wartime migration as "abnormal" in the broader context of this longer historical process (Woofter 1920).

Another important trend in the literature of this period was to focus attention on the impact of the migration on northern cities as well as the difficulties faced by the migrants in their new environs. The migration exacerbated racial tensions across the urban North. In 1917, racial violence erupted in East St Louis (Rudwick 1982) and then, in the so-called "Red Summer" of 1919, riots broke out in more than two dozen cities. The worst violence was in Chicago in July, when 23 African Americans and 15 whites died in three days of street-fighting. There were 520 people injured (Tuttle 1996). Local authorities convened a civil rights commission to investigate the causes of the violence. The final report, authored by Charles S. Johnson, who was then employed by the

Chicago Urban League, was one of the first in-depth studies to connect racial violence in northern cities to the dislocations wrought by mass migration. The lengthy final report was accompanied by a discussion of the causes of the migration as well as a massive compendium of information about black life in Chicago. There were sections on population growth, housing shortages, violence against black neighborhoods, medical care, crime, employment opportunities, and work conditions. There were over eighty pages of recommendations to the city to improve race relations (Chicago Commission on Race Relations 1922).

Other studies described the social processes by which rural black southerners became an urban working-class (Kennedy 1930; Lewis 1931). The sociologist Clyde Kiser employed multiple methodologies to trace the migration of a group of St Helena Islanders to Harlem, Boston, Philadelphia, and Savannah. The use of such a control group allowed Kiser to demonstrate the role of kinship networks and informal institutional structures in the migration, as well as the impact of the urban experience on the St Helena migrants (Kiser 1932). These studies of social transformation reached their apogee in this period with E. Franklin Frazier's controversial 1939 work *The Negro Family in Chicago*. According to Frazier, the migration destroyed the only moral foundation these rural folk had ever known. In the cities, black family structures grew unstable. Crime, divorce, and illegitimate birth rates ballooned while the sheer numbers of migrants rendered black institutions in northern cities unable to improve the quality of life. Frazier supported his urban pathology thesis with a mountain of evidence gleaned from much of the major social science research of the period.

### ***Questions***

- 1. What topics did Wood tackle in his articles published in the Chicago Daily News?*
- 2. How did the First World War affect the Great Migration?*
- 3. Why did some whites (and blacks) view the Great Migration as a "Southern problem" that became a "national" one?*
- 4. According to black leaders, what benefit could the Great Migration bring to African Americans?*
- 5. What did George Haynes' research focus on?*
- 6. What did Emmett Scott's study focus on?*
- 7. What did Charles S. Johnson want to prove in his research?*

## DOCUMENT 5.1

### Booker T. Washington, Atlanta Exposition Address (1895)<sup>43</sup>

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens

One third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a daily farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel, From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are"-cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to

business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the

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<sup>43</sup> University of Texas website. [https://minio.la.utexas.edu/webeditor-files/coretexts/pdf/1895\\_atlanta\\_expo.pdf](https://minio.la.utexas.edu/webeditor-files/coretexts/pdf/1895_atlanta_expo.pdf)

bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South here I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race "Cast down your bucket here you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this

magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen.

As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past. in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours. interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging. and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand percent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed--"blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:

The laws of changeless justice bind

Oppressor with oppressed;

And close as sin and suffering joined

We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward. or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death. stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous



sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam-engines, newspapers, hooks, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles, While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern states, but especially from Northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing, No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long

in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition: and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South. you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, this, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

### *Questions*

- 1. Whom does Booker T Washington address in his speech?*
- 2. What does he ask his fellow African Americans to put their attention on?*
- 3. What does Booker T Washington ask them to do with regard to racial segregation?*
- 4. What does he ask the whites to do?*
- 5. What arguments does he give to the white audience?*
- 6. What kind of image Blacks-Whites relations does Washington portray?*

## DOCUMENT 5.2

### W.E.B Du Bois, “Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others” (1903)<sup>44</sup>

*In a 1903 essay, intellectual and scholar W E B Du Bois questioned the ideas of Booker T. Washington. Du Bois blamed Washington for trying to convince their fellow African Americans to accept the racial segregationist white social order, and he asserted that Washington's ideas represented “the old attitude of adjustment and submission.”*

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission: but adjustment at such a peculiar time as to make his programme unique. This is an age of unusual economic development, and Mr. Washington's programme naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life. Moreover, this is an age when the more advanced races are coming in closer contact with the less developed races, and the race-feeling is therefore intensified; and Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. Again, in our own land, the reaction from the sentiment of war time has given impetus to race-prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. In other periods of intensified prejudice all the Negro's tendency to self-assertion has been called forth; at this period a policy of submission is advocated. In the history of nearly all other races and peoples the doctrine preached at such crises has been that manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing.

In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up. at least for the present, three things,—

First, political power,

Second, insistence on civil rights,

Third, higher education of Negro youth,——

and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South, This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch. what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.

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<sup>44</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois. Chapter Three, “Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others,” in *The Souls of Black Folk*.

2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.

3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro. These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment. The question then comes: Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meagre chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No. And Mr. Washington thus faces the triple paradox of his career:

1. He is striving nobly to make Negro artisans business men and property-owners; but it is utterly impossible, under modern competitive methods, for workingmen and property-owners to defend their rights and exist without the right of suffrage.
2. He insists on thrift and self-respect, but at the same time counsels a silent submission to civic inferiority such as is bound to sap the manhood of any race in the long run.
3. He advocates common-school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of higher learning; but neither the Negro common-schools, nor Tuskegee itself, could remain open a day were it not for teachers trained in Negro colleges, or trained by their graduates.

This triple paradox in Mr. Washington's position is the object of criticism by two classes of colored Americans. One class is spiritually descended from Toussaint the Savior, through Gabriel, Vesey, and Turner, and they represent the attitude of revolt and revenge: they hate the white South blindly and distrust the white race generally, and so far as they agree on definite action, think that the Negro's only hope lies in emigration beyond the borders of the United States. And yet, by the irony of fate, nothing has more effectually made this programme seem hopeless than the recent course of the United States toward weaker and darker peoples in the West Indies, Hawaii, and the Philippines,--for where in the world may we go and be safe from tyring and brute force?

The other class of Negroes who cannot agree with Mr. Washington has hitherto said little aloud. They deprecate the sight of scattered counsels, of internal disagreement; and especially they dislike making their just criticism of a useful and earnest man an excuse for a general discharge of venom from small-minded opponents. Nevertheless, the questions involved are so fundamental and serious that it is difficult to see how men like the Grimkes, Kelly Miller, J. W. E. Bowen, and other representatives of this group, can much longer be silent, Such men feel in conscience bound to ask of this nation three things:

1. The right to vote.
2. Civic equality.
3. The education of youth according to ability.

They acknowledge Mr. Washington's invaluable service in counselling patience and courtesy in such demands; they do not ask that ignorant black men vote when ignorant whites are debarred, or that any reasonable restrictions in the suffrage should not be applied; they know that the low social level of the mass of the race is responsible for much discrimination against it, but they also know, and the nation knows, that relentless color-prejudice is more often a cause than a result of the Negro's degradation; they seek the abatement of this relic of barbarism, and not its systematic encouragement and pampering by all agencies of social power from the Associated Press to the Church of Christ. They advocate, with Mr. Washington, a broad system of Negro common schools supplemented by thorough industrial training; but they are surprised that a man of Mr. Washington's insight cannot see that no such educational system ever has rested or can rest on any other basis than that of the well-equipped college and university', and they insist that there is a demand for a few such institutions throughout the South to train the best of the Negro youth as teachers, professional men, and leaders.

This group of men honor Mr. Washington for his attitude of conciliation toward the white South; they accept the "Atlanta Compromise" in its broadest interpretation: they recognize, with him, many signs of promise, many men of high purpose and fair judgment, in this section; they know that no easy task has been laid upon a region already tottering under heavy burdens. But, nevertheless, they insist that the way to truth and right lies in straightforward honesty, not in indiscriminate flattery; in praising those of the South who do well and criticising uncompromisingly those who do ill; in taking advantage of the opportunities at hand and urging their fellows to do the same, but at the same time in remembering that only a firm adherence to their higher ideals and aspirations will ever keep those ideals within the realm of possibility. They do not expect that the free right to vote, to enjoy civic rights, and to be educated, will come in a moment: they do not expect to see the bias and prejudices of years disappear at the blast of a trumpet: but they are absolutely certain that the way for a people to gain their reasonable rights is not by voluntarily throwing them away and insisting that they do not want them; that the way for a people to gain respect is not by continually belittling and ridiculing themselves: that, on the contrary, Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys.

In failing thus to state plainly and unequivocally the legitimate demands of their people, even at the cost of opposing an honored leader, the thinking classes of American Negroes would shirk a heavy responsibility,--a responsibility to themselves, a responsibility to the struggling masses, a responsibility to the darker races of men whose future depends so largely on this American experiment, but especially a responsibility to this nation,--this common Fatherland. It is wrong to encourage a man or a people in evil-doing; it is wrong to aid and abet a national crime simply because it is unpopular not to do so. The growing spirit of kindness and reconciliation between the North and South after the frightful differences of a generation ago ought to be a source of deep congratulation to all, and especially to those whose mistreatment caused the war; but if that reconciliation is to be marked by the industrial slavery and civic death of those same black men, with permanent

legislation into a position of inferiority. then those black men. if they are really men, are called upon by every consideration of patriotism and loyalty to oppose such a course by all civilized methods, even though such opposition involves disagreement with Mr. Booker T. Washington. We have no right to sit silently by while the inevitable seeds are sown for a harvest of disaster to our children, black and white.

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### ***Questions***

1. *What does W. E. B. Dubois blame Booker T Washington for?*
2. *According to Dubois, what was the whites response to Washington's conciliation approach?*
3. *What contradiction does Dubois note in Washington's arguments?*
4. *What does Dubois prioritize in order to improve the situation of the Black?*
5. *What kinds of responses in the Black community does Du Bois note?*

## DOCUMENT 5.3

### John Hope's Reply to Booker T. Washington (1896)<sup>45</sup>

#### **If we are not striving for equality, in heaven's name for what are we living?**

*John Hope (1868—1936) was born in Augusta, Georgia, and graduated from Worcester Academy in Massachusetts and then Brown University in 1894. When he wrote the following, he was a professor of classics and sciences at Roger Williams University in Nashville, Tennessee. Hope was one of the founders of the Niagara Movement, which preceded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1906, he became the first black president of Atlanta Baptist College (Morehouse College), and in 1929, the president of Atlanta University. Hope, a strong advocate of liberal education for blacks, opposed Booker T. Washington's advocacy of technical training. Hope heard Washington's famous Atlanta Exposition speech and disagreed strongly. On February 22, 1896, he delivered the following speech in rebuttal to Washington to a black debating society.*

If we are not striving for equality, in heaven's name for what are we living? I regard it as cowardly and dishonest for any of our colored men to tell white people or colored people that we are not struggling for equality. If money, education, and honesty will not bring to me as much privilege, as much equality as they bring to any American citizen, then they are to me a curse, and not A blessing. God forbid that we should get the implements with which to fashion our freedom, and then be too lazy or pusillanimous to fashion it. Let us not fool ourselves nor be fooled by others. If we cannot do what other freemen do, then we are not free. Yes, my friends I want equality. Nothing less. I want all that my God-given powers will enable me to get, then why not equality? Now, catch your breath, for I am going to use an adjective: I am going to say we demand social equality. In this Republic we shall be less than freemen, if we have a white less than that which thrift, education, and honor afford other freemen. If equality; political, economic, and social, is the boon of other men in this great country of ours, then equality, political, economic, and social, is what we demand. Why build a wall to keep me out? I am no wild beast, nor am I an unclean thing.

Rise, Brothers! Come let us possess this land. Never say: "Let well enough alone;" Cease to console yourselves with adages that numb the moral sense. Be discontented. Be dissatisfied. "Sweat and grunt" under present conditions. Be as restless as the tempestuous billows on the boundless sea. Let your discontent break mountain- high against the wall of prejudice, and swamp it to the very foundation. Then we shall

<sup>45</sup> <https://rivercity.wusd.k12.ca.us/documents/Academics/Social-Science/GRADE-11-US-HISTORY/PRIMARY-SOURCE-DOCUMENTS/3787774444067282158.pdf>

not have to plead for justice nor on bended knee crave mercy; for we shall be men. Then and not until then will liberty in its highest sense be the boast of our Republic.

***Questions***

- 1. What higher goal does John Hope ask his fellow African Americans to struggle for ?*
- 2. In which phrase(s) does he refer to Booker T Washington's ideas?*

## DOCUMENT 5.4

### Marcus Garvey on Africa for the Africans (1921)<sup>46</sup>

Source: "Speech Delivered at Liberty Hall, New York City, August 21, 1921," in Amy Jacques-Garvey, ed., *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (New York, 1923–25), vol. 2, pp. 93–97.

*In the new, densely populated black ghettos created in the wake of the Great Migration, disappointment with conditions in the North inspired widespread support for a separatist movement launched by Marcus Garvey. Garvey pointed out that the First World War had inspired movements for national self-determination throughout the world and especially in Europe and Africa. Blacks, he insisted, should enjoy the same internationally recognized identity enjoyed by other peoples.*

FOUR YEARS AGO, realizing the oppression and the hardships from which we suffered, we organized ourselves into an organization for the purpose of bettering our condition, and founding a government of our own. The four years of organization have brought good results, in that from an obscure, despised race we have grown into a mighty power, a mighty force whose influence is being felt throughout the length and breadth of the world. The Universal Negro Improvement Association existed but in name four years ago, today it is known as the greatest moving force among Negroes. We have accomplished this through unity of effort and unity of purpose, it is a fair demonstration of what we will be able to accomplish in the very near future, when the millions who are outside the pale of the Universal Negro Improvement Association will have linked themselves up with us. By our success of the last four years we will be able to estimate the grander success of a free and redeemed Africa. In climbing the heights to where we are today, we have had to surmount difficulties, we have had to climb over obstacles, but the obstacles were stepping stones to the future greatness of this Cause we represent. Day by day we are writing a new history, recording new deeds of valor performed by this race of ours. It is true that the world has not yet valued us at our true worth but we are climbing up so fast and with such force that every day the world is changing its attitude towards us. Wheresoever you turn your eyes today you will find the moving influence of the Universal Negro Improvement Association among Negroes from all corners of the globe. We hear among Negroes the cry of "Africa for the Africans." This cry has become a positive, determined one. It is a cry that is raised simultaneously the world over because of the universal oppression that affects the Negro. You who are congregated here tonight as Delegates representing the hundreds of branches of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in different parts of the world will realize that we in New York are positive in this great desire of a free and redeemed Africa. We have established this Liberty Hall as the centre from which we send out the sparks of liberty to the four corners of the globe, and if you have caught the spark in your section, we want you to keep it a-burning for the great Cause we represent. There is a mad rush among races everywhere towards national independence. Everywhere we hear the cry of liberty, of freedom, and a demand for democracy. In our corner of the world we are

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<sup>46</sup> Eric Foner, ed. *Voices of Freedom: A Documentary History Vol. 2*, 6th ed. WW Norton, document 132.



raising the cry for liberty, freedom and democracy. Men who have raised the cry for freedom and liberty in ages past have always made up their minds to die for the realization of the dream. We who are assembled in this Convention as Delegates representing the Negroes of the world give out the same spirit that the fathers of liberty in this country gave out over one hundred years ago. We give out a spirit that knows no compromise, a spirit that refuses to turn back, a spirit that says "Liberty or Death", and in prosecution of this great ideal—the ideal of a free and redeemed Africa, men may scorn, men may spurn us, and may say that we are on the wrong side of life, but let me tell you that way in which you are travelling is just the way all peoples who are free have travelled in the past. If you want liberty you yourselves must strike the blow. If you must be free you must become so through your own effort, through your own initiative. Those who have discouraged you in the past are those who have enslaved you for centuries and it is not expected that they will admit that you have a right to strike out at this late hour for freedom, liberty and democracy.

It falls to our lot to tear off the shackles that bind Mother Africa. Can you do it? You did it in the Revolutionary War. You did it in the Civil War; You did it at the Battles of the Marne and Verdun; You did it in Mesopotamia. You can do it marching up the battle heights of Africa. Let the world know that 400,000,000 Negroes are prepared to die or live as free men. Despise us as much as you care. Ignore us as much as you care. We are coming 400,000,000 strong. We are coming with our woes behind us, with the memory of suffering behind us—woes and suffering of three hundred years —they shall be our inspiration. My bulwark of strength in the conflict for freedom in Africa, will be the three hundred years of persecution and hardship left behind in this Western Hemisphere. The more I remember the suffering of my fore-fathers, the more I remember the lynchings and burnings in the Southern States of America, the more I will fight on even though the battle seems doubtful. Tell me that I must turn back, and I laugh you to scorn. Go on! Go on! Climb ye the heights of liberty and cease not in well doing until you have planted the banner of the Red, the Black and the Green on the hilltops of Africa.

### *Questions*

- 1. How does Garvey assess the development of the organization he has founded?*
- 2. How does Garvey define black freedom?*
- 3. How do you think Garvey felt that African independence would benefit black Americans?*

## DOCUMENT 7.1

### The Southern Manifesto (1956)<sup>47</sup>

Source: *Congressional Record*, 84th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 4459–60.

*The 1954 Supreme Court decision in **Brown v. Board of Education**, outlawed racial segregation in public schools. The decision would lead to the desegregation process of the 1960s. However that decision was rejected by the white South. Drawn up in 1956 and signed by 101 southern members of the Senate and House of Representatives, the **Southern Manifesto** rejected the Supreme Court decision and offered support to the campaign of white resistance in the South. The manifesto emphasized ideas of local autonomy as the basis of individual liberty and claimed that segregation was an old southern tradition favoured by both whites and blacks. The Manifesto was a prelude to a decade of sometimes violent struggles against the Civil Rights movement and the process of desegregation.*

THE UNWARRANTED DECISION of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

The Founding Fathers gave us a Constitution of checks and balances because they realized the inescapable lesson of history that no man or group of men can be safely entrusted with unlimited power. . . . We regard the decisions of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the Federal Judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation [violation] of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the 14th Amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the 14th Amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the system of education maintained by the States.

In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the 14th Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the States provided separate but equal facilities. This decision . . . restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the States and confirmed their habits, traditions, and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and commonsense, for parents should not be deprived by Government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

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<sup>47</sup> Foner, ed. *Voices of Freedom*, document 169.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the States principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers: . . . we commend the motives of those States which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.

We appeal to the States and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they too, on issues vital to them may be the victims of judicial encroachment.

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

### ***Questions***

- 1. What is the main aim the Southern Manifesto?*
- 2. On which basis do Southern congressmen reject the decision?*
- 3. What arguments do they put forward to make their case?*

## DOCUMENT 7.2

### **Army Veteran Robert Williams argues that African Americans' "Self-Defense Prevents Bloodshed," 1962<sup>48</sup>**

... There were about two or three thousand people lined along the highway. Two or three policemen were standing at the intersection directing traffic and there were two policemen who had been following us from my home. An old stock car without windows was parked by a restaurant at the intersection. As soon as we drew near, this car started backing out as fast as possible. The driver hoped to hit us in the side and flip us over. But I turned my wheel sharply and the junk car struck the front of my car and both cars went into a ditch.

Then the crowd started screaming. They said that a nigger had hit a white man. They were referring to me. They were screaming, "Kill the niggers! Kill the niggers! Pour gasoline on the niggers! Burn the niggers!"

We were still sitting in the car. The man who was driving the stock car got out of the car with a baseball bat and started walking toward us and he was saying, "Nigger, what did you hit me for?" I didn't say anything to him. We just sat there looking at him. He came up close to our car, within arm's length with the baseball bat, but I still hadn't said anything and we didn't move in the car. What they didn't know was that we were armed. Under North Carolina state law it is legal to carry firearms in your automobile so long as these firearms are not concealed.

I had two pistols and a rifle in the car. When this fellow started to draw back his baseball bat, I put an Army .45 up in the window of the car and pointed it right into his face and I didn't say a word. He looked at the pistol and he didn't say anything. He started backing away from the car.

Somebody in the crowd fired a pistol and the people again started to scream hysterically, "Kill the niggers! Kill the niggers! Pour gasoline on the niggers!" The mob started to throw stones on top of my car. So I opened the door of the car and I put one foot on the ground and stood up in the door holding an Italian carbine.

All this time three policemen had been standing about fifty feet away from us while we kept waiting in the car for them to come and rescue us. Then when they saw that we were armed and the mob couldn't take us, two of the policemen started running. One ran straight to me and he grabbed me on the shoulder and said, "Surrender your weapon! Surrender your weapon!" I struck him in the face and knocked him back away from the car and put my carbine in his face and I told him we were not going to surrender to a mob. I told him that we didn't intend to be lynched....

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<sup>48</sup> Cobbs Hoffman et al. *Major Problems in American History*, pp. 369-370.

There was a very old man, an old white man out in the crowd, and he started screaming and crying like a baby and he kept crying, and he said, "God damn, God damn, what is this God damn country coming to that the niggers have got guns, the niggers are armed and the police can't even arrest them!" He kept crying and somebody led him away through the crowd...

### ***Questions***

1. *Who hit whom?*
2. *Did the author have the right to carry fire arms with him?*
3. *Why did the police not intervene at first but then got involved?*
4. *Why did the author refuse to lay down his rifle?*
5. *What comic happening occurred at the end of the incident?*

## DOCUMENT 9.1

### Malcolm X' Speech: "The Ballot or the Bullet" (1964)<sup>49</sup>

*Source: Malcolm X, from "The Ballot or the Bullet" in Malcolm X Speaks by Malcolm X.*

*Copyright © 1965, 1989 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press.*

*In 1964, Malcolm X made the speech below in Cleveland. At that time he had broken with the Nation of Islam and he began to adopt the idea of working with white allies. Nevertheless he claimed that the civil rights movement was pursuing a failed strategy. Malcolm X warned that if blacks did not soon obtain equality, violence was certain to follow. Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965, but he became an intellectual founding father of the Black Power movement of the late 1960s.*

ALTHOUGH I'M STILL a Muslim, I'm not here tonight to discuss my religion. I'm not here to try and change your religion. I'm not here to argue or discuss anything that we differ about, because it's time for us to submerge our differences and realize that it is best for us to first see that we have the same problem, a common problem, a problem that will make you catch hell whether you're a Baptist, or a Methodist, or a Muslim, or a nationalist. Whether you're educated or illiterate, whether you live on the boulevard or in the alley, you're going to catch hell just like I am. We're all in the same boat and we all are going to catch the same hell from the same man. He just happens to be a white man. All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man. Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us. Whether we are Christians or Muslims or nationalists or agnostics or atheists, we must first learn to forget our differences. If we have differences, let us differ in the closet; when we come out in front, let us not have anything to argue about until we get finished arguing with the man. If the late President Kennedy could get together with Khrushchev and exchange some wheat, we certainly have more in common with each other than Kennedy and Khrushchev had with each other. If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet. It's one or the other in 1964. It isn't that time is running out—time has run out! 1964 threatens to be the most explosive year America has ever witnessed. The most explosive year. Why? It's also a political year. It's the year when all of the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community giving you and me for some votes. The year when all of the white political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a letdown, with their trickery and their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep. As they nourish these dissatisfactions, it can only lead to one thing, an explosion; and now we have the type of

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<sup>49</sup> Foner, *Voices of Freedom*, document 175.

black man on the scene in America today . . . who just doesn't intend to turn the other cheek any longer. . . .

I'm not a politician, not even a student of politics; in fact, I'm not a student of much of anything. I'm not a Democrat. I'm not a Republican, and I don't even consider myself an American. If you and I were Americans, there'd be no problem. . . . Everything that came out of Europe, every blue-eyed thing, is already an American. And as long as you and I have been over here, we aren't Americans yet. Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn't need any legislation; you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution; you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now. . . .

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

So it's time in 1964 to wake up. And when you see them coming up with that kind of conspiracy, let them know your eyes are open. And let them know you—something else that's wide open too. It's got to be the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet. If you're afraid to use an expression like that, you should get on out of the country; you should get back in the cotton patch; you should get back in the alley. They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. . . .

So, where do we go from here? First, we need some friends. We need some new allies. The entire civil-rights struggle needs a new interpretation, a broader interpretation. We need to look at this civil-rights thing from another angle—from the inside as well as from the outside. To those of us whose philosophy is black nationalism, the only way you can get involved in the civil-rights struggle is give it a new interpretation. That old interpretation excluded us. . . .

Well, we're justified in seeking civil rights, if it means equality of opportunity, because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment. Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return—I mean without a dime in return. . . .

When we begin to get in this area, we need new friends, we need new allies. We need to expand the civil-rights struggle to a higher level—to the level of human rights. Whenever you are in a civil-rights struggle, whether you know it or not, you are confining yourself to the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam. . . .

When you expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, you can then take the case of the black man in this country before the nations in the UN. You can take it before the General Assembly. You can take Uncle Sam before a world court. . . .

Black people are fed up with the dillydallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward getting our freedom. We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome. . . .

Brothers and sisters, always remember, if it doesn't take senators and congressmen and presidential proclamations to give freedom to the white man, it is not necessary for legislation or proclamation or Supreme Court decisions to give freedom to the black man. You let that white man know, if this is a country of freedom, let it be a country of freedom; and if it's not a country of freedom, change it.

### *Questions*

- 1. What phrases show that Malcolm X is not against the white but against racial oppression?*
- 2. Why is it difficult for Malcolm X to consider himself an American?*
- 3. How does he view the achievements of the Civil Rights movements and what does he suggest?*
- 4. To him how can African Americans take their struggle beyond the Civil Rights activism? What alternative does he give?*



## DOCUMENT 11.1

### **African-American professor Carol Swain slams Black Lives Matter, 2016**<sup>50</sup>

By Daniella Diaz, CNN  
Published 3:21 PM EDT, Sat July 9, 2016

*Washington CNN* —

Carol Swain, a conservative African-American professor, slammed the Black Lives Matter movement Saturday, calling it a “very destructive force” in America.

CNN’s Michael Smerconish asked Swain, along with civil rights attorney Areva Martin, to comment on the conservative website Drudge Report’s decision to lead the homepage with the title “Black Lives Kill” following the shooting of police officers in Dallas. The headline was quickly pulled down.

“Is this the end of the Black Lives Matter movement?” Smerconish asked.

“I certainly hope so,” Swain, a law professor at Vanderbilt University, responded on CNN’s “Smerconish.” “Because I believe that it’s been a very destructive force in America, and I urge all of your viewers to go to that website and look at what they’re really about. It’s a Marxist organization all about black liberation. It’s not really addressing the real problems affecting African-Americans and so it’s problematic, it’s misleading black people, it needs to go.”

Martin, who supports the movement, jumped on Swain’s remarks.

“That is absolutely ridiculous,” she said. “Black Lives Matter has done more to move the needle on reforms in the criminal justice system than elected officials and community leaders all over this country.”

Smerconish asked Swain if she was dismissing the movement because of the Dallas shooter or if she’s “looked at what the group purports to stand for itself and you don’t like what you see.”

“No, I don’t like what I see. It’s pure Marxism. It talks about state violence, genocide. All of those are buzzwords that are quite destructive,” the professor responded.

“We need to look at the credibility of the witnesses, we need to not rush to judgment, and I find the media, they’re putting too much focus on the videos before we have the facts,” Swain added.

Swain’s comments quickly sparked criticism.

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<sup>50</sup> <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/07/09/politics/carol-swain-black-lives-matter-smerconish/index.html>

Sherrilyn Ifill, president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, wrote on Twitter, "I cannot (can) believe that Prof Carol Swain is on @CNN justifying the killing of both Sterling & Castile & for an "end" to Black Lives Matter."

Swain responded to the backlash on Facebook, writing,

"I spent a lot of time praying for wisdom and discernment before today's @CNN interview. I understand the Black community is in a grave situation and they are being exploited and manipulated by the liberal left. Truth and a return to God will help liberate blacks."

### *Questions*

- 1. What arguments does Carol Swain give to criticize the Black Lives Matter movement?*
- 2. What political trend and ideology does Swain belong to?*
- 3. Who replied to her and what has she been blamed for?*

## DOCUMENT 12.1

### Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, 2017 <sup>51</sup>

**Q: You originally coined the term intersectionality to describe bias and violence against black women, but it's become more widely used—for LGBTQ issues, among others. Is that a misunderstanding of intersectionality?**

**Crenshaw:** Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It's not simply that there's a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LGBTQ problem there. Many times that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things.

Some people look to intersectionality as a grand theory of everything, but that's not my intention. If someone is trying to think about how to explain to the courts why they should not dismiss a case made by black women, just because the employer did hire blacks who were men and women who were white, well, that's what the tool was designed to do. If it works, great. If it doesn't work, it's not like you have to use this concept.

The other issue is that intersectionality can get used as a blanket term to mean, "Well, it's complicated." Sometimes, "It's complicated" is an excuse not to do anything. At AAPF and the Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies, we want to move beyond that idea.

We try to take ideas and make them into hands-on tools that advocates and communities can use. Part of it is public education. We use art and other projects to show how people are experiencing intersectional harms, such as mothers of women killed by the police, or young girls expelled from school. We work directly with advocates and communities to develop ways they can better see these problems and better intervene in advocacy.

**Q: You've said there is an "intersectional erasure" in the Trump era. Can you explain?**

**Crenshaw:** What's most problematic about the contemporary conversation is the complete irrelevance of women of color. People talk about how constituencies, specifically working class white men, saw a terrible deterioration of their prospects and they were angry and wanted to vote for someone not part of the establishment.

If you look at women of color, especially blacks and Latinas, their economic well-being has been most impacted by deindustrialization, and by the de-funding of the public sector. So if any group had a reason to respond to scapegoat politics, you would think it might be those workers who were subject to both racialized downward pressures and gendered

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<sup>51</sup> "Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality Two Decades Later." Interview. June 08, 2017. <https://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later>

downward pressures. Yet they were least likely to vote for someone not of the establishment.

Why aren't we talking about that? Why is the intersection of maleness and whiteness driving our analysis and not the intersection of being a woman and a person of color? What is going on that these women of color did not respond to xenophobia and racism? What did they have that made them say we're better than this and we want more for our country?

**Q: One of AAPF's initiatives is #SayHerName, which shines a light on black women who have been subjected to police violence. What has the movement's impact been?**

**Crenshaw:** The impact can be measured first by noting how infrequently any woman was mentioned as a victim of police violence just two years ago, and now we hear often about "men and women" killed by police, or "African-Americans" rather than "African-American men." Sandra Bland is the most often mentioned, and many people know the name, Rekia Boyd. But too few know Tanisha Anderson, Mya Hall or India Kager. The sense that this itself is a problem is a new recognition, one that activists, elected officials, and even families are beginning to give voice to.

But the most significant shift has been in the consciousness of mothers who have lost daughters to police violence. We've brought them together several times. They have said that their determination and ability to fight has been grounded on their awareness that they are not alone; that there are other mothers who are also struggling in obscurity; that they are a sorority that no one would want to join; and that now that they have found each other, they can receive and provide support, and even permission to find joy in life after such an unspeakable loss.

### *Questions*

1. What does Crenshaw mean by "intersectionality"?
2. Why has #SayHerName come to the fore and what does it refer to?

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# SUGGESTED TESTING

## I.

Mohamed Khider University of Biskra  
English Language Studies  
2020-2021 - Semester II

Class: Master 1 Civ-Lit  
Course: American Civilization  
Instructor: S. Kerboua

Student's Full Name: .....

Group: ...

### SHORT TEST

*Identify the following item and give their significance in African American History*

✓ The Black Belt

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✓ Plessy Vs Ferguson

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✓ Marcus Garvey

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**II.**

Mohamed Khider University of Biskra  
English Language Studies  
2020-2021 - Semester II

Class: Master 1 Civ-Lit  
Course: American Civilization  
Instructor: S. Kerboua

Student's Full Name: .....

Group: ...

**SHORT TEST**

*Identify the following item and give their significance in African American History*

✓ Reconstruction

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✓ Plessy Vs Ferguson

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✓ *The Chicago Defender*

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**III.**

Mohamed Khider University of Biskra  
English Language Studies  
2020-2021 - Semester II  
May 26, 2018

Class: Master 1 Civ-Lit  
Course: American Civilization  
Instructor: S. Kerboua

Student's Full Name: .....

Group: ...

**2<sup>nd</sup> SEMESTER ACHIEVEMENT TEST**

Identifications

1. NAACP :

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Klu Klux Klan:

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*The Chicago Defender*

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Short Essay:

*In light of the lecture and readings during the course, point out two different 20<sup>th</sup> century African American movements of your choice, and discuss their ideological trends and their objectives regarding their quest for justice and rights.*

**IV.**

Mohamed Khider University of Biskra  
English Language Studies  
2020-2021 - Semester II

Class: Master 1 Civ-Lit  
Course: American Civilization  
Instructor: S. Kerboua

SEMESTER 2 - July, 04, 2021. FULL NAME: ..... GROUP: .....

**SEMESTER 2 EXAM**

*In a short composition of 350-400 words, situate the Booker T Washington – W E B Du Bois debate and explain it and its contextual validity in light of the African Americans' experience of the time.*

V.

Mohamed Khider University of Biskra  
 Department of Letters and Foreign Languages  
 English - 2019-2020 - Semester 2 (October 6, 2020)

Level: Master 1 Civ-Lit  
 Course: American Civilization  
 Instructor: S. Kerboua

Student full name: ..... Group: .....

### ACHIEVEMENT TEST

**Part One: fill in the gaps with items relating to African American History. (8 pts)**

1. **Positive Good** was a Southern justification that held that slaves were happy in the South and that they were well-treated. (2 points - spelling is taken into account in the assessment)
2. **Jim Crow Laws** were state legislations, set up in the American South, to subvert the abolition of slavery, to keep Blacks under domination, and to implement racial segregation. (2 points - spelling is taken into account in the assessment)
3. **Plessy Vs Ferguson** was a 1896 Supreme Court decision which validated and institutionalized racial segregation in the United States. (2 points - spelling is taken into account in the assessment)
4. *The Chicago Defender* was a newspaper of the early 20th century which denounced racial segregation, oppression, and encouraged African Americans leave the South and move to the North, and especially Chicago. (2 points - spelling is taken into account in the assessment)

**Part Two: Short composition (introduction + two body paragraphs + conclusion) (12 pts)**

*Explain the divergence of opinion between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Dubois regarding African Americans struggle for their rights and dignity.*

*In the late 1890s-early 1900s, the question of how Black Americans should react towards the Jim Crow Laws and racial segregation was the subject of debate within the African American community. Two great intellectuals, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Dubois, had diverging views on how African Americans should behave with regard to racial segregation and oppression.*

*In his famous "Atlanta Compromise" speech (1895), B. T. Washington viewed that his fellow African Americans had to compromise with the whites.*

*He believed that it was not time for them to enjoy equality and justice. Washington asked the African American community to accept the white social order, their situation as segregated people, and to turn on self-help and the improvement of their own economic situation. Washington pleaded for technical education so that Blacks could achieve economic autonomy and self sufficiency. That way, he believed, they could improve their social situation, climb the social ladder, and find a place in the United States' society.*

*W. E. B. Dubois did not agree with Booker T. Washington. Dubois criticized the stance and arguments of his fellow African American. He also accused him of preaching surrender and submission to racial segregation. Dubois argued that African Americans had to struggle for their civic rights, for justice and equality in the US society. He viewed that Blacks had to seek liberal education. Dubois was a prominent scholar and he helped the creation of the Niagara Movement in 1905 and the NAACP in 1909.*

*The debate between Washington and Dubois is one of the many examples of ideological diversity within African Americans' quest for justice and equality in the United States. Despite their different opinions and attitudes these two intellectuals remain among the most influential in African American history.*

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