

Historical Literacy Project Model Unit Gallery Template

Unit Title: The Civil Rights Movement: Sources, Facts, and Interpretations

Designed by: Zach Taylor

District: Caesar Rodney School District

Content Area: U.S. History

Grade Level(s): 10th-11th

Summary of Unit (This should include a brief unit summary including a description of unit goals, rationale for the approach taken, and where it appears in the course of study.)

Stage 1 – Desired Results

What students will know, do, and understand

Delaware Content Standards (Write out the Delaware History standard for which instruction is provided in this unit and which are ultimately assessed in the unit.)

History Standard Two 9-12b: Students will examine and analyze primary and secondary sources in order to differentiate between historical facts and historical interpretations.

Big Idea(s) (This should include transferable core concepts, principles, theories, and processes that should serve as the focal point of curricula, instruction, and assessment. Ex: Manifest Destiny, fighting for peace.)

Primary Source

Secondary Source

Fact

Interpretation

Nonviolent Protest

Segregation

Social Movements

Unit Enduring Understanding(s) (This should include important ideas or core processes that are central to the unit and transferable to new situations beyond the classroom. Stated as full-sentence statements, the understandings specify what we want students to understand about the Big Ideas Ex: Students will understand that all sources contain some level of bias.)

Students will understand that a conclusion that rests on a solid foundation of facts is superior to a conclusion based largely on interpretations.

Unit Essential Questions(s) (This should include open-ended questions designed to guide student inquiry and focus instruction for “uncovering” the important ideas of the content. Please consult the history clarification documents at http://www.doe.k12.de.us/ddoe/files/pdf/History_Clарifications.pdf for a list of essential questions that the Delaware Department of Education has deemed to be in alignment with the standards.)

- 1. What is the evidence for this argument? Is that *all* the evidence, or just what the author wanted me to read?**
- 2. Does differentiating between fact and interpretation matter?**

Knowledge and Skills (This should include key knowledge and skills that students will acquire as a result of this unit. Ex: difference between a primary and secondary source, historians use different sources. It should also include what students will eventually be able to do as a result of such knowledge and skill Ex: analyze a primary source document).

- 1. Students will know the difference between a primary and secondary source.**
- 2. Students will be able to analyze primary and secondary sources to differentiate between facts and an historian's interpretation.**

Stage 2 – Assessment Evidence

(Design Assessments To Guide Instruction)

(This should include evidence that will be collected to determine whether or not the Desired Results identified in Stage One have been achieved? [Anchor the unit in a performance task that requires transfer, supplemented as needed by other evidence –quizzes, worksheets, observations, etc.]

Suggested Performance/Transfer Task(s) (Strive for an authentic task that will yield evidence of student mastery of the targeted benchmark. Ex: a book or movie review, closing statement, a Photo Story documentary, a student composed section of a history text, a timeline.)

Essential Question Addressed

Does differentiating between fact and interpretation matter?

Prior Knowledge

Students should understand of the differences between a fact and an interpretation as well as the differences between a primary and secondary source. Students should also be familiar with the events of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 60's.

Scenario

Students will work with a partner to create a poster collage illustrating important people, places, and ideas related to a specific event during the American Civil Rights Movement.

Requirements

Pairs will be required to find a minimum of five primary and five secondary source documents related to an event which transpired during. the Civil Rights Movement. These sources can include photos, letters, accounts, graphs, maps, quotes, or any other source related to the Civil Rights Movement. On the back of the collage the pair must attach a two-page essay describing the sources included in their collage and what interpretations historians could make about the Civil Rights Movement

based on those sources. Pairs will also be required to present their collages to the class.

Final Product

The final products for this assessment will be the completed collage, two-page essay, and presentation of their topic.

Rubric(s) (Be sure to align your rubric to the benchmark. A student should not be able to score well on a rubric if he or she has not mastered the standard/benchmark itself.)

	0 POINTS	5 POINTS	10 POINTS
Overall Appearance, Spelling, Grammar, Punctuation	Essay is filled with mistakes, collage is poorly organized and unattractive.	Collage is missing title, sloppy, essay has some errors.	Collage is neat and colorful, essay has no errors.
Five Primary Sources on Collage	Most sources are missing or irrelevant to the assigned topic.	Some sources are missing or irrelevant to the assigned topic or redundant.	Includes a wide variety of primary sources which are appropriate for the topic.
Five Secondary Sources on Collage	Most sources are missing or irrelevant to the assigned topic.	Some sources are missing or irrelevant to the assigned topic or redundant.	Includes a wide variety of secondary sources which are appropriate for the topic.
Explanation of Facts in the Essay	Essay does not include many accurate examples of facts from collage.	Essay includes few examples of facts from the collage.	Essay includes numerous examples of historical facts from the collage.
Explanation of Interpretations in the Essay	Essay does not include many accurate interpretations based on sources from the collage	Essay includes few accurate interpretations based on sources from the collage	Essay includes numerous interpretations based on the sources included in the collage.
Oral Presentation of Topic	Sources, facts, and interpretations from the topic are not mentioned or explained poorly.	Sources, facts, and interpretations from the topic are explained somewhat, but not always clearly.	Sources, facts, and interpretations from the topic are clearly explained to the class.
			Total Score: ____ /60

Other Evidence (This could include tests, quizzes, prompts, student work samples, and observations used to collect diverse evidence of student understanding.)

At the conclusion of each lesson, student work will be collected as a formative assessment. Students will also be given a test at the end of the unit to assess their understanding of the content and the standards presented during this unit.

Student Self-Assessment and Reflection (This should include opportunities for students to monitor their own learning. Ex: reflection journals, learning logs, pre- and post-tests, editing own work.)

The essay which is part of the final assessment provides students the opportunity to reflect upon the Civil Rights Movement and assess their understanding of historical fact and interpretation as well as primary and secondary sources. Also, students would be given a pre and post-test or an anticipation guide to measure their learning from the unit.

Stage 3 – Learning Plan

(Design learning activities to align with Stage 1 and Stage 2 expectations)

(You might consider this the “Procedures” section of your unit plan. Be very specific in describing the procedures you want followed. A unit should consist of 3-5 lessons. This should include instructional activities and learning experiences needed to achieve the desired results (Stage 1) as reflected in the assessment evidence to be gathered (Stage 2). Give special attention to ways that you might differentiate learning so that the activities are broadly accessible, incorporate technology that is accessible broadly, and promote the acquisition of 21st Century skills.

Use this same lesson template as many times as you need i.e. depending on how many lessons are in your unit.

Lesson # 1

**Title of the Lesson: The Montgomery Bus Boycott
Author: Zach Taylor**

Lesson Description: Briefly describe what the students will be doing in this lesson and why.

In this lesson students will learn about the Montgomery Bus Boycott in order to learn more about the American Civil Rights Movement and the process historians go through in analyzing sources and making historical interpretations.

Time Required: Approximately how long will it take to complete the instructional activities described in this lesson?

2 Hours

Essential Question Addressed: What is the essential question for this lesson?

What is the evidence for this argument? Is that all the evidence, or just what the author wanted me to read?

Enduring Understanding: What is the enduring understanding at which students should arrive?

Students will understand that a conclusion that rests on a solid foundation of facts is superior to a conclusion based largely on interpretations.

Materials: What materials will a teacher need to implement this lesson? Copies of all handouts and visuals or links to them must accompany the lesson. Do not submit copyrighted or publisher materials. *Adapt* when necessary. Be sure to label and number all handouts (e.g. *Handout 1: Emancipation Proclamation*).

Handout #1: Civil Rights Quotes

Handout #2: Teaching with Documents

Handout #3: Jaboubek Account

Handout #4: Rosa Parks Account

Procedures: Describe the steps that a teacher must follow to implement this lesson. Your steps must be numbered. Phrase the procedures so that those who have not used it will have no difficulty following the steps.

If any steps require the distribution of handouts, state this and identify the handouts by *number* and *title* (e.g. *Handout 1- Emancipation Proclamation*).

Avoid “read and discuss” as procedures. Identify specific questions that teachers should raise.

- 1. Begin this lesson by asking students to create a list of all of the historical sources (photos, letters, textbooks, quotes. Etc.) that they can think of. Write these sources on the board. Then, ask students to circle the sources that could be considered primary sources.**
- 2. Next, present the students with Handout #1: Civil Rights Quotes. Ask the students to identify whether or not these sources would be considered primary or secondary sources. Then, ask students to identify one fact about the three quotes and make one interpretation. Make sure to discuss nonviolence as a means of social protest and its benefits and drawbacks.**
- 3. Distribute Handout #2: Teaching with Documents. Have students read the overview of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and discuss. How did the actions of protesters in Montgomery exemplify a nonviolent protest? Were the nonviolent protests successful?**
- 4. Give half of the class Handout #3: Jaboubek Account of Rosa Parks arrest and the other half of the class Handout #4: Rosa Parks Account of her arrest. Ask both groups to answer the same questions: Why did Rosa Parks refuse to give up her seat on 12/1/1955?**
- 5. Students from the two groups should come up with two or more answers as to why Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat. This should lead into a discussion about the importance of using multiple sources when conducting historical research and why sources may lead historians to two different interpretations of the same event. Also. Ask the students to identify any other interesting facts can be found in the sources and why one source may be more useful than the other.**

Debrief: Briefly but explicitly tell teachers to revisit the essential question for this lesson (write it out again here). You might also suggest activities or questions one might you pose to encourage and/or promote transfer.

What is the evidence for this argument? Is that all the evidence, or just what the author wanted me to read?

Students will answer this question by comparing two sources about the arrest of Rosa Parks and the discussion that follows. Another way of organizing this activity could be a read-pair-share where one partner reads the Jaboubek account while their partner reads the Parks account. Then, the partners could share with each other and compare facts and discuss the usefulness of the two sources in forming interpretations.

Formative Assessment (“Check for Understanding”): How will you measure student understanding of the targeted benchmark or essential question? This “Check for Understanding” must assess *individual* student achievement and involve *written* responses.

Following the class discussion, students could write a magnet summary about what they learned from the lesson including the following terms:

- 1. Fact**
- 2. Interpretation**
- 3. Primary Source**
- 4. Montgomery Bus Boycott**
- 5. Rosa Parks**
- 6. Segregation**

Lesson # 2

Title of the Lesson: The Birmingham Protests Author: Zach Taylor

Lesson Description: Briefly describe what the students will be doing in this lesson and why.

In this lesson students will learn about the civil rights protests which occurred in the city of Birmingham, Alabama in the spring of 1963. They will also learn about the connection between historical facts and interpretations and questions the validity of eyewitness accounts as primary sources.

Time Required: Approximately how long will it take to complete the instructional activities described in this lesson?

2 Hours

Essential Question Addressed: What is the essential question for this lesson?

- 1. What is the evidence for this argument? Is that *all* the evidence, or just what the author wanted me to read?**
- 2. Does differentiating between fact and interpretation matter?**

Enduring Understanding: What is the enduring understanding at which students should arrive?

Students will understand that a conclusion that rests on a solid foundation of facts is superior to a conclusion based largely on interpretations.

Materials: What materials will a teacher need to implement this lesson? Copies of all handouts and visuals or links to them must accompany the lesson. Do not submit copyrighted or publisher materials. *Adapt* when necessary. Be sure to label and number all handouts (e.g. *Handout 1: Emancipation Proclamation*).

Handout #5: Birmingham, Alabama 1963

Handout #6: I AM Poem Template

History Textbook

Procedures: Describe the steps that a teacher must follow to implement this lesson. Your steps must be numbered. Phrase the procedures so that those who have not used it will have no difficulty following the steps.

If any steps require the distribution of handouts, state this and identify the handouts by *number* and *title* (e.g. *Handout 1- Emancipation Proclamation*).

Avoid “read and discuss” as procedures. Identify specific questions that teachers should raise.

- 1. Review the motivation behind the Civil Rights Movement and the difference between primary and secondary sources, as well as facts and interpretations.**
- 2. Distribute Handout #5: Birmingham, Alabama 1963. Ask students to observe what facts are presented in the photo. Then, ask students to create dialogue to fill in the bubbles. By filling in the dialogue bubbles students will be making interpretations about what occurred during the Birmingham protests. Encourage students to share their responses.**
- 3. Have students read an overview of the Birmingham protests from their textbooks. On a separate sheet of paper ask students to list what they think are the five most important facts about the protests**

on a sheet of paper. On the board make a web diagram list all of the student's facts.

Debrief: Briefly but explicitly tell teachers to revisit the essential question for this lesson (write it out again here). You might also suggest activities or questions one might you pose to encourage and/or promote transfer.

- 1. What is the evidence for this argument? Is that *all* the evidence, or just what the author wanted me to read?**
- 2. Does differentiating between fact and interpretation matter?**

This lesson presents a good opportunity to discuss the usefulness of a textbook as an historical source, which is a question worth posing to students. Also, teachers could discuss with students how they decided which fact were important to write down and point out that historians go through the same process when retelling the past. This would tie-in well with the accounts of the Rosa Parks arrest that students read in the first lesson in the unit.

Formative Assessment (“Check for Understanding”): How will you measure student understanding of the targeted benchmark or essential question? This “Check for Understanding” must assess *individual* student achievement and involve *written* responses.

Upon identifying the important facts about the Birmingham Protests, students will then create an “I AM” Poem pretending that they were one of the people involved in the protests. Characters could include Bull Connor, Martin Luther King Jr., a student protestor, a white clergyman, or even President Kennedy. Students will share poems with a partner or the class. Teachers can also discuss with students how this activity illustrates the bias in first hand accounts and other primary sources.

Lesson # 3

**Title of the Lesson: Nonviolence vs. Black Nationalism
Author: Zach Taylor**

Lesson Description: Briefly describe what the students will be doing in this lesson and why.

In this lesson students will learn about the difference in philosophies exhibited by the nonviolent movement represented by Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Black Nationalist movement represented by Malcolm X. Students will be analyzing primary and secondary sources about the two men and making an interpretation about which man’s approach was more effective.

Time Required: Approximately how long will it take to complete the instructional activities described in this lesson?

2 Hours

Essential Question Addressed: What is the essential question for this lesson?

- 1. What is the evidence for this argument? Is that *all* the evidence, or just what the author wanted me to read?**
- 2. Does differentiating between fact and interpretation matter?**

Enduring Understanding: What is the enduring understanding at which students should arrive?

Students will understand that a conclusion that rests on a solid foundation of facts is superior to a conclusion based largely on interpretations.

Materials: What materials will a teacher need to implement this lesson? Copies of all handouts and visuals or links to them must accompany the lesson. Do not submit copyrighted or publisher materials. *Adapt* when necessary. Be sure to label and number all handouts (e.g. *Handout 1: Emancipation Proclamation*).

Handout #7: Letter from A Birmingham Jail

Handout #8: Louis Lomax interviews Malcolm X

Handout #9: Character Maps on MLK and Malcolm X

Video: Malcolm X (1972 Documentary), Eyes on the Prize

Procedures: Describe the steps that a teacher must follow to implement this lesson. Your steps must be numbered. Phrase the procedures so that those who have not used it will have no difficulty following the steps.

If any steps require the distribution of handouts, state this and identify the handouts by *number* and *title* (e.g. *Handout 1- Emancipation Proclamation*).

Avoid “read and discuss” as procedures. Identify specific questions that teachers should raise.

- 1. Have students watch video clips from the Malcolm X documentary and Eyes on the Prize illustrating the civil rights philosophies of Dr. King and Malcolm X.**
- 2. Distribute Handout #7: Letter from a Birmingham Jail to one half of the class and Handout #8: Louis Lomax interviews Malcolm X to the other half of the class. Divide class into small groups and have each group read their handout and create a character map about their person as shown in Handout #9: Character Maps.**
- 3. Choose one group from each half of the class to present their character map.**

Debrief: Briefly but explicitly tell teachers to revisit the essential question for this lesson (write it out again here). You might also suggest activities or questions one might you pose to encourage and/or promote transfer.

- 1. What is the evidence for this argument? Is that *all* the evidence, or just what the author wanted me to read?**
- 2. Does differentiating between fact and interpretation matter?**

By successfully completing their character maps students will prove their ability to analyze historical sources and pull out important facts. Presenting the character maps also provides teachers the ability to discuss the two primary sources by Dr. King and Malcolm X including biases that may have impacted their views on civil rights issues such as religious beliefs or Malcolm X's rough childhood.

Formative Assessment (“Check for Understanding”): How will you measure student understanding of the targeted benchmark or essential question? This “Check for Understanding” must assess *individual* student achievement and involve *written* responses.

Upon completing, presenting, and discussing the character maps students will complete a RAFT prompt where they take on the role of a black student in the 1960's. They will write a letter to either Martin Luther King Jr. or Malcolm X explaining whether or not they support that leaders views or not. Essentially, they will be making an interpretation about which civil rights leader was more effective based on the sources they examined in the lesson.

Did you consider the following unit design principles?

IP – International education perspective

IL – Information Literacy

WR – Workplace readiness/21st century skills

FA – Formative assessment, used to check for understanding

DI- Differentiated Instruction

UDL– Universal Design for Learning

TL – Technology Literacy

Resources and Teaching Tips (Consider the two questions below when completing this section.)

- What text/print/media/kit/web resources best support this unit?

The only additional resource that would be helpful is a history textbook. However, this unit can also be supplemented with videos such as the Eyes on the Prize series. Students will also need access to computers in order to complete the collage assessment at the conclusion of the unit.

- What tips to teachers of the unit can you offer about likely rough spots/student misunderstandings and performance weaknesses, and how to troubleshoot those issues? Be especially mindful to identify any misconceptions that students are likely to have as they enter this unit and that might interfere with their learning.

Students seem to have a solid background knowledge of major civil rights figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rosa Parks. However, they sometimes struggle to comprehend just how bad conditions were for African Americans from the late 1800's to the mid-1960's including not only segregation but voting, job, education, and housing discrimination. So another lesson may be needed at the beginning of this unit to present that content.

Handout #1

Teaching With Documents: An Act of Courage, The Arrest Records of Rosa Parks

On December 1, 1955, during a typical evening rush hour in Montgomery, Alabama, a 42-year-old woman took a seat on the bus on her way home from the Montgomery Fair department store where she worked as a seamstress. Before she reached her destination, she quietly set off a social revolution when the bus driver instructed her to move back, and she refused. Rosa Parks, an African American, was arrested that day for violating a city law requiring racial segregation of public buses.

On the city buses of Montgomery, Alabama, the front 10 seats were permanently reserved for white passengers. The diagram shows that Mrs. Parks was seated in the first row behind those 10 seats. When the bus became crowded, the bus driver instructed Mrs. Parks and the other three passengers seated in that row, all African Americans, to vacate their seats for the white passengers boarding. Eventually, three of the passengers moved, while Mrs. Parks remained seated, arguing that she was not in a seat reserved for whites. Joseph Blake, the driver, believed he had the discretion to move the line separating black and white passengers. The law was actually somewhat murky on that point, but when Mrs. Parks defied his order, he called the police. Officers Day and Mixon came and promptly arrested her.

In police custody, Mrs. Parks was booked, fingerprinted, and briefly incarcerated. The police report shows that she was charged with "refusing to obey orders of bus driver." For openly challenging the racial laws of her city, she remained at great physical risk while held by the police, and her family was terrified for her. When she called home, she spoke to her mother, whose first question was "Did they beat you?"

Mrs. Parks was not the first person to be prosecuted for violating the segregation laws on the city buses in Montgomery. She was, however, a woman of unchallenged character who was held in high esteem by all those who knew her. At the time of her arrest, Mrs. Parks was active in the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), serving as secretary to E.D. Nixon, president of the Montgomery chapter. Her arrest became a rallying point around which the African American community organized a bus boycott in protest of the discrimination they had endured for years. Martin Luther King, Jr., the 26-year-old minister of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, emerged as a leader during the well-coordinated, peaceful boycott that lasted 381 days and captured the world's attention. It was during the boycott that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., first achieved national fame as the public became acquainted with his powerful oratory.

After Mrs. Parks was convicted under city law, her lawyer filed a notice of appeal. While her appeal was tied up in the state court of appeals, a panel of three judges in the U.S. District Court for the region ruled in another case that racial segregation of public buses was unconstitutional. That case, called *Browder v. Gayle*, was decided on June 4, 1956. The ruling was made by a three-judge panel that included Frank M. Johnson, Jr., and upheld by the United States Supreme court on November 13, 1956.

For a quiet act of defiance that resonated throughout the world, Rosa Parks is known and revered as the "Mother of the Civil Rights Movement."

The documents shown here relating to Mrs. Parks's arrest are copies that were submitted as evidence in the *Browder v. Gayle* case. They are preserved by the National Archives at Atlanta in Morrow, Georgia, in Record Group 21, Records District Courts of the United States, U.S. District Court for Middle District of Alabama, Northern (Montgomery) Division. Civil Case 1147, *Browder, et al v. Gayle, et al.*

Civil Rights Quotes

"But I say to you, That you resist not evil: but whoever shall smite you on your right cheek, turn to him the other also."

-Jesus

"An eye for an eye makes the whole world blind."

-Gandhi

"Nonviolence means avoiding not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. You not only refuse to shoot a man, but you refuse to hate him."

-Martin
Luther King Jr.

Handout #3

Resource 7 - Jaboubek Account of 12/1/55

On Tuesday evening, December 1, 1955, a small neatly dressed black woman in Montgomery left work at quitting time, walked across the street to do some shopping at a pharmacy, and then boarded a bus for the ride home.

She took a seat toward the rear, in the row just behind the section marked Whites Only. Holding her packages, she was glad to sit down. After a long day, her feet hurt.

As the bus wound its way through Montgomery, it steadily filled with passengers, and soon every seat was taken. When two white men boarded and paid their fines, the bus driver called over his shoulder for the first row of blacks to move back.

After some delay, three blacks rose and stood in the aisle. But Mrs. Rosa Parks, her feet aching, her lap covered with packages, did not budge. The driver shouted, "Look woman, I told you I wanted the seat. Are you going to stand up?"

Gently but firmly, Rosa Parks said "No," and for that she was arrested and thrown in jail.

Source: Jakoubek, Robert (1989). Martin Luther King Jr. Black Americans of Achievement. Chelsea House Publisher. New York. Found in Kohl, Herbert. (2005). She Would Not Be Moved: How We Tell the Story of Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The New Press. New York, NY.

Handout #4

Resource 9 – Rosa Parks Account of 12/1/55

But that is not why I refused to give up my bus seat to a white man on Thursday, December 1, 1955. I did not intend to get arrested.

When I got off from work that evening of December 1, I went to Court Square as usual to catch the Cleveland Avenue bus home. I didn't look to see who was driving when I got on, and by the time I recognized him, I had already paid my fare. It was the same driver who had put me off the bus back in 1943, twelve years earlier.

I saw a vacant seat in the middle section of the bus and took it.

There was a man sitting next to the window and two women across the aisle.

The next stop was the Empire Theater, and some whites got on. They filled up the white seats, and one man was left standing. The driver looked back and noticed the man standing. Then he looked back at us. He said, "Let me have those front seats," because they were the front seats of the black section. Didn't anybody move. We just sat right where we were, the four of us. Then he spoke a second time: "Y'all better make it light on yourselves and let me have those seats."

The man in the window seat next to me stood up, and I moved to let him pass by me, and then I looked across the aisle and saw that the two women were also standing. I moved over to the window seat. I could not see how standing up was going to "make it light" for me. The more we gave in and complied, the worse they treated us.

People always say that I didn't give up my seat because I was tired but that isn't true. I was not tired physically, or no more tired than I usually was at the end of a working day. I was not old, although some people have an image of me as being old then. I was forty-two. No, the only tired I was, was tired of giving in.

People have asked me if it occurred to me then that I could be the test case the NAACP had been looking for. I did not think about that at all.

Source: Parks, Rosa with Jim Haskins (1992). Rosa Parks: My Story. Puffin Books. New York.

Birmingham, Alabama 1963

Directions: Examine the photo below, and then write what each character might be thinking at the time this photo was taken.



Handout #6

Format for an "I Am" Poem

First Stanza

I am (two special characteristics about person)

I wonder

I hear

I see

I want

I am (first line of the poem repeated)

Second Stanza

I pretend

I feel

I touch

I worry

I cry

I am (first line of poem repeated)

Third Stanza

I understand

I say

I dream

I try

I am (first line of poem repeated)

Handout #7

"Letter from a Birmingham Jail"

16 April 1963

My Dear Fellow Clergymen:

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling my present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every southern state, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty five affiliated organizations across the South, and one of them is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Frequently we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago the affiliate here in Birmingham asked us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented, and when the hour came we lived up to our promise. So I, along with several members of my staff, am here because I was invited here. I am here because I have organizational ties here.

But more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds.

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most

thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known. Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case. On the basis of these conditions, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then, last September, came the opportunity to talk with leaders of Birmingham's economic community. In the course of the negotiations, certain promises were made by the merchants--for example, to remove the stores' humiliating racial signs. On the basis of these promises, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to a moratorium on all demonstrations. As the weeks and months went by, we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. A few signs, briefly removed, returned; the others remained. As in so many past experiences, our hopes had been blasted, and the shadow of deep disappointment settled upon us. We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and the national community. Mindful of the difficulties involved, we decided to undertake a process of self purification. We began a series of workshops on nonviolence, and we repeatedly asked ourselves: "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?" We decided to schedule our direct action program for the Easter season, realizing that except for Christmas, this is the main shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic-withdrawal program would be the by product of direct action, we felt that this would be the best time to bring pressure to bear on the merchants for the needed change.

Then it occurred to us that Birmingham's mayoral election was coming up in March, and we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that the Commissioner of Public Safety, Eugene "Bull" Connor, had piled up enough votes to be in the run off, we decided again to postpone action until the day after the run off so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. Like many others, we waited to see Mr. Connor defeated, and to this end we endured postponement after postponement. Having aided in this community need, we felt that our direct action program could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent resister may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, so must we see the need for nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. The purpose of our direct action program is to create a situation so crisis packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that the action that I and my associates have taken in Birmingham is untimely. Some have asked: "Why didn't you give the new city administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this query is that the new Birmingham administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one, before it will act. We are sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Albert Boutwell as mayor will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is a much more gentle person than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists, dedicated to maintenance of the status quo. I have hope that Mr. Boutwell will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. Lamentably, it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but, as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups tend to be more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct action campaign that was "well timed" in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

-Martin Luther King, Jr.

Handout #8

A Summing Up: Louis Lomax interviews Malcolm X (1963)

LOMAX: Minister Malcolm, we are all by now familiar with your basic philosophy; we have heard you speak, seen you on television, and read your remarks in magazines and newspapers. By now, I think, everybody knows your position that the white man is a devil, a man incapable of doing right; you hold that the black man is of God's divine nature, that he fell from power because of weakness; you hold further that the white man's rule over the earth was scheduled to end in 1914, but that his end has been delayed because of the need to get the American Negro into the fold of the black brotherhood.

MALCOLM X: Yes, sir, that is what The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us. The white devil's time is up; it has been up for almost fifty years now. It has taken us that long to get the deaf, dumb, and blind black men in the wilderness of North America to wake up and understand who they are. You see, sir, when a man understands who he is, who God is, who the devil is then he can pick himself up out of the gutter; he can clean himself up and stand up like a man should before his God. This is why we teach that in order for a man to really understand himself he must be part of a nation; he must have some land of his own, a God of his own, a language of his own. Most of all he must have love and devotion for his own kind.

LOMAX: Wouldn't you say the Negro has a nation--America?

MALCOLM X: Sir, how can a Negro say America is *his* nation? He was brought here in chains; he was put in slavery and worked like a mule for three hundred years; he was separated from his land, his culture, his God, his language!

The Negro was taught to speak the white man's tongue, worship the white God, and accept the white man as his superior.

This is a white man's country. And the Negro is nothing but an ex-slave who is now trying to get himself integrated into the slave master's house.

And the slave master doesn't want you! You fought and bled and died in every war the white man waged, and he still won't give you justice. You nursed his baby and cleaned behind his wife, and he still won't give you freedom; you turned the other cheek while he lynched you and raped your women, but he still won't give you equality. Now, you integration-minded Negroes are trying to force yourselves on your former slave master, trying to make him accept you in his drawing room; you want to hang out with his women rather than the women of your own kind.

LOMAX: Are you suggesting that all of us who fight for integration are after a white woman?

MALCOLM X: I wouldn't say *all* of you, but let the evidence speak for itself. Check up on these integration leaders, and you will find that most of them are either married to or hooked up with some white woman. Take that meeting between James Baldwin and Robert Kennedy; practically everybody there was interracially married. Harry Belafonte is married to a white woman; Lorraine Hansberry is married to a white man; Lena Horne is married to a white man.

Now how can any Negro, man or woman, who sleeps with a white person speak for me? No black person married to a white person can speak for me!

LOMAX: Why?

MALCOLM X: Why? Because only a man who is ashamed of what he is will marry out of his race. There has to be something wrong when a man or a woman leaves his own people and marries somebody of another kind. Men who are proud of being black marry black women; women who are proud of being black marry black men.

This is particularly true when you realize that these Negroes who go for integration and intermarriage are linking up with the very people who lynched their fathers, raped their mothers, and put their kid sisters in the kitchen to scrub floors. Why would any black man in his right mind want to marry a lynch, a murderer, a rapist, a dope peddler, a gambler, a hog eater? Why would any black man want to marry a *devil* for that's just what the white man is.

LOMAX: I have heard you say that a thousand times, but it always jolts me. Why do you call the white man a devil?

MALCOLM X: Because that's what he is. What do you want me to call him, a saint? Anybody who rapes, and plunders, and enslaves, and steals, and drops hell bombs on people anybody who does these things is nothing but a devil.

Look, Lomax, history rewards all research. And history fails to record one single instance in which the white man --as a people--did good. They have always been devils; they always will be devils, and they are about to be destroyed. The final proof that they are devils lies in the fact that they are about to destroy themselves. Only a devil--and a stupid devil at that--would destroy himself!

Now why would I want to integrate with somebody marked for destruction?

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us to get away from the devil as soon and as fast as we can. This is why we are demanding a separate state. Tell the slave master we will no longer beg for crumbs from his table; let him give us some land of our own so we can go for ourselves. If he doesn't give us some land, there is going to be hell to pay. As I said at Howard University and at Queens College, once the white man let the Negro get an education, the Negro began to want what the white man has. But he let Negroes get an education and now they are demanding integration; they want to have exactly what he has. And the white man is not going to give it to them!

LOMAX: But we have made some gains...

MALCOLM X: What gains? All you have gotten is tokenism--one or two Negroes in a job or at a lunch counter so the rest of you will be quiet. It took the United States Army to get one Negro into the University of Mississippi; it took troops to get a few Negroes in the white schools at Little Rock and another dozen places in the South. It has been nine years since the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools, yet less than ten per cent of the Negro students in the South are in integrated schools. That isn't integration, that's tokenism! In spite of all the dogs, and fire hoses, and club-swinging policemen, I have yet to read of anybody eating an integrated hamburger in Birmingham.

You Negroes are not willing to admit it yet, but integration will not work. Why, it is against the white man's nature to integrate you into his house. Even if he wanted to, he could no more do it than a Model T can sprout wings and fly. It just isn't in him.

Now The Honorable Elijah Muhammad says it would be the easiest thing in the world for the white man to destroy all Black Muslims. We contend that the white man is a devil. If he is not a devil, let him prove it!

He can't do it, Lomax; it isn't in him; it is against his nature.

He'll keep on granting tokenism; a few big Negroes will get big jobs, but the black masses will catch hell as long as they stay in the white man's house.

The only possible way out for the white man is to give us some land of our own; let us get out, get away from his wicked reign and go for ourselves.

But the white man will not do that, either. He is going to keep you integration-minded Negroes cooped up here in this country, and when you discover that the white man is a trickster, a devil, that he has no intentions of integrating, then you Negroes will run wild. That will be the time...

LOMAX: The time for what?

MALCOLM X: Only The Honorable Elijah Muhammad can answer that!

Handout #9

Martin Luther King Jr. vs. Malcolm X

Directions: Use information from the two handouts and videos to complete the character map for each civil rights leader.

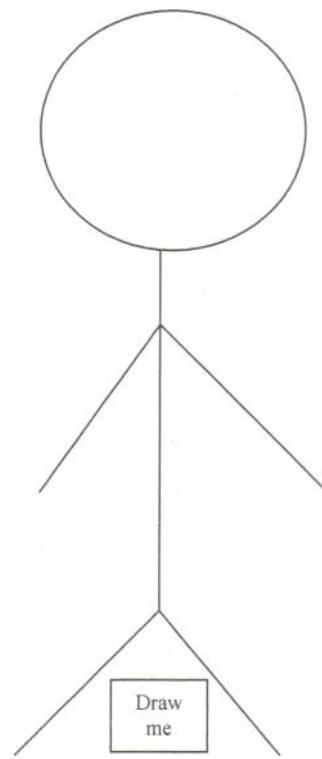
Name:

Organization:

Religion:

Accomplishments:

Important
Quote:



Briefly describe this person's philosophy on how African American's should have went about achieving Civil Rights:

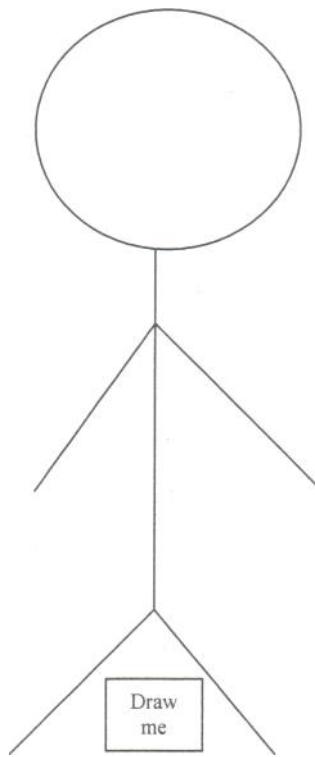
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Organization:

Religion:

Accomplishments:

*Important
Quote:*



Briefly describe this person's philosophy on how African American's should have went about achieving Civil Rights:

