



KING AND GLOBAL LIBERATION

EDITED BY CLAYBORNE CARSON, ANDREA MCEVOY SPERO, AND ASHNI MOHNOT

The Liberation Curriculum Initiative of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute at Stanford University



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Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Struggle for Global Liberation

Foreword by Clayborne Carson

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin to shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

- Martin Luther King, Jr., 4 April 1967

Teaching about King has been a unique privilege and a continuing challenge. King is one of the world's most widely known historical figures, but he is also often misunderstood. His birth is celebrated in the United States with a national holiday, but he remains controversial, and his legacy continues to be contested. As I have traveled throughout the world, I have encountered people from varied backgrounds who recognize his name and express admiration for him, despite the fact that few know much about King's background, his ideas, or his accomplishments. There are, of course, many people throughout the world who understand King's significance; indeed, King's admirers outside the United States are often more able than Americans to see him as a leader of international stature comparable to Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela. A few years ago, in Verdau, Germany, founders of the Martin Luther King Zentrum explained to me how King inspired their movement to challenge and eventually overcome the East German communist regime. In June 2007, the National Theater of China performed my play, *The Passages of Martin Luther King*, in a Beijing theater filled mainly with young adults born after King's death. During September 2008, I traveled through India meeting young social justice activists who saw both King and Gandhi as important sources of inspiration. I also met older Gandhians who excitedly told me of their encounter with Coretta and Martin Luther King during their 1959 visit to India. I was invited but could not attend a two-week-long celebration of King's life in Paris during December 2008. I've seen streets and memorials honoring King in places as widely separated as Dar es Salaam, Berlin, and New Delhi. I'm pleased that the membership of the Gandhi-King network — gandhiking.ning.com — that I started last spring now extends around the world. But the challenge of presenting an accurate and fully comprehensive perspective regarding King's life and thought remains.

The pending construction of the King National Memorial on the Washington Mall and the installation of Mario Chiodo's Champions of Humanity sculpture in downtown Oakland will provide two major teaching opportunities for those of us who care about King's legacy, but what will visitors to these sites know about King and other major figures of past struggles for global peace with social justice? When Coretta Scott King, founder of the King Center in Atlanta, gave me the responsibility of editing and publishing a multi-volume edition of *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, I soon realized that this was more than a scholarly venture due to the fact that the launching of the King Papers Project at Stanford coincided with the initial celebration of the King Holiday. During the past two decades, my mission and that of my colleagues has expanded; the King Project is now part of a permanent King Research and Education Institute, which includes the Liberation Curriculum educational initiative aimed at K-12 teachers. More recently, I've taken on the additional responsibility of directing the Morehouse King Collection, with a similar dual responsibility of scholarly research and public education. These roles have added to the urgency of the task of ensuring that the King legacy does not become embalmed in nostalgia and innocuous myths about the role of Great Men in history. In teaching King, I have found that nothing is more useful than to return to his words, which my colleagues and I are assembling in *The Papers* and in more accessible multi-lingual editions such as: *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1998); *Knock at Midnight: Inspiration from the Great Sermons of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1998), and *Call to Conscience: The Landmark Speeches*

of *Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.* (2001). These books and the many other publications of King Institute staff members convey the varied dimensions of King's legacy – especially his deep family roots in the Social Gospel Christian tradition, his complex relationship to the African-American freedom struggle, and to peace and social justice movements throughout the world. The expanding mission of the King Institute is clearly expressed in *The Martin Luther King, Jr., Encyclopedia* (2008), which brings together articles on the people and institutions tied to King's life. The King Institute represents the culmination of my life as an activist and as a scholar.

King's Dream

My understanding of King's historical significance has grown considerably since that day in August 1963 when I first saw him deliver his "I Have a Dream" address at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Even then he was generally accepted as the most influential African-American leader, widely admired for his leadership role in the Montgomery bus boycott, and as founding president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Because of his reputation as a great orator, I looked forward to hearing his concluding remarks at the end of the long program of speeches in front of the Lincoln Memorial. After he spoke, I recognized that King was more able than any other leader to express the goals of the freedom struggle in which I would soon become immersed. Yet, I could not have known then how much my life would be affected by the movement King symbolized, or how much my life would become entwined with King's enduring legacy. Then I was a nineteen-year-old foot-soldier dividing my time between various jobs, college classes, and civil rights activism, while King had already accomplished much since becoming a Baptist minister at the age of nineteen and a protest leader at twenty-six. Although I was especially drawn to the young activists of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), I greatly admired King during my formative years for being the kind of idealistic, dedicated, articulate intellectual I hoped to become. Yet, there was so much more that I would learn after the Washington march changed the course of my life.

Looking back from the perspective of the twenty-first century, it seems clear to me that I, like most other Americans, had consistently understated King's significance. Even though I admired the eloquence of his address at the Washington march, I did not immediately recognize the depth of King's historical insights about the centrality of black-white relations in the evolution of American democratic ideals. Only after becoming a historian and beginning to teach about King did I come to realize that King was not only speaking to those who listened to him in Washington. Instead, he was engaged in a dialogue with Thomas Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers who had compromised their egalitarian principles in order to accommodate African slavery. When King spoke of the Declaration of Independence as "a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir," he thereby transformed the African-American struggle for civil rights legislation into a broader movement for the realization of democratic principles. I acquired a new appreciation for King's significance when I returned to the Washington Mall several years ago as part of the design team for the memorial to be built in King's honor. The location of the King National Memorial on the Tidal Basin provided a reminder that King's "promissory note" was a direct challenge to Jefferson, the slave owner who wrote the world's most famous statement on the ideal of equality and whose memorial stands across the basin from the King site. The fortuitous location led to our decision to design a Stone of Hope ("with this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope," King announced at the March) in which King's image would be carved facing toward the Jefferson Memorial—two national icons locked in a perpetual confrontation over the issue of whether equality and democratic rights can ever become universal.

King's Mission

King's "I Have a Dream" speech has continued to grow in importance over the decades since 1963, as Americans become more aware that the landmark civil rights reforms of the 1960s were only the beginning of a global transformation of the concept of human rights. Although many Americans appreciate listening to King's splendid delivery of the "Dream" address, after teaching about King for many years I have begun to urge students to read King's words carefully, so that their historical context can be fully understood. King had the insight to recognize that the decision of eighteenth-century American revolutionaries, to justify their struggle in asserting the inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the

pursuit of happiness,” would inspire all human rights struggles to follow. Just as Jefferson could not have understood the full implications of his felicitous phrase, neither could King have predicted the ways in which his words would inspire later freedom struggles that pursued goals extending far beyond desegregation and civil rights legislation. Yet, King was aware even then that he was a symbol for a multifaceted movement to expand the concept of human rights and the role of government in protecting those rights. His Washington speech, after all, was delivered at the March on Washington for **Jobs and Freedom**. At a time when most Americans were only beginning to imagine the downfall of the southern Jim Crow system, King was expanding his prophetic vision. As the Montgomery bus boycott reached its successful conclusion late in 1956, he already saw himself as “privileged to live in one of the most momentous periods of human history,” able to witness “the old order of Colonialism and Imperialism passing away and the new order of freedom and justice coming into being.” He travelled to West Africa in 1957 when the Gold Coast became the independent nation of Ghana – the first democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1959 he made a pilgrimage to India, strengthening his understanding of Mahatma Gandhi’s ideas. During this period, he expressed his support for anti-colonial struggles throughout the world and his opposition to apartheid in South Africa.

King’s international significance became more apparent in 1964 when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. His acceptance address made clear the breadth of his social justice vision, proclaiming that he had “the audacity to believe that peoples everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality, and freedom for their spirits.” In his Nobel lecture, King applauded the recent passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but he insisted that African Americans had crossed the Red Sea but had not yet reached the Promised Land. He set forth a radical, farsighted vision of global peace with social justice. “The time has come for an all-out world war against poverty,” he announced. “The rich nations must use their vast resources of wealth to develop the underdeveloped, school the unschooled, and feed the unfed.” He warned against the increasing dissemination of “weapons of mass destruction” and urged “that the philosophy and strategy of nonviolence become immediately a subject for study and for serious experimentation in every field of human conflict, by no means excluding the relations between nations.”

King’s broader vision becomes increasingly apparent to me in the speeches he gave after the major civil rights reforms had been achieved. Although he is often described as a civil rights leader, this label does not completely explain why he went to live in a Chicago ghetto in 1966; or why he launched the Poor Peoples Campaign in 1968; or why he spent his last days in Memphis aiding a strike of sanitation workers. The most important task for those, such as myself, who teach about King, is to stress that he symbolized a larger social movement that began before he emerged as its most eloquent spokesperson and that continued after his death. Before I understood my current role as editor of King’s papers, my scholarly writing emphasized the importance of grassroots activism in the African-American freedom struggle, and I have often pointed out that King himself recognized that he was part of a larger struggle that he did not initiate and could not control. The militant, youthful organizers in my first book, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (1981) offer an important corrective to a King-centered perspective that over-emphasizes the role of King and other national leaders in a mass struggle where ideas and innovative tactics were developed from the bottom up rather than simply from the top down. I believe that it is vital for students to know that there would almost certainly not be a King Holiday today, if Rosa Parks had not acted on her own, without guidance from King, on December 1, 1955. Grassroots leaders such as Parks, Joanne Robinson, and E. D. Nixon were crucial to the success of the Montgomery movement. King relied on similar local leaders and organizers as the movement expanded during the 1950s and 1960s. King himself told of praying for humility: “O God, help me to see myself in my true perspective. Help me, O God, to see that I’m just a symbol of a movement. . . And that a boycott would have taken place in Montgomery, Alabama, if I had never come to Alabama. Help me to realize that I’m where I am because of the forces of history and because of the fifty thousand Negroes of Alabama who will never get their names in the papers and in the headline.”

Although history books typically emphasize the role of social movement leaders, black grassroots organizers such as SNCC’s Bob Moses developed approaches that transformed Fannie Lou Hamer,

a sharecropper with little formal education, into a formidable leader of the voting rights effort in the Mississippi Delta. Like the discovery of ways to release atomic energy, the development of grassroots organizing techniques offered a means of transforming a small amount of social mass – people with few material resources – into an enormous amount of social energy. This remarkable organizing ability was displayed vividly in Birmingham during 1963, when children revived a crucial



A scene from Dr. Clayborne Carson's play, Passages of Martin Luther King, Jr., performed by the National Theater of China in Beijing in June 2007.

protest campaign in one of the strongholds of segregation. Although the Birmingham campaign is often remembered for the letter that King wrote from jail, King would never have gained his later prominence if not for the courage and energy of young students who braved police dogs and fire houses, and then went to jail when few adults remained willing to engage in civil disobedience. The Birmingham Children's Crusade serves as a reminder of the children who walked en masse from a segregated school in Farmville, Virginia, in 1951, and the eighteen-year-old college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, who ignited the lunch counter sit-in campaign in 1960 and the students in Soweto, South Africa, who sparked the anti-apartheid campaign in South Africa in 1976. Teachers have a responsibility to encourage their students to believe that waiting for a Great Man or Great Woman is less rewarding than realizing that they themselves are capable of determining their own destiny, both individually and collectively, even if their resources are limited to their own bodies, imaginations, and willingness to join others in making the world better.

Perhaps the greatest challenge I've faced as a King scholar is to balance an appreciation of King's unique role against an understanding that King is a symbol of something much larger. Some American scholars have offered the notion of a "long civil rights movement" to convey the idea that this movement did not begin in 1954, with Brown v. Board of Education or in 1955 with the Montgomery movement, and that the movement did not end with King's death. The notion of a long movement is useful but it does not correct the misconception that black Americans were not struggling merely for civil rights reforms. The term African-American freedom struggle, in contrast, conveys the notion that black Americans have long struggled to advance collectively along various fronts. Moreover, this term helps to link the African American struggle to other mass freedom struggles throughout the world and, in particular, to the struggles of Africans and Asians to free themselves from colonialism and racial oppression. In a broad sense, King and many other African-American leaders saw themselves as part of a global movement by the world's majority for basic human rights, including the right of people of all races to determine their own collective destinies. The great achievement of the world's various freedom struggles during the twentieth century was the overthrow of powerful and long-standing systems of oppression – colonialism, the American Jim Crow system, apartheid in South Africa. Gandhi, King, and Mandela are the foremost symbols of this global struggle for social justice, but in celebrating their visionary leadership we should never forget that their success would not have been possible without the courage and innovative activism of millions of people who will never be recognized in the history books.

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Dream: Global Peace, Nonviolence, and Social Justice

Introduction by Ashni Mohnot

The Liberation Curriculum (LC) initiative of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research & Education Institute is proud to offer this curriculum guide as a contribution to social justice education. The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research & Education Institute is an outgrowth of a long-term effort to publish *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, that began in 1985 when Coretta Scott King asked Stanford historian Dr. Clayborne Carson to become editor of her late husband's papers.

As the educational arm of the King Institute, LC's mission is to keep alive Dr. King's legacy by disseminating his ideas of global peace and nonviolence to teachers and students. We provide curricular resources and professional development opportunities to inform teachers about efforts throughout the world to achieve social justice and human rights through nonviolent means, with special emphasis on the modern African American freedom struggle. Liberation Curriculum resources and educational programs help teachers engage students in critical thinking and historical analysis while inspiring them to achieve positive social change. Our aim is to help transform the way young people learn about history by featuring not only King's visionary ideas, but also the work of ordinary individuals who have made extraordinary contributions to liberation movements. LC staff and affiliated teachers have the unique opportunity to design curriculum and teaching resources by accessing the King Institute's almost 40,000 catalogued documents and multi-media materials.

The Institute is a rare example of a successful partnership among academic educators, historians, living historical figures, curriculum developers, and K-12 educators. As part of the King Institute, the LC can leverage partnerships with the Stanford School of Education as well as school districts and individual schools to enrich professional development programs for teachers. In conjunction with this curriculum guide, we are preparing to feature on our website a new set of lesson plans created by teachers enrolled in our multi-year King Digital History Project (KDHP), funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. KDHP teachers have had the opportunity to use documents from the Institute's database in their curriculum, and learn from university scholars in history and education. Dr. Clayborne Carson, the Institute's Director and Stanford historian enhanced their content knowledge on the African-American freedom struggle, and Sam Wineburg, author of the book *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts* (2001) and Stanford Professor of Education modeled pedagogical strategies to introduce primary sources to students. As part of an institutional partnership with the Alameda County (California) Office of Education, we also conduct professional development workshops for county teachers enrolled in the 'Words That Made America' program funded by a Teaching American History grant. In July 2008, we assisted on an educational trip to Little Rock, Birmingham, Selma, Memphis, and other sites of civil rights activities in the South.

One of our goals is to use the power of the Internet to connect individuals interested in social justice all over the globe. Such an online network provides an opportunity for teachers to collaborate to promote engaged activism and responsible citizenship the world over. We offer the Gandhi-King Community (<http://gandhiking.ning.com/>) social network as a space for social justice educators and others interested in peace and nonviolence to share ideas, lesson plans, resources, and best practices, and post articles, messages and blog entries. We encourage you to become a member of this network and help us build a global peace and social justice community. Members can join the Liberation Curriculum group to keep updated on LC events and resources.

In addition, the Liberation Curriculum website (liberationcurriculum.org) offers teachers historically accurate and pedagogically effective online educational materials that move beyond traditional textbook learning while meeting state and national standards. The website includes lesson plans, documents, and classroom activities organized by relevant themes, an audio compilation of important King sermons and speeches, and access to the online King Encyclopedia. The lesson plans from the website

have been updated and included in this curriculum guide, in addition to new lessons. The guide offers teachers a tangible copy of the lessons which is especially useful for those who teach in schools with low access to technology.

LC is also working with artist-sculptor Mario Chiodo and Chiodo Art Development in Oakland, California to develop and field test a high school curriculum unit to accompany Chiodo's monument of twenty-five great humanitarians. The monument is scheduled to be displayed in downtown Oakland. The 'Remember Them: Champions of Humanity' unit in this curriculum guide was created to accompany this monument. An enhanced version of this unit with pictures and graphics will be released in mid 2009.

Liberation Curriculum staff also works directly with students in a wide variety of areas. We conducted

Today, more than ever, it is necessary to recall the words of nonviolent leaders like Nkrumah, King, and Gandhi, and to remember the actions of countless ordinary individuals who worked for peace and human rights at the grassroots level.

a workshop on King's views on poverty for a group of students in KIPP King Collegiate High School in San Lorenzo, CA, as part of their year-long study of homelessness. We also hosted students from Marin County, CA and Johannesburg, South Africa, who were participating in "Journeys of Reconciliation," a documentary project featuring oral histories of anti-apartheid and civil rights activists. I assisted on a seminar organized by Stanford's Bing Overseas Studies Program, co-taught by Dr. Carson in India in August 2008. This seminar on "Gandhi and his Legacy" explored the contribution of both King and Gandhi to the philosophy and practice of nonviolence. As I developed the lesson on King, Gandhi, and the freedom struggles of their people, I drew upon this invaluable experience that enabled me to meet with current Gandhians and activist organizations in India.

Many of the lessons in this curriculum guide reflect the LC's Global Liberation Initiative which is our commitment to studying the legacy of King and the African-American freedom struggle within the larger framework of international human rights and global liberation movements, particularly those fought through nonviolent means. King was also a profound advocate of nonviolence, greatly influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, who helped India gain independence from the British without arms or ammunition. In 1950, on hearing a sermon by Mordecai Johnson, the first African-American president of Howard University, King was so taken with his "profound and electrifying" message on Gandhi that he "bought a half-dozen books" on this nonviolent leader. Under the tutelage of Bayard Rustin and Glenn Smiley, civil rights veterans who had visited India and studied Gandhian methods, King successfully used nonviolent direct action in the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955-56, a movement that was well documented in Indian newspapers. King visited India in February 1959 at the behest of India's then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. He deepened his commitment to nonviolent resistance by meeting with members of Gandhi's family, Gandhian followers, and the leader of the Gandhian land reform movement, Vinoba Bhave.

Another freedom fighter who was deeply influenced by Gandhi and practiced his nonviolent philosophy as a program of 'positive action' was Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister of independent Ghana. Nkrumah met King in 1957 when he invited the prominent American civil rights leader to Ghana's independence ceremony. King's visit to Ghana reflected his belief that the battle being waged against European colonialism in Africa was connected to the struggle against racial injustice in the United States. Upon his return, King declared in a sermon "The Birth of a New Nation": "Ghana tells me that the forces of the universe are on the side of justice...An old order of colonialism, of segregation, of discrimination is passing away now. And a new order of justice and freedom and good will is being born." By equating the oppressive systems of colonialism and Jim Crow segregation, King inspired African-Americans to view their struggle as part of a long-term global struggle for human rights by oppressed people.

The lessons in this curriculum guide strive to capture the global perspective that King, W. E. B. DuBois, Bayard Rustin, Paul Robeson, and other civil rights leaders brought to the African American freedom struggle. The unit titled 'Nonviolence in the Indian and African-American Freedom Struggles' draws connections between the philosophy and practice of nonviolence in both these liberation movements, while informing students of the grassroots spread of nonviolence in the U.S. by African-Americans who visited India before King. The 'Human Rights, By Any Means Necessary' unit's timeline activity chronicles various events in the struggle that had global connections and significance, and requires students to research human rights violations in the U.S. in the 50s and 60s. The unit on the Black Panther Party connects the domestic movement for rights within black and oppressed communities in the U.S., to the international movement for human rights embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The 'Remember Them: Champions of Humanity' lesson compares and contrasts the life and work of great humanitarians from around the world, including those involved in the African-American freedom struggle, and guides students in researching the various causes they fought for. The 'Observing Human Rights Day' unit connects King to yet another freedom struggle against apartheid, by detailing the efforts of African-Americans to advocate for their fellow oppressed in South Africa. Finally, the choice of using the contemporary photo on our cover pays homage to a key civil rights struggle of the new century, the movement for equal rights within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community.

Commemorations of the 50th anniversary of King's visit to India occur in the wake of the recent terrorist bombings in the country of Gandhi's birth. On 26 November 2008, ten militants massacred innocent people at Mumbai's top historic landmarks, including two luxury hotels and the main train station. This attack follows incidences of terrorist bombings in several Indian cities, earlier in 2008.

The modern world asks the question: how do we extricate ourselves from an unending nightmare of violence? Though the formal systems of colonialism and segregation are now history, perhaps the answer lies in dusting off and resurrecting the fading legacies of the nonviolent movements that overturned these systems. Today, more than ever, it is necessary to recall the words of nonviolent leaders like Nkrumah, King, and Gandhi, and to remember the actions of countless ordinary individuals who worked for peace and human rights at the grassroots level. In the words of King and Gandhi, we must remember to "pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means" because "permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence."

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Ashni Mohnot stands in front of the Taj Mahal in Agra, India, September 2008. Ashni assisted on a seminar on Gandhi and his legacy, co-taught by Dr. Carson as part of the Bing Overseas Studies Program for Stanford students.

Teaching History: A Path to Liberation

Introduction by Andrea McEvoy Spero

“Liberation curriculum,” “education for liberation,” “liberatory pedagogy.” These terms suggest the powerful potential of education to transform our world, but, as teachers, how do we know if the experiences we share with students in the classroom create a path to liberation, equality, and justice? We can never fully substantiate or measure the long-term impact of our teaching. That being said, there are stories and ideas that can inspire our students as well as ourselves.

One such story can serve as an example. On 2 March 1955, nine months before the arrest of Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Alabama, Claudette Colvin a fifteen year old student refused to relinquish her bus seat to a White passenger. Her arrest ushered the attention of the NAACP and contributed to grassroots momentum prior to the Montgomery bus boycott. Claudette described the moment:

“I said, ‘No. I do not have to get up. I paid my fare, so I do not have to get up. It’s my constitutional right to sit here just as much as that lady. It’s my constitutional right!’ The words just came to my mind. That history teacher and my literature teacher, they were just pricking our minds. In literature she was an unorthodox teacher. She didn’t teach us regular literature...She taught us the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Articles of Confederation.”

In her account, she continues her description of the impact of her teachers who “were pricking our minds to see how we were thinking.” Colvin’s educational experience directly empowered her demand for justice and her refusal to yield her seat. Her story is one of many that illuminate the foundational role education played for those who were active in the global movement for social justice.

As a high school history teacher, I often wonder whether I am equipping my students with the knowledge, skills and commitment to human dignity required to challenge injustice. How can we navigate the critical balance of content and pedagogy to empower students to advocate for social justice? For example, Colvin learned the content of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Articles of Confederation, but as she explains the content was made meaningful by unorthodox teachers who brought it to life. Who are the Claudette Colvins in our classrooms today? Are we supporting them with knowledge of historical content? Are we building critical questioning and literacy skills? Do we encourage them to draw upon their community, culture and identity as a path to liberation? When the moment arrives, as it did for Claudette Colvin, will our students draw upon the content and experiences from the classroom to demand justice for themselves and others?

In this curriculum guide we offer both content and pedagogical suggestions that we hope will facilitate the goal of empowering students. Central to the Liberation Curriculum philosophy is the concept that a combination of critical pedagogy and historical understanding creates the potential for social transformation. We believe this is possible through educational experiences that challenge students to think critically, to question the traditional narrative, to analyze multiple sources and perspectives, and to place current issues within a global and historical context of a universal struggle for human dignity.

The Brazilian educator and critical pedagogue Paulo Freire explains in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that “education is the practice of freedom.” He is not referring merely to political freedom or civil liberties. He is defining an authentic educational experience as one in which an individual can identify her/his reality and conceptualize the self as a “Subject,” not as objects, capable of changing her/his reality. Through experience the individual develops the ability and confidence to view themselves as a human with inherent value and equality, with the capacity to act in order to create a new culture and history.

The concepts of exploration, questioning, action, and creation guide our curriculum. In this set of lessons we hope to provide models, resources, and ideas for the history classroom. Our concept of

education for liberation is certainly nothing new, and Freire is one of many educators who provide a philosophical foundation. As a center for historical research, we naturally look to the past to inform the present. The modern African American freedom struggle offers a particularly rich case study of critical pedagogy in practice. Examples of transformative educational practice include Tennessee's Highlander Folk School and the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project of 1964. In both cases, the curriculum and the pedagogy were specifically designed to ignite personal, political and social transformation in the American South. Both programs' personal and collective experiences were utilized to encourage participants to dismantle oppressive institutional systems and thereby create a new culture and history.

Highlander Folk School in Tennessee served as a site of leadership training for southern civil rights activists. Under the leadership of Septima Clark and Myles Horton, Highlander Folk School developed a citizenship program in the mid 1950s that taught African Americans their rights as citizens while promoting basic literacy skills. Clark taught citizenship workshops at Highlander and supervised the adaptation of the citizenship program by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference during the 1960s. The program eventually trained 100,000 adults and developed leaders among many of the foot soldiers of the movement. Clark's philosophy was one of integrating standard literacy skills with more conceptual discussions of democracy. She believed that literacy and political empowerment were inextricably connected. The Liberation Curriculum philosophy reflects the belief that literacy and critical thinking skills are essential to social, economic and political liberation.

Rosa Parks attended a 1955 workshop at Highlander where she studied the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Four months later she was arrested for her refusal to relinquish her seat on a Montgomery bus. Horton believed that "real liberation is achieved through popular participation. Participation in turn is realized through an educational practice that it is both liberatory and participatory, that simultaneously creates a new society and involves the people themselves in the creation of their own knowledge." We hope to follow in those footsteps by providing activities which place students as Subjects rather than objects.

In the lesson *Voices of the Civil Rights Movement: The Continual Struggle for Equality* students study major civil rights legislation and court decisions, and are asked to analyze their impact by conducting oral history projects within their family and community. By creating research questions and exploring the experiences of those in their community, students are actively involved in evaluating the impact of the civil rights struggle. In this way students are not passive recipients, but engaged researchers who evaluate information and construct historical understanding. In *Remember Them: Champions of Humanity* students identify and research current human rights issues and choose a strategy to inform others. Depending on the students' interests, they may create original art, a documentary, a letter-writing campaign or a school-wide teach-in. Throughout the lessons, the students are active participants in building knowledge and promoting awareness within their community.

We recommend varied strategies to challenge traditional historical understanding and construct new historical narratives based on primary source research. This allows students to develop historical thinking as they gain literacy, research, and critical analysis skills. Through a process of examining primary and secondary sources, and asking critical questions about the relationship between the past and present, students develop the skills required to name and resist forms of oppression. In many of the lessons we encourage teachers to challenge preconceived images of the 'civil rights' movement – actually part of a broader, long-term freedom struggle - by integrating primary source documents into the curriculum and challenging students to view the events through a human rights lens.



Liberation Curriculum and Alameda County Office of Education hosted high school teachers on a historical tour of the South as part of the Words That Made America program. Andrea McEvoy Spero stands in front of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, the site of Bloody Sunday and the start point for the Selma to Montgomery March of 1965.

In *Observing Human Rights Day*, students are asked to examine a letter from Martin Luther King, Jr. and other members of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) that requests support for Human Rights Day in 1957. This activity provides an opportunity to reframe the African American struggle. During the activity, students are called upon to build critical reading and inquiry skills. Through an analysis of the document, students find that the ACOA organized the event “to protest the apartheid policies of the Union of South Africa and to demand that the Union live up to its obligations under Article I, Paragraph 3 of the United Nations Charter.” The document serves as a thought provoking exercise connecting the freedom struggles in South Africa with those in the United States. From this document, students can undertake deeper research regarding African American involvement in the struggle against South African apartheid.

Highlander Folk School’s citizenship program is not the only example of liberatory pedagogy within the African American Freedom Struggle. The Mississippi Freedom Schools provide an additional model. The Freedom Schools were part of the Freedom Summer Project of 1964 intended to draw the nation’s attention on the violent repression in Mississippi. The Project brought more than 1,000 volunteers, mostly white northern college students to assist local activists in voter registration drives and education of black students. More than 3,000 young black students attended classes that summer. A major component of the Project was to teach Black history, which was almost an unknown subject not only in the South but in the whole nation. As COFO’s Memo to Freedom School Teachers dated 5 May 1964 explained, “The purpose of the Freedom Schools is to create an educational experience for students which will make it possible for them to challenge the myths of our society, to perceive more clearly its realities, and to find alternatives—ultimately a new direction for action.”

Unfortunately, in-depth historical content on the African American freedom struggle is not available in many social studies classrooms. History textbooks tend to promote myths or one-dimensional treatment of historical events and figures. Our lessons attempt to provide content for students to challenge these myths and to build a more complex understanding of history. In *Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X: A Common Solution?* students analyze quotes by both men which counter the popular images. In doing so, students discover the points of convergence between these men and their ideas instead of fixating on their differences. In addition students uncover historical content typically absent from the mainstream textbook, such as King’s controversial position against the Vietnam war and the transformational impact of X’s pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott: A Model for Social Transformation offers a counter-narrative to the ‘tired seamstress’ myth of Rosa Parks. Students are often surprised to learn that Parks was a veteran civil rights activist in the NAACP who attended a workshop at Tennessee’s Highlander Folk School, where she studied the UDHR and concepts of human rights. When she refused to give up her bus seat in Montgomery, Alabama, her act of resistance was about more than refusing segregated seating on a bus. She was fighting for human dignity. By encouraging students to critique the master narrative and to build a deeper and more complex understanding of King, X, and Parks, we hope to engage students in a more thought-provoking educational experience.

In addition to providing rich historical content, the Mississippi Freedom School organizers emphasized building from student knowledge and exploring their reality through critical questioning. Based on a study of history combined with authentic dialogue regarding their current reality, students were encouraged to examine ways to dismantle oppressive systems in Mississippi. The lessons we promote in this guide ask students to examine their experiences regarding social justice and place the issues within a historical context. History provides evidence of the role of young people in challenging systemic inequalities and creating new forms of resistance.

We want students to see themselves as part of this continuum and to identify themselves as actors in their own liberation. Historical narrative provides an opportunity to see the issues which affect them today as similar to those faced by actors in the past. In the lesson *Children’s Crusade and the Role of Youth in the African American Freedom Struggle*, students explore the story of Barbara Rose Johns. The sixteen year-old woman of Farmville, Virginia, led her fellow students in a walk-out protesting their inadequate school facilities in April of 1951. The students marched outside their school, Robert R. Moton High School, with

placards, "We Are Tired of Tar Paper Shacks- We Want a New School." After calling on the NAACP for legal assistance, their suit was combined with others to become *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, the most important case regarding segregation of the 20th century.

Placing Johns and her fellow students at the center of the story of school segregation empowers current students by providing a model for collective action. To be truly liberatory in teaching this story, the next step is to build upon students' awareness and experiences with current educational inequalities, and to facilitate a dialogue identifying ways to challenge injustice. All of the lessons in this curriculum guide promote the process of examining current issues within a historical and global context. Students are consistently encouraged to engage in debates, dialogue, role-play and community activism in order to build critical analysis skills. We hope that through this process students are empowered to question the traditional narratives, construct new historical understandings and view themselves as actors in an ongoing struggle for social justice and human dignity.

As a teacher I am continually inspired and humbled by the spirit and courage of my students. Elizabeth Martinez, a Mississippi Freedom Summer volunteer, captured in words what many of us experience in our classrooms, "It is comforting to think we did a good job that summer, but we did not bring Freedom to Mississippi nor did we teach Freedom. It was already there in the hearts and minds of our students, their parents and every other African-American resident of the state. All that was needed for it to begin to flourish openly was the feeling that it could be expressed safely, and just our presence gave them that. They took it from there, and have begun to make a better world." Ultimately, the curriculum and the teaching strategies are needed only as a way to encourage and give foundation to what is already there. In the hearts and minds of our students lies the commitment to freedom and justice. We serve only to provide an atmosphere where it may flourish and take flight.

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Nonviolence in the Indian and African-American Freedom Struggles

By Ashni Mohnot



Introduction

Many people and organizations involved in the African-American freedom struggle, including Martin Luther King, Jr., were influenced by the concept of nonviolence advocated and practiced by Mohandas K. Gandhi, one of the leaders of the Indian struggle for independence from British colonial rule.

In Part One of this unit, students will explore Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy and practice of 'satyagraha' ('truth-force' or 'love-force'), the application of nonviolence to fight injustice. In Part Two, students will compare Martin Luther King, Jr.'s ideas of nonviolence with those of Gandhi, an individual that greatly influenced him. Students will also learn of the different people and organizations that influenced King's conception of nonviolence and introduced the nonviolent direct action tactics used in the African-American freedom struggle.

In Part Three, students will explore what it means to carry on Gandhi's legacy of nonviolence in today's world by identifying people and organizations that embody nonviolent philosophy and developing tactics of nonviolent direct action they can use to combat injustice in the world.

Essential Question: How did nonviolent philosophy and practice influence the Indian and African-American freedom struggles?

Sub Questions:

- What were Gandhi's core ideas on nonviolence?
- How was nonviolent philosophy put into practice in events of the Indian freedom struggle? What were some of the nonviolent direct action tactics used?
- What were King's core ideas on nonviolence? What was the relationship between King and Gandhi's ideas on nonviolence?
- Who were the people and organizations that influenced King's ideas on nonviolence and introduced Gandhian nonviolent philosophy and practice into the African American freedom struggle of the 50s and 60s?
- How was nonviolent philosophy put into practice in events of the African-American freedom struggle? What were some of the nonviolent direct action tactics used?
- What were some of the similarities and differences between the use of nonviolent direct action in the Indian and African-American struggles?
- How are nonviolent direct action tactics adapted to suit particular situations and issues?
- What are the attributes, thoughts, and actions of a nonviolent person in today's world?
- Who are some of the people and organizations engaged in Gandhian nonviolence today?
- What are some ways in which students can continue the tradition of nonviolent direct action in their communities?

Note: In this unit, we have chosen to use 'non-violent direct action' to describe the use of non-violent tactics to fight injustice because of the active nature of the term 'direct action.' Students may come across different terms in readings and other resources for the use of non-violence to fight injustice.

Unit Parts:

1. Gandhian Nonviolence in the Indian Freedom Struggle
2. Gandhian Nonviolence in the African-American Freedom Struggle
3. Continuing the Legacy of Nonviolence

Part One:

Gandhian Nonviolence in the Indian Freedom Struggle

Materials:

- Current local and national newspapers
- 34 minute film: *India: Defying the Crown*, from the six part *A Force More Powerful* series. More information: <http://aforcemorepowerful.org/films/afmp/index.php>.

Activities/Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Ask students to work with a partner to identify a recent violent event that took place in their community, in the nation or in the world. Students should be encouraged to draw from their own knowledge of current events. Teachers can circulate local or national newspapers as a resource.
2. **What would Gandhi say?** Students are given **Handout A: Quotes** containing quotes by Mohandas K. Gandhi. Working in pairs, students read through the quotes and choose two that express 'what Gandhi would say' in response to the recent violent event they identified. Students then make a short presentation to the class describing the event, sharing their chosen quotes, and illustrating how the quotes are an appropriate expression of what Gandhi might say in response to the event.
3. Students choose another quote in Handout A and write a short reflection applying it to their own lives. Some questions to consider: Do you agree or disagree with the view expressed in this quote? Why or why not? Describe how the quote applies to an aspect of your life.
4. Explain to students that Gandhi called the use of nonviolence to fight injustice 'satyagraha,' which means 'truth-force' or 'love-force'. It can also be called nonviolent direct action. List on the board and ask students to write in their notebooks the following italicized steps taken (not necessarily in order) in a satyagraha or nonviolent direct action campaign. Explain the steps to your class using the guidelines below each step. Explain the steps to your class using the guidelines below.
 - 1) *Investigation*
Determining the actual grievance or unjust situation
 - 2) *Negotiation and arbitration*
Trying established channels to resolve the conflict
 - 3) *Preparation of group for direct action*
Examples: Raising awareness, planning strategy, training
 - 4) *Agitation*
Examples: Meetings, marches, demonstrations
 - 5) *Issuing an ultimatum*
A final appeal to the opponent that offers widest scope for agreement, presents a constructive solution and details next steps if an agreement is not reached.

- 6) *Nonviolent direct action*
Examples: Sit-ins, strikes, economic boycotts
- 7) *Non cooperation*
Examples: Not complying with functions of government or public institutions
- 8) *Civil disobedience*
Disobeying unjust laws central to the issue at hand
- 9) *Parallel government*
Taking over government functions

Note: These steps have been adapted from Joan Bondurant's *Conquest of Violence, Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* and from the memo *The Meaning of the Sit-Ins* from Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), dated 1 August, 1960.

5. Students watch the film *India: Defying the Crown* on the 1930-31 Salt Satyagraha in India. Using the nine steps listed above as a guideline, students note relevant tactics used in the campaign. Pause the film periodically to allow students to take notes.

Discussion Questions:

- What were some of the nonviolent direct action tactics used in the Salt Satyagraha? Which of the steps would they fall under?
- What influence did Gandhi have on the masses of India? How did Gandhi's personal influence contribute to undermining the British Empire?
- Why did Gandhi accept Viceroy Lord Irwin's compromise? Do you think he should have accepted? What do you think might have happened if he refused to accept it?
- How did Gandhi's leadership and the participation of ordinary people both contribute to the success of the Salt Satyagraha? Were these factors equally significant in the campaign? Why or why not?

6. **Human Barometer:** Students read **Handout B: 1920-22 Non Co-operation Campaign** for information on the 1920-22 nationwide non-cooperation campaign Gandhi conducted and write a response to the prompt on the handout. Ask students: "Do you believe Gandhi called off the movement because of the violent Chauri Chaura incident?" Students imagine a line drawn along the entire front wall of the classroom or create a line using tape, with one end designated as 'do not believe' and the other as 'believe'. Students stand at the spot that aligns with whether they believe that Gandhi called off the movement or not. Students who are ambivalent can choose to stand in the middle or slightly skewed towards either end. Drawing on what they know about Gandhi's philosophy and the Indian struggle so far, students articulate why they agree, disagree, or are unsure of Gandhi's decision, based on their written response in the handout. When students return to their seats, inform them that Gandhi chose to call off the campaign.

Discussion Questions:

- Are you surprised at Gandhi's choice? Why or why not?
- In response to this incident, Gandhi said: "The tragedy of Chauri Chauri is really the index finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precautions be not taken...Suspension of mass civil disobedience and subsidence of excitement are necessary for further progress, indeed indispensable to prevent further retrogression." Do you agree or disagree with his reasons? Why or why not?

Note: The quote above was taken from Gandhi's article 'The Crime of Chauri Chaura'. If you choose to assign the whole article for reading in your class, it is available in Dennis Dalton's *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings* on pages 32-34.

Part Two:

Gandhian Nonviolence in the African-American Freedom Struggle

Materials Needed:

- Projector to display the chart in **Handout D** on the classroom wall.
- 33 minute film: *Nashville: "We Were Warriors"* from the six part *A Force More Powerful* series.
More information: <http://aforcemorepowerful.org/films/afmp/index.php>.
- For the extension activity: 1) Film: *Gandhi*, directed by Richard Attenborough (1982) and 2) Documentary series: *Eyes on the Prize* produced by Henry Hampton (1987).

Activities/Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Cut out the boxed quotes in **Handout C: King and Gandhi Quotes** and hand each student a strip of paper with either a Gandhi or a King quote. Students walk around the room and interact with each other till those with King quotes find those with Gandhi quotes that are similar in theme/content to their own, and vice versa. Partners read their quotes out loud to the class, explain the quotes in their own words, and discuss how they are similar in theme or content. After students have heard all the quotes, ask them if there were any King quotes that seemed to contradict any Gandhi quotes in their essence. Discuss any differences or dissimilarities that are noticed.
2. Use the chart in **Handout D: How Nonviolence Entered the African-American Freedom Struggle** to illustrate to students the various people and organizations that practiced nonviolent direct action in the African-American freedom struggle. Explain their role in introducing Gandhian nonviolent philosophy to the U.S. Some of the relationships that facilitated the transfer of Gandhian ideas are underlined in the text. More information on these people and organizations can be found in *The Martin Luther King, Jr. Encyclopedia* on the King Institute website.
3. Students watch the film *Nashville: "We Were Warriors"* on the Nashville student sit-in movement in 1960, thirty years after the Salt Satyagraha in India. Using the nine steps listed in Part One as a guide, students note relevant tactics used in the campaign. Pause the film periodically to allow students to take notes.
Discussion Questions:
 - What were some of the nonviolent direct action tactics used in the Nashville student sit-ins? Which of the steps would they fall under?
 - Was King involved in the Nashville sit-ins? What role did ordinary people play in this campaign? Can a nonviolent movement occur without grassroots participation?
 - Imagine you are one of the students participating in the sit-ins. What Gandhi quote(s) (from the list in **Handout A: Quotes**) would you choose to describe the philosophy behind your campaign?
4. Students work with partners to identify at least two similarities and two differences in tactics used in the Salt Satyagraha and Nashville campaigns. Students participate in a class discussion comparing the two campaigns.
5. **Homework Activity:**
Students write a response to the following prompt:
Drawing from the two films you have watched, compare and discuss the role of one of the following factors in the Salt Satyagraha and Nashville campaigns: media, laws/legal help, the tactic of jail-going, or top down leadership vs. grassroots participation.
6. **Extension Activity:** The Salt Satyagraha and the Nashville sit-ins are only two of many nonviolent direct action campaigns in the Indian and African-American freedom struggles respectively. Using Richard Attenborough's film *Gandhi* and the *Eyes on the Prize* video series, similarly compare and contrast other events in these freedom struggles, e.g. the 1922 Non Co-operation movement (India), the 1942 Quit India movement (India), the Montgomery Bus Boycott (US), and the Selma to Montgomery March (US), among others. Compare the roles of Gandhi and King vs. the participation of ordinary citizens at the grassroots level. Please note that the Attenborough film is an enacted version of these events while *Eyes on the Prize* contains actual historical footage.

Carrying on the Legacy of Nonviolence

Activity / Instructions:

1. Students do a five minute free write on the following prompt:
Are Gandhi's ideas of nonviolence realistic in today's world?
Students are encouraged to think at local, national and global levels. Students share responses with the class. Using Gandhi's ideas as a starting place, discuss with students the qualities, thoughts, and actions of a nonviolent person in today's world. Make a list of the attributes your students come up with on butcher paper and tape this list to the classroom wall.
2. Students identify a person in their community or a local, national, or global organization that they believe is carrying on Gandhi's legacy of nonviolence. Students may need the teacher's help with this task. Those students who chose a community member as an example will interview their subject about how they incorporate nonviolent philosophy in their work and life. The 'Great Questions' list at the Story Corps' website (<http://www.storycorps.net/record-your-story/question-generator/list>) is a great resource for generating interview questions. Those students who chose an organization will visit its website to identify examples of nonviolent philosophy in its work. Students should consider core ideas and beliefs as well as tactics of nonviolent direct action informing the organization's work. The mission and programs sections of the websites are good places to start. Students write an essay on the following prompt:
How does the person you interviewed or the organization you researched carry on Gandhi's legacy of nonviolence? Use at least two Gandhi quotes to make your case.
Options: This activity can be tailored to the needs and interests of your classroom. If students choose local organizations to research, they can interview people working there. If students are interested in the continuation of Gandhi's legacy in his birth country, India, they can choose to research Indian organizations. Some examples are: Sahr Waru, Women's Action and Resource Unit (<http://www.sahrwaruindia.org/>), Manav Sadhna (<http://www.manavsadhna.org/>), Pratham (<http://www.pratham.org/>), Childline, India (<http://www.childlineindia.org.in/>), and C.R.Y. (Child Relief and You), India (<http://www.cry.org/index.html>), among many others. Inform students that Gandhi was concerned about many issues such as education, uplifting women, communal and religious harmony, rural industry development, sanitation, and economic equality.
3. Students work in small groups of 3-4 to choose an injustice at the local, national or global level. Encourage students to choose issues of personal relevance or concern to them. Using the nine steps outlined in Part One as a guideline, students develop and write out a sequence of actions that can be taken to address the injustice, as if planning a nonviolent direct action campaign.
4. **Extension Activity:** Interested students can work with their schools, communities or local organizations to put these steps they developed into practice against their chosen injustice. Refer students to the Albert Einstein's Institute's '198 Methods of Nonviolent Action' (<http://www.aeinstein.org/organizations103a.html>) to identify possible nonviolent actions they can take against injustice. Here are some additional suggestions for activities: lunch hour teach-ins, 'Day of nonviolence', and honoring community members who carry on Gandhi's legacy.

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Handout A: Quotes

"It is a million times better to appear untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves."

- Gandhi, 16 February 1922

"When millions become untruthful and violent, it will mean self-destruction."

- Gandhi, 28 May 1931

"Slavery consists in submitting to an unjust order, not in suffering ourselves to be kicked. Real courage and humanity consist in not returning a kick for a kick."

- Gandhi, 18 November 1909

"In its negative form, [ahimsa/nonviolence] means not injuring any living being, whether by body or mind. I may not therefore hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill will to him and so cause him mental suffering... In its positive form, ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of ahimsa, I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rule to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. A man cannot then practice ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of ahimsa calls for the greatest courage."

- Gandhi, October 1916

"Nonviolence is therefore, in its active form, goodwill towards all life. It is pure Love. I read it in the Hindu scriptures, in the Bible, in the Koran."

- Gandhi, 9 March 1922

"I do not say that the possibility of nonviolence excludes the possibility of revenge when the policy is abandoned. But it does most emphatically exclude the possibility of future revenge after a successful termination of the struggle."

- Gandhi, 9 March 1922

"I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes. There is, therefore, really no meeting ground between the school of violence and myself."

- Gandhi, 11 December 1924

"For experience convinces me that permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence."

- Gandhi, 11 December 1924

"I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart."

- Gandhi, 8 December 1921

"For no power on earth can stop the onward march of a peaceful, determined and godly people."

- Gandhi, 8 December 1921

Handout B: 1920-22 Non Co-operation Campaign

The 1920 – 22 Non Co-operation movement was organized by Gandhi and adopted by the Indian National Congress to compel the British colonial government in India to grant 'swaraj' (self-government or self-rule) to Indians. It partially arose in response to the British government's massacre of innocent Indians in Jallianwalla Bagh, Amritsar in April 1919. Initially, Gandhi promised 'swaraj' within a year of the onset of the movement which was supposed to be nonviolent. The program included boycott of foreign goods and British-made cloth, promotion of swadeshi (home-grown) goods and industries, surrender of posts and titles conferred by the British, boycott of elections, government run educational institutions, law courts, and government service, with the eventual goal of refusal to pay taxes. Many students left British schools to join national educational institutions that emerged at the time. Faced with a united Indian front for the first time, the British government was shaken.

In February 1922, an incident of mob violence occurred in the town of Chauri Chaura. After a crowd of protesters were troubled by the police, an angry mob set fire to the police station where the constables taking shelter inside were trapped and burnt alive. Twenty two policemen were killed. Gandhi was devastated at the violent turn the campaign had taken. While all the Congress leaders shared his dismay, many felt that the campaign that had reached such momentum should continue. Gandhi decided...

What do you think Gandhi decided to do? Choose between the options below.

- A) Continued the campaign*
- B) Called off the campaign.*

Explain your choice. Use the quotes and background information to support your prediction.

Handout C: King and Gandhi Quotes

"It is a million times better to appear untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves."
- Gandhi, 16 February 1922

"It is no longer a choice, my friends, between violence and nonviolence. It is either nonviolence or nonexistence. And the alternative... may well be a civilization plunged into the abyss of annihilation."
- King, 31 March 1968

"When millions become untruthful and violent, it will mean self-destruction."
- Gandhi, 28 May 1931

"We must all learn to live together as brothers or we will all perish together as fools. We are tied together in the single garment of destiny, caught in an inescapable network of mutuality. And whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly."
- King, 31 March 1968

"Slavery consists in submitting to an unjust order, not in suffering ourselves to be kicked. Real courage and humanity consist in not returning a kick for a kick."
- Gandhi, 18 November 1909

"And it is true that man throughout history has sought to achieve justice through violence. And we all know the danger of this method. It seems to create many more social problems than it solves. And it seems to me that in the struggle for justice that this method is ultimately futile."
- King, Justice Without Violence- 3 April 1957

"In its negative form, [ahimsa/nonviolence] means not injuring any living being, whether by body or mind. I may not therefore hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill will to him and so cause him mental suffering... In its positive form, ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of ahimsa, I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rule to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. A man cannot then practice ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of ahimsa calls for the greatest courage."
- Gandhi, October 1916

"More recently I have come to see the need for the method of nonviolence in international relations. Although I was not yet convinced of its efficacy in conflicts between nations, I felt that while war could never be a positive good, it could serve as a negative good by preventing the spread and growth of an evil force. War, horrible as it is, might be preferable to surrender to a totalitarian system. But now I believe that the potential destructiveness of modern weapons totally rules out the possibility of war ever again achieving a negative good."
- King, 1958

"Nonviolence is therefore, in its active form, goodwill towards all life. It is pure Love. I read it in the Hindu scriptures, in the Bible, in the Koran."
- Gandhi, 9 March 1922

"World peace through nonviolent means is neither absurd nor unattainable. All other methods have failed. Thus we must begin anew. Nonviolence is a good starting point."
- King, March 1965

"I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes. There is, therefore, really no meeting ground between the school of violence and myself."
- Gandhi, 11 December 1924

"One day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal we seek, but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means... ultimately destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends."
- King, 24 December 1967

"For experience convinces me that permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence."
- Gandhi, 11 December 1924

"Nonviolence is absolute commitment to the way of love. Love is not emotional bash; it is not empty sentimentalism. It is the active outpouring of one's whole being into the being of another."
- King, 1957

"I do not say that the possibility of nonviolence excludes the possibility of revenge when the policy is abandoned. But it does most emphatically exclude the possibility of future revenge after a successful termination of the struggle."
- Gandhi, 9 March 1922

"I am convinced that love is the most durable power in the world. It is not an expression of impractical idealism, but of practical realism...love is an absolute necessity for the survival of our civilization. To return hate for hate does nothing but intensify the existence of evil in the universe. Someone must have sense enough and religion enough to cut off the chain of hate and evil, and this can only be done through love."
- King, 1957

"For no power on earth can stop the onward march of a peaceful, determined and godly people."
- Gandhi, 8 December 1921

"There are two types of laws: there are just laws and there are unjust laws... What is the difference between the two? An unjust law is a man-made code that is out of harmony with the moral law."
- King, 1963

"I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart."
- Gandhi, 8 December 1921

"The reason I can't follow the old eye-for-an-eye philosophy is that it ends up leaving everyone blind."
- King, 3 May 1963

Handout D: How Nonviolence Entered the African-American Freedom Struggle

ORGANIZATIONS INFLUENCED BY GANDHIAN NONVIOLENCE

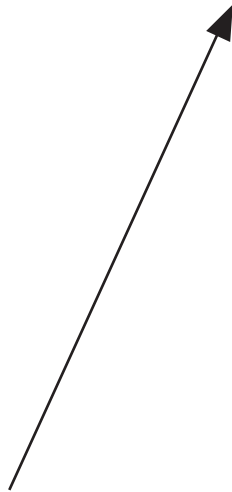
Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR)

- Started by Pacifist Christians in Europe; U.S. chapter founded in 1915
- During WW1, FOR supported conscientious objectors; after the war, FOR focused on labor rights and racism
- Parent organization for CORE; the two organizations shared many members
- FOR staffers, like Glenn Smiley, helped King understand nonviolence



Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

- Founded 1942; influenced by Gandhi
- Pioneered use of nonviolent direct action in the American civil rights struggle by organizing integration sit-ins in Chicago in the 1940s
- CORE activists provided advice and support to King on nonviolent direct action in the Montgomery Bus Boycott



PEOPLE WHO VISITED INDIA (YEAR)

Howard Thurman (1935)

- Met King when he was a doctoral student
- King read his work *Jesus and the Disinherited* which advocates nonviolent responses to oppression

Benjamin Mays (1936)

- Met King when he was at Morehouse
- King's "spiritual mentor" until his death

William Stuart Nelson (1946)

- Several trips; marched with Gandhi
- Internationally acclaimed expert on nonviolence
- Corresponded regularly with King

Bayard Rustin (1948)

- 7 weeks studying Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence
- Advised King on nonviolent direct action during Montgomery bus boycott
- Member of FOR and Co-founder of CORE

Mordecai Johnson (1949-50)

- First Afr-Am president of Howard University
- In 1950, King was so inspired by Johnson's talk on his trip and on Gandhi that he bought several books on Gandhi

James Lawson (1952 – 56)

- Missionary in India; studied Gandhian nonviolence
- King, who he met in early '57, urged him to teach nonviolence
- FOR veteran; advisor to SNCC and SCLC; led nonviolent tactics and philosophy workshops

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1959)

- One of the major leaders of the movement
- Deeply influenced by Gandhi; advocated and practiced nonviolence in all campaigns of the movement

The Montgomery Bus Boycott: A Model for Social Transformation

By Andrea McEvoy Spero



"Walking together, Montgomery" Harvey Dinnerstein, charcoal on paper, 17 3/4" x 25 7/8", 1956, Collection of the Parrish Art Museum, South Hampton, N.Y. © Harvey Dinnerstein

Introduction

The Montgomery bus boycott serves as an ideal historical example for teaching the strategies of social movements. The boycott not only ended segregated seating on city bus lines, it also illustrated some of the key elements for successful social transformation namely, sustained commitment, intense strategizing, and intricate cooperation. Typically, educators focus on Rosa Parks' arrest and the speeches by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. While Parks and King played an integral role in the boycott, there are many more stories to tell and lessons to learn through the experiences of Montgomery's citizens in 1955 and 1956. As Martin Luther King, Jr. stated at the beginning of the boycott, the people of Montgomery, by standing up for their rights, "had thereby injected a new meaning into the veins of history and civilization."

Just as the bus boycott required individual participation, so does this unit. Each lesson is constructed to engage students as active participants. The teacher plays the role of facilitator, not lecturer, and in turn students uncover the history of the boycott and construct their own understanding of its importance. To complete the entire unit of five lessons and four culminating assignments would take approximately two to three weeks. We recommend that you adjust each lesson to fit the needs of your students and your curriculum framework. Each lesson can stand alone or can be taught in combination with others.

Essential Question: How can everyday people organize to transform a community?

Sub Questions:

- What do you and people you know think about the historical significance of Rosa Parks?
- Who is Claudette Colvin and why is she left out of the mainstream historical narrative?
- What were the goals of the boycott?
- What is institutional racism and how did the Montgomery bus boycott help to dismantle it?
- What roles did each of the following organizations play in the boycott, and how did their strategies differ: Women's Political Council, NAACP, and MIA?
- How was nonviolent resistance implemented during the Montgomery bus boycott, and was it effective in causing change?
- Did the citizens of Montgomery achieve justice, social transformation, and/or reconciliation as a result of the boycott?
- Some have described the Montgomery bus boycott as the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement or African American freedom struggle. Is that an accurate description? What position should it hold in history? How should it be told?

Unit Parts:

1. Rosa Parks
2. Claudette Colvin
3. Institutional Racism
4. Redefining Leadership
5. Social Transformation

Part One:

Rosa Parks - historical figure or legend?

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Elicit students' prior knowledge by asking: what do you know about Rosa Parks? Have the class brainstorm as a whole on the board but give them a five-minute time limit.
2. **Classroom Activity:** Using **Handout A: Document Analysis Worksheet** ask students to examine **Handout B: Jo Ann Robinson's letter to Mayor Gayle, Rosa Parks' Arrest Record, Photo of Rosa Parks Arrest and the Boycott Handbill**. Students can work individually or in small groups.
3. **Classroom Activity:** What new information about Rosa Parks and the Montgomery bus boycott did you gain from the documents? What was most interesting to you? What questions do you still have? How does the information in these documents differ from the generally accepted story of Rosa Parks? Is the public's understanding of Parks based more on legend or reality? Who or what contributes to the public's understanding of historical events and figures? What are the consequences of hero making in history? Support your answers with examples.
4. **Extension Assignment:** Ask students to read the entries on Rosa Parks and Jo Ann Robinson from the online King Encyclopedia and *Chapter 7: Montgomery Bus Boycott Begins* from *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Both are available on the King Institute's website. Next, ask students to read and critique their textbook's description of Rosa Parks based on the information in the documents, the King Encyclopedia, and *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Ask students to make a list of the inaccuracies and omissions by their textbook.
5. **Extension Assignment:** Challenge students to interview teachers, parents, community members or other students about Rosa Parks. Ask them to report their findings to the class. Students may lead a follow-up discussion. What does the general public "know" about Rosa Parks? How and why does misinformation become generally accepted as fact?

Part Two:

Claudette Colvin

Who is Claudette Colvin and why do traditional historical narratives ignore her actions?

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Review the Boycott Handbill in **Handout B**. Ask students to create a list of questions about Claudette Colvin, incorrectly referred to as “Claudette Colbert”, in the handbill.
2. **Classroom Activity:** Using **Handout A: Document Analysis Worksheet**, ask students to analyze **Handout C: Colvin’s Arrest Record**. Next, ask students to read **Handout D: Excerpt from *Freedom’s Children* by Ellen Levine**.
3. **Discussion/Reflection Questions:** Who is Claudette Colvin and why do traditional historical narratives ignore her actions? What was the role of young people in the Civil Rights Movement? What role do young people play in social justice movements today? Who constructs history? Who chooses the national narrative?
4. **Classroom Activity:** Have students write their own entry about Colvin for their U.S. History textbook.
5. **Assignment:** Research young activists during the African American Freedom Struggle in the past and present. Some ideas for research include the following: Barbara Johns, John Lewis, Freedom Summer, Children’s Crusade, The Little Rock Nine, Diane Nash, Mary Louise Smith. Students may start their research using the King Encyclopedia from the King Institute website.

Part Three:

What is institutional racism, and how did the Montgomery bus boycott help to dismantle it?

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Classroom Activity:** Discuss with students the definition of institutional racism. You may want to use Jenice L. View’s definition from her article in “Putting the Movement Back in Civil Rights Teaching.” She explains the ways the concept of “white race” as superior is “reinforced in schools, banks, churches, the workplace, real estate agencies, law enforcement, the judicial system, and other institutions that govern daily life, with the purpose of exploiting other “races” and preserving privilege for “whites.” Additional definitions are offered by Enid Lee, Beverly Daniel Tatum and Gary Howard. Watch the *Eyes on the Prize* segment on the Montgomery bus boycott. Ask students to identify examples of institutional racism. Encourage them to think beyond actions by the bus company.
2. **Discussion Questions:** What were/are the roadblocks to dismantling institutional racism? How did individuals use institutions to maintain segregation? Besides a boycott, what are strategies for dismantling institutional racism? How can everyday people organize to transform a community? Discuss Dr. King’s quote, “We are not wrong in what we are doing. If we are wrong, the Supreme Court of this nation is wrong. If we are wrong, the Constitution of the United States is wrong. If we are wrong, God Almighty is wrong.” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 5 December 1955)
3. **Extension:** Using the online King Encyclopedia, research other nonviolent direct actions used to dismantle institutional racism. Suggested topics: Birmingham Campaign, Albany Movement, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Freedom Summer, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Who led the Montgomery Bus Boycott?

What was the role of Women's Political Council (WPC), Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in causing institutional change?

Activity / Instructions:

- 1. Opening Activity:** Play the audio of King's first speech as President of the Montgomery Improvement Association at Holt Street Baptist Church on 5 December 1955 and ask students to follow the transcribed text of the speech. Both are found on the King Institute website. Explain to students that the boycott had begun that morning after Jo Ann Robinson and other members of Montgomery's Women's Political Council circulated handbills asking for citizens to stay off the buses. Thousands of people attended the meeting that evening at Holt Street Baptist Church to support the call to continue the boycott. While they listen to the speech, have students choose their favorite quote and explain the reason for their choice. After listening, ask students to explain how King's position as a minister contributed to his role as a leader within the boycott.
- 2. Classroom Activity:** Choose 8 students to perform a dramatic reading of **Handout E: Montgomery Improvement Association minutes from 30 January, 1956**. The roles include: a narrator, Rev. Alford, Rev. Binion, Mr. E.D. Nixon, Mr. White, Rev. King, Mr. Saye, and Attorney Gray. The dramatic reading is based on the actual minutes from the Montgomery Improvement Association. We recommend that you discuss with students the historical context of the term "negro." The term was widely used and accepted by African American leaders during the 1950s. Today, African American or Black is more appropriate. This may lead to an interesting discussion on the importance of language and identity.
- 3. Discussion/Reflection Questions:** Who led the boycott? Many argue that Dr. King led the boycott. Is this an accurate characterization? In the MIA meeting Dr. King states, "From my limited contact, if we went tonight and asked the people to get back on the bus, we would be ostracized." Did the people create and sustain the boycott or did Martin Luther King, Jr. inspire them to sustain the boycott? What was the legal strategy of the NAACP? What was the relationship between the MIA and the NAACP? What obstacles did the boycott face?
- 4. Assignment:** Using the King Encyclopedia, ask students to identify the leadership roles of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), the Women's Political Council (WPC), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Place your students into groups of three, and assign one organization to each of the three students. As the students read the entries from the King Encyclopedia, have them record the individuals involved in the organizations and the actions they took during the boycott. The students will report their findings to their partners. Lead a discussion with the class about the leadership, both organizational and grassroots, of the bus boycott. Ask them to critique the common understanding that King alone led the boycott.
- 5. Assignment:** Ask students to prepare for an informal debate. Start by giving the students Ella Baker's statement, "The movement made Martin rather than Martin making the movement." Place students in groups of four. Assign two students the affirmative position and two students the negative position. Ask students to support or criticize the statement using concrete details about the bus boycott. Remind students to listen to the other position respectfully.

Part Five:

Social Transformation?

Did the citizens of Montgomery successfully achieve justice, social transformation and reconciliation?

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Ask students to read **Handout F: King Encyclopedia essay on Philosophy of Nonviolence**. Ask them to put the philosophy in their own words and apply it to an event in their own lives.
2. **Classroom Activity:** Using **Handout A: Document Analysis Worksheet**, read and analyze **Handout G: Statement on the end of the Montgomery Bus Boycott** and **Handout H: Integrated Bus Suggestions**. Ask students to identify examples of the philosophy of nonviolence within both documents.
3. **Classroom Activity:** View the *Eyes on the Prize* segment on the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Ask students to choose one image that represents the effectiveness of the philosophy of nonviolence and another that shows how the boycott transformed individual citizens or the city of Montgomery.
4. **Discussion/Reflection Questions:** What is the philosophy of nonviolence? In what ways does nonviolent direct action lead to social transformation? Who is transformed by nonviolent direct action? How does the following quote reflect King's commitment to nonviolence?

This morning the long awaited mandate from the United States Supreme Court concerning bus segregation came to Montgomery....Our experience and growth during this past year of united nonviolent protest has been of such that we cannot be satisfied with a court 'victory' over our white brothers. We must respond to the decision with an understanding of those who have oppressed us and with an appreciation of the new adjustments that the court order poses for them. We must act in such a way as to make possible a coming together of white people and colored people on the basis of a real harmony of interests and understandings. We seek an integration based on mutual respect.

—Martin Luther King, Jr., 20th December, 1956

5. **Classroom Activity:** Debate Resolution: *The strategy of nonviolence, in the form of a bus boycott, was successful in transforming the institutional racism in Montgomery, Alabama.* The debate can be organized in a number of ways. You can split students into groups of 2-4 and ask them to prepare affirmative and negative arguments supported by examples. You may also split the class in half and ask students to participate in a discussion of the statement. Finally, you may ask students to write individual responses.

Culminating Assignments and Research Projects:

1. Strategizing for Justice

Identify an unjust law or policy in your school or community. Using the Montgomery bus boycott as a model, create a step-by-step plan to change the law or policy. Present your plan for causing systemic change to your class.

2. Construct a Historical Narrative

Create an illustrated timeline, exhibit, documentary, website, or textbook chapter about the Montgomery bus boycott. Make use of the documents and articles from the unit to create your narrative. The Montgomery bus boycott Chronology and King Encyclopedia from the King Institute website will also be useful. Be sure to cite your sources.

3. Creating a Document Based Question

To create a sample Document-Based Question, you may use documents from this unit or other online archives such as the National Archives and Record Administration. Create an essay question which will elicit knowledge of the period and will require analysis of the documents. The essential question, sub-questions, or discussion questions are a good place to start. Be sure that the documents you provide to the students include various viewpoints and historical background useful for answering the essay question.

You may want to use the following question:

“Although King played a crucial role in transforming a local boycott into a social justice movement of international significance, he was himself transformed by a movement he did not initiate.”

Do you agree with the above statement by historian Clayborne Carson? Support your answer with evidence.

4. Writing a Film Critique:

Watch the *Eyes on the Prize* segment on the Montgomery bus boycott. Does the documentary offer an accurate account of the Montgomery bus boycott, given what you know from the documents in this unit? Answer this question in the form of a newspaper film review. Support your opinions with specific examples.

Handout A: Document Analysis Worksheet

Title of Document: _____ Type of Document: _____

Author(s): _____ Intended Audience: _____

Date of Document: __/__/__ Topic(s) addressed in document: _____

**Answer the following questions in complete sentences.
Each question has more than one correct answer.**

1. What is the author's purpose in creating this document? Provide two quotes from the document to support your answer.

2. List three relevant facts from the document about the event or issue.

3. To what extent does the document reflect the values and experiences of the historical period and/or its author?

4. Write two questions, directed to the author, that are left unanswered by the document.

5. How do the topics addressed in this document relate to current social/political issues?

Handout B: Jo Ann Robinson Letter to Mayor Gayle, Rosa Parks' Arrest Record, Parks' Photo, and Boycott Handbill

*Complaint
file*

Herriot St.
Montgomery, Ala.
May 21, 1954

Copy of the letter sent to Mayor Gayle

Honorable Mayor W. A. Gayle
City Hall
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Sir:

The Women's Political Council is very grateful to you and the City Commissioners for the hearing you allowed our representatives during the month of March, 1954, when the "city-bus-fare-increase case" was being reviewed. There were several things the Council asked for:

1. A city law that would make it possible for Negroes to sit from back toward front, and whites from front toward back until all the seats are taken;
2. That Negroes not be asked or forced to pay fare at front and go to the rear of the bus to enter;
3. That busses stop at every corner in residential sections occupied by Negroes as they do in communities where whites reside.

We are happy to report that busses have begun stopping at more corners now in some sections where Negroes live than previously. However, the same practices in seating and boarding the bus continue.

Mayor Gayle, three-fourths of the riders of these public conveyances are Negroes. If Negroes did not patronize them, they could not possibly operate.

More and more of our people are already arranging with neighbors and friends to ride to keep from being insulted and humiliated by bus drivers.

There has been talk from twenty-five or more local organizations of planning a city-wide boycott of busses. We, sir, do not feel that forceful measures are necessary in bargaining for a convenience which is right for all bus passengers. We, the Council, believe that when this matter has been put before you and the Commissioners, that agreeable terms can be met in a quiet and ~~xxx~~ unostentatious manner to the satisfaction of all concerned.

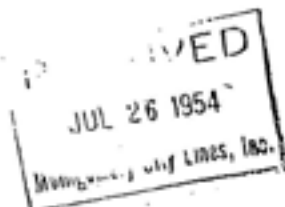
Many of our Southern cities in neighboring states have practiced the policies we seek without incident whatsoever. Atlanta, Macon and Savannah in Georgia have done this for years. Even Mobile, in our own state, does this and all the passengers are satisfied.

Please consider this plan, and if possible, act favorably upon it, for even now plans are being made to ride less, or not at all, on our busses. We do not want this.

Respectfully yours,

The Women's Political Council

Jo Ann Robinson
Jo Ann Robinson, President



Misc.

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CITY OF MONTGOMERY

Date 12-1-55 19

Complainant J.F. Blake (wm)

Address 27 No. Lewis St. Phone No.

Offense Misc. Reported By Same as above

Address Phone No.

Date and Time Offense Committed 12-1-55 6:06 pm

Place of Occurrence In Front of Empire Theatre (On Montgomery Street)

Person or Property Attacked

How Attacked

Person Wanted

Value of Property Stolen Value Recovered

Details of Complaint (list, describe and give value of property stolen)

We received a call upon arrival the bus operator said he had a colored female sitting in the white section of the bus, and would not move back.

We (Day & Nixon) also saw her.

The bus operator signed a warrant for her. Rosa Parks, (cf) 634 Cleveland Court.

Rosa Parks (cf) was charged with chapter 6 section 11 of the Montgomery City Code.

Warrant #11254

THIS OFFENSE IS DECLARED:
UNFOUNDED ☐
CLEARED BY ARREST ☐
EXCEPTIONALLY CLEARED ☐
INACTIVE (NOT CLEARED) ☐

Officers

J. B. Day
D. W. Nixon

Division Patrol

Time 1:10

POLICE DEPARTMENT

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

Date of Arrest 12-1-55

Arrested by Day + Mison

Charges Resisting a law officer & breaking
Chapter 6 Sec. 11 of City Code

Residence 634 Cleveland Court
Montgomery

Disposition #10 + out (app)

Place of Birth Tuskegee, Ala.

Nationality Negro

Date of Birth Feb. 4, 1913

Age 42 Height 5' Feet 3 Inches

Weight 140 Eyes Brown

Complexion Black

Hair Black

Build Med.

Scars and Marks None

Employed by Montgomery Fair

Occupation alteration shop

Relatives Husband, R. A. Parks
634 Cleveland Court

Remarks:

Case No. 44464

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 5--IN BUS SEGREGATION DISPUTE--Rosa Parks, who was fined \$10 and costs in Police Court today for violating Montgomery's segregation ordinance for city buses, makes bond for appeal to Circuit Court. Signing the bond were E.D. Nixon (center), former state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Atty. Fred Gray. The city buses will be attacked as unconstitutional.

AP/Wide World Photos



The Boycott Handbill: The flyer below was distributed after Rosa Park Parks' arrest

This was found stuck to a sign in rear of W. P. Buss' car. I should check this out and get it out of there

This is for Monday, December 5, 1955

Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown into jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down.

It is the second time since the Claudette Colbert case that a Negro woman has been arrested for the same thing. This has to be stopped.

Negroes have rights, too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother.

This woman's case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere, on Monday.

You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus.

You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off of all buses.

Keep this of dangerous from

Handout C: Claudette Colvin's Arrest Record

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CITY OF MONTGOMERY

Date 3/2/55-Wednesday 19

Complainant Robert Clare, white male
Address Montgomery City Lines Bus Inc. Phone No. 7321
Offense Ch. 6, Sec. 11 Reported By Above
Address _____ Phone No. _____
Date and Time Offense Committed 3/2/55-3:41 P.M.
Place of Occurrence Bibb and Commerce St's
Person or Property Attacked See Below
How Attacked _____
Person Wanted _____
Value of Property Stolen _____ Value Recovered _____

Details of Complaint (list, describe and give value of property stolen)

We received a call at Bibb and Commerce St's., in regards to seeing
a bus driver of the Highland Gardens Bus. When we arrived there we were
informed by the driver of the Highland Gardens Bus that there were two
colored ~~males~~ females sitting opposite two white females, that refused to
move back with the rest of the colored. These colored were sitting forward,
left side, of the rear entrance. An unidentified colored female that was
sitting in this disputed seat moved to the rear when we asked her to, but
Claudette Colvin, age 15, colored female, refused. We then informed Clau-
dette that she was under arrest. She struggled off the bus and all the way
to the police car. After we got her in the police car she kicked and scratch
me on the hand, also kicked me in the stomach. (Ward) Witnesses: Mr. Collins

Cameron, 623 W. Shawnee Dr., (WM) Mr. Glen N. Seabury, 1st Nat. Bank Bld'g.,
Ph. 2-5911, (WM)

THIS OFFENSE IS DECLARED:

UNFOUNDED ☐
CLEARED BY ARREST ☐
EXCEPTIONALLY CLEARED ☐
INACTIVE (NOT CLEARED) ☐

Officers Paul Headley-T. J. Ward

Division Patrol Time 5:25 P.M.

1036-Devik-3-54

POLICE DEPARTMENT

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

Date of Arrest 3-2-58-
Charges A+B, D.C. Ch6 Sec 11 CF.

Arrested by Ward - Headley
Residence 622 E. Dixie Drive

Disposition juvenile C-5.

Place of Birth Birmingham, Ala

Nationality negro

Date of Birth Sept 5, 1939

Age 15 Height Feet Inches

Weight 115 Eyes Brown

Complexion Dark

Hair Black

Build med

Scars and Marks none

Employed by

Occupation School

Relatives Mary Ann Calvin
622 E. Dixie Dr

Info. received once from Mrs. Deco of J.L. John Mathews C.I.
Remarks: Tried in Juvenile Court by Judge Hill. Tried as a Delinquent
and placed on probation as a Ward of the State, pending good
behavior. Appealed to Circuit Court 3-28-56.
Circuit Court send the case back to Juvenile Court to stand
as Judge Hill ruled.

J.R. Mady, Sgt. 5-10-56
Rec'd by Bureau

Handout D: Excerpt from *Freedom's Children* by Ellen Levine

The following is from an interview with Claudette Colvin after the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

At my school, the reason we got into it was because a boy named Jeremiah Reeves was arrested for supposedly raping a white woman, which he did not do. The authorities kept him in jail until he came of age, and then they electrocuted him. He was from Booker T. Washington, my school. He was the drummer for the school band. His father was a delivery man at the same store that Rosa Parks worked at. I was in the ninth grade when it happened. And that anger is still in me from seeing him being held as a minor until he came of age.

That was the first time I heard talk about the NAACP. I thought it was just a small organization. I didn't know it was nationwide. I heard about it through the teachers. Some people said that the reason they convicted Jeremiah was to prove to the NAACP that they couldn't take over the South. Our school would take up collections for the NAACP, and we'd have movies for Jeremiah to try and help pay for good lawyers for him. Our rebellion and anger came with Jeremiah Reeves....

On March 2, 1955, I got on the bus in front of Dexter Avenue Church. I went to the middle. No white people were on the bus at that time. It was mostly schoolchildren. I wasn't thinking about anything in particular. I think I had just finished eating a candy bar. Then the bus began to fill up. White people got on and began to stare at me. The bus motorman asked me to get up. A colored lady got on, and she was pregnant. I was sitting next to the window. The seat next to me was the only seat unoccupied. She didn't realize what was going on. She didn't know that the bus driver had asked me to get up. She just saw the empty seat and sat next to me. A white lady was sitting across the aisle from me, and it was against the law for you to sit in the same aisle with a white person.

The bus driver looked back through the rearview mirror and again told me to get up. I didn't. I knew he was talking to me. He said, "Hey, get up." I didn't say anything...The white people were complaining. The driver stopped the bus and said, "I'm going to call the cops." First a traffic patrolman came on the bus and he asked, "Are any of you gentleman enough to get up and give this pregnant lady your seat?" There were two black men in the back of the bus who were sanitation workers. They got up, and the pregnant lady went and sat in the back. That left me still sitting by the window.

I remained there, and the traffic patrolman said, "Aren't you going to get up?"

I said, "No. I don't have to get up. I paid my fare, so I do not have to get up. It's my constitutional right to sit here just as much as that lady. It's my constitutional right!" The words just came to my mind. That history teacher and my literature teacher, they were just pricking our minds. In literature she was an unorthodox teacher. She didn't teach us regular literature...She taught us the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Articles of Confederation.

I just kept talking and I never stopped. My mother used to say, "She can out-talk 40 lawyers." And I just kept blabbing things out and I never stopped. That was worse than stealing, you know, talking back to a white person.

The police knocked my books down. One took one wrist, the other grabbed the other, and they were pulling me off the bus, just like you see on the TV now. I was really struggling. They put me in the car...and they took me to City Hall. I remember one of the men saying, "What happened to this black bitch? This is a black whore." He said, "Take her to Atmore [state prison] and get rid of her."

Other kids got home and told Mama what happened. She already knew how hurt I was about Jeremiah Reeves. She knew this wasn't a one-day thing.

We had a saying that black people would be free in a hundred years. You know, from 1863 to 1963. But no one wanted to do anything about it individually, or get together and say, "No more. I'm hurting, and I don't like this." The funny thing was they all wanted change, but they didn't know how to go about it.

I heard about Rosa Parks' arrest through a college friend, and that there was going to be a boycott because they arrested Rosa Parks. I was glad...I didn't feel bad that all the talk was about Rosa Parks.... We had the same ideas, the same thoughts.

My sister Mary once mentioned something about Rosa Parks. She said, "They never mention you. One day someone might mention you. They'll go through the court files and want to know who was Claudette Colvin."

I'm not sorry I did it. I'm glad I did it. The revolution was there and the direction it was going in. My generation was angry. And people just wanted a change. They just wanted a change.

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Handout E: Based on Montgomery Improvement Association minutes from 30 January 1956

This dramatic reading is based on the actual minutes of the Montgomery Improvement Association on 30 January 1956. The role of the narrator was created to provide context and historical background.

Date: 30 January 1956
Time: 11:00am -2:35 pm
Observed by: Donald T. Ferron
Presiding: Rev. M.L. King

Executive Board Meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association

Narrator: This meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association was called because there are important issues to discuss regarding a possible negotiation to end the boycott. Rosa Parks was arrested approximately seven weeks ago, and the black citizens of Montgomery have sustained a bus boycott. The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was formed on 5 December 1955 by black ministers and community leaders in Montgomery and elected Martin Luther King, Jr., as President.

Rev. Alford: I've been pondering over a proposal which was made to Rev. Binion by some of his "white friends" some weeks back. The Executive Board rejected it then, but I feel it's worthy of our studying it. I think we should go back and discuss their proposal.

Rev. Binion: Mr. Nacrosie, my "white friend," explained the proposal to me before we three ministers had been "hoodwinked" into a "compromise." Under this proposal, the City has decided that if Negroes will give Whites the first two seats on the Jackson, Day, and Cleveland Street routes, and also give the first six seats to Whites on the rest of the routes, then an agreement can be reached.

Narrator: For background information, the Jackson, Day, and Cleveland Street routes were predominantly routes used by African-Americans.

Mr. E.D. Nixon: Did the proposal of two seats mean the long seat plus the next two seats?

Rev. Binion: I don't know.

Mr. Nixon: If you talk about the first two seats, then that's the same as before. We would be returning to the same conditions, and if we accept it, we are going to run into trouble with the people who have been riding the bus. If that's what you're going to do, I don't want to be here when you tell the people.

Mr. White: This morning was the test. The rain was pouring, and they still walked. If they don't want to go back, I don't see why we should decide otherwise. Folks just made too much sacrifice. I hold that we should go on to the end. I think we should stay just where we're at.

Rev. King: I've seen along the way where some of the ministers are getting weary. I will not say names. If you have that impression that we should go back to the bus under the same conditions, we won't ostracize you. We should iron it out here (at executive meetings) and show where we shouldn't go back.

Rev. Alford: There's a time in the life of any crisis when you ought to be reasonable; the parties concerned ought to "give and take." If we can get two out of the three demands, I think we ought to accept. We have no protection to give these people. Our wives and daughters are not out there. We can arrive at some type of agreement that is pleasing even to us.

Rev. King: From my limited contact, if we went tonight and asked the people to get back on the bus, we would be ostracized. They wouldn't get back on. We shouldn't give people the illusion that there are no sacrifices involved, that it can be ended soon. My intimidations are a small price to pay if victory can be won. We shouldn't make the illusion that they won't have to walk. I believe, to the bottom of my heart, that the majority of Negroes would ostracize us. They are willing to walk.

(changing the subject) I think this is a basic point. Attorney Gray went to New York last week for a few days to discuss this whole problem with Thurgood Marshall and another lawyer.

Attorney Gray has drawn up two suits: one demanding that the segregation law of the city is null and void because it is unconstitutional; in the process of litigation, all intimidation would be outlawed. This joint suit is to be filed in the Federal Court this afternoon or tomorrow. We are in the process of drawing up a list of plaintiffs (those who can stand up under intimidation and who are not susceptible to losing their jobs). So far we have Miss Calving [Colvin], Miss Smith, Mrs. Reese, Mrs. Hamilton, and Mrs. McDonald. This suit on the City of Montgomery would go directly to the Federal Courts, but it would be filed in the name of the NAACP. What are we to do for the people in the process of litigation? The court has 20 days to answer. I don't know how long the litigation would take.

Mr. Saye: I have two points. The first is the issue on the ultimatum that gives a time limit to the Commission stating our position to see what they would do. The second [point] is that we need to do that [in order] to have a point from which to prepare people to return to the buses. We need to train people to go back to the bus. We would disgrace ourselves before the world if we give up now.

Mr. Nixon: Hold people off the bus for the end of 20 days, instructing them about going back to the bus. At least for the first 20 days from tomorrow, keep them off the bus.

Rev. King: It is very important that misinformation does not leak out about the NAACP and the court action until it is printed in the newspaper. We want to surprise the whites. Don't mention the 20 days. Some liberal whites say that because of the stigma that has been put on the NAACP this part should not be mentioned because of its effect on public sentiment. We should use the legal structure of the NAACP, but refer to the participants as "legal citizenry."

Mr. Saye: Because we can't settle this within the framework of the [local] law, we should state publicly that we're taking it to the Federal Court.

Rev. King: By the way, I've found out that the Negro lady who was beat up by a Negro man a few days ago is the cook for the mayor. She attends the mass meetings and tells the mayor what happened the next morning. We also found out that [Police Commissioner] Sellers let three Negro prisoners attend the mass meetings so that they can tell him what has happened.

Attorney Gray: About [the] selection of plaintiff: I think it's good strategy to have at least one minister, people of different ages, and people with different grievances. It's not good strategy to have Rev. King because he's too much in the 'limelight.'

Rev. King: I think it's very important in throwing sentiment our way if we have a minister as a plaintiff. Who (of 25 present) will volunteer? I know of many in the meeting who have been fired and/or otherwise intimidated.

Narrator: No one volunteered. Rev. King re-iterated their stand on the philosophy/policy of non-violence.

Rev. King: [Let us go] on record not to come to the rescue of people arrested for carrying concealed weapons. [Now], about lawyer fees...

Attorney Gray: The branch NAACP made an agreement with me about a figure for my work for the Mrs. Parks' case. The retaining fee, which is \$50 per week for each lawyer, covers anything that comes up other than court cases.

Rev. King: I would ask this question if A. H. Langford were here: Is it necessary to retain two lawyers?

Attorney Gray: I'll leave while you discuss it. (departs the room)

Mr. Saye: I never did see the wisdom of hiring two lawyers.

Narrator: It was agreed that the lawyers be paid \$500 (the figure that the two attorneys had submitted) for their work from December 11 to January 4. It was also agreed to retain the two lawyers from that time forward at \$50 per week each until the case was filed in Federal Court. The attorneys would then be paid for a "general fee" which would be added to that fee paid by the NAACP branch. The money would come from collections made at meetings. Each lawyer was asked to submit a bill for "services rendered".

The meeting ended with prayer.

Handout F: King Encyclopedia essay on the Philosophy of Nonviolence

Dismissing the use of violence as “both impractical and immoral,” Martin Luther King, Jr. endorsed nonviolent resistance as “the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.”

First introduced to the concept when he read Henry David Thoreau’s Essay on Civil Disobedience as a freshman at Morehouse College, King was fascinated by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system. While studying at Crozer Theological Seminary, he continued to intellectually explore the philosophy of nonviolence but had doubts about its potential as an instrument for social change.

In 1950 King traveled to Philadelphia to hear a talk given by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University. Dr. Johnson had just returned from India and spoke of the life and teachings of Mohandas Gandhi. King was inspired by what he heard, and after reading several books on Gandhi’s life and works, his skepticism concerning the power of love and nonviolence diminished.

It was the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956, however, that would demonstrate to King the power of nonviolent resistance as a tactical weapon against racial discrimination. With guidance from black pacifist Bayard Rustin, King personally embraced Gandhian principles and chose not to use armed bodyguards despite threats on his life. King recalled, “Living through the actual experience of the protest, nonviolence became more than a method to which I gave intellectual assent; it became a commitment to a way of life. Many issues I had not cleared up intellectually concerning nonviolence were now solved in the sphere of practical action.”

The experience in Montgomery enabled King to merge the ideas of Gandhi with Christian theology. He recalled, “. . . my mind, consciously or unconsciously, was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. This principle became the guiding light of our movement. Christ furnished the spirit and motivation while Gandhi furnished the method.” (King would later travel to India to deepen his understanding of Gandhian principles.)

In a February 1957 article in *Christian Century*, King summarized the basis of nonviolent direct action in the struggle for civil rights:

1) This is not a method for cowards; it does resist. The nonviolent resister is just as strongly opposed to the evil against which he protests as is the person who uses violence. His method is passive or nonaggressive in the sense that he is not physically aggressive toward his opponent. But his mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade the opponent that he is mistaken. This method is passive physically but strongly active spiritually; it is nonaggressive physically but dynamically aggressive spiritually.

2) Nonviolent resistance does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding. The nonviolent resister must often express his protest through noncooperation or boycotts, but he realizes that noncooperation and boycotts are not ends themselves; they are merely means to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.

3) This method is that the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who are caught in those forces. It is evil we are seeking to defeat, not the persons victimized by evil. Those of us who struggle against racial injustice must come to see that the basic tension is not between races. As I like to say to the people in Montgomery, Alabama: “The tension in this city is not between white people and Negro people. The tension is at bottom between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory it will be a victory not merely for 50,000 Negroes, but a victory for justice and the forces of light. We are out to defeat injustice and not white persons who may happen to be unjust.”

4) Nonviolent resistance avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. At the center of nonviolence stands the principle of love. In struggling for human dignity, the oppressed people of the world must not allow themselves to become bitter or indulge in hate campaigns. To retaliate with hate and bitterness would do nothing but intensify the hate in the world. Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate. This can be done only by projecting the ethics of love to the center of our lives.

Handout F: Statement on the End of the Boycott

20 December 1956 [Montgomery, Ala.] From *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* edited by Clayborne Carson.

Dr. King reads a prepared statement to about 2,500 persons attending mass meetings at Holt Street and First Baptist churches. He urges "the Negro citizens of Montgomery to return to the buses tomorrow morning on a non-segregated basis." An audience question about segregated benches downtown prompted King to acknowledge that the Supreme Court ruling applied only on city buses. A Birmingham News account of the meetings reported that he admitted, "It is true we got more out of this (boycott) than we went in for. We started out to get modified segregation (on buses) but we got total integration." At six a.m. the following morning, King joined E. D. Nixon, Ralph Abernathy, and Glenn Smiley on one of the first integrated buses. During the initial day of desegregated bus seating, there were only a few instances of verbal abuse and occasional violence. The Montgomery Advertiser reported: "The calm but cautious acceptance of this significant change in Montgomery's way of life came without any major disturbances."

For more than twelve months now, we, the Negro citizens of Montgomery, have been engaged in a non-violent protest against injustices and indignities experienced on city buses. We came to see that, in the long run, it is more honorable to walk in dignity than ride in humiliation. So, in a quiet dignified manner, we decided to substitute tired feet for tired souls, and walk the streets of Montgomery until the sagging walls of injustice had been crushed by the battering rams of surging justice.

Often our movement has been referred to as a boycott movement. The word boycott, however, does not adequately describe the true spirit of our movement. The word boycott is suggestive of merely an economic squeeze devoid of any positive value. We have never allowed ourselves to get bogged in the negative; we have always sought to accentuate the positive. Our aim has never been to put the bus company out of business, but rather to put justice in business.

These twelve months have not at all been easy. Our feet have often been tired. We have struggled against tremendous odds to maintain alternative transportation. There have been moments when roaring waters of disappointment poured upon us in staggering torrents. We can remember days when unfavorable court decisions came upon us like tidal waves, leaving us treading in the deep and confused waters of despair. But amid all of this we have kept going with the faith that as we struggle, God struggles with us, and that the arc of the moral universe, although long, is bending toward justice. We have lived under the agony and darkness of Good Friday with the conviction that one day the heightening glow of Easter would emerge on the horizon. We have seen truth crucified and goodness buried, but we have kept going with the conviction that truth crushed to earth will rise again.

Now our faith seems to be vindicated. This morning the long awaited mandate from the United States Supreme Court concerning bus segregation came to Montgomery. This mandate expresses in terms that are crystal clear that segregation in public transportation is both legally and sociologically invalid. In the light of this mandate and the unanimous vote rendered by the Montgomery Improvement Association about a month ago, the year old protest against city busses is officially called off, and the Negro citizens of Montgomery are urged to return to the buses tomorrow morning on a non-segregated basis.

I cannot close without giving just a word of caution. Our experience and growth during this past year of united non-violent protest has been of such that we cannot be satisfied with a court "victory" over our white brothers. We must respond to the decision with an understanding of those who have oppressed us and with an appreciation of the new adjustments that the court order poses for them. We must be able to face up honestly to our own shortcomings. We must act in such a way as to make possible a coming together of white people and colored people on the basis of a real harmony of interests and understanding. We seek an integration based on mutual respect.

This is the time that we must evince calm dignity and wise restraint. Emotions must not run wild. Violence must not come from any of us, for if we become victimized with violent intents, we will have walked in vain, and our twelve months of glorious dignity will be transformed into an eve of gloomy catastrophe. As we go back to the buses, let us be loving enough to turn an enemy into a friend. We must now move from protest to reconciliation. It is my firm conviction that God is working in Montgomery. Let all men of goodwill, both Negro and white, continue to work with Him. With this dedication we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man to the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice.

Handout H: Integrated Bus Suggestions

19 December 1956 [Montgomery, Ala.] From the Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr. edited by Clayborne Carson.

On 17 December 1956 the Supreme Court rejected city and state appeals of Browder v. Gayle and ordered Montgomery's buses desegregated. Three days later, when the court order arrived by mail, the MIA held two mass meetings to formally call the bus boycott to an end and prepare for the next day when the protesters returned to the buses. After several weeks of nonviolent training sessions, Dr. King and Glenn Smiley prepared these guidelines for mass distribution.

This is a historic week because segregation on buses has now been declared unconstitutional. Within a few days, the Supreme Court Mandate will reach Montgomery and you will be re-boarding integrated buses. This places upon us all a tremendous responsibility of maintaining, in face of what could be some unpleasantness, a calm and loving dignity befitting good citizens and members of our Race. If there is violence in word or deed, it must not be our people who commit it.

For your help and convenience, the following suggestions are made. Will you read, study and memorize them so that our non-violent determination may not be endangered? First, some general suggestions:

1. Not all white people are opposed to integrated buses. Accept goodwill on the part of many.
2. The whole bus is now for the use of all people. Take a vacant seat.
3. Pray for guidance and commit yourself to complete non-violence in word and action as you enter the bus.
4. Demonstrate the calm dignity of our Montgomery people in your actions.
5. In all things observe ordinary rules of courtesy and good behavior.
6. Remember that this is not a victory for Negroes alone, but for all Montgomery and the South. Do not boast! Do not brag!
7. Be quiet but friendly; proud, but not arrogant; joyous, but not boisterous.
8. Be loving enough to absorb evil, and understanding enough to turn an enemy into a friend.

NOW FOR SOME SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS:

1. The bus driver is in charge of the bus and has been instructed to obey the law. Assume that he will cooperate in helping you occupy any vacant seat.
 2. Do not deliberately sit by a white person, unless there is no other seat.
 3. In sitting down by a person, white or colored, say "May I" or "Pardon me" as you sit. This is a common courtesy.
 4. If cursed, do not curse back. If pushed, do not push back. If struck, do not strike back, but evidence love and goodwill at all times.
 5. In case of an incident, talk as little as possible, and always in a quiet tone. Do not get up from your seat! Report all serious incidents to the bus driver.
 6. For the first few days, try to get on the bus with a friend in whose non-violence you have confidence. You can uphold one another by a glance or a prayer.
 7. If another person is being molested, do not arise to go to his defense, but pray for the oppressor and use moral and spiritual force to carry on the struggle for justice.
 8. According to your own ability and personality, do not be afraid to experiment with new and creative techniques for achieving reconciliation and social change.
 9. If you feel you cannot take it, walk for another week or two. We have confidence in our people.
- GOD BLESS YOU ALL.

THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION
THE REV. M. L. KING, JR., PRESIDENT
THE REV. W. J. POWELL, SECRETARY

Observing Human Rights Day

By Andrea McEvoy Spero and Michelle Yee



Introduction

Since 1950, Human Rights Day has been celebrated globally on December 10 of each year. The occasion commemorates the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948. As an annual clarion call, Human Rights Day serves to remind all global citizens of the ongoing work and vigilance that is needed to ensure the realization of human rights codified in the UDHR. The 60th Anniversary of the adoption of the UDHR was celebrated across the globe on December 10, 2008. Notwithstanding that the UDHR is more than half a century old, still there are many human rights abuses and violations.

The U.S. Civil Rights Movement inspired many other movements for peace and social justice throughout the world, including the historical international campaign to end apartheid in South Africa. In this lesson students will study the American Committee on Africa as an example of grassroots organizing in the United States against South African apartheid.

The following lesson aims to familiarize students with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the human rights principles codified in each of its articles. The lesson aspires to help students realize that the UDHR is a “living” document -- rather than an archival document-- which is as applicable today for monitoring and acting upon human rights violations as it was more than fifty years ago when it was created. To this end, students will participate in an activity that focuses upon the concerted actions that Americans took to end apartheid in South Africa. They will then engage in a final activity, focusing upon Human Rights Day, to increase their awareness of current human rights issues that need attention and rectification.

Grades: 9-12

CA State Standards: 10.1, 10.9, 10.10, 11.8, 11.9, 11.10, 12.3, 12.4

Essential Question: What responsibility do we have regarding violations of human rights in other countries? When we fail to take action, do we make human rights violations possible? Are we somehow responsible for these violations by our inaction?

Sub Questions:

- What was apartheid? Which human rights did it violate according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?
- Why were civil rights leaders in the United States concerned with the human rights violations of apartheid in South Africa?
- What actions did citizens of the United States take to end apartheid?
- What are examples of current international human rights violations that U.S. organizations and citizens are protesting? Do they use similar methods of protest as the American Committee on Africa used in the 1950s and 1960s? What new methods are being used today?
- How is your community commemorating Human Rights Day, December 10? What type of celebration or commemoration would you suggest and why?

Unit Parts:

1. Apartheid and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
2. Action Against Apartheid
3. December 10, Human Rights Day

Part One:

Apartheid and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Organize students into groups of two to three. Share with students **Handout A: Observing Human Rights Day**. Ask them to first scan the document in order to answer the following questions:
 - What type of document is this?
 - Who is the author of the document?
 - When was the document created?
 - Who is the intended audience?
 - What is the purpose of the document?
2. **Classroom Activity:** Pass out a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). If students are not familiar with the UDHR, provide background information and review the articles. (Information on the UDHR and copies of the document are available at <http://www.un.org/Pubs/CyberSchoolBus/>.) Now ask students to analyze each section of the flyer more closely. Ask students to focus on two specific sections of the document. The first begins with "Apartheid means" and the second begins with "In 1957, an unprecedented Declaration of Conscience..." Ask students to create a list of the UDHR articles which were violated under South African Apartheid.
3. **Extension Activity:** Ask students to read the following King Encyclopedia entries, which can be found at the King Institute's website: *American Committee on Africa (ACOA)*, *Albert Lutuli (listed as Lutuli, Albert)*, and *Martin Luther King, Jr. (listed as King, Martin Luther, Jr.)*

Part Two:

Action Against Apartheid

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Classroom Activity:** Using **Handout A: Observing Human Rights Day**, ask students to focus on the two sections that begin with "We can Act" and "We therefore ask all men of good will to take Action Against Apartheid." Ask students to answer the following questions:
 - What actions did the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) want individuals to take?
 - Do you think these actions are effective? Why or why not?
 - Why was a boycott or economic sanctions a chief strategy of the American Committee on Africa?

2. **Classroom Activity:** Place students in pairs. Pass out **Handout B: American Committee on Africa's Declaration of Conscience**. Ask students to answer the following questions:
 - What type of document is this?
 - Who is the author of the document?
 - When was the document created?
 - Who is the intended audience?
 - What is the purpose of the document?
3. **Classroom Activity:** Ask students to read the document carefully and choose one quote from the document that helps to answer each of the following questions:
 - Why were civil rights leaders in the United States concerned with the human rights violations of apartheid in South Africa?
 - King stated in his Letter from a Birmingham Jail: "A threat to justice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." How is this idea represented in the document?
4. **Extension Activity:** The documentary film *Have you Heard from Johannesburg? Apartheid and the Club of the West* (Clarity Films/California Newsreel, 2006) traces the rise of the grassroots movement in the United States against apartheid during the 1980's. The national campaign of civil disobedience, campus protest, and legislative action was inspired by the civil rights activism of the 1950s and 1960s. Ask the students to indicate the ways the activism of the 1950s has changed as compared to activism today. In what ways has it stayed the same?
5. **Assignment:** Ask students to examine the following quote from **Handout A**: "Let us recognize that each of us, of whatever race, from whatever nation, makes apartheid possible as long as we fail to take action against it." Ask students to replace "apartheid" with "human rights violations." Do students agree or disagree with the statement and why? They may use the lesson's documents, the quotes in **Handout C** or the film to support their answer.

Part Three:

December 10, Human Rights Day

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Ask students to research local, national or international events held on Human Rights Day and report back to the class. What types of events are held? Which human rights issues are being addressed? Are the events in the form of protests, celebrations or commemorations?
2. **Classroom Activity:** In groups of three to four, ask students to identify a human rights issue that they feel requires attention. Organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch provide a summary of national and international issues. Using the document in **Handout A: Observing Human Rights Day**, ask students to create a flyer for a "Call for Action." The flyer must include a description of the issue, relevant articles from the UDHR which are in violation, and at least three actions for individuals to take to help remedy the issue. Remind students that the flyer must be both informative and visually interesting in order to be effective.
3. **Extension Activity:** Ask students to create a "Human Rights Day Event" at your school. Choose from one of the issues that were identified by students. Ask students to create activities at school to inform the public about the issue and that also involve some form of pragmatic action.

OBSERVE
HUMAN RIGHTS DAY
DECEMBER 10
by answering this
APPEAL
for
ACTION
AGAINST
APARTHEID

BY THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD
SOUTH AFRICA CAN BE SAVED

TRANSLATED INTO
PRINCIPLED
ACTION

APARTHEID

MEANS:

that the average African expects
to live till he is 45 years old
(the average white till he is 55)

that 65 per cent of Africans
cannot read or write
(illiteracy is universal among whites)

that one third of Africans entering
hospitals die of African malnutrition
(the average white lives 30 years
free-supporting nation)

that one African baby in three
dies before he is 5 years old
(infant mortality for white
South Africans is lower than
in the United States)

that non-whites may not
work, live, or travel where
they please... with time
passing... the more the
whites... the more the
means of apartheid
which con-
serve them.

IN SHORT:

APARTHEID
MEANS THE
POLITICAL, SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC
DOMINATION OF
NEARLY 12 MILLION
NON-WHITES BY
3 MILLION
WHITES.

621123-002

IN 1957, an unprecedented Declaration of Conscience was issued by more than 100 leaders from every continent. That Declaration was an appeal to South Africa to bring its policies into line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Declaration was a good start in mobilizing world sentiment to back those in South Africa who acted for equality. The non-whites took heart in learning that they were not alone. And many white supremacists learned for the first time how isolated they were.

MEASURES OF DESPERATION

Subsequent to the Declaration, the South African Government took the following measures:

RAN the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, the principal protest organizations, and jailed their leaders;

COERCED the press into strict pro-government censorship and made it almost impossible for new, anti-apartheid publications to exist;

ESTABLISHED an arms industry... more than tripled the military budget... encouraged the distribution of small arms to the white population... enlarged the army... created an extensive white civilian militia;

ACTIVATED total physical race separation by establishing the first "bantustans" in the Transkei—with the aid of emergency police regulations;

LEGALLY DEFINED protest against apartheid as an act of "sabotage"—an offense ultimately punishable by death;

PERPETUATED its contempt through terrorism and violence:

- Human Rights Day (December 16), 1960, 12 South West Africans killed at Windhoek and 40 wounded as they defied police...
- March 21, 1960, 71 Africans killed and 148 wounded at Sharpeville by police...
- Before and during the two-year "emergency" in the Transkei, 51 Africans killed by police, thousands arrested and imprisoned without trial.

THE CHOICE:

The desperate tensions can lead to two possible alternatives:

Solution 1

Intensified persecution may lead to violence and armed rebellion once it is clear that peaceful adjustments are no longer possible. As the persecution has increased by the day, a group upon all other racial groups, bantustan violence would take the form of a racial war. This "solution" may be inevitable. But even racial extermination will destroy the potential for interracial unity in South Africa and elsewhere.

Therefore, we ask for your action to make the following possible:

Solution 2

"Nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance," said Chief Albert J. Lutuli at Oslo. So there exists another alternative—and the only solution which represents safety—transition to a society based upon equality for all without regard to color.

Any solution founded on justice is sustainable until the Government of South Africa is forced by pressure, both internal and external, to come to terms with the demands of the non-white majority.

The Apartheid Republic is a reality today not because the peoples and governments of the World have been unwilling to place her in quarantine.



IN 1957, an unprecedented Declaration of Conscience was issued by more than 100 leaders from every continent. That Declaration was an appeal to South Africa to bring its policies into line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

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Subsequent to the Declaration, the South African Government took the following measures:

- * **BANNED** the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, the principal protest organizations, and jailed their leaders;
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- * **ESTABLISHED** an arms industry... more than tripled the military budget... distributed small arms to the white population... enlarged the army... created an extensive white civilian militia;
- * **ACTIVATED** total physical race separation by establishing the first "bantustans" in the Transkei—with the aid of emergency police regulations;
- * **LEGALLY DEFINED** protest against apartheid as an act of "sabotage"—an offense ultimately punishable by death;
- * **PERPETUATED** its control through terrorism and violence:
 - Human Rights Day (December 10), 1960, 12 South West Africans killed at Windhoek and 40 wounded as they fled police...
 - March 21, 1960, 72 Africans killed and 188 wounded at Sharpeville by police...
 - Before and during the two-year "emergency" in the Transkei, 15 Africans killed by police, thousands arrested and imprisoned without trial.

THE CHOICE:

The deepening tensions can lead to two possible alternatives:

Solution 1

Intensified persecution may lead to violence and armed rebellion even if it is clear that peaceful adjustments are no longer possible. As the persecution has been inflamed by one racial group upon all other racial groups, large-scale violence would take the form of a racial war. This "solution" may be workable, but mass racial extermination will destroy the potential for interracial unity in South Africa and elsewhere.

Therefore, we ask for your action to make the following possible:

Solution 2

"Nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance," said Chief Albert J. Lutuli at Quth. So there exists another alternative—and the only solution which represents sanity—transition to a society based upon equality for all without regard to color. Any solution founded on justice is unsustainable until the Government of South Africa is forced by pressures, both internal and external, to come to terms with the demands of the non-white majority.

The Apartheid Republic is a reality today only because the peoples and governments of the World have been unwilling to place her in quarantine.

WE CAN ACT

In spite of South Africa's draconian racial laws, resistance remains strong. Boycotts, strikes and demonstrations continue. The famous Treason Trials, in which the Government attempted to convict leaders of all races of "treason" are a measure of the fear at the heart of the Government. Yet the 4-year trial ended in acquittal for all defendants.

The courage and determination of opposition forces in South Africa must be supported by us if they are to grow in effectiveness. Let us then: **Transmute the Conscience of the World into PRINCIPLED ACTION.**

South Africa is a trading nation. Her economy is based on such an apartheid as on export. Her gold, her diamonds, her wool, her fruits and fish are largely sent overseas. Her ships come and go to the harbors of the world. Her diplomats are received with all the pomp and respect accorded to our best friends.

Let us recognize that each of us, of whatever race, from whatever nation makes apartheid possible as long as we fail to take action against it.

"Only the intervention of the outside world can save us from starvation, class and death," wrote Alan Paton shortly after the Sharpeville incident. That is why Albert Lutuli, Oliver Tambo and other African leaders have urged: * Individuals to boycott South African products. * Governments to take diplomatic and economic sanctions against S. Africa.

We therefore ask all men of good will to take

ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

in the following manner:

- * Hold meetings and demonstrations on December 10, Human Rights Day
- * Urge your church, union, lodge, or club to observe this day as one of protest
- * Urge your government to support economic sanctions
- * Write to your Mission to the United Nations urging adoption of a resolution calling for international isolation of South Africa
- * Don't buy South Africa's products
- * Don't trade or invest in South Africa
- * Translate public opinion into public action by explaining facts to all peoples, to groups to which you belong, and to countries of which you are citizens until AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL QUARANTINE OF APARTHEID IS ESTABLISHED

also send returns to

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA
801 Second Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

- ☐ Yes, you can count me as a signer of the Appeal for Action Against Apartheid.
- ☐ To aid the campaign, I enclose \$ _____
- ☐ Please send me _____ copies of the Appeal for Action Against Apartheid.

(Please fill in below for delivery. On larger envelopes, print in other position and affixing as appropriate.)

Name (print) (last, first, middle) _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

APPEAL FOR ACTION INITIAL SPONSORS
Martin Luther King Albert J. Lutuli
United States South Africa

5000

Handout B: American Committee on Africa's Declaration of Conscience

American Committee on Africa, Inc.

4 West 40th Street • New York 18, N. Y. • LACKAWANNA 4-9738

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GENERAL COUNSEL
Robert DeLoon

Members of
Executive Board



July , 1957

Dear:

We are writing to you in the conviction that the time has come for a world-wide protest against the organized inhumanity of the Government of the Union of South Africa. We have watched with great concern the relentless pursuit of official racism (apartheid) by the South African Government. It has defied the most elemental considerations of human decency in its treatment of African and Asian citizens, loosely called non-whites. Our concern has turned to horror as we have learned of the brutal treatment of these non-white South Africans and the extension of totalitarian control into almost every area of human life. What has been almost as shocking is the callous disregard of this tragedy by the free peoples of the world.

No dramatic demonstration of universal protest has been initiated. It is as if we have forgotten that "the bell tolls" for humankind in South Africa too. We cannot permit this organized crime against a whole people to go uncondemned. The Government of South Africa must know that those who cherish freedom repudiate South Africa's organized inhumanity. We must also demonstrate to those courageous South Africans of all races who struggle to build a free and democratic society that we support their efforts.

At this crucial time, when 156 leaders of the opposition to "apartheid" are being tried for treason because they desire a democratic, multi-racial society, and when new laws injecting racism into the churches, hospitals and universities are about to be passed, we are obliged to record our protest in the hope that the Government of South Africa will respond to moral suasion.

We are therefore calling upon you and other world leaders to join with us as Sponsors of an International Committee in support of the enclosed Declaration of Conscience. When our International Committee has been formally organized, we shall call upon civic, labor, professional, political, educational, church, and other leaders throughout the world to support this Declaration of Conscience. We shall also urge that they and other associates throughout the world plan public demonstrations on or about Human Rights Day, December 10, 1957, to protest the apartheid policies of the Union of South Africa and to demand that the Union live

up to its obligations under Article I, Paragraph 3 of the United Nations Charter. Full details of this program will be communicated to you in due course.

While there is still time, we hope you will join us in this undertaking. We look forward to your affirmative reply as indicated by your signature on the enclosed card.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
International Chairman

(The Very Rev.) James A. Pike
U. S. Chairman

Handout C: Quotes

"The only solution to South Africa's crisis is for whites to accept blacks as human beings."

- The Right Reverend Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, 14 August 1985

"Racism is no mere American phenomenon... The classic example of organized and institutionalized racism is the Union of South Africa. Its national policy and practice are the incarnation of the doctrine of white supremacy in the midst of a population which is overwhelmingly black."

- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Where Do We Go From Here?, 1967)

"If I lived in South Africa today in the midst of the white supremacy law in South Africa, I would join Chief Luthuli and others in saying break these unjust laws. And even let us come up to America. Our nation in a sense came into being through a massive act of civil disobedience for the Boston Tea Party [and] was nothing but a massive act of civil disobedience."

- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Where Do We Go From Here?, 1967)

"For it is we, through our investments, through our governments' failure to act decisively, who are guilty of bolstering South African tyranny."

- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. ("On South African Independence", given on Dec. 7, 1964 in London, England while en route to Oslo, Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize)

"We can join in the one form of nonviolent action that could bring freedom and justice to South Africa, the action which African leaders have appealed for, in a massive movement for economic sanctions."

- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. ("On South African Independence", given on Dec. 7, 1964 in London, England while en route to Oslo, Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize)

"Let it never be said by future generations that indifference, cynicism or selfishness made us fail to live up to the ideals of humanism which the Nobel Peace Prize encapsulates. Let the strivings of us all, prove Martin Luther King Jr. to have been correct, when he said that humanity can no longer be tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war."

- Nelson Mandela (from his Nobel Peace Prize Address at the Nobel Award Ceremony in Oslo, Norway on December 10, 1993)

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s “Letter from Birmingham Jail”: **The Power of Nonviolent Direct Action**

By Andrea McEvoy Spero



Introduction

By studying the Birmingham Campaign of 1963, the following lesson encourages students to reflect on nonviolence as an instrument to change unjust laws. Within this six-part lesson, students will participate in a role play about the intricate planning strategies of Project C, observe the courageous activism of young people, and examine the eloquent words of Dr. King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail." The lesson provides students the opportunity to analyze primary source documents and to discuss the concept of social justice in the past and in the present. Finally, students will be encouraged to apply the concepts of nonviolent direct action to contemporary global issues.

Essential Question: Did the non-violent direct action, which King describes in his “Letter from Birmingham Jail”, successfully transform Birmingham, Alabama from a segregated to a just society in 1963?

Sub Questions:

- How do we define an unjust law? What kinds of strategies and tactics have proven most effective in changing such laws? If we are able to change unjust laws will it necessarily result in social justice?
- What was the social, political, and economic situation in Birmingham, Alabama before the spring of 1963?
- What were the goals of Project C and how were these goals to be accomplished?
- In “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” how does King explain the purpose and effectiveness of nonviolent direct action?
- As Project C began to unfold in Birmingham in the spring and summer of 1963, how were these events reported to the nation and world?
- What role did the children of Birmingham play during Project C?
- Have the people of Birmingham reached a point of reconciliation after the experiences of injustice, violence, and nonviolent direct action?
- What are some contemporary global social justice issues? How can nonviolent direct action be utilized to accomplish sociopolitical transformation?

Unit Parts:

1. Introduction to Birmingham
2. Project C Strategy Committee Role Play
3. Letter from Birmingham Jail
4. The Children Shall Lead
5. Should They Take the Offer?
6. Transformation? Reconciliation? Does nonviolence work?

Part One:

Introduction to Birmingham

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Introduce the unit with a quick-write or discussion using the following questions: How do you define justice and injustice? How do you change an unjust law?
2. **Classroom Activity:** Ask students to identify historical examples or current examples of unjust laws in the U.S. Discuss the process by which these laws have been changed or could be changed. Example: Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* or the passage of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution.
3. **Classroom Activity:** Provide students with **Handout A: Birmingham in the 1960s**. After the students have read the documents, lead a discussion on the injustice that existed in Birmingham in 1963. You may also wish to have students list any violations of democratic principles as stated in the U.S. Bill of Rights and/or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).
4. **Assignment:** Assign roles for the upcoming role play. You will have groups of four and each student will take on one of the following roles: Martin Luther King, Jr., Wyatt T. Walker, Fred Shuttlesworth, and Ralph Abernathy. For homework, ask students to study their character’s role using the King Encyclopedia entries on the King Institute’s website.

Part Two:

Project C Strategy Committee Role Play

Activity / Instructions:

1. Through the Project C Strategy Committee Role Play, students will experience the challenges of organizing a direct action campaign. Students will also be introduced to the historical events in Birmingham through both primary and secondary sources.
2. Students are assigned one of the following roles: Martin Luther King, Jr., Wyatt T. Walker, Fred Shuttlesworth, and Ralph Abernathy. Students will participate in the role play by using **Handout B: Project C Strategy Committee Role Play**. Ask students to record their answers and questions on a separate sheet of paper.

Part Three:

Letter from Birmingham Jail

Activity / Instructions:

1. Debrief the role-play and introduce the *Eyes on the Prize* documentary. Watch the segment on the Birmingham Campaign only up to, but not including, the student arrests. This will help students visualize the events and people from the previous day's role-play.
2. Either as a class or in smaller groups, have students read and answer the analysis questions for **Handout C: Letter from Birmingham Jail with Analysis Questions**. The letter has been shortened here. For a full length version with questions, see the King Institute's Liberation Curriculum website.
3. Finally, play the audio of the letter also found on the King Institute's Liberation Curriculum website. You may want to pause the audio and allow students to discuss their answers to the analysis questions.

Part Four:

The Children Shall Lead

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Begin with discussion prompts or quick write prompts: Would you be willing to go to jail to challenge an unjust law? Would you let your child go to jail in an effort to overturn an unjust law?
2. **Classroom Activity:** Teenager/Parent Negotiation role play. One student plays a 16-year-old student who wants to participate in the mass meetings at the 16th Street Baptist Church. The second student plays the parent who wants the child to "stay out of trouble." Share with the students the following descriptions:

Teenager

You want to participate in the meetings at the 16th Street Baptist Church. Students your age are leaving school every day to be trained by James Bevel and other leaders including Dr. Martin Luther King. They are training students in the philosophy of nonviolence. You want to be a part of the movement to desegregate Birmingham. School is not more important than freedom!

Parent

You do not want your son or daughter to go to these meetings because it is too dangerous. Furthermore, you forbid them to leave school in the middle of the day. You are afraid s/he will get arrested, and you are worried about how s/he will be treated by the police. You know the police have used dogs to intimidate protesters. You are also aware that the SCLC does not have enough money to post bail for your daughter/son. Your family does not have the money to post bail.

3. **Classroom Activity:** Continue with the documentary, *Eyes on the Prize*. Watch the scenes of students in Kelly Ingram Park and of the mass arrests of students. Have students focus on the lyrics of the singing students. Ask students, "Did the adults ask the students to go to jail or did the students decide for themselves?" You may need to rewind and have students listen a second time.
4. **Classroom Activity:** Photo Gallery Poem: Choose 5-10 historic photos from Kelly Ingram Park and the Birmingham Campaign and place around the room. You can find the photos online or in books, such as, Steven Kasher's *The Civil Rights Movement: A Photographic History, 1954-68*. Ask students to choose one photo and write a phrase or sentence that describes the image. Place students in groups of five and ask them to compile the five lines into a poem about Birmingham

Part Five:

The Big Three: Shall They Take the Offer?

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Watch the last segment about Birmingham from the *Eyes on the Prize* documentary.
2. **Classroom Activity:** Challenge your students to analyze and compare primary sources through the activity in **Handout D: Evaluating Newspaper Articles**.
3. **Classroom Activity:** Ask students to return to their groups from the Project C Strategy Committee Role Play. Give the students **Handout E: Should they take the offer?** Ask students to answer these reflection questions: Do you think the settlement was acceptable? Why or why not? Did the people of Birmingham reach a point of reconciliation after the experiences of injustice, violence, and nonviolent direct action?

Part Six:

Transformation? Reconciliation?

Does nonviolence work?

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Classroom Activity:** Discuss with students the meaning of transformation and reconciliation. Ask students if these were reached in Birmingham during the spring and summer of 1963. If time permits, you may want to have students watch the film *Four Little Girls* by Spike Lee.
2. **Classroom Activity:** Organize students into groups of 3-4 and ask them to write a definition for transformation and reconciliation. Give each group a copy of **Handout F: Transformation and Reconciliation**. Students will need two sheets of large paper and markers to complete this activity. Invite students to share their definitions and their quotes. Finally, ask students to present their culminating projects.

Extension/Culminating Project

Activity / Instructions:

1. Create a timeline for a museum exhibit about the events of Birmingham and include both visuals and text. Sources can include newspaper articles, King Encyclopedia, King Timeline, and other primary sources from the unit.
2. Create a DBQ (Document Based Question) using the essential questions, subquestions, and documents from the unit.
3. Ask students to identify a current unjust law and create a strategy to change the law based on the nonviolent philosophy and/or strategies of the Birmingham Campaign.
4. Interview an activist in their community.
5. Create a magazine or newspaper article to commemorate Project C. The article should be focused on answering the question: Did the nonviolent direct action of Project C which King describes in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail" successfully transform Birmingham, Alabama from a segregated to a just society in 1963?

Handout A: Birmingham in the 1960s

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Describes Birmingham in the 1960's

From *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* edited by Clayborne Carson.

If you had visited Birmingham before the third of April in the one hundredth-anniversary year of the Negro's emancipation, you might have come to a startling conclusion. You might have concluded that here was a city which had been trapped for decades in a Rip Van Winkle slumber; a city whose fathers had apparently never heard of Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, the Bill of Rights, the Preamble to the Constitution, The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, or the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools.

If your powers of imagination are great enough to enable you to place yourself in the position of a Negro baby born and brought up to physical maturity in Birmingham, you would picture your life in the following manner:

You would be born in a Jim Crow hospital to parents who probably lived in a ghetto. You would attend a Jim Crow school. You would spend your childhood playing mainly in the streets because the "colored" parks were abysmally inadequate. When a federal court order banned park segregation, you would find that Birmingham closed down its parks and gave up its baseball team rather than integrate them.

If you went shopping with your mother or father, you would trudge along as they purchased at every counter except one, in the large or small stores. If you were hungry or thirsty, you would have to forget about it until you got back to the Negro section of town, for in your city it was a violation of the law to serve food to Negroes at the same counter with whites.

If your family attended church, you would go to a Negro church. If you attended your own Negro church and wanted to play safe, you might select a church that didn't have a pastor with a reputation for speaking out on civil rights. If you wanted to visit a church attended by white people, you would not be welcome. For although your white fellow citizens would insist that they were Christians, they practiced segregation as rigidly in the house of God as they did in the theater.

If you wanted to contribute to and be a part of the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, you would not have been able to join a local branch. In the state of Alabama, segregationist authorities had been successful in enjoining the NAACP from performing its civil rights work by declaring it a "foreign corporation" and rendering its activities illegal.

If you wanted a job in this city-one of the greatest iron- and steel producing centers in the nation-you had better settle on doing menial work as a porter or laborer. If you were fortunate enough to get a job, you could expect that promotions to a better status or more pay would come, not to you, but to a white employee regardless of your comparative talents.

If you believed your history books and thought of America as a country whose governing officials-whether city, state, or nation- are selected by the governed, you would be swiftly disillusioned when you tried to exercise your right to register and vote. Your race, constituting two-fifths of the city's population, would have made up one-eighth of its voting strength.

You would be living in a city where brutality directed against Negroes was an unquestioned and unchallenged reality. One of the city commissioners, a member of the body that ruled municipal affairs, would be Eugene "Bull" Connor, a racist who prided himself on knowing how to handle the Negro and keep him in his "place." As commissioner of public safety, Bull Connor, entrenched for many years in a key position in the Birmingham power structure, displayed as much contempt for the rights of the Negro as he did defiance for the authority of the federal government.

You would have found a general atmosphere of violence and brutality in Birmingham. Local racists intimidated, mobbed, and even killed Negroes with impunity. One of the more vivid examples of the terror of Birmingham was the castration of a Negro man, whose mutilated body had then been abandoned on a lonely road. No Negro home was protected from bombings and burnings. From the year 1957 through January 1963, while Birmingham was still claiming that its Negroes were "satisfied," seventeen unsolved bombings of Negro churches and homes of civil rights leaders occurred.

In Connor's Birmingham, the silent password was fear. It was a fear not only on the part of the black oppressed, but also in the hearts of the white oppressors. Certainly Birmingham had its white moderates who disapproved of Bull Connor's tactics. Certainly Birmingham had its decent white citizens who privately deplored the maltreatment of Negroes. But they remained publicly silent. It was a silence born of fear - fear of social, political, and economic reprisals. The ultimate tragedy of Birmingham was not the brutality of the bad people, but the silence of the good people.

In Birmingham, you would be living in a community where the white man's long-lived tyranny had cowed your people, led them to abandon hope, and developed in them a false sense of inferiority. You would be living in a city where the representatives of economic and political power refused to even discuss social justice with the leaders of your people.

You would be living in the largest city of a police state, presided over by a governor-George Wallace - whose inauguration vow had been a pledge of "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!" You would be living, in fact, in the most segregated city in America.

Clayborne Carson, ed., The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr. New York: Intellectual Properties Management Inc. in association with Warner Books, 1998

Birmingham's Racial Segregation Ordinances

The following is an excerpt from the original ordinances for the city of Birmingham.

SECTION 369. SEPARATION OF RACES

It shall be unlawful to conduct a restaurant or other place for the serving of food in the city, at which white and colored people are served in the same room, unless such white and colored people are effectually separated by a solid partition extending from the floor upward to a distance of seven feet or higher, and unless a separate entrance from the street is provided for each compartment.

SECTION 597. NEGROES AND WHITE PERSONS NOT TO PLAY TOGETHER.

It shall be unlawful for a negro and a white person to play together or in the company with each other in any game of cards or dice, dominoes or checkers.

Any person, who being the owner, proprietor or keeper or superintendent, of any tavern, inn, restaurant or other public house or public place, or the clerk, servant or employee or such owner, proprietor, keeper or superintendent, knowingly permits a negro and a white person to play together or in company with each other at any game with cards, dice, dominoes or checkers, in his house or on his premises shall, on conviction, be punished as provided in section 4.

Handout B: Project C Strategy Committee Role Play

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: In this role play, each of you will assume the role of the following participants in the Birmingham movement to end segregation: Martin Luther King Jr., Wyatt Walker, Fred Shuttlesworth and Ralph Abernathy. As you participate in this activity, discuss the presented questions with your partners. Record your decisions and reflections on a separate sheet of paper.

It is January of 1963 in a small town outside Savannah, Georgia. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference presides over a strategy meeting of eleven activists, including Fred Shuttlesworth, Wyatt T. Walker, Ralph Abernathy, and Andrew Young. The goal is to join efforts with the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, under the leadership of Shuttlesworth, to attack segregation in Birmingham.

Wyatt Walker hands out a detailed blueprint of Project C- for "Confrontation." The campaign's strategy is to put economic pressure on Birmingham's merchants. Organizers scheduled the protests to begin around the Easter season, which was the second biggest shopping period of the year. Walker spells out to the group the four-stage plan:

1. Begin nightly mass meetings to build strength and support. Organize small-scale sit-ins to draw attention to our desegregation platform.
2. Organize a boycott of the downtown business section and begin slightly larger demonstrations.
3. Increase the pressure with mass marches to both enforce the boycott and to defy unjust segregation laws resulting in mass arrests.
4. If necessary, call on supporters outside of Birmingham to cripple the city under the combined pressure of publicity, economic boycott, and the burden of overflowing jails.

Walker explains that each stage must build upon the previous one and that as organizers, we must keep the momentum. Furthermore, we must be prepared to have a thousand or more in jail and expect each arrested demonstrator to remain inside jail for five or six days at a time. The plan requires extensive preparation, perfect timing, and loads of money.

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: As members of the Planning Committee, discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the plan. Record your conclusions.

The Planning Committee:

After two days of discussion, it is clear that the organizers face a number of challenges. These obstacles include limited funds, a fervent segregationist as Commissioner of Public Safety, Eugene "Bull" Connor, and possible disunity among preachers in Birmingham. They also face the prospect that residents of Birmingham would be reluctant to go to jail.

Martin Luther King, Jr. asks his colleagues for closing thoughts and then states the following:

"There are eleven people here assessing the type of enemy we're going to face. I have to tell you, in my judgment, some of the people sitting here today will not come back alive from this campaign. And I want you to think about it."

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: As members of the Planning Committee, decide whether you should move forward with the plan. Does the plan require any changes? Record your answers.

Launching Project C into Action:

The strategy committee decides to move forward and spends the next few months in painstaking planning. Abernathy and King focus on the necessary fundraising, especially in the northern cities. Shuttlesworth continues building support among community leaders in Birmingham. Walker compiles detailed notes on the distances between meeting locations and sit-in targets; he also creates lists of willing participants and organizes training meetings. During the training meetings, King instructs demonstrators on the philosophy of nonviolence.

Wednesday, April 3rd, 1963 marks the beginning of Project C. Starting their march from the Sixteenth Baptist Church, the headquarters of training meetings and strategy sessions, sixty-five activists marched silently to Birmingham's segregated lunch counters. At four of the five stores, waitresses simply informed customers that they were closing and turned out the lights. Only one store, Britt's, demanded that police arrest the protestors.

Recent developments include the following:

- As a result of recent city elections, a new mayor has been elected, Albert Boutwell. Many residents and leaders of the community, both white and black, suggest giving the new mayor a chance to reform the government.
- While numbers are slowly growing, few volunteers are willingly going to jail.
- Although over one hundred demonstrators are in jail as a result of their civil disobedience, the national and local news media are ignoring the story.
- Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General, criticizes the campaign as "ill-timed."
- *The New York Times* is giving the story back page coverage. The headlines read "Integration Drive Slows... Sit-Ins and a Demonstration Plan Fail to Materialize... Demonstrations Fail to Develop."

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: Your campaign does not have a ground shattering first day. Your strategy committee meets again and discusses the following questions:

1. *Should we call off Project C?*
2. *Should we give the new Mayor Albert Boutwell a chance to make changes?*
3. *If we continue our campaign, how do we recruit more demonstrators?*
4. *How do we draw media attention to our actions and goals?*

Discuss and record your decisions.

The Injunction

On April 10th, Bull Connor and the Governor of Alabama, George Wallace, successfully convince state officials and a state court to support an injunction banning protest in Birmingham. The injunction ordered King and one-hundred thirty-three others not to engage in or encourage protest activities. Prohibited were "parading, demonstrating, boycotting, trespassing and picketing," including "conduct customarily known as 'kneel-ins' in churches."

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: At first glance, this seems to be a huge set-back, but it can work to your advantage. Why? Discuss and record your answer. (Hints: Federal vs. state power, the U.S. Bill of Rights).

The Highest Law of the Land

King, Abernathy, Walker, and Shuttlesworth denounce the injunction as unconstitutional and refuse to abide by an unjust and unconstitutional Alabama court order. King announces, "We cannot in all good conscience obey such an injunction which is an unjust, undemocratic, and unconstitutional misuse of the legal process."

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: Draft a press release with your partners citing the ways this injunction violates the United States Constitution. Your press release should be at least one paragraph.

Good Friday, April 12th, 1963

An NAACP lawyer from New York, Norman Amaker, arrives to provide legal advice in room 30 of the Gaston Hotel, just around the corner of the 16th Street Baptist Church. Amaker explains that while the injunction is unconstitutional, this will still not keep the demonstrators and the strategy leaders out of jail. Since SCLC no longer has enough funds to post bail for those willing to go to jail, demonstrators can be held up to six months. If King, Abernathy, Shuttlesworth, and Walker break the injunction and are arrested, they can no longer raise funds or continue to organize. This would bring Project C to a halt. Furthermore, they may remain in jail for months while federal courts review the constitutionality of the state court order.

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: Discuss with your partners whether you should openly defy the injunction? Are there any alternatives? Record your decision.

Off to Jail, April 12th, 1963

King decides to join the demonstrators in jail. He announces this decision to his colleagues and his father, A.D. King, by stating, "Friends, I've made my decision. I have to make a faith act. I don't know what will happen or what the outcome will be. I don't know where the money will come from."

Ralph Abernathy agrees to join him, and they prepare for their march to jail. Wyatt Walker recommends waiting until a crowd of supporters and reporters

form. A mass meeting is held at the 16th Street Baptist Church. During the meeting, they were able to convince only forty others to accompany King and Abernathy to jail. However, over a thousand wait in anticipation outside. King and Abernathy emerge and walk side by side down the sidewalk.



AP/Wide World Photos

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS:

- 1. Discuss the photo. Who is in the photo? What are King and Abernathy wearing?*
- 2. Why did they choose these clothes instead of the standard preacher's blue suit?*
- 3. Describe the people walking behind them.*
- 4. How many people seem to be participating and how many are observing?*
- 5. Is there anything else that catches your attention?*

Discuss and record your answers.



AP/Wide World Photos

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: Examine the photo. Who is in the photo? How many people are observing the situation? What is their reaction to the scene? What is the reaction of King and Abernathy to the police officer? Would you describe the situation as confrontational? Why or why not?



AP/Wide World Photos

Birmingham, Ala., April 12, 1963—OFF TO JAIL—Integration Leaders Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, left, and Rev. Martin Luther King, right, are taken in tow by a policeman as they led a line of demonstrators into the business section of Birmingham, Ala. They were jailed along with dozens of others. The marchers wore old clothes to dramatize a store boycott during the Easter season.

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: Above is the description by the Associated Press. Examine the photo. What is happening in the foreground? What is happening in the background? Assume you are the Associated Press photographer who took the photo. Write a one paragraph description of the event.

Handout C: “Letter from Birmingham Jail” with Analysis Questions

On April 12, 1963 King was arrested for breaking an Alabama injunction against demonstrations in Birmingham. He was placed in solitary confinement and on April 16th he read a letter from Alabama clergymen published in *The New York Times* in which they criticized King and the Birmingham Movement for inciting civil disturbances. King wrote his response, the famous ‘Letter from Birmingham Jail’, along the margin of the paper. The following version has been edited from the original.

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: Be an active reader by underlining key phrases and writing comments or questions in the margin. Answer the questions in italics on a separate sheet of paper.

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.

What are King’s reasons for being in Birmingham? How does King answer to the charge of being an outsider?

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.

The line in bold print is considered one of King’s most famous quotes. What does this mean for individuals who have ignored the issues of Birmingham? What does this mean today for each of us living in the United States?

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.

What are the four basic steps of nonviolent direct action? For each of the steps, give an example from the Birmingham campaign. Can you think of another historical (local, national, global) example of nonviolent protest which followed these steps?

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.

Why did King and others decide to delay their actions?

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

Handout C: "Letter from Birmingham Jail" with Analysis Questions

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.

What does King mean by "constructive nonviolent tension" and how does he define its goal?

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."

The above paragraph in bold is another of King's most well known statements. Choose an example from United States history which represents the "painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor." Choose an example which illustrates his point that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six year old daughter why she can't go

to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five year old son who is asking: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

List the injustices and choose three to compare to the Bill of Rights and/or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may well ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."

Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes an "I it" relationship for an "I thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. Hence, segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus it is that I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong. Let us consider a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself. This is difference made legal. By the same token, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow and that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

King describes two types of law, just and unjust; how does he define each? Can you give other examples in the present of unjust laws you feel a moral obligation to disobey? Would you be willing to accept the consequences? What are the effects of segregation?

Handout C: "Letter from Birmingham Jail" with Analysis Questions

Let me give another explanation. A law is unjust if it is inflicted on a minority that, as a result of being denied the right to vote, had no part in enacting or devising the law. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up that state's segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout Alabama all sorts of devious methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there are some counties in which, even though Negroes constitute a majority of the population, not a single Negro is registered. Can any law enacted under such circumstances be considered democratically structured? Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in its application.

For instance, I have been arrested on a charge of parading without a permit. Now, there is nothing wrong in having an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But such an ordinance becomes unjust when it is used to maintain segregation and to deny citizens the First-Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and protest.

Do you need to obey a law that you did not participate in creating? Most of you are under 18; do you need to live by a law you did not participate in making? Should residents in a country obey laws they did not participate in creating?

I hope you are able to see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.

Breaking an unjust law lovingly? Could you get to this state? Why does he think this would be an expression of respect for the law? What if his actions do not arouse the conscience of the community? Would breaking the law be worth it then?

I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need emulate neither the "do nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of non-violence became an integral part of our struggle.

If this philosophy had not emerged, by now many streets of the South would, I am convinced, be flowing with blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who employ nonviolent direct action, and if they refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes will, out of frustration and despair, seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies—a development that would inevitably lead to a frightening racial nightmare. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. If one recognizes this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand why public demonstrations are taking place. The Negro has many pent up resentments and latent frustrations, and he must release them. So let him march; let him make prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; let him go on freedom rides—and try to understand why he must do so. If his repressed emotions are not released in nonviolent ways, they will seek expression through violence; this is not a threat but a fact of history. So I have not said to my people: "Get rid of your discontent." Rather, I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled into the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. And now this approach is being termed extremist.

What does King warn will happen if the Negro Community is not allowed to demonstrate through nonviolent actions? Is King threatening those who oppose desegregation?

But though I was initially disappointed at being categorized as an extremist, as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a measure of satisfaction from the label. Was not Jesus an extremist for love: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever flowing stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the Christian gospel: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise, so help me God." And John Bunyan: "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." And Abraham Lincoln: "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." And Thomas Jefferson: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal . . ." So the question is not whether we will be extremists, but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate or for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice or for the extension of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime--the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. Perhaps the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

Why does King welcome the label extremist?

What is your favorite quote? Why? How can you connect this to your life or issues in your community today?

Choose one quote for each of the themes of Justice, Transformation, and Reconciliation.

Choose a photo to complement that quote. The photo can be of Birmingham or of a current issue in your community or world today.

Handout D: Evaluating Newspaper Articles

The objective of this activity is to examine different newspaper articles written about the events in Birmingham in the spring of 1963. Your goal is to identify various perspectives, evaluate reporters' bias, and pinpoint any misinformation.

Directions: Read each of the following articles. As you read each article, create a chart on a separate sheet of paper. Create three columns in each chart. The column headings are as follows: List of Facts in the Article; What is the opinion of the reporter about the event?; What important information does this article exclude?

500 are Arrested in Negro Protest at Birmingham

New York Times, 3 May 1963

Birmingham Scene of Turmoil; Scores Arrested by Police

Los Angeles Times, 5 May 1963

Strife in Alabama: Children March Off to Jail in Racial Protest

Los Angeles Times, 7 May 1963

Negro Girls Define 'Freedom' From Cell in Birmingham Jail

New York Times, 9 May 1963

Discussion questions:

In your opinion, which article provides the most accurate information about the events? Do any of the facts in one article contradict facts in the other articles? Were you able to identify any bias among the writers? Was any of the information inaccurate based on other sources you have used in the classroom? Consider the sources you've examined during this lesson: photographs, speeches, city ordinance, and documentary footage. Which sources are most reliable?

500 Are Arrested in Negro Protest at Birmingham

by Foster Hailey Special to the *New York Times*
New York Times (1857-Current); May 3, 1963;
 ProQuest Historical Newspapers pg. 1

500 ARE ARRESTED IN NEGRO PROTEST AT BIRMINGHAM*
 By FOSTER HAILEY Special to The New York Times
 (New York Times: 1857-Current; May 3, 1963; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The

500 ARE ARRESTED IN NEGRO PROTEST AT BIRMINGHAM

Young Marchers Cheered by
 Elders in Biggest Series of
 Demonstrations in City

By FOSTER HAILEY
 Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 2
 —Hundreds of young Negroes, many of them in their teens or even younger, demonstrated through the streets of Birmingham this afternoon.

By an unofficial count, about 500 of them were arrested after hours of demonstrations against the city's racial segregation practices.

At one time, demonstrations by groups of from 10 to 50 boys and girls were going on simultaneously at four different places several blocks apart.

The police confined most of the demonstrations to the Negro business, church and residential district west of City Hall and north of the main downtown business area.

But one group of 20 youths penetrated almost to the steps of City Hall, the main goal of the demonstrators, before being stopped. Three other groups reached the downtown shopping corners.

Offer No Resistance

There was no resistance to arrest by the laughing, singing groups of youngsters, although some of the smaller participants dropped their signs and ran when the police approached. Most of the marchers fell to

their knees and prayed as the police stopped them.

Half a dozen fire engines were deployed at strategic corners after the first hour of demonstrations. Hoses were strung at one point, but the water was not turned on. The city's squad of police dogs was not used.

Every available police vehicle was pressed into service to haul the young demonstrators to jail or juvenile court. When even those, and some Jefferson County sheriff's cars, proved inadequate, school buses were used by the police.

Cheered by Their Elders

One little girl who said she was 6 years old was seen being placed in a police wagon with other demonstrators. What happened to her was not known. The jail receives only prisoners 18 or older; younger prisoners are under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court, which does not disclose its proceedings.

It was by far the largest series of demonstrations staged in Birmingham since a direct action campaign was begun here a month ago. The arrests made today will probably exceed the total for the four previous weeks.

It was strictly a youth movement today. Elder Negroes stood on the sidelines and cheered.

"Sing, children, sing," called one elderly Negro woman as she followed one group up Sixth

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Birmingham Police Clash With 1,000

**Negroes Yield After
 Dousing By Water;
 U.S. Starts Inquiry**

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP). A taunting crowd of more than 1,000 Negroes defied policemen, dogs and high velocity water hoses Saturday before their own leaders persuaded them to disperse.

Doused for about an hour with water, they gave ground grudgingly. Finally, two Negro ministers pleaded with remnants of the crowd to leave.

Some of the Negroes threw rocks and other missiles. A fireman, Billy Roak, was treated for a head injury from a flying brick.

Police said nearly 200 Negroes were arrested—including 111 children under 16. More than 1,600 have been arrested since demonstrations started April 3.

Kennedy Dismayed

The trouble broke out as President Kennedy expressed dismay over the situation and his brother, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, dispatched two of his key civil rights aides to Birmingham. The attorney general canceled a speech and stayed at his office.

Burke Marshall, chief of the Justice Department's civil rights division, talked with several officials, including Sheriff Melvin Bailey.

Dr. Martin-Luther King Jr., integration leader, said he was scheduled to meet with Marshall. However, King left for the airport to return to Atlanta for the weekend without meeting him.

King declined comment on whether demonstrations might be halted.

Gov. George C. Wallace deplored them, calling them useless.

After policemen cleared a park where Negro spectators had gathered, two Negro ministers urged the crowd to leave.

Ministers Issue Plea

"Will you please go home?" pleaded the Rev. William Greer, pastor of a Birmingham church. He bor-

rowed a loudspeaker from a police officer.

"Your leaders have asked you all to go home. Please do not cause trouble," he said.

"We don't want a riot," said the Rev. James Bevels. "Lives could be lost. I saw at least 25 Negro men with guns."

It was the third straight day of a stepped up campaign against racial segregation in this steel city, Alabama's largest.

At least two women and several men were knocked off their feet Saturday when firemen turned on the high-pressure hoses.

The water was used after someone threw a pop bottle at police. The bottle broke near Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor and

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RACIAL CLASH

Continued from First Page
 he ordered: "Give them the water."

Police held the dogs in readiness.

A huge roar welled up from the crowd as the dogs were brought up. The Negroes did not disperse immediately as they did Friday.

Two Negroes with rocks attempted to climb on top of a car but ran when a police dog approached.

The Negroes started to give ground gradually as firemen played the hose into the crowd. White spectators cheered when the water hose was brought into play.

Another 1,000 Negroes gathered in the area and shouted encouragement to the embattled demonstrators. Many were old Negro women.

One Negro teen-ager ran toward a group of policemen and struck an officer in the chest with a rock. The policeman chased him, whacked him across the back with his billy club, then let him go.

Stripped Trees

Two of the fire hoses were equipped with monitor guns which take water simultaneously from two hoses. Water from these hoses hits with such force that it knocked the bark from trees 100 ft. away.

White spectators numbering in the hundreds were ordered to move away from the area. They obeyed.

An employee of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, Doris Guice, 30, of Birmingham, was dragged more than 20 ft. by a deputy and plainclothes

detectives through a gravel parking lot after she refused to get off a sidewalk.

Several young Negroes were placed in a school bus. Some jumped out of the windows, but police quickly rounded them up again.

Two Negro girls ran around the park clad only in slips—their outer clothing had been ripped off by the water. Several Negro youths had their shirts torn off.

Twenty-five Negroes were arrested Saturday morning in a march on City Hall. Minutes later two Negro women slipped through police lines and knelt on the steps of City Hall. Police arrested them and one girl wept as she was being led to police headquarters. Later, two other Negro women walked up to the steps, knelt and bowed their heads. They too, were arrested.

An estimated 700 Negroes, including some as young as 7 years old, were arrested Thursday. Another 250 were taken into custody Friday when police used police dogs on a leash and fire hoses to turn back marchers.

In Washington, Atty. Gen. Kennedy canceled a speech to remain in his office Saturday after sending Marshall and Joseph F. Doan, assistant deputy attorney general, to Birmingham.

President Kennedy was reported dismayed at the situation, a visitor to his office said. John P. Roche, national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, said the President discussed the use of police dogs and water hoses to break up the Negro demonstrators with him.

Birmingham Scene of Turmoil; Scores Arrested by Police

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (UPI) — Hundreds of Negro school children with comedian Dick Gregory in the lead marched off to jail Monday in the biggest civil rights demonstration the South has ever seen.

More than 800 demonstrators

— many carrying blankets, toothbrushes and school books—marched from a mass meeting at the 16th Street Baptist Church into the arms of waiting policemen who had set up roadblocks with fire hoses at both ends of the block.

They were herded into police wagons and school buses and driven to Birmingham jail.

Promptly Arrested

Almost simultaneously, about 150 Negroes carrying signs protesting racial discrimination appeared in front of stores in the downtown area. Police promptly arrested them.

A few hours later, a special committee of Negroes and whites convened to work out ways of ending the 34 days of racial demonstrations which have rocked this city and filled jails to overflowing.

Sitting in on the meeting was Burke Marshall, assistant U.S. attorney general in charge of civil rights who has been working behind the scenes for three days here to effect easing of tensions.

Marshall earlier held separate conferences with both Negroes and whites, but this was the first time he was able to get them together.

Another demonstration appeared imminent shortly

past midnight when word was spread at five Negro church meetings that school children arrested Monday were kept in an open jail compound during a thunderstorm.

Angry Negroes streamed from the churches and headed toward the jail, but halted their march when their leaders informed them that the children had been fed and were ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the jail.

Prison officials said the Negro children were outside when the thunderstorm drenched the city early Monday night, but said they were helpless to do anything about it because of crowded conditions.

Awaiting Processing

"We can't control the weather," one said.

He said the Negroes were awaiting processing and have since been moved to detention buildings.

By late Monday afternoon, as an uneasy calm settled over the city, authorities had made at least 867 arrests — bringing the total arrested in the month-long protest to more than 2,200. Monday's jailings easily surpassed those last Thursday during similar demonstrations.

Those arrested Monday included a white reporter and scores of students — the

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Birmingham Scene of Turmoil;
Scores Arrested by Police
Los Angeles Times
May 7, 1963

ALABAMA JAILINGS

Continued from First Page police who swarmed in the area.

The demonstrations Monday were calm and carefully planned with only a few isolated cases of scuffling. Among those arrested was Barbara Demming, a white news reporter for The Nation magazine.

At the city jail, already packed with earlier demonstrators, Supt. Robert K. Austin, said "we have the jail at capacity and the jail yard is packed. It's standing room only out there."

Austin said the state fairgrounds auditorium and other facilities there were being used to house juveniles.

Austin said many of the adults arrested would be sent to the county jail. He said he understood city officials were getting ready to ask nearby counties for boarding space at their jails.

To Expel Students
School Supt. Theo Wright has said that students who cut classes would be suspended or expelled.

Just as Gregory arrived at the 16th St. church a fireman accidentally turned on a hose nozzle that lightly sprinkled Gregory and other spectators. The spurt of water lasted no more than 10 seconds.

This was the nearest thing approaching use of the fire hoses that were put into play earlier to halt demonstrators.

King emerged from a meeting of Negro leaders to say "some victories have been achieved but it is too early to tell whether they will be lasting."

But shortly after King returned to the church, which was ringed by helmeted police who broke up crowds of Negroes when they gathered outside, Negroes began streaming from the meeting hall. An estimated 2,000 had gathered inside.

Gregory led 18 Negro teenagers on a march toward the downtown area. Stopped by police who demanded if he had a permit to parade, Gregory replied no and refused to budge.

He and the Negro youths were hauled away in a paddy wagon, less than a block after leaving the church.

"No, we'll stay here," he said and the police herded them to waiting paddy wagons.

The others followed in groups of 20 to 50 and officers situated atop buildings with walkie talkies alerted

Seeks Truce

Monday's demonstrations came while Marshall conferred with leaders of both sides to seek a truce and ease the crisis that began building April 3.

The Negroes have demanded four concessions as the price for calling off the demonstrations: better employment opportunities, desegregation of downtown lunch counters; release of the estimated 1,200 Negroes still in jail from earlier arrests and creation of a biracial committee to work out plans for gradual desegregation of public schools.

The Negroes began pouring from the church, where the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. addressed the estimated crowd of 2,000, with Gregory in the lead.

Comic Leads Group

The Negro comic led his group up to a police blockade where he was halted and asked if he had a parade permit. He replied no and police told him to turn around.

"No, we'll stay here," he said and the police herded them to waiting paddy wagons.

The others followed in groups of 20 to 50 and officers situated atop buildings with walkie talkies alerted

Negro Girls Define 'Freedom' From Cell in Birmingham Jail

By PHILIP BENJAMIN

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 8 —Anita Woods said today: "My mother told me I had to serve my time."

Anita is a 12-year-old Negro girl, one of the thousand or more juveniles arrested here on Monday for rioting against racial segregation.

She is at the Jefferson County Detention Home, along with about 110 other girls, none older than 13.

Anita spoke with a reporter in a locked room she shares with 20 other Negro girls, all arrested for parading without a permit, a violation of Section 1159 of the General City Code.

The room was hot and steamy; downstairs, the main corridor and offices of the detention home were coolly air-conditioned.

"Do you want to go home?" the girls were asked.

"Yes!" they chorused.

"But I'd do it again," Anita Woods said. "I'll keep on marching till I get freedom."

"What is freedom?" a reporter asked.

"It's equal rights," another girl shouted. "I want to go to any school and any store downtown and sit in the movies." She giggled. "And sit around in a cafeteria."

They were asked why their

parents had not come to get them, since, in a change of policy, Juvenile Court Judge Talbot Ellis had decided to permit parents to call for their children in exchange for signing an appearance bond, instead of the \$500 cash bond that was previously required.

It was then that Anita Woods announced what her mother had told her.

Dale G. Oltman, the chief probation officer of the juvenile court, a soft-spoken former Nebraskan, said the detention home normally accommodated 62 youngsters. With the present population of 110 or so, it was like having guests drop in unexpectedly, he said. The home is doing its best to feed and bed the children, he said, "but of course, it's not like home."

Some of the inmates slept in blankets on the floor, he said.

The youngest person arrested in the riots was a 7-year-old girl. She was picked up by her parents yesterday.

Boys between 13 and 18 were being held in the Jefferson County Jail and the Bessemer Jail. Girls from 13 to 18 were in the 4-H Club building at the State Fairgrounds. There were 594 girls there just after the arrests Monday. Only 200 were there today. Girls arrested last Monday outnumbered boys by almost two to one.

Handout E: The Big Three: Shall they Take the Offer?

On 2 May 1963, over one thousand black children descended upon Downtown Birmingham. Close to nine hundred students were arrested, but a reserve army of close to twenty-five hundred demonstrated the following day. Bull Connor, who had up until this point “restrained” from violence against protesters, ordered firemen to use their hoses on the protesters and onlookers. As the youth fled from the power of the hoses, Connor directed officers and their dogs to pursue them. John Lewis noted the power of this incident: “We didn’t fully comprehend at first what was happening. We were witnessing police violence and brutality Birmingham-style: unfortunately for Bull Connor, so was the rest of the world.” As the clashes between nonviolent protesters and police made headlines across the country—with pictures of policemen bending over women with raised clubs, children confronting the aggressive police dogs, and pressure hoses sweeping bodies into the streets—the movement reached a new level of visibility.

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: Examine the photo, read the description and answer the questions below.



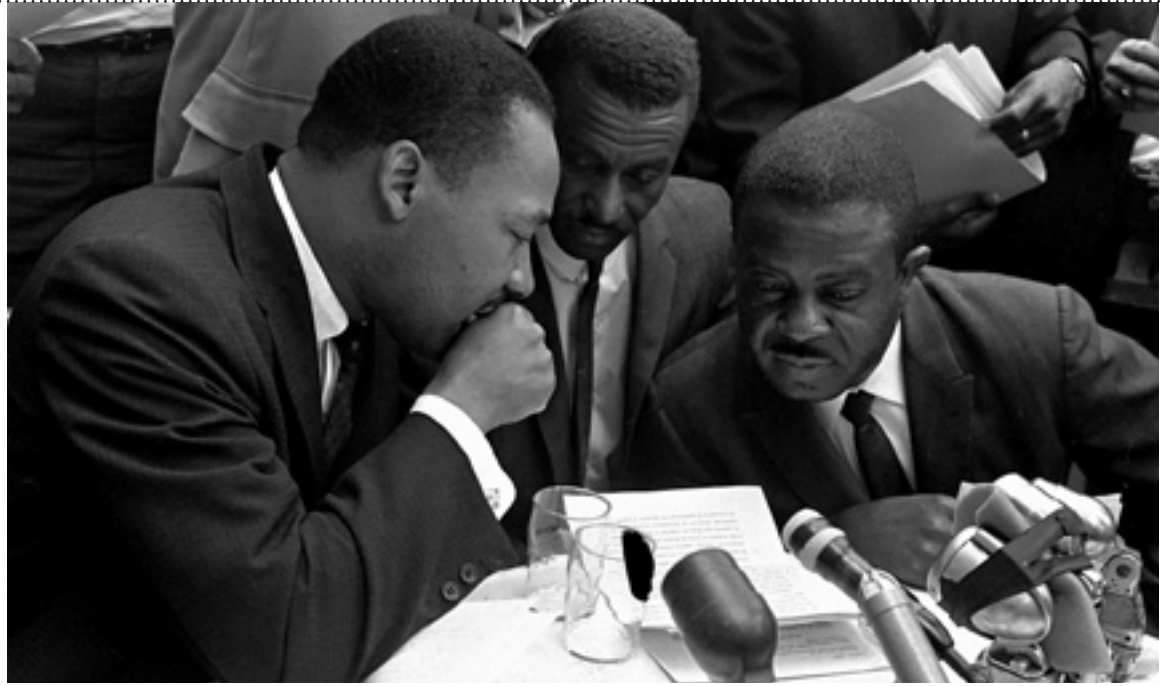
(BM8) BIRMINGHAM. Ala., May 8--ANNOUNCE TRUCE--Negro integration leaders tell a news conference in Birmingham, Ala. today they are suspending racial demonstrations. Rev. Martin Luther King, left, said a settlement is near. Center is Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and right is Rev. Ralph Abernathy. (AP Wirephoto) (JL41415stf)

AP/Wide World Photos

1. The Birmingham Senior Citizens Council representing the business community offers the following in exchange for an end of the boycott and demonstrations: desegregation of public accommodations, a committee to ensure nondiscriminatory hiring practices, release of jailed protestors, and public communications between black and white leaders to prevent further demonstrations. Should they accept the offer?
2. Does this offer represent the goals of Project C?
3. If you had gone to jail during the protest, would you be satisfied with this agreement?

(BM5) BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 10--BIG THREE IN HUDDLE--The "Big Three" of the Alabama racial movement get their heads together in Birmingham today just before releasing a statement that accord had been reached on their grievances. Left to right: Revs. Martin Luther King Jr., Fred Shuttlesworth and Ralph Abernathy.

AP/Wide World Photos



INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS: Read the following information and answer the questions.

At the same time, SCLC leaders were advised that the white business structure was weakening under the adverse publicity, the pressure of the boycott, and the unexpected fall-off of white business. While the pressure on Birmingham's business community was increasing, some business owners were still reluctant to negotiate with SCLC leadership. However, with national pressure on the White House mounting, the administration intervened. President Kennedy sent Burke Marshall, his chief civil rights assistant, to facilitate negotiations between the SCLC and representatives of Birmingham's business community. On Friday, 10 May, an agreement between the Senior Citizens Council and SCLC leadership was announced. It contained pledges for the desegregation of public accommodations, a committee to ensure nondiscriminatory hiring practices in Birmingham, cooperation in releasing jailed protesters, and public communications between black and white leaders to prevent further demonstrations.

Announcement of the agreement was met with violent retaliation. The home of the Reverend A. D. King, Martin Luther King's brother, was bombed; and a bomb was planted near the Gaston Motel, where King and SCLC leaders were staying. President Kennedy responded by ordering 3,000 federal troops into position near Birmingham and made preparations to federalize the Alabama National Guard. Four months later, on 15 September, Ku Klux Klan members bombed the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, killing four young girls. King delivered the eulogy at the funerals of Addie Mae Collins, Carol Denise McNair, and Cynthia Diane Wesley.

The momentum generated by the Birmingham struggle culminated on 28 August 1963 when the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom attracted more than 200,000 demonstrators to the Lincoln Memorial. Organized by A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, the march was supported by all major civil rights organizations as well as many labor and religious groups. It was on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial that King delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. After the march, King and other civil rights leaders met with President Kennedy at the White House. The Birmingham Campaign and the March on Washington paved the way for the passage of the most significant civil rights legislation of the 1960s: the Civil Rights Act (1964) and the Voting Rights Act (1965).

Summary of the events in Birmingham are from the King Institute's King Encyclopedia.

1. Was Project C successful? Why or why not?
2. Did the nonviolent direct action, which King describes in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail", successfully transform Birmingham from a segregated to a just society in 1963?

Handout F: Transformation and Reconciliation

Discuss with your group members your definition of social transformation and reconciliation. As you read the following quotes, decide which one best represents your definition.

Directions:

Take two sheets of paper and on one write the word “Transformation” across the top. On the second, write the word “Reconciliation.” Underneath each word, write your quote and explain why you chose this quote. Choose an example from the events in Birmingham that illustrates your quote.

The nonviolent resister must often express his protest through noncooperation or boycotts, but noncooperation and boycotts are not ends themselves; they are merely means to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.

—Martin Luther King, Jr., 1957

The method of nonviolence seeks not to humiliate and not to defeat the oppressor, but it seeks to win his friendship and his understanding. And thereby and therefore the aftermath of this method is reconciliation.

—Martin Luther King, Jr., 1956

Love is creative and redemptive. Love builds up and unites; hate tears down and destroys. The aftermath of the ‘fight with fire’ method which you suggest is bitterness and chaos; the aftermath of the love method is reconciliation and creation of the beloved community. Physical force can repress, restrain, coerce, destroy, but it cannot create and organize anything permanent; only love can do that. Yes, love—which means understanding, creative, redemptive goodwill, even for one’s enemies—is the solution to the race problem.

—Martin Luther King, Jr., 1957

True reconciliation is never cheap, for it is based on forgiveness, which is costly. Forgiveness in turn depends on repentance, which has to be based on an acknowledgement of what was done wrong, and therefore on disclosure of the truth. You cannot forgive what you do not know.

—Archbishop Desmond Tutu, 30 November 1995

Nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force, which makes for social transformation.

—Martin Luther King, Jr., 1964

In the application of the method of non-violence, one must believe in the possibility of every person, however depraved, being reformed under humane and skilled treatment.

—Mahatma Gandhi, 22 February 1942

We must not allow ourselves to become like the system we oppose. We cannot afford to use methods of which we will be ashamed when we look back, when we say, ‘...we shouldn’t have done that.’ We must remember, my friends, that we have been given a wonderful cause. The cause of freedom! And you and I must be those who will walk with heads held high. We will say, ‘We used methods that can stand the harsh scrutiny of history.’

—Archbishop Desmond Tutu

The nation is sick; trouble is in the land, confusion all around... But I know, somehow, that only when it is dark enough can you see the stars. And I see God working in this period of the twentieth century. Something is happening in our world. The masses of people are rising up. And wherever they are assembled today, whether they are in Johannesburg, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya; Accra, Ghana; New York City; Atlanta, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; or Memphis, Tennessee, the cry is always the same: ‘We want to be free.’

—Martin Luther King, Jr., 3 April 1968

The Children's Crusade and the Role of Youth in the African American Freedom Struggle

By Erin Cook and Leanna Racine



Introduction

Young people played an essential role in the African American freedom struggle, participating in many of the major campaigns of the civil rights movement as well as initiating personal protests against racial injustice. From Barbara Johns leading a 1951 strike of her fellow students at Moton High in protest of the inequities between black and white education, to the children of Birmingham who were arrested en masse in 1963 as they protested the city's segregation policies, the contributions of young people were critical to the movement's success.

As students learn about the role of youth in the movement, they will find that while Martin Luther King, Jr. was indeed a source of great inspiration for many people in the struggle, the movement was made up mostly of ordinary citizens who exhibited extraordinary courage and strength in their efforts to bring about social justice. Names like Barbara Johns, Claudette Colvin, and Mary Louise Smith will most likely be unfamiliar to your students. These young women participated in acts of resistance and civil disobedience before Martin Luther King, Jr. gained national prominence for his role in the Montgomery bus boycott. Exploring their contributions to the movement not only clarifies King's place in history, but it reminds young people of their potential to affect change in the world.

The following lesson plan focuses on the role young people played in the African American freedom struggle, specifically the Children's Crusade in Birmingham, Alabama. In addition to examining that campaign, we have included several stories of events that highlight the critical contribution that young people made to the civil rights movement

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Grades: 9-12

CA State Standards: 11.1, 11.9, 11.10, 12.1, 12.2, 12.3

Essential Question: What unique contribution did young people make to the Children's Crusade as well as the broader African American freedom struggle?

Sub Questions:

- How important were the contributions of "ordinary" people to the African American freedom struggle? Are these individuals typically found in textbooks? Why or why not?
- What are some causes for social justice and equality in which you and/or other youth are involved?
- What aspects of the African American freedom struggle can you apply to your own life and any obstacles you face?

Objectives:

- To help students see beyond the widely known leaders of the movement, and focus instead on the many contributions made by ordinary people who are not included in the history books.
- To make connections between the role of youth in the African American freedom struggle and the role of youth in current struggles for justice and equality.
- To encourage reflection on the events of the African American freedom struggle as they apply to one's own life.
- To evaluate and interpret primary source documents.

Unit Parts:

1. "Dividing Line"
2. No Easy Walk
3. Rethinking the Role of Youth in the Children's Crusade
4. Domestic Views of the Strife in Birmingham

Part One:

Dividing Line

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** To tap prior knowledge and to prime the students for the lesson, begin with the following anticipatory set activity, called "Dividing Line." This activity invites the students to form an opinion about a provocative statement and to prepare a brief defense of it. Tell students that they are going to be learning about the role that young people played in the African American freedom struggle, specifically in the Birmingham campaign. Write on the board Malcolm X's statement: "Real men don't put their children on the firing line."
2. **Classroom Activity:** Have students write several sentences in response to Malcolm X's provocative statement followed by a number between minus ten and plus ten reflecting their level of disagreement or agreement with the statement. Have students form a line across the room in numerical order and then split the line in half so that students are paired with opposing students with the same or similar numbers. The object here is to have students exchange opposing views. In addition to requiring students to take a stand, "Dividing Line" encourages them to back up their opinions with reasons and to defend them. After students have had several minutes to discuss their positions, have some of them share their discussions with the class.

Part Two:

No Easy Walk

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Classroom Activities:** Watch *Eyes on the Prize: No Easy Walk* on Birmingham and the Children's Crusade. Ask students to read the background information on the Children's Crusade in **Handout A**. Have students address the following questions in small groups or in their journals.
 - Why did the SCLC and ACMHR make the decision to use children in the campaign?
 - What do you think King meant when he stated that the demonstrations allowed children to develop "a sense of their own stake in freedom and justice"?
 - How might you have responded to the call to participate in the demonstrations?
 - What sacrifices would you be willing to make for a cause you care about? Be specific.

Part Three:

Rethinking the Role of Youth in the Children's Crusade

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Class Discussion:** Referring to the *Eyes on the Prize* segment in the previous activity, lead a class discussion sharing reactions and thoughts about the role that youth played in the Birmingham movement. Were students familiar with the Children's Crusade or had they only learned about a King-centered version of Birmingham? How does this change their perception of King, the movement, and the role of youth? Ask students where they would place themselves on the "dividing line" after learning about the Children's Crusade.
2. **Class Discussion:** As a class, discuss current examples of young people organizing direct action for freedom and justice. Examples may include immigration rights, abolition of child soldiers, and the juvenile justice movement. If students need more information on youth activism the following resources may be useful.
 - The Free Child Project: Youth-led Social Activism
http://www.freechild.org/youth_activism_2.htm
 - Youth for Human Rights International:
<http://www.youthforhumanrights.org/index.htm>
 - Hunter, Zach. *Be the Change: Your Guide to Freeing Slaves and Freeing the World*. Zondervan Publishers, 2007. Written by a 15-year old abolitionist for other youth ages 12 and up.
 - Amnesty International – Children and Human Rights <http://www.amnesty.org/en/children>
 - The documentary *Walk Out* (2006), which centers upon non-violent, student walkouts at five East Los Angeles high schools in 1968 to protest unequal treatment in educational conditions.
 - Do Something: An organization that promotes and supports youth activism.
www.dosomething.org
 - Stop the Violence: http://www.ellabakercenter.org/index.php?p=stv_how_will_you_local
 - Books not Bars: <http://www.ellabakercenter.org/page.php?pageid=2>

Part Four:

Domestic Views of the Strife in Birmingham

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Assignment:** In their journals, have students write a response to one of the cartoons in **Handout B** addressing the following questions:
 - What is the author's intent in creating this cartoon?
 - What does the cartoon tell us about the values and beliefs of the person who created it?
 - What does it tell us about the social and political climate of the period in which it was produced?
 - Briefly explain your response to the document. Is it effective? Why or why not? How might the issues addressed in this document be relevant to our current social and political situation?
2. **Extension Activities:** Below is a brief overview of several of the youth-centered events that helped shape the modern African American freedom struggle. Teachers may use these to expand on the Children's Crusade unit or they may wish to develop one of them further as a separate lesson. We have provided a list of suggested readings, links, documents and possible activities to help get you started.

I. Barbara Johns and Brown vs. Board of Education (1954)

On 23 April 1951, sixteen year old Barbara Rose Johns, a student at Moton High School in Virginia, organized an assembly at her school and encouraged her fellow students to partici-

pate in an attendance strike to protest the inequities between their school and the local white school. She told them that if they acted in solidarity, the town jail could not hold them all. Johns stated, "We knew we had to do it ourselves and that if we had asked for adult help before taking the first step, we would have been turned down." Johns wrote a letter to the NAACP asking for their help. The case became one of the five school desegregation cases under the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case.

Activity: Ask students to read about Barbara Rose Johns in **Handout C**. Have students write a response journal to Barbara Johns' quote, "It [suing for the end of segregation] seemed like reaching for the moon."

II. The Montgomery Bus Boycott: Claudette Colvin and Mary Louise Smith

Following the arrest of Rosa Parks, Jo Ann Robinson, leader of the Woman's Political Council, created and distributed a handbill calling for a boycott of the Montgomery buses. The document mentions that there were previous arrests for the same action. Two young women Mary Louise Smith and Claudette Colvin were arrested for refusing to relinquish their seats on segregated buses months before Rosa Parks' arrest.

Activities:

1. Have students read the handbill and an account by Claudette Colvin about her arrest. Given the history that most students have learned about the Montgomery Bus Boycott, are they surprised to learn that Rosa Parks was not the first person arrested for refusing to give up her seat?
2. Ask students to find information on Claudette Colvin and Mary Louise Smith in their textbooks. Why aren't they included in the history of the Montgomery Bus Boycott? How does this change the way they think about the teaching of history and the information in their textbooks?
3. Have students read "Who was on the Bus? The untold versions" by Brendan Koerner at: www.kingdomnewsmagazine.com/articles/feb2003/history.pdf. After students read the article, discuss why it was that Claudette Colvin and Mary Louise Smith were not used as test cases. How might age, gender, and/or socioeconomic background have played a role?

Suggested Resources:

Additional information on the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Rosa Parks, and the Montgomery Improvement Association, can be found in the King Encyclopedia.

III. Little Rock Nine

Following the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling that the doctrine of 'separate but equal' had no place in the field of public education, the Little Rock School Board developed a plan for the gradual desegregation at Central High School. However, on 2 September, the night before school was to begin, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus called on the state's National Guard to surround Little Rock Central High School and prevent black students from entering.

On 4 September, eight of the nine students met Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP, to face the mob they knew would be waiting for them. The ninth student, Elizabeth Eckford – who was only 15 years old - was unaware of the meeting and went alone. Eckford was greeted by an angry crowd shouting racial epithets and threatening physical violence. A group of whites screamed, "Lynch her! Lynch her!", and one woman spat on her. Finally, a white woman helped her board a bus away from the mob.

Mobs continued to attack any black person who approached the school, and the conflict made international news. The battle between state and federal power forced President Eisenhower to take action. He federalized the entire Arkansas National Guard and sent soldiers to Little Rock to ensure the students' safety.

On 25 September 1957, the "Little Rock Nine" entered Central High under the protection of federal troops. While the battle had ended in the eyes of the media and the nation, the daily battles for the nine students continued for the rest of the school year and beyond.

Activities:

1. Show the first film in the *Eyes on the Prize* series, "Fighting Back."
2. **Activity "Letter from the Editor":** On 19 September, Jane Emery, co-editor of the Central High School's student newspaper, *The Tiger*, wrote a letter to her fellow students entitled "Can You Meet the Challenge?" Ask students to read the background information in **Handout E** and Jane Emery's letter to the editor in **Handout F**. Bring a letter from the editor or an editorial from a current newspaper to class and introduce students to the basics of writing an editorial. (You can find a number of "How to write an editorial" sites on the Internet). Have students put themselves in the place of the editor of *The Tiger* and write a letter addressed to his or her fellow students. The letter may be addressed to just the white students, the "Little Rock Nine," or both. The letter should also reflect a familiarity with the events surrounding Little Rock's integration.
3. **Suggested reading:** *Warriors Don't Cry* by Melba Patillo Beals.

IV. Compare and Contrast

While all of the above examples involve youth action, there were a number of different motivations and tactics used by the participants. While Claudette Colvin and Mary Louise Smith acted alone, without any organizational support, Barbara Johns enlisted the help of her fellow students. In contrast, it was adults who primarily organized the Children's Crusade, and the youth efforts were part of a larger campaign. Have students compare and contrast the differences between the campaigns and events covered in this unit.

Some questions to consider:

- What similarities do you see between the various campaigns?
- What differences do you see?
- Which example did you find most interesting or inspiring? Why?
- Could you see yourself participating in any of the campaigns or events above? Which ones? Why?
- In what ways were specific campaigns a success? Where did they fall short?
- Consider the various tactics used in the campaigns listed above. Which do you consider to be the most effective? Why?

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Handout A: The Children's Crusade

"My mother told me I had to serve my time," said Anita Woods, a twelve year-old girl arrested for demonstrating against racial segregation in Birmingham. When asked if she wanted to go home she replied, "Yes! But I'd do it again. I'll keep on marching 'till I get freedom."

In 1963 the campaign to desegregate Birmingham, Alabama, generated national publicity and federal action because of the particularly violent response by segregationists and the decision to use children in the campaign.

On 20 April, eight days after his arrest, Martin Luther King, Jr. was released from Birmingham jail only to find that the demonstrations were losing support. "We needed more troops," Wyatt T. Walker later recalled. "We had scraped the bottom of the barrel of adults who would go [to jail]." SCLC staff member James Bevel, a participant in the Nashville sit-in movement, initiated the idea of using children in the demonstrations. Bevel argued that while many adults may be reluctant to participate in the demonstrations for fear of losing their jobs, children had less to lose. King had reservations about the use of children, but after some deliberation he agreed, hoping that this would "subpoena the conscience of the nation to the judgment seat of morality." Members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR) immediately began canvassing local schools for volunteers.

On 2 May, hundreds of students – many carrying blankets, toothbrushes and school books – skipped their classes and came prepared to demonstrate. The first group of young students – one just six years old – emerged from Sixteenth Street Baptist Church carrying signs and singing freedom songs. Onlookers cheered as the children approached police lines. A bewildered policeman asked Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth how many more child protesters were involved. "At least a thousand," he replied, eliciting a "God Ah'mighty" from the policeman.

Large numbers of students were arrested; and when police ran out of paddy wagons, school buses were used to carry the children away. The laughing and singing youngsters offered no resistance to arrest. While some participants ran when police approached, most of the marchers fell to their knees and prayed. At the end of the day, over 900 children were taken away to Birmingham jails. As the jails overflowed, James Bevel and Andrew Young discouraged parents from posting bail.

The next evening King delivered a speech at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, offering encouragement to the parents of the young protesters: "Don't worry about your children; they are going to be alright. Don't hold them back if they want to go to jail, for they are not only doing a job for themselves, but for all of America and for all of mankind."

King was criticized for using children in the demonstrations. One of the most vocal criticisms came from Malcolm X who stated, "Real men don't put their children on the firing line." King responded by saying that the demonstrations allowed children to develop "a sense of their own stake in freedom and justice."

Despite threats of suspension and expulsion from principals and the school superintendent, students returned on 3 May to continue the demonstration. Police barricaded the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, where the black students had assembled. When the students tried to leave the church, they were blasted with fire hoses and attacked by dogs. Two girls ran through the park in just their slips – their outer clothing ripped off by the force of the fire hoses. Several others had their shirts torn off by the water.

The next day newspapers around the country carried shocking images of the violence taking place in Birmingham. Pictures of children being attacked by dogs, of fire hoses knocking bodies into the street and up against buildings, and of women being beaten by policemen, helped awaken the "moral conscience of the nation." On 10 May, an agreement was announced resulting in the desegregation of many of Birmingham's public facilities.

The Birmingham campaign was the largest of several mass protest movements in 1963 that culminated in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. According to King, the success in Birmingham could largely be attributed to the thousands of young people who demonstrated their personal commitment to justice. The Birmingham Campaign helped pave the way for the passage of the most significant civil rights legislation of the 1960s: the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

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Philip Benjamin, "Negro Girls Define 'Freedom' From Cell in Birmingham Jail." *The New York Times*. May 9, 1963.

Handout B: Political Cartoons from Birmingham

Youth in the Movement Domestic Views of the Strife in Birmingham



Yuck in The Louisville Times
"My third grade cousin went to jail with the fifth graders."



Le Felley in The Christian Science Monitor
"... with liberty and justice for all."



Liederman in The Long Island Daily Press
"Women and children first."

Handout C: Barbara Johns Leads a Student Strike

Just before 11:00 A.M. on April 23, 1951, the phone rang in the principal's office at Robert R. Moton High School in Farmville, Virginia. In a muffled voice, the caller said that two Moton students were in trouble at the bus terminal and then hung up. The call—a ploy to lure Principal Boyd Jones away from the building—succeeded. As soon as he headed to the bus station, a student delivered forged notes to the school's teachers, signed with a facsimile of the principal's characteristic J, saying that all teachers and students were to report immediately for an assembly. After Moton's 450 students filed into the central hall, which doubled as the auditorium, the stage curtain swung open, revealing a group of student leaders. At the rostrum stood sixteen-year-old Barbara Rose Johns, who announced that the assembly was for students only; emphasizing her point, she rapped her shoe on a bench while shouting to the teachers, "I want you out of here!"

Then Johns began what one of the student leaders called "her soliloquy." Moton's school buildings were totally inadequate, Johns told the students. The white high school in Farmville had a gymnasium, cafeteria, locker rooms, infirmary, and an auditorium with fixed seats; Moton had none of these. When Moton's student body outgrew the building's 180-student capacity, the Prince Edward County school board put up three temporary structures covered with tarpaper. Some people said the "tarpaper shacks" looked like a poultry farm. Teachers had to stop teaching to stoke the sometimes dangerous woodstoves that made close-by students too hot but left those farther away too cold. "We will not accept these conditions," Johns told the students. "We will do something. We will strike."

Johns assured the students that they would not be punished if they stuck together because the local jail was not big enough to hold them all. Exiting the school, they paraded with placards already made but hidden in the school shop: "We Are Tired of Tar Paper Shacks—We Want a New School." The students overwhelmingly decided not to consult their parents first but to act on their own. The next day they rode buses to school but stayed outside, protesting on the school grounds.

According to her family, Johns had been quiet and studious before she took charge of the student protest. She had read widely—notably Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*, Richard Wright's *Native Son*, and other books she found in the library of her uncle, Vernon Johns, an outspoken pastor who had once been president of Virginia Seminary. The Reverend Johns had inspired his young niece's rebelliousness before he left Farmville to become pastor of a church in Montgomery, Alabama. "I used to admire the way he didn't care who you were if he thought that something was right," Barbara Johns remarked about her uncle. As she became increasingly angered by Moton's makeshift facilities, a teacher challenged her to do something, and she did.

In the hectic first day of the strike, the students called the NAACP office in Richmond. Johns and Carrie Stokes, president of the Moton student council, followed up with a letter to veteran NAACP lawyer Spottswood Robinson: "We hate to impose as we are doing, but under the circumstances that we are facing, we have to ask for your help." Two days later, Robinson and his longtime NAACP associate Oliver T. Hill stopped by Farmville to meet with the students, who were told to bring their parents. "I had a horror of talking to a group of these kids with no adults around," Robinson recalled. After the meeting, the two attorneys were sufficiently impressed by the students' determination to agree to help them, if they agreed to seek desegregation rather than merely better facilities. "What made us go ahead," Robinson explained later, "was the feeling that someone would have to show them something before they would go back to school."

The strike at Moton was planned and led by students. When other students suggested they should defer to the adults who had been working for years to get the county school board to approve a new black school, Johns rejected the advice, quoting scripture: "A little child shall lead them." In a later interview, she said, "We knew we had to do it ourselves, and if we had asked for adult help before taking the first step, we would have been turned down." One student leader recalled Johns predicting, "We could make a move that would broadcast Prince Edward County all over the world." Events proved her right, as the strike at Moton became a lawsuit that was combined with other desegrega-

tion cases to become *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, the most important and successful suit in the NAACP's long effort to end segregation in schools.

But Johns was not a party to the suit she helped initiate. After threats to her and a cross burning on the school grounds, her parents feared for her safety and sent her to live with her Uncle Vernon in Montgomery, where she finished high school. Her leadership, however, left a legacy of student activism that continued to grow in the following years.

Carson, Clayborne, Emma J. Lapansky-Werner, and Gary B. Nash. *African American Lives: The Struggle for Freedom*. New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2005, pp. 427-429.

Suggested Print Resources:

Irons, Peter. *Jim Crows Children: The Broken Promise of the Brown Decision*. New York: Penguin Books, 2002.

Isaac, Katherine. *Civics for Democracy: A Journey for Teachers and Students*. Washington DC: Essential Books, 1992.

Kluger, Richard. *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education*. New York: Vintage Books, 1975.

Suggested Web Resources:

Separate but Unequal: How a Student-Led Protest Helped Change the Nation, NPR.
www.npr.org/features/feature.php?wflid=1894713

The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow, PBS.
www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/stories_people_johns.html

Relevant entries in the King Encyclopedia on the King Institute's website: kinginstitute.info

Handout D: Boycott Handbill and Claudette Colvin's Account of Her Arrest

HANDBILL

Don't ride the bus to work, to town, to school, or any place Monday December 5.

Another Negro woman has been arrested and put in jail because she refused to give up her bus seat.

Don't ride the bus to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday. If you work, take a cab, or share a ride, or walk.

Come to mass meeting, Monday at 7:00 PM at the Holt Street Baptist Church for further instruction.

Excerpt from *Freedom's Children* by Ellen Levine

The following is from an interview with Claudette Colvin after the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

At my school, the reason we got into it was because a boy named Jeremiah Reeves was arrested for supposedly raping a white woman, which he did not do. The authorities kept him in jail until he came of age, and then they electrocuted him. He was from Booker T. Washington, my school. He was the drummer for

the school band. His father was a delivery man at the same store that Rosa Parks worked at. I was in the ninth grade when it happened. And that anger is still in me from seeing him being held as a minor until he came of age.

That was the first time I heard talk about the NAACP. I thought it was just a small organization. I didn't know it was nationwide. I heard about it through the teachers. Some people said that the reason they convicted Jeremiah was to prove to the NAACP that they couldn't take over the South. Our school would take up collections for the NAACP, and we'd have movies for Jeremiah to try and help pay for good lawyers for him. Our rebellion and anger came with Jeremiah Reeves.

On March 2, 1955, I got on the bus in front of Dexter Avenue Church. I went to the middle. No white people were on the bus at that time. It was mostly schoolchildren. I wasn't thinking about anything in particular. I think I had just finished eating a candy bar. Then the bus began to fill up. White people got on and began to stare at me. The bus motor-man asked me to get up. A colored lady got on, and she was pregnant. I was sitting next to the window. The seat next to me was the only seat unoccupied. She didn't realize what was going on. She didn't know that the bus driver had asked me to get up. She just saw the empty seat and sat next to me. A white lady was sitting across the aisle from me, and it was against the law for you to sit in the same aisle with a white person.

The bus driver looked back through the rearview mirror and again told me to get up. I didn't. I knew he was talking to me. He said, "Hey, get up." I didn't say anything...The white people were complaining. The driver stopped the bus and said, "I'm going to call the cops." First a traffic patrolman came on the bus and he asked, "Are any of you gentleman enough to get up and give this pregnant lady your seat?" There were two black men in the back of the bus who were sanitation workers. They got up, and the pregnant lady went and sat in the back. That left me still sitting by the window.

I remained there, and the traffic patrolman said, "Aren't you going to get up?"

I said, "No. I don't have to get up. I paid my fare, so I do not have to get up. It's my constitutional right to sit here just as much as that lady. It's my constitutional right!" The words just came to my mind. That history teacher and my literature teacher, they were just pricking our minds. In literature she was an unorthodox teacher. She didn't teach us regular literature...She taught us the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Articles of Confederation.

I just kept talking and I never stopped. My mother used to say, "She can out-talk 40 lawyers." And I just kept blabbing things out and I never stopped. That was worse than stealing, you know, talking back to a white person.

The police knocked my books down. One took one wrist, the other grabbed the other, and they were pulling me off the bus, just like you see on the TV now. I was really struggling. They put me in the car...and they took me to City Hall. I remember one of the men saying, "What happened to this black bitch? This is a black whore." He said, "Take her to Atmore [state prison] and get rid of her."

Other kids got home and told Mama what happened. She already knew how hurt I was about Jeremiah Reeves. She knew this wasn't a one-day thing...

We had a saying that black people would be free in a hundred years. You know, from 1863 to 1963. But no one wanted to do anything about it individually, or get together and say, "No more. I'm hurting, and I don't like this." The funny thing was they all wanted change, but they didn't know how to go about it.

I heard about Rosa Park's arrest through a college friend, and that there was going to be a boycott because they arrested Rosa Parks. I was glad...I didn't feel bad that all the talk was about Rosa Parks....We had the same ideas, the same thoughts.

My sister Mary once mentioned something about Rosa Parks. She said, "They never mention you. One day someone might mention you. They'll go through the court files and want to know who was Claudette Colvin."

I'm not sorry I did it. I'm glad I did it. The revolution was there and the direction it was going in. My generation was angry. And people just wanted a change. They just wanted a change.

Handout E: The Little Rock Nine

"I think that the first day was probably the most afraid I ever was," fifteen-year-old Minniejean Brown observed as she recalled her arrival at Little Rock's previously all-white Central High School for the fall term of 1957. Brown was one of nine black students to take part in the desegregation effort initiated by Daisy Bates, head of the NAACP's local branch. Selected on the basis of their academic excellence and willingness to become racial pioneers, the nine students worked closely with Bates to prepare themselves for the hostilities they expected to face. The evening before the first day of school, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus announced he was sending National Guardsmen to deal with the anticipated violence. When the nine black students arrived on the morning of September 4, they quickly realized that the Guardsmen were positioned to block them from entering the school, not to protect them from a jeering mob of white segregationists. "I don't think we dared turn back to the mob," Brown recalled. She found it confusing that those in the mob hated her, even though they knew nothing about her. "I mean if they knew me a little bit, then they could say they hated me, but to not know me at all just seemed so strange."

The students who became known as the Little Rock Nine were unable to enter Central High School on September 4, but they were determined to prevail over Governor Faubus and mob violence. The following day, Bates arranged for them to meet to walk to the school together. Elizabeth Eckford, one of the nine, did not get word of the plan, however, because there was no phone in her home. An angry crowd quickly surrounded her when she approached the school alone. Confused and frightened, she sat tensed on a bench until a white woman intervened and walked her to safety. The other eight students walked together to the school entrance, only to be turned back once again by Guardsmen with bayonets.

Faubus achieved a temporary victory by assigning National Guardsmen to prevent integration, but Thurgood Marshall and other NAACP lawyers immediately won an injunction against the governor's use of Guardsmen. When the nine students returned to Central High on September 23, they again encountered an angry mob, but Little Rock police escorted them into school through a delivery entrance. "The policemen seemed really scared, which kind of scared me," Brown remembered. Facing the threat of mob vengeance, the black students were taken away hastily in police cars.

The drama of black teenagers braving mob violence attracted international press coverage and transformed the Little Rock Nine into heroes of the civil rights movement. "It was the first time white Americans had seen black children in the newspaper," Brown recalled with pride. President Eisenhower, though reluctant to intervene, realized Faubus could not be allowed to block implementation of a federal court decision. After another day of mob violence, Eisenhower nationalized the Arkansas National Guard, shifting their command from the state to the federal government. He also ordered the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock, the first time since Reconstruction that a president had sent federal troops into the South to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment.

Carson, Clayborne, Emma J. Lapansky-Werner, and Gary B. Nash. *African American Lives: The Struggle for Freedom*. New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2005, pp. 443-444.

Handout F: Can you Meet the Challenge?

On 19 September 1957 Jane Emery, co-editor of Central High School's student newspaper, *The Tiger*, published the following letter to her fellow students.

Can You Meet the Challenge?

By Jane Emery

You are being watched! Today the world is watching you, the students of Central High. They want to know what your reactions, behavior, and impulses will be concerning a matter now before us. After all, as we see it, it settles now to a matter of interpretation of law and order.

Will you be stubborn, obstinate, or refuse to listen to both sides of the question? Will your knowledge of science help you determine your action or will you let customs, superstition, or tradition determine the decision for you?

This is the chance that the youth of America has been waiting for. Through an open mind, broad outlook, wise thinking, and a careful choice you can prove that America's youth has not "gone to the dogs" that their moral, spiritual, and educational standards are not being lowered. This is the opportunity for you as citizens of Arkansas and students of Little Rock Central High to show the world that Arkansas is a progressive thriving state of wide-awake alert people. It is a state that is rapidly growing and improving its social, health, and educational facilities. That it is a state with friendly, happy, and conscientious citizens who love and cherish their freedom.

It has been said that life is just a chain of problems. If this is true, then this experience in making up your own mind and determining right from wrong will be of great value to you in life.

The challenge is yours, as future adults of America, to prove your maturity, intelligence, and ability to make decisions by how you react, behave, and conduct yourself in this controversial question. What is your answer to this challenge?

Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X: **A Common Solution?**

By Erin Cook and Robert Kelly



Introduction

Years after the deaths of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, the two men still remain fixed, competing images in the American consciousness: Martin Luther King, Jr., an advocate of nonviolence, delivering his “I Have a Dream” speech from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, versus Malcolm X, the angry black nationalist, encouraging African Americans to fight racial oppression “by any means necessary.”

Were these two men really ideological opposites? Did they share any common ground? Were their thoughts about each other and the struggle for African American liberation changing in the years leading up to their assassinations? Is it possible that the strategies advocated by the two leaders were converging at the time?

While many students are familiar with Martin Luther King, Jr., the civil rights leader, most students are totally unfamiliar with his call to bring an end to the Vietnam war or his efforts to bring about economic justice. Students’ knowledge of Malcolm X is even more limited; few, if any, know of X’s efforts to correspond with King or of the dramatic shift in his racial attitudes following his trip to Mecca.

The primary goal of this lesson is to challenge students’ preconceived notions about Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X and the roles they played in the African American struggle for freedom. While there is certainly much to be learned by examining the different philosophies and tactics of each leader, these two men, who combined their religious leadership with political action, have much more to teach us as we explore how their vision for racial justice developed into a call for social and economic equality and human rights.

Grades: 9-12
CA State Standards: 11.9, 11.10, 12.2

Essential Question: In what areas did the ideas of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X converge?

Sub Questions:

- What do primary sources tell us about the ideological and political development of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X?
- What are the various personal, social, and political factors that influenced Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X's leadership?
- What are the opposing philosophies and tactics of King and Malcolm X, as well as areas in which their ideas converged?

Unit Parts:

1. Exploring preconceived notions of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X
2. The history of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X
3. Convergence/Common Ground

Part One:

Exploring preconceived notions of King and Malcolm X

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** Create two columns on the board with "Martin Luther King, Jr." at the top of one and "Malcolm X" at the top of the other. Have students brainstorm words or phrases that come to mind when they think of each man.
2. **Classroom Activity:** Break students into small groups and provide them with **Handout A: Quotations by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X**. Have them guess the identity of the author based on the previous exercise. After revealing the appropriate authors with **Handout B**, discuss how and why we have these fixed images of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

Part Two:

The history of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X

Activity / Instructions:

The next step in this lesson involves researching the lives of King and X before they became national figures. How teachers approach this section depends on both time and resources. Ideally, students would have the opportunity to read the relevant chapters in both autobiographies. However, if time and/or resources do not allow for students to work with the two books, have students read Dr. Carson's article "A Common Solution" and visit the King Encyclopedia on the King Institute's website where they can access a biography of both men.

1. **Classroom Activity:** Have students work in groups of 2-3 with the article and autobiographies, and list the five major events in each man's life that they believe helped to shape their respective roles in the African American freedom struggle. Students should consider areas such as family, religion, education, and experience with whites while growing up. After the students have completed their lists, bring the class together to share what they have found, and write the events on the board. Then, as a class, try to reduce the larger list down to the five most important events.
2. **Discussion:** Lead a discussion with students about the similarities and differences between Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. Ask students to predict what each man would say about current human rights issues.

Part Three:

Convergence/Common Ground

Activity / Instructions:

The third step is an exploration of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X from 1964-1965, a time during which the men's positions began to converge.

1. **Classroom Activity:** Have students work in small groups and study the quotes in **Handout C: King and Malcolm X Quotes From 1964 -1965** and **Handout D: Letter from Malcolm X to Martin Luther King, Jr.**
2. **Discussion/Reflection Questions:** What most surprised you about what you read from these documents? Why? How does this information affect your original perception of both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.? Identify three ways in which you see the ideas of Dr. King and Malcolm X converging.
3. **Assignment:** Have students write an essay or journal entry that reveals their previous perceptions about Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, and how they have changed throughout this lesson. Students should address how this might shape their attitudes and beliefs regarding other historical and/or public figures.

Handout A: Quotations by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X

"I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values."

"We can never get civil rights in America until our human rights are first restored. We will never be recognized as citizens until we are first recognized as humans."

"I have been convinced that some American whites do want to help cure the rampant racism which is on the path to destroying this country."

"Black men have slammed the door shut on a past of deadening passivity."

"I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today – my own government."

"You can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom."

"There is a magnificent new militancy within the Negro community all across this nation. And I welcome this as a marvelous development. The Negro of America is saying he's determined to be free and he is militant enough to stand up."

"I believe in human beings, and that all human beings should be respected as such, regardless of their color."

"It is a disgrace for Negro leaders not to be able to submerge our "minor" differences in order to seek a common solution to a common problem posed by a common enemy."

"[D]on't let anybody frighten you. We are not afraid of what we are doing. . . . We, the disinherited of this land, we who have been oppressed so long, are tired of going through the long night of captivity."

Handout B: Quotations by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X

King Quotes

"I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today – my own government."

- Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967

"I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values."

- Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967

"There is a magnificent new militancy within the Negro community all across this nation. And I welcome this as a marvelous development. The Negro of America is saying he's determined to be free and he is militant enough to stand up."

- Martin Luther King, Jr. King, 1963

"[D]on't let anybody frighten you. We are not afraid of what we are doing. . . . We, the disinherited of this land, we who have been oppressed so long, are tired of going through the long night of captivity."

- Martin Luther King, Jr. King, 1955

"Black men have slammed the door shut on a past of deadening passivity."

- Martin Luther King, Jr. King, 1968

Malcolm X Quotes

"You can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom."

- Malcolm X, 1965

"We can never get civil rights in America until our human rights are first restored. We will never be recognized as citizens until we are first recognized as humans."

- Malcolm X, 1964

"I believe in human beings, and that all human beings should be respected as such, regardless of their color."

- Malcolm X, 1965

"It is a disgrace for Negro leaders not to be able to submerge our "minor" differences in order to seek a common solution to a common problem posed by a common enemy."

- Malcolm X, 1963

"I have been convinced that some American whites do want to help cure the rampant racism which is on the path to destroying this country."

- Malcolm X, 1964

Handout C: King and Malcolm X Quotes from 1964-1965

King's statement following Malcolm's death:

"I think it is even more unfortunate that [Malcolm X's murder] occurred at a time when [he] was re-evaluating his own philosophical presuppositions and moving toward a greater understanding of the nonviolent movement and toward more tolerance of white people in general."

Malcolm X's quote from "The Ballot or the Bullet":

"Although I'm still a Muslim, I'm not here tonight to discuss my religion. I'm not here to try to 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...Whether we are Christians or Muslims or nationalists or agnostics or atheists, we must first learn to forget our differences, let us differ in the closet; when we come out in front, let us not have anything to argue about..."

King's statement on Black Power:

"There is a concrete, real black power that I believe in. I don't believe in black separatism, I don't believe in black power that would have racist overtones, but certainly if black power means the amassing of political and economic power in order to gain our just and legitimate goals, then we all believe in that. And I think that all white people of good will believe in that."

Handout D: Letter from Malcolm X to Martin Luther King, Jr.

AUG 5 1963

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7
113 Lenox Avenue
New York 26, New York

July 31, 1963

*Card
f.d.*

8-7

Dr. Martin Luther King
C/O Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The present racial crisis in this country carries within it, powerful destructive ingredients that may soon erupt into an uncontrollable explosion. The seriousness of this situation demands that immediate steps must be taken to solve this crucial problem, by those who have genuine concern, before the racial powder keg explodes.

A United Front involving all Negro factions, elements, and their leaders is absolutely necessary.

A racial explosion is more destructive than a nuclear explosion.

If capitalistic Kennedy and communistic Khrushchev can find something in common on which to form a United Front despite their tremendous ideological differences, it is a disgrace for Negro leaders not to be able to submerge our "minor" differences in order to seek a common solution to a common problem posed by a Common Enemy.

On Saturday, August 10th, from 1 - 7 P.M., the Muslims are sponsoring another giant outdoor rally at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue. Two previous rallies this summer at the same location, attracted 5000 to 7000 Harlemites respectively. We expect our largest crowd this time, rain or shine.

We are inviting several Negro leaders to give their analysis of the present race problem and also their solution. We will also explain Mr. Muhammad's solution.

There will be no debating, arguing, criticizing, or condemning. I will moderate the meeting and guarantee order and courtesy for all speakers. This rally is designed not only to reflect the spirit of unity, but also to give you a chance to present your views to the largest and most explosive elements in Metropolitan New York.

(2)

If you cannot come, please send your representative. Invitations to participate have been sent to: Dr. Gardner C. Taylor, Dr. Adam C. Powell, James Farmer, Whitney Young, A. Phillip Randolph, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, and James Forman.

An immediate reply would be appreciated.

Your Brother,

Malcolm X

Malcolm X, Minister
MUHAMMAD'S NEW YORK MOSQUE NO. 7

Suggested Resources:

- Carson, Clayborne. "A Common Solution." kinginstitute.info.
- King's Autobiography on the King Institute's website; it is also available in hard copy: Carson, Clayborne ed. *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Warner Books, 1998.
- The Martin Luther King, Jr. Encyclopedia. kinginstitute.info.
- X, Malcolm & Haley, Alex. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1964, Ch. 18, El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz.
- *Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads 1965 to 1985.* DVD. Produced by Blackside. PBS, 1990.

References

- Ali, Noaman. www.malcolm-x.org/index.html. 12 July 2004.
- Carson, Clayborne. "Malcolm X," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds. *American National Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Carson, Clayborne. "A Common Solution." *Emerge*. February 1998: 44-52.
- Carson, Clayborne, ed. *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York, NY: IPM/Warner Books, 2001.
- Carson, Clayborne, ed. "Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr." The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project. www.stanford.edu/group/King/about_king/. 12 July 2004.
- King, Martin Luther, Jr., "Beyond Vietnam." The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project. www.stanford.edu/group/King/publications/speechesFrame.htm. 12 July 2004.
- Malcolm X Biography. Africa Within. http://www.africawithin.com/malcolmx/malcolm_bio.htm. 12 July 2004.
- Marable, Manning. "By Any Means Necessary: The Life and Legacy of Malcolm X." Speech given at Metro State College. Denver, CO: February 1992.
- X, Malcolm and Alex Haley. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.* New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1964.

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Human Rights, By Any Means Necessary

By Andrea McEvoy Spero

Introduction

In this lesson, students create an “African American Freedom Struggle Timeline and Map” on a classroom wall and relate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to the timeline’s events. The lesson’s purpose is to broaden the traditional understanding of the civil rights movement from a domestic movement for political rights to a global struggle for human rights. In other words, the teaching strategy connects the civil rights movement to the fight for political freedom, human dignity, and economic sustenance for marginalized and oppressed people around the world.

Grades: 9-12

CA State Standards: 10.1, 10.2, 10.4, 10.9, 10.10, 11.1, 11.8, 11.9, 11.10, 11.11, 12.1, 12.2, 12.3

Essential Question: How is the African American Freedom Struggle connected to the global struggle for human rights?

Sub Questions:

- What are some of the major events in the African American Freedom Struggle?
- In what way were these events part of a larger international struggle for justice?
- How do the events of the freedom struggle relate to articles from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)?
- What are the differences between civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights?
- What are some examples of the above rights within the African American Freedom Struggle?
- Which human rights violations were perpetrated against African Americans during the 1950s and 1960s?
- Who are some of the major African American leaders of the 1950s and 1960s, and what were their contributions to the freedom struggle?
- How do the human rights treaties of the United Nations support struggles for human dignity, political freedom, and economic stability around the world today?

Unit Parts:

1. Freedom is on the Move
2. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights

Part One:

Freedom is on the Move

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Materials and classroom set-up:** You will need the following:
 - A large wall map of the world with string or tape for use along the bottom to serve as the timeline (mark the following years on the timeline: 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970);
 - Two copies of **Handout A: The African American Freedom Struggle Timeline** cut into strips; and
 - A class set of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The UDHR can be found at the United Nations website: www.un.org/Overview/rights.html.
2. **Opening activity:** Ask students what they know about the 'Civil Rights Movement,' and write their answers on the board. Who were the leaders? What were the major events? Where did they happen? What were the goals of the movement? Most students will identify Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, and Malcolm X as key figures and will include only events within the United States, such as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and the Voting Rights Act. Explain to students that the timeline and map activity will help them to see the movement as part of a larger global movement, not only for political and social rights, but also economic and cultural rights.
3. **Classroom Activities:**
 - a. Give each student a copy of **Handout A: The African American Freedom Struggle**. The timeline introduces students to thirty key events that illustrate the reciprocal relationship between the American civil rights movement and the international human rights movement, especially its campaigns against colonialism and in support of economic and social rights. The chronology begins with the Double V campaign and ends with King's Riverside Church address criticizing the Vietnam War, but this chronology is certainly not exhaustive. Students should be encouraged to research additional events, and teachers can facilitate in-depth discussions regarding the international dimensions of the struggle.
 - b. Split the class into two groups. Give each group a copy of the timeline cut into strips. Group One will place each event on the corresponding location on the map. Group Two will place the corresponding event on the timeline. Encourage students to add creative design to accompany the events.
 - c. Organize students into groups of three. Ask the groups to identify events on their timeline which reflect the human rights guaranteed in the UDHR. Ask students to share their conclusions with the class by citing specific examples from the timeline.

4. Discussion/ Reflection Questions:

- a. The timeline and map become a launching point for class discussion. Ask students to find Martin Luther King, Jr. on the map and the timeline. Where and when did he travel outside the U.S.? How do you think those experiences affected his leadership and philosophy? Before this activity, did you know about King's travels outside the U.S.? Why do you think this is left out of our general understanding of King? How does it affect our memory of him? Continue the discussion with the same questions regarding Malcolm X.
 - b. Share with students a brief background of the UDHR, if you have not already covered the document in your course. Give students a copy of the UDHR. Facilitate a discussion defining the differences between civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. Identify examples from the UDHR's articles.
5. **Optional Assignment:** Have students write a short essay about the goals of the African American Freedom Movement. How has their understanding of the people, the events, and the goals changed? Does the term 'Civil Rights Movement' correctly reflect the goals and events of the struggle? Using examples from the timeline, ask students to identify strategies that people have used to fight for their human rights.

Part Two:

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights

Introduction:

In July of 1964, Malcolm X attended the second meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). He presented a petition asking, "In the interest of world peace, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights." According to UN procedures, a member nation can request a human rights investigation of another country on behalf of the people whose rights have been violated. The African heads of state discussed the proposition at the OAU summit but failed to bring the case before the UN based in part by pressure from the U.S. State Department.

Although the United Nations Commission on Human Rights never conducted the investigation, students will create a mock hearing and investigation. This simulation allows students to do the following: a) examine the human rights violations within the United States during the 1950s and 1960s; b) examine viewpoints of African American leaders of the time; and c) review the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This exercise also serves as a model for potential investigations of current human rights violations. Students will run the hearing, present various viewpoints, and act as journalists reporting on the investigation.

Activity / Instructions:

1. Materials and classroom set-up:

- Copies of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).
- Access to a computer lab with internet access for students to conduct their research.
- For the simulated panel hearing, you will need 5 desks/chairs (set up at the front for the members of the panel) and 9 desks/chairs for the witnesses (positioned in a semicircle facing the panel members). The rest of the class, including UN delegates and reporters will sit behind the witnesses, either in rows or a semicircle.
- Markers and paper for students to create name placards and posters.

2. Classroom Activity

- Pass out **Handouts B** through **G** and read the introduction with the class.
- Play the interview with Malcolm X in Cairo after the African Summit, which can be obtained from the

Malcolm X Project at Columbia University at this website: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/ccbh/mxp/archival>.

- Review the UDHR and the events on the timeline from Part One of the lesson.
 - Assign roles and allow time for research. The panel members will need a place to discuss the procedures for the hearing while the other students conduct research.
 - After students have had sufficient time to prepare, allow the panel to begin the hearing. The panel will conduct the hearing, and the teacher will observe, providing guidance only when needed.
 - At the close of the hearing, the reporters will circulate the room asking questions of the panel members, UN delegates, African American leaders, and citizens.
 - While reporters are interviewing witnesses, citizens, and delegates, the panel members reconvene to vote whether or not human rights violations have occurred and the recommended action, if any. The panel chairperson will make the announcement.
 - After the announcement, students will return to their regular seats to complete their writing assignment. Each writing assignment depends on the role. Writing assignments include an editorial, a letter, a speech, and a newspaper article. You may wish to display the various writing assignments on a board at the end of the activity.
- 3. Discussion/Reflection:** After the students complete their writing assignment, facilitate a class discussion. Consider the following questions;
- Why did Malcolm X ask African nations to call for an investigation? Why not European nations?
 - Did you agree with the conclusion of your classmates representing the panel?
 - Which human rights violations were the most serious? Why?
 - If the UN Commission on Human Rights had convened this hearing in 1964, what do you think the outcome would have been?
 - Why do you think the U.S. State Department attempted to keep this hearing from occurring in 1964?
 - If a hearing like this took place in the United Nations about U.S. human rights violations today, which issues would be raised? Who would serve as witnesses, and which human rights would they consider violated? What evidence would they provide?

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Handout A: African American Freedom Struggle

Timeline: An International Perspective

1942: African American WWII soldiers returning from Europe and the Pacific establish the Double V campaign insisting that victory over racism at home is essential for victory in the global war against fascism.

1945 October 24: The United Nations is founded in San Francisco, California, and the headquarters are later moved to New York. African American scholar Ralph Bunche plays an integral role in the formation of the UN charter, specifically the charter's article dealing with the future of the colonial world.

1947 October 23: The NAACP files "An Appeal to the World," a petition in the United Nations protesting the treatment of blacks in the United States. W.E.B. Dubois is the principal author.

1947 December 4: The UN Commission on Human Rights rejects the NAACP's petition, but the NAACP office in New York is flooded with requests from around the globe for copies of the document.

1948 December 10: The General Assembly of the United Nations adopts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in New York, NY.

1948: Bayard Rustin visits India to study the Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence. He later becomes a key advisor to King during the Montgomery bus boycott and the deputy director of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

1951: William Patterson, Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress (CRC), delivers a petition to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland claiming that the U.S. government was complicit in genocide against African Americans. The lengthy petition, titled "We Charge Genocide," consists of documentation of 153 killings among other human rights abuses from 1945-1951.

1953: American Committee on Africa is formed. The ACOA supports African liberation struggles against colonialism through lobbying the United Nations and U.S. government officials, publishing pamphlets, a magazine, and reports on liberation struggles for both political and policy making audiences. Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Eleanor Roosevelt play important roles in the organization's campaigns.

1954 May 17: In "Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas," the U.S. Supreme Court rules that segregated schools are "inherently unequal" and orders that schools be integrated with "all deliberate speed." Briefs presented to the Supreme Court emphasize the international criticism of U.S. race relations and the U.S. image abroad.

1955: Rosa Parks attends Highlander Folk School in Tennessee and studies the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights during a workshop focused on the dismantling of Southern segregation laws.

1955 April 18-25: The Bandung Conference is held in Bandung, Indonesia and includes leaders of 29 African and Asian nations. The leaders discuss how to support one another in achieving social and economic well-being for their mostly impoverished populations. Their agenda addresses race, religion, colonialism, national sovereignty, and the promotion of world peace. The foremost figures of these nations are present, including Ahmed Sukarno, president of Indonesia, Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, Kwame Nkrumah, prime minister of the Gold Coast (later Ghana), Gamal Abdel Nasser, president of Egypt, Chou En Lai, premier of China, Ho Chi Minh, prime minister of Vietnam, and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem, New York.

1955 December 1: Rosa Parks is arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. A well planned boycott of city buses continues for over a year and results in desegregation on city buses and the hiring of black bus drivers. Martin Luther King, Jr. utilizes the Gandhian philosophy of nonviolent direct action to inspire the disciplined boycott.

1957 September 4: Nine students volunteer to integrate Little Rock Central High School but are kept from entering the school by armed Arkansas national guardsmen. International press coverage and outrage directed at U.S. embassies abroad prompt Eisenhower's decision to order the 101st Airborne to protect students as they integrate the school. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles warns government officials, "This situation was ruining our foreign policy."

1957: Ghana achieves its independence from Great Britain. Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah hosts African American leaders at the independence festivities, including Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Adam Clayton Powell, and Ralph Bunche. King returns to Montgomery and tells his congregation, "Ghana tells us that the forces of the universe are on the side of justice...An old order of colonialism, of segregation, discrimination is passing away now. And a new order of justice, freedom and good will is being born."

1957 December 10: Human Rights Day is organized "to protest the apartheid policies of the Union of South Africa and to demand that the Union live up to its obligations under Article I, Paragraph 3 of the United Nations Charter." The event is organized by the American Committee on Africa including Eleanor Roosevelt, International Chairman, James A. Pike, U.S. Chairman, and Martin Luther King, Jr., U.S. Vice-Chairman.

1959: King visits India, where his involvement in the Montgomery Bus Boycott is well documented in Indian newspapers. King recalled, "We were looked upon as brothers, with the color of our skins as something of an asset. But the strongest bond of fraternity was the common cause of minority and colonial peoples in America, Africa, and Asia struggling to throw off racism and imperialism."

1960: During the "Year of Africa," numerous African nations gain their independence. African Americans pay close attention to this historic transformation. James Baldwin quoted one African American as saying, "At the rate things are going here, ...all of Africa will be free before we can get a lousy cup of coffee."

1960 February: Students in Nashville, Tennessee, including Diane Nash, Marion Barry, John Lewis, Bernard Lafayette, and James Bevel, participate in lunch-counter sit-ins, which became a model for other protests. The young activists were trained by James Lawson, who spent years in India studying Gandhi's use of nonviolence to achieve social and political change.

1961 February: Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is assassinated while in custody of Belgian troops, who are supported by the U.S. government. African American leaders and activists, including Maya Angelou and Amiri Baraka, demonstrate in the gallery of the United Nations Security Council in New York. Protests also occur in San Francisco at the Belgian consulate.

1963 May 3: Under the leadership of Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, founder of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, a nonviolent campaign to end segregation and extend employment to African Americans begins in Birmingham, Alabama. Young nonviolent protesters are met with brutal repression tactics, including police dogs, fire hoses, and physical attacks by police. Photographs of these events appear on the front pages of newspapers world-wide. President John F. Kennedy expresses deep concern about the image of the U.S.

1963 May 23: First meeting of the Organization of African Unity takes place in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and is attended by African heads of state, who discuss the harsh treatment of civil rights protestors in Birmingham and draft a protest statement to President Kennedy.

1963 August 28: More than 250,000 people gather at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. John Lewis represents the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in his speech demanding the protection of voting rights for African Americans. Lewis declared, "One man, one vote is Africa's cry, and it is our cry." The march is an international event, spawning sympathy marches around the world. On the eve of the march, pioneering civil rights leader W.E.B. Du Bois dies at his home in Ghana.

1963 September 15: Four young girls are killed in Birmingham, Alabama when their church is bombed in retaliation for the nonviolent protest of the summer. International protests condemn the U.S. government for failure to protect its citizens. SNCC activists picket the UN to draw attention to the murders.

1964: Malcolm X goes on a pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia and returns with new optimism regarding the possibility of positive race relations among blacks and whites in America.

1964: Martin Luther King, Jr. receives the Nobel Peace Prize and accepts his award in Norway. The honor reflects the global awareness of and support for his commitment to human rights in the United States.

1964 June 28: Malcolm X announces the formation of the Organization of Afro-American Unity at a press conference in New York City.

1964 July 2: President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964, outlawing discrimination in public places, federal programs, and employment.

1964 July 17: Malcolm X attends the second meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo, Egypt, and presents a petition: "In the interest of world peace, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights."

1964 September: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) workers tour Africa and meet with African leaders and activists to discuss their common struggle against oppression.

1965 July 9: Congress passes the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Voting Rights Act prohibits the states from using literacy tests and other methods to prevent African Americans from voting.

1966: World heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali refuses to be inducted into the U.S. army in protest against the war in Vietnam.

1966: The Black Panther Party (BPP) is formed in Oakland, California. As part of their 10 point program, they demand, "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace."

February 1968: The BPP and SNCC form an alliance and link their ideological struggle to other freedom struggles against imperialism in Asia and Africa. Stokely Carmichael is appointed Prime Minister and James Forman Minister of Foreign Affairs of this newly formed international organization.

1967 April 4: King speaks out against the war in Vietnam addressing a crowd of 3,000 people in Riverside Church in New York City. In his speech entitled "Beyond Vietnam," King argues that the war effort is "taking the young black men who have been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem." Two weeks later, he and other activists lead thousands of demonstrators on an antiwar march to the United Nations.

Handout B: Introduction to the Human Rights Panel Hearing

In July of 1964, Malcolm X attended the second meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). He presented a petition asking, "In the interest of world peace, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights." According to UN procedures, a nation can request a human rights investigation of another country on behalf of the people whose rights have been violated. The African heads of state discussed the proposition at the OAU summit but failed to bring the case before the UN.

Although the United Nations Commission on Human Rights did not conduct the investigation, you will conduct this investigation in your classroom to determine whether human rights had been violated in the United States. Each of you will play a different but important role, so be sure to know your part. Good luck!

Handout C: Instructions for UN Human Rights Panel Members

You are one of five panel members who will run the investigation and hearing. Your job is to prepare questions for your witnesses, review the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), run the hearing and create a report for the UN body based on your findings. In order to accomplish your task, use the following action items:

1. Meet with the panel members, elect a chairperson, and decide on procedures.
2. Review the UDHR. Identify possible violations of articles.
3. Prepare questions for your witnesses.
4. Decide the order in which witnesses will be questioned. Note that your witnesses will have a brief opening statement.
5. Take notes during the hearing to prepare for your writing assignment.
6. At the end of the hearing, reporters will interview witnesses, delegates, and citizens. At that time, your panel will vote on whether or not human rights violations have occurred and decide on a recommended course of action. The Chairperson will announce your decision.

Writing Assignment: After the hearing and announcement of your findings, prepare a report to the United Nations. In your report include the most important information from your witnesses, the specific violations of the UDHR, and your recommendations for course of action.

Handout D: Instructions for UN Delegate

You are Minister Milton Obote of Uganda. As a UN delegate, you will listen to the hearing and determine whether human rights violations have occurred in the United States and whether the United Nations should take action. If you believe the United Nations should take action, what action will you recommend? In order to accomplish your task use the following action items:

1. Review the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).
2. Research the history of the United Nations and Human Rights Commission.
3. Create a name plate to be placed on your desk during the hearing.
4. Take notes during the hearing for use in your writing assignment.
5. Be prepared to answer questions from the press. They will ask you whether you believe human rights violations have occurred and what action, if any, the United Nations should take.

Writing Assignment: Write a speech to be given on the floor of the United Nations regarding your conclusion at the end of the hearing. Include a summary of the human rights violations and the actions you believe the United Nations should take.

Handout E: Instructions for African American Leaders

You are the witnesses to human rights violations in the United States. Follow the action items in order to prepare for the hearing. As a witness to the Human Rights Commission, you will provide the panel with evidence of human rights violations by the United States. Your teacher will assign to you one of the individuals listed below. Use the following action items:

1. Review the UDHR.
2. Research your assigned role.
3. Create a name plate to be placed on your desk during the hearing.
4. Prepare a 4-5 sentence opening statement including your name and the organization you represent. During the hearing, you will be asked questions by the panel. Be prepared to share your evidence.
5. Take notes during the hearing for use in your writing assignment.
6. Feel free to create informational posters to share with the panel.

Writing Assignment: At the end of the hearing, create a letter to report on the content of the hearing and the decision of the panel. The letter will be addressed to the organization you represent.

William Patterson, Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress
Fannie Lou Hamer, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
Malcolm X, Organization of Afro-American Unity
Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Diane Nash, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
John Lewis, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Septima Clark, Highlander Folk School
Bayard Rustin, Congress on Racial Equality
Fred Shuttlesworth, Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACHR)

Use the King Encyclopedia as a starting point for your research. Be sure to investigate other sources as well. www.stanford.edu/group/King/liberation_curriculum/encyclopedia/index.htm

Handout F: Instructions for a U.S. Citizen

You are a U.S. citizen concerned with human rights violations in the United States. You served during World War II and believe strongly that your fellow soldiers fought bravely to secure democracy across the globe. You believe that democracy is threatened as a result of human rights violations against African Americans in the United States.

Your role as a citizen attending the hearing is to form an opinion and share it with the press. In order to accomplish your task, use the following action items:

1. Review the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).
2. Research the history of the United Nations and the Human Rights Commission.
3. Listen closely to the witnesses and take notes during the hearing. You will use your notes during the press interview and the writing assignment.
4. After the hearing you will be interviewed by a member of the press. Share your opinions and the action you believe the United Nations should take.

Writing Assignment: Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper about the hearing and the action you believe the United Nations should take. Be sure to include a summary of the witnesses, the information covered in the hearing, and the human rights violations which occurred.

Handout G: Instructions for a Journalist

You are a reporter for *The New York Times*, and you have been covering the marches and demonstrations of African American civil rights leaders, such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Birmingham Campaign, and the Selma to Montgomery March.

Your role as a reporter is to write an article about the hearing. In order to accomplish your task, use the following action items:

1. Review the UDHR and research the events mentioned above.
2. Take notes during the hearing for your article.
3. As you take notes, create a list of questions to ask the witnesses.
4. After the hearing, you will have a chance to ask questions of the witnesses, citizens, and a UN delegate.

Writing Assignment: Write an article for *The New York Times* about the hearing. Be sure to include a summary of the witness testimony, the human rights violations, the opinions of the UN delegates, and the opinions of U.S. citizens who attended the hearing.

Use the King Encyclopedia to begin your research:
www.stanford.edu/group/King/liberation_curriculum/encyclopedia/index.htm

The Black Panther Party's Struggle for Human Rights

By Ashni Mohnot



Introduction

The purpose of this unit is to enhance students' understanding of the Black Panther Party (BPP) of the 1960s by using primary source documents to study their struggle for human rights for African-Americans and other oppressed communities. This unit will familiarize students with the BPP's goals and its distinctive methods of organizing for social change.

In Part One of this unit, students will critically examine widely held conceptions of the BPP by contrasting descriptions of the organization in traditional history textbooks with the alternate view presented by primary documents. By comparing the BPP's 10-point program with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), students will learn that the Black Panther Party struggled to secure human rights for black and oppressed communities. Students will also familiarize themselves with the BPP's ideas on freedom, power, and revolution by analyzing and interpreting the text and imagery of their posters, photos, and cartoons.

In Part Two, students will use primary documents to debate whether or not the BPP advocated the use of violence to fight oppression. This activity will enable students to think critically about the philosophy and tactics of the BPP, engage with challenging historical questions, gain public speaking skills, and formulate evidence-based arguments.

In Part Three, students will research and identify current social injustices faced by African-American or other oppressed communities today and apply the BPP model of the 10-point program to create their own list of human rights demands for these communities. In Part Four, students will familiarize themselves with the BPP's community survival programs, using the Free Breakfast for Children program as a case study, and formulate their own programs to address some of the social injustices faced by African-American or other oppressed communities today.

Grades: 9-12

CA State Standards: 11.1, 11.10, 11.11, 12.3

Essential Question: How did the Black Panther Party struggle to secure human and civil rights for African-Americans and other oppressed communities?

Sub Questions:

- What are some commonly held conceptions of the Black Panther Party? Are they historically accurate? Why or why not?
- What was the Black Panther Party struggling for? What were its demands?
- What was the Black Panther Party's stance regarding the use of violence?
- What are some of the social injustices faced by African-American and other oppressed communities in the United States today?
- How did the Black Panther Party organize to ensure human rights for black and oppressed communities? What were some of the programs they operated?
- How can we apply the BPP model to organize for human rights in the United States today?

Unit Parts:

1. What did the BPP stand for?
2. The BPP and Self-Defense
3. Demanding Human Rights
4. Ensuring Human Rights

Documents: The documents in the following handouts: B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, and N are from the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen. These materials are intended solely for educational, non-commercial use. Any and all existing copyrights remain with their existing rights holders and no further reproductions are authorized without express written permission from the rights holder.

Part One:

What did the BPP stand for?

Materials Needed:

1. A class set of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
2. Tape, blank sheets of paper

Activities / Instructions:

1. Students read the excerpts about the Black Panther Party (BPP) from traditional American History textbooks in **Handout A: Textbook Excerpts on the Black Panther Party**. The teacher then gives the class background information on the Black Panther Party. The History channel encyclopedia entry offers a good overview (www.history.com/encyclopedia). Students read the Black Panther Party 10-point program (abridged version) in **Handout B: Black Panther Party 10 Point Program**.

Discussion Questions:

Students work in pairs and then share responses with the class.

- What are the similarities and differences in the portrayal of the Black Panther Party in the textbooks, in the overview, and in the 10-point program?
- What is missing from the textbook excerpts? Are there inaccuracies in the portrayal of the BPP in the textbooks?
- List the goals of the Black Panther Party.

Note: For your reference, the full text of the 10 point program, with elaborations on each point, is available at www.blackpanther.org/TenPoint.htm. Some of the words differ slightly from the version in **Handout B**.

2. Give students a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (www.un.org/Overview/rights.html) and offer a brief overview of its origins. The UDHR website (www.udhr.org/history/default.htm) is a good resource. Students compare the Black Panther Party's 10 point program with the UDHR and match the BPP's demands against the relevant human right listed in the UDHR. Students share their matches with the class. Discuss: *How is the BPP's 10 point program a demand for human rights for black and oppressed communities?*

Note: Since the UDHR is available in several languages, students in a linguistically diverse class can study it in their native tongues.

3. **Protest Art:** Students analyze visual materials associated with the Black Panther Party. Paste the eight posters (Handouts C – J) on the classroom walls and a sheet of paper next to each poster with two columns: “Describe what you see” and “What do you think?” Organize students into small groups, each of which is assigned a poster. Students first list what they see in their poster, ex. ‘clenched fists’, ‘writing on knuckles’ in the ‘Two Fists’ poster. Students then list what they think about their poster, ex. The raised fists demonstrate a readiness to fight. To facilitate appropriate responses, cover the second column with a sheet of paper till students have completed filling in the first. Students then present their assigned poster and their responses to it (or students can participate in a gallery walk to view all the posters and responses).
Discussion Questions:
 - What information about the Black Panther Party do you gain from the posters?
 - Did viewing the posters change your conception of the BPP? Why or why not?
 - Did anything in the posters surprise you? Did anything contradict what you have learned about the BPP so far?
4. On the board, list the captions/text from these posters: ‘power to the people’, ‘revolution’, ‘solidarity’, ‘political prisoners’, ‘people’s action’, ‘freedom’. Assign a term to each group to define its meaning to the Panthers. Students are encouraged to draw on previous knowledge from the activities and documents so far. Groups share their definitions with the class and note suggestions from other students. Each group writes their final definition on the board.

Part Two:

The BPP and Self-Defense

Activities / Instructions:

1. Students read **Handout K: Rules of the Black Panther Party** and **Handout L: Quotes on Violence**. In both handouts, students mark ‘V’ next to any text that indicates the Panthers advocated violence and ‘NV’ next to any text that indicates the Panthers did not advocate violence. As students share their responses with the class, they articulate the reasons behind their choices.
2. **Debate:** Organize a debate centered on the following proposition: “The Black Panther Party advocated the use of violence to fight oppression.” Assign five students to favor the proposition and five to oppose it. Assign the rest of the class to be Judges. Each debater prepares a one minute statement in favor of or against the proposition, using these documents for supporting evidence **Handout B: Black Panther Party 10 Point Program**, **Handout K: Rules of the Black Panther Party**, **Handout L: Quotes on Violence**, and the posters. After the debate, the judges decide the winners and share the reasons they were convinced by the winning argument.
Option: Students write an essay on the following question:
Do you think that the Black Panther Party advocated the use of violence to fight oppression? Why or why not? Use the following documents to support your answer: Handout B: 10 point program, Handout K: Rules of the Black Panther Party, Handout L: Quotes on Violence, and the eight posters.
Students might need copies of the posters as reference.

Part Three:

Demanding Human Rights

Materials Needed:

1. Several computers with Internet access
2. Tape, butcher paper

Activities / Instructions:

1. Each pair of students selects two of the BPP's 10-point program and investigates whether these demands have now been fulfilled for the African-American community. Students use the resources listed in **Handout M** as a starting point for further research. Students write an in-class or homework reflection on the following prompt: *Have the demands you researched been fulfilled for African Americans? Give examples.* Students can choose to write on either or both of the demands they researched.
Extension: Encourage students to research these demands for other communities in addition to or instead of the African-American community. Students may wish to focus on the communities they belong to.
2. **Jigsaw:** After the last activity, each student is now an 'expert' on two BPP demands. Students form groups of five with students who researched the other eight demands. After students share their expertise on the demands they researched with their group, each group creates a new 10-point program of human rights demands for today. Students are encouraged to include demands that were not part of the original BPP program, if their research in the first activity uncovered new human rights issues. Groups share their new 10-point program by taping it to the classroom wall, and then view their peers' work. Discuss any significant differences in the choice of human rights issues by each group.

Part Four:

Ensuring Human Rights

Activities / Instructions:

1. Students review the list of survival programs in **Handout N: Survival Programs** that the Black Panther Party created for their community to fulfill the demands in their 10 point program. In pairs, students match each of the ten demands to the survival program(s) created to address that demand and share their matches with the class.
Discussion questions:
 - Can you identify any comparable programs that exist today?
 - Would any of these programs help address the injustices you identified in the African-American (or other) community today? Give examples. What modifications would you make, if any, to suit today's context?
2. Students read the brief description of the operations of the Panthers' Free Breakfast for Children program in **Handout O: Quotes: Free Breakfast for Children Program**. Discuss: *What are some of the factors described here that helped operate the Free Breakfast for Children program? Can you think of other elements essential to running this program?* Examples: donated food, monetary contributions, soliciting volunteers to cook and clean, etc. Make a list of the factors on the board.
3. In pairs, students choose an injustice from the 10-point programs the class created and displayed on the walls that cannot be addressed by a modification of one of the Panthers' survival programs. Students describe a program that could address this human rights issue in the African-American (or other) community today. Using the factors they listed for the Free Breakfast program as a guide, students make a list of factors to consider for effective operation of the program they designed, including people or organizations responsible for running it. Students share their work with the class. Discuss: *Who (government, individuals, organizations) is responsible for ensuring basic human rights for society?*

Handout A: Textbook Excerpts on the Black Panther Party

Excerpt 1

In Oakland, California, in October 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded a political party known as the Black Panthers to fight police brutality in the ghetto. The party also offered African-Americans what it called "a program for the people," which advocated taking control of the communities in which African-Americans lived, full employment, and decent housing...To raise money for the organization, they sold copies of the writings of Mao Zedong, leader of the Chinese Communist revolution. The Panthers publicly preached armed revolt and adopted one of Mao's slogans: "Power flows out of the barrel of a gun."

Source: *The Americans*. McDougal Littell, Inc., 2000, pp. 874

Excerpt 2

Huey Newton, one of the founders of the militant Black Panther party, proclaimed, "We make the statement, quoting from Chairman Mao, that Political Power comes through the Barrel of a Gun."

Source: *America Past and Present*. Pearson Longman, Inc., 2007, pp. 884-85

Excerpt 3

...two college students in Oakland, California, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, organized the Black Panthers in 1966. Brandishing firearms and wearing bandoliers, the Black Panthers gained national publicity from a series of violent confrontations with the police and from Newton's repeated claim that "quoting from Chairman Mao...political power comes through the barrel of a gun."...The Justice Department and the FBI worked closely with local police forces in 1969-1970 to arrest Black Panthers on dubious charges and to disrupt their operations by disinformation programs. Gunfights between the police and the Panthers killed some forty members of this radical black organization.

Source: *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, D.C. Heath and Company, 1993, pp. 1017, 1055

Excerpt 4

In 1966 the Black Panther party was formed in Oakland, California. Its goals included protecting African American communities from police harassment and assuming neighborhood control of police, schools, and other services. The Black Panthers differed significantly from other African-American groups in that they supported the use of weapons for self-defense and retaliation.

Source: *American Odyssey: The United States in the 20th Century*, Glencoe/McGraw-Hill, 1997, pp. 694

Handout B: Black Panther Party 10 Point Program

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black and Oppressed communities.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist man of our Black and Oppressed communities.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want completely free health care for all Black and Oppressed people.
7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people, other people of Color, and all oppressed people inside the United States.
8. We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression.
9. We want freedom for all Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. federal, state, county, city and military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology.

Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

Handout C: All Power to the People Button



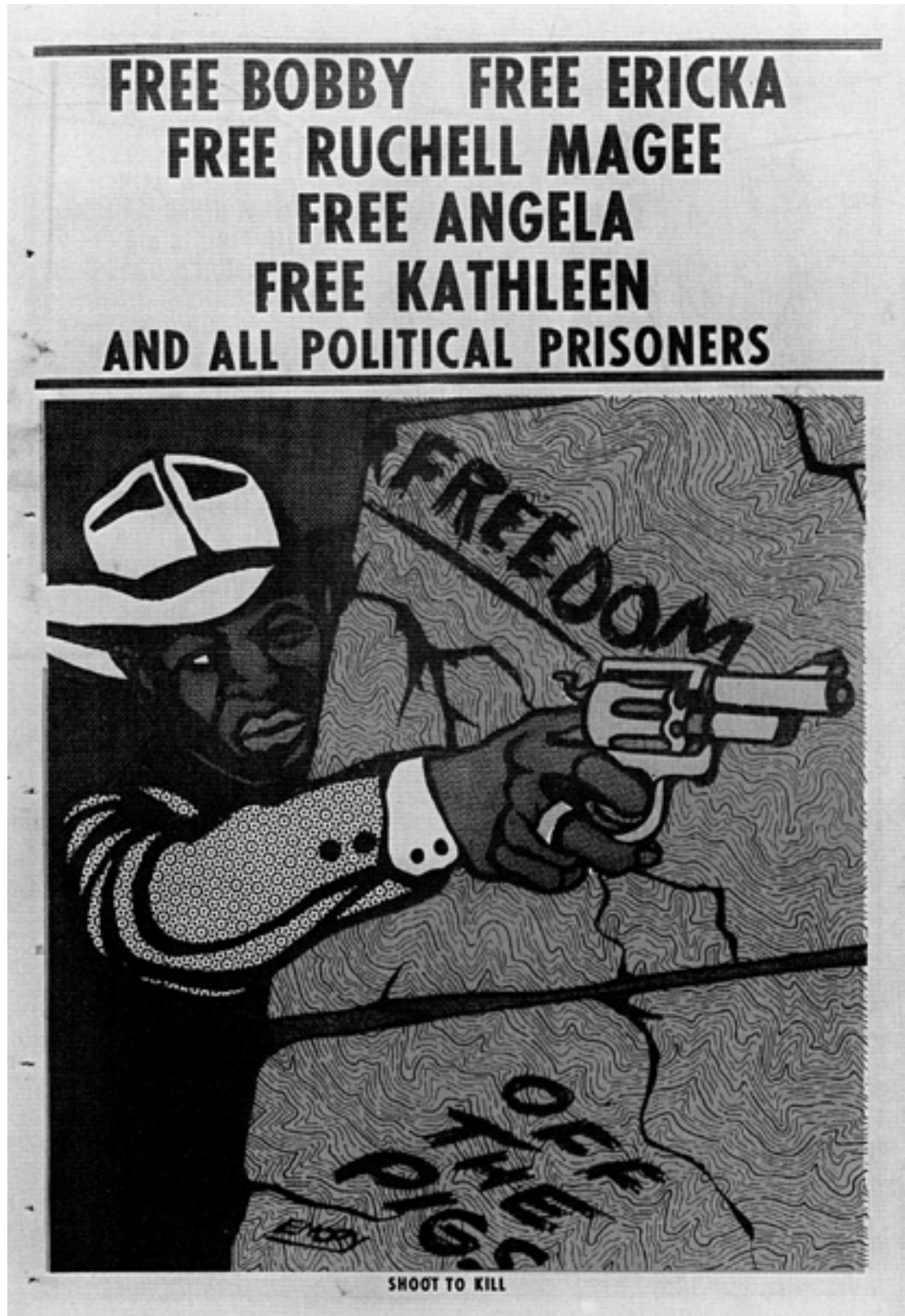
Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

Handout D: Photo of Marchers



Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

**Handout E: Free Bobby, Free Ericka,
Freedom Poster**



Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

Handout F: Day of Solidarity Poster

**REVOLUTIONARY
INTERCOMMUNAL DAY OF
SOLIDARITY FOR**

BOBBY SEALE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Political Prisoner

ERICKA HUGGINS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Political Prisoner

ANGELA DAVIS
Political Prisoner

RUCHELL MAGEE
Political Prisoner

**And
POST-BIRTHDAY
CELEBRATION For
HUEY P. NEWTON**
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
AND SUPREME COMMANDER
OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

SPEAKERS:
Huey P. Newton
Kathleen Cleaver
COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

**Music By
The Grateful Dead**

**FRIDAY, MARCH 5TH, 1971
7:00 PM to 11:00 PM
OAKLAND AUDITORIUM ARENA
10 - TENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA**

**Plus Revolutionary Singing by
The LUMPEN
Of The Black Panther Party
backed by THE FREEDOM MESSENGERS
•Also THE VANGUARDS•**

TICKETS ARE AVAILABLE AT THE FOLLOWING LOCATIONS:

BAY AREA: BLACK COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTER
1440 10th ST., WEST OAKLAND

WEST BERKELEY BRANCH B.P.P.
2230 10th ST. WEST BERKELEY

BERKELEY N.C.C.F.
2106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY

IN JOE ANGELES CALL: (415) 833-2344

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION
1234 FULBRIGHT ST., SAN FRANCISCO

RICHMOND BRANCH B.P.P.
423 CHURCH ST. RICHMOND

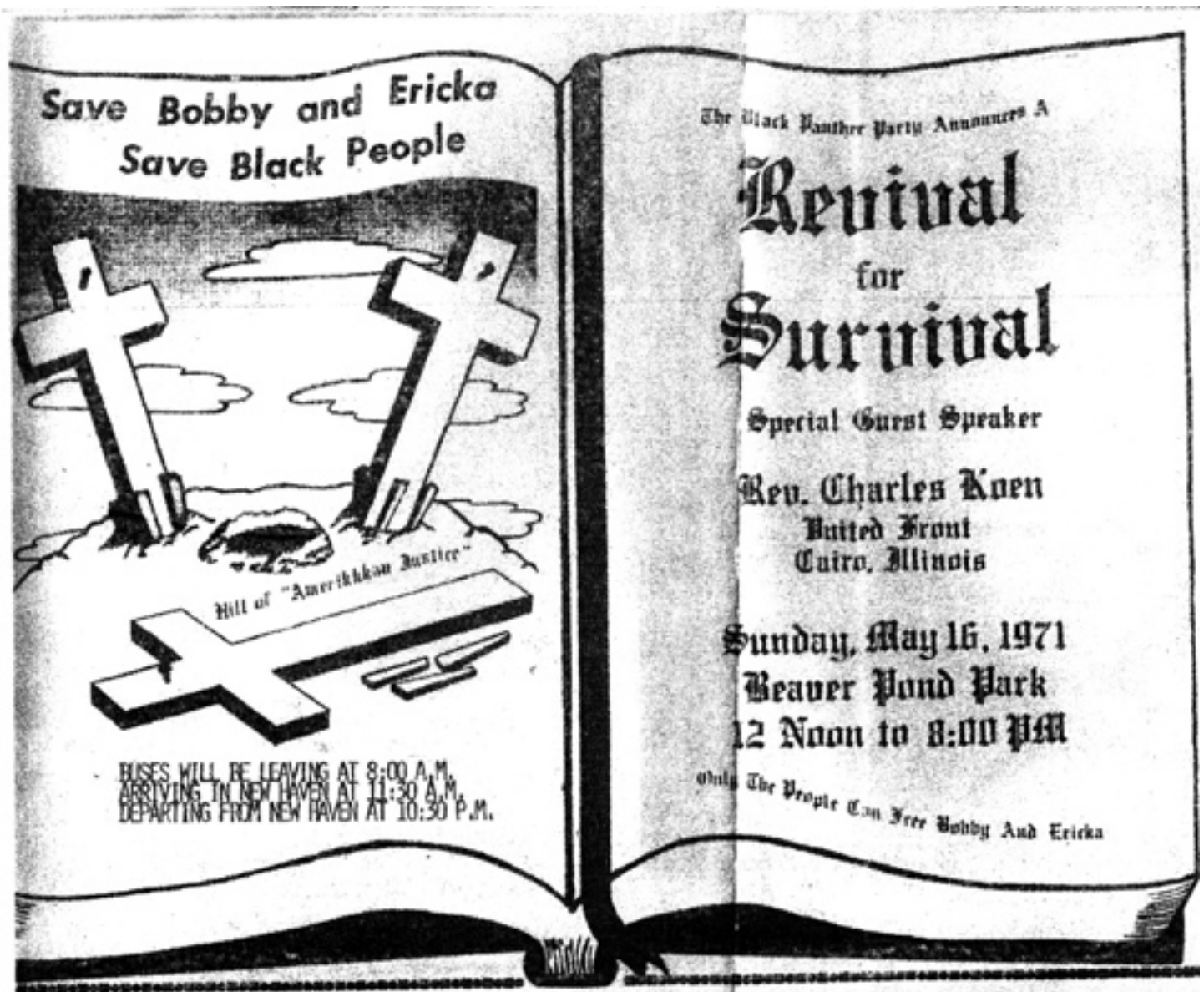
EAST OAKLAND BRANCH B.P.P.
1121 90th AVENUE EAST OAKLAND

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL (415) 465-5047 -5048 -5049

TICKETS \$2.50 At Door \$2.50

Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

Handout G: Revival for Survival Poster

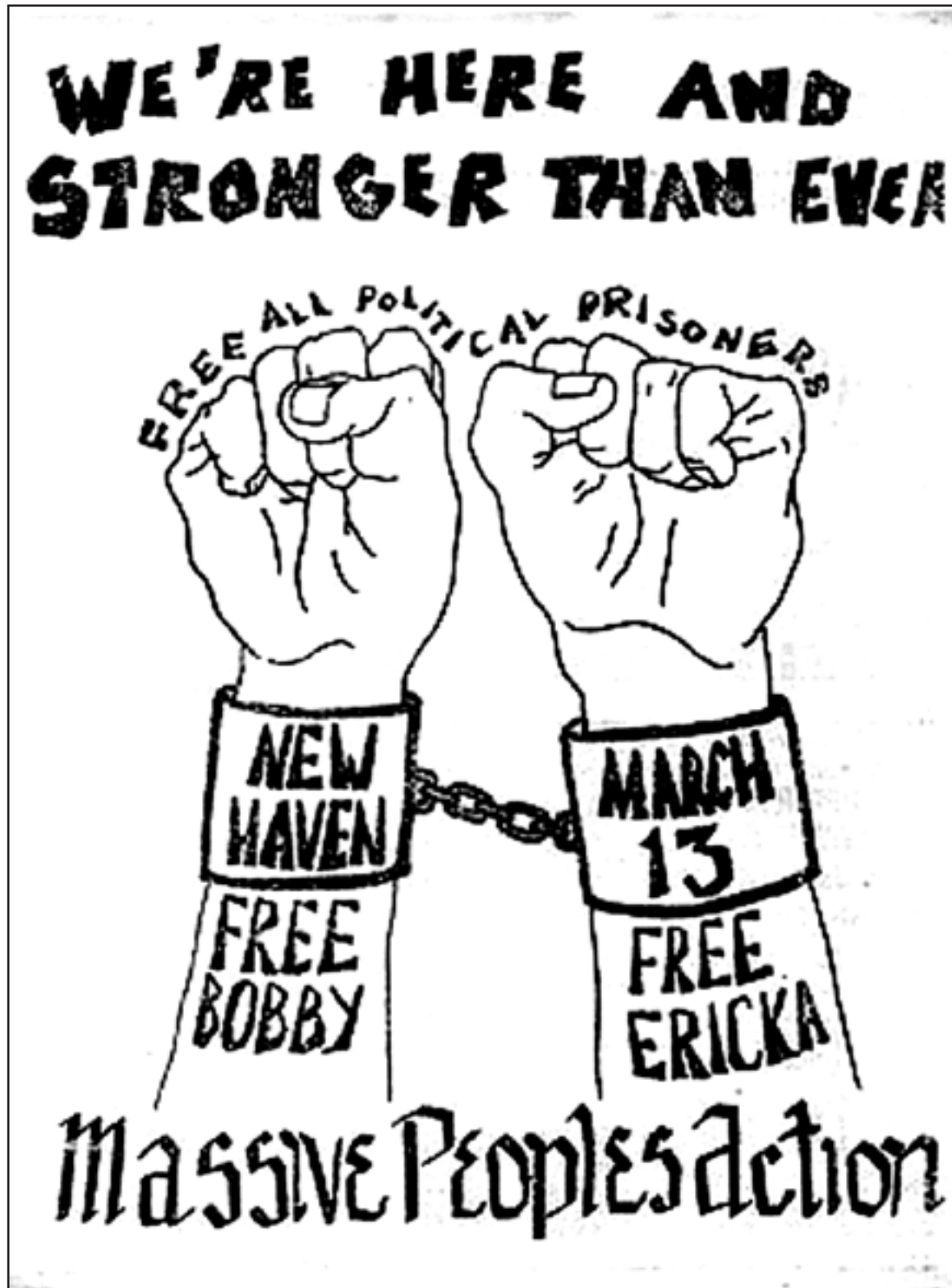


Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

Handout H: People's War Poster



Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen



Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

Handout J: Decent Housing Poster



Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

Rules of the Black Panther Party

Every member of the **Black Panther Party** throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. **Central Committee** members, **Central Staffs**, and **Local Staffs**, including all captains subordinated to either national, state, and local leadership of the **Black Panther Party** will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the **Black Panther Party** were violated. Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the **Black Panther Party**. The rules are:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be **drunk** while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the **Black Panther Party**, and meetings of the **Black Panther Party** anywhere.
5. No party member will **use, point, or fire** a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force, other than the **Black Liberation Army**.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while **drunk** or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or **black** people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested **Black Panther members** will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten-Point Program and platform of the **Black Panther Party** must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leaders, Section Leaders, and Lieutenants, Captains must submit Daily reports of work.

16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leaders who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captain, Section Leaders, etc.
20. **Communications**--all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the **Black Panther Party** must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the **Central Committee of the Black Panther Party**.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 Points of Attention

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 Main Rules of Discipline

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

Source: From the collection of Lisbet Tellefsen

Handout L: Quotes on Violence

"Let us make one thing crystal clear: We do not claim the right to indiscriminate violence. We seek no bloodbath. We are not out to kill up white people. On the contrary, it is the cops who claim the right to indiscriminate violence and practice it everyday. It is the cops who have been bathing black people in blood and who seem bent on killing off black people...We call upon people who want to avoid a war in this land, who want to put an end to the war that is now going on in this land."

The Black Panther, 23 March 1968

"Revolutionary strategy for Black people in America begins with the defensive movement of picking up the Gun... Black people picking up the gun for self-defense is the only basis in America for a revolutionary offensive against Imperialist state power."

The Black Panther, 25 April 1970

"This does not mean arbitrary confrontations, rampages through the streets, knocking down old women...Breaking windows, snatching pocketbooks will never lay a foundation for the long, hard struggle ahead. Politicizing and educating the various segments of the young, the open-minded, and the concerned will."

Collective Statement by the Connecticut 9, Political Prisoners, *The Black Panther*, 2 May 1970

"The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure...Therefore, the greater military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community... The oppressors by their brutal actions cause the resistance by the people. The Vanguard Party only teaches the correct methods of resistance."

The Black Panther, 18 May 1968

Note: The Black Panther is the newspaper of the Black Panther Party. The Vanguard Party refers to the Black Panther Party.

Handout M: 10 Demands:

Internet Research Sources

The website links provided below are starting points for students' research.

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black and Oppressed communities.

- A paper published by the National Center for Public Policy Research discussing what true freedom is and isn't:
www.nationalcenter.org/NVFreedomColeman897.html
- An article on The Black World Today discussing Black Power:
www.tbwt.org/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=417&Itemid=41

2. We want full employment for our people.

- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: <http://www.bls.gov/>
- Unemployment by race and ethnicity in Boston and Massachusetts:
www.bostonfoundation.org/IndicatorsProject/Economy/Indicator.aspx?id=2632&sc=578&sct=Race/Ethnicity

3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist man of our Black and Oppressed communities.

- African-American women in business:
www.usatoday.com/money/smallbusiness/2006-08-24-women-biz-usat_x.htm

4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.

- Residential Segregation of African-Americans 1980 – 2000:
www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/resseg/ch5.html
- Washington Independent article on 'Race and the Housing Crisis':
washingtonindependent.com/view/race-and-the-housing

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

- Status and Trends in the Education of Blacks:
nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2003034
- African-American milestones in higher education:
collegeuniversity.suite101.com/article.cfm/black_history__college_education

6. We want completely free health care for all Black and Oppressed people.

- Health insurance statistics for the US; note that a disproportionately large percent of African-Americans are uninsured:
www.deloitte.com/dtt/article/0,1002,sid%253D80772%2526cid%253D192486,00.html
- A study showing that millions of African-Americans are uninsured:
covertheuninsured.org/media/docs/release051004b.pdf
- Improving health coverage for African-Americans:
www.familiesusa.org/assets/pdfs/minority-health-tool-kit/AfrAm-fact-sheet.pdf

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people, other people of Color, and all oppressed people inside the United States.

- Human Rights Watch article on police brutality in the US:
www.hrw.org/about/initiatives/police.htm
- Human Rights Watch paper on race as a factor in police brutality:
www.hrw.org/reports98/police/uspo17.htm

8. We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression.

- U.S. Casualties in Iraq searchable by various factors like race and gender:
www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2008-03-13-iraq-casualties_N.htm

9. We want freedom for all Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. federal, state, county, city and military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country.

- A Human Rights Watch article on 'Race and Incarceration in the United States':
www.hrw.org/backgroundunder/usa/race/
- A Human Rights Watch background information article on incarceration:
www.hrw.org/backgroundunder/usa/incarceration/
- National Institute of Corrections: Collection of Resource Articles on African-American incarceration:
www.nicic.org/Library/021255

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology.

- Opinion article on citizenship as equality:
unchainingcivilrights.org/equality.html
- African-Americans in science and technology:
www.loc.gov/rr/scitech/selected-internet/africanamericans.html

Handout N: Survival Program

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1975 27

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE MCKINLEY ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRIST PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or needs.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.



PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE TRIP TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT [S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS, FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution."

—Hurry P. Newton

Handout O: Quotes: Free Breakfast for Children Program

"The Breakfast has already been initiated in several chapters, and our love for the masses makes us realize that it must continue permanently and be a national program. But we need your help, and that means money, food, and time. We want to turn the program over to the community but without your efforts and support we cannot. We have had a few mothers to come down to the breakfast in the mornings to cook and serve, but not hardly enough."

The Black Panther, 26 March 1969

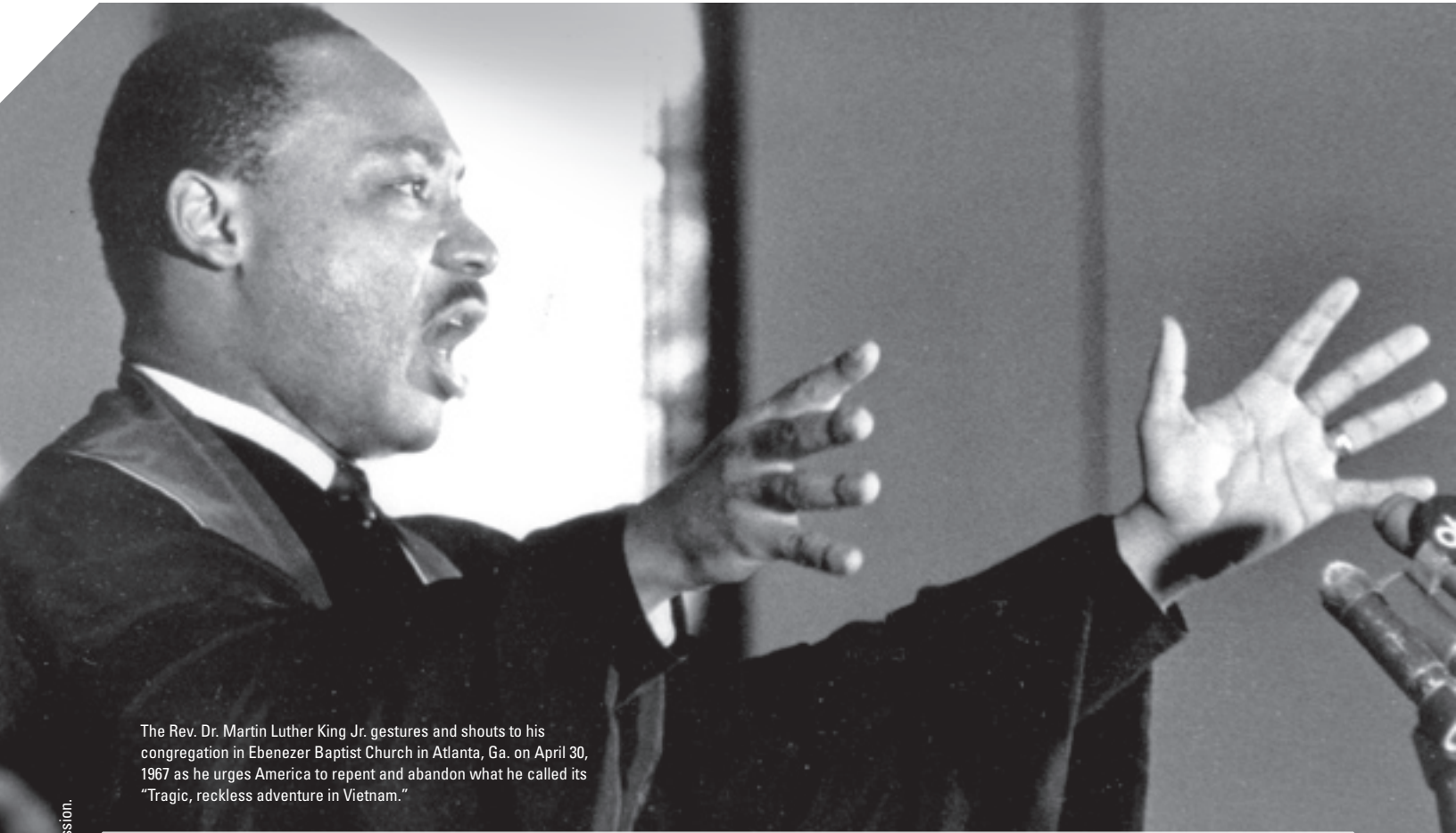
"Panthers working the breakfast program get out of bed at approximately 6:00 a.m. every school day. They set tables, clean facilities, cook and prepare the food, they direct traffic to see that the children cross the streets safely. After a day's breakfast has been completed, the Panthers attend to the constant task of procuring food from the merchants who do business in the community, to see that the program is constantly supplied with the necessary food... it is impossible to obtain and sustain any education when one has to attend school hungry."

The Black Panther, 4 October 1969

Note: The Black Panther is the newspaper of the Black Panther Party.

Martin Luther King Jr.'s “Beyond Vietnam”

By Erin Cook and Stan Pesick



The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gestures and shouts to his congregation in Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Ga. on April 30, 1967 as he urges America to repent and abandon what he called its “Tragic, reckless adventure in Vietnam.”

Introduction

On 4 April 1967, King made his most public and comprehensive statement against the Vietnam War. Addressing a crowd of 3,000 people in New York City’s Riverside Church, King delivered a speech entitled “Beyond Vietnam.” King pointed out that the war effort was “taking the young black men who have been crippled by our society and sending them 13,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem.” Although some activists and newspapers supported King’s statement, many responded with criticism. Even some of King’s colleagues in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were concerned that the group would suffer because of his radical stance, and the NAACP issued a statement against merging the civil rights movement and peace movement. King remained undeterred, stating that he was not fusing the civil rights and peace movements, as many had suggested. Two weeks after delivering his speech, King led thousands of demonstrators in an antiwar march to the United Nations headquarters.

The goal of this unit is for students to analyze, within the context of a particular historical period, Dr. King’s decision to speak out against the war in Vietnam. Why did he make this choice? What risks were involved? How was his speech received? Ultimately, this unit asks students to connect this speech to the present by having them consider the contemporary relevance of Dr. King’s ideas about America’s role in the world. In addition to encouraging active learning and the development of critical thinking skills, this lesson aims to help students see King as more than a civil rights leader, while they explore the political and social implications of King’s stance against the war and his call for economic justice.

Grades: 11-12
CA State Standards: 11.9, 11.10, 12.2

Essential Question: Why did King make the choice to speak out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam despite the risk that he would harm the movement and his status as a civil rights leader?

Sub Questions:

- What can we learn about King from his statement on the war that we most likely would not learn from a traditional teaching of King?
- What might the response to King's statement teach us about the social and political climate during this period?
- Are King's words still relevant today?

Unit Parts:

1. Establishing the historical context for "Beyond Vietnam"
2. Why did King speak out, and how was it received?
3. What new information have we learned about Martin Luther King, Jr. and the war in Vietnam?

Part One:

Establishing the Historical Context for "Beyond Vietnam"

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Opening Activity:** For this anticipatory set, give students two minutes to write down everything that comes to mind when they think of the Vietnam War (President Johnson, Mai Lai, protests, etc.). Next, have them do the same thing for Martin Luther King, Jr. Have students break into pairs and share their answers. It is unlikely that any of the students will make any connection between Vietnam and King.
2. **Classroom Activity:** Introduce King's "Beyond Vietnam" speech by showing the first ten minutes of *Eyes on the Prize II: The Promised Land*, followed by a brief discussion of initial impressions and reactions
3. **Classroom Activity:** Have students read the first section of "Beyond Vietnam" (paragraphs 1-11). King's "Beyond Vietnam" speech offers a great deal of information, and we encourage teachers to break the document into at least two parts to make the material more manageable for students. The entire speech can be accessed on the King Institute website.

Part Two:

Why did King speak out, and how was it received?

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Classroom Activity:** For this particular lesson, we have chosen to use newspaper editorials that were published following King's speech to help students explore both sides of the issue and give them a broader historical context. Have students divide themselves into two groups: one group that supports King's decision to speak out against the war, and one group that feels he made an error. Give the students **Handout A: Newspaper Editorials**. Students should use information from King's speech in part one, editorials and letters to the editor to support their position and to develop as strong an argument as possible. You may have students write an editorial to present to the class or have a less formal presentation where they field questions from the opposing group.
2. **Discussion/Reflection Questions:**
 - a) Was King's decision to speak out against the war a departure from his stated philosophical, political, and/or social commitments?
 - b) What relevance does King's role as a clergyman have to his position? What is the relevance of King's role as a Nobel Peace Prize recipient? What about his role as a civil rights leader?
 - c) Do you believe there was a relationship between the war in Vietnam and the civil rights struggle at home? Why or why not?
 - d) Was King's stand on the war in Vietnam consistent or inconsistent with his beliefs and statements as a civil rights leader? What were some of the main criticisms that King's opponents made regarding his statement on the war in Vietnam? What were some of the main arguments made by those defending King's position?
 - e) What if King had not taken a position on the war in Vietnam? Would it have undermined his stated commitment to nonviolence and social justice? Or would it have merely highlighted his commitment to the civil rights movement?
 - f) What role, if any, might King's race have had to do with his opposition to colonialism or with how his statement was received?
 - g) Do you believe that moral, religious, and political considerations should be separated if they serve a tactical goal?
 - h) In his letter "Dr. King Backed," James Bevel states, "Logically, the welfare of non-white peoples in this nation is inextricably linked with the welfare of non-white peoples around the world." Do you agree? Why or why not?
 - i) What impact did King's decision to oppose the war have on the civil rights movement? Did his stand harm the movement or was it worth it?
 - j) Ralph Bunche stated that, "Dr. King should positively and publicly give up one role or the other. The two efforts have too little in common." Do you agree?
 - k) Finally, how are these issues relevant today? How might this relate to our current situation in Iraq? Could the case be made that our current foreign policy has implications for domestic policy? How?

Part Three:

What new information have we learned about Martin Luther King, Jr. and Vietnam?

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Classroom Activity:** In small groups, have students look in their textbooks for an entry on King and the war in Vietnam. If one exists, have them expand on the entry based on what they've learned. If one does not exist, have them suggest how these topics should be covered. Have students share answers with the class.
2. **Optional Assignment:** Using information gathered in parts 1-3 of this unit, students should write an essay that responds to King's call for a "revolution of values" and discuss how his words are relevant today.

References:

Carson, Clayborne, ed. *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Warner Books, 1998.

Garrow, David. *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.* New York: Vintage Books, 1988.

King, Luther Martin, Jr. "Address on Selma March." 9 March 1965.

King, Luther Martin, Jr. "Why Are You Here?" *Address delivered at the Summer Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE) orientation.* 15 June 1965.

King, Luther Martin, Jr. "Draft, Address delivered at Mass Rally at the Ninth Annual Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference." 12 August 1965.

Radical Times: The Antiwar Movement of the 1960s. <http://library.thinkquest.org/27942/index.htm>.

Handout A: Newspaper Editorials

Dr. King's Error

In recent speeches and statements the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has linked his personal opposition to the war in Vietnam with the cause of Negro equality in the United States. The war, he argues, should be stopped not only because it is a futile war waged for the wrong ends but also because it is a barrier to social progress in this country and therefore prevents Negroes from achieving their just place in American life.

This is a fusing of two public problems that are distinct and separate. By drawing them together, Dr. King has done a disservice to both. The moral issues in Vietnam are less clear-cut than he suggests; the political strategy of uniting the peace movement and the civil rights movement could very well be disastrous for both causes.

Because American Negroes are a minority and have to overcome unique handicaps of racial antipathy and prolonged deprivation, they have a hard time in gaining their objectives even when their grievances are self-evident and their claims are indisputably just. As Dr. King knows from the Montgomery bus boycott and other civil rights struggles of the past dozen years, it takes almost infinite patience, persistence and courage to achieve the relatively simple aims that ought to be theirs by right.

The movement toward racial equality is now in the more advanced and more difficult stage of fulfilling basic rights by finding more jobs, changing patterns of housing and upgrading education. The battlegrounds in this struggle are Chicago and Harlem and Watts. The Negroes on these fronts need all the leadership, dedication and moral inspiration that they can summon; and under these circumstances to divert the energies of the civil rights movement to the Vietnam issue is both wasteful and self-defeating.

Dr. King makes too facile a connection between the speeding up of the war in Vietnam and the slowing down of the war against poverty. The eradication of poverty is at best the task of a generation. This "war" inevitably meets diverse resistance such as the hostility of local political machines, the skepticism of conservatives in Congress and the intractability of slum mores and habits. The nation could afford to make more funds available to combat poverty even while the war in Vietnam continues, but there is no certainty that the coming of peace would automatically lead to a sharp increase in funds.

Furthermore, Dr. King can only antagonize opinion in this country instead of winning recruits to the peace movement by recklessly comparing American military methods to those of the Nazis testing "new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe." The facts are harsh, but they do not justify such slander. Furthermore, it is possible to disagree with many aspects of United States policy in Vietnam without whitewashing Hanoi.

As an individual, Dr. King has the right and even the moral obligation to explore the ethical implications of the war in Vietnam, but as one of the most respected leaders of the civil rights movement he has an equally weighty obligation to direct that movement's efforts in the most constructive and relevant way.

There are no simple or easy answers to the war in Vietnam or to racial injustice in this country. Linking these hard, complex problems will lead not to solutions but to deeper confusion.

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Transcription

"Dr. King's Error," *New York Times*, April 7, 1967, 36.

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The movement toward racial equality is now in the more advanced and more difficult stage of fulfilling basic rights by finding more jobs, changing patterns of housing and upgrading education. The battlegrounds in this struggle are Chicago and Harlem and Watts. The Negroes on these fronts need all the leadership, dedication and moral inspiration that they can summon; and under these circumstances to divert the energies of the civil rights movement to the Vietnam issue is both wasteful and self-defeating.

Dr. King makes too facile a connection between the speeding up of the war in Vietnam and the slowing down of the war against poverty. The eradication of poverty is at best the task of a generation. This "war" inevitably meets diverse resistance such as the hostility of local political machines, the skepticism of conservatives in Congress and intractability of slum mores and habits. The nation could afford to make more funds available to combat poverty even while the war in Vietnam continues, but there is no certainty [sic] that the coming of peace would automatically lead to a sharp increase in funds.

Furthermore, Dr. King can only antagonize opinion in this country instead of winning recruits to the peace movement by recklessly comparing American military methods to those of the Nazis testing "new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe." The facts are harsh, but they do not justify such slander. Furthermore, it is possible to disagree with many aspects of United States policy in Vietnam without whitewashing Hanoi.

As an individual, Dr. King has the right and even the moral obligation to explore the ethical implications of the war in Vietnam, but as one of the most respected leaders of the civil rights movement he has an equally weighty obligation to direct that movement's efforts in the most constructive and relevant way.

There are no simple or easy answers to the war in Vietnam or to racial injustice in this country. Linking these hard, complex problems will lead not to solutions but to deeper confusion. □

Transcriptions

"Letters to the Editor of *The Times*," *New York Times*, April 12, 1967, 46.

Dr. King Backed

To the Editor:

The New York Times has rendered a great disservice to the peace and civil rights movements in this country by making a futile attempt to dissociate the two.

In an April 7 editorial *The Times* severely criticized the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, for "fusing" the peace and civil rights issues into a single concern.

Logically, the welfare of non-white peoples in this nation is inextricably linked with the welfare of nonwhite peoples around the world. American Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Mexicans all have an exceedingly direct stake in the Administration's posture in Vietnam. They have experienced first hand the Government's disrespect for humanity and dignity at home and are compelled to voice their outrage at the calculated destruction abroad of their Vietnamese brothers.

The American Government seems, in fact, to be embarked upon a program of systematic genocide in Vietnam and it is for this reason, perhaps more than any other, that colored peoples everywhere must speak out and act courageously.

Those Americans opposing the war cannot any longer be guilty of silence while American nonwhites who have been deprived of their full citizenship are sent to their death in President Johnson's illegal, immoral and unjust war.

In order to dramatize the growing opposition to the war, thousands of Americans of all races, creeds, religions and national origins will gather together in San Francisco and in New York City on April 15 for Spring Mobilization protest march and rally.

Before the eyes of the world the Spring Mobilization will launch a sustained, serious movement which will begin to put an end to the senseless slaughter that is taking place in the name of democracy.

[Rev.] JAMES BEVELL

National Director

Spring Mobilization Committee

To End the War in Vietnam

New York, April 8, 1967

War Stand Rejected

To the Editor:

I consider that my support of the Urban League and membership in the N.A.A.C.P., to say nothing of my contributions to various liberal causes, entitle me to consider myself a white person of goodwill as that term was used by Dr. Martin Luther King in *The Times* of April 5.

Far from being willing personally to boycott the Vietnam war, however, or even to have my son claim status as a conscientious objector, I assert that it is necessary to support the war in Vietnam.

Dr. King's simplistic assertion that our Government is the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today" and his analogy between the use of new weapons by our forces in Vietnam and the use of strange medicines and torture by Hitler's murderers in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany raise grave doubts in my mind as to his ability to think clearly.

Dr. King and his ilk do not speak for me and mine.

JOSEPH LEWIS SIMON

New York, April 5, 1967

Remember Them: Champions of Humanity

By Ashni Mohnot and Andrea McEvoy Spero



Introduction

The conceptual and legal development of human rights over time and the formal Universal Declaration of Human Rights established by the United Nations in 1948 are often neglected in our history courses. Through an exploration of the champions of humanity included in Mario Chiodo's inspiring sculpture, we hope students will become familiar with the struggle for human rights. Ultimately, we hope students will begin to rise up for their rights and defend the rights of others.

The unit consists of three parts and allows flexibility based on content area and student needs. The content and strategies are appropriate for courses in social studies, literature and/or art. We provide a thematic guide for grouping the humanitarians as a way to help teachers identify an appropriate fit for their content area. The thematic guide may be useful for teachers with limited time or whose curriculum has a thematic focus. For example teachers of World History or World Literature may choose global themes, such as Women's Rights or Economic Justice, whereas a US History or American Literature teacher may choose Anti-Slavery or American Civil Rights. Additionally, teachers may choose themed grouping based on students' interests.

In addition extension activities are provided and can be utilized depending on the context in which the unit is taught. Altogether, we hope that this set of lessons will provide both a framework as well as flexibility to teachers as they teach about champions of humanity in the high school classroom.

Grades: 9-12

CA State Standards:

English Language Arts: Grades 9 & 10

Reading Comprehension 1.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5

Writing 1.1-1.9, 2.3, 2.5

Listening and Speaking Strategies 1.1-1.9

English Language Arts: Grades 11 & 12

Reading Comprehension 2.1, 2.5

Writing Strategies 1.6-1.8

Writing Applications 2.1, 2.4, 2.6

Written and Oral English Language Conventions 1.1, 1.2, 1.3

Listening & Speaking Strategies 1.4- 1.10

Speaking Applications 2.2

Historical and Social Sciences Analysis Skills

Chronological and Spatial Thinking 1-4

Historical Research, Evidence and Point of View 1-4

Historical Interpretation 1-6

World History, Culture and Geography: The Modern World
10.4, 10.8, 10.9, 10.10

United States History and Geography: Continuity and
Change in the 20th Century 11.1, 11.7, 11.9, 11.10, 11.11

Principles of American Democracy and Economics 12.1,
12.2, 12.3, 12.9

Essential Question: In the past and present, which individuals can be considered Champions of Humanity and why? How can we participate in the struggle for human rights today?

Sub Questions:

- What are the connections between struggles for social justice across time and place?
- Over the last few centuries, who were some of the great champions of humanity?
- What is the importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in terms of its historical context and application to contemporary issues?
- Why is it important to advocate for human rights and work towards social justice?
- In what ways did humanitarians' lives and work inspire and empower people to become advocates for human rights?
- What are some concrete ways for you to participate in the struggle for human rights?

Unit Parts:

1. Human Rights Framework
2. Champions of Humanity
3. Service Learning: How can you be a Champion for Humanity?

Part One:

Human Rights Framework

Activity / Instructions:

Introduction: We will start the study of the humanitarians within the framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Students will be asked to define concepts of freedom, tolerance, equality and justice that are inherent in human rights and will examine these concepts by studying the UDHR. This activity will prepare students for Part 2 of this unit as they explore the role of humanitarians in securing the rights guaranteed in the UDHR.

Time: Approximately two 50 minute class periods (without the homework extension).

Objectives:

1. Students will explore the relevance of human rights to their own lives by discussing and defining what concepts of freedom, tolerance, equality, peace and justice mean within the context of their home, school or community.
2. Students will learn about the organized movement for human rights by taking notes on the historical background of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).
3. Students will become familiar with the range of issues the term 'human rights' encompasses by reading and interpreting specific articles of the UDHR.
4. Students will understand practical examples of rights violations and become aware of the long-continuing diverse global struggle for human rights by applying the UDHR articles to past and contemporary issues.
5. Students will better comprehend what it takes to make a difference in the world by becoming familiar with the work of the most prominent human rights advocates of the 19th and 20th centuries.
6. Students will understand the difficulties inherent in ensuring human rights for all by exploring and summarizing the controversies surrounding the UDHR, especially the challenge of enforcement.

Materials Needed:

Copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) found at <http://www.un.org/rights/50/decla.htm>. The teacher is asked to print and photocopy the right number of copies of this document for students in the class. The UDHR is available in over 300 languages and students are encouraged to read the document in their first language.

Activity / Instructions:

1. Introduce the concept of human rights by organizing a field trip to a museum or local attraction featuring the work of human rights activists. If in the Bay Area, your class can visit the 'Remember Them: Champions of Humanity' monument in Oakland. See <http://remember-them.org/> for more details and for the artists' statement on the inspiration for the monument.

Alternatively, introduce the concept of human rights by showing a video or handing out a newspaper article that describes an ongoing violation of human rights in the local, national or global arena, depending on your goals and the interests of your class. A good source of articles is the 'News & Updates' section of the Amnesty International website (www.amnesty.org/en/features-news-and-updates). Documents, reports, press releases and appeals for action can be found in the 'Learn about Human Rights' section of the Amnesty International website (www.amnesty.org/en/human-rights). The organization Witness (witness.org) offers videos of human rights violations from around the world.

After returning from the field trip, watching the video, or reading the article, lead a class discussion on the concepts of freedom, tolerance, equality, peace, and justice that relate to the particular violation(s) you studied or experience you had.

2. Students take part in a 5 minute free write to the following prompt.
Choose three of the following concepts already discussed and define in your own words: justice, freedom, equality, tolerance or peace. What do they mean to you and why are they important in your community, school or home? Share with the class some of your definitions.

Discussion questions:

- How can you tell when these concepts do not exist in your life or in your community?
- When do you know that justice, for example, does not exist or is threatened?
- If everyone has complete freedom to do the things they want, does that jeopardize peace?
- Is it necessary to limit freedoms to ensure peace? How does a community find the balance?
- What would your life be like if one or more of these qualities did not exist?
- The absence of which of these virtues would affect your personal life the most?
- How are you affected if one or more of these concepts do not exist for another person in your community?

During the discussion illustrate how it is a human right for these virtues to exist and that their non-existence is a rights violation.

3. Explain to students the historical context of the United Nations and the creation of the UDHR. For background information see the United Nations' Global Teaching and Learning Project: Cyber School bus (www.cyberschoolbus.un.org). Give students a copy of the UDHR. Group students into pairs and assign one of the 30 articles to each group to read and interpret. As they read the articles, ask them to identify one example of a historical or current event that is a violation of this right. Encourage them to use Amnesty International, Witness, Human Rights Watch, and other websites to research the violations. You may want to provide students with photographs and/or newspaper articles which offer explicit examples of human rights violations.

Each pair will share with the class the right they were assigned and the example of its violation. This exercise should help students make connections between their previous study of history, contemporary issues and the current unit.

Discussion Questions: During the discussion, help student by offering examples of current human rights violations including child soldiers in Columbia, the US detention facility at Guantanamo, domestic violence against women in Mexico, violence in Darfur, government failures after Hurricane Katrina.

- Do all governments defend and enforce human rights as defined by the UDHR?
- When human rights are violated in one country or community, what role should the UN, other governments, NGOs and individuals play? Whose job is it to enforce these rights?
- Give students a definition of 'utopia'. Can a world defined by the UDHR exist or is such a world an unattainable utopia?

Explain the role everyone plays, including governments, in securing human rights for all.

- 4. Homework Activity:** Students will research current human rights violations that were not discussed during class. The teacher may recommend newspapers and websites such as BBC, CNN, Human Rights Watch, Witness, Amnesty International and local news sources. Students are also encouraged to interview community members and family members who may have first hand experiences with human rights violations or strong opinions on certain issues. For the written assignment students must describe the violation they chose to study, identify which article applies, describe actions taken (if any) to end the violation and cite their sources.

Part Two:

Champions of Humanity

Introduction:

In this phase students will gain deeper knowledge of the major humanitarians of the 19th and 20th century. As students present their knowledge to the class they will develop a 'justice timeline' on one or more walls of the classroom. The timeline will include major historical events and the humanitarians' activities in order to illustrate the continual struggle for human rights across time and location. Students will then identify common traits of these humanitarians and will conduct further research on the life of a humanitarian. If students did not visit the 'Remember Them: Champions of Humanity' sculpture in Part 1 of this unit, they may view photos of the sculpture online. Students will read a statement by the artist, Mario Chiodo, explaining his choice of these champions of humanity and will write their own statement promoting the inclusion of an additional humanitarian.

Time:

Approximately two 50 minute class periods (without the extension activities)

Objectives:

1. Students will understand practical examples of rights violations, better comprehend what it takes to make a difference in the world, and become familiar with the lives of the most prominent human rights advocates of the 19th and 20th centuries and the injustices they chose to fight for by reading, interpreting and synthesizing information about specific humanitarians.
2. Students will inform their classmates of the work of these champions of humanity by presenting relevant historical and personal information about specific humanitarians.
3. Students will practice chronological thinking skills and understand that the struggle for human rights is long-continuing by constructing a 'Justice Timeline'.
4. Students will understand the range of perspectives held by the humanitarians, the diversity of the issues they worked on, and the common threads in their work for humanity by discussing and identifying similarities and differences among the humanitarians.
5. Students will express their personal connections to struggles for social justice by identifying an additional humanitarian whose work they admire, conducting research to find historical and personal information about this humanitarian, and writing a statement promoting the individual's inclusion as a champion of humanity.

Materials Needed:

1. **Handout A: Research Websites, Handout B: Humanitarian Summary Worksheet.**
2. Roll of butcher paper long enough to extend horizontally along one or more walls of the classroom. The teacher will draw a straight horizontal line, with every tenth year (between 1800 and 2020) marked, along the roll of paper.
3. Index cards for the following information: name of humanitarian, short description of the injustice for which this humanitarian worked, date of event relevant to the humanitarian's work, humanitarian's role in that event.
4. Internet access.

Procedure:

1. Begin by breaking down the words 'champion of humanity'. Ask students: *what does it mean to be a champion? Can they identify champions in their own lives? What does the word 'humanity' encompass? What does being a champion of humanity entail?* Mention to students that they are studying these champions of humanity to find ways in which they can continue to make a difference in the fight for human rights in their own lifetimes.
2. Assign each student one humanitarian to research. Depending on the content of the course, you may want to choose humanitarians based on the thematic groups provided below. You may want to place students in pairs or triads to conduct the research. The following thematic guide may be useful for teachers with limited time or whose curriculum has a thematic focus. For example teachers of World History or World Literature may choose global themes, such as Women's Rights or Economic Justice, whereas, a US History or American Literature teacher may choose Anti-Slavery or American Civil Rights. Additionally, teachers may choose themed grouping based on students' interests.

Women's Rights: Shirin Ebadi, Susan B. Anthony, Coretta Scott King, Maya Angelou, Mahatma Gandhi, Helen Keller

Freedom Struggles: Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, Tiananmen Square Protestor, Chief Joseph, Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, Oskar Schindler, Elie Wiesel, Ralph Abernathy, Rosa Parks, Coretta Scott King

War against Nazism: Winston Churchill, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Elie Wiesel, Oskar Schindler

Advocates of Underserved Peoples/Communities: Thich Nhat Hanh, Rigoberta Menchu, Cesar Chavez, Harvey Milk, Chief Joseph, Helen Keller, Martin Luther King, Jr., Mother Teresa

Anti-Slavery: Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Susan B. Anthony

American Civil Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Coretta Scott King, Rosa Parks, Maya Angelou, Ralph Abernathy, Ruby Bridges, Cesar Chavez

Economic Justice: Helen Keller, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Coretta Scott King, Malcolm X, Cesar Chavez, Nelson Mandela, Maya Angelou, Rigoberta Menchu, Susan B. Anthony

Concerned with Class Issues: Rigoberta Menchu, Winston Churchill, Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi, Malcolm X, Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King, Jr., Cesar Chavez, Helen Keller.

Educational Experience: Either group by little formal education or by formal institutionalized education. This is a great segue into a discussion of how formality of education does or does not impact greatness and ability to make a difference.

Time Spent in Jail / Civil Disobedience: Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, Susan B. Anthony, Ralph Abernathy, Malcolm X, Oskar Schindler, Frederick Douglass.

Anti-Colonialism: Mahatma Gandhi, Chief Joseph, Martin Luther King, Jr., Coretta Scott King, Susan B. Anthony, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Rigoberta Menchu, Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela

3. Students will use the biographies available on the 'Remember Them: Champions of Humanity' website (www.remember-them.org/portfolio.cfm) and **Handout A: Research Websites** to synthesize information for their assigned humanitarian on **Handout B: Humanitarian Summary Worksheet**. Students will then write the following information on their index card: name of humanitarian, short description of the injustice for which this humanitarian worked, date of event relevant to the humanitarian's work, humanitarian's role in that event. Students will pin their index card on the 'Justice Timeline'. Leave the end of the timeline blank for an activity in Part Three.
4. Each group will make a short presentation about their humanitarian to the rest of the class. Depending on the number of humanitarians you study and the number of students in your class, make extra copies of **Handout B: Humanitarian Summary Worksheet** for each student. As each group presents, the other students fill in the Humanitarian Summary Worksheet for each humanitarian or choose to write down relevant information in their notebooks.

Note: As students fill in the timeline, teachers should take the opportunity to point out relevant historical events on the timeline, such as the Civil War, the 13th, 14th, 15th Amendments, rise and fall of colonialism, and World War II.

5. **Extension Activity:** Words to Inspire: As students conduct their research, ask them to pick one or two sentences said by the humanitarians as representative quotes and write them on small strips of paper that you collect in a box. Pull out quotes at random or ask students to pick out strips of paper. Read the quotes and ask students to guess which of these 25 humanitarians said these words based on their newfound knowledge of the humanitarians' work. Be sure to break down and analyze some of the more difficult quotes with your class. This activity will illustrate to students that many humanitarians shared similar ideas and expressed them in different ways in their writings and sayings. By hearing the humanitarians' core beliefs expressed in these quotes, students will be further exposed to and will internalize the main ideas they stood for. Students will also be able to distinguish differences in the humanitarians' ideas and beliefs. Finally, ask students to write the quotes of the humanitarian they studied in large letters with markers on poster paper. Pin these quotes to another wall of the classroom to create a wall of inspirational quotes. Each quote should have the date and the humanitarian's name underneath.
6. **Extension Activity 2: Humanitarian Tea Party or Press Conference:**
Ask students to dress up and play the role of their humanitarian during a mock tea party or press conference. Each student must meet and ask questions of at least three other humanitarians. After the activity, lead a discussion using some of the following questions.
 - What are the common character traits you see in these humanitarians?
 - Was the humanitarian motivated by securing justice for him/herself or for others?
 - Do you see any major differences/similarities in methods for attaining justice among these champions?
 - Did any of these champions go to jail or participate in civil disobedience? Did these champions break the law? Is it okay to break an unjust law?
 - Based on your study of this set of humanitarians, what are the most important qualities possessed by these great people who made a difference?

Part Three:

Service-learning: How Can You be a Champion of Humanity?

Introduction:

In Part 3 of the unit, students will draw inspiration from the humanitarians, engage in current struggles for social justice, recognize humanitarians from their communities and realize that they too can make a difference in the state of the world.

Time:

Approximately three 50 minute class periods (minus the activities and the long-term work with local organizations)

Objectives:

1. Students will explore the relevance of these humanitarians' ideas to their own lives and to the state of the world today by identifying a current local or global issue and applying the philosophy of one of the champions of humanity.
2. Students will become aware of the range of human rights issues in the world today by composing a list of current human rights violations which deserve attention and action.
3. Students will take action to advance human rights, practice their writing skills, and synthesize the content from all parts of the unit in the form of a letter addressing a human rights violation.
4. Students will discover opportunities for inspiration, action, and leadership in their own communities, will better comprehend what it takes to make a difference, and will explore the relevance of human rights to their own lives by conducting actions to advocate for human rights issues in conjunction with local social justice organizations.
5. Students will express the relevance of these humanitarians' ideas to their personal development and explore transformational moments in their own lives by creating a reflection piece communicating their reaction to the unit activities and content.

Materials Needed:

1. Strips of paper for quotes. Rolls of cash register paper are ideal.
2. Sample of formal letter
3. Internet access

Procedure:

1. Opening Activity

Think: Students are asked to pick either the humanitarian they studied in their initial small groups or the humanitarian they suggested as an addition to the sculpture. Ask them to write for five minutes to the following prompt:

Based on what you know about this humanitarian's ideologies, what current local or global issues would he or she be concerned about? Choose a short quote by the humanitarian which reflects her/his philosophy and/or is applicable to the issue you are studying. If you're feeling creative, write a personalized eyewitness account of what this humanitarian would say if he or she encountered first-hand a current local or global issue of concern.

Pair: Ask students to pair up and share with their partner:

- Their chosen humanitarian, his or her ideology and causes he or she advocated.
- What current local or global issues would concern this particular humanitarian?

Share: Based on the above activity, ask students to create a list on the board of current local and global issues of concern. As a class, decide which articles from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are being violated.

2. Wall of Quotes:

Students choose a quote from the humanitarians they researched which applies to one or more of the issues. Students write the quote on the strips of paper. The quote should be 1-3 sentences and must include the humanitarian's name and date. The quotes may be displayed around the room or around the school campus.

3. Service-Learning Activity: Advocacy Letter:

In this activity students will write a letter as a culminating assessment and a service-learning experience. Teachers will share with students the role a letter writing campaign plays in pressuring governments, corporations and individuals to protect human rights. The work of Amnesty International may serve as an example; they offer a number of resources on their website (<http://www.amnesty.org/>). From the list of issues, students choose one for which they want to make a difference. The letter allows students to exhibit what they have learned from all stages of the unit and to become active in building awareness about the issue. The activity requires that students think about what actions can be taken to address the human rights violation and who has the power to take the action. For example, the students may request that the US Senate and House of Representatives pass a new law; in this case the student should address the letter to their representatives. Each letter should include the following:

- 1) Description of the human rights violation or issue
- 2) Identification of articles from the UDHR which have been violated
- 3) Use of one or more quotes by a champion of humanity that apply to this issue
- 4) Request for one or more specific actions needed to stop this human rights violation

4. Service Learning Activity: Work with Local Organizations:

The letter writing assignment may serve as a starting point for students' advocacy on local or global issues for which they want to take further action for positive change through work with local organizations. Teachers should help connect interested students with organizations such as Amnesty International, Red Cross, Human Rights Watch or local nonprofits focusing on human rights and social justice. Some organizations to consider in the Oakland, CA area are: International Institute of the Bay Area, BAY-Peace, Ella Baker Center, Books not Bars, Prison Activist Resource Center, NISGUA, Family Violence Law Center, World Bridges, among others.

Teachers may also want to direct the students to the website: <http://www.udhr.org/action/default.htm> which contains a listing of 50 actions students can perform in connection with local organizations to engage in the struggle for human rights. Teachers may want to check with students' parents before assigning this activity. This activity enables students to frame their advocacy in the context of these humanitarians' work, personally connect with them, and realize that they can be champions of humanity carrying on their legacy in a long-continuing struggle for human rights.

Students should keep a journal of their participation and reactions to their activism. Ask students to create an index card with their name and a short description of their activism. Students will place their new card on the 'Justice Timeline' in Part Two.

5. Culminating Assignment:

As a final activity students will reflect on all the activities of the unit and communicate ways the humanitarians have inspired them. The assignment may take on various forms but should include answers to the following questions.

- What has impressed you the most about the qualities and work of the humanitarians we have discussed?
- What humanitarian qualities do you possess and what qualities do you want to develop?
- What kind of humanitarian do you want to be? Which of these humanitarians do you relate to most and why?
- Have you had transformational or inspirational moments like those described by some of these humanitarians?

The reflection piece may take on various forms and teachers are encouraged to allow students to choose their form of expression. Regardless of the form they choose, each student should prepare a written statement explaining the content of their work. Reflection Options include but are not limited to the following:

- Spoken word performance
- Work of art (painting, sculpture, media collage)
- Essay
- One to three act play created by students
- Consistent journal entries over the duration of the unit that will serve to capture students' personal transformation over the course of the unit
- Creative writing piece

6. Extension Activity 1: Designing a Human Rights Monument

Local students will have the opportunity to visit the 'Remember Them: Champions of Humanity' Chiodo monument. This creative activity is designed to complement their visit. Students will be given the following prompt:

"The US Congress is currently considering funding a new monument for the National Mall to commemorate peace and human rights. Create a physical or virtual model that showcases your vision for this monument. Include an artists' statement, modeled on Mr. Chiodo's, which explains your choice of content and design, as well as how you anticipate the viewer to experience the monument."

The kind of projects students create may be limited to materials available at the school site. The assignment may be completed individually or in small groups. Students will present their artists' statements and model to their class. Alternatively, assemble a judging committee and have students make a persuasive case for their model to be chosen.

7. Extension Activity 2: Local Champions of Humanity

Having identified contemporary issues of concern/interest, students are now asked to investigate the names of at least three people who are involved in the struggle to resolve the issue. Students are encouraged to identify someone from their local community such as a family member, family friend, or teacher who is involved in a human rights struggle.

The teacher should preface this exercise by explaining to the students that often, champions of humanity are recognized later, perhaps when the issue of concern grabs a place in the national or international spotlight. Students are thus asked to identify three people whose work they admire and who they believe will be later recognized as humanitarians. Students will conduct an interview with one of their local 'Champions', treating this activity as an oral history project. If possible, teachers may organize a day where students can invite the person they interviewed to the classroom to meet classmates, parents and school administrators. Teacher and students may want to present them with a humanitarian award or consider choosing an annual 'Champion of Humanity' to be honored on their campus.

8. Extension Activity 3: Who's Left Out? Who Should be Left Out?

a. Discussion:

The teacher conducts a lively guided discussion on famous or not-so-famous humanitarians that the students feel should have been included in the monument. Ask students:

- Who do you think should have been included in this list? Why?
- What qualities make them deserving of the title 'Champion of Humanity'?
- What struggles did they go through that are reminiscent of the kinds of struggles faced by the humanitarians on this list?

- Do you think there is anyone on this list whose inclusion as a ‘champion of humanity’ you would contest? Why? Give specific reasons; cite specific examples from their life that you think contradict the title ‘champion of humanity’.
- In spite of your disagreement about their inclusion, do you think they possess some of the qualities common to the other humanitarians?

b. Writing:

Students read the following statement by sculptor Mario Chiodo about his process for choosing each humanitarian in the sculpture and his hopes for inspiring others to take a stand for justice. This statement is also available on the Remember Them: Champions of Humanity website (<http://www.remember-them.org/portfolio.cfm>)

“I have chosen these humanitarians because, regardless of their individual backgrounds or missions, they share the common threads of courage, perseverance, education, sacrifice, and a sincere desire to strive for a better life for all. This monument represents an international cross-section of visionaries throughout several centuries who have inspired and aided others through their passionate beliefs in human rights and peace. From the vast numbers of humanitarians in the world worth being acknowledged, this unique grouping offers twenty-five individuals who have touched my heart and inspired me in times of darkness.”

Using Mario’s statement as a model, students will write an essay about an individual who deserves to be recognized as a humanitarian. In addition to the essay, students will suggest an artistic way in which this humanitarian should be remembered. Encourage students to identify individuals from their own family or community. The humanitarian need not be famous.

9. Extension Activity 4: Champions of Humanity Mural

In this activity, students will study the importance of murals as a form of direct action. Teachers may share examples from their local community. As a class, students will collaborate in order to choose a wall on their campus, create a design and paint the mural. Students are encouraged to choose one or more issues or humanitarians to include in their work.

10. Extension Activity 5: Human Rights Teach-In

Students will choose several topics and lead workshops for the school body and faculty. Depending on the school schedule this may be ideal for lunch time or an advising period. The class may split into groups based on their interests and develop workshops for their teach-in. Students can discuss and decide on a framework, program and handouts for participants. They may want to invite speakers to participate in each teach-in.

11. Extension Activity 6: Short Documentary

For students with interest in film and access to digital equipment, a short documentary is another way to communicate their knowledge of and interest in human rights. Students will create a short film on one of the following topics; the creation of the UDHR, the effect of the UDHR over the last 60 years, a current human rights violation, or a biography of a humanitarian. The oral history project could be combined with the documentary activity by having students interview their local champion and include their oral history as part of the documentary. When students submit their documentary project, they should include a script, works cited, and a reflection essay on the process of composing a documentary, providing a wide array of materials for the teacher’s final assessment.

Handout A: Research Websites

Ralph Abernathy

Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute King Encyclopedia
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Shirin Ebadi

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www.amnestyusa.org/amnesty-magazine/winter-2006/a-contrary-opinion/page.do?id=1105568

Handout B: Humanitarian Summary Worksheet

Name: _____ Date/Year of Birth: ____/____/____ Date/Year of Death: ____/____/____ Country of Origin: _____

Description of Injustice

UDHR Article violated by the Injustice

Event(s) Relevant to Humanitarian's Work

Humanitarian's Role in the Event(s)

What were the results of the humanitarian's work?

Give two quotes that represent the humanitarian's beliefs and work.

Additional Information

For the additional information section, consider the following questions as you study the humanitarian you have been assigned.

1. What was the historical context in which this humanitarian lived?
2. How did the time in which they lived shape their ideas?
3. What were the decisive moments in his/her life?
4. What were their inspirations and who were their role models?
5. What were their personal challenges and how did they overcome them?
6. What were their core beliefs?
7. Why did they choose to focus on these injustices?
8. What were their methods of challenging these injustices?
9. What is the legacy of this humanitarian? Who is carrying on his or her legacy and cause today?

Voices of the Civil Rights Movement: The Continual Struggle for Equality

By Sesheta Hanible

Introduction

The U.S. Civil Rights Movement is typically understood as the struggle against segregation by African Americans during the 1950s and 1960s. In this unit, students explore a broader understanding of the struggle for equality, from 1868 to the present, by a diverse group of Americans. The unit begins with a study of the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education* as an epochal case that ushered in desegregation within the American educational system with wide implications for all Americans. Through a discussion of the *Brown* case, students determine the criteria for identifying an event as historically significant. Finally, students will explore the impact of the struggle for equality by interviewing people in their community. Students will utilize resources such as Toni Morrison's *Remember: The Journey to School Integration*, *Voices of Civil Rights*, a national oral history project, and StoryCorps, an independent non-profit project that focuses on oral history collections of individuals' life experiences.



Grade: 5

CA State Standards: History-Social Science 5.7

English/Language Arts: Reading 1.0, Reading 2.0, Writing 1.0

Essential Question: What impact has the struggle for civil rights had on the lives of Americans in the past and present?

Sub Questions:

- What are “civil rights”?
- Why was the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* important?
- How did the *Brown* decision impact young people in the United States?
- How do we determine if an event is historically significant?
- What are some other significant events in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement? Who were involved?
- How have civil rights laws, court decisions, and events affected individuals in your family or community?

Part One:

The Journey to School Integration

Activity / Instructions:

- 1. Materials:** You will need the following materials: a) Copies of *Remember: The Journey to School Integration* by Toni Morrison (Houghton Mifflin Company Children’s Books, 2004); b) the companion video for *Remember*, narrated by Toni Morrison – optional. (For a copy of this video, please email Children’s_Books@hmco.com.) c) computer/ Internet access; d) LCD or other computer projector; e) chart paper for a KWL (Know, Want, Learn) activity; f) audio recorder; g) student journals.
- 2. Classroom Activity:** Tell students that they will look at three pictures and do a “quick write” in their journals to answer the following questions. Show the pictures (in the order indicated) from the following pages 67, 68, and 35 of Toni Morrison’s book *Remember*. Allow children at least 5 minutes to view and respond to each picture. Ask students to write down answers to these questions in their journals: a) What might the characters in the picture be feeling? b) What could the characters be saying to one another? Select students to share their journal answers to the whole class. Students can also “pair and share.”
- 3. Classroom Activity:** Show the companion video to Toni Morrison’s book. If the video is not available, then read aloud the book’s introduction “The Narrow Path, the Open Gate, the Wide Road.” Share with students the historical background of *Brown v. Board of Education*. Ask students to use the illustrations and stories from the book to provide examples of the impact of the *Brown* decision.
- 4. Activity: Brainstorm** with the class about what qualifies as an “important event.” Use the discussion to create a criteria list for determining whether an event is historically significant. Create a poster of the criteria for the classroom. Explain to students that not everyone will agree. In fact, historians themselves often disagree and have various interpretations of the same event.
- 6. Extension Assignment:** Ask students to write down and orally present an important event in their lives, families, and/or community. Model to the class an example of an expository report of an important event. Have students use the discussion/ reflection questions above as guidelines for their report. Inform students what the expectations are for their oral presentation using a rubric that you share with your students in advance of their presentation. The rubric can include criteria on a Likert scale for vocal loudness, professionalism, organization, and inclusion of relevant information. Select students to read their report aloud to the class.

Part Two:

The Civil Rights Movement

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Classroom Activity:** Gather students around a KWL (Know, Want, Learn) chart. Write and post the following quote on chart paper:
"Civil rights are the social and political privileges guaranteed to all citizens regardless of race, sex, religion or national origin."

- Frederick and Patrick McKissack

Discuss the quote with students and guide them in broadening the understanding of civil rights beyond the desegregation of schools. Post or ask the question, "What do you know about the Civil Rights Movement?" Write down student responses under the "K" column on the chart (what they know). Ask students what they want to learn about the Civil Rights Movement. Post responses under the "W" column (what they want to learn). Inform students that they will complete "L" column (what they learned) throughout the remainder of the unit.

2. **Classroom Activity:** Inform students that they will explore the history of the Civil Rights Movement by accessing the timeline available on the **Voices of Civil Rights** website: (<http://www.voicesofcivilrights.org/history.html>). Divide students into three groups to investigate information under the following time spans: 1868-1953, 1954-1968, and 1969-present. Ask each group to select a recorder and presenter.

Each group must answer the following questions: a) What time period are you presenting? b) Name and describe a law, court case or community event that helped people achieve civil rights; c) Describe the law, court case or community event and why it was important in achieving civil rights; d) Name a person or organization that helped people expand their civil rights during the time period that you are researching. Describe what the person/ organization did and why it was important to civil rights history; e) What was the most important and/or interesting year in your time period? Why?

Ask students to present their answers to the whole class and fill in the KWL chart with information they've learned.

3. **Extension Assignment:** Ask your class to take the quiz on the Voices of Civil Rights website at <http://www.voicesofcivilrights.org/history.html>. This can be done as a whole group using a LCD projector. Alternatively, you can copy the questions in advance and have the entire class answer them orally. Check answers provided on the website and tally answers for assessment.

Part Three:

How did civil rights achievements impact my family and community?

Activity / Instructions:

- 1. Classroom Activity:** Return to the Voices of the Civil Rights website. Assign students to choose one oral history from “The Voices” page and one from the “Civil Rights Today” page. Using a Venn diagram, ask students to identify the similarities and differences in the two stories. Discuss their findings as a class. How has the struggle for equality changed over time? How has it remained the same?
- 2. Conducting Interviews with Family and Community Members:** Ask students to interview an individual (preferably someone whom they know) who was either part of or impacted by the Civil Rights Movement. As a class, write down prospective interview questions, including the basics of what, when, where, how, and why. Ask students to record (either audio or video) the interview. Select students to share their recordings with the class.

Useful resources for interview questions and suggestions for conducting oral histories:

- StoryCorps website’s “Great Questions List.”
www.storycorps.net/record-your-story/question-generator/list
- Witness: Illuminating Human Rights Crises Through Oral History.
www.voiceofwitness.com/index.php

- 3. Culmination Assignment:** Using Toni Morrison’s *Remember* as a model, ask students to write short stories and create illustrations about the family or community members they interviewed. Compile the stories and illustrations into a book and ask a student to create a cover and introduction page.

Ruby Bridges: Acting With Courage

By Marilyn T. Jackson



Introduction

This unit will help students develop a deeper understanding of the African American Freedom Struggle through the experiences of Ruby Bridges, a young pioneer in the fight to desegregate schools in the 1960s. Students will be encouraged to recognize the importance of individual action and character. Students will explain how heroes from long ago as well as the recent past have made a difference in others' lives.

Essential Question: What can you do to make the world a better place?

Sub Questions:

- What are civil rights?
- What are the characteristics of a hero?
- Why was Ruby Bridges a hero?
- How can you become a hero? Why is it important to do heroic deeds?
- How do heroes make a difference in others' lives?

Part One:

The Young Hero: Ruby Bridges

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Materials:** *The Story of Ruby Bridges* by Robert Coles and George Ford (Scholastic Bookshelf, 2004); *Through My Eyes* by Ruby Bridges (Scholastic Press, 1999); the film entitled *Ruby Bridges*, produced by Disney (1998) and *Remember: The Journey to School Integration* by Toni Morrison (2004) as a supplemental resource.
2. **Opening Activity:** Ask students to name some of their heroes. You may want to write down the names on chart paper.
3. **Discussion:** Guide a discussion about the meaning of "hero." Help students to understand that heroes are not only superheroes, but everyday people who stand up for what is right or who help someone in need.
3. **Classroom Activity:**
 - a) Introduce vocabulary items: *hero*, *segregation*, *civil rights*. Ask students to define these words. Clarify the meaning of these words.
 - b) Read aloud the book *The Story of Ruby Bridges* by Robert Coles and George Ford.
 - c) Post photos from *Through My Eyes* around the room. Under each photo place a piece of paper with the words, "Ruby is a hero because..." Ask students to fill in words or phrases below the photo. Photos are on pages 17, 19, 23, 62.
 - d) Ask students to work in pairs to create an idea web. They will place Ruby in the center and link her circle to other circles with examples of her heroic deeds. You may want to start a model entitled "Ruby the Hero," with the class. Students may use the words and phrases from the photo activity to create their web.
 - e) Ask students to use a Venn diagram to compare themselves to Ruby Bridges using the following categories: gender, age, school, heroic deeds.

Part Two:

Standing Up for Others

Activity / Instructions:

1. **Activity:** Ask students to share an example of when a friend has helped them. Discuss what it means to be a good friend.
2. **Discussion:** Reflecting on Ruby's story, ask students to think of examples of friends who supported Ruby. Examples may include her teacher, Mrs. Henry, people who sent letters, and her neighbors on France Street. You may want to use photos and quotes from *The Story of Ruby Bridges* and *Through My Eyes* to support the discussion.
3. **Create:** Write the following quotes from *Through My Eyes* on the board. Ask students to choose a quote and draw a picture to illustrate the ideas.
 - "When we left school that first day, the crowd outside was even bigger and louder than it had been in the morning. There were reporters and film cameras and people everywhere."
 - "My father heard about the trouble at school. That night when he came home from work, he said I was his 'brave little Ruby.'"
 - "I will always remember how our neighbors on France Street helped us through the winter. They came by all the time to see how we were doing. They were nervous about the racial tension in the city, but they also wanted to support us."
 - "Being Mrs. Henry's only student wasn't a chore. It was fun and felt sort of special. She was more like my best friend than just an ordinary teacher. She was a loving person, and I knew she cared about me."
4. **Optional Activities/Assignments:**
 - a) Have students dramatize the story of Ruby Bridges with one student narrating and others pantomiming.
 - b) Ask students to write about themselves doing a heroic deed or helping a friend. Ask the students to draw an accompanying picture.
 - c) Ask students to write letters to the Ruby Bridges Foundation. Current news and contact information of the Foundation may be found at: www.rubybridges.org
Watch the film *Ruby Bridges*, produced by Disney in 1998.

Teaching the Global Human Rights Struggle: Historical and Educational Resources

HISTORICAL RESOURCES: ONLINE

Bay Area Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement

www.crmvet.org

This is an organization of former civil rights workers who were active in the Southern Freedom Movement of the 1960s. The veterans include staff and volunteers for CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and NAACP, among others. The veterans listed on their “roll call” are available for speaking engagements at schools, churches, youth groups, and other organizations. The website also includes a timeline, photos and background information.

Freedom Archives

www.freedomarchives.org

The Freedom Archives contain over 8000 hours of audiotapes that date from the late-60s to the mid-90s and chronicle the progressive history of the Bay Area, the United States, and international solidarity movements. Much of the material was broadcast on KPFA in Berkeley. Their resources include interviews with Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, as well as special series on Langston Hughes, the Latino Movement, and the American Indian Movement.

Gandhi Archive

www.gandhiserve.org

The online image archive of the Gandhi Serve Foundation includes Gandhi’s correspondence, documents, photographs, and publications, as well as art and cartoons about him, organized chronologically.

Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti (GSDS)

gandhismriti.nic.in/indexb.asp

Overseen by the Indian Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti propagates the life, mission, and thought of Mahatma Gandhi through educational and cultural programs, a museum, and two campuses located at the site of Gandhi’s assassination and cremation. The website includes a chronology of Gandhi’s life, a detailed account of his last 144 days, and a photo gallery.

India and Pakistan: 60 Years of Independence, PBS Online News Hour

www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/asia/partition/timeline/index.html

Coverage includes a descriptive political timeline of the Indian sub-continent from 1757 to 2006. It contains students’ voices from India and Pakistan, a lesson plan for the 60th year of Indian and Pakistani independence, and reports on relations with Britain, tensions in the contested Kashmir region, the legacy of the Partition of British India, and on Muslims in India today.

Library of Congress American Memory

memory.loc.gov/ammem/

American Memory includes collections such as Slavery and the Law, the Frederick Douglass Papers, African American Sheet Music, and Photographs of the Golden Age of Jazz.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute

kinginstitute.info

The Institute’s King Papers Project is the authoritative source of documentary information on King’s life and thought. Its mission is to assemble and disseminate comprehensive, historically accurate, and reliable information about Martin Luther King, Jr. and the movements with which he was associated, through both print and electronic media. Invaluable resources include the King Online Encyclopedia and King’s Speeches.

Montgomery Advertiser

www.montgomeryboycott.com/frontpage.htm

They Changed the World: The Story of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, a special feature created for the anniversary of the boycott, includes voices of the boycott, biographies, historic front pages, and a timeline.

National History Education Clearing House

teachinghistory.org/

Funded by the U.S. Department of Education, the National History Education Clearinghouse (NHEC) is designed to help K-12 history teachers access resources and materials to improve U.S. history education in the classroom. The website has resources on best practices, teaching materials, and professional development.

National Archives and Records Administration

www.archives.gov/education/

Their *Digital Classroom* includes resources for teachers and students including lesson plans, classroom activities, and online exhibits. The Teaching with Documents section includes lessons and documents related to Brown v. Board of Education, Rosa Parks, Jackie Robinson, Paul Robeson, and the Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike.

Radio 4 Empire – India: Independence, BBC

www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/empire/episodes/episode_89.shtml

Originally a radio series that has now ended, the website presents an overview of the Indian freedom movement from the perspective of the British Empire and includes an interactive timeline and map section.

San Francisco Freedom School

www.educationanddemocracy.org/ED_SFSS.html

The San Francisco Freedom School (SFSS), established in 2005 in the spirit of the original Mississippi Freedom Schools of 1964, conducts free summer workshops to teach the civil rights movement in relation to issues of today. SFUSD teachers get hours towards credential renewal for attending. Teachers can access over 200 feature and documentary films with suggested curricula and will be supported year-long in their efforts to bring social justice history into their classrooms. The website also has the original 1964 curriculum from the Mississippi Freedom Schools.

TIME Collection

www.time.com/time/archive/collections

The collection contains highlights of TIME's coverage of civil rights issues from 1923 to 2005 and also includes front cover illustrations and transcriptions of articles. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was named Time's "Man of the Year" in 1963.

We Shall Overcome: Historic Places of the Civil Rights Movement from the National Park Service

www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/civilrights

Take your students on a virtual field trip of the major historic sites of the civil rights movement. Places include the 16th Street Baptist Church, the Greensboro Woolworth building, and Little Rock Central High School.

HISTORICAL RESOURCES: PRINT

Armstrong, Julie. *Teaching the American Civil Rights Movement: Freedom's Bittersweet Song.* New York: Routledge Press, 2002.

This book offers perspectives on presenting the civil rights movement in different classroom contexts, strategies to make the movement come alive for students, and issues highlighting topics that students will find appealing.

Branch, Taylor. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988.

The book chronicles the civil rights struggle from the Eisenhower years through the assassination of President Kennedy.

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

With its radical ideology and effective tactics, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was the cutting edge of the civil rights movement during the 1960s. This sympathetic yet even-handed book records for the first time the complete story of SNCC's evolution, its successes, and its difficulties in the ongoing struggle to end white oppression.

Carson, Clayborne. *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Time Warner Group, 2001.

Drawing upon an unprecedented archive of King's own words, including unpublished letters and diaries, as well as video footage and recordings, Dr. Carson creates an unforgettable self-portrait of Dr. King. In his own vivid, compassionate voice, here is Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as student, minister, husband, father, and world leader. This book is also a rich, moving chronicle of a people and a nation in the face of powerful and still resonating change.

Carson, Clayborne, David J. Garrow, Gerald Gill, Vincent Harding, and Gerald Gill, eds. *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader: Documents, Speeches, and Firsthand Accounts from the Black Freedom Struggle.* Topeka: Topeka Bindery, 1991.

This volume is one of several produced in conjunction with the 14-part PBS Eyes on the Prize television series. It is a collection of over 100 court decisions, speeches, interviews, and other documents on the civil rights movement from 1954 to 1990.

Carson, Clayborne, Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner, and Gary B. Nash. *African American Lives: The Struggle for Freedom, Combined Volume.* New York: Prentice Hall, 2005.

This textbook uses a unique biographical and grass-roots approach to present the history of African Americans as active and thoughtful agents in the construction of their lives and communities. Each chapter opens with a vignette focusing on an individual involved in a dramatic moment or event.

Carson, Clayborne, Myrlie Evers-Williams, Mark Bauerlein, and Jim Haskins. *Civil Rights Chronicle: The African American Struggle for Freedom.* Lincolnwood: Publications International, 2003.

The book captures the dramatic personal and political stories behind the civil rights movement as it happened across the North and the South with more than 900 striking photographs of people, events, and artifacts.

Clark, Septima Poinsette, and Legette Blythe. *Echo in My Soul.* New York: Dutton, 1962.

Autobiography of Septima Poinsette Clark, civil rights activist, who taught adult literacy courses at the Highlander Folk School and set up Citizenship Schools throughout the South.

Dalton, Dennis. ed. *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings*. Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Co., 1996.

Drawing from the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Dalton presents Gandhi's writings on various topics such as truth, non-violence, Hindu-Muslim unity, Satyagraha, untouchability, women, and Swaraj (self-rule), among others, organized thematically in essays.

Gandhi, Mohandas K. *Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1993.

This book is Mohandas Gandhi's own account of his childhood and early political life, particularly his ongoing quest for truth.

Haley, Alex, and Malcolm X. *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1987.

First published in 1965, the biography ranks as one of the great American classics. An extremely personal account, the book recounts the life of Malcolm X from his childhood to the period shortly before his assassination.

Kasher, Steven. *The Civil Rights Movement: A Photographic History, 1954-68*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1996.

Kasher presents a photographic history of the civil rights movement in the United States from 1954 through 1968, with narratives of crucial movement events complemented by relevant pictures. It includes a chronology and suggestions for additional reading.

Kohl, Herb. *She Would Not be Moved: How We Tell the Story of Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott*. New York: The New Press, 2007.

With an introduction by Marian Wright Edelman, this book evaluates the ways in which the story of Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956 are misrepresented to children, and contains teaching suggestions and essays on three civil rights activists including Rosa Parks.

Levine, Ellen. *Freedom's Children: Young Civil Rights Activists Tell Their Own Stories*. New York: Penguin Group, 2000.

Levine presents a collection of first-person narratives by African-American youth who were involved in the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s. It also discusses their struggles to end segregation in the South.

Lewis, John. *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1998.

Written by Georgia Congressman and former civil rights activist John Lewis, this book uniquely spotlights the unsung heroes of the Movement's Freedom Rides, the 1963 March on Washington, Selma's Bloody Sunday, and the Voter Registration Drives in Mississippi.

Marable, Manning, John McMillian, and Nishani Frazier, eds. *Freedom on My Mind*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

The focal point of this anthology is the constant struggle for freedom of people of African descent in the Americas, from the colonial era to the present day. This collection of speeches, essays, poems, sermons, folktales, letters, and interviews reflects the struggle within American culture and its resistance in multiple forms, including the recognition of the significance of gender and sexuality in this struggle.

Menkart, Deborah, Alana Murray, and Jenice View, eds. *Putting the Movement Back into Civil Rights Teaching*. Washington D.C.: Teaching for Change and PRRAC, 2004.

This award-winning publication is designed to help K-12 educators empower students in developing a critical analysis of U.S. history and strategies for change. It contains interactive and interdisciplinary lessons, readings, writings, photographs, graphics, and interviews on the civil rights movement.

Minter, William, Gail Hovey, and Charles E. Cobb, Jr., eds. *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over Half a Century, 1950-2000*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007.

The book draws on the voices of several generations of activists to explore the largely untold history of U.S. activism for Africa from 1950 to 2000 to forge new paths to a future of human rights for all.

Parel, Anthony J., ed. *Gandhi, Mohandas K. Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

This volume presents the original 1910 version of *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi's treatise on the state of India at the time and Indian home rule. It includes Gandhi's Preface and Foreword and his correspondence with Tolstoy, Nehru, and others. Parel sets *Hind Swaraj* in its historical and intellectual context by providing annotations, bibliographical notes on prominent figures, and a chronology of important events.

Ransby, Barbara. *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

The author offers the grit and gleam of Baker's practical humanist vision of participatory democracy aimed at the collective, transformative work of dismantling race, gender, and class privilege. A gifted grass-roots organizer, Baker was dedicated to helping people help themselves. One of the founders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Baker was also a key figure in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Turck, Mary C. *The Civil Rights Movement for Kids: A History with 21 Activities*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2000.

Written for grades 4 to 8, this book functions as a comprehensive historical guide to the civil rights movement. Packed with informative text and historical photos, it also contains activities (e.g., organizing a workshop on non-violence) in which students can participate to reify the connection between past and present for ongoing rectification of social injustices.

HISTORICAL RESOURCES: FILM

***A Force More Powerful*. DVD. Directed by Steven York. PBS, 2000.**

Narrated by Ben Kingsley, the documentary addresses how nonviolent power has overcome oppression and authoritarian rule around the world. A free study guide to accompany the documentary is available from the website www.aforcemorepowerful.org. The book of the same title documents a comprehensive history of more than a dozen stories of nonviolent movements in the 20th century.

***American Experience, Citizen King*. DVD. Directed by Orlando Bagwell and W. Noland Walker. PBS, 2004.**

A two-hour documentary, this film focuses upon the last five years of Dr. King's life. The film draws upon personal recollections and eyewitness accounts of historians, movement associates, friends, journalists, and law enforcement officers during the period in which King crusaded for economic justice and an end to the war in Vietnam.

***Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1985*. VHS or DVD. Produced by Blackside. PBS, 1987.**

Eyes on the Prize is an award-winning 14-hour television series produced by Blackside and narrated by Julian Bond. Through contemporary interviews and historical footage, the series covers the major events of the civil rights movement from 1954-1985.

***Freedom on My Mind*. VHS or DVD. Directed by Connie Field and Marilyn Mulford. California Newsreel, 1994.**

This landmark film tells the story of the Mississippi freedom movement in the early 1960s when a handful of young activists changed history. It was nominated for an Academy Award and won both the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians awards for best documentary.

***Have you Heard from Johannesburg: Apartheid and The Club of the West*. DVD. Directed by Connie Field. California Newsreel, 2006.**

This award-winning documentary film chronicles the global, anti-apartheid movement in the U.S., which is one of South Africa's most important superpower allies. It covers how a nation-wide campaign of civil disobedience, campus protest, and finally legislative action, spearheaded by African American leaders from the civil rights movement, reversed American foreign policy toward South Africa.

HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION RESOURCES: ONLINE

Amnesty International USA

www.amnestyusa.org

Recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, Amnesty International is a grass-roots, global organization dedicated to human rights and the protection of individuals "wherever justice, freedom, truth and dignity are denied." Their website has a section on Human Rights Education complete with lesson plans, curriculum guides, and posters for K-12+ and college educators.

Anti-Defamation League (ADL) Curriculum Connections

www.adl.org/education/curriculum_connections

The ADL has a library of original lesson plans and resources to help K-12 educators integrate multi-cultural, anti-bias, and social justice themes into their curricula. A new edition is published three to four times per school year.

***Be The Change: Upstanders for Human Rights* by Facing History and Ourselves**

www2.facinghistory.org/campus/BeTheChange.nsf/home?openform

This website has a dedicated section for teachers and contains a variety of different activities and suggestions for bringing into classrooms the stories of these five 'upstanders' who fought against injustice.

Council of Europe – Human Rights and Legal Affairs

www.coe.int/t/dghl/default_en.asp

This is the website for the Council of Europe, an international organization. It functions as a resource for documents, treaties, and current events pertaining to human rights, legal affairs, and social and political issues in Europe.

Free the Children

www.freethechildren.com/we/index.php

Started by a 12-year old in 1995, Free the Children is an international development organization that is focused on youth empowerment. FTC is engaged in community-based development in at least a half-dozen countries.

Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley

hrc.berkeley.edu

The HRC investigates war crimes, pursues justice, and educates human rights advocates and researchers. Its website has a list of human rights resources and publications. The Center also sponsors numerous events for the community on human rights topics throughout the year.

Human Rights Education Association Resource Center

www.hrea.org

The HREA's website has an on-line repository of human rights education and training materials, on-line forums, databases, and links to other organizations and resources.

Human Rights Education Wiki

hrewiki.pbwiki.com/

Created by teachers, the website has "Ready-to-use Human Rights Education Resources" along with other resources that are currently being developed.

Human Rights First

www.humanrightsfirst.org

A non-profit, nonpartisan international human rights organization based in New York and Washington D.C., Human Rights First works to protect persons at risk, including human rights advocates.

Human Rights in Action: The United Nations Cyber School Bus

www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/humanrights/index.asp

The U.N. Cyber School Bus project aims to collect inspiring stories of classes or schools defending and promoting human rights in communities, neighborhoods, and cities. The website has a classroom guide to implement this project, an interactive UDHR, and additional resources and links on human rights.

Human Rights Resources Center

www.hrusa.org

Part of the University of Minnesota's Human Rights Library, the Center makes human rights education resources produced by non-profit organizations and independent publishers publicly accessible. These resources include curricula, guides, documents, videos, and other educational aids.

Human Rights Watch

www.hrw.org

One of the world's leading independent organizations dedicated to defending and protecting human rights, HRW focuses international attention where human rights are violated, gives voice to the oppressed, and hold oppressors accountable for their crimes. The organization hosts an annual International Human Rights Film Festival.

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

www.ohchr.org/EN/Pages/WelcomePage.aspx

The OHCHR spearheads efforts of people globally to protect and promote human rights. The website has quick links to human rights issues, human rights education and training, human rights instruments, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with which the OHCHR works.

US Human Rights Network

www.ushrnetwork.org

The website has a section entitled "Treaties & Declarations," which lists and summarizes human rights treaties, declarations, and international human rights standards with appropriate links to each document.

WITNESS

www.witness.org

WITNESS is a nonprofit organization that uses video and online technologies to build global awareness of human rights violations and empowers people to transform personal stories of abuse into powerful tools for justice, promoting public engagement and policy change. "The Hub" is their online video community where individuals can upload, share, and watch videos about human rights.

HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION RESOURCES: PRINT

Amnesty International. *The Fourth R: The Magazine of Human Rights Education*. New York: Amnesty International.

This bi-annual magazine calls for increased focus on human rights education as a core content in schools. Each issue features lesson plans and information on various human rights themes.

Andreopoulos, George J., and Richard Pierre Claude. *Human Rights Education for the Twenty-First Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

One of very few books dedicated to the practice of human rights education, this collection of essays includes useful discussions regarding strategies for classroom teachers as well as community-based education.

Clapham, Andrew. *Human Rights: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

As the title suggests, Clapham offers an introduction to the historical and philosophical origins of human rights. The book also provides a focus on current issues such as Guantanamo Bay and Darfur.

Donelly, Jack. *Human Rights in Theory and Practice 2nd Edition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Regarded as the standard and most readable texts on human rights theory, the book covers political theory, sociology and international law. The reading level is appropriate for 11th and 12th grade students.

Ishay, Micheline. *The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era – 2nd edition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

The book provides a comprehensive and very readable account of the genesis, development, and evolution of human rights. The content is more historical than philosophical, but is a strong foundation for the development of human rights.

New York Collective of Radical Educators and Education for Liberation Network. *Planning to Change the World: A Plan Book for Social Justice Teachers, 2008-2009*.

Created for teachers by teachers, this is an incredible resource of quotes, teaching ideas and inspiration. The plan book is also a great organizing tool for the classroom.

Phibbs, Cheryl Fisher. *Profiles in History - Pioneers of Human Rights*. Farmington Hills: Greenhaven Press, 2005.

This collection of short biographies provides concrete examples of courageous resistance to human rights violations. Human rights activists include Mohandas Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and Eleanor Roosevelt among others.

HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION: CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Amnesty International. *We are all Born Free: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Pictures*. London: Frances Lincoln Children's Books, 2008.

Bridges, Ruby. *Through My Eyes*. New York: Scholastic Press, 1991.

Colbert, Jan. *Dear Dr. King: Letters from Today's Children to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Hyperion Books for Children, 1998.

Finlayson, Reggie. *We Shall Overcome: The History of the American Civil Rights Movement*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 2003.

- Giovanni, Nikki. *Rosa*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005.
- Haskins, Jim. *Delivering Justice: W.W. Law and the Fight for Civil Rights*. Massachusetts: Candlewick Press, 2005.
- Hoose, Phillip. *Claudette Colvin: Twice Toward Justice*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2009.
- Johnson, Angela. *A Sweet Smell of Roses*. New York: Simon and Shuster, 2004.
- Jordan, June. *Fannie Lou Hamer*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1972.
- Katz, Karen. *Can You Say Peace?* New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2006.
- King, Casey. *Oh, Freedom!: Kids Talk about the Civil Rights Movement with the People who Made It Happen*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1997.
- Lucas, Eileen. *Cracking the Wall: The Struggles of the Little Rock Nine*. Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books, Inc, 1997.
- Morrison, Tony. *Remember: The Journey to School Integration*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004.
- Nelson, Marilyn. *A Wreath for Emmett Till*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.
- Parks, Rosa. *Dear Mrs. Parks: A Dialogue with Today's Youth*. New York: Lee & Low Books, Inc., 1996.
- Parks, Rosa. *Rosa Parks: My Story*. New York: Dial Books, 1992.
- Pinkney, Andrea Davis. *Let it Shine: Stories of Black Women Freedom Fighters*. San Diego: Harcourt Press, 2000.
- Rappaport, Doreen. *Nobody Gonna Turn Me 'Round: Stories and Songs of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Jump at the Sun, 2006.
- Rochelle, Belinda. *Witnesses to Freedom: Young people who Fought for Civil Rights*. New York: Lodestar Books, 1993.
- Thomas, Joyce Carol (2003). *Linda Brown, You are not Alone: The Brown v. Board of Education decision*. New York: Jump at the Sun, 2003.
- Weatherford, Carole. *Freedom on the Menu: The Greensboro Sit-ins*. New York: Dial, 2004.
- Winter, Jeanette. *Wangari's Trees of Peace: A True Story from Africa*. Singapore: Harcourt Children's Books, 2008.

