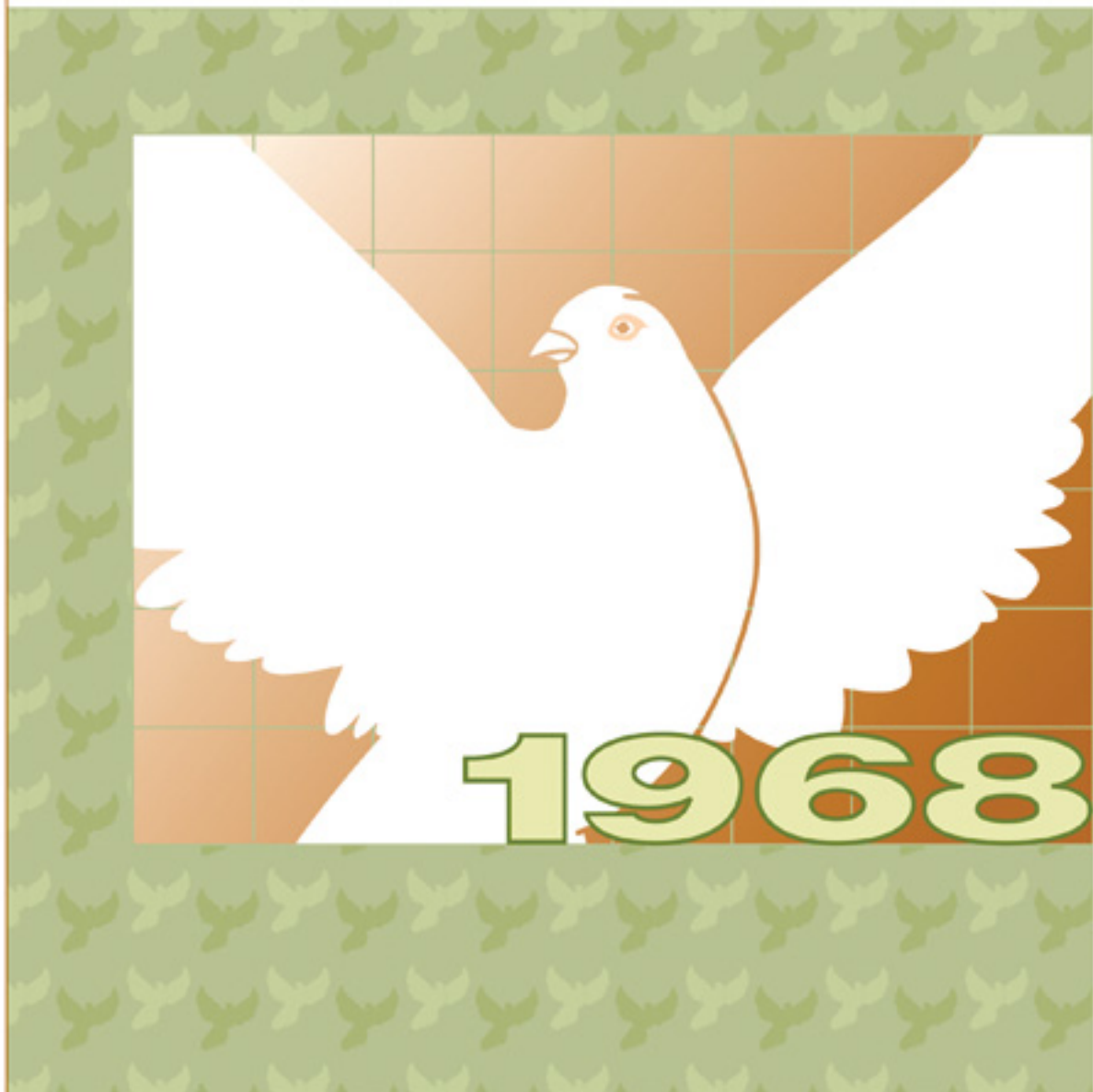


BLACK LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE



Black Americans Face a Leadership Dilemma Following
the Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.



BLACK LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

A re-creation of the leadership dilemma blacks faced
following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

RONNIE STEWART and ROY L. McDUFFIE, the authors of A DEBATE ON BLACK LEADERSHIP IN SUMMER 1968, graduated from San Diego State University and Jackson State University respectively. Both are deeply committed to increasing students' awareness of America's varied ethnic history.

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Why were blacks at a crossroads after Martin Luther King's assassination?

This debate re-creates the plight of black Americans after Martin Luther King Jr. was shot in April 1968. Following a decade of civil rights progress, black Americans were both angry and confused: their national hero had died at the hands of a white assassin. They asked themselves: *Should we work to integrate ourselves into white America, or should we separate ourselves, maybe even embracing violence as we do so?* Concerned blacks turned to their leadership, but instead of hearing one clear voice, they heard many. This imaginary debate captures this wide spectrum of recommendations black leadership was presenting to black America in that tragic year. During this re-creation your students should experience the following:

Knowledge

1. Important dates, persons, and events in black Americans' struggles for equal rights since the Civil War
2. Key issues dividing black leadership since the Civil War—with particular emphasis upon 1968

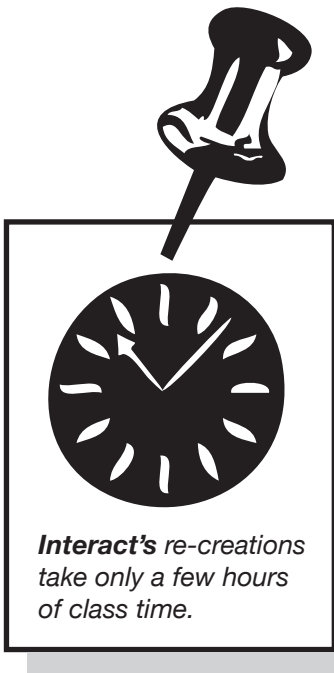
Attitudes

1. An appreciation for the confusion and fury engulfing black America following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968
2. An appreciation of the black American's dilemma: assimilation into or separation from the majority white culture—and by what means, non-violent or violent

Skills

1. Assuming an identity, standing up, and delivering a speech, asking a question, giving an answer
2. Listening carefully enough to be able to take notes sufficiently detailed that they record not only the speaker's ideas but also the speaker's feelings about those ideas

OVERVIEW



Four class periods—or days—are needed for this re-creation.

Day 1

After an interest catcher makes students aware that they have convictions about whether black Americans should separate themselves from white culture or should assimilate into it, students read the Student Guide's Background Essay on the history of black Americans' struggles since our Civil War. Then 18 persons are given special handouts and assigned roles (six speakers and 12 questioners); the unassigned remaining students are told they will be allowed to ask questions if time is available. Everyone prepares note sheets for note-taking during the upcoming re-creation.

Days 2–3

The classroom is arranged with a chairperson (most likely you, the teacher) sitting among six speakers at the front of the room facing an audience in an assembly hall at Howard University. The date is July 1968. Excepting the six speakers, who role-play black adults, and you, who are a black college professor from Howard University, all other students role-play black college students who have gathered in this tragic summer following the deaths of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy. A debate is being held on whether blacks should assimilate or integrate—and by which means, violence or non-violence. First, three speakers speak and are questioned; then, the final three speakers speak and are questioned.

Day 4

Students are divided into five activity groups for a contemporary debriefing activity focusing upon issues similar to the 1968 debate. Each activity group has an area to discuss: school integration, housing integration, minority preference in hiring and/or college entrance, government loans to minority businesses, and government subsidies to the poor. The groups' chairpersons report their groups' conclusions to the whole class. Optional essay examination questions are available if you wish to use them.

SETUP DIRECTIONS - 1



Certain roles are so important that only you should determine who plays them.

1. **Assigning roles** Decide in advance how you wish to assign the six speakers roles and the 12 questioners roles. If you plan to expand the minimal two hours of the actual debate, you may want to select only the six speakers. Then you could have all remaining students pull slips of paper: 12 could be marked CQ1, SQ1, CQ2, SQ2, CQ3, SQ3, CQ4, SQ4, CQ5, SQ5, CQ6, SQ6; the remaining could be blank. Students who pull blank slips would be told they can question any speaker **Note well:** After duplicating a **ROLE ASSIGNMENTS: BLACK LEADERSHIP DEBATE** sheet, fill in its spaces with the 18 students' names who have assigned roles. (You may also want to give each student a copy.)
2. **Handouts** Duplicate the number in parentheses, using the masters in this Teacher Guide.
 - **SPEAKER** (six, one per speaker—speakers 1–5 have two pages; speaker 6, three pages)
 - **SPEAKER QUESTIONERS** (six: cut pages in half vertically, one per questioner)

Optional:

 - * **ROLE ASSIGNMENTS: BLACK LEADERSHIP DEBATE** (one copy for your use)
3. **Poster materials** If you wish to encourage your students to make posters with 1968 slogans on them to hang on your classroom walls prior to the debate's beginning, obtain some plain cardboard, butcher paper, appropriate paint, felt pens.



An example of a poster Speaker 5 might wish to refer to during his speech ...

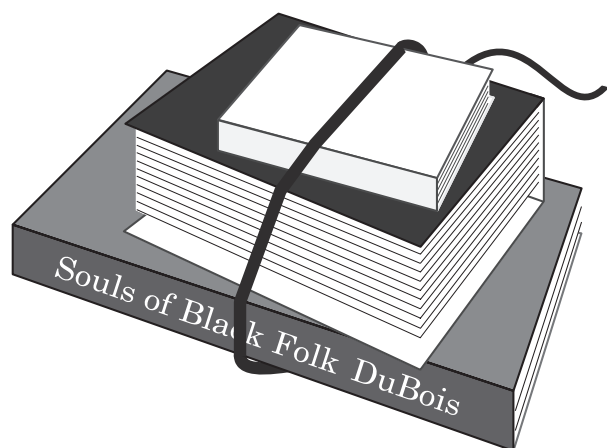
SETUP DIRECTIONS - 2



4. **Video recording** If your school has a recording system, by all means arrange in advance for a capable student to be a cameraperson who will record the debate. Students learn a great amount about themselves by watching their images and hearing their voices. Of course, if you plan to record the debate, you may want to assign a student to the role of a commentator who introduces the debate with some posters (e.g., *The Howard University Debate on Black Leadership*) and commentary prior to turning the meeting over to you, the chairperson. Portions of videos such as this are excellent ways to communicate to administrators and to your students' parents what your class is like.

5. **Follow-up reading** Since some of your students, either before or after the debate, will want to do further reading on this subject, consider asking your friendly librarian to set up a **Black Leadership: The 1960s** shelf in your school library. On this shelf he/she might place books such as the following:

- _____, *The Annals of America*, Volume. XVIII: 1961–1968, Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1968.
- Adler, Mortimer, editor, *The Negro in American History: Black Americans 1928–1968*, Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1969.
- DuBois, W.E.B., *The Souls of Black Folk*, Premier Americana, Greenwich, Conn., 1961.
 - Ducas, George, editor, *Great Documents in Black American History*, Praeger, New York, 1972.
 - Fox, Elton C., *Contemporary Black Leaders*, Dodd, Mead, New York, 1970.
 - Franklin, John Hope, *From Slavery to Freedom*, Vintage Giant, Random House, New York, 1969.
 - Franklin, John Hope, *The Negro in 20th Century America*, Vintage Original, Random House, New York, 1967.
 - Haley, Alex, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Grove Press, New York, 1965.
 - Katz, William L., *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History*, Pitman, New York, 1967.
 - Mead, Margaret and Baldwin, James, *A Rap on Race*, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1971.



DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 1



Also assign your students to read the chapter(s) in their textbook covering the black struggle for civil rights during the 20th century.

Before Day 1

(Could be one or more days in advance of Day 1)

1. Consider showing any film or filmstrip that will introduce black history from around 1945–1970.
2. Give an appropriate lecture on the above history or invite into your classroom some adults who were young and involved in the black leadership debate of the 1960s.
3. Encourage your students to read in the books you or your librarian have gathered on the reserve shelf labeled Black Leadership: The 1960s.

Day 1

(These teaching directions are brief since the instructional sequence is written out in considerable detail under Procedure in the Student Guide.)

1. Follow items 1–7 under Day 1, Procedure, on page 7 in the Student Guide.
2. The optional recommendation (#8 under Procedure) for students to make posters representing the six speakers' positions is a good one. The authors of this re-creation has found in their own classrooms that the act of making posters stimulates student thinking and engenders a loyalty that aids confrontation once the re-creation begins.

Days 2–3–4

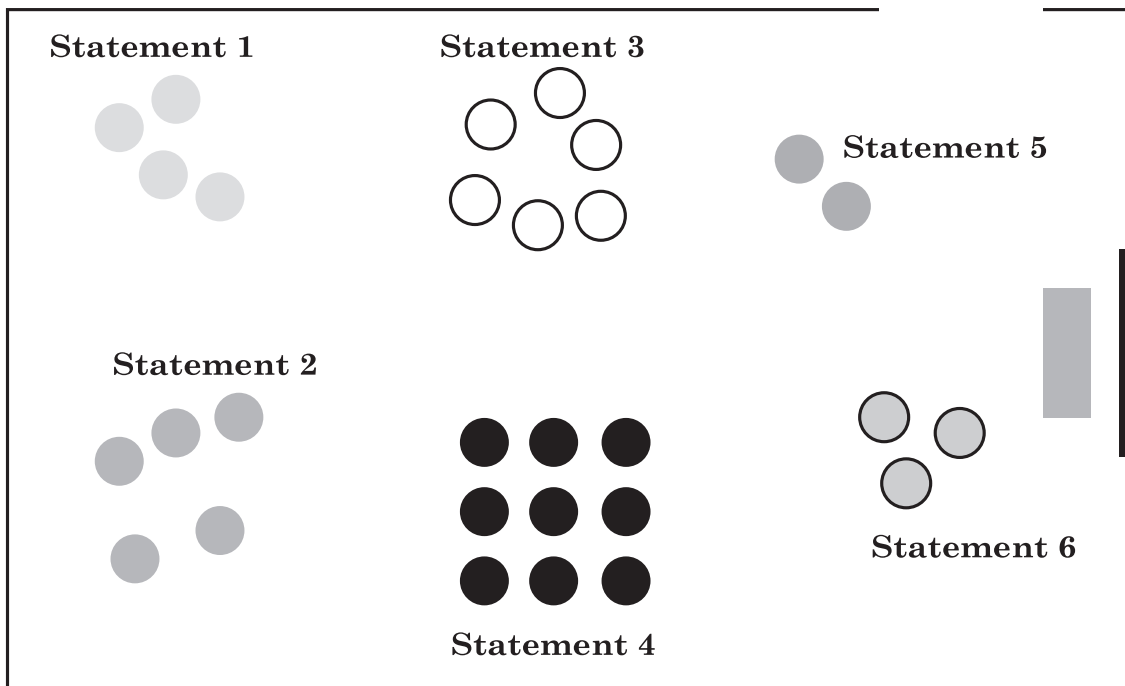
Re-creation

1. The key decision to make here relates to time. If you have an energetic and/or capable class, very likely one hour will be insufficient time for all the students to question the speakers. In such a case, increase the time you're allotting to each set of three speakers. Obviously the debate will be less stilted and more vital if everyone who wants to question the speakers gets to do so. **Note well:** *Make sure that students rising to speak who have no assigned 1968 college student identity make up such an identity before they rise to question anyone. It is important that students play a role during the re-creation. Stress that they can be themselves and can express their own viewpoints during the final debriefing.*
2. The authors recommend that you definitely not have six speakers speak sequentially before allowing questions. Let three speakers speak; then let the questioners question.

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 2

Debriefing

3. Follow the numbered items under Procedure, Days 2–3–4, Debriefing procedure on page 8 in the Student Guide.
4. Here is the moment in the teaching unit when students can be themselves. Encourage them to speak their inner convictions.
5. You might like to end the debriefing by having students re-examine the six statements found under Procedure, Day 1, in their Student Guides. Consider asking them to go to the six classroom areas a second time—in order to see if the re-creation experience has confirmed or altered their first response to the statements.



ROLE ASSIGNMENTS: BLACK LEADERSHIP DEBATE

Speakers	Critical Questioners	Supporting Questioners
1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3
4	4	4
5	5	5
6	6	6

SPEAKER 1 - 1

Directions: You have been chosen to be one of six black Americans invited to speak at this 1968 conference of college students. You feel a great responsibility because you have an opportunity to influence many potential black leaders with the ideas of a black leader who has deeply influenced your life. Consequently, you want to do the best job you can. Try to carry the recommended property (e.g., a Bible if you are the minister) and to dress appropriately (e.g., the minister should wear polished shoes, a suit, a shirt and a tie). Prepare for your four-minute speech by first examining how your **numbered arguments** relate to your **numbered quotations**. Then on a 4" x 6" card copy those words/ideas/phrases you wish to use. Finally, you should practice your speech aloud at home several times. How much you have to rely on your 4" x 6" card as you speak will depend upon how thoroughly you have practiced before you stand up to speak. *A final comment:* Realize that classmates role-playing 1968 college students and the other five black speakers will stand and question you after you have delivered your speech. Therefore, you may want to do some outside reading in the life of the black American who influenced the imaginary person whom you are role-playing. *Good luck!*

Speaker 1

Background You are a Baptist minister and have been an ardent follower of Martin Luther King for many years. You were with him in the Memphis motel when he was assassinated on April 4, 1968. Now that you have been asked to give Dr. King's philosophy by this conference of college students, you think back on the many highlights that you had with Dr. King.

You remember the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in December 1955 during which the black people of the community simply refused to ride the city buses. You remember how this boycott finally ended, a full year later, in victory for the blacks and how it thrust Dr. King into the nation's consciousness—and how, later, he entered the conscience of both white and black America as he continued his policy of non-violent demonstrations to win equal treatment for black Americans in all aspects of life. You remember Greensboro, North Carolina. There Dr. King taught students to "sit-in" restaurants until they were served, even if it took all day. You remember the "freedom rides" of busloads of students, white and black, who rode throughout the South to test segregation laws; and you remember the bombings and fights in the struggle to desegregate Albany, Georgia, in 1962; and you remember the snarling, biting police dogs as they attacked you and other followers of

Dr. King in, perhaps, the greatest desegregation challenge of all the South—Birmingham, Alabama. And you remember the joy you and Dr. King felt when Congress passed the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 because that action was the first fruits of victory on a national scale. And your heart swelled with pride on August 28, 1964, when you helped organize the massive march on Washington: 200,000 black and white citizens joined hands in calling for unity and justice! And you took even greater pride in congratulating Dr. King when he went to Stockholm to accept the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1964.

Then, Dr. King turned his attention to St. Augustine, Florida, where, once again, only after non-violent, but bloody, conflicts, segregation laws were defeated. Then on to Selma, Alabama, where Dr. King led his followers on the famous march to Montgomery and directly dared local police to stop him. Next, King went north to Chicago to fight not legal, but de facto, segregation. As in the South, Martin Luther King met the violence and hatred of the prejudiced white with patient non-violence. He firmly resolved to see justice done for ghetto blacks and whites alike. Finally, you remember hearing the dreaded crack of an assassin's rifle and rushing out onto the balcony of a Memphis motel room to find Dr. King mortally wounded. You feel his presence vividly as you clutch your Bible and speak to the students about Dr. King's philosophy.

Your five arguments

Argument 1 A strong faith in God and Christian love should guide your actions. Have faith in Jesus and His teachings and He will not let you down.

Argument 2 Christian leaders have a duty to fight for the rights of the poor and disadvantaged, especially for those discriminated against because of the color of their skin. These leaders should stand up to politicians and others in positions of power and force them to take action to end racial injustice.

Argument 3 Christian leaders should follow Christ, Gandhi, and Thoreau in teaching their followers how to use non-violent means to achieve political ends. They should use marches, sit-ins, bus rides, and rallies, but they should never use guns or brute force to bring about their aims, for using such means reduces them to the level of their opponents.

Argument 4 The goal of all Christians should be to bring about a true brotherhood of man wherein a person is judged not by the color of his/her skin, but by the quality of his/her character.

Argument 5 The greatest goal a person can have is to give his/her life to a cause greater than personal material comfort and welfare. A man or woman should strive to be a leader for justice and righteousness and love.

Dr. King's quotations

Quotation 1 "And I tell you, I've seen the lightning flash, I've heard the thunder roll, I've felt sin-breakers dashing, trying to conquer my soul; but I've heard the voice of Jesus saying still to fight on. He promised never to leave me alone, never to leave me alone, no never alone—no never alone. He promised never to leave me...."

Quotation 2 "They told us we wouldn't get here. And there were those who said that we would get here only over their dead bodies. But all of the world today knows that we are here and we are standing before the forces of power in the state of Alabama, saying, 'We ain't goin' to let nobody turn us around.' Today I want to tell the city of Selma, today I want to say to the state of Alabama, today I want to say to the people of America and

the nations of the world: we are not about to turn around. We are on the move now, yes we are on the move, and no wave of racism can stop us."

Quotation 3 "Non-violence is not fighting because you're afraid or that you lack the weapons of violence. No individual or group need submit to any wrong or use violence to right a wrong. It is ultimately the way of the strong man. Christ changed the world by dealing with violent people in a non-violent way. The Christians shook the Roman Empire with non-violent resistance. Gandhi and his followers stopped the guns of the British Empire in India and freed India and its people from the British, and non-violence brought victory in the Montgomery bus boycott."

Quotation 4 "I have a dream...that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character....I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plane, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together....I have a dream (that) with this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day...."

Quotation 5: "I'd like somebody to mention that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others. I'd like for somebody to say that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody. I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the Vietnam War question. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try to feed the hungry. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who were naked....Yes, if you want to say that I was a drum major, say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace, a drum major for righteousness...."

Martin Luther King Jr.

SPEAKER 2 - 1

Directions: You have been chosen to be one of six black Americans invited to speak at this 1968 conference of college students. You feel a great responsibility because you have an opportunity to influence many potential black leaders with the ideas of a black leader who has deeply influenced your life. Consequently, you want to do the best job you can. Try to carry the recommended property (e.g., a Bible if you are the minister) and to dress appropriately (e.g., the minister should wear polished shoes, a suit, a shirt and a tie). Prepare for your four-minute speech by first examining how your **numbered arguments** relate to your **numbered quotations**. Then on a 4" x 6" card copy those words/ideas/phrases you wish to use. Finally, you should practice your speech aloud at home several times. How much you have to rely on your 4" x 6" card as you speak will depend upon how thoroughly you have practiced before you stand up to speak. *A final comment:* Realize that classmates role-playing 1968 college students and the other five black speakers will stand and question you after you have delivered your speech. Therefore, you may want to do some outside reading in the life of the black American who influenced the imaginary person whom you are role-playing. *Good luck!*

Speaker 2

Background You are a distinguished black writer whose successful books have given you the income to travel widely across America. For the last decade you have investigated and reported on the growing pressures within the black community. You have felt fortunate to be able to travel from New York to Los Angeles interviewing and writing in-depth studies of differing black leaders.

The most charismatic leader you have met during your travels is now dead. But his life has had a tremendous impact upon you as a black man (*or woman—if a girl is playing this role*). During his younger years he was known as Detroit Red on the streets where he was a pimp, a pool hall hustler, a burglar, and a user and seller of narcotics. His hustling career ended in 1946; he was sent to jail, where he served seven years of a 10-year sentence. In prison his life was transformed: he embraced the religion of Islam. The idea of a religion especially for blacks fascinated him.

During the many hours you spent interviewing this man, you found out that at first his real name was Malcolm Little and that he came from Lansing, Michigan. He recalled a white mob burning his family home to the ground in 1925 when he was four years old. He told you how his father had been killed for preaching the teachings of

black separatist leader Marcus Garvey. But once Malcolm was a convert to the Black Muslims led by Elijah Muhammed, he felt his life had meaning. He realized “the time had come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense.” By then a devout Muslim, the Central Mosque gave him permission to change his last name to X.

Numerous times Malcolm X’s charisma gripped you and others in audiences spellbound by his eloquent call for blacks to feel pride in their blackness. Particularly vivid in your memory are nights at colleges when he addressed students on the philosophy of Black Nationalism. Emphasizing that blacks must exercise more control over their own lives, he even talked about white America giving black Americans a separate territory. There black Americans would lift themselves out of the white man’s slums and improve their lives.

By 1963 you sensed Malcolm’s bitterness melting somewhat. He began proclaiming original Muslim ideas that emphasized “the brotherhood of all races, all colors.” Then suddenly three years ago, Malcolm X was assassinated in a public meeting, apparently by Black Muslim gunmen.

Malcolm X may be dead, but his ideas aren’t—and you are proud to have this opportunity to express his ideas to these bright black college students.

Your five arguments

Argument 1 America is an abundant nation. But who gets to share that abundance? White America! We blacks work in the worst jobs, live in indecent homes in atrocious neighborhoods, and send our children to inadequate schools. White America has a guilty conscience because of this.

Argument 2 I speak with pride that I am a Black Muslim devoted to Malcolm X's ideas. He taught me how the Nation of Islam in the United States has a distinguished record of accomplishments though very little has been written about these accomplishments. Black Americans are learning from the Muslim faith to take better care of their health, to strengthen their family ties, to live moral lives, to educate themselves in math and the sciences. As a result of their growing self-respect, black Americans are beginning to raise their heads. They are feeling deep pride in being black!

Argument 3 We blacks must start controlling the politics of our own communities. No longer can we allow ourselves to be controlled by whites who manipulate simpering black politicians. We must throw out these Uncle Toms and control the politics of our own community—by any means necessary!

Argument 4 Also necessary is building our own economic base within our black communities. We must set up solid, respectable black businesses. If necessary, we must boycott any goods or services that discriminate against blacks. We must “buy black as well as vote black.” It's all a matter of pride.

Argument 5 Racial solidarity must come first. We cannot think of uniting with white America until we have united black America. And we mustn't

forget this point: we blacks will feel more unity if we show our pride to others. The whites who have been putting us down for centuries will respect us more if we get up off our knees and show them we're standing and ready to fight if necessary.

Malcolm X's quotations

Quotation 1 “Do you know why the white man really hates you? It's because every time he sees your face, he sees a mirror of his crime—and his guilty conscience can't bear to face it!”

Quotation 2 “(Previously) I had joined that multitude of Negro men and women in America who are brainwashed into believing that the black people are ‘inferior’ and the white people are ‘superior’....You know yourself that we have been a people who hated our African characteristics. We hated the shape of our nose...we wanted one of those long, doglike noses....”

Quotation 3 “Stop begging favors from whitesGet up off your knees and fight your own battlesWe can do something for ourselves. We never have done what we could because we have been brainwashed so well by the slavemaster white man that we must come to him, begging him for everything we want and need....”

Quotation 4 “We black people don't know what we can do. You never can know what anything can do—until it is set free, to act by itself! If you have a cat in your house that you pamper and pet, you have to free that cat, set it on its own, in the woods, before you can see that the cat had it in him to shelter and feed itself! We, the black people here in America, we have never been free to find out what we really can do! We have knowledge and experience to pool to do for ourselves....”

Quotation 5 “We can throw off our brainwashing and our self-hate and live as brothers together....In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency....When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs....We should be peaceful and law-abiding—but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.”



Malcolm

SPEAKER 3 - 1

Directions: You have been chosen to be one of six black Americans invited to speak at this 1968 conference of college students. You feel a great responsibility because you have an opportunity to influence many potential black leaders with the ideas of a black leader who has deeply influenced your life. Consequently, you want to do the best job you can. Try to carry the recommended property (e.g., a Bible if you are the minister) and to dress appropriately (e.g., the minister should wear polished shoes, a suit, a shirt and a tie). Prepare for your four-minute speech by first examining how your **numbered arguments** relate to your **numbered quotations**. Then on a 4" x 6" card copy those words/ideas/phrases you wish to use. Finally, you should practice your speech aloud at home several times. How much you have to rely on your 4" x 6" card as you speak will depend upon how thoroughly you have practiced before you stand up to speak. *A final comment:* Realize that classmates role-playing 1968 college students and the other five black speakers will stand and question you after you have delivered your speech. Therefore, you may want to do some outside reading in the life of the black American who influenced the imaginary person whom you are role-playing. *Good luck!*

Speaker 3

Background You are a member of a black cultural organization in California. Your organization started in California and grew to national prominence by promoting the concept that black persons should be proud of their African cultural background and be equally proud to be Afro Americans. You have been affected personally by the cultural benefits of tying your background to Africa because both your parents have been studying Africa and its contributions to the world. You have not finished college yet, and you are not attending right now. You work in an African clothing store and artifacts shop which also sells books on the African roots of black Americans. Working at this store has taught you a great deal about African culture and history.

You are single and have one small daughter of elementary school age. On weekends and evenings you teach your daughter and other young blacks about their African heritage. This teaching gives you a sense of importance and pride because you are doing what the school and our system cannot accurately do—teach the truths about Africa!

You have been invited to speak to this conference after a national magazine recently published an article on your organization and displayed pictures showing how members of your organization emphasize African dress, hair styles, and other

cultural characteristics. You rise to speak with the dignity and bearing of a person much older than your 24 years. **Special note:** *If possible dress for your role by wearing something reflecting your respect for your African heritage.*

Your five arguments

Argument 1 It is important to know your cultural roots because we all need a sense of belonging to a group that has had a beginning and is going to have a future. For if you don't know where you've been, it's hard to know where you're going. And we are talking of going somewhere, aren't we? We need to teach our children that blacks not only have a noble past but also have the potential for a fine future.

Argument 2 We need to know the heroes and heroines and their accomplishments in African history, for that history contains our cultural roots. As it turns out, there are many things in our past that scholars have discovered that should make us extremely proud to be black.

Argument 3 Knowing our cultural past will give us respect for ourselves. We cannot expect the white majority or other minorities to respect us until we throw away our hair straighteners and our skin lighteners, and praise what we have naturally been given. We should see the natural beauty in our black features and highlight them and be proud of them, rather than trying to hide them.

Argument 4 We should imitate other ethnic communities and neighborhoods in our cities and make them reflect our awareness of, and our pride in, being Afro-Americans. If Chinese-Americans can do this, if Italian-Americans can do this, if Mexican-Americans can do this, then why can't we Afro-Americans do the same?

Argument 5 We should insist on schools teaching all children about black persons' history not only as slaves, but as kings, as artists, as politicians, and as explorers ... such teaching will give proper balance to black history. And we should insist that schools from elementary to college have appropriate units in black culture taught by black teachers for black children. Do we not know better than anyone what it means to be black? Are we not the best qualified to tell our young about who we are as a people both in history and today? And should we not take the lead in teaching our children to take pride in their ethnic blackness and not to hide it, but display it with dignity?

Black culture quotations

Quotation 1 "The talented tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their own people...."—W.E.B. DuBois

Quotation 2 "Negroes in this country...are taught really to despise themselves from the moment their eyes open on the world. This world is white and they are black...."—James Baldwin

Quotation 3 "The time has come for those of us who have the vision of the future to inspire our people to a closer kinship, to a closer love of self, because only through this appreciation of self will we be able to rise to that higher life that will make us not an extinct race in the future, but a race of men fit to survive."—Marcus Garvey

Quotation 4 "Art, religion, and politics are impressive vectors of a culture. Art describes a culture. Black artists must have an image of what the black sensibility is in this land. Religion elevates a culture. The Black Man must aspire to



"... We should insist on schools teaching all children about black persons' history not only as slaves, but as kings, as artists, and as explorers ... such teaching will give proper balance to black history..."

Blackness. God is man idealized. The Black Man must idealize himself as Black....The Black Man must seek a Black politics, an ordering of the world that is a beneficial judgment of the world....This is strength. And we are horses....I have issued a call for a Black Nation."—LeRoi Jones

Quotation 5 "...the greatest defect in the textbooks we have examined is the virtual omission of the Negro. As several of the individual reports point out, the Negro does not 'exist' in the books. In one book there is no account of slavery in the colonial period; in a second, there is not a single word about Negroes after the Civil War; in a third (composed of documents and substantive chapters), the narrative does not mention Negroes in any connection."—Study of American History Textbooks by the history department, University of California, Berkeley, California, for the state Department of Education, June 1964.

SPEAKER 4 - 1

Directions: You have been chosen to be one of six black Americans invited to speak at this 1968 conference of college students. You feel a great responsibility because you have an opportunity to influence many potential black leaders with the ideas of a black leader who has deeply influenced your life. Consequently, you want to do the best job you can. Try to carry the recommended property (e.g., a Bible if you are the minister) and to dress appropriately (e.g., the minister should wear polished shoes, a suit, a shirt and a tie). Prepare for your four-minute speech by first examining how your **numbered arguments** relate to your **numbered quotations**. Then on a 4" x 6" card copy those words/ideas/phrases you wish to use. Finally, you should practice your speech aloud at home several times. How much you have to rely on your 4" x 6" card as you speak will depend upon how thoroughly you have practiced before you stand up to speak. *A final comment:* Realize that classmates role-playing 1968 college students and the other five black speakers will stand and question you after you have delivered your speech. Therefore, you may want to do some outside reading in the life of the black American who influenced the imaginary person whom you are role-playing. *Good luck!*

Speaker 4

Background You are a 6'5" 235-pound former tight end for UCLA's football team. When you speak, people listen, for your size, handsome features, and powerful voice command attention. You have been invited to present the Black Panthers' views at this Howard University meeting of black college students. Since its founding by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in October 1966—less than two years ago—the Black Panther party has departed from the platforms and tactics of the other more established civil rights organizations.

Against your father's advice a year ago, you decided to pass up law school. He argued that you should "work within the system," but you wanted to join the Panthers. Now you're really proud that the party's leaders are sending you around the country to promote the Panthers' exciting ideas. You sincerely believe this dynamic organization can dramatically increase black pride so that your brothers and sisters will improve their lives. Although you have not yet been a part of direct physical confrontation with local police or the FBI, you are ready to put your body "on the line whenever and wherever it is necessary." As you stride to the lectern to speak, you look forward to correcting the inaccurate accounts the news media have presented about the Black Panthers.

Your five arguments

Argument 1 We reject non-violence. Why? It's too slow. We need to make things happen *now*. We must fight fire with fire. Christ was nonviolent. He was killed—violently. Gandhi was non-violent. He was killed—violently. Martin Luther King Jr. was non-violent. He was killed—violently.

Argument 2 White America will respect us more if we blacks use violence. After all, this country was built on violence. Violence works. It worked on the Indians. It worked on the Mexicans. And now whites are continuing to use it against blacks, but we blacks must stand up and stop this violence from happening to us. How? By using violence against them!

Argument 3 As black people we need to take more responsibility for our own lives and the conditions in which we live. Our survival as blacks is at stake. Now I mean *psychological survival* as well as *physical survival*. Never forget that we are equal human beings. To live with dignity we must be willing to die with dignity.

Argument 4 What is happening to black Americans in this country is a sin. The shameful way we're treated must be shown to the world. The race riots burning across America are America's dirty laundry. The rest of the world must see us rioting. As a result, the white American power structure will feel international pressure to improve the living conditions of black Americans.

SPEAKER 4 - 2

Argument 5 We must use Black Power to overthrow racism and replace it with an understanding that benefits all humanity on this globe. Always remember that we're in a war with a system that's oppressing us. Imagine what would happen in a war in which one side uses weapons violently and the other side speaks soft words of love and turns its other cheek when assaulted. If we don't exercise Black Power, power will be exercised against us!

Black Panther quotations

Quotation 1 "We start with the basic (assumption) that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized, imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage."

Quotation 2 "What do you want? Power to black people to determine their destiny Full employment and an end to capitalistic exploitation ... decent housing ... a true education ... exemption from military service ... an end to police brutality, unfair jury trials, and confinement of political prisoners."

Quotation 3 "We will change this society. It is up to the oppressor to decide whether this will be a peaceful change."

Quotation 4 "(Violence) against the police and the other agents ... of authority is not crime, but heroism, not merely an unlawful act, but a revolutionary gesture against a goat."

Quotation 5 "We will use whatever means is necessary. We will have our manhood even if we have to level the earth!"



We will
have our
manhood!

Why not work with a class friend or two to make a large banner or poster which two cheering students could hold up while you are speaking?

Directions: You have been chosen to be one of six black Americans invited to speak at this 1968 conference of college students. You feel a great responsibility because you have an opportunity to influence many potential black leaders with the ideas of a black leader who has deeply influenced your life. Consequently, you want to do the best job you can. Try to carry the recommended property (e.g., a Bible if you are the minister) and to dress appropriately (e.g., the minister should wear polished shoes, a suit, a shirt and a tie). Prepare for your four-minute speech by first examining how your **numbered arguments** relate to your **numbered quotations**. Then on a 4" x 6" card copy those words/ideas/phrases you wish to use. Finally, you should practice your speech aloud at home several times. How much you have to rely on your 4" x 6" card as you speak will depend upon how thoroughly you have practiced before you stand up to speak. *A final comment:* Realize that classmates role-playing 1968 college students and the other five black speakers will stand and question you after you have delivered your speech. Therefore, you may want to do some outside reading in the life of the black American who influenced the imaginary person whom you are role-playing. *Good luck!*

Speaker 5

Background In the early 1960s whenever your law studies allowed you to do so, you went south with hundreds of other college students. There you participated in freedom rides and sit-ins with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. You eagerly joined other college students who asked Dr. King to help them form a civil rights organization of their own. It was called the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which became known as SNCC or "Snick" for short. After graduating from law school, you worked throughout portions of several summers, helping register black citizens as voters. During this time you participated in many rallies and demonstrations but always in a peaceful, nonviolent way.

Then, in 1965, you met Stokely Carmichael, a dynamic, forceful, well-spoken, educated young black who had been one of SNCC's early leading spokesmen. Later he started arguing that SNCC should adopt more forceful means of promoting a concept known as Black Power. Although SNCC relieved Carmichael of his duties, this slogan became a rallying cry for many young blacks, including yourself.

You work in citizens' organizations in Detroit, helping black Americans to be good citizens who vote, take charge of their neighborhoods, and

pressure their local schools to give black children a solid education. Now as you walk to the lectern to speak, you raise your fist in the "Black Power Salute." (Incidentally, you have recommended to our black Olympic team members that they use this salute while standing on the platforms to receive their Olympic medals.)

Your five arguments

Argument 1 Black Power means, first, that blacks must gain political power by voting as a solid bloc for black candidates for local, state, and national offices. To gain this political power we must work together to get all eligible American blacks registered to vote.

Argument 2 Black Power means, second, that blacks must have the power to control their own lives. Blacks should run the schools black children attend; black police should patrol black neighborhoods; and blacks should own the businesses blacks patronize.

Argument 3 Black Power means, third, that we must redefine "Negro," which is a white man's term. We must use the word "black" or "Afro-American," instead, which is the correct ethnic term. We came from a fine culture in Africa; we should be proud of that culture; we should be proud of being black.

Argument 4 Black Power means, fourth, depending less on white help. We should not reject that help, but we should make ourselves so strong as to not need it.

Argument 5 Finally, Black Power means equality *now*—and by force if necessary. Dr. King’s non-violent way is too slow in many situations; Malcolm X’s way has too much religious rigidity. We believe in unifying black Americans so that they get political control of their lives. Instead of the irrational riots of the Panthers, we want power used to force school integration, to force equal housing, and to force equal job opportunity. But physical force against others should be used only in self-defense.

Black Power quotations

Quotation 1 “The concept of black power rests on a fundamental premise: before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks....Studies in voting behavior, specifically, and political behavior, generally, have made it clear that politically the American pot has not melted. Italians vote for Rubino over O’Brien; Irish for Murphy over Goldberg....”

Quotation 2 “Throughout the country vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions, to reclaim their history and their culture; to create their own sense of community and togetherness.”

Quotation 3 “There is a growing resentment of the word ‘Negro,’ for example, because this term is the invention of our oppressor; it is the oppressor’s image of us that he describes. Many blacks are now calling themselves African-Americans, Afro-Americans, or black people because that is our image of ourselves.”

Quotation 4 “I feel many of us here, today, believe that blacks must work together to improve our lives. But I say that black people must depend less on white help.”

Quotation 5 “... the religious approach is just too slow. Even as far back as the Crusades, the wars between the Christians and Moslems took hundreds of years to settle and we don’t have that much time, today Black Power Now, my brothers and sisters! Black Power! Black Power! Black Power Now!”



BLACK POWER

Why not work with a class friend or two to make a large banner or poster which two cheering students could hold up while you are speaking?

SPEAKER 6 - 1

Directions: You have been chosen to be one of six black Americans invited to speak at this 1968 conference of college students. You feel a great responsibility because you have an opportunity to influence many potential black leaders with the ideas of a black leader who has deeply influenced your life. Consequently, you want to do the best job you can. Try to carry the recommended property (e.g., a Bible if you are the minister) and to dress appropriately (e.g., the minister should wear polished shoes, a suit, a shirt and a tie). Prepare for your four-minute speech by first examining how your **numbered arguments** relate to your **numbered quotations**. Then on a 4" x 6" card copy those words/ideas/phrases you wish to use. Finally, you should practice your speech aloud at home several times. How much you have to rely on your 4" x 6" card as you speak will depend upon how thoroughly you have practiced before you stand up to speak. *A final comment:* Realize that classmates role-playing 1968 college students and the other five black speakers will stand and question you after you have delivered your speech. Therefore, you may want to do some outside reading in the life of the black American who influenced the imaginary person whom you are role-playing. *Good luck!*

Speaker 6

Background Born 60 years ago to two intelligent professionals—your father was a doctor and your mother was a teacher—you were taught from your youth to respect hard work and to “work within the system.” Your Christian parents taught you to love everyone, and they never let you slur any other racial or ethnic group. In high school the pattern was established: by doing well in the classroom and in school activities, you impressed whites and were gradually accepted.

Over the years you became a successful Chicago lawyer with white as well as black clients. Since while you were young your parents had always given time and money to the Urban League, a civil rights organization with a long history of helping blacks find jobs and adjust to city living, you found yourself doing the same in your adult life. What impresses you about the League is how it uses the American political and economic system to achieve its aims. It stresses that black Americans have tremendous potential for making valuable contributions of all kinds to America if but given the educational and economic opportunity to do so.

You’re a little appalled by the ignorance many college students display about the Urban League. They don’t realize how it’s been working for many

decades to abolish laws that have allowed discrimination and racism in jobs, hiring, education, and treatment of women. Also troubling you is that so many black youths today hate whites. Some of your closest friends are white lawyers and their families. Like you they have given much of their working lives fighting for black Americans. You sincerely believe that America needs a civil rights organization that integrates blacks and whites working together—within the system.

You feel black youths should respect blacks who have accomplished things and reached a higher social status through hard work within the established channels of American society. You particularly admire Whitney M. Young Jr., whom you feel is an excellent role model for young blacks. Young is presently executive director of the Urban League and has risen to that position by hard work and dedication to achieving a better way of life for city blacks. Young also has an extensive educational background, having studied engineering for two years at Massachusetts Institute of Technology while in the army during World War II and having obtained a master’s degree in social work from the University of Minnesota following the war. He has also been a dean of the School of Social Work at Atlanta University in Georgia. Perhaps his most admirable qualification for you, though, is his ability to move easily and confidentially among

the leaders of the white political power structure in Washington. Within 10 days after President Lyndon Johnson took office following President John Kennedy's assassination, he was called in to explain his views on how to eliminate poverty among city blacks. Many of his ideas were incorporated into President Johnson's "War on Poverty" legislative programs earlier in this decade. Had it not been for the enormous cost of the Vietnam War, you feel Whitney's "Marshall Plan" for urban blacks would have been adopted. Still uncertain about the course of this war and saddened by Johnson's decision not to seek re-election, you nevertheless feel that Young's main proposals should be adopted as goals by all whites and blacks, alike. Hence, you speak with the conviction of an educated man who firmly believes the good in people—whether they're white or black—will overcome their occasional stupidities.

Your five arguments

Prologue Our basic definition of equal opportunity must include recognition of the need for special effort to overcome serious disabilities resulting from historic handicaps. When you find a man in the wilderness dying from malnutrition, you don't just bring him to civilization and turn him loose with a pat on the back saying, "We've saved you, now you're on your own, lots of luck!" He is on the point of starvation. He requires special attention, careful diet and rest, and psychological and physical aid to readjust to civilization America must recognize and assess at a higher value than ever before the human potential of its

Negro citizens, and then our society must move positively to develop that potential.


Argument 1 Negro children should be assigned to the best schools and be taught by the best teachers the school system can muster. This action is needed to instill in the Negro child, as well as other educationally disadvantaged youth, a desire for excellence. These children also need to be motivated to achieve and to advance up the economic ladder with full understanding of the rewards they will receive.

Argument 2 A conscious, planned effort must be made to bring qualified Negroes into "entrance jobs" in *all* types of employment, to upgrade them and aid them to qualify for advancement, and to place them in positions of responsibility, including the full range of management positions.

Argument 3 Effective, positive action must be taken to destroy the racial ghetto and to open housing opportunities to all types on the basis of need and ability to buy or rent. Urban renewal of slum areas should be increased, rent subsidies increased for the poor, and fair housing laws enacted to eliminate racial discrimination against blacks who can afford to buy or rent in suburban areas.

Argument 4 Qualified Negroes should be sought and named to all public and private boards and commissions, particularly those that shape policy in the areas of employment, housing, education, and health and welfare services. Strong leadership in the Negro community must be encouraged and developed so that Negroes make the decisions within their own communities.

Argument 5 Negro citizens must exert themselves energetically in constructive efforts to carry their full share of responsibilities and to participate in a meaningful way in every phase of community life. It is not enough to protest; equally important today and twice as important tomorrow is to participate as a full citizen in our democracy.



"... the need for special effort to overcome serious disabilities resulting from historic handicaps ..."

Whitney Young quotations

Quotation 1 "It is no accident that the U.S. Department of Labor and economists such as Gunnar Myrdal, Eli Ginzberg, and others agree that the Negro population is America's greatest undeveloped natural resource ...



... the Negro population is America's greatest undeveloped natural resource ...



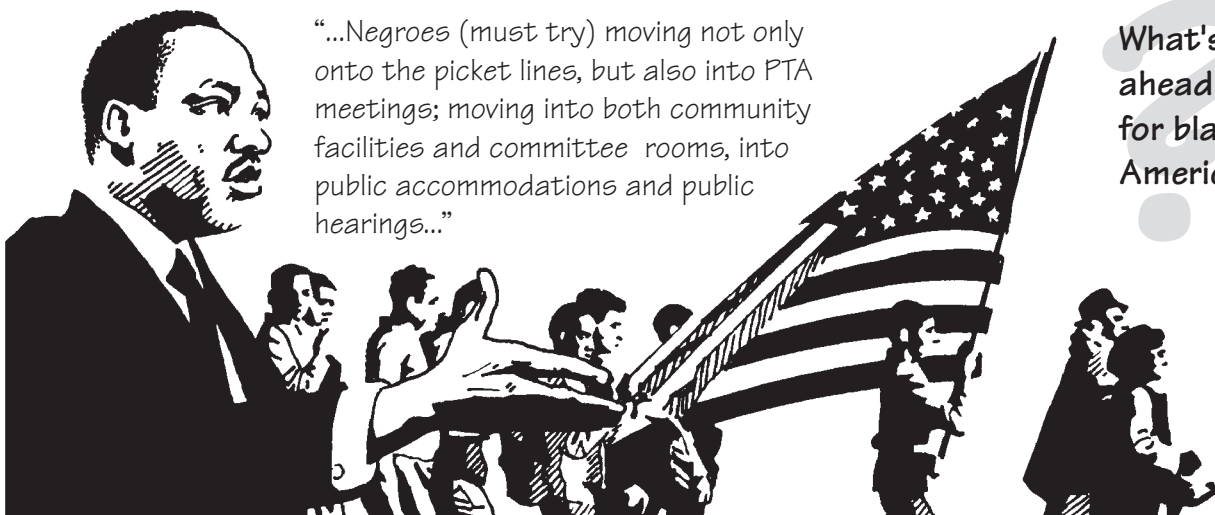
.... We do not need more examples of school boards treating ghetto schools as the Siberias of their system, relegating to them largely the problem teachers, probational teachers, and neophyte teachers on a 'make or break' basis. We need (teachers with) the insight, courage, understanding, and an educational value system which parallels that of the medical profession, where doctors and nurses who selflessly devote themselves to combatting an epidemic, for example, earn greater prestige than those who dispense pills for allergies and colds in the suburbs."

Quotation 2 "... incorporating Negroes into the work force will not happen automatically by taking down a sign, pasting up a poster, or autographing the President's Plans for Progress Program—a statement of fair-hiring practices. It means honest, realistic seeking out of workers, for fillable jobs, not just positions for which industry can't find whites—such as nuclear physicists, or secretaries who look like Lena Horne"

Quotation 3 "Too long the cancerous sore of the ghetto has festered in our urban communities, spewing forth human wreckage and the major portion of criminal offenders; draining our body politic of treasure; robbing us of the meaningful contributions of hundreds of thousands of citizens whose lives and ambitions have been thwarted and truncated."

Quotation 4 "... the era of paternalistic handling by whites of the needs and ambitions of Negro citizens is gone. Negroes are done with being 'done for'; they demand the right to participate, to do for themselves and determine their own destiny."

Quotation 5 "... Negroes (must try) moving not only onto the picket lines, but also into PTA meetings; moving not only into lunch counters, but also into libraries; moving into both community facilities and committee rooms, into both public accommodations and public hearings, and, finally, moving into the commissions and boards to exercise their rights and insure their fair share."



"...Negroes (must try) moving not only onto the picket lines, but also into PTA meetings; moving into both community facilities and committee rooms, into public accommodations and public hearings..."

What's ahead for black Americans

SPEAKER 1'S QUESTIONERS

Cut apart on the broken lines.

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
3. Ask your question.
4. You will have about one minute to reveal your identity and ask your question.
5. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, but you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Above all, don't use this half sheet as you speak. Practice what you will say at home. Be imaginative. Be creative!*

CQ for S1 (You will ask a **critical** question.) You are the child of a black sales representative for a realty firm. Your father's work often necessitates his traveling around white neighborhoods to inspect property that is for sale. He has told you he has felt the sting of prejudice many times and the indignity of having white policemen search him in public. You are angry with your father for meekly allowing the white police to humiliate him. And now Dr. King's followers are recommending that blacks continue and allow themselves to be humiliated. This idea really irritates you.

Question for S1 Dr. King made a great issue out of Christian love overcoming the injustice of racial prejudice. Such words sound nice. Preachers are always saying them. But I'd like you to give me one instance where this “Christian love” has produced really meaningful results in our battle for civil rights.

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
3. Ask your question.
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SQ for S1 (You will ask a **supporting** question.) You are the child of a black sanitation worker in Birmingham, Alabama. How proud you are of your father. For many years he has done tough manual labor, saving money to help send you through college. He even gave you \$25 for travel expenses for this conference in Washington. You remember marching beside him with Dr. King on behalf of civil rights.

Question for S1 My father's life testifies that non-violence *does* work. So I have the greatest admiration for Dr. King and his beliefs. Do you believe we should continue to have non-violent marches and demonstrations supporting desegregation? For example, would such marches and demonstrations help desegregate the schools?

SPEAKER 2's QUESTIONERS

Cut apart on the broken lines.

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3. Ask your question.
4. You will have about one minute to reveal your identity and ask your question.
5. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, but you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Above all, don't use this half sheet as you speak. Practice what you will say at home. Be imaginative. Be creative!*

CQ for S2 (You will ask a **critical** question.)

You come from a strong black family. Your parents have given their lives for you, your four younger brothers and sisters, and your 21-year-old sister Martha. Up until two years ago you and Martha were very close. You went to the same parties and had the same friends. Then she became a Black Muslim and changed dramatically. She became extremely critical of you, your mutual friends, and your parents. None of you take enough pride in your blackness, she says.

Question for S2 I'm tired of my sister wearing those foreign-looking clothes and always telling me I'm not moral enough or proud enough of my blackness. I thought Malcolm X was for unifying black families and the black community. Don't you sense as I do that Malcolm X's foreign ideas are splitting black America just as they're splitting my black family?

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
3. Ask your question.
4. You will have about one minute to reveal your identity and ask your question.
5. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, but you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Above all, don't use this half sheet as you speak. Practice what you will say at home. Be imaginative. Be creative!*

SQ for S2 (You will ask a **supporting** question.)

A senior at Harvard majoring in sociology. You are currently writing your senior thesis on how certain groups have voluntarily and successfully separated themselves from the mainstream of American life.

Question for S2 The conclusions of my thesis show that separatism in this country *does* work. Why can't more black Americans learn from the success of other ethnic and religious groups? Look at the Mexican-Americans, the Japanese-Americans, the Chinese-Americans, and the Jewish-Americans, the Amish, and the Mormons. Why aren't my brothers and sisters able to see how terribly we blacks also need a cultural identity of our own?

SPEAKER 3's QUESTIONERS

Cut apart on the broken lines.

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
3. Ask your question.
4. You will have about one minute to reveal your identity and ask your question.
5. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, but you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Above all, don't use this half sheet as you speak. Practice what you will say at home. Be imaginative. Be creative!*

CQ for S3 (You will ask a **critical** question.) You are a black student from a small town in upstate New York. From the time you were old enough to go into the city with your dad who is a doctor at the local hospital, you have heard and seen blacks talk about going back to their roots in Africa. Recently while you walked along the streets of New York City with your dad, you saw signs saying, “Welcome to the House of Africa,” “African food sold here,” and so on. All of this emphasis upon Africa seems a little silly to you. When you rise to question the speaker, start by saying the following:

Question for S3 I'm here to tell you I know nothing about Africa. My parents know nothing about Africa and from what I'm able to read and hear, I don't even want to know about Africa! I am ashamed to know that my so-called people in Africa are so weak and afraid of the white power structure. All the African countries seem to be fighting among themselves and not fighting their common enemy, the white power structure. In South Africa, all of the land is owned by one-third of the population. The decision-making power is all white with only a few blacks involved. Black countries as a rule are under-developed and powerless.

With all of this, there is no way that I can relate to going back to Africa to find my roots. My roots are here, not there. The United States government does sometimes take stands for my civil rights such as passing fair housing laws and ending segregated schools. Why shouldn't we just take pride in being Americans, first; and blacks, second?”

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
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SQ for S3 (You will ask a **supporting** question.) You're an Afro-American studies student at the graduate level. Your dress is of African style. So you really serve as a testimonial of African rebirth through study and a new awareness of your blackness. Before you ask your question below, tell the audience why you're proud of your black heritage.

Tell them information that you have learned. Talk of Timbuktu in the Kingdom of Sanghay being the book-learning capital of the world in the 12th century; there many Europeans went to school. You explain that Egyptian history is African history, not white history as it has been depicted in the United States. Stress that Jesus was not a white man ... that the famous Queen Nefertiti was a black queen ... that Moses and King Solomon had black wives ... and that in the U.S. experience great blacks did wonders. The first female millionaire *in her own right* was a black woman, Madame C.J. Walker. And many other blacks have made significant contributions: Benjamin Banneker's *Almanac* was created long before Ben Franklin's; Banneker also built America's first clock and he also redesigned Washington, D.C. Other blacks invented things like Jan Matlinger's shoe machine that could stitch a shoe in two minutes, not two days; the ironing board, golf tee, traffic stoplight, gas mask, air brakes for trains, sugar refining process—all from black minds. Point out how you feel good to know this about your history, but how you feel bad that such information isn't generally taught in America.

Question for S3 How can we best convince school boards to have Black Studies classes when we often can count on only one or two members on a school board to vote for blacks' rights?

SPEAKER 4's QUESTIONERS

Cut apart on the broken lines.

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

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CQ for S4 (You will ask a **critical** question.) On the night of last April 8, the day Martin Luther King Jr. was shot, you and some other girls from nearby Georgetown University suddenly found yourselves caught up in the terrifying outburst of arson, looting, and criminal activity that was sweeping through the nation's capital. A graduate student majoring in history, your heroes since high school have been Henry David Thoreau, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King Jr. Now you are working on a doctor's degree in American history. A few days after King's death, you decided you would do your Ph.D. dissertation on what the violence of that night's rioting represents.

Question for S4 Do you know that on the night of Martin Luther King Jr.'s death, 168 American cities and towns had riots, more than two and a half thousand fires were set, 2,600 persons were arrested, 21,000 persons were injured, numerous individuals were killed, and 55,000 soldiers had to be called out to stop the rioting? Now who lost more that night, white Americans or black Americans? Well, I'll tell you, we black Americans lost more. Our businesses were burned. Our young men were arrested, injured, and killed. Now how do you put a community back together after a riot? You talk about our being more responsible for our lives in one breath and urge us to riot in your next breath. If we burn down businesses, where do we shop? If we burn down houses, where do we live? Martin Luther King Jr. must be spinning in his grave when he hears you recommending that we black Americans turn to violence. Why are you so blind that you don't understand that violence begets violence and that when violence erupts in this land we blacks are the ones who are hurt?

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
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SQ for S4 (You will ask a **supporting** question.)

College is hard for you. You're barely “hanging in there.” In high school you spent so much time jivin' and went to class so seldom that you barely squeaked through and received your diploma. Now it's tough for you to keep your mind on studying and getting passing grades. You want to blame someone, and this Black Panther speaker makes sense to you. *Whitey is the enemy.*

Question for S4 I'm not really makin' it in college. What's going on in books and the classroom seems kind of unimportant. I like what you're saying. I'm thinking of joining up with you Panthers and knockin' some heads. What are you going to do next and don't you need me to help?

SPEAKER 5's QUESTIONERS

Cut apart on the broken lines.

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
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4. You will have about one minute to reveal your identity and ask your question.
5. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, but you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Above all, don't use this half sheet as you speak. Practice what you will say at home. Be imaginative. Be creative!*

CQ for S5 (You will ask a **critical** question.) You have been on the Howard University newspaper for three years. This year you are the editor, and you take your responsibility seriously. But Speaker 5 confuses you so you ask the following question.

Question for S5 I'm really confused on just where you and Carmichael stand. I mean first you're non-violent, next you're violent. Now you can't be both! You were the leading exponent of lunch counter sit-ins, a basically non-violent movement. Your group SNCC had both black and white college students in it. Your group set up “Freedom Schools” in '64 to help black people to register to vote. And you did all this nonviolently. Then, however, after the 1964 Democratic Convention, you started adopting more of the Panther position on using violence to solve problems. Where do you and SNCC stand, anyway? Aren't you confusing us today? Doesn't emphasizing Black Power inevitably lead to violence?

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
3. Ask your question.
4. You will have about one minute to reveal your identity and ask your question.
5. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, but you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Above all, don't use this half sheet as you speak. Practice what you will say at home. Be imaginative. Be creative!*

SQ for S5 (You will ask a **supporting** question.) You like this speaker. You deeply admire Stokely Carmichael. But you wish more other blacks wanted Black Power, too. Deliver the following statement and question with fervor.

Question for S5 I want everyone here to know how much I admire what you just said. I'm a 24-year-old just out of the army, just back from Vietnam. You know, being in the service taught me something. Other countries viewed me as an American soldier. Even my enemies viewed me as an American soldier. But my own countrymen many times see me as a black man, or a nigger, or a coon, or something other than an American. Now that's what I call bad news.

Six years ago down in Mississippi when I was 18 I walked with James Meredith so he could get enrolled at the University of Mississippi. And I went peaceably, non-violently all the way. You know, it took 15,000 National Guard soldiers to protect Meredith. Two men were killed and many others were injured.

Now Mississippi is my home, and I wanted to make it better. In 1966 when I was home on leave, Stokely and I marched in a non-violent, civil rights march. I was shot at by a sniper. James Meredith was actually shot in the back. Seeing that changed me. I now understand why a nonviolent man ends up resorting to violence if he is constantly being violated as a human being in a most violent way. My question to you is this: What is it that keeps other blacks from seeing that they've got to embrace Black Power if they ever want dignity as human beings?

SPEAKER 6's QUESTIONERS

Cut apart on the broken lines.

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
3. Ask your question.
4. You will have about one minute to reveal your identity and ask your question.
5. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, but you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Above all, don't use this half sheet as you speak. Practice what you will say at home. Be imaginative. Be creative!*

CQ for S6 (You will ask a **critical** question.) The middle class pomposity of Speaker 6 really irritates you. For years you have seen terrible things happen to blacks who talk about things getting better tomorrow. You agree you're not as good a student as you could have been if blacks had demanded good schools. (Your high school in a rural area of a backward state was a disgrace. You don't feel really prepared for college, as a result.) And you're angry with blacks such as your parents who accepted such schools. But you strongly feel that the programs proposed by this speaker take too much time.

You remember what happened when James Meredith tried to get a better education for himself. He wanted to go to the University of Mississippi in 1962 when only whites were allowed to attend. Five hundred federal marshals had to escort him onto campus and hold off 2,500 white Mississippians who would've happily lynched him. And by next morning two men had been killed, scores of citizens had been injured, and the property damages to the university were more than half a million dollars. You believe situations such as this make black Americans live in daily fear. So how can the Urban League still want to proceed gradually within the system, working with—and not against—whites?

Question for S6 With all the inner emotional pain and the physical harm that whites have put on our people over the years, how can you still tell us to cooperate? Why aren't you calling on all blacks to pick up arms and really fight for their rights?

Directions: You have been chosen to ask the question below.

1. First reveal your identity to the 1968 audience of other black college students attending this conference.
2. When you “reveal” your identity, be “in character.” That is, assume the age, voice, educational level, and body language that fits the person you are playing.
3. Ask your question.
4. You will have about one minute to reveal your identity and ask your question.
5. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, but you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Above all, don't use this half sheet as you speak. Practice what you will say at home. Be imaginative. Be creative!*

SQ for S6 (You will ask a **supporting** question.) You are now in your last year of the Yale University Law School; you can't wait to get out into the real world in order to fight for blacks' rights. But the Black Power extremists irritate you. You're afraid they'll tear down the pillars of society with their noisy raging and their insanely violent actions. Speaker 6 bothers you, too, a little, for you don't think he/she has done a thorough job of proving that things can get better by using the present American economic and political system. So you use your question as a moment to give a little speech of your own to prove your convictions.

Question for S6 I don't understand why the Urban League isn't doing a better job of communicating with these hot heads who are hurting the true black cause. We're already achieving Black Power. In this year, 1968, we have seven black members in the House of Representatives, we have seven black mayors, 18 black state senators, 11 black federal judges, and 79 black state representatives. Admittedly, we hold less than two percent of the elected offices when we're 11 percent of the population, but we're making significant progress. Why doesn't the Urban League send a large “truth squad” around the United States to point out how nonviolent, peaceful pushing of white educators, businessmen, and legislators will continue bringing real educational, economic, and social justice to black America?

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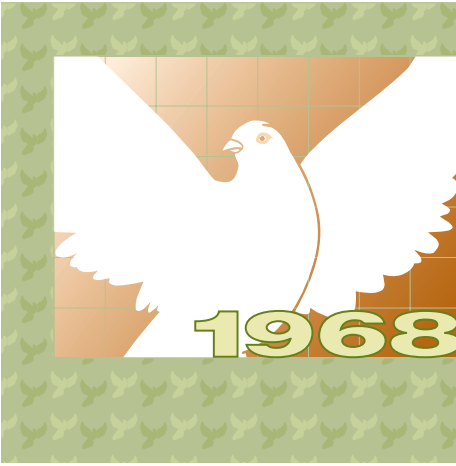
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BLACK LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

A re-creation of the leadership dilemma blacks faced following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

PURPOSE

Today across America many communities' citizens disagree on how to answer this issue: How much should Americans encourage or attempt to stop the integration of black Americans into the mainstream of the dominant white culture? Whites and blacks argue with one another, and each group argues among its own members. As the argument goes on, this fact remains: except for the American Indians, black Americans are the only ethnic or racial group that on a massive scale has not merged into the middle-class lifestyle developed in our nation since our Civil War.

Soon you will begin a re-creation of an imaginary debate between black leaders attending a Howard University conference of college students. The date is 1968, just after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. The students have asked representatives of the spectrum of black leadership to speak on this question: Should black Americans continue following the passive resistance policy of the slain Dr. King, or should they adopt more violent means to achieve their objectives? As your classroom re-creates the late 1960s, the arguments presented will echo through the years into our lives today. For black Americans still are torn between integrating into or separating themselves from the dominant American white culture; they are also troubled by how peacefully or forcefully they should carry out their decision.

BACKGROUND ESSAY

The Civil War ends When the terrible four-year Civil War ended in 1865, American slaves jubilantly embraced their new freedom. But they soon faced a brutal future. Where would they live? What would they eat? Where would they work? The Union armies may have liberated them, but the national government had no real plans to help them adjust to their new-found freedom.

Some federal legislation and northern philanthropists and church leaders helped establish enough relief to keep thousands of freed blacks from starving. Federal troops who dispersed across the formerly rebellious Confederate states did protect the Negroes from vengeful "unreconstructed rebels." Eventually, however, most blacks returned to work the soil, the only work the mass of them had ever experienced under the rigidity of slavery. Freedman settled to the bottom of the socioeconomic system. As late as 1910 more than 85% of American blacks lived in the old Confederate states.

Most survived by working as sharecroppers on land owned by absentee landlords. These landlords took 25% to 40% of the crops their tenants grew and charged extremely high interest rates for the money sharecroppers needed to buy their seeds and equipment. The result was a mountain of debts the sharecropping families never were able to pay. In a very real sense many black Americans were still living like slaves.

Results of reconstruction

Voting During the Reconstruction years, 1865-1877, freedmen had tasted political power. With federal troops stationed in the South, many had voted and a few had held local, state, and even national political office.

Education For a few years black children received organized education for the first time. Yet after Northern troops left and white Southerners regained power, blacks lost their chance to receive an equal education. The black community was burdened with widespread illiteracy. The white power structure set up a dual school system that the U.S. Supreme Court allowed. (As long as the schools were "separate but equal," black children's rights were not being denied, the court ruled in 1896.) The result was that school funds were rarely dispersed equally, and blacks attended unequal schools for generations.

Status in society As a result of the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision (1896), blacks were trapped at the bottom of the social ladder. Children grew into adulthood feeling inferior because the white power structure passed Jim Crow laws. These laws required blacks to sit in separate railroad cars, not go into white restaurants, drink from different water fountains, sit in the balconies of theaters, sit in the back of public trolleys, and go to "separate but equal" bathrooms in public buildings. Most black parents, fearing what could happen to "uppity" children, taught their sons and daughters to accept this crushing caste system that made American Negroes second-class citizens.

A leadership clash The situation above cried out for black voices to help lead their people to a better future.

Booker T. Washington The most famous black leader to emerge following the Civil War was Booker T. Washington. This former slave struggled to earn his formal education at Hampton Institute. He achieved his education through his own efforts, receiving no real help from others. Because of his success as a student, he became the head of the Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Alabama. There from 1881–1915 he became America's most influential black man.

Washington had one controlling idea: black Americans must earn their place in American society. They were never going to have this place given to them. Instead each black man, woman, and child should find a task he or she could do that would help white society function. At his institute Washington taught generations of blacks to have pride in themselves. He saw to it that Tuskegee's students groomed themselves well, were punctual, and learned skills and crafts that would make them employable within the white community. Then by being an effective worker within white society, blacks would gradually win white acceptance. In his most famous speech in 1893, Booker T. Washington articulated his *gradual* approach to racial progress:

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.

To lessen white's fears that he wanted to mix blacks and whites socially, Washington added:

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

Although Washington worked privately to end Jim Crow laws, in public he never openly criticized the white leadership. He felt the national mood could change and blacks would be increasingly accepted. Since his message seemed to make sense to most Americans and he was personally close to influential whites—he was the first black person invited socially to the White House—no black leader was able to seriously challenge his leadership until after his death in 1915.



Question for you to consider:

While he was speaking his simile about fingers and hand (see black arrow below), how do you suppose Washington dramatized his point with his body language?



W.E.B. DuBois The one black American who did openly challenge Washington's message was William Edward Burghardt DuBois. His family members had not been slaves for more than 100 years. DuBois held four university degrees, three from Harvard, where he received a Ph.D. in history. In 1903 he wrote an emotionally moving book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, which included an attack on Washington's ideas. DuBois clearly outlined "the triple paradox" that he found in Washington's reasoning:

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

DuBois's use of the phrase "the talented tenth" captured the imagination of many Americans.



This fervent intellectual went on to plead his point that black America's hope could be found in those whom he called "the talented tenth":

Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through the criminal foolishness of your fathers. Whether you like it or not the millions are here, and here they will remain. If you do not lift them up, they will pull you down The talented tenth of the Negro race the must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their own people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.

The contribution that DuBois made that most immediately helped his race was the Niagara Movement (1905), which was later changed into the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). For more than two decades he edited this organization's journal. By the 1930s, however, DuBois questioned whether the American power structure would ever accept black contributors. He drifted into radical causes, becoming increasingly sympathetic to communism. At his death in Ghana in 1963 he was no longer leading American blacks, but his life foreshadowed the arguments many black leaders advanced during the 1960s.

Migration to the cities Mobility, not words, was most going to change the lives of American blacks. As the 20th century began, a trickle of blacks began leaving the South to seek better lives. The trickle increased with World War I's factories needing more and more workers. During and after World War II the trickle became a flood as factories geared up to produce war materials until 1945 and consumer goods after the war ended. Life in the cities was difficult for families used to living a slower-paced life closer to nature. Families crowded into the growing cities found themselves competing with poor whites and Puerto Ricans for jobs and living space.

Growth of black organizations The story of the exciting music, dance, and culture of urban black America is beyond the scope of this short essay, and it can be read elsewhere. What must be briefly mentioned are the organizations that helped blacks survive and "climb the ladder" of socioeconomic opportunity.

NAACP This early organization used the courts to chip away at ending segregation. Until the 1960s it was the dominant organization working to help black Americans, though its organizational structure was controlled up to that time by white liberals.

National Urban League Founded in 1910 the Urban League worked to help the thousands of blacks entering the cities. Persons were greeted, housing was arranged, and children were enrolled in school. Most important of all, the parents were helped to find jobs.

Real gains Even though they were facing rigid discrimination and a shocking economic depression (the Great Depression lasted from 1929 until about 1941), some Negroes made it into the middle class. Cities and even small towns began to have black lawyers, teachers, and doctors as well as manual laborers and housekeepers. But the number was small.

Education was the area upon which NAACP leadership most focused its attention. Thurgood Marshall, who later became America's first black Supreme Court justice, led the attack on the "separate but equal" doctrine. In 1949 NAACP attorneys were able to convince the court that

The court ruled unanimously (9-0) that blacks were being injured psychologically when they were separated because of race. ■■■■➡

Hermann Sweat, a black wanting admission to the University of Texas Law School, could not be required by the state of Texas to attend a separate, black law school. But the real triumph for the NAACP was in 1954: the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown vs. Topeka* that segregating school children made blacks feel inferior. Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote the unanimous decision, which stated:

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undoneAny language in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected ...We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

The 1950s and 1960s After the historic school segregation decision above, other things happened to raise blacks' hopes. Ordinary black people began resisting being second-class citizens. They wouldn't always drink from the "colored" drinking fountain, use the "colored" rest room, or stay out of the local public library. The most famous case of early resistance took place in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955. Rosa Parks, a black widow returning from working all day in a department store, refused to give her seat to a white on a crowded bus when the driver ordered her to do so. The driver had her arrested, but he didn't realize that this arrest would trigger a revolution. The black community in Montgomery organized itself and led a bus boycott that forced the city to abolish segregated seating on city buses. Thrust into the key leadership role was a young black minister destined to become the most famous black leader since Booker T. Washington.

SCLC Martin Luther King Jr. became the guiding force behind SCLC (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference), a group that worked for the civil rights of black Americans. From 1955 until his untimely death in 1968, King developed his philosophy of resisting evil non-violently. Blacks throughout America began suffering humiliation, violence against their bodies, arrest, jail, loss of jobs, and even property—without fighting back. But such Christian passive resistance no longer happened in a vacuum. Omnipresent cameras recorded for national TV's evening news black college students sitting at segregated counters with whites pouring catsup and mustard on their heads; black students being turned away from a state university by white officials; black adults and children marching in protest lines being bitten by police dogs held by white police and knocked down by water surging from fire hoses held by white city employees; blacks and whites of all ages, eight to 80, marching down Southern country roads to urge black Americans to register to vote; thousands of Americans marching on the national capital, Washington, D.C., in 1963, where outside the Lincoln Memorial, Dr. King spoke emotionally of his dream of an integrated, peaceful America.

Other civil rights groups CORE and SNCC were two groups which led sit-ins, sleep-ins, walk-ins, lie-ins, and even pray-ins. Members of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee combined white and black members who wanted to challenge laws segregating buses, bus stations, restaurants, and hotels. Whites fought back with chains and clubs. Attorney General Robert Kennedy responded by sending federal marshals to protect SNCC and CORE members.

The federal government acts By the mid-1960s new federal legislation guaranteed blacks their right to vote and exercise political power. Also clear was that segregation could no longer be legally practiced. (Of course, that didn't mean that white groups and employers still didn't actually practice segregation in areas such as schools, employment, and housing.) But the nation's congresspersons had listened to their conscience and had set up the federal government as a watchdog on civil rights. But the progress above was only a start. In 1964 Bayard Rustin, who organized the famous 1963 March on Washington, pointed out that

The very decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of de facto segregation in our most fundamental socioeconomic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 percent to 54 percent of that of whites. A higher percentage of Negro workers is now concentrated in jobs vulnerable to automation than was the case ten years ago. More Negroes attend de facto segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision; while school integration proceeds at a snail's pace in the South, the number of Northern schools with an excessive proportion of minority youth proliferates. And behind this is the continuing growth of

racial slums, spreading over our central cities and trapping Negro youth in a milieu which, whatever its legal definition, sows an unimaginable demoralization These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement. At issue, after all, is not civil rights, strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions.

Riots Blacks rioted from 1965 through 1968 in the ghettos of American cities such as Los Angeles, Detroit, Kansas City, Gary, Cleveland, and Newark. In 1967 alone 194 disturbances took place; in 1968 during the first month after Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, more than 100 communities had violent eruptions requiring local police or the National Guard to bring order. A national commission, the Kerner Commission, studied the riots and concluded that the rioters were not the really poor, uneducated, hard-core unemployed blacks. Instead the rioters were young blacks who believed in traditional American values but who were frustrated in their attempts to achieve occupational success. The report stated that the continued exclusion of Negroes from the American economic and social life is the fundamental cause of riots. This exclusion is a result of arbitrary racial barriers rather than of lack of ability, motivation, or aspiration on the part of Negroes who perceive it as arbitrary and unjust.



**Question
to consider:**

*In these speeches
what self-images
are these black
leaders hoping to
appeal to?*

Leadership debate And so the stage is set for our re-creation of the debate of issues dividing American black leaders during the mid and late 1960s. Here are the two key issues you will hear them present:

- Should we work to integrate ourselves into white society, or should we separate?
- Whether we integrate or work to have a separate black culture, which means should we use—passive non-violence or force and violence?

To give you a feeling of the contrast between the spectrum of views, we are including here excerpts from three famous black leaders of the 1960s. First, the non-violent ideas of Martin Luther King Jr.

When the protest (Montgomery) began, my mind, consciously or unconsciously, was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount, with its sublime teachings on love, and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. As the days unfolded, I came to see the power of nonviolence more and more

First, it must be emphasized that nonviolent resistance is not a method for cowards; it does resist. If one uses this method because he is afraid or merely because he lacks the instruments of violence, he is not truly nonviolent. This is why Gandhi often said that if cowardice is the only alternative to violence, it is better to fight

A second basic fact that characterizes nonviolence is that it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding

A third characteristic of this method is that the attack is directed against persons who happen to be doing the evil.

A fourth point that characterizes nonviolent resistance is a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation, to accept blows from the opponent without striking back.

A fifth point concerning nonviolent resistance is that it avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit At the center of nonviolence stands the principle of love

A sixth basic fact ... is that it is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice.

Consequently, the believer in nonviolence has deep faith in the future.

Now read Stokely Carmichael, who proclaimed the need for “Black Power”:

The concept of black power rests on a fundamental premise: before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society....

Black people must redefine themselves and only they can do that. Throughout this country vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions, to reclaim their history, their culture; to create their own sense of community and togetherness. There is a growing resentment of the word “Negro,” for example, because this term is the invention of our oppressor, it is his image of us that he describes.



Please take considerable notes, writing down what is said and your reactions to what is said during this mini-unit. You will then gain a great deal from this historical re-creation.

Research shows us that when persons write as they are learning, they retain considerable knowledge—and for a long time period.

Finally, the angry words of the Black Muslim Malcolm X, who argued for “Black Pride” and a separate black nation before he was shot down by fellow blacks in 1965:

Every time you see a white man, think about the devil you’re seeing! Think of how it was on your slave foreparents’ bloody, sweaty backs that he *built* this empire that’s today the richest of all nations—where his evil and his greed cause him to be hated around the world!

So let us separate from this white man, and for the same reason he says—in time to save ourselves from any more “*integration*.”

Why *shouldn’t* this white man who likes to think and call himself so good, and so generous, this white man who finances even his enemies—why *shouldn’t* he subsidize a separate state, a separate territory, for we black people who have been such faithful slaves and servants? A separate territory on which we can lift ourselves out of these white man’s *slums* for us, and his breadlines for us. And even for those he is complaining that we cost him too much! We can do something for ourselves! We never have done what we could—because we have been brainwashed so well by the slavemaster white man that we must come to him, begging him, for everything we want, and need—....

Your debate’s scenario The July 1968 debate between black leaders will take place in a large auditorium on the campus of Howard University, Washington, D.C. A dynamic black professor of Howard (your teacher will likely play this role) will be chairperson of a debate between six distinguished black Americans. After these individuals have spoken, other members of the audience, roleplaying black college students from all across America, will question the speakers.

YOUR NOTE-TAKING RESPONSIBILITY

To facilitate your re-creation of this debate (the situation is imaginary; the ideas are true to the 1960s), the authors have organized the debate with six speakers. Three speakers will speak and be questioned during the first hour; the other three speakers will speak and be questioned during the second hour. Each hour’s three speakers will be questioned by at least two questioners: one will ask a critical question; one will ask a supporting question.

As a student your responsibility is to write down at least one page of notes for each speaker as he/she delivers a short speech and answers questions. To prepare yourself for your note-taking responsibility, come to class with six sheets of paper headed **Speaker 1**, **Speaker 2**, and so on, up through **Speaker 6**. (See the model at right.)

Be sure you write down more than simply the general ideas that speakers and questioners present. Include specific details that make “pictures” in your mind. What we “see” we remember longer.

Black Leadership Debate: 1968	
Speaker 1	
Speech	
Questions/Answers	

PROCEDURE

Day 1

1. Your teacher will begin this study by doing one or more of the following: a. Show a film or video clip on the subject. b. Give a lecture or have a guest speaker(s) talk on the subject. c. Ask you to read the following statements, pick one that you most agree with, cluster together in one area of the classroom with other students who also have picked this statement:
 - **Statement 1:** The best thing that blacks could do today is to practice the Christian, non-violent ideas of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
 - **Statement 2:** The best thing that blacks could do today is to embrace the Black Muslim faith, to start living moral lives, and to elect black politicians who think “black” rather than allow themselves to be manipulated by whites.
 - **Statement 3:** The best thing that blacks could do today is to diligently study their African heritage and to let their lives reflect their pride in this distinguished cultural background.
 - **Statement 4:** The best thing that blacks could do today is to practice violence in order to engender personal pride, earn white respect, and call the world’s attention to the pathetic circumstances American whites have forced upon American blacks.
 - **Statement 5:** The best thing that blacks could do today is to embrace the idea of “Black Power” and to exercise real political control over their lives by voting, getting elected, and controlling the schools and neighborhoods where they live.
 - **Statement 6:** The best thing that blacks could do today is to support organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League, organizations that work with all ethnic/ racial groups within the legal system so that blacks get better jobs and have their constitutional rights protected.
2. After briefly discussing 1a, 1b, or 1c, you will read the earlier parts of this re-creation found in this Student Guide.
3. Your teacher will then divide you into three groups: a) six persons who will be the speakers; b) 12 persons who will definitely question the six speakers during the re-creation; and c) the remainder of your class, who may question the speakers if there is sufficient time and they want to question them.
4. The teacher will now give the first two groups in #3 above their separate handouts. Then either by teacher assignment, or by pulling numbered slips, or by choice, the first two groups in #3 will determine who will be each speaker and each questioner.
5. Those of you who are not among the 18 assigned roles may wish to read further background information on black leadership in the 1960s. Your teacher or librarian will likely make such information available to you. Then you can write questions of your own to ask the speakers.
6. Speaker and questioner groups will be visited by the teacher, who will give you concrete examples of how to blend your identity information into any speech you give or question you ask.
7. As homework all of you should prepare your six sheets (five sheets if you’re a speaker, since you won’t take notes on yourself!) on the six speakers. See Your Note-Taking Responsibility section on page 6.
8. *Options:* Any of you wishing to enliven the debate should use colored paint/pens to write slogans or posters on butcher paper. You could hang up these large posters that black leaders wrote and spoke during the mid and late 1960s. Making these posters would be a good overnight activity.

statement

1 2 3 4 5 6

Days 2-3-4

(Exactly how these days' activities will take place will depend upon how much time your teacher allows for this re-creation and how actively involved in the re-creation you and your classmates become.)

Re-creation

1. The teacher and the six speakers will sit in the front of the room facing the rest of you representing students at the 1968 conference of black college students.
2. The first hour of the re-creation "conference" will likely have three speakers speak in numerical order. Then six of the 12 assigned questioners will randomly question the three speakers (one critical and one supporting question each).
3. If time allows, once the first three have each spoken and been questioned twice, anyone at the students' conference-speaker or student-may question the first three speakers. The chairperson will control who gets to ask questions and will limit speakers and questioners to a specified time.
4. The re-creation of the conference's second day will likely follow #2 and #3 above, except that the final three speakers will speak and be questioned by the final assigned six questioners.

Debriefing procedure

1. Imagine that you are a college student, today. You are attending a conference on how to improve human relations, particularly black and white human relations. You have just seen a videotape of a similar conference for black students held in 1968, and you heard several black leaders of that year give talks on their individual philosophies.
2. Your teacher, acting as conference chairperson, will number off the audience by fives. All 1s will form a circle, all 2s another, and so on.
3. Once all circles are formed, the teacher will assign each group the debriefing topic appearing beside its group number below:
Group 1: School integration
Group 2: Housing integration
Group 3: Minority preference in job hiring and/or college entrance
Group 4: Government loans to minority businesses
Group 5: Government subsidies for the poor (i.e., welfare, food stamps, rent reductions, etc.)
4. Each group is to discuss the debriefing questions in regard to its topic.
5. Each group should appoint a chairperson and a recorder. Later the chairperson will report a summary of the group's discussion to the entire class.

Debriefing questions

1. If Dr. King, Malcolm X, or any of the other speakers were here today, what would each likely say about your group's topic? (For example, what would Dr. King say about busing to achieve school integration? Malcolm X? Others?)
2. In 1968 black leaders presented a variety of views. Have black leaders' views changed in reference to your topic since 1968? Have strong new philosophies and/or leaders appeared in the controversy over your topic? (For example, Jesse Jackson has gained national prominence by urging blacks to do better in the schools they presently attend.)
3. What do you perceive as at least three white views about your topic? (For example, how do whites view forced busing to achieve integration?)
4. What position do you think your group should take in regard to the topic? (*Note: Both a majority and minority position may be reported.*)

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Adopt the scholar's attitude during your debriefing. How?

Question one another by asking persons to define words as difficult to define as treason...