

**History 524, Civil Rights: Social Struggle,
Politics and Policies, 1940-1980
(UNCG, Spring 2002)**

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This course will examine the Southern “civil rights” movement of the 1950s and 1960s in broader contexts: World War II, the Cold War, and national politics and policies, from McCarthyism to the Civil Rights Acts to the War on Poverty; Northern urban movements, Black Power and the “ghetto revolts” of the 1960s; white resistance movements; the impact of the movement on other movements, such as feminism; and finally, the community-based organizations and affirmative action policies that emerged in the 1970s after the “turbulent decade” of the 1960s. We will examine scholarship, biographies, memoirs, oral histories, documentary film and primary documents.

Our purpose is twofold: to view the freedom struggle from “below” and “within” its many community contexts; and to develop a more holistic sense of its origins and impact on the national and international politics of human rights and economic justice.

We will start out with an overview of the movement and of national civil rights politics, a synthesis of secondary scholarship (as of 1990) by Robert Weisbrot. I chose to start with this overview for various reasons: 1) Though the civil rights struggle has been broadly recognized as perhaps the 20th century’s most important democratic social movement, many students have not been exposed to its history, other than through journalism, documentaries or textbooks that tend to flatten controversy and focus only on the “big national events.” 2) Weisbrot covers a wider range of civil, political and economic rights than other survey texts and includes topics (such as the War on Poverty and Northern urban rebellions) not found in surveys of the Southern movement. 3) The book’s arguments and points of emphasis have been subjects of scholarly controversy. It will open up particular points of controversy useful in your selecting whose life story you wish to explore and what events or issues you wish to research for the final paper.

The second task will be for each of you to select an individual active in the movement or national civil rights politics, and read their memoir or a scholarly biography of their activist life. I have compiled a list ranging from the nationally famous to the locally important: men and women, white and black, radical, liberal, conservative and segregationist. Much of the best *historiography* of this era takes the form of *biography*, and the list gets longer every year, especially in the direction of telling the stories of unheralded local activists. My list is not exhaustive, but meets the following criteria: 1) These are people whose activist lives spanned the decade of the 1960s and more. 2) They each left a substantial memoir or are the subject of an extended critical biography that touches on a range of issues, such as bus or school desegregation, employment, housing, community building, violence and nonviolence, interracialism and Nationalism, etceteras. 3) The whole list balances a range of positions and perspectives and ideologies, so the class may do so as well.

Finally, for the rest of the course, I am currently compiling a set of topics and reading that the class will read about and discuss. But I am a couple of weeks away from finishing. To make a virtue of necessity therefore, and in the spirit of the Movement itself, I have decided to allow “the

people” (you) to help shape the direction of the course. We will discuss this and you may email me in the next few weeks regarding what appeals especially.

Available for Purchase at Addams University Bookstore on Tate St.:

Weisbrot, Robert. *Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Norton, 1990.

Your person's biography or autobiography: Pick it soon and get approval from me and order it (preferred) or check it out from Jackson Library.

William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford, 1980)

Cecelski, David S. *Along Freedom Road : Hyde County, North Carolina and the Fate of Black Schools in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Other assigned readings –articles, book chapters, and primary documents– will be available through the electronic reserves system at the Jackson Library's website -- <http://library.uncg.edu/>. Click on “Reserves,” then “Search Reserve items by . . . course number” – **HIS524**. The title of the reading comes first, with the author at the end. Readings longer than 25 pages are broken up into parts. The library's citation system is not the best, so you may have to hunt around if you are looking for a specific reading. Find the citation; then click “Full text online.” You will be asked for a username (it's “ereserves”) and password (“spring2002”). You may then print out from a University terminal or your home computer, provided you have Adobe Acrobat Reader. *Get help at the reserve desk to your right as you enter the library if you do not know how to use this.* **HINT:** Go to the reserve area of the library when they are not busy and print a few weeks-worth out and put it in a binder!

Course Requirements:

Attendance: This is vitally important for the success of the class and your own success. *You must email me in advance if you will miss class.* I can excuse absences only on the grounds of personal or family illness or serious emergency (not work or other extracurricular activity). No need for lengthy explanations; you are on your honor. More than four unexcused absences will result in grade reduction or a request to withdraw from the course.

Participation (15%): Discussion is mandatory. You will receive a grade on the basis of how often and how thoughtfully you contribute to class discussion. I hope and expect that you will be able *throughout* the course, when appropriate, to succinctly present the views of your chosen leader or activist. To aid in class discussion I may ask for informal in-class writing or brief homework assignments, which I will collect to see how well you are grappling with the material under consideration.

Book review of a biography or autobiography (10%): 4-5 pp. These are not book REPORTS summarizing what the person did. Rather they are critical REVIEWS that seek to answer analytical questions about the person's growth as an activist; their ideology and the context it came out of; their contributions as well as limitations or biases. If biographies, you should assess critically whether the scholar seems to have achieved balance and critical distance; if autobiographies, you should assess whether the author exhibits what Martin Luther King, Jr. called “the highest human virtue [that of] self-criticism.” Here are a few central questions your

review might address: 1) How did the individual's *early experiences, community institutions, and role models* shape their later activism or leadership? 2) What methods or *strategies of social change* did your individual espouse? Did they evolve? 3) Did your individual change in the way he or she saw "*civil rights*" relate to *other issues* before the black community and the nation, such as poverty, welfare or international relations? On a more theoretical level, did your individual change the way they saw the relationship between race, class and/or gender?

Scholar's Logs (20%): 1-2 page informal but insightful exercises, written about one of the scholarly articles or chapters assigned for a day: Undergraduates: 7; Graduates: 10. Write about something if LOG appears next to the citation. Due the beginning of class on the day of discussion and not acceptable after that.

This is a way to help you develop critical reading skills and prepare for discussion. Briefly summarize the author's thesis, (the main points he or she is trying to prove), in 1-4 sentences. Then write a two or three paragraph response containing *your* ideas about the reading. **Do not write log entries for the days when you choose to write longer analytic papers (next requirement).** You might answer any of the following questions: How does the reading challenge or confirm what I previously believed or read? Does it tie in with other issues of the course? Is it persuasive or flawed (don't just say this, *show it* by referring to evidence presented or omitted)? I'll accept these if they are complete and if the thesis is correct or close. I'll collect these at the outset, so you might want to print a second copy for reference during discussion. Grading: 90% complete or more: A; 80% or more: B; 70% or more: C; and so forth.

Analytic Papers – 3-4 pp. (20%): Undergraduates: 2. Graduates: 3. Due the day of the class meeting. Be prepared to discuss your findings and pose 1-2 questions to the class. More formal than the logs, these will pose and seek to answer a question addressed by an assigned article or chapter and one from the "Recommended" list. Draw insights and evidence from each piece of scholarship, assess its strengths and weaknesses where appropriate, reconcile any conflicting interpretations, and/or address how further research might resolve outstanding problems.

Research Paper (35%): Undergraduates: 7-8 pp. Graduates: 10-12 pp. Due the day of the scheduled final exam. A 2 pp. proposal with working hypothesis will be due after Spring Break.

In consultation with me, identify a specific problem or controversy and delve deeper into the secondary scholarship and primary sources. Use the recommended readings as a springboard, as well as your own bibliographic searching. You might write about a decision that your chosen leader or activist dealt with (such as whether King's acceptance of the Birmingham Agreement of May 10, 1963 was a "sell out" or a wise compromise). You might use oral histories or Civil Rights Commission testimony to critically examine how grass-roots people thought about an issue that national leaders debated (such as what to do about the spreading violence in cities in the late 1960s). I'll supply a list of primary sources (quite long!) available on the Movement in the Library, and put the most important oral history and documentary collections on reserve. Of utmost importance is that you visit my office hours to talk to me about topics and research strategies. I can save you a heck of a lot of time.

Biographies and Autobiographies:

Please don't check any of these out of the library or buy one before you get approval. In some cases we'll need to resolve multiple claims on a person (end of next week). So for now, just browse the stacks, or check out book reviews through the electronic journals, or look up a short biography in the new reference work in the library:

Martin, Waldo E., and Patricia Sullivan. *Civil Rights in the United States*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2000. Reference Department (Library Use Only): E184.A1 C47 2000

Another valuable bibliographic tool (on reserve under HIS524 at the library for 1 day check out):

Murray, Paul T. *The Civil Rights Movement: References and Resources* Reference Publications on American Social Movements. New York: G.K. Hall, 1993.

Comprehensive annotated bibliography arranged by state, civil rights organization, federal government, participants. Very useful abstract summaries.

On selecting an individual: Pick someone with whom you do not feel an immediate affinity, so you might gain a new appreciation, or alternatively, apply your skills of critical appraisal you may not want to direct toward a "hero." That is, if you have integrationist sympathies, pick a Black Nationalist like Robert Williams, Amiri Baraka or Elaine Brown; if you are a Nationalist, pick King or Andrew Young or Randolph or Fannie Lou Hamer; if you are a man who worships Martin Luther King, pick James Forman or Mary King or Ella Baker; if you think militant direct action went a bit too far in the 1960s, pick Fred Shuttlesworth or Ivory Perry; if you think Clinton's welfare reform was nifty, pick George Wiley and the women of NWRO; if you think liberals and moderates sold the movement down the river, pick Lyndon Johnson or Robert Kennedy or Thurgood Marshall; if you think civil rights for African Americans were a good thing, pick George Wallace. Otherwise, just pick one that interests you!

Abernathy, Ralph David. *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down: An Autobiography*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1990.

King's best friend, co-strategist, and successor.

Brown, Elaine. *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*. 1st Anchor Books ed. New York: Anchor Books, 1994.

A memoir of the rise and repression of the Black Panther Party, by an insider and the Party's first female Chairperson.

Burner, Eric. *And Gently He Shall Lead Them: Robert Parris Moses and Civil Rights in Mississippi*. New York: New York University Press, 1994.

Biography of the charismatic self-effacing SNCC activist from the North who was one of the first and most respected of the student voting rights organizers. Still active as an innovative educator in Mississippi.

Carter, Dan T. *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*. 2nd Louisiana pbk. ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000.

The definitive biography of the Alabama segregationist Governor who "stood at the schoolhouse door" in 1963, defied King's voting rights campaign in 1965, and as presidential candidate in 1968 and 1972, showed Richard Nixon how to peel the conservative white South away from the Democratic Party.

Clark, Septima Poinsette, and LeGette Blythe. *Echo in My Soul*. [1st] ed. New York,: Dutton, 1962. Together with:

Clark, Septima Poinsette, and Cynthia Stokes Brown. *Ready from Within : Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement*. Navarro, Calif.: Wild Trees Press, 1986.

Fired from her teaching job as reprisal for her NAACP activities, in the mid-1950s, Clark organized the first citizenship schools on Johns Island South Carolina, and went on to train hundreds of local organizers as director of SCLC's Citizenship Education Program.

Curry, Constance, Joan C. Browning, Dorothy Dawson Burlage, Penny Patch, Theresa Del Pozzo, Sue Thrasher, Elaine Delott Baker, Emmie Schrader Adams, and Casey Hayden. *Deep in Our Hearts : Nine White Women in the Freedom Movement*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

"Our book is about girls growing up in a revolutionary time and place. It is about love and politics and the transcendence of racial barriers." You could do this as a collective biography.

Dallek, Robert. *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961-73*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Somebody's got to be LBJ! The most complete biography of LBJ, his brilliant achievements in domestic policy (civil rights, poverty, Medicare) and his fatal ineptitude in foreign policy, committing the nation to a war in Vietnam he doubted could be won. Very long book, so you should focus on civil rights and War on Poverty and ghetto uprisings.

Fairclough, Adam. *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Best biography of King in organizational and movement context.

Farmer, James. *Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Arbor House, 1985.

Executive Director of CORE during the 1960s.

Fleming, Cynthia Griggs. *Soon We Will Not Cry : The Liberation of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

New biography of the celebrated SNCC activist who embraced cultural nationalism in the years before her death in 1967 at age 25.

Forman, James. *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972, 1985, 1997.

The most extensive and thoughtful of the several memoirs from SNCC radicals.

Grant, Joanne. *Ella Baker: Freedom Bound*. New York: Wiley, 1998.

Life long activist and inspiration to hundreds of SNCC and other local activists. Broke with King in 1959 and called the 1960 conference organizing SNCC.

King, Mary. *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement*. 1st ed. New York: Morrow, 1987.

Mary King was a white college graduate who joined the SNCC organizing struggle in Mississippi and represents a critical link between white participation in the movement and feminism.

Kotz, Nick, and Mary Lynn Kotz. *A Passion for Equality: George A. Wiley and the Movement*. New York: Norton, 1977.

SOMEONE HAS GOT TO REPRESENT THIS GUY! As a local leader of CORE, and as Executive Secretary of the National Welfare Rights Organization, Wiley "pioneered in efforts to organize the poor and to address the problems of welfare and powerlessness." Extraordinary

story giving a lot of attention to the women who built the Welfare Rights movement from the ground up. (Professor Jackson has a dozen or so of the Kotz's oral histories with the women leaders on the Board of Directors collected at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin).

Lee, Chana Kai. *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* Women in American History. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

The most recent biography of the poor sharecropper, voting rights activist and antipoverty warrior, who courageously organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. You may compare this with Kay Mills' earlier biography to decide which you think appeals to you more.

Levine, Daniel. *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000.

Biography of one of the movement's most important strategists, protégé of A. Philip Randolph, advisor to King, organizer of the 1963 March on Washington.

Lewis, John, with Michael D'Orso. *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998.

Excellent memoir of the SNCC leader who grew up poor in Alabama, was a leader in the sit-ins and freedom rides, and is currently a Congressman from Georgia.

Lipsitz, George. *A Life in the Struggle: Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Unsung hero biography based on oral histories. A remarkable life as a Korean war veteran, CORE civil rights activist in St. Louis and Louisiana, community organizer for the War on Poverty, who went on in the 1970s to organize St. Louis' community campaign against lead paint poisoning.

Manis, Andrew Michael. *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.

Illuminating biography of the unstoppable force behind the Birmingham movement, the leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

Pfeffer, Paula. *A. Philip Randolph: Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

The best biography yet on Randolph, from the Sleeping Car Porters to the March on Washington Movement to the Freedom Budget of 1966.

Sellers, Cleveland, with Robert Terrell. *The River of No Return: The Autobiography of a Black Militant and the Life and Death of SNCC*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1973, 1990.

A SNCC activist's autobiography.

Tushnet, Mark V. *Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1936-1961*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

_____. *Making Constitutional Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1961-1991*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Read both of these selectively or pick the shorter, less legally detailed biography by Juan Williams, below.

Tyson, Timothy B. *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams & the Roots of Black Power*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Vivid grass-roots biography of the Monroe, NC, NAACP leader who was expelled from the organization in 1959 for advocating armed self-defense. A gripping story.

Weiss, Nancy J. *Whitney M. Young, Jr. And the Struggle for Civil Rights*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989.

One of the "big six" civil rights leaders in the 1960s, Young was director of the National Urban League, pushing the organization in a more activist direction while remaining close enough to the Johnson administration to garner a large share of War on Poverty funding. Weiss makes the persuasive case that he was not the one-dimensional "moderate" he was portrayed to be at the time.

Wilkins, Roger W. *A Man's Life: An Autobiography*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Assistant Attorney General and Director of the Community Relations Service in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. An African-American government insider with links to the movement and first hand observations of the Kennedy and Johnson White Houses. Especially illuminating on the urban crisis, since he was sent by Johnson to be a first hand observer of the Detroit revolt in 1967.

Wilkins, Roy. *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* New York: Viking, 1982.

From 1955 to 1977, Wilkins directed the NAACP. He defends the moderate politics and policies of the organization and argues that NAACP activists were at the center of many of the most important local and national events.

Williams, Juan. *Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary*. 1st ed. New York: Times Books, 1998.

Sympathetic, readable biography of the lead counsel for the NAACP in the Brown v. Board of Education case who became a Supreme Court justice who helped define the judicial civil rights revolution.

Woodard, Komozi. *A Nation within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) and Black Power Politics*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Poet and playwright, Baraka was a leader of the cultural nationalist Black Arts Movement and a community organizer in Newark, N.J.

Young, Andrew. *An Easy Burden: The Civil Rights Movement and the Transformation of America*. New York: HarperCollins, 1996.

Detailed and discerning, with many astute observations of SCLC strategy and patterns of news media coverage, a memoir by King aide Andrew Young, later Mayor of Atlanta and UN Ambassador under Jimmy Carter.

SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS

1/15: Introductions

1/17: *Freedom Bound*, pp. 1-85.

Come to class with notes on at least 3 places in the text where the author makes an evaluative, rather than a simply a narrative, statement. Examine the language and the footnotes. Translate the statement into a question or a "null hypothesis," a statement that contradicts what you have read, a statement the author would need to DISPROVE for you to be persuaded.

1/22: *Freedom Bound*, pp. 86-153.

And we'll discuss one controversy:

Chafe, William H. "The End of One Struggle, the Beginning of Another, and Comment, by J. Mills Thornton III." In *The Civil Rights Movement in America*, ed. Charles W. Eagles, 127-156. . Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986. Ereserves.

1/24: *Freedom Bound*, pp. 154-221.

1/29: *Freedom Bound*, pp. 221-317.

1/31: Thinking Critically about the Historiography of Black Freedom

Payne, Charles M. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. Ch. 14 and "Bibliographic Essay," pp. 391-441. (LOG)

Carson, Clayborne, "Civil Rights Reform and the Black Freedom Struggle," and "Comment," by Steven F. Lawson, In *The Civil Rights Movement in America*, edited by Charles W. Eagles, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986, pp. 19-38. (LOG)

Begin reading your biography or autobiography, if you haven't already.

Recommended:

You may do an analytic paper about civil rights history from "the bottom up" and "the top down," citing one or more of the following, along with today's reading.

Lawson, Steven F., "Debating the Civil Rights Movement: The View from the Nation." In *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968*, edited by Steven F. Lawson and Charles Payne, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998. 3-42. Ereserves. Book on reserve.

Payne, Charles, "Debating the Civil Rights Movement: The View from the Trenches." In *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968*, 99-136. Ereserves. Book on reserve.

Rogers, Kim Lacy. "Oral History and the History of the Civil Rights Movement." *Journal of American History* 75, no. 2 (1988): 567-576. (JSTOR)

Lawson, Steven F. "Freedom Then, Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement." *American Historical Review* 96, no. 2 (1991): 456-471. (JSTOR)

Eagles, Charles W. "Toward New Histories of the Civil Rights Era." *Journal of Southern History* 66, no. 4 (2000): 815-48. Ereserves.

Recent overview of the historiography of the Southern Movement with research suggestions. Rather more like a list than an engaging analysis however.

2/5: Reading and Discussion of Biographies/Autobiographies

Discussions of biography, memoir and the retrospective filter of present concerns.

We'll do some small group discussion, however it shakes down in terms of who people select: the SNCC activists; King and his circle; the policy makers; Black Nationalists, etc.

2/7: Reading and Discussion of Biographies/Autobiographies

2/12: Reading and Discussion of Biographies/Autobiographies

**2/14: Reading and Discussion of Biographies/Autobiographies
Review is Due.**

LOGS cover one reading selection, remember. They give a brief synopsis, or précis, of the thesis, the main arguments and types of evidence the author advances. Then they make evaluations, comparisons, or critical links with ongoing challenges of social change.

ANALYTIC PAPERS go one level deeper: they pose a question addressed by AT LEAST one of the assigned readings and AT LEAST one of the recommended. What questions and themes do they have in common? Do they exhibit differences of argument, emphasis, or do they complement each other by providing a comparative frame of reference or larger context for understanding the common problems they address? So the thesis paragraph is YOUR statement of the issues or problems addressed by each, then a critical evaluation and comparison of their conclusions, evidence, frames of reference, and/or points of view.

2/21: The Labor Movement and Civil Rights in the 1940s

Honey, Michael. "Labor, the Left, and Civil Rights in the South: Memphis During the Cio Era, 1937-1955." In *Anti-Communism: The Politics of Manipulation*, edited by Judith Joel and Gerald M. Erickson. Minneapolis: MEP, 1987, 57-83. Ereserves. LOG [Write a log that ties in an issue raised in this article with Honey's later oral histories]

Honey, Michael. *Black Workers Remember: An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, 72-99, 114-122, 150-154, 171-183, 194-209. Ereserves.

[Remember, your analytical papers should include AT LEAST ONE of the recommended readings and MOST of the assigned. You'll be comparing or synthesizing or raising questions about different scholars' approaches to common issues. For example, you might assess how employer hostility, anti-communism (in business or labor circles) and white racism (again in employers or white workers) challenged the 1940s CIO ideal of "black and white, unite and fight!"]

Recommended:

Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 (Dec., 1988), 786-811. **On Electronic Reserve for HIS340.**

Nelson, Bruce. "Organized Labor and the Struggle for Black Equality in Mobile During World War II." *Journal of American History* 80, no. 3 (1993): 952-88. **JSTOR.**

2/26: Cold War and Local Heroism: Global and Local Forces Converge on the Brown Decision

Dudziak, Mary L. "Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative." *Stanford Law Review* 41 (1998): 61-120. Ereserves. **LOG**

Kluger, Richard. *Simple Justice: The History of Brown V. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality*. New York: Knopf, 1975, pp. 3-26. Ereserves. **LOG**

Recommended:

Borstelmann Thomas. "Jim Crow's Coming Out: Race Relations and American Foreign Policy in the Truman Years" *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, September 1999, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 549-569. In the Stacks.

Thomas Borstelmann, "Hedging Our Bets and Buying Time': John Kennedy and Racial Revolutions in the American South and Southern Africa," *Diplomatic History*, Summer 2000, Vol. 24 Issue 3. Available through EBSCOHost, Academic Search Elite.

2/28: Cold War Anticommunism as a Force for Repression:

Marable, Manning. *Race, Reform and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990*. 2nd ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991, ch. 2, p. 13-32. Ereserves. (No log, this is a textbook overview).

Von Eschen, Penny M. *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997, pp. 96-144. Ereserves. **LOG**

Recommended:

Dudziak, Mary L. Josephine Baker, Racial Protest, and the Cold war. *Journal of American History*, September 1994, Vol. 81 Issue 2 **Available through JSTOR online.**

Any article on the subject by Gerald Horne available through electronic databases.

3/5: The Montgomery Bus Boycott: Community Roots and Charismatic Leadership

Burns, Stewart, ed. *Daybreak of Freedom: The Montgomery Bus Boycott*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, Introductory essay and primary documents, pp. 1-37, 77-80, 101-3, 111-115, 118-119, 124-133, 154-156, 212-219, 222-225, 308-313, 318-319, 322-323. **Ereserves**

Optional: Martin Luther King, Jr., et. al., "MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church," in Clayborne Carson, ed., *Papers of King*, v. 3, pp. 71-5, 78-9. **Ereserves for HIS212 (Look under "Jackson." It is #39)**

Recommended:

Burks, Mary Fair. "Trailblazers: Women in the Montgomery Bus Boycott." In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse and Barbara Woods, 71-83. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Thornton III, J. Mills. "Challenge and Response in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956." *The Alabama Review*, July 1980, 163-235.

Thornton, J. Mills. "Municipal Politics and the Course of the Movement." In *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies*, edited by Armstead L. Robinson and Patricia Sullivan, 38-64. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991.

3/7: "Home Base" -- Greensboro in the 1940s and 1950s

Chafe, William. *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, Intro and chs. 1-2.

Recommended:

Gavins, Raymond. "The NAACP in North Carolina During the Age of Segregation." In *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies*, edited by Armstead L. Robinson and Patricia Sullivan, 105-25. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991. Hard copy reserve.

Badger, Tony. "Fatalism, Not Gradualism: The Crisis of Southern Liberalism, 1945-1965." In *The Making of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement*, edited by Brian Ward and Tony Badger, 67-95. New York: New York University Press, 1996. Reserve.

SPRING BREAK – DEVELOP YOUR RESEARCH TOPIC

3/19: Mass Protest and the Strategy of Crisis: Greens boro 1960- 1963

Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, chs. 3-5, pp. 71-152.

Recommended:

James, Hunter. *They Didn't Put That in the Huntley-Brinkley! A Vagabond Reporter Encounters the New South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993, 97-144. Hard Copy Reserve.

Morris, Aldon. "Black Southern Sit-in Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization." *American Sociological Review* 46, no. 6 (1981): 744-67. **JSTOR**

Barksdale, Marcellus C. "Civil Rights Organization and the Indigenous Movement in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1960-1965." *Phylon* 47 (1986, March): 29-42. (Stacks)

Or, read central chapter(s) of one of the following dealing with the years 1960-63 and compare with Greensboro (Not on reserve; check it out):

Colburn, David R. *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877-1980*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Dittmer, John. *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Fairclough, Adam. *Race & Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Norrell, Robert J. *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee*. New York: Knopf, 1985.

3/21: Birmingham: The Local and National Movements

King, Martin Luther, Jr. *Why We Can't Wait*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964, pp. 102-109, 112-115. **Ereserves**

Morris, Aldon D. "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 58, no. 5 (1993, October): 621-36. **JSTOR**

Manis, Andrew Michael. *A Fire You Can't Put Out : The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999, pp. 365-90. **Ereserves**

Recommended:

Eskew, Glen T. *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, chapters 7-8. Left indictment of King's "betrayal" of the local movement in the interests of the "traditional Negro leadership class."

Kelley, Robin D. G. "The Black Poor and the Politics of Opposition in a New South City, 1929-1970." In *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History*, edited by Michael B. Katz, 293-333. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. **Hard Copy Reserves**. Longer range view of social, racial and industrial change in the city, and the politics of the black poor, the "bystanders" rendered in their own terms.

3/26: The Contested Meanings of the 1963 March on Washington

Thomas Jackson, "'Jobs and Freedom': The Many Contested Meanings of the 1963 March on Washington," (excerpted ch. 4 from *Dilemmas and Dreams: Martin Luther King, Jr. and Black America's War on Poverty*, forthcoming). **Ereserves**

"Press Coverage and the King/Malcolm Debate over the 1963 March on Washington," ed., Tom Jackson (For Electronic Reserves, 2002). **Ereserves**

Recommended:

Pfeffer, Paula. A. *Philip Randolph: Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990, ch. 7.

Farmer, James. "The March on Washington: The Zenith of the Southern Movement." In *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies*, edited by Armstead L. Robinson and Patricia Sullivan, 30-37. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991. Hard Copy Reserve.

Thelwell, Michael. "The August 28th March on Washington." In *Duties, Pleasures and Conflicts: Essays in Struggle*, edited by Michael Thelwell, 57-73. Amherst: University of

Massachusetts Press, 1987. Hard Copy Reserve. MOW a "subtle and terrible betrayal" of original promise to use aggressive civil disobedience.

3/28: War on Poverty and Black Mobilization

Quadagno, Jill S. "Fostering Political Participation," ch. 2 in *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 33-59, and notes, pp. 204-208. **ER FOR HIS340**

Lipsitz, George. *A Life in the Struggle: Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988, ch. 5. **Ereserves**

Bayor, Ronald. "The Civil Rights Movement as Urban Reform: Atlanta's Black Neighborhoods and a New 'Progressivism'." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77, no. Summer (1993): 286-309. In Jack E. Davis, ed. *The Civil Rights Movement* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001), 232-246. **Ereserves**

Recommended:

Jackson, Thomas F. "The State, the Movement, and the Urban Poor: The War on Poverty and Political Mobilization in the 1960s." In *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History*, edited by Michael B. Katz, 403-439. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. **Hard Copy Reserve**.

Kerstein, Robert J., and Dennis R. Judd. "Achieving Less Influence with More Democracy: The Permanent Legacy of the War on Poverty." *Social Science Quarterly* 61 no. 2 (1980): 208-220. A case study of Ivory Perry's HDC in St. Louis, stressing how it "contained" black protest. Write an analytic essay on both the Perry selection and this article.

Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. ch 2, a case study of the CAA in Baltimore.

Matusow, Allen J. *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s*. New York, 1984, ch. 9, "War on Poverty II: The Strange History of Community Action."

4/2: Women Transforming the Struggle

Standley, Anne. "The Role of Black Women in the Civil Rights Movement." In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse and Barbara Woods, 183-201. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. **Ereserves**

Brock, Annette K. "Gloria Richardson and the Cambridge Movement." In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse and Barbara Woods, 121-143. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. With Addendum: Gloria Richardson, "Cambridge, Maryland, 'City of Progress' for Rich" *New America* August, 31, 1963. **Ereserves**

Smith, Jean. "I Learned to Feel Black." In *The Black Power Revolt*, edited by Floyd Barbour, 247-62. New York: Collier, 1968. **Ereserves**

Recommended:

McFadden, Grace Jordan. "Septima P. Clark and the Struggle for Human Rights." In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse and Barbara Woods, 85-97. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. **Hard Copy Reserve**.

Locke, Mamie E. "Is This America? Fannie Lou Hamer and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party." In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse and Barbara Woods, 27-37. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. **Hard Copy Reserve**.

Woods, Barbara A. "Modjeska Simkins and the South Carolina Conference of the Naacp, 1939-1957." In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-*

1965, edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse and Barbara Woods, 99-119. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. **Hard Copy Reserve.**

4/4: Black Power in the Cities

Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, ch. 6-7.

Self, Robert. "'To Plan Our Liberation': Black Power and the Politics of Place in Oakland, California, 1965-1977." *Journal of Urban History* 26, no. 6 (2000): 759-792.

EbscoHost Academic Search Elite.

Recommended:

Allen, Robert L. *Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytic History*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1969, ch. 2, "The Social Context of Black Power." Check it out or ask me for a copy.

Ahmed, Nahfiza. "The Neighborhood Organization Workers of Mobile, Alabama: Black Power Politics and Local Civil Rights Activism in the Deep South, 1968-1971." *Southern Historian* 20 (1999): 25-40.

4/9: The Black Panther Party in Oakland and America

Abron, JoNina M. "Serving the People': The Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party." In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, edited by Charles E. Jones. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998. **Ereserves**

Johnson, Ollie A. "Explaining the Demise of the Black Panther Party: The Role of Internal Factors." In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, edited by Charles E. Jones. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998. **Ereserves**

Recommended:

On the repression/internal-flaws debate, the essays by Booker and Grady-Willis in *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered* on Hard Copy Reserve.

On the roles and leadership of women in self-defense and the community programs, the essays by Matthews and LeBlanc-Ernest.

NB: For research topics, there are a number of oral histories in this book. I also own *The Black Panthers Speak*, a collection of their newspaper's articles, which can be obtained through ILL.

4/11: "Frames" of Reference: Media Bias and Racial Issues

Walker, Jenny. "A Media-Made Movement? Black Violence and Nonviolence in the Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement." In *Media, Culture and the Modern African American Freedom Struggle*, edited by Brian Ward, 41-66. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. **Ereserves**

Bond, Julian. "The Media and the Movement: Looking Back from the Southern Front." In *Media, Culture and the Modern African American Freedom Struggle*, edited by Brian Ward, 16-40. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. **Ereserves**

Recommended:

Lisa Levenstein, "From Innocent Children to Unwanted Migrants and Unwed Moms: Two Chapters in the Public Discourse on Welfare in the United States, 1960-1961," *Journal of Women's History* 11.4 (2000) 10-33. Through Jackson's electronic journals Academic Search Elite.

4/16: Cities Aflame: The Great Debate on the Urban Rebellions

Boskin, Joseph. "The Revolt of the Urban Ghettos: 1964-1967." In *Understanding the American Experience*, edited by et al. Banner. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1973.

Ereserves

Banfield, Ben H. "Rioting Mainly for Fun and Profit," in *The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970, pp. 185-209.

Ereserves for HIS340.

Ryan, William. *Blaming the Victim*. New York: Vintage, 1971, ch. 9 "Counting Black Bodies." **Ereserves**

Recommended:

Bloom, Jack M., "Ghetto Revolts, Black Power, and the Limits of the Civil Rights Coalition," ch. 7 in *Class, Race and the Civil Rights Movement*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, PP. 186-213. **ER for HIS340-#11.**

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. *Report*. New York: The New York Times Co., 1968, "Introduction" pp. 1-29. Multiple copies in Jackson stacks. Ask me for a copy if they are all checked out.

4/18: Radicalization of King: Poverty, Vietnam, and the 1968 Poor People's March on Washington

Thomas Jackson, "Power to Poor People: Civil, Political and Economic Rights in the Poor People's March, 1967-68," Paper presented to New York University International Center for Advanced Studies, November 1999. **Ereserves FOR HIS340-#22 LOG**

Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Time to Break Silence," from *A Testament of Hope*, James Washington, ed. (NY: Harper and Row, 1986), pp. 230-244.

Recommended:

McKnight, Gerald D. "The 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike and the FBI: A Case Study in Urban Surveillance." In *We Shall Overcome*, edited by David J. Garrow, 637-56. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1989. Originally published in: *South Atlantic Quarterly* 83 (Spring 1984): 138-156. (Jackson Library stacks).

Fairclough, Adam. *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987, last 2 chapters.

4/23: Labor and Civil Rights: Memphis Sanitation Workers and Charleston Hospital Workers

Fink, Leon. "A Labor Crusade Behind the Magnolia Curtain: Hospital Workers and the Politics of Race and Class." In *In Search of the Working Class*, 51-85. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Honey, Michael. *Black Workers Remember: An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, Ch 7, 286-321.

Recommended:

Estes, Steve. "I AM A MAN!" RACE, MASCULINITY, AND THE 1968 MEMPHIS SANITATION STRIKE. *Labor History* [Great Britain] 2000 41(2): 153-170. Use Journal Finder to go to Business Search Elite (or Academic Search Elite – that's EBSCOHOST) and search "estes and masculinity and memphis" and you'll be able to print it out.

4/25: School Desegregation: Greensboro

Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, 203-57.

Recommended:

NB: This is a preliminary list of material. They all come from a search in America History and Life: "school and desegregation." So I invite you to explore and propose other articles that catch your attention.

McGrath, Susan M. FROM TOKENISM TO COMMUNITY CONTROL: POLITICAL SYMBOLISM IN THE DESEGREGATION OF ATLANTA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1961-1973. *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 1995 79(4): 842-872.

Pratt, Robert A. A PROMISE UNFULFILLED: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1956-1986. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 1991 99(4): 415-448. Book Stacks: F221 .V91

Hornsby, Alton, Jr. BLACK PUBLIC EDUCATION IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1954-1973: FROM SEGREGATION TO SEGREGATION. *Journal of Negro History* 1991 76(1-4): 21-47. JSTOR

4/30: School Desegregation: Hyde County

Cecelski, David S. *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina and the Fate of Black Schools in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. 7-82.

Recommended:

Dougherty, Jack. "From Anecdote to Analysis: Oral Interviews and New Scholarship in Educational History." *Journal of American History* 86, no. 2 (1999): 712-23.

Available through America History and Life link to History Cooperative.

DiBona, Joseph. THE RESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS IN SMALL TOWNS AND RURAL AREAS OF NORTH CAROLINA. *Journal of Negro Education* 1988 57(1): 43-50. JSTOR

5/2: School Desegregation: Hyde County

Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road*, 83-174.

Recommended:

Ronald P. Formisano, *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1991), pp. 1-21, 172-202. **Reserves for HIS340.**

Orfield, Gary. "Race and the Liberal Agenda: The Loss of the Integrationist Dream, 1965-1974." In *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, edited by Weir, 313-55.

Research Methods and Resources:

I introduce you here to the profusion of local primary materials on the Movement and on national civil rights politics. I teach a 511A research seminar each Fall on these issues, so it is my earnest hope that a number of you will sign up for a full-scale research seminar on the topic.

Oral History Published Collections (On reserve for this course unless otherwise noted):

Cluster, Dick. *They Should Have Served That Cup of Coffee*. Boston: South End Press, 1979.

Greenberg, Cheryl Lynn, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (U.S.), eds. *A Circle of Trust : Remembering Sncc*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998.

Hampton, Henry, Steve Fayer, and Sarah Flynn. *Voices of Freedom : An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s*. New York: Bantam Books, 1991.

Companion to the documentary film series -- short excerpts on the events covered by the film, but rich and vivid.

Raines, Howell. *My Soul Is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977.

Activists in SNCC and SCLC and local people -- focuses on "main events" as seen in 1977.

Warren, Robert Penn. *Who Speaks for the Negro?* New York: Random House, 1965.

Long, reflective interviews in 1964 with a range of leaders and activists by the Southern liberal novelist and poet.

Published Collections of Primary Source Documents from the Civil Rights Movement (On 3-day Reserve for this course in Jackson Library unless otherwise noted).

Blaustein, Albert P., and Robert L. Zangrando. *Civil Rights and the American Negro; a Documentary History*. New York: Trident Press, 1968.

Bracey, John H., August Meier, and Elliott M. Rudwick. *Black Nationalism in America* American Heritage Series: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.

Broderick, Francis L., and August Meier. *Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966.

Carson, Clayborne, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (U.S.), Martin Luther King Jr. Papers Project., Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change., and Stanford University. *The Student Voice, 1960-1965 : Periodical of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*. Westport, CT: Meckler, 1990.

In the stacks. Library use only.

Carson, Clayborne. *The Eyes on the Prize : Civil Rights Reader : Documents, Speeches, and Firsthand Accounts from the Black Freedom Struggle, 1954-1990*. New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Penguin Books, 1991.

Lawson, Steven F., and Charles Payne. *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968* Debating 20th Century America. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

Levy, Peter B. *Documentary History of the Modern Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Meacham, Jon. *Voices in Our Blood: America's Best on the Civil Rights Movement*. 1st ed. New York: Random House, 2001.

Meier, August, Elliott M. Rudwick, and Francis L. Broderick. *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan Pub. Co., 1985.

Friedman, Leon. *The Civil Rights Reader; Basic Documents of the Civil Rights Movement*. Walker, 1967.

Searching for sources in the library catalogue:

Library of Congress subject headings of use to you:

Afro-Americans -- Civil rights--Bibliography

Afro-Americans--Civil rights--History--Sources.

Civil rights movements (broken down by state)

Civil rights workers (by state)

For Organizations, subject searching: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (U.S.)--
History--Sources.

Title search: **Black studies research sources** to pull up 16 microfilm (MCA) collections.

Title search: **Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement** for the David Garrow edited collection of primary and secondary sources on King and the movement reviewed by Lawson (see recommended 1/31. Some titles will have to be ordered via Interlibrary Loan.

History Microform Sets in Jackson Library

At considerable expense and at the request of your new professor, Jackson Library has recently supplemented its already impressive microfilm holdings on the black freedom movement. Before I came (thanks to my predecessors Steve Lawson and John D'Emilio) we already owned the **SNCC Papers, CORE Papers, Fannie Lou Hamer Papers**, some of the **NAACP Papers, Johnson Library civil rights papers, Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph Papers**. We now own the **CORE "Addendum"** (not yet arrived) covering the 1960s, the **Martin Luther King FBI files** (including the all-important verbatim transcripts of telephone surveillance between King and Stanley Levison), the **Kennedy Administration's civil rights papers**, the **Johnson Library's War on Poverty files** (not yet arrived), and the **Paul Robeson collection!** Run, don't walk, to the library and to the finding aids associated with these collections to get a sense of the profusion of sources on this movement. If you cannot find sources at UNCG, know that the *Duke and UNC Chapel Hill libraries have collaborated to purchase every microfilm collection on this movement known to man and woman* (including ALL the NAACP and SCLC papers), making the North Carolina Piedmont without doubt the best place on the planet to study this movement! Aren't we lucky?

(This is a partial guide – see also the movement journals on microfilm: *Freedomways* and *Southern Patriot*, edited by white integrationist radicals Anne and Carl Braden).

The microform sets appear: <http://library.uncg.edu/depts/ref/bibs/micrhis.html>

Look under **African American** and **History**, but here is a nearly complete list.

Film 4437 *The Bayard Rustin Papers*. 23 reels. Reel Guide: Docs E185 .R90 A3.

Film 4488 *Centers of the Southern Struggle: FBI Files on Selma, Memphis, Montgomery, Albany, and St. Augustine*. 21 reels. Reel Guide: Docs E185.61 C440 1988.

Film 3832 *Civil Rights During the Johnson Administration: A Collection from the Holdings of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library*. Reel Guide: Docs E185.615 .G840.

Film 5095 *Civil Rights During the Kennedy Administration*. 47 reels. Reel Guide: Docs E185.615 .C58450

Film 4494 *Congress of Racial Equality Papers, 1959-1976*. Part 2; Part 3 Series A, B, and C. 80 reels. Reel Guide: Docs E185.61 .C75470. (Awaiting CORE Addendum, more comprehensive for the 1960s)

Film 5091 *The Martin Luther King, Jr. FBI File*. 16 reels. Reel Guide: Docs E185.97 .K5 M3350
Part 2: *King-Levison File* (verbatim transcripts) are now in Gov. Docs.
Film 4489 *Papers of A. Philip Randolph*. 35 reels. Reel Guide: E185.97 .R27 A3 1990.
[Research on Randolph should be supplemented by looking at Brotherhood of Sleeping Car
Porters at UNC-CH)
Film 3833 *Papers of the NAACP*. [selected from hundreds of reels – all are at Duke]: 28 reels.
Reel Guide: Docs E185.61 .N23 1982.
Film 4991 *The Papers of W.E.B. Du Bois, 1803 (1877-1963) 1965*. 89 reels. Reel guide: Docs
E185.97.D73 M3901986.
Film 4613 *Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992*. 22 reels.
Reel Guide: Docs E185.86.R370.
Film 4941 *The Southern Regional Council Papers, 1944-1968*. 225 reels. Reel guide: Docs
E185.5.S730 1984.
Film 4992 *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers, 1959-1972*. 73 reels. Reel Guide:
Docs E185.61.S91550 1982b.
Film 4938 *The Tuskegee Institute News Clippings File*. 252 reels. Reel guide at the beginning of
reel 1.

Duke University and University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill:

Duke's John Hope Franklin Research Center has many newspaper and
microfilm collections not found in Jackson Library. See
<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/franklin/FCGuide.html>

Microfilm Resources:

Records of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925-1969. M6748.
Papers of the NAACP. [Complete} M5100s.
Records of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1954-1970. M7190.

Oral History Collections:

*Behind the Veil: Documenting African American Life in the Jim Crow South,
1993-1995*. 3000 items.
William Chafe Oral History Collection, 1970. ca. 127 items. Transcripts and tapes for Chafe's
book on Greensboro.
Duke University Oral History Project Papers, 1973-1978. ca. 600 items.
The approximately 600 audiotapes and transcripts comprising the collection
contain interviews relating to the civil rights movement in North Carolina during the
1950s and 1960s. The freedom struggles in Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina
are especially well documented.

Chapel Hill Library:

Manuscript Collections:

The Southern Historical Collection. <http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv.html>

Microfilm Collections:

Cointelpro and Malcolm X: FBI Surveillance File
President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights
AFL-CIO Convention records, 1885-1974

Bound collections:

The Black women oral history project 10 volumes/ edited by Ruth Edmonds Hill. (Westport, CT :
Meckler, c1991-)

Documentary Film:
EYES ON THE PRIZE EPISODES
Available at the Center for Teaching and Learning, McNutt Bldg.
[My favorites are highlighted].

Eyes on the Prize I

Awakenings (1954-56). The Emmett Till case and the **Montgomery bus boycott.**
Fighting Back (1957-62). School desegregation, from *Brown v. Board* to Ole' Miss.
Ain't Scared of Your Jails (1960-1961). Student sit-ins and freedom rides.
No Easy Walk (1962-63). Albany, Birmingham and the March on Washington.
Mississippi: Is this America? (1962-1964). Voter registration, the MFDP.
Bridge to Freedom (1965). Selma and the Voting Rights Act.

Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads, 1965-1985

The Time Has Come (1964-1966). Malcolm X and Black Power.
Two Societies (1965-1968). Chicago Freedom Movement and Detroit Rebellion.
Power! (1966-1968). Carl Stokes wins Cleveland Mayoral election; Black Panthers organize in Oakland; Ocean-Hill Brownsville Brooklyn school district fight over "community control." (too many issues make this one lacking in depth, I think).
The Promised Land (1967-1968) King's antiwar stand and crusade for economic justice in the Poor People's March on Washington.
Ain't Gonna Shuffle No More (1964-1972) Muhammad Ali and the Gary Convention.
A Nation of Law? (1968-1971). Repression of the Panthers and the Attica Prison riot.
Keys to the Kingdom (1974-1980). Busing in Boston; Affirmative Action in Atlanta.
Back to the Movement (1979-mid-1980's). Miami revolt; election of Harold Washington in Chicago