

Professor Thomas Jackson
Office: MHRA 2141
Office phone: 334-4040
Office Hours: W, 3-4, Th, 1-2, and by appt.
tjackson@uncg.edu

Spring 2012
MHRA 3209
T, 6:30-9:20

HIS 724 - Selected Topics in 20th Century US History:
"The Long Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacies, 1880-1990"

This course will explore some of the best new scholarship on the sources, achievements, and unfinished agendas of the modern African American freedom movement. After grounding ourselves in a theoretical and historical and comparative understanding of white supremacy and corresponding African American oppositional cultures and movements, we will consider a series of case studies from different periods and places.

We will view the movement from local, national, and international vantage points, examining the impact of American nationalism and international pressures on civil rights organizing and reform. In particular, we will examine the leadership and emergent issues of women as well as men – “in struggle,” in their workplaces, communities, streets, schools, prisons, and local welfare offices. We will be centrally concerned with how African Americans negotiated intraracial class tensions and alliances, even as we take the pulse of progressive interracial movements such as the labor movement of the 1940s and student movement of the 1960s.

We will begin by exploring the deep sources of black politics and protest traditions in communities going back to Reconstruction. We will examine how a century of social change looks through the lens of municipal power in Atlanta, Georgia. As we move forward, we will grapple with a major paradox in this burgeoning historical literature. On the one hand, we speak of a continuous and long civil rights movement that won allies and achieved important gains well before the signal achievements of the so called “classical phase” beginning with the *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* decision of 1954. On the other hand, we still regard the 1950s-1970s as a period of monumental change, developing qualitatively new forms of political action, a period when black protest spurred a broader “rights revolution” encompassing not only Blacks, but Latinos, women, immigrants, and the disabled, to name only a few.

We will give some attention to the international context of repression, mobilization and political reform between the 1940s and the 1960s. We will examine issues of violence and nonviolence, civil rights and economic justice in the period of most intense protest and organization between 1960 and 1972. We will explore the roots and achievements of the Black Power movement and its relation to concurrent and preceding civil rights politics. At that point we will consider the major policy concessions of the 1960s—the Civil and Voting Rights Acts and the War on Poverty—examining in a variety of communities how federal power and resources supported, channeled, or suppressed Black political organization.

We will examine the reaction of whites in one city, Boston, to the civil rights revolution and revolution in jurisprudence that accompanied it. We will end by evaluating what changed and what did not since the 1970s, and with some reflections on prisoners’ rights movements and local environmental justice movements.

Student Learning Outcomes:

By semester's end you should be able to:

1) Identify and evaluate the significance of a range of leaders, organizations, events, issues, strategies, achievements, and unfulfilled agendas in the African American "long civil rights movement" between the

1880s and the 1980s. “Black freedom movement” is a comparable but not identical term. The emphasis will be from World War II through the 1970s.

2) Assess contrasting arguments and historical interpretations in terms of evidence presented by a range of scholars. Demonstrate through writing and speaking your ability to compare scholarship as well as compare strategies of social change in various historical contexts.

3) Discuss and give examples of the dynamic interplay of international, national, and local power and ideology, as African Americans broke through barriers to citizenship (or alternatively, how they coped with setbacks, white resistance, and changing socioeconomic conditions and power relations limiting their freedom).

4) Discuss and give examples of how leaders, organizations, and local activists have understood and acted upon related issues of civil rights and economic justice, education, jobs, physical violence, public welfare, voting, public and private economic power.

5) Demonstrate concretely your understanding of how race, class, and gender have structured freedom movements and the social, cultural, economic and political contexts that shaped and constrained these movements. Discuss what issues and strategies and leadership roles women pursued in the racial struggle and in coalition.

Required Readings:

A reader with the best article length literature reviews and local studies will be available soon at *only* at Copy King, 611 W. Lee St., Greensboro, ph. 333-9900 (CALL THEM FIRST)

Klinkner, Philip A., and Rogers M. Smith. *The Unsteady March : The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Bayor, Ronald H. *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Jackson, Thomas F. *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Orleck, Annelise, and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian. *The War on Poverty: A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Murch, Donna Jean. *Living for the City: Migration, Education, and the Rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Formisano, Ronald P. *Boston against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

And a community study of your choosing OR Holsaert, Faith S., Constance Curry, and Joan Trumpauer Mulholland. *Hands on the Freedom Plow : Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Preparation as Reflected in Class Participation. 30%. So much of functioning well as a historian is a conversational ability to capture the gist of an argument, be fair yet critical, and to recognize ongoing conversations in the field. Much time and work can be saved if you make this a group process. So let's

stay on-topic, stay high-minded, limit tangential anecdotes, avoid going negative on a piece of scholarship until we have a fair appreciation of an author's efforts and contributions. This is a colloquium, a collaborative enterprise. You get one unexcused absence.

The extra reading that you do for your historiographical essays I expect you to share with the group. This is an informal requirement, but a real one. Please volunteer insights when you see that they would most appropriately add a dimension to discussion.

Weekly Scholarly Reflection Pieces on Blackboard Discussion Board, with Post-Discussion Commentary. 30%. Reflections pieces should be about 300 words and posted on Blackboard by midnight before each day of class. (Follow up commentary can come before or after class.) These reflection pieces will enrich our discussion by asking that you arrive at class having digested and thought upon the material. 1) Briefly *state* a question or interpretive problem that the author(s) under review address or share, and their position(s). You can do this before you finish the book or articles. Common sense hints: to identify authors' arguments, survey *first* the Introductions, Conclusions, Epilogues, historiographical footnotes, or summary sections that you find embedded in chapters. 2) *Respond* with critical commentary that appreciates or critiques argument, evidence, and method. Please don't just summarize in detail. Neither should you select a small piece of the readings, especially if there are several case studies involved. Make analytical or comparative points, and always illustrate with a concrete example and page citation. 3) Later, in no more than 100 words, respond to a colleague's comment, or follow up on something that the class did not adequately address after the class.

“Teachable Moment” Blogs 10%. Six times throughout the semester on a separate forum in Blackboard for that week, identify a concrete episode, quote, or development, and explain how you would use it in a classroom to illustrate an important generalization about social movements, how they develop, change course, win victories, suffer losses, or imagine alternative possibilities. These examples must be concrete and relevant to the generalization you offer, and reference identifiable people to undergraduates. And they have to be very brief, because you can only spend about 10 minutes with undergrads on any one point.

Book Review, due March 30, 10%. 5-6 pp. Write a concise, critical review of a book of your selection for that week, either a community study or the oral history collection, *Hands on the Freedom Plow*. If you do a community study, try to answer several of the questions posed under that week that reflect upon the course's main themes of continuity and discontinuity, local and national power.

Historiographical Essay. 20%. Due April 27. Write a 10-12 page essay that survey common issues and compare authorial methods and conclusions across several scholarly studies. Always address issues of how evidence supports interpretation. Each essay will grapple in a formal way with assigned readings and several related scholarly articles and at least one book. Book reviews and broad historiographical reviews, such as those assigned for the first class can be helpful. But since these reviews do not reflect primary research, you should not lean on them for *substantive* analysis. Use them only to help you structure the big picture and formulate questions about monographs and articles you are evaluating. If you echo a reviewer's point, you must cite it.

What do I mean by “coherent historiographical essays”? Basically you want to set up a limited number of related issues and pose central questions in the first paragraph. These should be questions that you find compelling, and will be common questions addressed by different authors in different ways. What you want to avoid at all costs is a *seriatim* summary of each reading, one after the other, without unifying themes and questions. Hint: If you don't see good transitions between your paragraphs, you know you've got a problem with development and coherence.

Check Blackboard for updated supplementary reading lists and suggestions for historiographical essays. I will place citations and, when possible, .pdf documents under each week by topic. Use historiographical surveys to pinpoint works that address common questions in complementary or contrary ways.

Grading Scale: A+: 98-100; A: 93-97; A-: 90-92; B+: 87-89; B: 83-86; B-: 80-82; C+: 77-79; C: 73-76; C-: 70-72; D+: 67-69; D: 63-66; D-: 60-62; F: 59 and lower.

Schedule of Meetings and Assignments

1/10: Introductions and Discussion of Historiographical Frameworks and Questions

Readings for this first week are all on blackboard, not the reader. All readings after today are in the Reader. I expect by week 4 that you will have read the first 3 of these articles and taken possession of the framework of questions the class will start to develop the first day.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past." *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005), 1235-1263 (28)

Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, and Clarence Lang, "The "Long Movement" As Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies," *Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (2007): 265-88. (23)

Nasstrom, Kathryn. "Beginnings and Endings: Life Stories and the Periodization of the Civil Rights Movement." *Journal of American History* 86, no. sept (1999): 700-11.

Payne, Charles. "Debating the Civil Rights Movement: The View from the Trenches." In *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968*, edited by Steven F. Lawson and Charles Payne, 99-136. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998. (36)

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, 3-42. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998. (39)

1/17: Jim Crow Contested: The Politics of Race and Class

Klinkner and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, pp. 1-125 (skim early parts and grapple with Reconstruction forward)

Letwin, Daniel. "Interracial Unionism, Gender, and 'Social Equality' in the Alabama Coalfields, 1878-1908." *Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 3 (1995): 519-54.

Honey, Michael. "Class, Race, and Power in the New South : Racial Violence and the Delusions of White Supremacy." In *Democracy Betrayed : The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy*, edited by David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson. 162-84. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Gavins, Raymond. "Fear, Hope, and Struggle : Recasting Black North Carolina in the Age of Jim Crow." In *Democracy Betrayed : The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy*, edited by David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson. 185-206. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Brian Kelly, "Beyond the 'Talented Tenth': Black Elites, Black Workers, and the Limits of Accommodation in Industrial Birmingham, 1900-1921," in *Time Longer Than Rope: A Century of African-American Activism, 1850-1950*, eds. Charles M. Payne and Adam Green (New York, 2003), pp. 276-301.

Ortiz, Paul. "Eat Your Bread without Butter, but Pay Your Poll Tax!" Roots of the African-American Voter Registration Movement in Florida, 1919-1920." In *Time Longer Than Rope: A Century of African-American Activism, 1850-1950*, edited by Charles M. Payne and Adam Green, 196-229. New York: New York University Press, 2003.

Woodruff, Nan Elizabeth. "African-American Struggles for Citizenship in the Arkansas and Mississippi Deltas in the Age of Jim Crow." *Radical History Review* 55, no. Winter (1993): 33-51.

Recommended:

Arnesen, Eric. "Up from Exclusion: Black and White Workers, Race, and the State of Labor History." *Reviews in American History* 26, no. 1, Special Issue: The Challenge of American History (1998): 146-74.

1/24: Intra-racial Coalitions and Black Mobilization in Depression and War

Klinkner and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, pp. 125-201 75

Robin D.G. Kelley, "A New War in Dixie," *Labor History* 30, no. 3 (1989): 367-84. 17

Hine, Darlene Clark. "The Housewives' League of Detroit: Black Women and Economic Nationalism." In *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, edited by Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock, 223-41. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. 18

Greta de Jong, "With the Aid of God and the F.S.A.: The Louisiana Farmers Union and the African American Freedom Struggle in the New Deal Era," in *Time Longer Than Rope: A Century of African-American Activism, 1850-1950*, eds. Charles M. Payne and Adam Green (New York, 2003), pp. 230-75. 45

Beth Tompkins Bates, "A New Crowd Challenges the Agenda of the Old Guard in the NAACP, 1933-1941" *American Historical Review*, 102, no. 2 (Apr., 1997): 340-77. 37

Robert Korstad, and Nelson Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 3 (December 1988) (1988): 786-811. 25

Michael Honey, "The Power of Remembering: Black Factory Workers and Union Organizing in the Jim Crow Era," in *Time Longer Than Rope: A Century of African-American Activism, 1850-1950*, eds. Charles M. Payne and Adam Green (New York, 2003), pp. 302-35. (33)

Recommended:

Beth T. Bates, "'Double V for Victory' Mobilizes Black Detroit, 1941-1946," in *Freedom North*, eds. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard (New York, 2003), pp. 17-39.

Tyson, Timothy B. "Wars for Democracy: African American Militancy and Interracial Violence in North Carolina During World War II." In *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy*, edited by David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson. 253-75. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

1/31: International Human Rights and Domestic Civil Rights

Klinkler and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, 202-241.

Kevin Gaines, "A World to Win: The International Dimension of the Black Freedom Movement," *OAH Magazine of History* October 2006 (2006): 14-18. (4)

Carol Anderson, "A Hollow Mockery": African Americans, White Supremacy, and the Development of Human Rights in the United States," in *Bringing Human Rights Home: A History of Human Rights in the United States*, eds. Cynthia Soohoo, et al. (Philadelphia, 2007, 2009), pp. 68-99. (31)

Manfred Berg, "Black Civil Rights and Liberal Anticommunism: The NAACP in the Early Cold War," *Journal of American History* 94, no. 1 (June 2007): 75-96. (21)

Borstelmann, Thomas. "'Hedging Our Bets and Buying Time': John Kennedy and Racial Revolutions in the American South and Southern Africa." *DIPLOMATIC HISTORY* 24, no. 3 (2000): 435-63.

Recommended:

Borstelmann, Thomas. *The Cold War and the Color Line : American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Marable, Manning. *Race, Reform and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990*. 2nd ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991, ch. 2, "The Cold War in Black America, pp. 13-32. Attack on the NAACP's anticommunism; contrast with Berg.

Carol Anderson, "From Hope to Disillusion: African Americans, the United Nations, and the Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1947," *Diplomatic history* 20, no. 4 (1996): 531-63. [and critical commentary of Gerald Horne and Penny Von Eschen attacking the "cold war civil rights" thesis]

2/7: Black Freedom and Urban Power

Bayor, Ronald H. *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta*, The Fred W Morrison Series in Southern Studies. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996, pp. 1-220.

Revisit the long civil rights historiographical debate if you did not get to read it all.

Recommended:

Hirsch, Arnold R. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Kusmer, Kenneth L., and Joe William Trotter. *African American Urban History since World War II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Katz, Michael B., and Social Science Research Council (U.S.). Committee for Research on the Urban Underclass. *The "Underclass" Debate : Views from History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Sugrue, Thomas J. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis : Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

2/14: From Brown to Bakke: School Desegregation and Quality Schooling

Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta*, pp. 221-260.

Matthew D. Lassiter, "De Jure/De Facto Segregation: The Long Shadow of a National Myth," in *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, eds. Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino (Oxford ; New York, 2010), pp. 25-48. (23)

K'Meyer, Tracy E. "Building Interracial Democracy: The Civil Rights Movement in Louisville, Kentucky, 1945-1956." In *Time Longer Than Rope: A Century of African-American Activism, 1850-1950*, edited by Charles M. Payne and Adam Green, 411-39. New York: New York University Press, 2003. (29)

Lewis, Johanna Miller. "Implementing Brown in Arkansas." In *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown V. Board of Education*, edited by Brian J. Daugherty and Charles C. Bolton, 1-19. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2008. (19)

McElreath, J. Michael. "The Cost of Opportunity : School Desegregation's Complicated Calculus in North Carolina." In *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown V. Board of Education*, edited by Brian J. Daugherty and Charles C. Bolton, 21-40. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2008.

Burton, Vernon, and Lewie Reece. "The Palmetto Revolution : School Desegregation in South Carolina." In *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown V. Board of Education*, edited by Brian J. Daugherty and Charles C. Bolton, 59-91. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2008. (32)

Daugherty, Brian J. "'Keep on Keeping On' : African Americans and the Implementation of Brown V. Board of Education in Virginia." In *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown V. Board of Education*, edited by Brian J. Daugherty and Charles C. Bolton, 41-57. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2008. (17)

Bolton, Charles C. "The Last Holdout : Mississippi and the Brown Decision." In *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown V. Board of Education*, edited by Brian J. Daugherty and Charles C. Bolton, 123-38. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2008. (15)

Theoharis, Jeanne. "'They Told Us Our Kids Were Stupid': Ruth Batson and the Educational Movement in Boston." In *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America*, edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, 17-44. New York: New York University Press, 2005. (27)

Back, Adina. "'Parent Power': Evelina Lopez Antonetty, the United Bronx Parents, and the War on Poverty." In *The War on Poverty : A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980*, edited by Annelise Orleck and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian, 184-208. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. (24)

Recommended:

James Cobb, "Down on *Brown*: Revisionist Critics and the History That Might Have Been," in *The Brown Decision, Jim Crow, and Southern Identity*, ed. James C. Cobb (Athens, 2005), pp. 31-55.

Michael J. Klarman, "How Brown Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 1 (1994): 81-118.

2/21: Martin Luther King, Economic Justice, and the Power of Nonviolence

Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia, 2007), intro, chs. 1-5. 1-154.

Hogan, Wesley. "Freedom Now: Nonviolence in the Southern Freedom Movement." In *Civil Rights History from the Ground Up : Local Struggles, a National Movement*, edited by Emilye Crosby, 172-93. (21) Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Tyson, Timothy B. "'Robert F Williams, 'Black Power,' and the Roots of the African American Freedom Struggle'." *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 2 (1998): 540-70.

Klinkler and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, ch. 8.

2/28: Black Revolution: New Directions in Activism and Scholarship

Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights*, 6-8.

Levy, Peter. "Gloria Richardson and the Civil Rights Movement in Cambridge, Maryland." In *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America*, edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, 97-115. New York: New York University Press, 2005.

Jones, William P. "The Unknown Origins of the March on Washington: Civil Rights Politics and the Black Working Class." *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, 7, no. 3 (2010): 33-52.

Crosby, Emilye. "'It Wasn't the Wild West': Keeping Local Studies in Self-Defense Historiography." In *Civil Rights History from the Ground Up : Local Struggles, a National Movement*, edited by Emilye Crosby, 194-255. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Kwame Hassan Jeffries, "Organizing for More Than the Vote: The Political Radicalization of Local People in Lowndes County, Alabama, 1965-1966," in *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America*, eds. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard (New York, 2005), pp. 140-63.

Recommended:

Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote : The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York, 2000), p. xxiv, 467.ch 8 breaking barriers, 256-315 – second reconstruction, poll tax amendment, literacy tests abolished, politics of implementation of VR Act, reapportionment, dilution (individualism), felons and motor voter.

Douglas Smith, "Into the Political Thicket: Reapportionment and the Rise of Suburban Power," in *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, eds. Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino (Oxford ; New York, 2010), pp. 263-85.

Sugrue, Thomas J. *Sweet Land of Liberty : The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North*. 1st ed. New York: Random House, 2008, ch. 9, "Fires of Frustration and Discord."

Spring break

3/13: The Power of Place: Community and Social Change

A community study of your choosing or an analysis of *Hands on the Freedom Plow*. STUDENT REPORTS AND BOOK REVIEW DUE.

Moye, J. Todd. "Focusing Our Eyes on the Prize: How Community Studies Are Reframing and Rewriting the History of the Civil Rights Movement." In *Civil Rights History from the Ground Up : Local Struggles, a National Movement*, edited by Emilye Crosby, 147-71. (24) Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2011

Students will select from among the many local studies listed in on blackboard. Write a book review, touching on several of the following questions:

1. What institutions, leadership, and traditions of opposition to white supremacy existed before the "classical period" of "civil rights" mobilization (1955-1968) that help explain the change that did (or did not) occur?
2. How revolutionary and in what ways were the 1960s and 1970s "movements" to this place? Does its story conform or not conform to the traditional civil rights narrative? What really changed?
3. How did national and international developments inspire local mobilization and how consequential were national institutions in accelerating and directing change? In other words, was national reform consequential?
4. What role did women play, and were there "gendered" issues?

5. What kinds of divisions, especially of class, did these black communities have, and did they develop effective cross-class coalitions? Who were the significant class bridgers?
6. What principal strategies did the local movement employ in making the most significant breakthroughs? Does this place provide insights into the interplay of nonviolence and violence or self-defense, into
7. Social Learning: Can you see people evolving in the context of political opposition and social organizing, changing strategies and *issues* as they experience either breakthrough or repression?

3/19: Lecture/Presentation by authors of *Hands on the Freedom Plow* 4 pm Virginia Dare Room Alumni House

3/20: War on Poverty

Jackson, *From Civil Rights To Human Rights*, chs. 9-11.

Orleck, Annelise, and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian. *The War on Poverty : A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. Selections: Intro, McKee, Williams, Phelps, Green, Greene, Germany, de Jong, Jordon, Ashmore.

Recommended:

Thomas F. Jackson, "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*, ed. Michael B. Katz (Princeton, 1993), pp. 403-39.

3/27: Black Power

Joseph, Peniel. "The Black Power Movement: A State of the Field." *Journal of American History* (December 2009 2009): 751-76.

Murch, Donna Jean. *Living for the City : Migration, Education, and the Rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Recommended:

Robert W. Widell, Jr. "'The Power Belongs to Us and We Belong to the Revolutionary Age': The Alabama Black Liberation Front and the Long Reach of the Black Panther Party." In *Liberated Territory : Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party*, edited by Yohuru R. Williams and Jama Lazerow. 136-80. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Rahman, Ahmad A. "Marching Blind: The Rise and Fall of the Black Panther Party in Detroit." In *Liberated Territory : Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party*, edited by Yohuru R. Williams and Jama Lazerow. 181-231. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

4/3: Ramifying Liberations: Black Power, Brown Power, Red Power, and Coalitions at the Bottom

Jackson, *From Civil Rights To Human Rights*, ch. 12.

Orleck, Annelise, and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian. *The War on Poverty : A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. Selections: Rodriguez, Bauman, Clayton, Kiffmeyer, Cobb, Tani

Jeffrey Ogbar, "Rainbow Radicalism: The Rise of the Radical Ethnic Nationalism," in *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era*, ed. Peniel Joseph (New York, 2006), pp. 193-228.

Fernandez, Johanna. "Between Social Service Reform and Revolutionary Politics: The Young Lords, Late Sixties Radicalism, and Community Organizing in New York City." In *Freedom North*, edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, 255-85. New York: Palgrave, 2003.

4/10: Ethnic Identities and Reactionary Populism in the 1970s

Formisano, Ronald P. *Boston against Busing: Race, Class and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. Selected?

Thomas J. Sugrue, and John D. Skrentny, "The White Ethnic Strategy," in *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s*, eds. Bruce J. Schulman and Julian E. Zelizer (Cambridge, Mass, 2008), pp. 171-92.

4/17: Post Civil Rights? Environmental Racism and Prisoners' Rights

Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights*, epilogue.

Klinkler and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, 288-351.

Orleck, Annelise, and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian. *The War on Poverty : A New Grassroots History*, conclusion.

Thompson, Heather Ann. "Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and Transformation in Postwar American History." *Journal of American History* December (2010): 703-34.

Thompson, Heather Ann. "Black Activism Behind Bars: Toward a Rewriting of the Civil Rights Movement." *Journal of African American History* (forthcoming).

McGurty, Eileen Maura. "From Nimby to Civil Rights: The Origins of the Environmental Justice Movement." *Environmental History* 2, no. 7 (1997): 301-23

Dollie Burwell, "Sometimes the Road Gets Lonely," in Alexis, Jetter, et. al., *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997), 62-69.

Recommended:

George Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle*, ch. 7, "Lead Poisoning: Peace and Pain in the Struggle," pp. 174-185.

Sugrue, Thomas J. *Sweet Land of Liberty : The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North*. 1st ed. New York: Random House, 2008, pp. 493-543.

Heather Ann Thompson, "Blinded by a 'Barbaric' South: Prison Horrors, Inmate Abuse, and the Ironic History of American Penal Reform," in *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, eds. Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino (Oxford ; New York, 2010), pp. 74-95. 20 pp.