## **Civil Rights and Protest Literature**

### from Stride Toward Freedom **COMMON CORE**

RI 2 Determine two or more central ideas of a text and

how they interact and build on one another to provide a complex analysis. RI 5 Analyze

and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her argument, including

whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging. RI 6 Determine an author's point of view or purpose

in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing

how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or

beauty of the text.

1218

analyze their development over the course of the text, including Nonfiction by Martin Luther King Jr.

For a biography of Martin Luther King Jr., see page 1202.

## **Necessary to Protect Ourselves**

Interview with Malcolm X by Les Crane

### Meet the Author

### Malcolm X 1925-1965

In 1944, while Martin Luther King Jr. was attending college classes in Atlanta, 19-year-old Malcolm Little was hustling on the streets of Harlem. By 1952, a jailhouse conversion transformed Little into the political firebrand we know as Malcolm X, whose separatist views posed a serious challenge to King's integrationist vision.

**Bitter Legacy** Where King grew up comfortably middle-class, Little's childhood was scarred by poverty and racial violence. His outspoken father, Earl Little, was an early advocate of black separatism who was murdered by white supremacists. His mother, left alone to raise eight children in dire poverty, suffered a mental breakdown. Her children, including Malcolm, were sent to separate foster homes.

By the time he was sent to prison in 1946, Little had been brutally

> prospects in whitedominated society.

While reading in the prison library, he discovered the teachings of a small religious sect called the Nation of Islam, or the Black Muslims, who called white

people "a race of devils" and promoted a vision of black pride. They advocated a radical solution to the race problem: the establishment of a separate, self-reliant black nation.

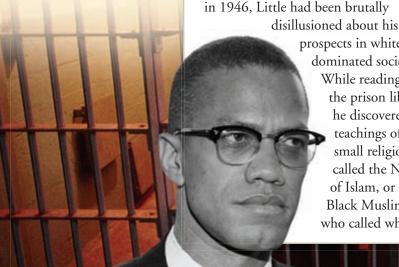
**Change of Heart** Inspired by the Black Muslim vision, Malcolm Little converted to Islam and changed his last name to X, symbolizing his lost African name. Once released from prison, he became an influential spokesman for the Nation of Islam and was named their first national minister. Over time, however, he became critical of the organization. In 1964, Malcolm X experienced a second spiritual conversion while making a pilgrimage to Mecca. The sight of Muslims of many races worshipping together caused him to renounce all forms of racial hatred. On his return home, Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam and formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity, dedicated to promoting unity among black people all over the world.

Marked Man This new direction angered many Black Muslims, including the young Louis Farrakhan, who labeled Malcolm X a traitor. In February 1965, as Malcolm X was speaking to a crowd of 400 in Harlem, he was gunned down by three assassins, two of whom were Black Muslims. THINK

### **Author Online**

Go to thinkcentral.com. KEYWORD: HML11-1218

central



### TEXT ANALYSIS: ANALYZE GENRES

The works you are about to read are two different types of writing, or genres. You will read part of an autobiography by Martin Luther King Jr., and an interview with Malcolm X. An autobiography is the story of a person's life written by that person. Autobiographies include important events from the person's life, as well as reflections on personal beliefs. An interview is a conversation conducted by a reporter in which responses are elicited from another person, recorded, then broadcast or published. In written format, interviews include questions by the reporter and answers by the person being interviewed. As you read, look for the distinguishing characteristics of each genre.

### READING SKILL: SYNTHESIZING SOURCES

When you compare two or more sources, it is important to **synthesize**, or to bring together, the main ideas and supporting details from each text. Follow these steps for synthesizing:

- Find the main idea in each work.
- Look for details that support the main ideas.
- Compare and contrast the information in the sources to find similarities and differences.
- Put it all together by recording your findings.

As you read, fill out a chart like the one below. Then, using your chart, synthesize the information and compare the two texts.

	Main Ideas	Supporting Details
King		
Malcolm X		

### **▲ VOCABULARY IN CONTEXT**

King and Malcolm X use the boldfaced words to express their opposing views. Restate each phrase, using a different word or words for the boldfaced term.

- 1. need to repudiate those who oppress us
- 2. by not speaking out, tacitly accepting bad situations
- 3. cannot succumb to defeatist attitudes
- 4. realize that prejudice is applied indiscriminately
- 5. success through a synthesis of ideas and approaches
- 6. rioting and anarchy in the streets

Complete the activities in your Reader/Writer Notebook.

# How do we fight INJUSTICE?

Most people would agree that it's important to stand up for your rights if you're being treated unfairly. However, there are many different opinions about the best way to fight back against injustice. In this lesson, Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X argue two very different perspectives on this issue. Traditionally they were on opposite sides of the debate about using violence as an appropriate political tool.

PRESENT What considerations do you think are important when choosing how to respond to injustice? Working in a small group, make a list of relevant concerns, such as obeying the law or achieving quick results. Then, rank them in order of importance. Share your opinions with the class.



# STRID FREEDOM

### Martin Luther King Jr.

**BACKGROUND** In the 1950s, the civil rights movement focused its efforts on overturning the so-called Jim Crow laws, the segregation laws that kept African Americans from equal participation in public life. In 1954, the Supreme Court issued its decision in the landmark case Brown v. Board of Education. In this decision, the court declared that "separate but equal" education, a central provision of segregationist policy, was inherently discriminatory. Buoyed by this win, civil rights activists began to challenge Jim Crow through other forms of peaceful protest, such as the year-long mass boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, beginning in 1955. In Stride Toward Freedom, published in 1958, a confident and optimistic King describes the philosophy behind the successful boycott.

### Analyze Visuals 🕨

What does this photo reveal about the risks of nonviolent protest?

Oppressed people deal with their oppression in three characteristic ways. One way is acquiescence: the oppressed resign themselves to their doom. They tacitly adjust themselves to oppression, and thereby become conditioned to it. In every movement toward freedom some of the oppressed prefer to remain oppressed. Almost 2,800 years ago Moses set out to lead the children of Israel from the slavery of Egypt to the freedom of the promised land. He soon discovered that slaves do not always welcome their deliverers. They become accustomed to being slaves. They would rather bear those ills they have, as Shakespeare pointed out, than flee to others that they know not of. They prefer the "fleshpots of Egypt"<sup>3</sup> 10 to the ordeals of emancipation.

tacitly (tăs'ĭt-lē) adj. silently

### **A** SYNTHESIZE RESOURCES

Reread lines 1–10. What does this paragraph tell you about the main idea?

- 1. promised land: the land of Canaan, promised by God in the Bible (Genesis 12:1-3, 7) to Abraham's descendants.
- 2. bear those ills ... know not of: an allusion to a line in Act 3, Scene 1, of Hamlet by William Shakespeare.
- 3. prefer the "fleshpots of Egypt": an allusion to a line in the book of Exodus in the Bible. As Moses was leading the Israelites out of Egypt, some of them grumbled and wished they had stayed there.

Civil rights protestors being sprayed with high-pressure hoses



There is such a thing as the freedom of exhaustion. Some people are so worn down by the yoke of oppression that they give up. A few years ago in the slum areas of Atlanta, a Negro guitarist used to sing almost daily: "Been down so long that down don't bother me." This is the type of negative freedom and resignation that often engulfs the life of the oppressed.

But this is not the way out. To accept passively an unjust system is to cooperate with that system; thereby the oppressed become as evil as the oppressor. Noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. The oppressed must never allow the conscience of the oppressor to slumber. 20 Religion reminds every man that he is his brother's keeper. <sup>4</sup> To accept injustice or segregation passively is to say to the oppressor that his actions are morally right. It is a way of allowing his conscience to fall asleep. At this moment the oppressed fails to be his brother's keeper. So acquiescence—while often the easier way—is not the moral way. It is the way of the coward. The Negro cannot win the respect of his oppressor by acquiescing; he merely increases the oppressor's arrogance and contempt. Acquiescence is interpreted as proof of the Negro's inferiority. The Negro cannot win the respect of the white people of the South or the peoples of the world if he is willing to sell the future of his children for his personal and immediate comfort and safety. **B** 

A second way that oppressed people sometimes deal with oppression is to 30 resort to physical violence and corroding hatred. Violence often brings about momentary results. Nations have frequently won their independence in battle. But in spite of temporary victories, violence never brings permanent peace. It solves no social problem; it merely creates new and more complicated ones.

Violence as a way of achieving racial justice is both impractical and immoral. It is impractical because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all. The old law of an eye for an eye<sup>5</sup> leaves everybody blind. It is immoral because it seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding; it seeks to annihilate rather than to convert. Violence is immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. It 40 leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue. Violence ends by defeating itself. It creates bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers. A voice echoes through time saying to every potential Peter, "Put up your sword." History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations that failed to follow this command.

If the American Negro and other victims of oppression succumb to the temptation of using violence in the struggle for freedom, future generations will be the recipients of a desolate night of bitterness, and our chief legacy to them will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos. Violence is not the way.

### Language Coach

**Word Definitions** Engulfs (line 15) means "flow over and swallow up" or "overwhelm." (Imagine water overflowing an island.) What does King say can overwhelm a person who is exhausted from oppression?

### SYNTHESIZE SOURCES

In lines 19-28, King states his position on how the oppressed should respond to oppression. What words and phrases reveal the specific historical example that has shaped King's thinking?

### **C** SYNTHESIZE SOURCES

What support does King provide for his statement that violent resistance is unprofitable?

succumb (sə-kŭm') v. to give in, especially to overpowering force or strength

<sup>4.</sup> his brother's keeper: In the book of Genesis, after Cain killed his brother Abel, he denied knowing Abel's whereabouts by asking, "Am I my brother's keeper?" In general, the saying refers to a reluctance to accept responsibility for others.

<sup>5.</sup> an eye for an eye: an allusion to Exodus 21:23-25: "You shall give life for life, eye for eye..."

<sup>6.</sup> Peter ... sword": When Jesus' disciple Peter drew his sword to try to protect Jesus, Jesus condemned his use of violence.

The third way open to oppressed people in their quest for freedom is the way of nonviolent resistance. Like the **synthesis** in Hegelian philosophy,<sup>7</sup> the principle of nonviolent resistance seeks to reconcile the truths of two opposites—acquiescence and violence—while avoiding the extremes and immoralities of both. The nonviolent resister agrees with the person who acquiesces that one should not be physically aggressive toward his opponent but he balances the equation by agreeing with the person of violence that evil must be resisted. He avoids the nonresistance of the former and the violent resistance of the latter. With nonviolent resistance, no individual or group need submit to any wrong, nor need anyone resort to violence in order to right a wrong.

It seems to me that this is the method that must guide the actions of the Negro in the present crisis in race relations. Through nonviolent resistance the Negro will 60 be able to rise to the noble height of opposing the unjust system while loving the perpetrators of the system. The Negro must work passionately and unrelentingly for full stature as a citizen, but he must not use inferior methods to gain it. He must never come to terms with falsehood, malice, hate, or destruction. •

Nonviolent resistance makes it possible for the Negro to remain in the South and struggle for his rights. The Negro's problem will not be solved by running away. He cannot listen to the glib suggestion of those who would urge him to migrate en masse to other sections of the country. By grasping his great opportunity in the South he can make a lasting contribution to the moral strength of the nation and set a sublime example of courage for generations yet unborn.

By nonviolent resistance, the Negro can also enlist all men of good will in his struggle for equality. The problem is not a purely racial one, with Negroes set against whites. In the end, it is not a struggle between people at all, but a tension between justice and injustice. Nonviolent resistance is not aimed against oppressors but against oppression. Under its banner consciences, not racial groups, are enlisted.

If the Negro is to achieve the goal of integration, he must organize himself into a militant and nonviolent mass movement. All three elements are indispensable. The movement for equality and justice can only be a success if it has both a mass and militant character; the barriers to be overcome require both. Nonviolence is an imperative in order to bring about ultimate community.

A mass movement of a militant quality that is not at the same time committed to nonviolence tends to generate conflict, which in turn breeds anarchy. The support of the participants and the sympathy of the uncommitted are both inhibited by the threat that bloodshed will engulf the community. This reaction in turn encourages the opposition to threaten and resort to force. When, however, the mass movement **repudiates** violence while moving resolutely toward its goal, its opponents are revealed as the instigators and practitioners of violence if it occurs. Then public support is magnetically attracted to the advocates of nonviolence, while those who employ violence are literally disarmed by overwhelming sentiment against their stand.

### ANALYZE GENRES

Reread lines 58–63. What characteristics help you understand that this is an autobiography?

### **E** SYNTHESIZE SOURCES

In lines 70–80, what does King say is the best way to confront racism? How does he support this view?

repudiate (rĭ-pyōō'dē-āt') v. to reject or renounce

**synthesis** (sĭn'thĭ-sĭs) *n*. the union of parts or elements into a whole

<sup>7.</sup> **Hegelian** (hā-gā'lē-ən) **philosophy:** the philosophy of Georg Hegel (1770–1831), which proposed that each situation has an opposite and that both extremes will eventually be reconciled.

# NECESSARY to PROTECT DURSELVES

Interview with Malcolm X by Les Crane

**BACKGROUND** Malcolm X gave the following TV interview in 1964, at a time when violence against civil rights workers had escalated. Shocking images of protestors being beaten, clubbed, and tear-gassed had become staples of daily news coverage. Across the South, white supremacists tried to squelch the growing movement with murder, rifle attacks, bombings, and arson, crimes that frequently went unpunished. As attacks increased, many African Americans grew impatient with King's nonviolent tactics, expressing anger that chilled white listeners.

Events came to a head in 1964, with the Freedom Summer in Mississippi. Thousands of idealistic college students joined local civil rights activists in a massive voter registration drive, and violence exploded. Three young civil rights workers were murdered by local Klansmen with the help of the police. Despite increased FBI presence in the state, by summer's end 4 workers were dead, 80 had been beaten, and scores of black churches and businesses had been torched or bombed.

Analyze Visuals ▶

Based on this photo, what impressions do you have of Malcolm X as a leader?

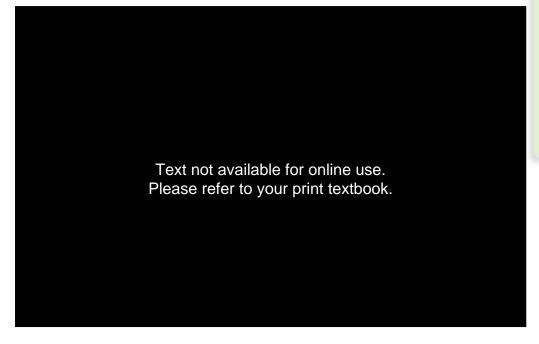
Text not available for online use. Please refer to your print textbook. ANALYZE GENRES What details tell you that this is an interview?

> Malcolm X at a Black Muslim rally





Nation of Islam members at a community event in Harlem



### Language Coach

Word Definitions Read lines 16-19. What is the difference between inability and unwillingness (line 17)? Refer to a dictionary if necessary. What would you think about a government that was unable to protect you? What about a government that was unwilling to do so?

### **G** SYNTHESIZE SOURCES

Usually in an interview, the reporter sets the agenda for the questions, and thus, determines the main ideas. Based on this comment from Crane, what is one of the main points in this interview?

indiscriminately (ĭn'dĭ-skrĭm'ə-nĭt-lē) *adv.* randomly

anarchy (ăn'ər- $k\bar{e}$ ) n. an absence of political authority

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COMMON CORE RI5, RI7

### **H** SYNTHESIZE SOURCES

Synthesizing sources from two different genres requires you to see past obvious differences—differences in format, intended audience, or layout and to focus closely on the ideas and arguments in the two texts. In lines 39-44, Malcolm X talks about the role of violence in the civil rights movement. Where does King discuss violence in the previous text? Find specific passages on violence that show how the two men disagree or agree. How does each author support his arguments?

### Comprehension

- 1. Recall What three ways of dealing with oppression does Martin Luther King Jr. identify?
- 2. Clarify In King's view, what three qualities must a movement have in order to achieve the goal of integration?
- 3. Summarize How does Malcolm X justify his criticisms of other civil rights leaders?

## **Text Analysis**

- 4. Identify Allusion Reread lines 47–50 of "Necessary to Protect Ourselves." Identify the historical event that Malcolm X is alluding to. What point does he make by invoking this event?
- **5. Synthesize Sources** Review the chart you created as you read both texts. What are the main differences between the two leaders? What beliefs, if any, do they have in common? Be specific in your answers.
- **6. Analyze Genres** Think about the two works you just read. How do these two genres allow people to express their opinions in similar and different ways?
  - 7. Analyze Structure The structure of King's argument follows the formal logic of Hegelian philosophy, in which two opposing ideas are merged into a unified concept, or synthesis. To analyze this structure, complete a diagram like the one shown. In

what way does the third response resolve the problems of the first two?

8. Make Judgments Many commentators criticized Martin Luther King Jr., for using radical and provocative tactics. In what ways might perceptions of King's philosophy have changed after Malcolm X gained public prominence?

# Response 1: Response 2: Problems Problems Response 3: Advantages

**Text Criticism** 

9. Biographical Context Reread the author biographies of King (page 1202) and Malcolm X (page 1218). What aspects of their personal histories may have influenced their different approaches to fighting racial injustice?

### How do we fight INJUSTICE?

Today, many people around the world are persecuted. If you could talk to one such person, what would you tell him or her? How would you advise this person to fight injustice?

### **COMMON CORE**

RI 2 Determine two or more central ideas of a text and analyze their development over the course of the text, including how they interact and build on one another to provide a complex analysis; provide an objective summary of the text. RI 5 Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging. RI 6 Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

### **Vocabulary in Context**

### VOCABULARY PRACTICE

Choose the letter of the phrase that defines or is related to the boldfaced word.

- 1. succumb: (a) a golfer practicing, (b) an army surrendering, (c) a teenager voting
- 2. synthesis: (a) a proposal combining several views, (b) a detailed analysis of a plan, (c) a group of protestors
- 3. anarchy: (a) an art auction, (b) an angry mob, (c) hereditary rule
- **4. indiscriminately:** (a) a decision based on evidence, (b) a choice made without thought, (c) unfair hiring practices
- 5. repudiate: (a) retype a report, (b) vote someone out of office, (c) renew a promise
- 6. tacitly: (a) agree by nodding, (b) disagree by shouting, (c) celebrate by singing

# **WORD LIST**

anarchy indiscriminately repudiate succumb synthesis tacitly

### **ACADEMIC VOCABULARY IN SPEAKING**

### complex economic establish ethnic evolve

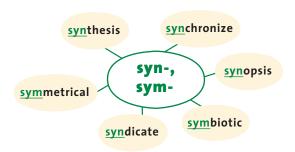
Imagine that Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X were discussing their respective beliefs about confronting racism. What do you think they would say to each other? In a small group, debate this complex issue by representing these two men's beliefs. Remember to keep the debate polite, focused, and in line with the beliefs of Malcolm X and King. Use at least three Academic Vocabulary words in your debate.

### **COMMON CORE**

L4b Identify and correctly use patterns of word changes that indicate different meanings or parts of speech. SL1b Work with peers to promote civil, democratic discussions. SL1c Ensure a hearing for a full range of positions on an issue.

### **VOCABULARY STRATEGY: THE GREEK PREFIX SYN-**

The **origin** of the prefix syn-, which appears at the beginning of the vocabulary word synthesis, is the Greek language. Synmeans "together" or "at the same time." This prefix, which may also be spelled sym- or syl-, is found in a number of English words, both scientific and nonscientific. To understand words with syn-, use your knowledge of the origin of the prefix, look for context clues, or consult a dictionary.



**PRACTICE** Choose the word from the word web that best completes each sentence. Use context clues to help you or, if necessary, check a dictionary.

- **1.** They were able to their watches and meet promptly at noon.
- **2.** Though the halves of people's faces aren't exactly , they are fairly close.
- **3.** Some animals have a relationship and depend on each other for survival.
- **4.** Groups or individuals in a \_\_\_ work together for some common interest.
- **5.** A can provide a quick overview of a story, play, or report.

