

Lesson Six: **Where Do We Go from Here? 1967–Present Day**

Handout B: Background Essay

Answers

1. Leaders reconsidered their goals and tactics in the fight for freedom and equality. King remained committed to nonviolence but broadened the movement to address poverty. Younger leaders grew frustrated with nonviolence and advocated Black nationalism and armed self-defense, supported by the Black Panther Party.
2. The court issued rulings on busing to further the desegregation of schools ordered by the *Brown v. Board* decision. It also issued several rulings on affirmative action, particularly in college admissions.
3. Protests against police brutality, racism, and segregation continue in the present day, supported by the Black Lives Matter movement. Arguments over the teaching of history also touch on the legacies of slavery and racism.
4. Studying history will help young people find solutions to the challenges currently facing the country.

Handout C: Full Primary Source Set

Document 1: Black Panther Party, “Ten Point Program,” 1966

1. The program defined freedom as the ability of the Black community to define its own destiny.
2. The authors call capitalists “robbers” and also call for the federal government to guarantee a job or income to everyone.
3. Newton and Seale refer to the government as racist, as robbers, and as offering false promises (forty acres and two mules) and failing to protect them. They also say that Black people in jail have not received a fair and impartial trial. They cite police brutality and murder of Black people. Their condemnation of the U.S. government and the language they use clearly show anger and disillusionment.

Document 2: Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, 1967

1. Answers will vary but should include the idea that Black Power is a social movement that rejects integration and calls on Black Americans to unite around a shared heritage and to build their own community.
2. The authors argue that the group needs to create solidarity and common strength to represent its interests and needs within a society of many different groups. Group solidarity is necessary before anything else.
3. It states that studies show the “American pot has not melted,” as seen when people tend to vote for candidates of their own ethnicity.
4. This passage calls for rejecting the “racist institutions and values of this society,” indicating frustration with the pace and goals of the movement.

Document 3: Martin Luther King, Jr., “Where Do We Go From Here?”, 1967

1. No, King remained committed to nonviolence. He believed violence would only result in more violence and that nonviolence would change the hearts and minds of the oppressors by appealing to their consciences.
2. Racism, economic exploitation, and the problem of war.
3. Slavery turned Black people into “things” in the eyes of whites and made it easier for whites to exploit them.
4. The civil rights movement needed to turn its attention to poverty, the economy, and “the question of restructuring the whole of American society.” The fact that so many people live in poverty serves as a starting point to examine the capitalist economy in the United States.

Document 4: Images of 1968 Riots, Washington, DC

1. Shock and outrage over the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Similar tensions over the previous few years had erupted in race riots because of instances of police brutality and public frustration with unequal living conditions.
2. Some progress had been achieved by the movement, with legislation (Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965) and Supreme Court rulings (*Brown*). Despite the legal end of segregation, injustices against Black Americans persisted, however, and many were frustrated by the slow pace of change.

Document 5: Civil Rights Act, 1968

1. It made them illegal in order to end segregation in housing and contribute to integrated neighborhoods.
2. Accept reasonable responses. Example: The Civil Rights Act of 1968 made it illegal to discriminate against individuals in the sale or rental of property or in the advertisement of those transactions. Its goal was to end discriminatory practices in real estate.

Document 6: Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics, October 17, 1968

1. Impatience for change was leading to splits within the movement. Groups that espoused Black Power were focused more on Black pride and self-sufficiency than on integration.
2. By saying he is Black and proud of being Black, Smith articulates Black pride and the idea that Blacks should cultivate their own power rather than appealing to others for justice. Saying that Blacks will understand his actions implies that whites will not and hints at his distrust of whites.
3. The issue of racism in the United States was broadcast across the world and could have tarnished the United States’ reputation in other countries.

Document 7: *Griggs v. Duke Power*, 1971

1. The court ruled in favor of the workers because even if a practice seemed neutral, a three-part test would guide management decisions to see whether discrimination were present. Duke’s policy failed this test.
2. Duke’s testing and education requirements were in effect “freezing” the status quo of giving preference to whites at the expense of Blacks.
3. Any tests required for a job must be intended to indicate whether the person is qualified for the job and nothing more.

Document 8: Justice Lewis Powell, Decision of the Court, *Regents of U. of California v. Bakke*, 1978

1. No, these institutions cannot employ quota systems.
2. Yes. The court left it open for a state to have a “properly devised admissions program involving the competitive consideration of race and ethnic origin” as one factor among many in admissions.

Document 9: Justice Thurgood Marshall Dissent, *Regents of U. of California v. Bakke*, 1978

1. It is justified to combat a legacy of unequal treatment. It will help ensure that influential positions will be open to African Americans that would not be otherwise.
2. He is alluding to the role of the Supreme Court in both creating and stalling change with regard to equal treatment under the law for African Americans.

Document 10: Civil Rights Act, 1991

1. The act was intended “to restore and strengthen civil rights laws that ban discrimination in employment.”
2. Accept reasonable answers. Legislation changes and/or reverses and/or expands as it responds to different contexts and expectations.

Document 11: Barack Obama, “A More Perfect Union,” March 18, 2008

1. Obama begins and ends his speech by returning to the Constitution’s goal of creating a more perfect union and saying that this goal is aspirational and the work of each new generation. The effect is to connect Founding ideals with the present day.
2. Obama connects justice for African Americans to an insistence on justice for all Americans. In other words, health care, schools, and jobs are the concerns of many Americans, not just African Americans.
3. He acknowledges challenges and discrimination but says that people must believe they can “write their own destiny.” He is also hopeful that young people will make changes.

Document 12: *Fisher v. University of Texas*, 2016

1. Increased diversity or representation of minority groups is a positive effect; preference given to less-qualified applicants is a negative one.
2. The university’s obligation under this decision is to constantly reexamine its admissions policies, and the application to the larger question of affirmative action is that all institutions need to continually consider the fairness of their practices and policies.

Document 13: Black Lives Matter, “Herstory,” 2014

- 1.** Founders Garza, Cullors, and Tometi signal that they are placing women leaders at the forefront of the movement. This implies that they believe past movements for civil rights have been dominated by males or have failed to acknowledge the contributions of women.
- 2.** Its purpose is to intervene in the violence against Black people and to affirm Black humanity, contributions to society, and resilience. The goal is to develop new Black leaders and to create a space or network where Black people are empowered to lead their communities.
- 3.** The leaders stated that the violence in Ferguson was happening in communities everywhere, and they committed to expanding into decentralized groups across the country.
- 4.** Student opinions will vary but should be supported by historical evidence.
- 5.** That violence is state-sanctioned means that the government perpetuates or inflicts violence on Black people purposefully.
- 6.** Black nationalism and Black Power ideologies developed as a response to disillusionment over repeated white violence against Black people. Like earlier movements, Black Lives Matter is also considered to be controversial today.

Document 14: Nikole Hannah-Jones, *The 1619 Project*, August 14, 2019

- 1.** They did the labor of clearing land, growing crops, building farms and plantations, and erecting iconic buildings such as the Capitol and White House.
- 2.** Accept reasonable answers. African Americans worked for the full realization of the Founding principles across time, often at great personal sacrifice.
- 3.** Accept reasonable answers. Founding principles of liberty and equality were at odds with slavery, and several Founders were aware of this hypocrisy. By setting up a constitutional republic based upon natural rights, they left the door ajar to work for a more faithful application of these principles, including an end to slavery.

Document 15: Robert Woodson, “The Crucial Voice of 1776,” February 13, 2020

- 1.** Woodson says they are tragic but that great strides have been made to realize the promise of Founding principles. He says that students should learn about these strides rather than hear constant reminders of injuries.
- 2.** *The 1619 Project* places slavery and African Americans at the center of the history of the nation because it was when the first Africans came to the English colonies. Woodson’s “1776” places the Declaration of Independence and its principles at the center of the nation’s history. Both arguments make valid and meaningful points. To discredit or ignore slavery, its legacy, and the roles of African Americans in protesting injustices results in an incomplete history of the United States. Likewise, to discount the importance and power of Founding principles also skews the teaching and learning of U.S. history.
- 3.** The documents in this curriculum show that the paradoxes of slavery and liberty, racism and equality, have been present throughout U.S. history. Americans have challenged and pushed back on them for generations, with both successes and failures.

Document 16: John Lewis, “Together, You Can Redeem the Soul of Our Nation,” July 30, 2020

- 1.** The most powerful nonviolent change agent is the vote. Through his work with SNCC, Lewis risked his own life to ensure that African Americans were able to register and cast their votes. He also spent many years of his life actively “participating in the democratic process” by serving in Congress.
- 2.** Lewis says the struggle is nothing new, and there are lessons to be learned from the people who worked out their own solutions long ago.
- 3.** Lewis challenges the next generation to stand up for what they believe in and continue the struggle. He says the proper way to carry on this struggle is with love and nonviolence.
- 4.** Lewis is optimistic that future generations will see the triumph of peace over violence, aggression, and war. Students should support their opinion with specific evidence.

Handout D: Abbreviated Primary Source Set

Document 1: Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, 1967

Analysis Questions

1. Answers will vary but should include the idea that Black Power is a social movement that rejects integration and calls on Black Americans to unite around a shared heritage and to build their own community.
2. This passage calls for rejecting the “racist institutions and values of this society,” indicating frustration with the pace and goals of the movement.

Document 2: Martin Luther King, Jr., “Where Do We Go From Here?”, 1967

Comprehension Questions

1. No, King remained committed to nonviolence. He believed violence would result only in more violence. He believed that nonviolence would change the hearts and minds of the oppressors by appealing to their consciences.
2. Racism, economic exploitation, and the problem of war.
3. Slavery turned Black people into “things” in the eyes of whites and make it easier for them to exploit them.

Analysis Question

1. The civil rights movement needed to turn its attention to poverty and the economy, and “the question of restructuring the whole of American society.” The fact that so many people live in poverty serves as a starting point to examine the capitalist economy in the United States.

Document 3: Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics, October 17, 1968

Analysis Questions

1. Impatience for change was leading to splits within the movement. Groups that espoused Black Power were focused more on Black pride and self-sufficiency than on integration.
2. By saying he is Black and proud of being Black, Smith articulates Black pride and the idea that Blacks should cultivate their own power rather than appealing to others for justice. Saying that Blacks will understand his actions implies that whites will not and hints at his distrust of whites.
3. The issue of racism in the United States was broadcast across the world and could have tarnished the United States’ reputation in other countries.

Document 4: Justice Lewis Powell, Decision of the Court, *Regents of U. of California v. Bakke*, 1978

Analysis Questions

1. No, these institutions cannot employ quota systems.
2. Yes. The court left it open for a state to have a “properly devised admissions program involving the competitive consideration of race and ethnic origin” as one factor among many in admissions.

Document 5: Justice Thurgood Marshall Dissent, *Regents of U. of California v. Bakke*, 1978

Comprehension Questions

1. It is different from that of other groups because it includes the experience of enslavement but also is marked as inferior by the law.
2. It is justified to combat a legacy of unequal treatment. It will help ensure that influential positions will be open to African Americans that would not be otherwise.

Analysis Question

1. He is alluding to the role of the Supreme Court in both creating and stalling change with regard to equal treatment under the law for African Americans.

Document 6: Barack Obama, “A More Perfect Union,” March 18, 2008

Comprehension Questions

1. Obama connects justice for African Americans to an insistence on justice for all Americans. In other words, health care, schools, and jobs are the concerns of many Americans, not just African Americans.
2. He acknowledges challenges and discrimination but says that people must believe they can “write their own destiny.” He is also hopeful that young people will make changes.

Analysis Question

1. Obama begins and ends his speech by returning to the Constitution’s goal of creating a more perfect union and saying that this goal is aspirational and the work of each new generation. The effect is to connect the Founding ideals with the present day.

Document 7: Black Lives Matter, “Herstory,” 2014

Comprehension Questions

1. Its purpose is to intervene in the violence against Black people and to affirm Black humanity, contributions to society, and resilience.
2. The goal is to develop new Black leaders and to create a space or network where Black people are empowered to lead their communities.

Analysis Questions

1. Founders Garza, Cullors, and Tometi signal that they are placing women leaders at the forefront of the movement. This implies that they believe past movements for civil rights have been dominated by males or have failed to acknowledge the contributions of women.
2. Student opinions will vary but should be supported by historical evidence.
3. That violence is state-sanctioned violence means that the government perpetuates or inflicts violence on Black people purposefully.
4. Black nationalism and Black Power ideologies developed as a response to disillusionment over repeated white violence against Black people. Like earlier movements, Black Lives Matter is also considered to be controversial today.

Document 8: Nikole Hannah-Jones, *The 1619 Project*, August 14, 2019

Comprehension Question

1. They did the labor of clearing land, growing crops, building farms and plantations, and erecting iconic buildings such as the Capitol and White House.

Analysis Questions

1. Accept reasonable answers. African Americans worked for the full realization of the Founding principles across time, often at great personal sacrifice.
2. Accept reasonable answers. The Founding principles of liberty and equality were at odds with slavery, and several Founders were aware of this hypocrisy. By setting up a constitutional republic based upon natural rights, they left the door ajar to work for a more faithful application of these principles, including an end to slavery.

Document 9: Robert Woodson, “The Crucial Voice of 1776,” February 13, 2020

Comprehension Question

1. Woodson says they are tragic but that great strides have been made to realize the promise of the Founding principles. He says that students should learn about these strides rather than hear constant reminders of injuries.

Analysis Questions

1. *The 1619 Project* places slavery and African Americans at the center of the history of the nation as it was when the first Africans came to the English colonies. Woodson’s “1776” places the Declaration of Independence and its principles at the center of the nation’s history. Both arguments make valid and meaningful points. To discredit or ignore slavery, its legacy, and the roles of African Americans in protesting injustices results in an incomplete history of the United States. Likewise, to discount the importance and power of Founding principles also skews the teaching and learning of U.S. history.
2. The documents in this curriculum show that the paradoxes of slavery and liberty, racism and equality, have been present throughout U.S. history. People have challenged and pushed back on them for generations, with both successes and failures.

Document 10: “Together, You Can Redeem the Soul of Our Nation,” John Lewis, July 30, 2020

Comprehension Questions

1. The most powerful nonviolent change agent is the vote. Through his work with SNCC, Lewis risked his own life to ensure that African Americans were able to register and cast their votes. He also spent many years of his life actively “participating in the democratic process” by serving in Congress.
2. Lewis says the struggle is nothing new, and there are lessons to be learned from the people who worked out their own solutions long ago.
3. Lewis challenges the next generation to stand up for what they believe in and continue the struggle. He says the proper way to carry on this struggle is with love and nonviolence.

Analysis Question

1. Lewis is optimistic that future generations will see the triumph of peace over violence, aggression, and war. Students should support their opinion with specific evidence.

Handout E: Graphic Organizer for Document Analysis

Answers

Document Title and Date	Main Ideas	Connection to or Violation of Founding Principles
Black Panther Party, “Ten Point Program,” 1966	Marxism and Black nationalism underlie 10 demands for Black community; accuses U.S. government of racism	Demands for freedom, fair trials, promises of Constitution
Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, <i>Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America</i>, 1967*	Black power/nationalism is key to liberation; Blacks must unite to be a political force	Rejection of racist institutions and values of society
Martin Luther King, Jr., “Where Do We Go From Here?,” 1967*	Renewed commitment to nonviolence; must also consider poverty	Expanding concept of equality to economic system
Images of 1968 Riots, Washington, DC	Destruction and violence triggered by the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and long-standing frustrations with unequal housing	Despite the legal end of segregation, injustices against Black Americans persisted, and many were frustrated by the slow pace of change
Civil Rights Act, 1968	Goal was to end discriminatory practices in real estate	Legal protections against discrimination (violation of equality and justice)
Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics, October 17, 1968*	Athletes drawing attention to continued struggle of Black America/ Black Power	Drawing attention to racist institutions and values of society that violate equality and justice
<i>Griggs v. Duke Power</i>, 1971	Blacks sue company for imposing tests to advance (discriminating against Blacks for their inferior education opportunities in the South)	Addresses legacies of Jim Crow and denial of equal opportunities
Justice Lewis Powell, Decision of the Court, <i>Regents of U. of California v. Bakke</i>, 1978*	Schools cannot apply quota systems but can use race in their admissions decisions (affirmative action)	Addresses legacies of Jim Crow and denial of equal opportunities
Justice Thurgood Marshall Dissent, <i>Regents of U. of California v. Bakke</i>, 1978*	Quotas should be used to “open society’s doors” as a way to address inequalities faced by African Americans due to slavery and racism	Addresses legacies of Jim Crow and denial of equal opportunities; illustrates affirmative action debate

Document Title and Date	Main Ideas	Connection to or Violation of Founding Principles
Civil Rights Act, 1991	Right to trial by jury in cases with discrimination claims	Addresses denial of equal opportunities by ensuring due process
Barack Obama, “A More Perfect Union,” 2008*	Creating a “more perfect union” is ongoing and aspirational	Acknowledges challenges but hopes that young people will make changes to align with Founding principles
<i>Fisher v. U. of Texas</i>, 2016	University has “ongoing obligation” to assess how affirmative action in admissions benefits society	Addresses legacies of Jim Crow and denial of equal opportunities; illustrates ongoing affirmative action debate
Black Lives Matter, “Herstory,” 2014*	Statement of purpose: validate role of women, create Black leaders in local communities	Claims that violence against Blacks is state-sanctioned (and therefore in violation of Founding principles)
Nikole Hannah-Jones, <i>The 1619 Project</i>, 2019*	African Americans are perfecters of U.S. democracy	
Robert Woodson, “The Crucial Voice of 1776,” 2020*	Racism and discrimination are tragic but great strides have been made to realize the promise of Founding principles	
John Lewis, “Together, You Can Redeem the Soul of Our Nation,” 2020*	Commitment to nonviolence and voting, challenges students to study history and continue the work	Reiterates idea that freedom and justice are attainable through constant work

Handout F: Concluding Analysis and Discussion Guide

Answers

1. Answers should point to growing frustration with the pace of change, a strong sense of community identity, a lack of progress, and disillusionment with white violence and backlash as possible reasons.

Leader	Frederick Douglass	Booker T. Washington	W. E. B. Du Bois	Martin Luther King, Jr., and SCLC	Malcolm X and Black Nationalism	John Lewis and SNCC	Stokely Carmichael and Black Power	Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi #BlackLivesMatter
Goals and Approaches	Founding principles will prevail; importance of education	Hard work; economic progress as a stepping-stone to full equality; importance of education	Equal rights now; importance of education	Nonviolence; moral arguments for integration	Black separatism Armed self-defense Black pride and self-sufficiency	Nonviolence; decentralized leadership for integration *SNCC moved to advocate Black nationalism under Carmichael's leadership	Black pride and self-sufficiency more effective than integration	Decentralized leadership; protest violence against Blacks, develop Black leaders

2. Leaders varied in their techniques (raising awareness, advocating nonviolence) and to an extent in their overall goal: realizing full equality via integration or via Black separatism. Some movements relied more heavily on one or a handful of leaders, whereas others relied more on local grassroots action such as SNCC and #BlackLivesMatter. All emphasized education and the importance of developing young people as citizens and leaders.

3. Students should support their opinion with evidence from the documents.

4. Typically, the court has ruled that race can be one factor in a holistic assessment of candidates in admissions processes. The concept of affirmative action remains controversial. Accept reasonable answers for possible alternate solutions.

5. Student answers should be supported with specific historical evidence.

6. Answers regarding progress may include: expansion of civil rights legislation (fair housing, the right to trial by jury in cases with discrimination claims, and emotional distress damages from intentional employment discrimination), closer examination of and debate about the role of history and its importance in democracy, and continued dialogue about ways to address discrimination and its legacies (such as by affirmative action). Accept reasonable answers for the work that must still be done.

Handout G: Primary Source Warm-Up

Suggested Answers

Document Title and Date	Laws and Policy	The Courts	“We the People”— Individuals and Groups
Black Panther Party, “Ten Point Program,” 1966			Party formed as a response to police brutality in Oakland, California
Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, <i>Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America</i>, 1967*			Black leaders calling for Black Power and Black nationalism
Martin Luther King, Jr., “Where Do We Go From Here?,” 1967*			Black leader attacking poverty, reaffirming commitment to nonviolence
Images of 1968 Riots, Washington, DC			Individuals riot over news of King’s assassination; racial inequality
Civil Rights Act, 1968	Legal protections against discrimination in real estate and housing		
Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics, October 17, 1968*			Athletes protest against racial discrimination at Olympics
<i>Griggs v. Duke Power</i>, 1971		Supreme Court rules that imposing tests to advance is discriminating against Blacks for their inferior education opportunities in the South	
Justice Lewis Powell, Decision of the Court, <i>Regents of U. of California v. Bakke</i>, 1978*		Supreme Court rules that schools cannot apply quota systems but can use race in their admissions decisions (affirmative action)	
Justice Thurgood Marshall Dissent, <i>Regents of U. of California v. Bakke</i>, 1978*		Dissent on Supreme Court ruling above: Quotas should be used to “open society’s doors” as a way to address inequalities faced by African Americans due to slavery and racism	
Civil Rights Act, 1991	Legislation guaranteeing right to trial by jury in cases with discrimination claims		

Document Title and Date	Laws and Policy	The Courts	“We the People”— Individuals and Groups
Barack Obama, “A More Perfect Union,” 2008*			Then-presidential candidate acknowledges challenges of racism but hopes that young people will make changes to align with Founding principles
<i>Fisher v. U. of Texas</i>, 2016		Supreme Court rules universities have “ongoing obligation” to assess how affirmative action in admissions benefits society	
Black Lives Matter, “Herstory,” 2014*			Decentralized group that validates role of women, creates Black leaders in local communities, protests violence against Blacks
Nikole Hannah-Jones, <i>The 1619 Project</i>, 2019*			Thought leader advancing slavery and Blacks as central to American history
Robert Woodson, “The Crucial Voice of 1776,” 2020*			Thought leader criticizing <i>The 1619 Project</i> ; preferred focus on progress in fighting racism and injustice
John Lewis, “Together, You Can Redeem the Soul of Our Nation,” 2020*			Civil rights leader Lewis’s parting wisdom and advice to continue struggle for equality and justice

Suggested Answers

1. Students should support their opinions with specific examples.
2. Whether *all* Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities.
3. These questions ask listeners to put themselves in the shoes of African Americans, or any other citizen who is not afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, and consider whether they would accept delay and advice to be patient.