

PROGRAM REVIEW

Department: History (Humanities)



Date of Program Review: AY2021

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Appendices.....	3
Introduction to Program	4
I. Scope	4
A. Program Relation to College Mission, Core Values, and Strategic Plan	4
B. Program/Discipline Demand/ Need	4
C. Program /Discipline Analysis	4
D. Program Assessment.....	5
II. Institutional Support	6
A. Support	6
B. Community Engagement	6
C. Program Development.....	6

Appendices

Full-Time Faculty Qualifications

List of courses included in the program

- **Advising degree sheet (Course catalog)**
- **Degree Audit courses (Registrar)**
- **Program Inventory, if applicable (Instruction office)**
- **Courses offered in the last 3 years (Instruction office)**

ACADEMIC PROGRAM/DISCIPLINE REVIEW

Fort Scott Community College

Introduction to Program

HISTORY COURSES

I. Scope

A. Program Relation to College Mission, Core Values, and Strategic Plan:

1. How do the goals and measurable objectives for the program/discipline help the college meet its mission, core values, and strategic plan?

The History courses are general ed transfer classes that focus on teaching students the skills to evaluate and analyze various texts and perspectives so that they can be successful in other classes and in their future careers.

2. What specific goals of the strategic plan are affected by this? Please explain.

Goal # 2: Cultivate quality enhancements for education and learning.

Strategy 1: Improve academic processes.

- By participating in college catalog updates.
- By participating in the planning of flexible course schedules based on the needs presented or requests made.
- Offering a variety of modalities that include: regular face-to-face classes, online classes, hybrid classes that blend in-person and online, and hyflex courses that allow a student to attend class in-person or via zoom.

Strategy 3: Increase teaching effectiveness.

- By adapting to changing classroom technology requirements, which are specific to the location and semester of the class.
- By providing online instruction for the core courses.
- And, by coordinating with adjunct and concurrent instructors to ensure use of standardized curriculum (course syllabus and textbook) across campuses and various locations and modalities.

Goal # 3: Promote student success.

Strategy 1: Faculty updates grades once a month so that student academic advisors can see what the students are earning. Faculty also use an Early Alert system throughout the semester to alert both students and academic advisors of low grades, excessive absences, and missed assignments and assessments. This system brings help early to students throughout the semester to improve their grade and give them a better chance at success in the classroom.

B. Program/Discipline Demand/Need:

If applicable, provide any advisory board meeting minutes.

1. Describe the need for the program/classes based on regional demands.

The courses offered are core transfer courses that are reviewed through the Kansas Core Outcomes Project. Most successful completers will take the knowledge and credits earned to the next level of their educational journey.

Faculty work with four year institutions to develop a smooth transfer process between institutions. Universities in Kansas will connect with FSCC from time to time to update the transfer process between History classes offered here and what that degree requires at their institution so that they can better work with the students pursuing a degree in history that transfer from FSCC to their four year institution.

2. Is program revision needed? If yes, provide a detailed rationale supporting the program change.

No.

3. Describe how the revised program differs from the current one?

N/A

C. Program/Discipline Analysis:

1. What procedures are used to ensure that course content is up-to-date?

The Kansas Core Outcomes Project drives the course content for transfer courses to ensure the same competencies are being met by each institution. Each course syllabus in History lists the Kansas Core Outcomes that will be taught and assessed.

The instructor evaluation process through classroom observation is used to help identify the level of content and goals presented in the course. The syllabus and assessment tools are viewed through this process and faculty's use of campus connect for attendance and early alert records.

2. What is the process for textbook review? Please list the book(s) and ISBN for each course.

Reviewing textbooks requires looking at college appropriate books that offer rigor and align with the Kansas Core Competencies and Outcomes. Resources are also evaluated where the textbooks may enhance student learning and engagement through technology and projects. In addition to using primary sources the official books for the History courses offered are:

US History 101 Visions of America Vol 1, 2nd Edition ISBN 9780205092373

US History 102 Visions Of America Vol 2, 2nd Edition ISBN 9780205092380

History of Civilization 1 and 2 use the same book

Civilizations Past and Present 12th Edition ISBN 9780205574308

Beginning in the fall of 2022 the official textbooks used for US History 101 and 102 courses will be open education resources.

United States History (OER)

US History

By OpenStax College

ISBN:9781938168369

Type: Hardcover

Pub. Date:1/1/2014

Publisher:XANEDU

Book comment: "This book can also be downloaded for free as a PDF from

<https://openstax.org/details/books/us-history>, and the Kindle ebook can be obtained for free by searching for the book on Amazon, with OpenStax as the publisher. Any version of the book is okay to use."

Book Link: [US History Open Resource Online Textbook Link](#)

3. What methods of instruction are used to meet the goals and objectives of courses in the program/discipline? Please describe two different sample lessons used within different courses in the program.

Face-to-face courses taught within the department are more lecture and discussion based. Students are assigned readings, writing assignments, and given assessments that cover the course competencies and outcomes. Online classes utilize a weekly discussion in the Blackboard LMS as well as reading and video assignments to enhance the learning. Instructors use written assignments, quizzes, and exams.

Two sample lessons are attached at the end of this program review:

1. Gettysburg Address Assignment (Given to U.S. History 101 Students)
2. Civil Rights Movement Assignment (Given to U.S. History 102 Students)

Each of these assignments challenges students to analyze and interpret evidence based on historical events and through primary source documents. Students also learn how to evaluate different perspectives as well as write about it. Students are also assessed over these topics on the Unit assessments.

4. How do you ensure appropriate academic rigor and consistency of course content in all modalities?

Students in all modalities are given the same assessments in history courses as well as similar assignments. Some assignments and discussion boards are used for online classes to help take the place of lectures and discussions that take place during in-person classes. Students are expected in all modalities to do the same rigor of work and learning to master the objectives.

D. Program Assessment:

1. What are the program outcomes?

Humanities:

1. Demonstrate the ability to analyze and interpret evidence to contextualize historical, philosophical or religious events or issues by using appropriate disciplinary methods or approaches and be able to show how it relates to today.
2. Demonstrate the ability to evaluate different perspectives and arguments over events or issues.
3. Analyze and interpret primary and secondary sources and write over a range of discipline-specific tasks, purposes, and audiences by using evidence from the sources.
4. Analyze and apply the principles of rule of law, representation, types of government, rights and responsibilities of individuals, and social contract.

2. What is the process for program and course level assessment?

Assessment is done according to the mandates of the institution. These change from year to year. We have been assessing every core competency for each course for every course taught. Most of these are assessed through exam items included in the exams throughout the semester. Most recently, we are choosing one core competency per course, which will be assessed using exam items. Each department beginning in the spring of 2022 will review the assessment data together and develop a plan of improvement and/or changes for the next semester. A department outcome will be chosen and a plan to improve student learning will be created by using the courses we teach in that department. Assessment data will be collected and evaluated each semester.

The following competencies for History courses for the past three semesters that have been assessed and addressed in a student learning plan are:

U.S. History Courses

U.S. History 101: HIS1013

Core Outcome: #2 – Describe and analyze the social, political, and economic developments of the following periods of American History:

g. Trace and evaluate causes, developments and consequences of the Civil War.

Core Concept to be evaluated: Students will prove their ability to analyze, interpret, and evaluate historical primary sources and events on the causes, developments, and consequences of the Civil War. (Course Outcome #2, G)

Benchmark Tool: Will be assessed by using examination questions.

At least 70% of the students assessed will attain the satisfactory goal of 70% or higher.

U.S. History 102: HIS1023

Core Concept to be evaluated: Students will prove their ability to analyze, interpret, and evaluate historical primary sources and events on how the consequences of World War I contributed to the causes of World War II.

Benchmark Tool: Will be assessed by using examination questions.

At least 70% of the students assessed will attain the satisfactory goal of 70% or higher.

World Civilization History Courses

History of Civilization I: HIS2013

Core Concept to be evaluated: Students will prove their ability to analyze, interpret, and evaluate historical primary sources and events on the social, political, and cultural impact Greece and Rome had on both the world and the United States.

Benchmark Tool: Will be assessed by using examination questions.

At least 70% of the students assessed will attain the satisfactory goal of 70% or higher.

History of Civilization II: HIS2023

Core Concept to be evaluated: Students will demonstrate their ability to analyze, interpret, and evaluate historical primary sources and events on the social, political, and economic impact that developed in Europe between 1500-1800.

Benchmark Tool: Will be assessed by using examination questions.

At least 70% of the students assessed will attain the satisfactory goal of 70% or higher.

3. What are the findings of outcomes assessment reports from the department since the last program review? (Program Compilation Summaries/Course Assessment Reports)

The data from three semesters in a row show that one of the focuses of student learning for the next academic year will be for the students to demonstrate the ability to evaluate different perspectives and arguments over events or issues.

With each outcomes assessment report a student learning plan was created from the data as well as reassessing the assessment instrument tool being used for those outcomes that were met by a majority of the students.

History of Civilization I Courses: Fall 2021 Semester: 81% of the students (30 out of 37) successfully attained the outcome benchmark.

U.S. History 101 Courses:

Spring 2021 Semester – 68% of the students successfully attained the outcome benchmark. The goal of 70% overall was not met.

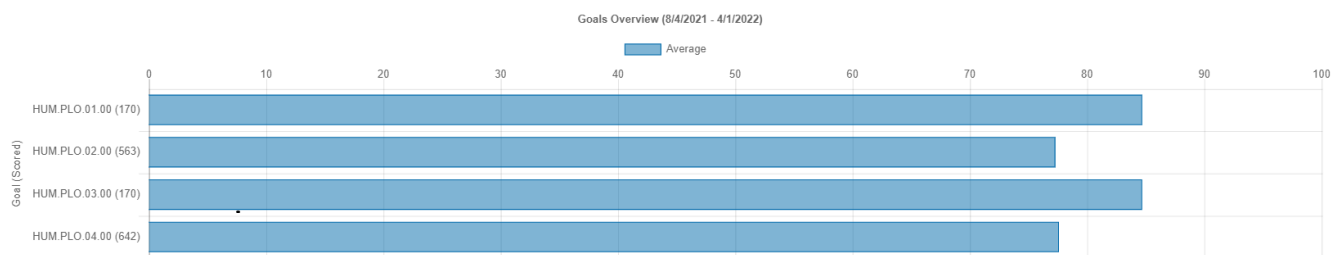
Fall 2021 Semester – 67% of the students successfully attained the outcome benchmark. The goal of 70% overall was not met.

U.S. History 102 Courses:

Spring 2021 Semester – 95% of the students successfully attained the outcome benchmark. The goal of 70% was met.

Fall 2021 Semester – 75% of the students successfully attained the outcome benchmark. The goal of 70% was met.

Goals Overview (8/4/2021 - 4/1/2022)			
Goal	Description	Scored	Average
HUM.PLO.01.00	HUM.PLO.01.00 Demonstrate the ability to analyze and interpret evidence to contextualize historical, philosophical or religious events or issues by using appropriate disciplinary methods or approaches and be able to show how it relates to today.	170	0.85
HUM.PLO.02.00	HUM.PLO.02.00 Demonstrate the ability to evaluate different perspectives and arguments over events or issues.	563	0.77
HUM.PLO.03.00	HUM.PLO.03.00 Interpret and apply primary and secondary sources and write over a range of discipline-specific tasks, purposes, and audiences by using evidence from the sources.	170	0.85
HUM.PLO.04.00	HUM.PLO.04.00 Interpret and apply the principles of rule of law, representation, types of government, rights and responsibilities of individuals, and social contract.	642	0.78



Courses Included							
Learning Activity	Course	Instructors	Enrollment	Evaluations	Percent	# Pass	% Pass
Outcomes Assessment Rubric	UNITED STATES HISTORY 101 (M,W,F) Fall 2021 (HIS1013000211S)	THOMURE, KEVIN	43	37	86.05	23	62.16
Outcome Assessment Rubric	UNITED STATES HISTORY 101 (T, TH) Fall 2021 (HIS1013001211S)	THOMURE, KEVIN	45	43	95.56	26	60.47
Outcomes Assessment Rubric	UNITED STATES HISTORY 101 Online (Fall 2021) (HIS1013040211S)	THOMURE, KEVIN	41	36	87.8	15	41.67
Courses Included							
Learning Activity	Course	Instructors	Enrollment	Evaluations	Percent	# Pass	% Pass
Outcome Assessment Rubric	UNITED STATES HISTORY 102 (M,W,F) Fall 2021 (HIS1023000211S)	THOMURE, KEVIN	45	45	100	31	68.89
Outcome Assessment	UNITED STATES HISTORY 102 (T, TH) Fall 2021 (HIS1023001211S)	THOMURE, KEVIN	43	41	95.35	30	73.17

For CTE programs only:
Program majors/Current concentrators

Unduplicated prior 3 year graduates

4. Please list any third party accreditation.

N/A

5. List any additional needs for the program (facilities, personnel, technology, student support, etc.).

N/A

II. Institutional Support

A. Support:

1. How does this program support other academic areas of the college and/or how is it supported by other academic areas?

Each course is offered as a stand-alone introduction to the academic discipline. The material presented and assessed is specific to the individual course. However, the college-level expectations of the instructors of the various course should be much the same. Attendance and attention are key to student success. Course policies reflect this. Attendance is taken and reported daily. Instructor office hours are maintained by all full-time faculty.

2. What learning resources are utilized for instruction and supporting the institutional outcomes?

Blackboard is used as the common learning management system (LMS). Students will find assignments, up-to-date grades, and other supplements to the course posted there. Peer and mature adult tutors are available in the Student Success Center. Open Educational Resources are also utilized.

B. Community Engagement:

1. Please provide examples of how the program/discipline fosters relationships within the communities FSCC serves (community partnership, participation, advisory board, etc.)

A Constitution Day Event on September 11th, 2021 was hosted that students, faculty, staff and members of the community can attend. Constitution facts, Constitution scavenger hunt, and the Constitution was made available and handed out. Students, faculty, staff and members of the community were also invited to attend a mock trial that FSCC's own Judge Hart presided over. History instructor (Kevin Thomure) makes himself available to help out local school programs, high school

History teachers, or even Gifted programs looking to incorporate History or Government and need feedback, participation, or resources. An example is this past year on November 3rd Kevin Thomure served on a Constitutional panel with other area college professors to help High School Oratorical Contest team in the Gifted program at Pittsburg High School. The topic for the competition they were headed to was on the Constitution and they were able to present us their arguments, ask questions, and listen to advice and tips from those of us on the panel. The Constitution panel discussion helped prepare these students for their competition.

C. Program Development:

1. What marketing/recruiting strategies are used by the program/discipline?

The Admissions Office sends out recruiters to the High Schools. Brochures are often created and used for both Admissions and Advising Offices to provide information to interested students. Faculty is available for student recruitment days on campus that way if a student has questions about courses or a degree, they have college faculty available to talk to them.

2. How, and by what means, does the discipline use external professional and community resources to enhance discipline practices?

Coordination with the Student Services offices, especially the Advising Office, in making appropriate and necessary referrals to outside agencies.

3. Does the discipline have a means for students to assess the program outside of the official student evaluations? If so, explain.

Students fill out a general survey at the end of the semester for each course offered and they will complete reflection forms on various learning outcomes.

SWOT Analysis

A. Strengths:

- High enrollment numbers in history class both in-person and online.

- Students have a variety of options for a flexible schedule with in-person classes, online classes, and hybrid/hyflex classes.
- More courses were brought back into the rotation to appeal to student interest and to give students more opportunities for credits in the history and humanities areas with History of Civilization I and History of Civilization II.
- Course and program outcomes are aligned with the focus being on improving student learning. The program assesses all students in all outcomes and creates action plans to improve on the weakest assessment areas to improve student learning.

B. Weaknesses:

- Very few students identify as history majors so a majority of students in history classes are not seeking history degrees.
- Only one full-time faculty member teaches history.

C. Opportunities:

- Offer even more flexibility in courses such as 8-week options online as well as more frequent offerings of both U.S. History and History of Civilization courses.

D. Threats:

- The lowering of the required number of history courses students need to take to earn a Bachelor's degree at Kansas institutions.
- The trend in lower student-enrollment for the entire college.

Gettysburg Address Assignment

Directions: Read one of the most famous speeches in world history that was only 272 words given by Abraham Lincoln on November 19th, 1863. Lincoln was at Gettysburg to address the crowd after the Battle of Gettysburg back in July of 1863 had seen more lives lost by both sides in one battle than any other battle of the war. Lincoln carefully chose his words and created the short speech to cover three parts. 1) The past - Discussing Four score and 7 years ago (1776 - Declaration of Independence) 2) The present - why we are in conflict and why this war is worth it 3) The future - Saving the government we created and making it better and lasting for the future.

Read the Gettysburg Address and then read the comparison of the Gettysburg Address to the Declaration of Independence. Watch the video clips (links are included before the questions) to see what various scholars have to say in their evaluation and analysis of the Gettysburg Address as well as the event within the context of the Civil War. You will then answer the ten questions and type a short essay to be turned in.

The Gettysburg Address **Abraham Lincoln, November 19th, 1863**

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Comparing Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address” to the Declaration of Independence

Using Lincoln’s third and last paragraph of the Gettysburg Address analyze how it closely connects upon the second full paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. According to Diana Schaub, professor of Political Science at Loyola University Maryland, Lincoln’s final paragraph of the Gettysburg Address turns the “truths” from the Declaration of Independence into tasks that must be done to achieve those truths.

Declaration of Independence	Gettysburg Address
<p>We hold these truths to be self-evident:</p> <p>that all men are created equal;</p>	<p>It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—</p> <p>that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—</p> <p>that we here highly resolve</p>

<p>that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;</p> <p>that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the government;</p> <p>that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.</p>	<p>that these dead shall not have died in vain—</p> <p>that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—</p> <p>and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.</p>
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Source: “His Greatest Speeches: How Lincoln Moved the Nation”, Diana Schaub, Professor of Political Science at Loyola University Maryland, Visiting Professor in the Government Department at Harvard University, and a Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Video Clip Links to view over the Gettysburg Address:

[Gettysburg Address - History Channel \(2 minutes\)](#)

[Remember the Titans Video Clip on Gettysburg Importance \(4 minutes\)](#)

[Allen Guelzo and the Gettysburg Address \(30 minutes\)](#)

[Reading Lincoln's Gettysburg Address \(Bill of Rights Institute\) \(30 minutes\)](#)

Questions to Answer:

1. The speech is given in 1863 so what event is Lincoln referring back to when he mentions "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation..."?
2. Lincoln refers to "All Men Are Created Equal" as a proposition. In the Declaration of Independence it is stated as a self-evident truth which means it is absolute, it is a fact,

it is accepted and understood to be true. Why does Lincoln say it is actually a proposition at that exact time? Helpful Tip: A proposition is something that could be possible, something that is an abstract truth and truth in theory. Think about how this truth is being contested at the time.

3. What is Lincoln referring to as the "great task remaining before us?"
4. Lincoln refers to the Past (Paragraph #1), Present (Paragraph #2), and Future (Paragraph #3) in the Gettysburg Address. Explain what he is talking about with each one.
5. What does Lincoln mean by a "new birth of freedom?"
6. How is the Civil War putting the fate of democracy on trial for the world to see?
7. Do you feel that the proposition "that all men are created equal" has been advanced or not since Lincoln gave the Gettysburg Address? Explain.
8. What is Lincoln's new goal of the war? How do you know?
9. What part of the speech stood out to you the most? Why?
10. How is the Gettysburg Address still relevant today? Explain.

Short Essay: Type a 1 – 2 page double-spaced essay discussing the challenges facing democracy today and how it compares and contrasts to the challenges that faced the nation when Lincoln gave his Gettysburg Address speech in 1863.

Civil Rights Movement Assignment

While the Civil Rights Movement and the issue of race and equality in the United States is on-going, the specific event this assignment is the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and the 1960s.

Directions: For each event listed below you will watch a video clip that has scholars discussing the event and the impact. You will then summarize the event and in your own words explain how the event is significant. After you have learned about all of the events, you will rank what you believe to be the top five most important moments of the Civil Rights Movement and then defend why you chose those five events. You will then have two readings (an excerpt from Dr. Martin Luther King's, "Letter From Birmingham Jail" and an excerpt from Malcolm X's, "The Ballot or the Bullet." You will have questions and will type a 1-2 page, double-spaced essay answering the prompt given for those readings.

Part 1: Civil Rights Movement Video Clips – Summarize and explain significance of each event.

1. [Event #1 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka](#)

2. [Event #2 Emmett Till's Kidnapping](#)
3. [Event #3 Important Figures in the Early Fight for Civil Rights](#)
4. [Event #4 Jackie Robinson and the Civil Rights Movement](#)
5. [Event #5 Rosa Parks and Dr. Martin Luther King](#)
6. [Event #6 Greensboro, North Carolina Sit-Ins](#)
7. [Event #7 Freedom Riders](#)
8. [Event #8 Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing](#)
9. [Event #9 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Letter from Birmingham Jail](#)
10. [Event #10 The 1963 March on Washington](#)
11. [Event #11 Freedom Summer and Civil Rights in Mississippi](#)
12. [Event #12 The 1964 Civil Rights Act](#)
13. [Event #13 Selma March and "Bloody Sunday"](#)
14. [Event #14 The Black Panther Party](#)

Rank the top 5 events of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Defend why you have chosen these 5 events as the most important of the Civil Rights Era.

Part 2: Primary Source Readings – Analyze, evaluate, compare and contrast – Read each of the two primary sources, answer the five questions and then type a 1-2 page double-spaced essay.

1. In what circumstances does MLK say it is okay to have civil disobedience and use direct action in order to change a law? Do you agree? Explain (Civil Disobedience is when you organize protests against unjust laws or break unjust laws)
2. Who is MLK challenging to convince that his tactics are the right ones and who does he need to join in the Civil Rights Movement to really create change? Why do you think that is?
3. What is the quote that stands out from you on MLK's letter that has the most powerful effect on the reader? Why?
4. How does Malcom X differ from MLK in his approach to Civil Rights?
5. Why do you think Malcolm X would appeal to some Black Americans more so than MLK? Explain why you think this.

Short Essay: Compare and contrast Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcom X during the Civil Rights Movement and defend which one of them would be more influential in leading a movement in today's race and equality issues in the United States.

Martin Luther King, Jr. : Letter From Birmingham Jail

My Dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas ... But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of “outsiders coming in.” I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some 85 affiliate organizations all across the South ... Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: 1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; 2) negotiation; 3) self-purification; and 4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham ...

Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of the country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants—such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Reverend Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. As in so many experiences in the past, we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through the process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, “are you able to accept the blows without retaliating?” “Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?”

You may well ask, “Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn’t negotiation a better path?” You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue.

My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was “well timed,” according to the timetable of those who have

not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a tranquilizing Thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.

I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your 20 million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see the tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?" when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" men and "colored" when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title of "Mrs." when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White citizens' "Councilor" or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action" who paternistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and at points they profit from segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil."

The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership in the community would see the justice of our cause and, with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed. I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother. In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues with which the Gospel has no real concern," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between body and soul, the sacred and the secular.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood,

M. L. King, Jr.

Malcolm X: The Ballot or the Bullet

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All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man.

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us. Whether we are Christians or Muslims or nationalists or agnostics or atheists, we must first learn to forget our differences. If we have differences, let us differ in the closet; when we come out in front, let us not have anything to argue about until we get finished arguing with the man. If the late President Kennedy could get together with Khrushchev and exchange some wheat, we certainly have more in common with each other than Kennedy and Khrushchev had with each other.

If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet. It's one or the other in 1964. It isn't that time is running out—time has run out!

1964 threatens to be the most explosive year America has ever witnessed. The most explosive year. Why? It's also a political year. It's the year when all of the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community jiving you and me for some votes. The year when all of the white political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a letdown, with their trickery and their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep.

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No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver—no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

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I say again, I'm not anti-Democrat, I'm not anti-Republican, I'm not anti-anything. I'm just questioning their sincerity, and some of the strategy that they've been using on our people by promising them promises that they don't intend to keep. When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keeping the Dixiecrats in power. I doubt that my good Brother Lomax will deny that. A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat. **That's why, in 1964, it's time now for you and me to become more politically mature and realize what the ballot is for; what we're supposed to get when we cast a ballot; and that if we don't cast a ballot, it's going to end up in a situation where we're going to have to cast a bullet. It's either a ballot or a bullet.**

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It's time for you and me to stop sitting in this country, letting some cracker senators, Northern crackers and Southern crackers, sit there in Washington, D.C., and come to a conclusion in their mind that you and I are supposed to have civil rights. There's no white man going to tell me anything about my rights. Brothers and sisters, always remember, if it

doesn't take senators and congressmen and presidential proclamations to give freedom to the white man, it is not necessary for legislation or proclamation or Supreme Court decisions to give freedom to the black man. You let that white man know, if this is a country of freedom, let it be a country of freedom; and if it's not a country of freedom, change it.

We will work with anybody, anywhere, at any time, who is genuinely interested in tackling the problem head-on, nonviolently as long as the enemy is nonviolent, but violent when the enemy gets violent.

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If a Negro in 1964 has to sit around and wait for some cracker senator to filibuster when it comes to the rights of black people, why, you and I should hang our heads in shame. You talk about a march on Washington in 1963, you haven't seen anything. There's some more going down in '64.

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In 1964, it's the ballot or the bullet.