

Making of the Modern World 15

Lecture #14: Race and Freedom

Liberty

- When can we intervene in the life of a friend?
 - Take their keys when they are drunk?
 - Force them to eat better?
 - Force them to improve their morality?

Liberty

- "Surely, it is no assault on my dignity as a person if you take my car keys, against my will, when I have had too much to drink. There is nothing paradoxical about making an agreement beforehand providing for paternalistic supervision in circumstances when our competence is open to doubt."
-Ron Replogle, "Recovering the Social Contract"

Liberty

- What is liberty?
 - It is a core justifying principle of liberalism, but definitions differ.
 - How do you define liberty?
- Two traditional conceptions:
 - Negative Liberty
 - Positive Liberty
- Both a part of the “liberal” tradition

Negative Liberty

- Freedom from interference
- “I am slave to no man.”

Negative Liberty

- This tradition is rooted in Hobbes, Locke

“LIBERTY is absence of impediments to motion.”

-Thomas Hobbes, *The Leviathan*

"The free man is the man who is not in irons, nor imprisoned in a gaol, nor terrorized like a slave by the fear of punishment ... it is not lack of freedom, not to fly like an eagle or swim like a whale."

-Helvetius

“I am normally said to be free to the degree to which no man or body of men interferes with my activity.”

-Isaiah Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty”

Positive Liberty

- Having the power to fulfill one's potential
 - To have the ability to accomplish one's goals
 - To be free from inhibitions produced by the structure of society
 - To be fully human
- “I am my own master”

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

- “Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains....How did this change come about?”
- “The stronger is never strong enough to be forever master, unless he transforms his force into right, and obedience into duty.”

-Rousseau, *The Social Contract*

From whence these chains?

- Poverty
- Racism
- Sexism
- Ignorance
- False-consciousness
 - “The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or apparent motives.”

-Friedrich Engels

Perhaps Self-Hatred?

- "And in hating our features, and our skin, and our blood, we had to end up hating ourselves, and we hated ourselves."

-Malcolm X

Free to choose?

- Betty Friedan will argue that while women are not *forced* to choose the life of a housewife, their choice may not be fully free?
 - How does a liberal society think about freedom?
- Perhaps people may sometimes need to be “forced to be free”?
 - How might this work?
 - Education?

What should be done?

- It is sometimes said that a government should aim actively to create the conditions necessary for individuals to be self-sufficient or to achieve self-realization.
- What do you think?
 - How might this work?
 - What if types of liberty are in conflict?
 - The right to free association vs. the right to equal treatment

Race

- Origins of racism
 - Race as a justification for inequality
 - Extreme demand for unpaid labor in early America
 - African slaves without voice, without power, victims of move towards white solidarity
 - Slavery first?
 - Racism first?
- Justifications for racism
 - Historical
 - Religious
 - Science/nature

Jim Crow and Lynch Law

- The end of slavery did not end white supremacy
 - Jim crow laws
 - “separate but equal”
 - Plessy v. Ferguson
 - Lynch laws

Being Black in America

- Accommodation?
 - Booker T. Washington
 - Practical skills, amnesia
- Challenge?
 - W. E. B. DuBois
 - NAACP
 - Politics of resistance, memory
 - Manhood and dignity through resistance
 - Force recognition, “I am a man”

Strategies of Resistance

- Legal
 - Court rooms
- Public opinion
 - Protests, rallies, civil disobedience
- Political
 - Elections
- A battle over both negative and positive liberty.

Segregation and Public Policy

- American city outlines can be seen by ethnic makeup
 - Detroit
 - Baltimore
 - Chicago
- Origins and perpetuation of neighborhood segregation
- Segregation, public policy, and the school system
 - Opportunity
 - Stigma
 - Equality?
 - Liberty?

Segregation and Equality

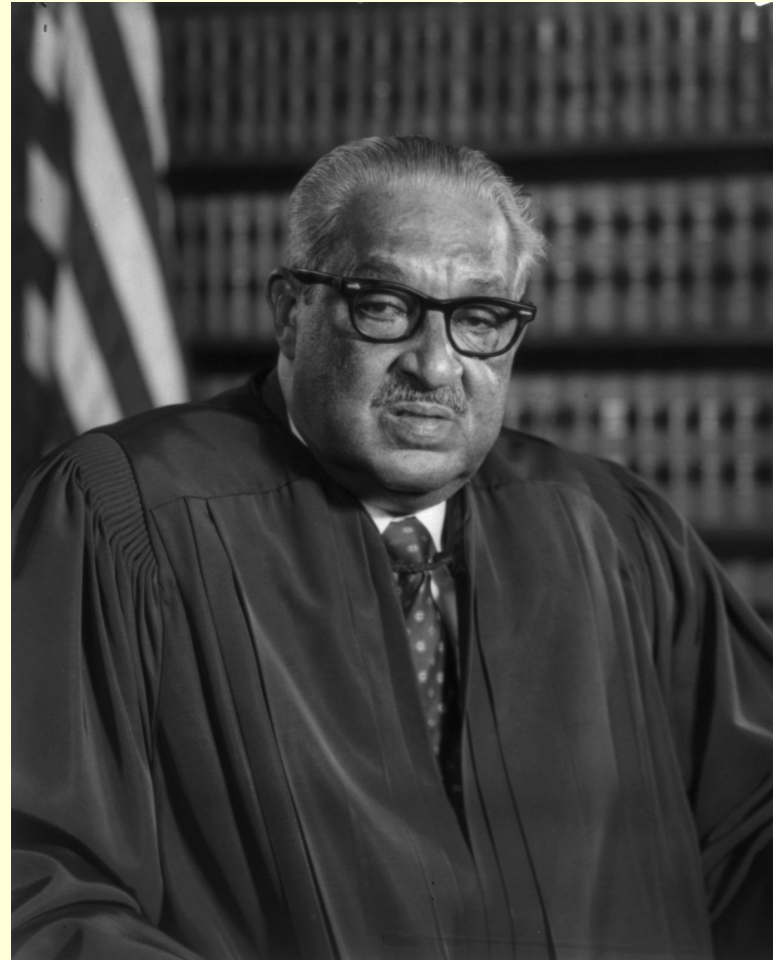
- Background
 - *Plessy*: “separate but equal”
 - NAACP; Thurgood Marshall
 - Linda Brown & the 14th Amendment
- Thinking about equality
 - equality of condition
 - inequality and stigma
 - “equal educational opportunity”

NAACP & Thurgood Marshall



- In 1938, Thurgood Marshall became Director-Counsel of the NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund
- Marshall directed litigation in the *Brown* case.
- Served as Supreme Court Justice from 1967 – 1991. (Nominated by L. Johnson)

Justice Thurgood Marshall (1967-1991)



The University of Georgia, 1948



Brown v. Board of Education (1954)



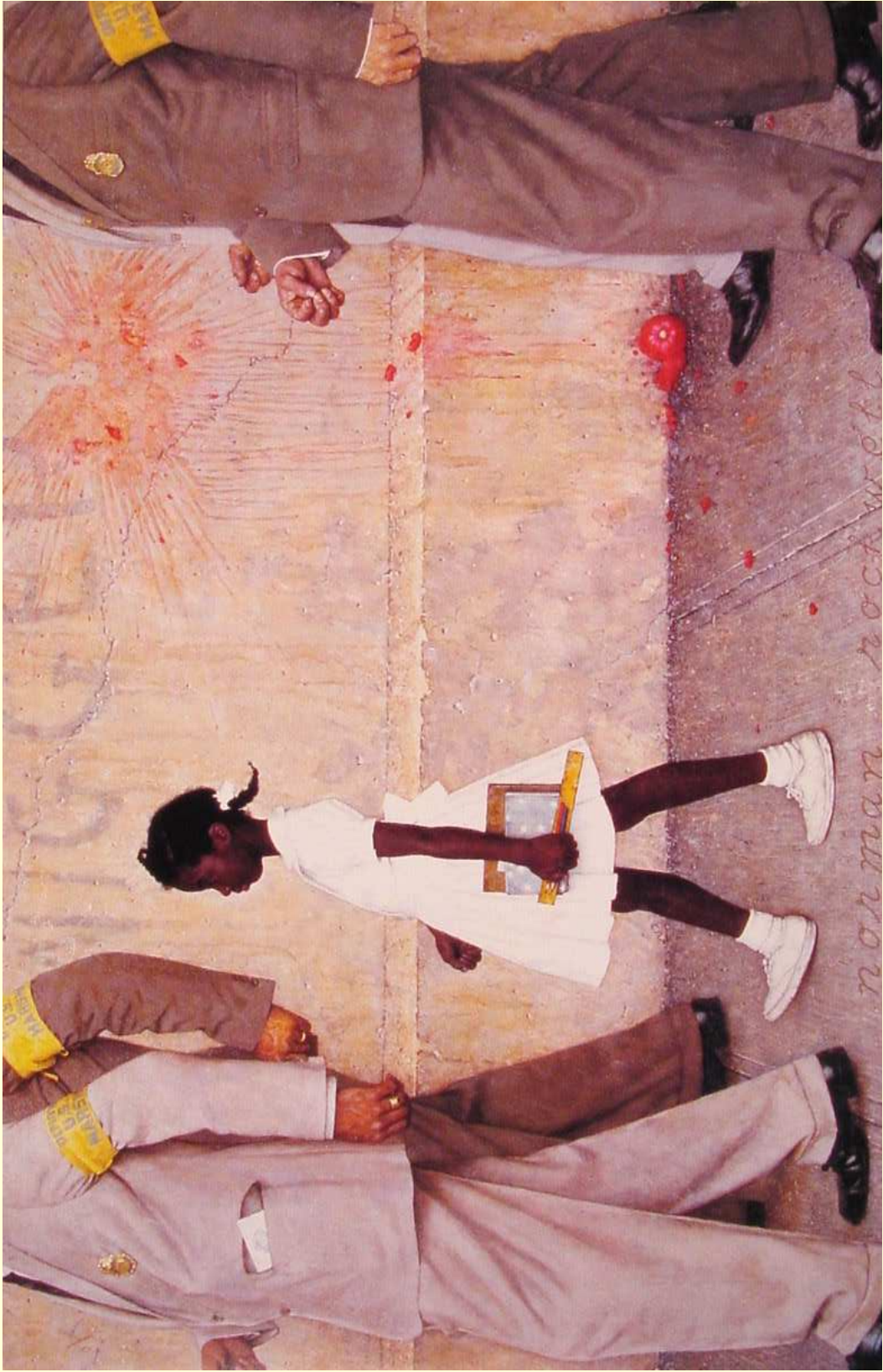
Linda Brown



Miss Brown & Family

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Civil Rights

- rights: what are they?
 - “one person, one vote”
 - My right is your obligation
- legislation
 - Civil Rights Act (1964)
 - Voting Rights Act (1965)
- causes
 - government and power
 - politics and ideas

Government & Power

(a story of legislative arm-twisting)



John Fitzgerald Kennedy



Lyndon Baines Johnson

Politics & Ideas

(some moments during the civil rights era)

- Jackie Robinson & the Brooklyn Dodgers (1947)
- Executive Order #9981 & Military Integration (1948)
- Rosa Parks & the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1957)
- Central High School & the Little Rock Nine (1957)
- Sit-ins & Mob intimidation (1960)
- Freedom Rides & White Backlash (1961)
 - John Lewis
- Birmingham & “Bull” Connor (1963)
- The March on Washington & “I Have a Dream” (1963)

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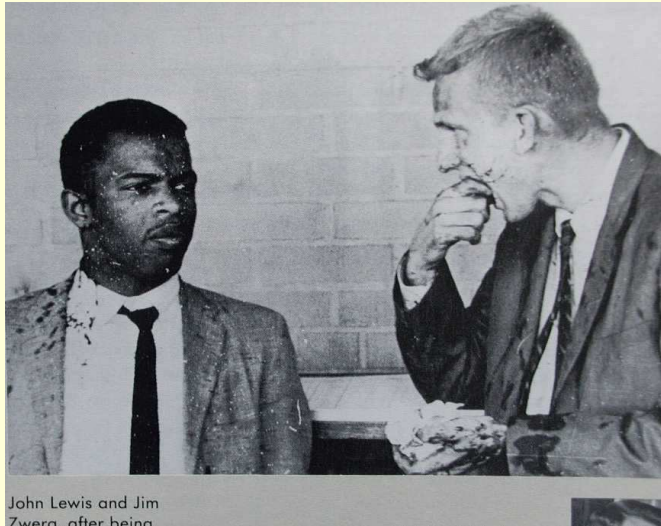
Sit-ins & Mob Intimidation (1960)



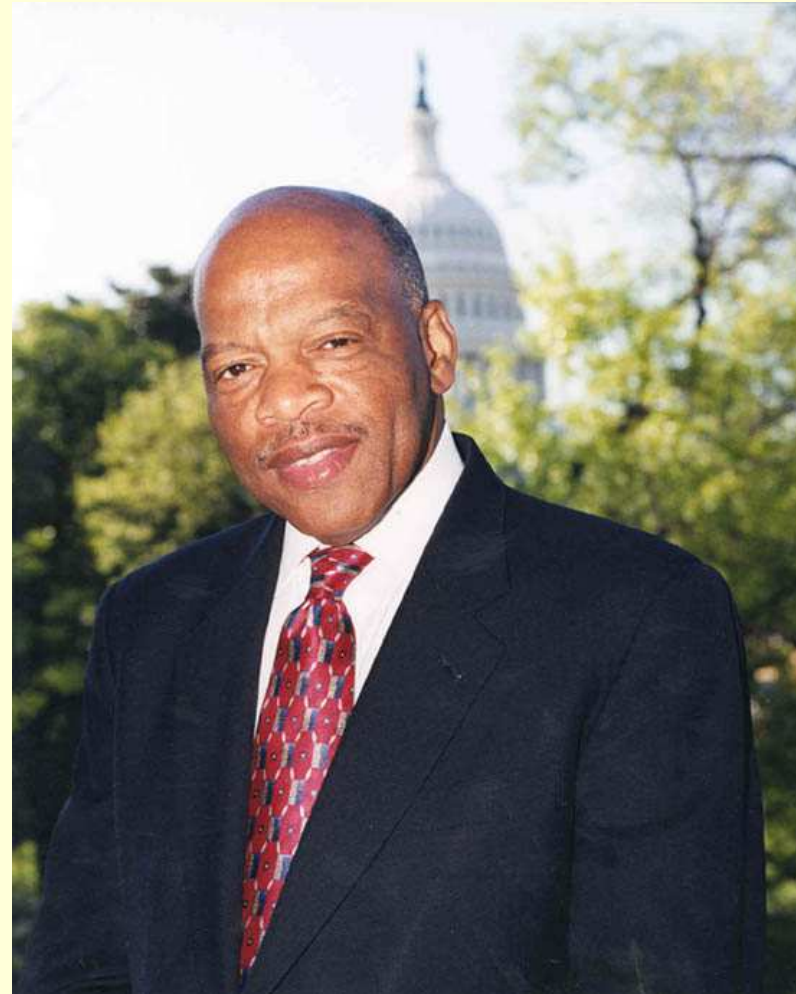
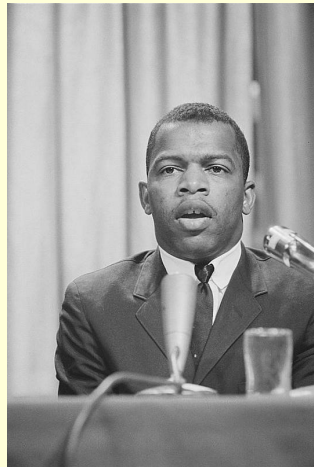
Freedom Rides & White Backlash (1961)



John Lewis



John Lewis and Jim Zwerg after being



Birmingham & “Bull” Connor (1963)



The March on Washington & “I Have a Dream” (1963)



“I Have a Dream”



- “I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.”

The Civil Rights Act of 1964



The Civil Rights Act of 1964

- Banned racial discrimination in public accommodations
 - A conflict between negative liberty and positive liberty?
- Banned racial discrimination in employment
- Cut off funds to segregated institutions
- Created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

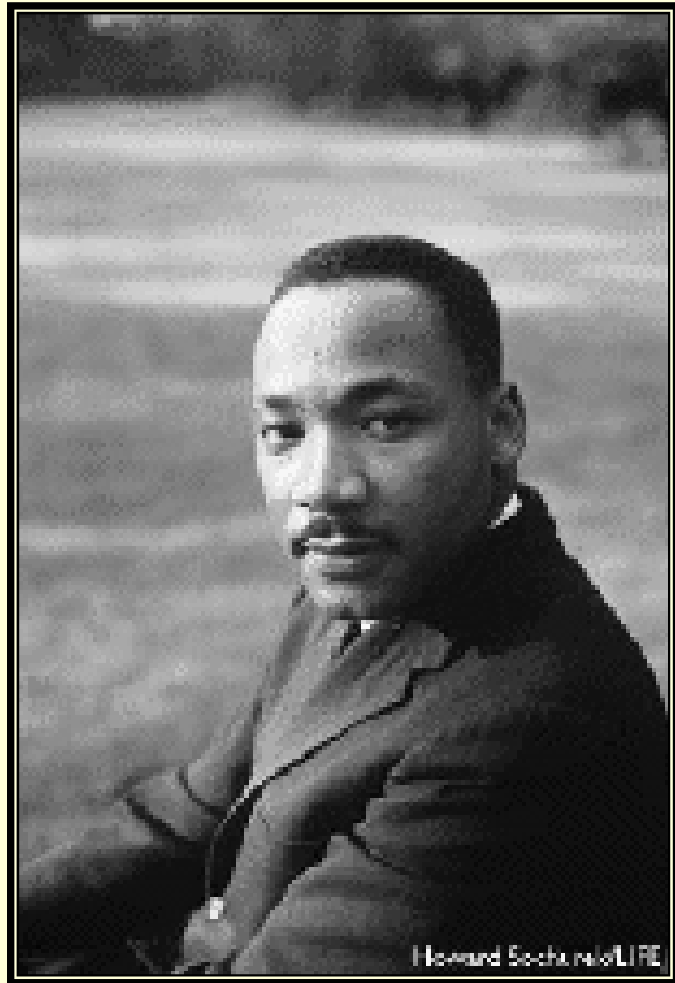
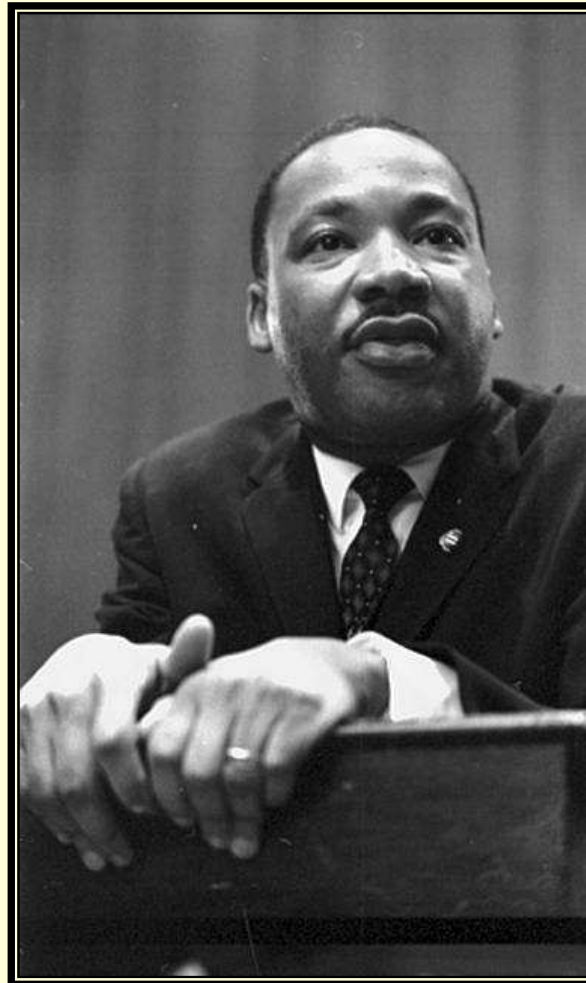
The Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States (1964)



Martin Luther King Jr.

- 1929 - 1968
- Montgomery, 1955
 - Rosa Parks
- SCLC
 - Birmingham, 1963
 - Selma, 1965
- March on Washington (1963)
- Coda

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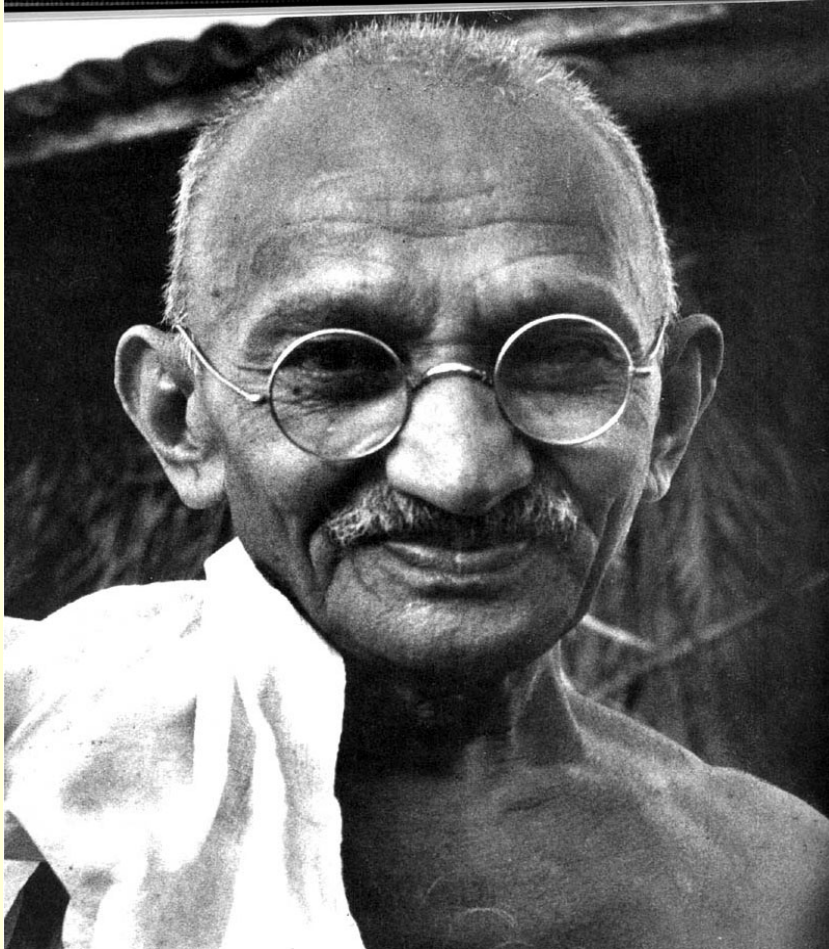
Martin Luther King killed (1968)



Nonviolence

- Strategy and tactics
- Shame and power
- Nonviolence and power
 - nonviolence and violence?
- Justifying contexts
 - revelation
 - democratic procedure

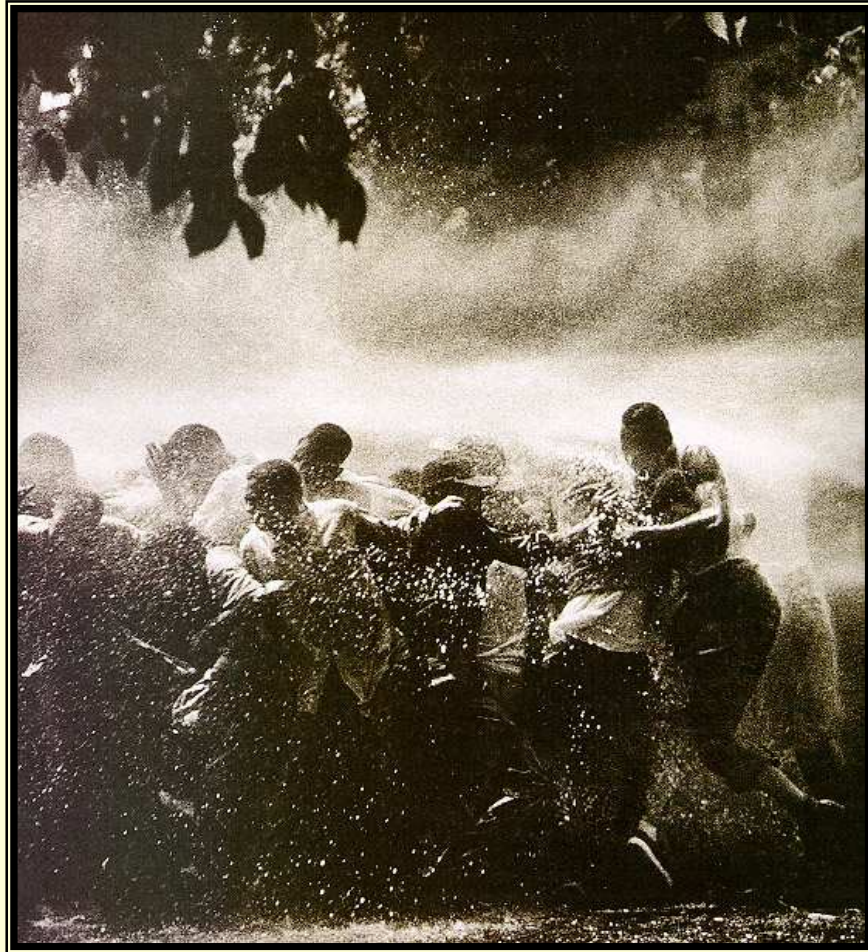
Gandhi & Nonviolent Resistance



“Sitting-in” in Charlotte and Greensboro



Marching in Birmingham



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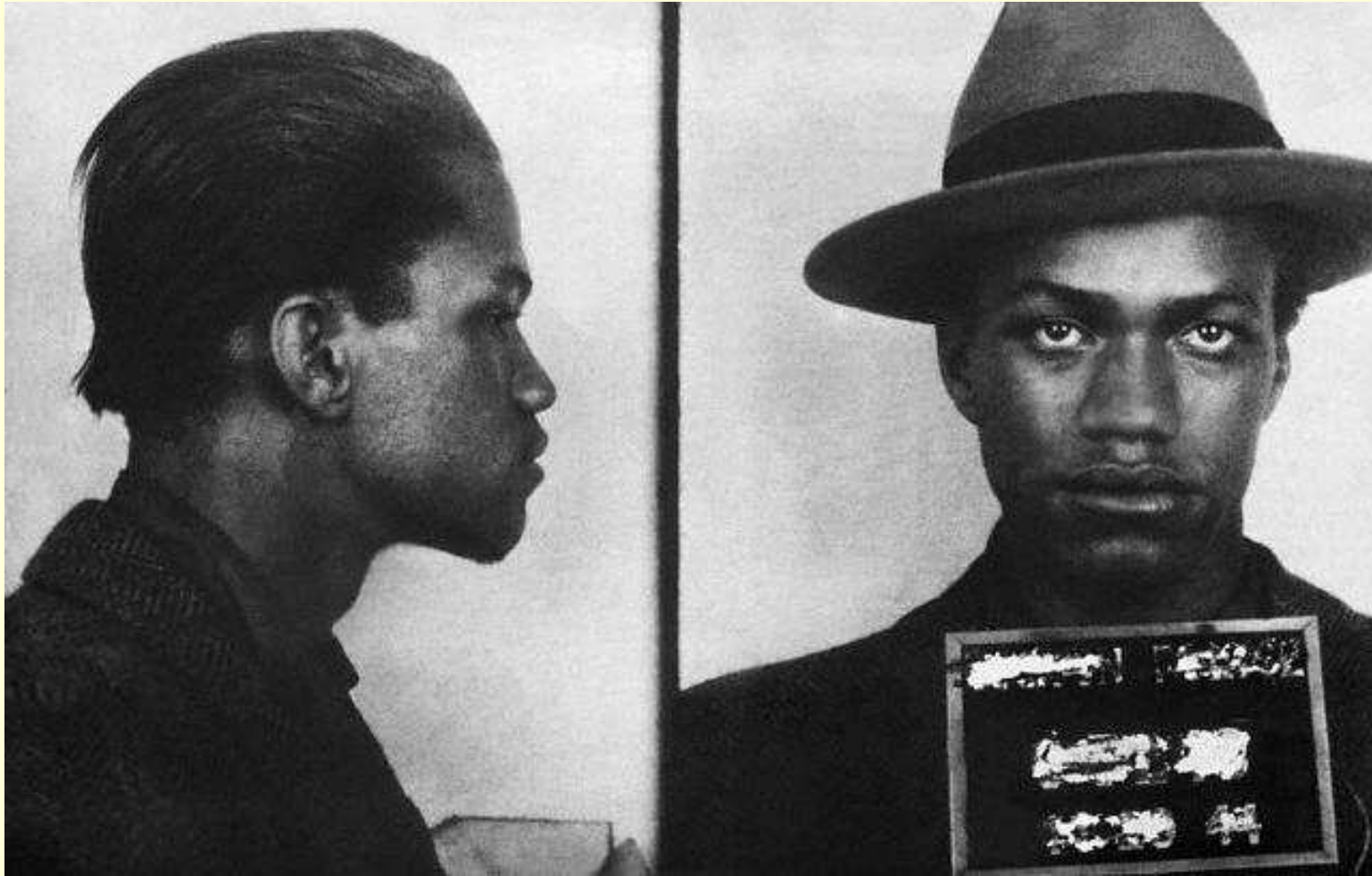
MLK & Malcolm X



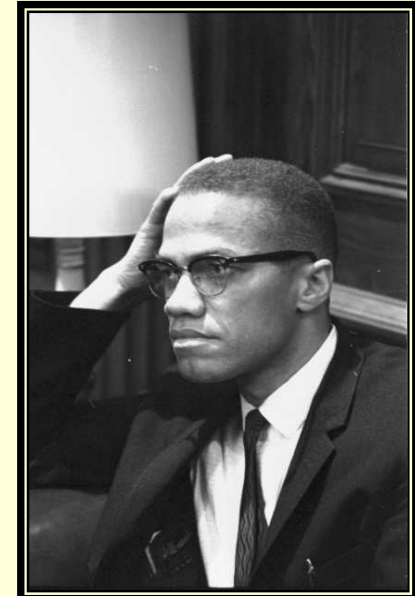
Malcolm X

- 1925 - 1965
- Nation of Islam
 - Elijah Muhammad
- “Easter Speech in Harlem”
- Coda
 - Mecca

Malcolm X



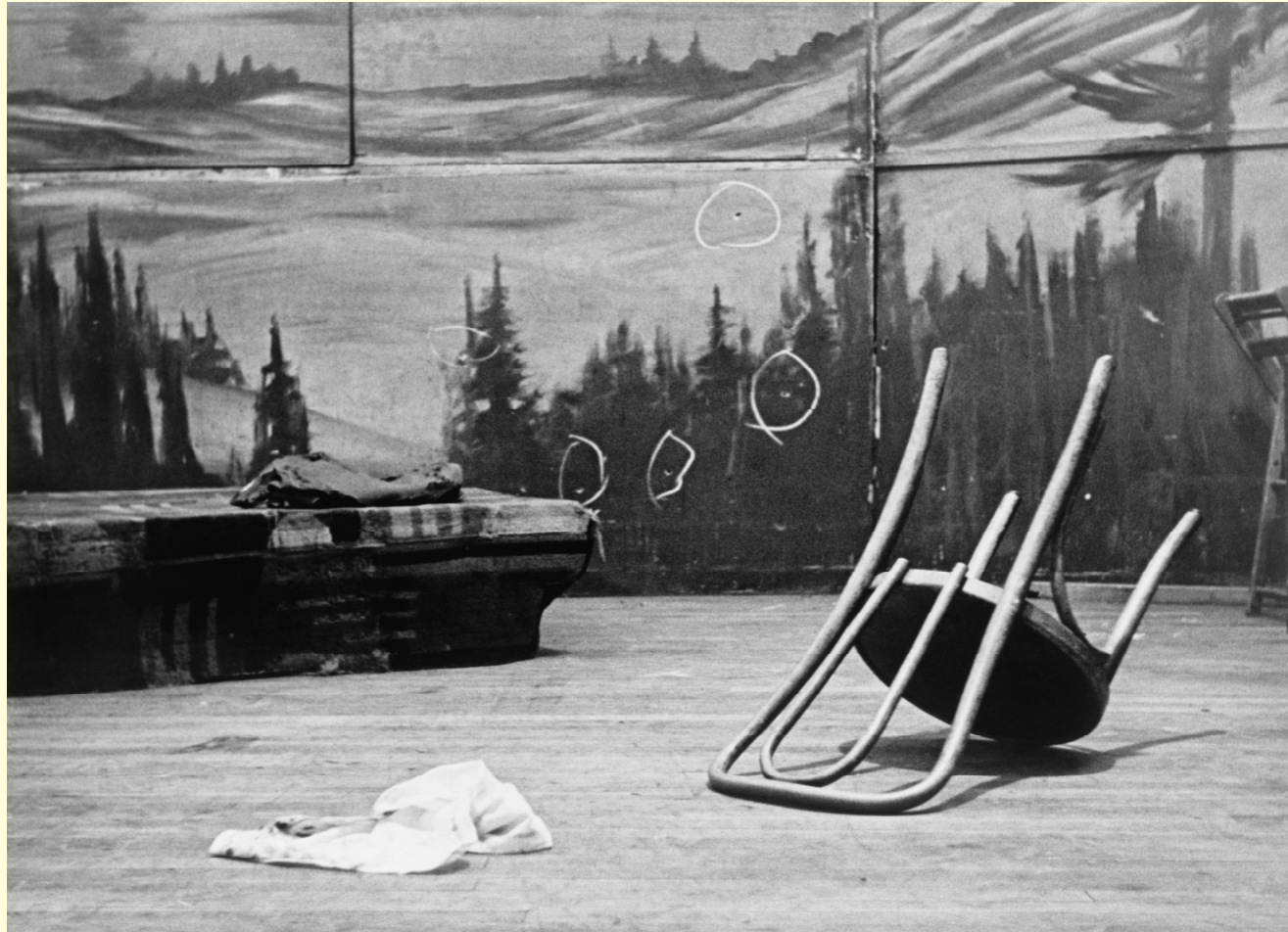
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Rage

- the experience of rage
- the perils of double-consciousness
 - Manichean; hybrid
- Nation of Islam
 - black nationalism
- transforming rage?

The Watts Riot of 1965



The Detroit Riots of 1967

