

Instructor: Prof. Tommie Shelby (tshelby@fas.harvard.edu)

Class Meetings: Tuesdays 2:00-4:00; Emerson Hall 104

Section Meeting: To be arranged

Office Hours: Wednesdays 1:30-3:30; Barker Center, Room 242, 496-8546

TF: Ernest Julius Mitchell, ejmitch@fas.harvard.edu

Course Description: This course surveys that diverse yet thematically connected set of social philosophies generally classified under the broad rubric “black nationalism.” We will take an interdisciplinary approach to reading the canonical primary documents in the tradition, focusing primarily on black nationalism as a social theory, a political philosophy, and an intellectual tradition. Though some attention will be given to black nationalist organizations and social movements, the main focus will be on black nationalist *ideas*. We will critically examine the ideas of a few key theorists and iconic spokespersons and take up the core themes of the tradition. Topics to be explored include the varieties of black nationalism; black self-determination; black capitalism; the ideas of “race” and “nation”; racial solidarity and group self-reliance; self-defense and political resistance; political violence; the construction of gender roles and configurations of class within black nationalist discourses; the relationship between black identity and black liberation goals; the role of black artistic and cultural expression in black freedom struggles; the significance of Africa for black nationalist ideals; and the relevance of black nationalism for contemporary African American politics. In addition to critics of black nationalism such as Frederick Douglass and Martin Luther King Jr, we will discuss some contemporary critical assessments of the tradition and its legacy. The figures to be considered include David Walker, Martin Delany, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Amiri Baraka, and Huey Newton.

Requirements:

- Class participation (15%). This involves making regular and well-informed contributions to class discussion and section meetings, which of course requires doing the reading and regularly attending both class and section.
- 7-8 page essay on ideas articulated during the “classical” period of black nationalism (e.g., those presented by such figures as Martin Delany, W.E.B. Du Bois, or Marcus Garvey), to be uploaded to the course iSite by **March 9<sup>th</sup> at 10am** (35%).
- 7-8 page essay on black nationalist ideas articulated during the modern or contemporary period (e.g., those defended by such figures as Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, or Huey Newton), to be uploaded to the course iSite by **May 6<sup>th</sup> at 5pm** (50%).

Required Texts (all of which are on reserve at Lamont Library and available at the COOP):

- Wilson J. Moses (ed.), *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: NYU Press, 1996).
- William L. Van Deburg (ed.), *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan* (New York: NYU Press, 1997).
- George Breitman (ed.), *Malcolm X Speaks* (New York: Grove Press, 1994).
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2005).

- Huey Newton, *To Die for the People* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2009).
- Eddie S. Glaude Jr. (ed.), *Is It Nation Time? Contemporary Essays on Black Power and Black Nationalism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002).
- Various readings available on the course website.

### Reading Schedule:

January 27 (Week 1): Cancelled due to storm

February 3 (Week 2): From Proto-Nationalism to Classical Nationalism

- Robert Alexander Young, “The Ethiopian Manifesto,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*. (e-version: <http://chnm.gmu.edu/egyptomania/sources.php?function=detail&articleid=11>)
- David Walker, “An Appeal in Four Articles” (excerpts), in *Classical Black Nationalism*. (e-version: <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/walker/walker.html>) If you don’t have the anthology, focus on the Preamble and Articles I and II.
- Maria Stewart, “Address at the African Masonic Hall,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*. (e-version: <http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/stewartmason.html>)
- Martin Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (excerpts), in *Classical Black Nationalism*. (e-version: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17154/17154-h/17154-h.htm>) If you don’t have the anthology, read chapters XVI-XX and the Appendix.
- Wilson J. Moses, “Introduction,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*. (available in the Google books version: [https://books.google.com/books?id=UTvru7OfQHIC&pg=PT38&lpg=PT38&dq=wilson+moses+classical+black+nationalism&source=bl&ots=lehtMJyFrd&sig=nCxDL0mL1nSliBMZOJHGFpjoKQ0&hl=en&sa=X&ei=LrrHVKSrGq\\_nsAT0nIEw&ved=0CDQQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=UTvru7OfQHIC&pg=PT38&lpg=PT38&dq=wilson+moses+classical+black+nationalism&source=bl&ots=lehtMJyFrd&sig=nCxDL0mL1nSliBMZOJHGFpjoKQ0&hl=en&sa=X&ei=LrrHVKSrGq_nsAT0nIEw&ved=0CDQQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false))

February 17 (Week 3): Emigration and the Discourse of “Civilization”

- Roger Taney, “Obiter Dictum on the Dred Scott Case,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- Martin Delany, *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* (excerpts), in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- James T. Holly, “A Vindication of the Capacity of the Negro Race for Self-Government and Civilized Progress,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- Alexander Crummell, “The Progress of Civilization along the West Coast of Africa,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- Edward W. Blyden, “The Call of Providence to the Descendants of Africa,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- Frederick Douglass, “African Civilization Society,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- Henry Highland Garnet, “Address at Cooper’s Institute,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- Abraham Lincoln, “Address on Colonization to a Deputation of Colored Men,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.

- Henry McNeal Turner, “The American Negro and His Fatherland,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.

February 24 (Week 4): Du Bois’s Neo-Nationalism and Pan-Africanism

- W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Conservation of Races,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- W.E.B. Du Bois, “Of Our Spiritual Strivings,” from *The Souls of Black Folk* (course website).
- W.E.B. Du Bois, “To the World (Manifesto of the Second Pan-African Congress),” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Pan-African Congresses: The Story of a Growing Movement” (course website).
- W.E.B. Du Bois, “On Being Ashamed of Oneself: An Essay on Race Pride” (course website).
- W.E.B. Du Bois, “Separation and Self-Respect” (course website).
- W.E.B. Du Bois, “A Negro Nation Within the Nation” (course website).

March 3 (Week 5): Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association

- Booker T. Washington, “Atlanta Exposition Address” (course website).
- Marcus Garvey, “Address at Newport News,” in *Classical Black Nationalism*.
- Selections from *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (course website).
- “Universal Negro Improvement Association, Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Amy Jacques Garvey, “I Am a Negro—and Beautiful,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Carlos Cooks, “Hair Conking; Buy Black,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.

**March 9: First paper due at 10am**

March 10 (Week 6): Communism and the Black Nation

- Cyril V. Briggs, “The African Blood Brotherhood,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- W.E.B. Du Bois, “Marxism and the Negro Problem,” from *The Crisis* (course website).
- Richard Wright, “Blueprint for Negro Writing” (course website).
- Claudia Jones, “On the Right to Self-Determination for the Negro People in the Black Belt” (course website).
- C.L.R. James, “The Right of Self-Determination and the Negro in the United States of North America” (course website).
- Harry Haywood, “The Negro Nation,” from *Negro Liberation* (course website).

March 17 (Spring Break)

March 24 (Week 7): Fanon on Political Violence and National Consciousness

- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Chaps 1, 4, and Conclusion.

March 31 (Week 8): The Nation of Islam and Malcolm X

- Elijah Muhammad, “Know Thyself,” “The Making of Devil,” and “A Program for Self-Development,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Malcolm X, “Message to the Grass Roots,” “A Declaration of Independence,” “The Ballot or the Bullet” and “The Black Revolution,” in *Malcolm X Speaks*.
- Malcolm X, “Basic Unity Program,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Malcolm X, “Appeal to African Heads of State,” in *Malcolm X Speaks*.
- View selected speeches of and interviews with Malcolm X (course website).

April 7 (Week 9): Black Power and Its Critics

- Robert F. Williams, “Speech from Radio Free Dixie,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- SNCC, “Position Paper on Black Power,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- “The Gary Declaration,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), “Speech to the Congress of African Peoples,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Roy Innis, “Separatist Economics,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael), “Pan-Africanism—Land and Power,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Albert B. Cleage, Jr., “The Black Messiah and the Black Revolution,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Martin Luther King, Jr., “Black Power,” from *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (course website).
- Harold Cruse, “Postscript on Black Power—The Dialogue Between Shadow and Substance,” from *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (course website).

April 14 (Week 10): Cultural Nationalism and Black Art

- Jeff Donaldson, “The Role We Want for Black Art,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Maulana Karenga, “The Nguzo Saba (The Seven Principles): Their Meaning and Message,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- Linda Harrison, “On Cultural Nationalism” (course website)
- Harold Cruse, “Role of the Negro Intellectual—Survey of the Dialogue Deferred,” from *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (course website).
- LeRoi Jones, “The Revolutionary Theatre” (course website)
- Larry Neal, “The Black Arts Movement” (course website)
- Amiri Baraka, “The Black Arts Movement,” from *The LeRoi Jones/ Amiri Baraka Reader*, ed. William J. Harris (course website).
- View video of Gil Scott Heron performing “The Revolution Will Not Be Televised” (course website).
- View Karenga video where he explains the meaning of Kwanzaa (course website).

April 21 (Week 11): Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party

- Huey Newton, *To Die for the People*, pp. 3-109, 149-156.
- “Panther Sisters on Women’s Liberation,” in *Modern Black Nationalism*.
- View Black Panther Party video (course website).

April 28 (Week 12): Leftist Criticisms of Black Nationalism

- Cornel West, “The Paradox of the African American Rebellion,” in *Is It Nation Time?*
- Adolph L. Reed Jr., “Black Particularity Reconsidered,” in *Is It Nation Time?*

April 30 (Week 13): Feminist Criticisms of Black Nationalism

- Angela Y. Davis, “Black Nationalism: The Sixties and the Nineties,” from *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*, ed. Joy James (course website).
- E. Frances White, “Africa on My Mind,” in *Is It Nation Time?*
- Wahneema Lubiano, “Standing In for the State: Black Nationalism and ‘Writing’ the Black Subject,” in *Is It Nation Time?*

**May 6: Final paper due at 5pm**