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# Civil Disobedience, Social Justice, Nationalism & Populism, Violent Demonstrations and Race Relations

## Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power": Document Analysis

by Keith E. Sealing

### Overview

On October 29, 1966, Stokely Carmichael addressed an audience consisting primarily of college students at the open-air Greek Theater at the University of California at Berkeley. Carmichael was a leading spokesperson for the American civil rights movement as well as for international human rights and the relationship between the two movements; he was also an outspoken critic of the Vietnam War. Carmichael had first become known as a representative of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC, commonly pronounced "snick." After breaking with SNCC in 1967, Carmichael became affiliated with the more militant Black Panther Party. Finally, after breaking with the Black Panthers, he spoke from his own platform during a period of self-imposed exile before his death in the Republic of Guinea. His UC Berkeley speech is usually referred to as the "Black Power" speech, although he gave other speeches that stressed the same theme and sometimes have been referred to by that same title. Carmichael touched on a broad range of issues in his UC Berkeley speech, including SNCC's condemnation of white America's "institutional racism" (a term he has been credited with coining) and fear of the term "Black Power." Carmichael also discussed the relationship between the American civil rights movement and unrest in much of the postcolonial world, the need for white activists to organize in white communities, nonviolence versus self-defense in the face of racial oppression, and the evil of the Vietnam War.

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Stokely Carmichael's  
"Black Power": The Full  
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Stokely Carmichael  
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Carmichael was talking to an audience of largely left-leaning students on one of the most liberal, even radical, campuses in the country at a time when the civil rights movement had begun to hit its stride. He was speaking as a representative of SNCC and cited the positions taken as those of SNCC, whose platform he was largely responsible for developing and articulating. Although SNCC espoused nonviolence at the time and included whites in its membership, Carmichael was already moving away from white inclusion in SNCC, calling instead for whites to organize nonracist whites in their own communities. He was also questioning the workability of nonviolence in the face of violence against peaceful African American demonstrators by whites in positions of power. It would be these two issues that caused Carmichael to separate himself from SNCC—which would itself move away from its dedication to nonviolence in the coming years—and join the more radical Black Panther Party.

### **Context**

The year 1966 was pivotal for both of Carmichael's major concerns: civil rights and the Vietnam War. His address was delivered at a time when the political and social climate of the country was being shaped by the assassinations of three major figures. President John F. Kennedy had been assassinated on November 22, 1963, and the black civil rights activist Malcolm X had been killed on February 21, 1965. Eighteen months after the UC Berkeley speech, on April 4, 1968, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., would be murdered in Memphis, Tennessee. Several months before the UC Berkeley speech, Carmichael had taken part in the March against Fear from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi. The march had been organized by James Meredith, the first African American student at the University of Mississippi, where he had been subject to constant harassment. After graduation he organized the march, which began on June 5, 1966, in order to bring attention to black voting rights issues in the South and to help blacks overcome fear of violence. During the march he was shot in an assassination attempt by Aubrey James Norvell, but he survived. Several civil rights leaders, including Carmichael, joined the march after the shooting. Carmichael was arrested in

Greenwood, Mississippi, while participating in the march. When he rejoined the marchers, he galvanized them with a speech at a rally; this speech has also been referred to as his “Black Power” speech.

At the time of his speech at UC Berkeley, Carmichael was still not only a member of SNCC but also in many ways its public face and certainly its most charismatic speaker. He was particularly highly regarded as a speaker on college campuses. SNCC, formed in 1960, was a major force in the civil rights movement. It organized voter registration drives throughout the South and events such as the 1963 March on Washington. Leaders of the organization included such notables of the civil rights movement as Julian Bond, John Lewis, Marion Barry, and Carmichael’s successor as chairman, H. Rap Brown (later known as Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin). In addition to its “Black Power” focus, SNCC was also involved in protests against the Vietnam War.

On March 9, 1965, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., arrived in Selma, Alabama, to lead a nonviolent march of activists, both black and white, to the state capital at Montgomery. The march had already begun two days earlier, but its participants had encountered violent resistance from state troopers and local law enforcement at the Edmund Pettus Bridge on Selma’s outskirts. On March 25, the marchers, under King’s leadership and the protection of National Guard troops authorized by President Lyndon Johnson, arrived in Montgomery. The march had attracted over twenty-five thousand participants in its final days, but its triumph would soon be overshadowed by other events. In August of that same year, riots erupted in the Watts section of Los Angeles. During the five days of disturbances, over fourteen thousand National Guard troops were sent to South Central Los Angeles. When the dust settled, thirty-four had died (most of them black), more than one thousand had been injured, and property damage had amounted to an estimated \$40 million, possibly much more. During the following months up to the time of Carmichael’s UC Berkeley speech, violent conflict involving blacks and local law enforcement swept through cities across the nation. These events prompted SNCC’s leadership to begin to move away from strict adherence to the principle of nonviolence.

Also on the nation’s mind was the deepening American involvement in Vietnam. In August 1964 the Communist North Vietnamese attacked two U.S. naval destroyers. In response, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (unanimously in the House of Representatives and with just two nays in the Senate), which gave President Lyndon Johnson the authority to send combat troops to South Vietnam. In March 1965, the first U.S. combat troops—thirty-five hundred Marines—joined twenty-three thousand U.S. advisers and special forces already in Vietnam. By the end of that year nearly two hundred thousand American troops would be in Vietnam. Antiwar sentiment was strongly felt on many college campuses in the mid-1960s, but the liberal UC Berkeley campus was a hotbed of student protest. In the spring of 1965, the Vietnam Day Committee—a coalition of student groups, political groups, labor organizations, and churches—was formed on the campus by the activists Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, and others. A campus protest on May 21 and 22 of that year, during which President Johnson was burned in effigy, attracted some thirty-five thousand people. In his speech at UC Berkeley in 1966, Carmichael would have been speaking before a highly receptive audience.

## Time Line

### 1941

**June 29** Stokely Carmichael is born in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago.

### 1960

Carmichael enrolls at Howard University in Washington, D.C., and joins the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

### 1963

**November 22** President John F. Kennedy is assassinated.

### 1964

**August** After reports of a North Vietnamese attack on two U.S. naval vessels, Congress gives President Lyndon Johnson the authority to move combat troops into South Vietnam.

### 1965

**February 21** Malcolm X is assassinated by three members of the Nation of Islam.

**March** Six hundred marchers begin a fifty-four-mile trek from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital at Montgomery on March 7 and are assaulted by state troopers at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. On March 9, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., arrives in Selma to lead the marchers, who eventually arrive in Montgomery on March 25; in its final days, the march draws over twenty-five thousand participants.

**August 11** The Watts riot erupts in Los Angeles, lasting until August 16.

### 1966

**June** Carmichael joins Martin Luther King, Jr., and others to continue James Meredith's March against Fear from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi, after Meredith is shot and hospitalized.

**October 15** The Black Panther Party is formed in Oakland, California, by Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton.

**October 29** Carmichael delivers his "Black Power" speech at the Greek Theater at the University of California at Berkeley.

### 1967

**June** Carmichael steps down as chairman of SNCC and joins the Black Panthers.

### 1968

**April 4** Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.

### 1969

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee changes its name to the Student National Coordinating Committee in recognition of its more militant stance. Carmichael splits from the Black Panthers and moves to the Republic of Guinea.

### 1998

**November 15** Carmichael dies of prostate cancer in Guinea.

## About the Author

Stokely Carmichael, later in life known also as Kwame Ture, was born on June 29, 1941, in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago. His parents left him in the care of his grandparents at an early age and immigrated to New York City, where they worked in blue-collar jobs. Carmichael eventually joined his parents in New York and attended the Bronx High School of Science. In 1960 he began attending Howard University, where he became involved with the newly formed SNCC. While he was a member of SNCC in 1965, Carmichael established his effectiveness as an organizer when he played a lead role in increasing the number of registered black voters in Lowndes County, Alabama, from seventy to twenty-six hundred. There he worked with the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Coincidentally for the future member of the California-based Black Panther organization, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization had as its mascot a black panther, which it used in juxtaposition with the white-controlled Democratic Party's local mascot, a white rooster instead of the nationwide symbol of the donkey. As a representative of the militant wing of SNCC, Carmichael rose to become the organization's chairman in 1966.

Carmichael was at first supportive of the work of Martin Luther King. He joined with King in 1966 to continue James Meredith's March against Fear from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi, after Meredith had been shot by a white sniper. Carmichael would later repudiate King's nonviolent stance, although as late as April 15, 1967, he joined King in speaking out against the Vietnam War. Through the force of his rhetoric, Carmichael became a celebrity, but others in SNCC resented his prominence. He was replaced as chairman of SNCC by H. Rap Brown in 1967 and was soon formally expelled from the organization. That year, Carmichael joined the more militant Black Panther Party. As "honorary prime minister" of the Panthers, he became an even more forceful critic of the Vietnam War and lectured throughout the world and the United States, often on college campuses. However, Carmichael never rose to become the official spokesperson for the Panthers. Eventually, he broke with the Panthers over the issue of whether whites should be allowed to become members.

After the assassination of King on April 4, 1968, Carmichael was in Washington, D.C., and, although he was no longer officially a member of SNCC, led members of that organization in trying to maintain order. In 1969 he left the United States and the Panthers to live in the Republic of Guinea, which had gained independence from France in 1958. There he changed his name to Kwame Ture in honor of two figures: Guinea's president, Ahmed Sékou Touré, who ruled the country from its liberation until his death in 1984; and Kwame Nkrumah, the former president of Ghana, who, after he had been overthrown, was offered refuge by Touré. From his base in Guinea, Carmichael wrote and spoke, advocating pan-Africanism and Socialism.

Carmichael died of prostate cancer on November 15, 1998, at the age of fifty-seven. Before his death, he had claimed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had infected him with a strain of cancer in order to assassinate him. It was later learned that he had been the subject of surveillance by the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency since 1968.

## Explanation and Analysis of the Document

Carmichael begins his speech at UC Berkeley with a mocking dig at his audience, in which he describes the university and its environs as the “white intellectual ghetto of the West.” Continuing in this edgy but humorous vein, he announces that, based upon SNCC’s successes at voter registration, he would be running for president, although he notes next that he is ineligible because he was not born in the United States. He then states that he would not get caught up in questions about the meaning of “Black Power”—leaving that to the press—though he mocks reporters, calling them “advertisers.”

## Condemnation

Carmichael then turns to his first major point, the question of “whether or not a man can condemn himself.” In breaking down this question, he turns to the thought of three intellectuals. Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre were both French intellectuals and writers of the early- to mid-twentieth century. Camus, born in Algeria to parents of French and Spanish origin, was the first African-born writer to win the Nobel Prize. Although his name was often linked with existentialism, Camus rejected this label and thought of himself as an absurdist. He was also associated with the European Union movement and opposition to totalitarianism. Jean-Paul Sartre was a French existentialist and Communist who opposed French rule in Algeria. Frantz Fanon was a writer, philosopher, and revolutionary who was born in Martinique and whose books— *The Wretched of the Earth*, *Black Skin, White Masks*, and *A Dying Colonialism*—were key documents in the anticolonial movement and would likely have been familiar to many in Carmichael’s UC Berkeley audience. Carmichael asserts that SNCC’s leaders also believed that man cannot condemn himself. Carmichael’s point is that since “white America cannot condemn herself,” SNCC has condemned it. He then mentions Sheriff Lawrence Rainey in Neshoba County, Mississippi; this is a reference to the notorious murder in 1964 of three civil rights workers, two of them white and one black, through the collusion of local law enforcement agencies and the Ku Klux Klan.

## White Supremacy

With paragraph 6, Carmichael takes up the issue of white supremacy. He begins by arguing that integration is an “insidious subterfuge” that in fact maintains white supremacy. He compares integration to thalidomide, a drug given to pregnant women that infamously had turned out to cause severe birth defects. He makes reference to Ross Barnett, who had been the segregationist governor of Mississippi, and Jim Clark, the sheriff of Dallas County, Alabama, who had been responsible for authorizing the violent assaults and arrests of activists during the Selma-to-Montgomery march of 1965. He argues that American institutions are racist (Carmichael has been credited with having coined the term *institutional racism*) and then asks rhetorically what whites who are not racists can do to change the system.

Carmichael rejects the idea that whites can give anybody their freedom. “A man is born free” and then enslaved, so whites must stop denying freedom, rather than trying to “give” freedom. He then states that it follows logically that civil rights legislation, passed by white people, is ultimately for the benefit of white people. Laws regarding public accommodations and the right to vote, he argues, show white people that African Americans have certain rights; however, African Americans should already be aware that they are entitled to those rights. Voting, for example, is a right, not a privilege.

Carmichael next discusses white failures at democracy in the international sphere, citing Vietnam, South Africa, the Philippines, South America, and Puerto Rico. He states, in paragraph 11:

We not only condemn the [United States] for what it’s done internally, but we must condemn it for what it does externally. We see this country trying to rule the world, and someone must stand up and start articulating that this country is not God, and cannot rule the world.

In this vein he condemns missionary work in Africa as a component of white supremacy, arguing that missionary work was premised on the belief that Africans were uncivilized. He also portrays missionaries as exchanging Bibles for natives’ land. Carmichael then links domestic endeavors such as Head Start to the same agenda. He rejects the notion that people are poor simply because they do not work. If this were actually the criterion for poverty, then such people as Nelson Rockefeller (the governor of New York and heir to the Standard Oil fortune), Bobby Kennedy (the brother of president John F. Kennedy), President Johnson and his wife, Lady Bird Johnson, and other powerful Americans should be poor, for in Carmichael’s view, they do not work.

## Black Power

Carmichael then argues, in paragraph 16, that the debate over the use of the term *Black Power* is part of a psychological struggle over whether African Americans can use terms without white approval. He states that black Americans are often put in the position of having to defend their actions and maintains that it is time for white America to be put in the position of having to defend its actions—“defending themselves as to why they have oppressed and exploited us.” He draws attention to the extent of segregation by noting that only 6 percent of black children are enrolled in integrated schools. Although the particular source that gave him this statistic is uncertain, a number of contemporary documents cited such a figure, including the decision in *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education* (1966) by Justice John Minor Wisdom of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, a judge who wrote a number of influential opinions on school desegregation. In paragraph 21, Carmichael draws his listeners’ attention to the heavy-handed police presence in Oakland, California, and then asks what the nation’s political parties can do to create institutions that “will become the political expressions of people on a day-to-day basis.”

## White Activism

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara pointing to a map of Vietnam at a press conference  
Library of Congress



Carmichael then discusses true integration as being a two-way street. He argues that white activists must organize in the white community to change white society. He rejects the idea of whites working in the African American community as damaging on a psychological basis and concludes that his position on this is not “reverse racist.” In this light, he alludes to the gubernatorial race in California; the election was held just over one week after his speech. The “two clowns” to whom he refers are the Democratic candidate and then-incumbent governor Edmund G. “Pat” Brown and the Republican candidate and future president Ronald Reagan, who would soon win by a margin of 15 percentage points. Interestingly, Carmichael asserts that SNCC did not believe that the Democratic Party represents the needs of black people. He argues that what was needed was a new coalition of voters who would start building new political and social institutions that would meet the needs of all people. After a reference to the nineteenth-century African American leader Frederick Douglass, Carmichael calls for a new generation of leaders in the black community, declaring, in paragraph 26, that “black people must be seen in positions of power, doing and articulating for themselves.”

## The Vietnam War

Carmichael then turns to an attack on the Vietnam War as an “illegal and immoral war” and rhetorically asks the audience how it could be stopped. His answer is resistance to the draft. He refers to U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara as a “racist” and calls President Johnson a “buffoon” and describes American troops as “hired killers.” The peace movement, he argues, has been ineffective because it consists of college students who are exempt from the draft anyway. A draft board classification of II-S (“2S” in the speech) gives deferred military service for students actively engaged in study. He calls attention to the irony of referring to black

militancy as violent when black militant groups were fighting for human rights and the end of violence in places like Vietnam. As for African American soldiers who had been drafted and were fighting in Vietnam, he characterizes them as black mercenaries.

## Student Activism and Politics

Carmichael next challenges students on university campuses. He notes, in paragraph 34, that it is impossible for whites and blacks to form “human relationships” given the nature of the country’s institutions. He refers to the “myths” about the United States, calling them “downright lies.” He suggests that a form of social hypocrisy has become manifest in the economic insecurity of many African Americans and the unwillingness of most affluent whites to share their relative economic security with the black community. He calls on his listeners to examine “the histories that we have been told” and observes that in countries around the world students have led revolutions. He goes on to characterize American college students—essentially his audience—as “perhaps the most politically unsophisticated students in the world” and says that they, unlike many students throughout the rest of the world, have been unable or unwilling to become revolutionaries. Once again he lambastes the Democratic political establishment, including such people as Johnson, Bobby Kennedy, Wayne Morse (a U.S. senator from Oregon who, ironically, was one of only two U.S. senators who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution), James Eastland (a conservative U.S. senator from Mississippi), and George Wallace (the segregationist governor of Alabama). Carmichael states that it would be impossible to reach a common moral ground with these political figures, all of them at the time Democrats. Only the seizure of power by revolution would put these and other members of the political establishment out of business.

## SNCC

Carmichael then turns specifically to a discussion of SNCC. He states, in paragraph 42, that he does not want a “part of the American pie” and notes that a central purpose of SNCC was to raise questions. One of these questions was how the United States had come to be a world power and the world’s wealthiest nation. He thus segues into a discussion of nonviolence at a time when he was coming to reject his initial stance—and that of SNCC—in favor of advocating violent social change. Groups like SNCC and the Quakers are not the ones who need to espouse nonviolence, he argues; rather, white supremacists in small Mississippi towns such as Cicero and Grenada need to be persuaded to act without violence toward peaceful demonstrators.

Once again Carmichael returns to the relationship between the American civil rights struggle and the international movement against postcolonialism, that is, Western domination of a postcolonial world largely inhabited by people of color. Again, he condemns the Peace Corps, as did Malcolm X, as a method of stealing nations’ natural resources while teaching their citizens to read and write. He makes glancing references to hot spots in the world other than Vietnam. Among them are Santo Domingo (the capital of the Dominican Republic), South Africa (still in the grip of apartheid, or systematic segregation), and Zimbabwe (a former British colony then known as Rhodesia, which had recently declared its independence but was under white minority rule). He notes that the United States had tolerated oppression in these and other places as a way of opposing Communist expansion and aggression. He again alludes to the theft of smaller countries’ natural resources through organizations like the Peace Corps, and again he urges (in paragraph 51) the white community “to have the courage to go into white communities and start organizing them.” He then discusses the emergence of the organizational precursor to the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, as well as the fear that many white people have of anything black and the association of blackness with evil. Once more he stresses the double standard of urging nonviolence while the United States was “bombing the hell out [of] Vietnam.” He sees a further irony in comments by the president and vice president (at the time, Hubert Humphrey) about looting during urban race riots, when the United States was in effect looting Vietnam. Carmichael challenges his listeners to consider whether Ho Chi Minh, the leader of Communist North Vietnam, would agree with him about America’s illegal looting of Vietnam. He concludes his speech by stating that the chief issue facing African Americans was the psychological battle to define themselves and organize themselves as they saw fit. An important question related to this issue was how white activists could build new political institutions to destroy the old racist ones.

## Audience

Stokely Carmichael's audience consisted of students at the University of California at Berkeley. At the time, the school was a major center of student activism; a large percentage of its students were, if not strident activists, opposed to the war in Vietnam and proponents of civil rights. Indeed, UC Berkeley was the home of the radical antiwar *Berkeley Barb*, and on October 16, 1965, the campus had been the starting point of a massive antiwar march to Oakland, one of the earliest mass protests in the antiwar movement.

Carmichael somewhat humorously attacks his audience as "the white intellectual ghetto of the West." The audience would have been primarily, though not exclusively, white. Carmichael plays off the left-wing leanings of his audience as well, with references to Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Frantz Fanon, all icons of the student left. His address has survived and has come to be regarded as a key document in the civil rights movement.

## Impact

Although he was already questioning the direction of SNCC at the time of his UC Berkeley speech, Carmichael was then at the height of his prominence as SNCC's representative speaker both on and off college campuses. Along with King and Malcolm X, he was a leading figure in both the civil rights and the antiwar movements. All three men saw these movements as linked with issues of international human rights, yet there would be much debate over the successes and failures of the civil rights and antiwar movements as well as the extent of their broader influence. The year after the UC Berkeley speech, President Lyndon Johnson would name the first African American Supreme Court justice, Thurgood Marshall, but on April 4, 1968, King would be assassinated. Long before SNCC disbanded in the 1970s (a new branch, however, has recently been established at the University of Louisville), Carmichael would move to a more militant stance as a member of the Black Panther Party.

On October 15, 1966, two weeks before Carmichael's UC Berkeley speech, the Black Panther Party was formed in Oakland, California, by Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton with the goal of protecting African American neighborhoods from police brutality. Carmichael's comments on the absurdity of counseling nonviolence to African Americans rather than to the white supremacists who constantly perpetrated violence against black people were indicative of the Black Panthers' stance on condoning violence in self-defense. The Panthers originally espoused black nationalism but ultimately came to reject that view and favor Socialism without race consciousness. The organization was known for its Ten-Point Program and its demand that African American men be exempted from the draft. In addition to Seale and Newton, the best known of the Panthers was Eldridge Cleaver, who edited its newspaper, raising circulation to two hundred fifty thousand. The Panthers quickly grew to national prominence, but its chapters in cities across the country became subject to extensive police harassment and federal surveillance ordered by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. At least two dozen members of the Panthers died at the hands of law enforcement agencies before the group faded out of existence in the 1970s.

Regardless of the fate of the Black Panther Party, the Black Power movement, in which Carmichael was a major leader, was a significant chapter in American history. On the international front, efforts to stop the Vietnam War were ongoing and growing—with the elevating attention of the public reflecting Carmichael's association of the anti-Vietnam War movement with the broader international human rights and anticolonialist movements—prompting President Johnson to announce that he would not run for reelection in 1968. Meanwhile, both the war and the antiwar movement continued to escalate until the years of conflict at last drew to a close: the shootings of unarmed antiwar protesters by National Guard troops at Kent State University in Ohio took place on May 4, 1970; the last American was helicoptered off the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon, South Vietnam, marking the end of the Vietnam War, on April 29, 1975.

## Essential Quotes

"We were never fighting for the right to integrate, we were fighting against white supremacy."

(White Supremacy)

"Now, then, in order to understand white supremacy we must dismiss the fallacious notion that white people can give anybody their freedom. No man can give anybody his freedom. A man is born free."

(White Supremacy)

"I knew that I could vote and that that wasn't a privilege; it was my right. Every time I tried I was shot, killed or jailed, beaten or economically deprived."

(White Supremacy)

"In order for America to really live on a basic principle of human relationships, a new society must be born. Racism must die, and the economic exploitation of this country of non-white peoples around the world must also die."

(White Activism)

"I maintain, as we have in SNCC, that the war in Vietnam is an illegal and immoral war. And the question is, What can we do to stop that war? ... The only power we have is the power to say, 'Hell no!' to the draft."

(The Vietnam War)

"I do not want to be a part of the American pie. The American pie means raping South Africa, beating Vietnam, beating South America, raping the Philippines, raping every country you've been in. I don't want any of your blood money."

(SNCC)

"The only time I hear people talk about nonviolence is when black people move to defend themselves against white people."

(SNCC)

## Questions for Further Study

1. Compare Carmichael's comments on the Democratic Party in this document with Fannie Lou Hamer's Testimony at the Democratic National Convention. What were the problems that some, perhaps many, African Americans had with the Democratic Party at that time, particularly in the South?
2. Do you agree with Carmichael that many people were afraid of Black Power primarily because of the word *black* and that if the movement had had a different name, people might have responded to it more favorably? Why or why not?
3. Compare Stokely Carmichael's opposition to the war in Vietnam with that of Martin Luther King, Jr., in "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence." On what grounds did the two men oppose the war? Did they have differing reasons for opposing the war?
4. Carmichael was speaking to an audience of primarily university students. In what ways did he tailor his remarks to appeal to the interests and concerns of students at that time?
5. Carmichael refers to voting as a right, and he is correct. But is there not a sense in which voting is also a privilege? Agree or disagree, and explain.

## Further Reading

### Books

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### Web Sites

- 10 Kaufman, Michael T. "Stokely Carmichael, Rights Leader Who Coined 'Black Power,' Dies at 57." *New York Times*, November 16, 1998.  
<http://www.interchange.org/Kwamature/nytimes111698.html>  
(<http://www.interchange.org/Kwamature/nytimes111698.html>).

11

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