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立教大学アメリカ研究所公開シンポジウム
20世紀の黒人世界——国家・抵抗・ディアスポラ

What's Love Got to Do With It?
——公民権運動の記憶とブラック・パワー

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1. はじめに

- ・1970年、Stokely Carmichael @ Institute for Black World [資料参照]
キングが伝えたのは confrontation
- ・公民権運動理解の二元論と「長い公民権運動」
〈非暴力・人種間融和・愛〉 vs. 〈暴力・分離主義・憎悪〉
- ・Peniel Joseph, “Long Black Power Movement”
- ・Cha-Jua and Lang, “‘Long Movement’ as a Vampire”
- ・「なにゆえ、ブラック・パワー運動の否定的イメージは根強いのか？」

2. モントゴメリー・バス・ボイコット運動／公民権運動再考

- ・脱キング牧師中心的研究 (ex. Theoharis, McGuire)
- ・「人種統合は非暴力の勝利なのか？」
 - モントゴメリー改善協会 Montgomery Improvement Association の要求
「分離すれども平等」の範囲内で法律運用の改善：人種統合は目的でなし
 - 交渉の難航⇒合意でつちあげ工作（1955年1月21日）後、完全に決裂
 - 白人市民会議 White Citizen's Council の急成長
William Gaye 市長、Clyde Sellers 公安委員長の参加
 - 暴力と強権による弾圧
 - 1月30日 MIA 幹部宅、黒人教会爆破
 - 2月21日 MIA 幹部 115名起訴（ボイコット禁止（州）法違反）
 - 11月2日 自家用車乗り合い（カープール）への差し止め請求

- 運動側の対応

1月30日 MIA、人種隔離条例の合憲性を争点に連邦地裁へ提訴

2月24日 Bayard Rustin、4日後 Glenn Smiley、モントゴメリー到着、

人種平等会議 Congress of Racial Equality や友和会 Fellowship of Reconciliation

人脈を通じた「非暴力のレッスン」

- 11月13日、連邦最高裁とアラバマ地裁の二つの判決

連邦最高裁：人種隔離条例を違憲；アラバマ地裁：カープールの運用に停止命令

・友和会=COREの「非暴力のリゴリズム」と南部公民権運動の非暴力主義

- Garrow, Morris, Klarman らの研究

- キング：「バーミングハム牢獄からの手紙」と穏健派批判

- 1963年9月15日、Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing

・学生非暴力調整委員会 SNCC の登場

- オルバニー運動、ワシントン大行進、ミシシッピ・フリーダム・サマーでの一連の経験と白人リベラルズ

- SNCCの運動の成果とは？

・リスペクダブルでアクセプタブルな運動の敷居

3. ブラック・パンサー党

・1966年秋、Black Panther Party for Self Defense として結成

・Newton, Seale, Cleaver らマッチョな男性リーダーと武闘派イメージ

・ブラック・パンサー党指導層

Huey P. Newton	1942-1989	Minister of Defense	in jail (murder)
Bobby Seale	1936-	Chairman	indicted (inciting riot)
Eldridge Cleaver	1935-1998	Minister of Information (April 1967-70)	in Algiers
David Hilliard	1942-	Chief of Staff	arrested in March, 1970
Elaine Brown	1943-	Editor of Black Panther (68-71) Secretary of Communication (71-)	
Kathleen Neal Cleaver	1945-	Secretary of Communication (68-70)	in Algiers

ほかの公民権団体との比較で：指導層は著しく若く

学生非暴力調整委員会との比較で：教育を受けた年数が短い

- ・ブラック・パンサー党の活動

- マッチョな男性リーダー不在のなかでの党勢拡大

- ⇒抵抗と異議申し立てが党活動の中心に

- Free Huey Campaign/ Survival Program (i.e., Free Breakfast for Children, Sickle Cell

- Anemia Free Medical Clinic, etc.)/ 反戦運動との共闘

- 黒人の政治的迫害に対する抵抗のシンボルとしてのニュートンのイメージ

- 1970年春 ニューヘイヴン公正裁判要求紛争から学園蜂起へ

- Alex Rackley 殺害事件 Counter Intelligence Program(COINTELPRO)とパンサー党の

- 弾圧激化 メインストリームの公民権団体と Kingman Brewster 総長の発言 連邦軍派

- 遣と辞任要求 教員のスト支援の動き

- ニクソン大統領の二元論的青年評価非難と「サイレント・マジョリティ」[資料参照]

4. おわりに

- パンサー党の衰退

- ①党に内在する弱さ②連邦政府を中心とする弾圧 COINTELPRO③外交上の環境の激変

- ④公民権制定後の人種関係の変化

- ヒューイ・ニュートン釈放（法律細則の問題で起訴無効）

- カーマイケルのオルタナティヴ：汎アフリカ主義（ンクルマ主義）

- 元党员たちの選挙政治への進出

- 1973年 オークランド市議選(Elaine Brown)

- 1983年 シカゴ市議選 (Bobby Rush)

- ポスト公民権時代：人種問題の大義を掲げる困難さ

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