

INSTITUTIONAL SETTING:

Washington University in Saint Louis is a highly selective, private university with a total enrollment of approximately 14,000 students across all of its schools. Roughly 7,300 of these students are enrolled in one of the four undergraduate schools (Arts and Sciences, Engineering, Business, as well as Art and Architecture) As a rule students are both well prepared and motivated to keep up with what is expected of them in the classroom. Many are double majors and are also quite involved in extracurricular activities on and off-campus. However, for the most part they have the resources to devote the majority of their time to their studies.

CURRICULAR CONTEXT:

My faculty appointment in the Danforth Center on Religion and Politics is housed under the College of Arts and Sciences. Our Center was established in 2010. We offer a minor in Religion and Politics. My courses are listed under the Danforth Center but are generally cross-listed with multiple programs and departments across the university including the religious studies program, the history department, the program in African and African American studies, as well as American studies. My classes have been primarily geared towards undergraduates, with an occasional graduate student. These courses have included upper-level seminars and lectures, and they span a range of topics. (i.e. Introduction to African-American Religious history, Religion and Politics in the 1920's, Religion in the Modern Civil Rights Movement, Martin and Malcolm). The syllabus I have included here is a new course. It will be taught as an upper level seminar in Fall 2015. It will counts towards our minor requirement for an advanced seminar as well as the same requirement in the general University curriculum. The course enrollment reached its cap of 18.

I will teach this class again as a lecture course in Fall 2017.

TEACHING METHODOLOGY:

This course will function as an advanced undergraduate seminar, highly dependent upon student preparation and contributions to class discussions. I intend to offer brief introductory remarks at the start of each class, which will be complemented by a presentation by one or two students on the reading that has been assigned for the week. Most students will come with popular knowledge of religion as well as the FBI. However, prior experience indicates that they will come with little, if any, knowledge of the academic study of religion or the FBI. I have placed readings up front that will help to frame course content through a broader engagement with religion, American culture in the 20th century, and the origins and growth of the FBI.

RELIGION, POLITICS, & THE FBI
Fall 2015
RelPol L57 410

History, as nearly no one seems to know, is not merely something to be read. And it does not refer merely, or even principally, to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally *present* in all that we do. It could scarcely be otherwise, since it is to history that we owe our frames of reference, our identities, and our aspirations.

—James Baldwin, *Ebony*, 1965

Washington University in Saint Louis
 John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics
 Time: Tuesday, 2:30am to 5:30pm
 Cupples II, L007

Fall 2015

Professor Lerone A. Martin, PhD
 Danforth Center on Religion and Politics
 Umrath 120
 Office Hours: By Appointment
 Lerone.martin@wustl.edu

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This seminar examines the relationship between the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and religion (i.e. faith communities, clerics, and religious professionals) as a way to study and understand twentieth century religion and politics. The course will investigate the history of the FBI, as well as the various ways in which the FBI and religious groups have interacted. The course will pay particular attention to what the professor calls the three interrelated “modes” of FBI-religious engagement: (1) Counter-intelligence and surveillance; (2) Coordination, Cooperation, and Collaboration; (3) Consultation.

We will address several questions, including: What are the origins of the FBI? Did religion play a role in shaping the formation of the FBI? How have such origins shaped the FBI and public perceptions of the same? How, if at all, has the FBI shaped religion in America? How and why did the FBI spy on religious groups? Why did some religious groups fight the FBI while others chose to cooperate and coordinate with the FBI? How did race, class, gender, and/or the theological composition of religious groups/persons contribute to such variance? In what ways, if any, did FBI surveillance and counter-intelligence shape religious and political activity? Closely related, how, if at all, did FBI partnerships with cooperating and coordinating ministers, faith communities, and consultative religious professionals influence religious and political activity? Did the FBI’s engagement of religion alter public, cultural, political, and governmental perceptions and opportunities of religious communities and persons? And finally, what does the history of the FBI and religion tell us about religion and politics in America?

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

- 1.) Students will gain an introductory knowledge of the history of the FBI
- 2.) Students will gain an understanding of the historic relationship between American religion and the FBI.
- 3.) Students will gain skills that will enable them to critically analyze and engage questions concerning policy, politics, religion, dissent, and liberty.
- 4) Students will gain an understanding of the Freedom of Information and Privacy Act (FOIA) and its relationship to the FBI, scholarship, and democratic practice.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- 1.) **CLASS PARTICIPATION:** (20% of final grade=200). As a seminar course that meets once a week, sessions are conducted with an emphasis on in-class discussion. Therefore, in order to fully understand the concepts and themes expressed within the course, attendance is expected of every student. **Regular attendance is required in order to pass this class. You may have only one unexcused absence. For any subsequent missed sessions, students must submit a two (2) page summary of the assigned readings for that particular class meeting within a week's time.** Please bear in mind that subsequent absences will significantly affect your final grade.

Given the importance of in-class discussions, ALL students are expected to go beyond the role of the "active observer" and merely attending lecture/discussions towards critical engagement with their peers and the instructor. Therefore, it is imperative that students complete assigned readings on time and come to class ready to critically engage the subject matter and share their reflections and insights. Each student will be evaluated according to how he/she contributes to a dynamic and engaging learning environment. Therefore, this portion of the student's grade will assess how well you prepare for each class meeting (i.e. staying on top of assigned readings) and most importantly, how your contribution to each class discussion displays informed and thoughtful engagement (not necessarily a quantity of comments) with course materials and concepts. It might help you to think about the evaluation of your class participation as follows: **Attendance (10%), Attention and Articulation (10%).**

Several themes discussed throughout the course can possibly foster controversial conversations and give rise to deeply personal experiences. Each person is entitled to his/her views. However, as a collective unit, it is important that we maintain an environment grounded in respect, tolerance, and sensitivity to each person's view and opinions. The class environment is an intimate, vulnerable, and personal space where students are constantly asked to share opinions. Students and instructors must show respect for one another at all times. You may not agree with another's position, you may not even respect some of the viewpoints offered by others, but you **must** respect the person as a contributing member of the class. Given a pedagogical commitment to establishing an active learning environment, you are encouraged to be flexible as you engage one another; that is to say, give your peers space and opportunity to wrestle

with their responses. As the semester progresses, if the professor sees fit to make changes to the course structure/readings in effort to better fit students' needs, he reserves the right to make any necessary alterations.

2) INTELLECTUAL JOURNAL: (20% of final grade=200). **Write a weekly entry for your intellectual journal** of at least 250 words. This should consist of a response to the readings for the week, including questions, new insights, puzzling parts, things that annoyed or excited you in what you read. Please submit these to me by Monday at 9 pm *before the class for which the reading is assigned*. These will help us with class discussion as well as aid you throughout the course. They will not be "graded" but will be recorded and their successful completion is part of your course grade. Students will also submit a FOIA REQUEST as a portion of their journal. Further Instructions will be provided in class.

3) TAKE HOME MIDTERM EXAM: (30% of final grade=300).

4) TAKE HOME FINAL EXAM: (30% of final grade=300). **The Study of Religion and the FBI:** Each student will complete a take home exam addressing the relationship between the study of religion and the FBI. **DUE BY 11:59PM ON DECEMBER 16, 2015**

Grading Scale

- 94-100 = A
- 90-93 = A-
- 87-89 = B+
- 84-86 = B
- 80-83 = B-
- 77-79 = C+
- 74-76 = C
- 70 -73 = C-
- 67- 69 = D+
- 60 -66 = D
- 59 -0 = F

REQUIRED BOOKS:

- 1) Garrow, David. *The F.B.I. and Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Penguin Books, 1983.
- 2) Herzog, Jonathan P. *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle against Communism in the Early Cold War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- 3) Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri. *The FBI: A History.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- 4) Rosswurm, Steve. *The FBI and the Catholic Church, 1935-1962.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009.
- 5) Theoharis, Athan G. *The FBI & American Democracy: A Brief Critical History.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

ALL REMAINING MATERIALS WILL BE AVAILABLE ELECTRONICALLY ON BLACKBOARD

COURSE SCHEDULE

(Subject to change) Students are advised to read the materials each week in the order presented:

Week 1: Aug 24

Introduction to Course, How to File a FOIA Request, and How to Read FBI Documents

Week 2: Sept 1

Religion in Cold War America

Herzog, Jonathan P. *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, Introduction – Chapter 3, pgs. 1-108.

Week 3: Sept 8

History of the FBI**Guest Speaker: Athan Theoharis**

Theoharis, Athan G. *The FBI & American Democracy: A Brief Critical History.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004, pgs. 1-148

Theoharis, Athan G. *The FBI: A Comprehensive Reference Guide*, Chapter 6, pgs. 206-243

Week 4: Sept 15

The Religion and Public Morality of "The Boss"

Rev. Edward R. Elson, "J. Edgar Hoover: Churchman," November 1948

Rev. Edward R. Elson, "The J. Edgar Hoover You Ought to Know, by His Pastor," 1950

J. Edgar Hoover, Commencement and Honorary Degree Address, Oklahoma Baptist University, May 23, 1938

J. Edgar Hoover, "An American's Privilege," Speech Delivered at the Annual Banquet of the Holland Society of New York, November 1942,

J. Edgar Hoover, "Crime and the Sunday School," *The Sunday School Times*, 1948

J. Edgar Hoover, "Red Goals and Christian Ideals," *Christianity Today*, 1960

J. Edgar Hoover, "Communist Propaganda and the Christian Pulpit," *Christianity Today*, 1960

"J. Edgar Hoover Testifies," *Revival Time Tracts*, Assemblies of God, 1970

Week 5: Sept 22

The Religion and Public Morality of the FBI

FBI Internal Monograph, *Religion and Communism*, March 1960

Theoharis, Athan G. *The FBI: A Comprehensive Reference Guide*, Chapter 8, pgs. 261-308

Viewing: *The FBI Story*

Week 6: Sept 29

Race, Religion, and the FBI

Guest Speaker: Wayne Davis, Retired FBI Special Agent in Charge

Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri. *The FBI: A History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, Chapter 1 pgs. 1-17

FBI Internal Monograph, *Development of Racial Informants*, September 1967

O'Reilly, Kenneth, "The Negro Question: Origins of a Private War," in *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972*, pgs. 9-48

"Wayne Davis, Phila. FBI Chief Steps Down, Was Highest-Ranking Black Agent In Field," 1988

http://articles.philly.com/1988-09-30/news/26231185_1_fbi-office-special-agent-rohm-haas

James B. Comey, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Hard Truths: Law Enforcement and Race," Georgetown University, Washington, D.C February 12, 2015

Transcript: <https://www.fbi.gov/news/speeches/hard-truths-law-enforcement-and-race>

Video: <http://www.c-span.org/video/?c4528067/james-comey-full-speech>

Week 7 Oct.6

Religious Cooperation and Coordination: Case Study: The Catholic Church

Rosswurm, Steve. *The FBI and the Catholic Church, 1935-1962*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009.

Week 7 Oct 13

COINTELPRO and Liberal Faith: Case Study: CALCAV

United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Frank Church--Chairman. "Final Report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans, Book 3." Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, April 23, 1976. (Also known as the "Church Committee"), pgs., 1- 78

Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement: Essays from the Charles DeBenedetti Memorial Conference. 1st ed. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1992, Chapters 1 & 3

Viewing: 1971

Week 8 Oct 20

COINTELPRO and Black Public Faith: Case Study: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Church Committee: pgs. 79-184

Week 9 Oct 27

Guest Speaker: David Garrow, Author of *The F.B.I. and Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Penguin Books, 1983

MidTerm Exam Due: *The F.B.I. and Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Penguin Books, 1983

Week 10 Nov 3

FBI and the Religion of White Power

Guest, David Cunningham, Author of *Klansville, U.S.A*

FBI Internal Monograph, *Klan Organizations, Section 3 1958-1964*, Published December 1964

O'Reilly, Kenneth, "Klan Wars: The KKK and the Good Name of White America," in *Racial Matters: THE FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972*, pgs. 195-228

Cunningham, David. *Klansville, U.S.A. : The Rise and Fall of the Civil Rights-Era Ku Klux Klan*. Oxford ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013, Chapters 2, 5, & 7

Viewing: *Klansville, USA*

Week 11 Nov 10

FBI and the Religions of Black Power

Harding, Vincent "The Religion of Black Power."

FBI Internal Monograph, *Nation of Islam*, Parts 1-3. Published 1955-1965

Church Senate Committee, "The FBI's Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party," pgs. 185-224

Week 12 Nov 17

The FBI vs. Women

Wang, Diane, and Cindy Jaquith. *FBI Vs. Women*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1977.

Week 13 Nov 24

Religious Studies and the FBI: A Consultative and Instrumentalist Relationship?

Final Report to the Deputy Attorney General Concerning the 1993 Confrontation at the Mount Carmel Complex, Waco, Texas. November 8, 2000, pgs. 1-45; 123-197

Nancy T. Ammerman, "Waco, Federal Law Enforcement, and Scholars of Religion," in *Armageddon In Waco*, University of Chicago Press, 1995, pgs., 1-12.

Steven P. Weitzman, "Religious Studies and the FBI: Adventures in Academic Interventionism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, December 2013, Vol. 81, No. 4, pp. 959-995

Week 14 Dec 1

On FBI Reform, Religion, and Terrorism in a Post-9/11 World

Guest Speaker, John Pistole, Former Deputy Director of the FBI and Chief Administrator of the TSA

Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri. *The FBI: A History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, Chapters 11-14, pgs. 191-252

Reports on "Eye on the FBI"

<https://www.aclu.org/eye-fbi-exposing-misconduct-and-abuse-authority>

Viewing?: (T)Error

**TAKE HOME EXAM:
THE STUDY OF RELIGION AND THE FBI
DUE BY 11:59PM ON DECEMBER 16, 2015**

Writing Tips:

1) When preparing for discussion, and especially when writing papers, do not make unsupported assertions. Try to present the most convincing case for your argument. Think carefully and thoroughly about the evidence you will use to support your position. Always anticipate opposing critiques of your position and opposing arguments. Try to answer or address opposing positions as you present your own position. This will demonstrate that you are aware of alternative viewpoints and that you are capable of proposing and defending a thesis.

2) Your written work should not be first-draft presentations of your thoughts. When writing paper(s), give yourself ample time to read the assigned materials and to consult appropriate sources before making final decisions about your thesis statement and the supporting evidence that will provide structure for your argument and conclusion. For example, you might begin writing your final paper by making very strong statements about a point you aim to defend. However, in consulting the works of scholars in the field, you may see the need to modify your original thesis, or you may be compelled to abandon it altogether. This is to be expected in scholarly research and writing. You should not feel reluctant to change your argument if your reasons for changing it are more convincing than your original reasons for posing it. Just be sure that in the *final paper* (the draft that you hand in to be graded) your thesis statement is consistent with your argument (supporting evidence) and conclusion. Also, please be sure to thoroughly edit and spell check your work.

Significant grammatical errors, typos, and evidence demonstrating lack of proofreading will be penalized.

3) Please take advantage of all the resources available to you when writing your papers. Never hesitate to ask reference librarians for help in trying to locate scholarly sources. Never hesitate to ask your professor for extra help in thinking through your ideas for your papers.

4) Although late assignments are almost never acceptable, do not refrain from communicating with the professor about any difficulty that might prevent you from completing assignments on time. It is better to let professors know if something is inhibiting your progress than to avoid contact or conversation, even if the problem is time management or procrastination.

5) This syllabus is designed to guide you as you make your best attempt to complete the requirements for the course. Please refer to appropriate sections before turning in all written assignments.

GRADING STANDARDS FOR PAPERS

Papers **must** be turned in at the beginning of class on their respective due date. Late papers will be penalized and lowered by (1) one letter grade for every day it is late. Papers should be turned in to the professor and not emailed or slid under the professor's door unless prior arrangements have already been made.

The following are some general guidelines to help you understand my expectations of submitted papers.

- A paper:** Clear thesis, organization, and continuity, clear understanding of topic, sound organization; few or no mechanical mistakes; clear, unambiguous sentences. In many instances the best "A" papers effectively articulates the covered topic, creatively weaves the use of primary and secondary sources, and more importantly, speaks to an appropriate audience and supports their ideas fully.
- B paper:** Clear thesis, organization of the chosen topic although impacted by some minor mechanical errors but no major ones; slightly awkward style at times; thought has obviously gone into the paper however it is solid but not striking; the writer has a definite point to make and makes it in an organized and competent way, and to a definite audience.
- C paper:** A weak, fuzzy thesis and perhaps illogical arguments to support it; a certain amount of confusion about the topic at hand; many minor mechanical errors and perhaps some major ones (such as incomplete sentences); examples given to merely demonstrate that the writer has read the text however the paper is devoid of any critical analysis; organization rambles or disappears; words are misused; diction is inconsistent; proofreading is weak; the intended audience is unclear and support for their argument is lacking and the paper is shorter than the expected page length.
- D paper:** Thesis missing; major mechanical problems; poor organization; serious neglect of any sort of critical analysis, neglect of serious attention to useful sources for the chosen topic; stretches in which the writer simply gives a narrative account of the essay for no apparent purpose; the paper is much shorter than the assigned length—the writer doesn't really have a point to make and has serious problems in writing and reading at the appropriate level.
- F paper:** The paper is plagiarized in part or as a whole, or it shows general weaknesses even graver than those of a D paper.

Formatting Guide for Submitting Papers

- Every written assignment should be stapled and contain the students name, date, and course
- Make sure every page is numbered
- Use 12-point Times New Roman font on all text.
- Margins should be either 1 or 1.25 inches.
- Print on a single side of the page and make sure the document is double-spaced.
- Carefully *proofread* your assignments before submitting them.
- When using references, use footnotes. See bottom for example. ***Any other style used in a submitted paper will result in a lowered grade.***
- All citations used throughout the paper should be referenced in a separate Works Cited page.

On Properly Citing Primary and Secondary Sources

For textual assistance please consult **The Chicago Manual of Style** which is a style guide for students and scholars that demonstrates the proper editorial practices as well as proper citation for documents, bibliographies, footnotes and endnotes, etc.

The Chicago Manual of Style: The Essential Guide for Writers, Editors, and Publishers. 15th Edition. Chicago and London: (The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

- 1) **DO NOT USE PARENTHETICAL CITATION: For example, DO NOT do the following**

Du Bois states that black Protestantism can be characterized in three primary elements: The preacher, the music, and the frenzy. The preacher, Du Bois contends, is “the most unique personality developed by the Negro on American soil.” (DuBois, 135). **DO NOT USE THIS FORM OF CITATION**

- 2) **INSTEAD, ALL submitted paper referencing sources (both primary and secondary) MUST USE FOOTNOTES.** On your computer the footnote option should be located in the “Insert” tab of your toolbox. **See appropriate example below.**

Du Bois states that black Protestantism can be characterized in three primary elements: The preacher, the music, and the frenzy. The preacher, Du Bois contends, is “the most unique personality developed by the Negro on American soil.”¹

The corresponding footnote, then, would appear at the foot / bottom of the page as follows:

¹ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: The Modern Library, 2003; tr. from 1903), 135.

Accommodations

The University is committed to offering reasonable academic accommodations to students who are victims of sexual assault. Students are eligible for accommodation regardless of whether they seek criminal or disciplinary action. Depending on the specific nature of the allegation, such measures may include but are not limited to: implementation of a no-contact order, course/classroom assignment changes, and other academic support services and accommodations. If you need to request such accommodations, please direct your request to Kim Webb (kim_webb@wustl.edu), Director of the Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention Center. Ms. Webb is a confidential resource; however, requests for accommodations will be shared with the appropriate University administration and faculty. The University will maintain as confidential any accommodations or protective measures provided to an individual student so long as it does not impair the ability to provide such measures.

If a student comes to me to discuss or disclose an instance of sexual assault, sex discrimination, sexual harassment, dating violence, domestic violence or stalking, or if I otherwise observe or become aware of such an allegation, I will keep the information as private as I can, but as a faculty member of Washington University, I am required to immediately report it to my Department Chair or Dean or directly to Ms. Jessica Kennedy, the University's Title IX Coordinator. If you would like to speak with the Title IX Coordinator directly, Ms. Kennedy can be reached at [\(314\) 935-3118](tel:3149353118), jwkennedy@wustl.edu, or by visiting her office in the Women's Building.

Additionally, you can report incidents or complaints to Tamara King, Associate Dean for Students and Director of Student Conduct, or by contacting WUPD at [\(314\) 935-5555](tel:3149355555) or your local law enforcement agency. You can also speak confidentially and learn more about available resources at the Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention Center by calling [\(314\) 935-8761](tel:3149358761) or visiting the 4th floor of Seigle Hall.

Bias Reporting:

The University also has a process through which students, faculty, staff and community members who have experienced or witnessed incidents of bias, prejudice or discrimination against a student can report their experiences to the University's Bias Report and Support System (BRSS) team. See: brss.wustl.edu

Mental Health:

In addition, Mental Health Services' professional staff members work with students to resolve personal and interpersonal difficulties, many of which can affect the academic experience. These include conflicts with or worry about friends or family, concerns about eating or drinking patterns, and feelings of anxiety and depression. See: shs.wustl.edu/MentalHealth