

Dan Leahy's Book Outline:

ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT ***By Aldon Morris***

PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Scope of the book is to examine how this movement took root and became a major force in society and to examine the role of the "black masses," ... not as a flock of sheep but their creativity and courage.

(NOTE: Center for Research on Social Organization at the University of Michigan)

ARGUMENT:

The modern CRM added two ingredients to the long protest tradition: Mass confrontation and adoption of nonviolent tactics as a mass technique.

An **INDIGENOUS** perspective assumes that mass protest is a product of organizing efforts of activists functioning through a well-developed base.

A central question: How did organizers transform indigenous resources into power resources and marshals them into conflict situations to accomplish political goals.

Argues that "internal organization was the critical factor that enable the movement to gather momentum and endure in the face of state power and widespread repression.

CHAPTER ONE: DOMINATION, CHURCH AND NAACP

DOMINATION :A tripartite system of racial domination: economic, political and personal did create some "positive" consequences development of black institutions and close knit communities in the urban areas - all talents, income, etc concentrated in one area.

CHURCH provided the movement with a mass base, leadership that had management skills and independent financing, and meeting places.

The urban church due to finances, migration, etc grew stronger and more stable than the rural counterpart. While no formal bureaucracy and often led by a charismatic leader, the church is still a sound massbased organization.²

Charisma based on performance not so much on beliefs. (Weber counter argument) such leaders have to personify, symbolize and articulate the goals, aspirations and strivings of the group they hope to lead.

A common church culture.

NAACP

Founded in 1909 and 1910 by black and white opposed to racism. interracial, northern based and centered in NYC. Bureaucratic, no mass base, white leadership, except DuBois, highly centralized.

Tactics: Persuasion and legal action.

James Weldon Johnson, a black man, became its southern organizer and by 1919 he had branches in all southern states and members was more southern: 42,000 to 38,000.

CHAPTER TWO: BEGINNINGS AND CONFRONTATION

BATON ROUGE BOYCOTT

June 1953, ten day radio announced bus boycott an enterprise that was economically vulnerable due to 2/3 of fare from black riders. Protesting Jim Crow segregated seating and after City Council had acted.

suggests that movements are products of organizing efforts and preexisting institutions.

Leadership: TJ Jemison was well educated, head of largest church, had demonstrated his personal concern, was a newcomer and also had been president of local NAACP.

Organization: United Defense League (UDL) was formed in June 1953 to direct the boycott. This was an organization of organizations; it was church related, but broader; and it brought in all leaders and prevented white from dividing the leadership.

Finance: Church based mass meetings passed the hat which totally financed the movement: police force; batteries, tires, etc. 3

A compromise was proposed and accepted with considerable debate. It was a limited victory but did show that the "system of racial segregation could be challenged by mass action." (p.25).

NAACP

In the Summer of 1950 the NAACP decided on an all out attack on school segregation. Which led to five cases going to Supreme Court by 1952 and the Kansas decision in May 17, 1954. However, the Court left implementation in the hands of local authorities.

The racist groups organized. Hideous murders: Emmett Till. An official attack from 1956-59. Legislatures demanded membership lists; NAACP refused; Attorney generals issued injunctions; investigations and contempt citations.

The attack shifted membership to the North and it also left "an organizational and protest vacuum" in many southern black communities. (34).

Tensions increased between north and south NAACP bureaucratic directives vs minister led branches. When Montgomery became national and successful, these alternative methods made the tensions clearer.

CHAPTER THREE: MOVEMENT CENTERS (MIA/ICC/AND ACMHR)

(Montgomery 12/55; Tallahassee 5/56; Birmingham 6/56)

Definition: "A local movement center is a social organization within the community of a subordinate group, which mobilizes, organizes and coordinates collective action aimed at attaining the common ends of that subordinate group." (40)

Right Social Conditions:

Unity of local organizations was a problem. The social conditions allowing for a successful unity drive were made possible by arrest of Rosa Parks in Montgomery, the arrest of two college students in Tallahassee and the outlawing of the NAACP in Alabama. (43)4

Problem of DISUNITY solved by:

1. New ministers.
2. forming an organization of organization.
3. combining old leadership with mass base. (46)
4. New decision making apparatus. Church led allowed quick decision making in conflict situations. Also, skilled at mass participation in events.
5. Reliance on charisma, mass emotionalism. Cut down on class, rank divisions and allowed all parts of community to meet.
6. Disruptive tactics by Masses.

MONTGOMERY (MIA)

1. ROSA PARKS was secretary of the local NAACP since 1943 and had protested the bus segregation numerous times before 12/1/55. Her arrested triggered the movement because she was an integral part of it and the church.

2. E.D. Nixon (NAACP and also Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters) and also the WPC (1949 Black Professional Women) had both been thinking about and planning a bus boycott. Jo Ann Robinson (English Teacher at Alabama State College).

3. ML King nominated by Nixon and others as a minister to lead the new organization heard him talk.

4. CONTRIBUTIONS:

A. Visibility Greater than UDL.

B. Financing more complex (inside and outside)

C. Transportation system (58); 48 dispatch and 42 pick up stations.

D. King. Trained orator; highly educated; family position

E. Time set aside to train in nonviolence; socio dramas;

F. Successful: Supreme ruled that state and local laws were unconstitutional 11/13/56.

TALLAHASSEE

Smaller city; more typical. May 27, 1956 two women students arrested. Florida A&M college responded en masse and boycotted. Steele and Hudson called mass meeting and at the same time asked City management for desegregation.

Steele was NAACP, but it was "outlawed." Created the ICC; they know of both Baton Rouge and MIA. Mass meetings rotated to involved all churches; Nonviolent Team (FOL) came here to teach.

BIRMINGHAM

300,000 pop. ACMHR was formed as alternative to outlawed NAACP. Church related, minister led (Shuttlesworth) and rotating mass meetings, indigenously financed. Decision to ride buses in a desegregated manner after Supreme Court Decision (12/26/56)

VIOLENCE (p.70) bombings, stabbing, etc. from his personal acts of courage schools, rail station, etc. Commissioner of Public Safety, Eugene "Bull" Connor.

CONTRIBUTION: "Birmingham demonstrated that movements could be deliberately organized to accomplish long term goals." (73)

CONCLUSION

Why movement centers dismissed by Scholars. Cloward and Piven. Actors don't admit to organization due to fear of attracting attention and charges of conspiracy...

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SCLC POLITICAL ARM OF THE BLACK CHURCH.

THESIS: Urbanized, wage workers and unions, densely populated, two world wars and democratic ideology; overthrow of colonialism by Africans, Supreme Court decision of 54.

CRM was not a byproduct of urbanization, but it grew out of "the conscious and deliberate efforts of organizers who understood the organizational nature and capacity of black society." (81)

FORMATION OF SCLC

Meeting in ML King Sr.'s Atlanta church in January, 1957. Led by indigenous black leaders.

Working Papers discussed, written in advance by Bayard Rustin.

Some points mentioned in the book:

1. Grievances vital to the masses were the ones that triggered organized collective action. a preexisting grievance. (84).
2. ... "our refusal to accept Jim Crow in specific areas challenges the entire social, political and economic order that has kept us second class citizens since 1876."
3. Nonviolence makes humble folks noble and turns fear into courage.
4. White community not monolithic, but heterogeneous with various interests.

STRUCTURE

1. Officers were all black, male, ministers (except one), formal degrees from black colleges, all southern, average age of 30.
2. Emerged out of the NAACP and the Church. and out of the protest tradition.

AFFILIATE STRUCTURE

An organization of organizations. A sharing of resources and experiences.

Dr. King's power came from his and others ability to "mobilize a variety of resources through community organizations." (91).

SCLC as a combination of organizational strength and charisma. King's veto power.

CHANGING ATTITUDES BY REFOCUSING THE CULTURAL CONTENT OF THE INSTITUTIONS CAN BE MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE THAN CHANGING THE ATTITUDES OF SEPARATE INDIVIDUALS, BECAUSE INSTITUTIONAL REFOCUSING ENABLES ORGANIZERS TO REACH LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE SIMULTANEOUSLY. (96)

A "good Christian" acted to change "sinful" social conditions.

CHAPTER FIVE: CRUSADE FOR CITIZENSHIP

Leadership Concept: Ella Baker and SCLC.

"Instead of 'the leader' a person who was supposed to be a magic man you would develop individuals who were bound together by a concept that benefited larger numbers of individuals and provided an opportunity for them to grow into being responsible for carrying on the program." (104)

group centered leadership rather than personal leadership.

The Voting Movement: February 12, 1958

Announced via mass meetings in 22 Southern cities.

Ministers exchanged pulpits.

Effort to coordinate civic leagues.

Effort to politicize churches via affiliation.

Direct Action workshops; King's book; mass action idea

FAILURE:

White resistance

gerrymandering plan

Rev. Tilley overbooked; left 4/15/59.

Ella's need for attention to organization vs. King's timing;
sexism and Baker's nonclergy position.

SCLC could not effectively coordinate

ANALYSIS OF FAILURE

Primarily that movement centers had not developed sufficiently to respond to attempted coordination by SCLC. (119)

CHAPTER SIX: ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS (SCLC, NAACP, CORE)

SCLC threatened NAACP's financial base, church connections, monopoly of action and legalistic approach. NAACP's Youth Councils, members and advisors, tended to be more attracted to SCLC methods of action.

SCLC countered: Continuous upfront praise for NAACP. Joined NAACP; Emphasized no threat to funding base, ie... no local chapters and no individual memberships. Said there had to be a Division of labor (mass/legal) not one method or the other.

CORE was an intellectually oriented, secular, interracial, non mass based organization unknown in the South in the early 50's. James Farmer and McCain who organized the CORE chapters in the Carolinas.... later to be the base for the sitins.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MOVEMENT HALFWAY HOUSES.

DEFINITION: an established group or organization .. partially integrated, but have "relative isolation" and the absence of a mass base.

(AFSC, FOR, WRL and Highlander Folk School)

They develop a battery of social change resources: (140)

1. Skilled activists.
2. Tactical knowledge
3. Media Contacts
4. Workshops

5. Knowledge of past movements

6. A vision of a future society

HIGHLANDER

This School was developed by Myles Horton born in 1905 poor white boy from Savannah, Tenn. Went to Union in NYC. Met Reinhold Niebuhr (social gospel). Read Dewey, Lindeman and Joseph Hart. Studied Danish Folk Schools in 1931.

Basic Approach: "... oppressed people know the answers to their own problems and the teacher's job is to get them talking about those problems, to raise and sharpen questions, and to trust people to come up with the answers." (142)

Horton also stressed that the answers to problems lie in the experiences and imagination of the group rather than the individual.

HIGHLANDER PRINCIPLES

1. Education through experience was a potent social change force.
2. The solutions to oppression were rooted in the experiences and communities of the oppressed.
3. People and their experiences would inform Highlander's educational programs.
4. The task of changing society rested on the shoulders of the oppressed.

We try and "stay with the people." Academic subjects, departments of drama and music.

LOOK AT THIS FOR THE LABOR CENTER: The immediate task upon entering HFS was to "create a new social definition of the situation." (148) Introductions.

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS

1. School atmosphere changed to accommodate adults.
2. Big ideas were discussed, allowed.
3. Nonteachers could be teachers.

4. Only blacks could be teachers.

Highlander was raided by Tennessee on July, 1959, but it maintained support for SCLC and King.

Norton Quote on Education and Movements (157).

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION.

Established in England in 1914 and in US in 1915. AJ Muste, Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph, James Farmer, Glenn Smiley and James Lawson.

Functions:

1. nonviolence training.
2. Instrumental in Founding CORE
3. Intelligence service on white racist groups
4. Supported two paid staff of CRM (Smiley/Lawson)
5. Literature and films.

Richard Gregg's *The Power of NonViolence* (1935). Glenn Smiley taught Martin nonviolence through discussions. a minister and a Southerner, but white. a "new nonviolent black was created for protest purposes." (161)

James Lawson arrived in Nashville in 57 with a great deal of experience and knowledge of nonviolence. Black, minister. He traveled thru the South...

1. Created the will to resist.
2. Pulled together black leadership.
3. Literature of consequence (comic book)
4. Film: *Walk to Freedom*.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)

Established in 1942. an offshoot of liberal Southerner organization formed in 1938 to promote New Deal action in the south. Interracial organization. White funds and leadership. Ceased its operations in 1948.

James Dombrowski and Aubrey Williams transferred to SCEF with their paper, the Southern Patriot. Ann and Carl Braden were hired as field organizers in 1957. Became a communications network and recruited white support. 12

CHAPTER EIGHT: INTERNAL ORGANIZATION AND DIRECT ACTION

SITINS:

February, 1960, sit in at Greensboro, North Carolina Woolworth store the "opening" but civil rights activists had conducted sit ins in at least 16 cities between 1957-1960.

Rational planning. Tests. Nonviolent workshops. Indigenous resources.

These earlier sit ins did not become a movement because the organizations did not as yet have a mass base, nor was the mass action culture established as yet. (193).

MOVEMENT CENTER CHARACTERISTICS (P.94)

1. CADRE social change ministers
2. DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZATIONS
3. INDIGENOUS FINANCING
4. WEEKLY MASS MEETINGS AS FORUMS
5. DISSEMINATION OF NONVIOLENT TACTICS AND STRATEGIES
6. ADAPTATION OF RICH CHURCH CULTURE TO POLITICAL PURPOSES
7. MASS BASED ORIENTATION

CHAPTER NINE: ORIGINS OF A DECADE OF DISRUPTION

How did the sitins develop into a mass movement that strengthened the CRM and gave rise to SNCC and the modern white student movement. (195)

While Colleges dependent on white financial support, the students were still relatively free of white control.

Why this one?: All four well connected to movement. NAACP refused legal counsel, but Floyd McKissick agreed and they were connected up. Movement spread across the state and SCLC was critical to this spread throughout movement centers. The "soil had been prepared." (202).

MORRIS'S argument is that adults spread the student sit in movement and that SCLC was critical to this. (203). The cluster nature of the sitins is testimony to the relation to movement centers.

SNCC

Ella Baker called a meeting at Shaw University in Raleigh in April, 1960 at which 300 students attended and decided to set up an independent coordinating committee, later to become SNCC with Marion Barry its first chair.

SDS

Ella Baker also facilitated the activist phase of SDS modeled after SNCC with Haber acting as liaison. The sitin provided this organization with a "protest model with both a tactical and an organizational blueprint." (223).

CHAPTER TEN: BIRMINGHAM: A PLANNED EXERCISE IN MASS DISRUPTION

BACKGROUND:

1. SNCC, SCLC, CORE AND NAACP did acquire social power in the movement framework.

2. FREEDOM RIDES started by CORE 5/4/61. From DC to New Orleans. Beaten up in Alabama;

Diane Nash, SNCC Nashville, took up the fight. Made it out of Birmingham, but stopped at Montgomery (Abernathy's Baptist Church) and then proceeded on May 24 to Jackson, Mississippi.

Freedom riders poured into Jackson, Mississippi all through the summer, by August at least 400 had been arrested.

Kennedys tried money, draft exemption, racist judges, etc to try and get student movement into voting. (235)

3. SNCC AND ALBANY, GEORGIA. A FAILURE

BIRMINGHAM 1963.

Carefully planned, internal cohesion and intended to break the back of segregation throughout the South.

Why Birmingham? (1) ACHMR with Fred Shuttleworth since 1956. (2) Neither CORE, SNCC nor outlawed NAACP strong there. (3) With Connor, B was a symbol of racism.

Preparation: King met with everyone first; carefully chose the time; the Movement Choir ("99 and a half won't do");

Project C: Three targets: (1) business and industrial elites (2) political elites in charge of maintaining status quo (3) White racists and general white community.

Strategy was economic boycott to pressure and daily mass demonstrations to make it visible. Meticulous planning!! (Look at page 260). The slow development of a socio drama. Research options to state and federal injunctions in advance.¹⁵

BIRMINGHAM

B Day was April 3, 1963. Limited sitins and arrests. Attempted negotiations with economic elites and beginning of economic boycott and the effort to convince black community not to shop downtown.

C was introduced. Marchers went Daily to City Hall for a prayer meeting. Day after day, week after week, getting arrested and the boycott grew. (This is movement consistent)

Injunction issued on April 10th (state). King called press conference and said he had an injunction from God and would march on Good Friday. (timing/symbols); Letter from a Birmingham Jail was distributed nationwide by AFSC.

Northern capitalists began to become concerned as the profits of their southern outlets became questionable. (266).

D Day was introduced on May 2, 1963 when thousands of students began going to jail. Connor attacked the students as they were leaving the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on May 3rd with firehoses, dogs and billy clubs.

TURNING POINT: On May 5th, Rev. Billups led marchers to City Hall for a prayer meeting. Connor met them with firehoses first time at City Hall; I knocked them down and they got back up and marches by him.

May 7th the jails were full with 2000 Blacks. The 250,000 residents of 600,000 were not buying anything but food and medicine. Kennedy's Burke Marshall was pressuring elites to settle. Negotiations with economic elites proceeding, BUT (271)

Connor calls in Wallace and 575 state troopers for May 8th. But the White leaders made the settlement public on May 10th. King's brother's home and the Gaston hotel were bombed. JFK mobilized the national guard to prevent the riot Connor wanted. (Reverse use of national guard).

WITHIN TEN WEEKS OF BIRMINGHAM

758 DEMONSTRATIONS IN 186 CITIES WITH 14,733 PEOPLE ARRESTED.

1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

REVIVED THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AGAIN.

CLIMAX OF A DECADE OF STRUGGLE (5363).

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THEORETICAL OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS

This work was informed by three theories of social movements and collective action:

(1) Classical collective behavior theory: Lewis Killian, Neil Smelser. Collective behaviour is discontinuous with preexisting structures spontaneous, unplanned, emotional, nonrational, etcv.

CRM was rational and planned and spread through preexisting institutions.

(2) Weber's theory of charismatic movements. Does not take into account how charismatic movements occur to begin with and how they are sustained. (279)

(3) Resource mobilization theory. Organization, money, people, leaders, communications, the larger political climate.

"It is the ability of groups to organize, mobilize and manage valuable resources that determines whether they will be able to engage in social protest." (279)

Stresses the importance of outside third parties bringing skills, etc to dominated groups. Downplays importance of culture, charisma, and belief systems.

Mike Lipsky, Howard Hubbard, and David Garrow. Anthony Oberschall analysis of CRM. too much weight assigned to outside forces. 17

INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVE

The emergence of a sustained social movement within a particular dominated community depends on whether that community possesses:

1. CERTAIN BASIC RESOURCES.

Internal social institutions, communications network, organized groups, experienced leaders, social resources money, labor and charisma. These resources are important early on; outside resources are important later, but not causal.

2. SOCIAL ACTIVISTS WITH STRONG TIES TO MASSBASED INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS.

Transform indigenous resources into power instruments for mass political action. a creative role.

3. EFFECTIVE STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

When you have these three elements are mobilized you have a local movement center. an interrelated set of protest leaders, organizations and followers who collectively define the common end for social protest.

Organization: An "intermediate form of organization" can be helpful.

Leadership: Leaders generally came from a preexisting leadership role and disunity was overcome by elevating leaders who were well integrated into community, but still relatively NEW.

IMPACT OF CRM.

Personal and political victories. Other movements national and international were effected.

Unable to change "economic exploitation." Prospects for economic change? Relation of CRM experience

LESSONS ORGANIZING FOR ECONOMIC CHANGE:

1. Economic changes not through traditional politics, but through creative social protest and disruption.
2. Requiring a high level of internal organization.
3. Indigenous leaders will devise strategy and tactics