African Americans HISTORY & POLITICS Sociology 220 Panels Officer

Atlantic Basin 1500-1800

- Unsettled, varied, multi-racial, multi-cultural
- People from many European nations migrating. More German and Scots than English after 1700.
- Africans in many roles: sailors, traders, bondsmen. Most slaves, but some free.

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Africans Arrive with Europeans

- Columbus 1492. Spanish & Portuguese in Latin America & Caribbean
- o Columbus & slaves
- o Conquistadores of African descent (Moors)
- British the major slave traders after 1600
- African slaves arrive in Jamestown Virginia 1607. (Pilgrims to Plymouth 1620)
- Importation of slaves 1607-1808.

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Regional patterns for Africans 1500-1800

- Northern
- $\circ~$ Often 1 slave per household, isolated
- Adopted European culture & language; hard to find mates. Integrated but declined in #s
- Chesapeake (Virginia/Maryland)
- o Larger groups, family units, able to grow from natural increase
- Cultural mixing with Europeans: adopt English with African grammar
- · Carolina & Georgia
 - Plantations, extremely high death rates, vast majority died; no natural increase, continued importation of slaves
- $\circ\,$ Majority African communities on large plantations; created Gullah language, own customs

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Africans and Europeans

- $\bullet \sim 90\%$ of the people who crossed the Atlantic to America between 1500 and 1800 were African, NOT European
- ~ 75% of migrants to North America before 1808 were African, NOT European
- Differential death and fertility rates during colonialism
- \bullet The population of the colonies that became the US was 20% Black ~ 1800

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The Africans

- 1607 1776. 175 years of slavery in colonial period.
- Some Africans, like Europeans, 17 year indentures, but racial differences rapidly emerge
- Always ~10% "free Blacks."
 - o A few even own slaves themselves
- \circ Free Blacks support the American revolution. Crispus Attucks.
- Whites argue about whether "equality" should include Blacks.

Whites, Blacks, and the Racial State

- Slavery enshrined in the Constitution of 1789.
- \bullet Invention of cotton gin gives new profitability to slave plantations
- 1808 importation of slaves ends after a huge wave if importation in the last decade. Henceforth, slaves are all native born.
- European Americans mobilize to strip free Africans of their citizenship rights, ban them from communities, kick them out of formerly integrated churches.
- The African-American movement begins as a defense against European-American actions.

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Black and White 1816-1860

- Blacks 20% of the population (declines to ~12% in 20th century due to White immigration)
- Slavery in the US as a extreme PROFITABLE institution; slave labor builds the economy
- · Growing international opposition to slavery
- Abolition movement in US grows
- Restrictions on free Africans in both north and south; some free Africans enslaved
- The 10% free Africans mobilize against these restrictions & against slavery
- · Slavery divides the nation

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Slavery

- There had been slavery for thousands of years, but US slavery was a peculiarly capitalist and particularly inhumane institution: people as property, no rights as human beings
- Physical geography, social organization made slave rebellions & escape more difficult than in other locales
- Slave labor was a fundamental element of 18th and 19th century economy: Black slaves built much of the economic power of the nation
- US Black/White racial definitions a product of slavery: child of a slave mother was a slave

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Abolitionism: Movement to Abolish Slavery

- Militant movement rooted principally in the northeast, but gained adherents.
- o Violent battles between pro- and anti-slavery forces
- $\circ\,$ Black participants & leaders; also racial tensions within movement
- 20th century tendency to ignore the history of White abolitionists
- Political & social meaning of ignoring abolitionism as an important movement

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Family Trees

- Massive European immigration occurs 1800-1920, with a peak 1880-1910
- Importation of Africans as slaves stops 1808
- Immigration of Africans generally not permitted after 1808
- Conclusion: The "average" African-American family has been in the US ~100 years longer than the "average" European-American family
- Query: Which group has the strongest claim to say "this is our country"?

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John Brown

- John Brown: militant radical abolitionist fought a guerilla war against slavery.
- 1859 Harper's Ferry raid, his capture, trial and execution
- Bells tolled throughout the North for him
- song: John Brown's body (sung to an old camp meeting him)
- tune used for Battle Hymn of the Republic, poem by Julia Ward Howe)

John Brown's Body

John Brown's body lies a-mold'ring in the grave (3x) His soul goes marching on

Glory, Glory! Hallelujah! (3x)

His soul is marching on

He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true

He frightened old Virginia till she trembled through and through

They hung him for a traitor, themselves the traitor crew His soul is marching on

John Brown died that the slave might be free, (3x)

But his soul is marching on!

The stars above in Heaven are looking kindly down (3x)

On the grave of old John Brown

Overview 1865-1920

- Europeans: South devastated, US consolidates military control of the continent; massive migration from Europe
- Africans: Freed slaves start to make some advances. White state reconsolidates around segregation & White dominance
- · Americans: US military forces conquer the remaining free Americans, drive population down to 200,000
- Asians: Significant immigration, explicit racist attacks, segregation, passage of restrictions against immigration; colonialism (Philippines, Hawaii)
- "Latinos": colonialism (Puerto Rico), displacement (Mexicans), coexistence

Civil War 1860-1865

- Bloody war, occupies White military forces
- Black soldiers, slaves gradually being liberated; 10%+ of Union army by 1865
- · American Indians choose sides or try to avoid the war, diversion from "Indian wars" in the west
- Ends with the victory of the North, abolition of
- · South occupied by northern army, White southerners disenfranchised

Constitutional Amendments 1865

- 13th: abolishes slavery "except as punishment for a crime'
- 14th: all persons born or naturalized in the US have rights of citizenship regardless of race, religion, national origin, or previous condition of servitude
- 15th: right of men to vote regardless of race etc.

US History Overview 1860-1820

- 1860-1865. US civil war (war between the states)
- 1865 1920. Consolidation of the racial state.
 - o Even more European immigration
 - o Jim Crow segregation worsens conditions for Blacks
 - o Final conquest of the indigenous Americans
 - $\circ \ Imperialism \ \& \ colonialism.$
 - o Asian immigration & racist anti-Asian movements & laws lead to bans on Asian immigration
- 1920 Massive immigration ends for 50 years

Race, Gender and 14th & 15th Amendments

- Battles over the 15th amendment split women's rights and Blacks' rights advocates
- 14th and 15th amendments do not apply to non-White immigrants because they are not allowed to become naturalized
 - $\circ\,$ but do apply to non-Whites born in the US
 - o this becomes an important part of Asian American politics
- 1870 naturalization law applies to African-descent immigrants (who are mostly from Caribbean & Latin America)

1865-1876 Reconstruction

- Union army occupies the south.
- Blacks vote. Whites who have been in Rebel army cannot. Black elected officials.
- Some reforms. Some improvement for Blacks. Some land reform (has future effects)
- Much turmoil, resistance. Attempts by Whites to recreate racial domination
- Conflicts around 15th amendment disrupt the previous coalition between feminists and supporters of African-American rights.

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1877 - 1920 Era of Explicit Racism

- Slavery was over, but a new racial order was created
- It was created by using proxies for race, circumventing the strictures of the 14th amendment
- Origins teach you how a system was built, once in place hard to see why things are as they are

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Blacks/ African Americans: The White Counter-Revolution

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1870s-1890s

- 90% of all Blacks live in rural areas, 90% in south
- $\circ\,$ most in cotton farming, dependent on landowners, subject to violent repression.
- \bullet Lynchings and KKK terrorism increase
 - O KKK = local White authorities in sheets
- Blacks demand reparations for slavery immediately after the war. (Whites ignore.)
- Some emigrationism, 500+ actually emigrate to Liberia. Most want to stay.

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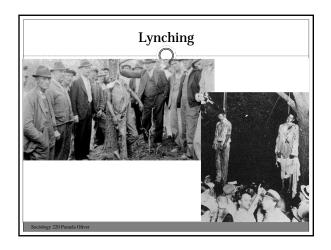
The End of Reconstruction

- Compromise of 1876 ends Reconstruction to break election deadlock, elect Hayes.
- Union army leaves the south, agreement to let southerners do what they will about race. White southerners can vote again.
- "Healing" White nation by sacrificing Blacks
- · Denials that the war was about slavery
- [Later, Confederate soldiers are even made eligible for US veterans' pensions with the same standing as Union soldiers]

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Creating the New Racial Order

- 1880s 1890s Southern states pass Jim Crow segregation laws.
- 1893 Plessey vs Furgeson, "Separate but Equal," US Supreme Court effectively guts the 14th amendment.
- Failure of land reform. White elites reconsolidate class privilege
- Era of lynching (torture & death) & antimiscegenation laws



Politics & Race

- Democratic Party = alliance of southern White planters and northern industrialists and working class.
- Republican Party anti-slavery in 1850s (Lincoln).
- o 1876-1891 debate whether to support Black rights
- o after 1891 abandon Black rights entirely
- Populist movement threatens trans-racial alliance among southern working class
- $\circ\,$ elite Whites work to disenfranchise Blacks (and working class) to eliminate threat.

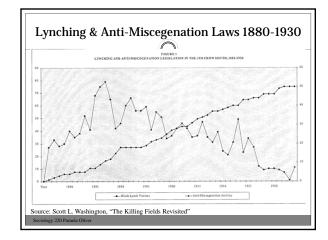
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Anti-Miscegenation Laws 1880-1920 Southern (Former Slave States) (17) No Bills New Mexico (1912) Wyoming (1890) Montana (1889) Maine Vermont Rhode Island New Hampshire Massachusetts Connecticut New Jersey introduced but not passed) (10) • Washington Oklah Oregon Californi Texas Missouri Kansas Arkansas iesota Nevada Louisiana Iowa Arizona Kentucky Utah Colorado Mississippi North Dakota Alabama Virginia South Dakota New York Nebraska Pennsylvania West Virginia Maryland Delaware North Carolina Florida

Black Disenfranchisement

- No disguise, overt White efforts to disenfranchise Blacks, but accomplish racial goals without explicitly using race (which is illegal)
- Example: Louisiana, 130,344 Blacks registered in 1895, after constitution rewritten, only 5,000 in 1898 and 1,772 in 1916.
- Poll taxes, literacy requirements, personal and periodic registration at difficult-to-reach places, White primaries. "Grandfather clause" protects Whites.
- Blacks lose all political power.
- Same tools in the north disenfranchise White workers especially immigrants.

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1895-1920 Virulent Racism

- Presidents Taft and Wilson are explicit racists
- US Supreme Court guts the 14th amendment
- Hundreds of African Americans are lynched (murdered) in the south.
- "Scientific racism" is taught in college science classrooms. This ideology distinguishes northern Aryan from southern Europeans, as well as what we now understand as "races."
- Explicit opposition to any form of mixing of "races." Intermarriage illegal. Includes Asians

Black Resistance 1880-1920

- There is resistance to Jim Crow.
- Bus boycotts & consumer boycotts against segregation in the cities.
- Petitions, speeches. Rhetoric of citizenship, equality.
- Northern, educated Blacks speak out for equality, citizenship. But lose 1880-1920

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Historical Overview

- 1880-1920 Racism strong, Blacks lose; some countertrends
- 1920-1954 Reform movements, some allies, moderate progress for Blacks
- • 1954 – 1965 Civil Rights Era "The Second American Revolution."
- 1963 1969 Black urban riots
- 1965-1980 Consolidation of Black gains, battles over implementation + "White backlash"
 1980s-2000. Black political influence erodes.
- 1980s-2000. Black political influence erodes.
 Improvement for Black middle class + decline for Black lower class.
- 2001-present. ?? Significance of Obama

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Counter-Trends

- · Pockets of Black development
- Black migration (cowboys; movements into cities)
- · Black schools, colleges
- Black political movements
- Too weak in this era to win, but set up the future (we will return to these)

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1910-1920

- 1916-1925 Marcus Garvey. Back to Africa. Militant separatist, Black capitalist. Black religious icons.
- 1919 Bloody race riots in many cities, Whites attacking and killing Blacks.
- 1920s NAACP under James Weldon Johnson begins the concerted campaign of lawsuits to chip away at segregation,
- o begin the path towards Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka (1954).
- $\circ\,$ Early victories provide resources that increase Black education.

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20th Century African American History

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1921-1939

- 1920s 1940s. A. Philip Randolph. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Strong Black union, political platform.
- 1920s 1930s Blacks shift voting patterns, become potential swing voters.
- From "knee-jerk Republicans" (holdover from 19th century, Republicans anti-slavery, Lincoln freed the slaves) to willing to vote for whomever supports them and their issues.
- 1936 Blacks play a key role in Roosevelt's New Deal Coalition. Become significant political players.

Some key events of 1920s

- 1921 Tulsa riot:
 - White community attacked and burned down the Black area of Tulsa
- o Activists are seeking reparations for the survivors.
- 1927 Greenville flood.
- $\,\circ\,$ Mississippi River flooded, largest flood until 1993
- $\circ\,$ 13,000 Blacks on levees in Greenville; ships left them behind, took only Whites; plantations wanted labor
- o Contributed to Black shift from Republican to Democrat

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The Great Migration: Rural->Urban, South->North

- 1890 Blacks are 90% rural, 90% southern. No political leverage. Economically dependent. Illiterate. Threat of numbers in southern areas leads to extreme measures to keep them suppressed.
- Between 1900 and 1960 Blacks Move:
- o South to North. From 90% southern in 1900 to 60% in 1960.
- \circ Rural to Urban. Southern Blacks: from 9% urban in 1890 and 34% in 1930 to 58% in 1960. The 40% of Blacks in the north are virtually all urban.
- NOTE: Much rural -> urban migration due to racial bias in federal loan programs for farmers + lynching

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1940-1960

- 1941 threatened March on Washington, led by Randolph. Called off when FDR agrees to ban racial discrimination in war industries.
- 1942-1945 World War II. Political watershed
- 1945-1960. Post-war politics. Communism and anti-Communism. "Hearts and Minds" Anticolonialism, independence for African nations. US racial policies become international embarrassment.

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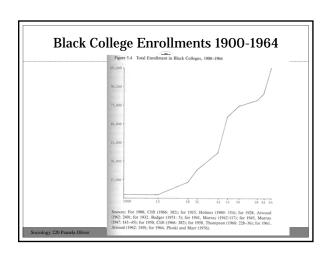
Consequences of Urbanization

- Voting in North. Swing votes, parts of political machines. Black Congressmen.
- Less daily domination. More able to gather without White oversight. Positive consequence of physical segregation.
- Able to support independent Black professionals (ministers, morticians, barbers & hairdressers).
- o Economic independence=political independence.
- Rising education, income, political awareness
- Black newspapers, magazines, news sources.

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What Changed between 1880 and 1960?

MAJOR SOURCE:
DOUG MCADAM. POLITICAL PROCESS
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK
INSURGENCY. UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO PRESS, 1982.

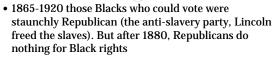


Rising Education

- Growth in Black education & Black colleges a direct result of NAACP litigation in the 1920s and 1930s
- Court cases forced the "equal" in "separate but equal"
- Southern states had to pay for Black education to defend segregation (but Blacks still lagged way behind Whites)
- These lawsuits also laid the groundwork for 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education

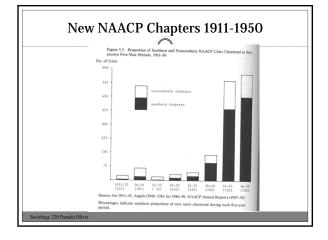
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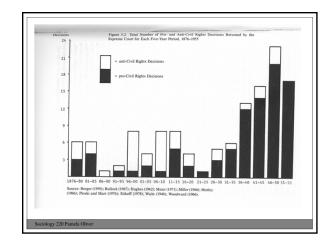
Rising Political Influence



- In 1920s, NAACP and others urge Blacks to vote for whatever party will support Black rights, proportion voting Democrat goes up
- In 1930s, Blacks are part of Roosevelt's New Deal coalition, get some benefits; Eleanor Roosevelt supports more strongly

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Organizational Infrastructure Grows

- Black Churches. Larger, can support full-time ministers. Autonomous, Blacks control.
 Social gospel movement = role of church in society.
- Black Colleges. Lawsuits force the equal part of separate but equal. Obtain White money. Massive growth in educated youth. Students economically independent of Whites
- NAACP is a White-dominated organization at the national level, but a Black grassroots organization at the local level mobilized to support & defend Blacks.

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Politics 1930-1960

- After 1930, Blacks become increasingly important "swing vote" in some northern areas, part of the New Deal coalition
- Blacks voting predominantly but not uniformly Democrat 1930-1960
- 1960 both Republicans and Democrats are backing Civil Rights AND trying to gain White southern votes.
- 1960 Close election, Kennedy vs. Nixon. Kennedy wins, Blacks seen as swing vote. Kennedy gives support to civil rights, while trying to keep White southern vote.

Hope

- "Cognitive liberation" = belief that change is possible (McAdam)
- Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954: hope that change was possible, federal government would intervene.
- Blacks more positive about Whites in the Civil Rights era, believed Whites were ready to change
- Blacks more integrationist when Whites seem willing to change & are open to integration and power sharing, are more separatist when Whites are more racist and conservative

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Separatist Accommodationist BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Separatists and Integrationists

FROM HERE WE BRANCH OFF FROM STRICT CHRONOLOGY TO TALK ABOUT SEPARATISTS AND INTEGRATIONISTS.

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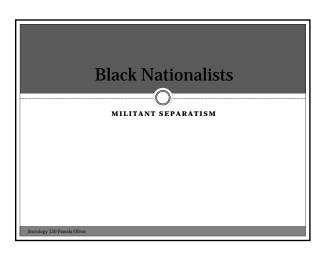
1895- 1915 Booker T. Washington: Accommodation & Separation

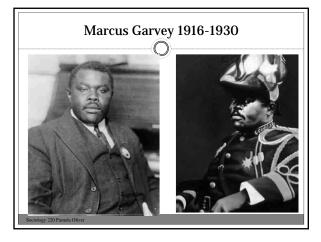
- Up From Slavery
- Tuskegee Institute: Black, not a White missionary school.
- Self-development, education for manual employment (not professionals, but not uneducated sharecroppers)
- uneducated sharecroppers)

 1895 "Atlanta Compromise"
 Accept segregation in exchange
 for economic development. No
 value of right to go to opera if you
 cannot afford the ticket
- "Official Black" Virtually all White money channeled through BTW
- Wielded power, fought enemies; controversial



Black Integrationists & Separatists		
	Assimilationist/ Integrationist	Separatist/ Nationalist
Accommoda- tionist	today's "Black conservatives"	Booker T. Washington, some churches
Reformist	Urban League NAACP	Some community development groups
Radical/ Militant	W.E.B. Dubois A. Philip Randolph Communists & Socialists M. L. King, Jr.	Marcus Garvey Malcolm X Black Panthers? Louis Farrakhan Some gangs?
Revolutionary	Class Revolution (Communists?)	Freedom Fighters; Pan- African militants?







Marcus Garvey 1916-1930

- Born in Jamaica (Black-majority nation)
- Labor organizer in Jamaica and Costa-Rica
- · Inspired by BT Washington
- Purposely builds a Black nationalist organization in
- Imprisoned then deported mid-1920s on mail fraud charges (trumped up charges based on financial problems)

UNIA Program

- Black nationalism: separate territory for Negro people
- Pan-Africanism: unity of all Black-Negro-African people; Black pride, value Black, ignore White racism
- Motto: One God, One Aim, One Destiny; religious language; many Black clergy involved
- Black capitalism: built Black businesses; Black Star steamship line
- Millions of members in the 1920s: bigger than the Civil Rights Movement
- · Popular with Black masses, not the more educated mixed-race elite

Universal Negro Improvement Association



What we believe

- The Universal Negro Improvement Association advocated the uniting and blending of all Negroes into one strong, healthy race. It is against miscegenation and race suicide.
- It believes that the Negro race is as good as any other, and therefore should be as proud of itself as others are.
- It believes in the purity of the Negro race and the purity of the white

- It is against rich blacks marrying poor whites.

 It is against rich or poor whites taking advantage of Negro women.

 It believes in the spiritual Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.
- It believes in the social and political physical separation of all peoples to the extent that they promote their own ideals and civilization, with the privilege of trading and doing business with each other. It believes in the promotion of a strong and powerful Negro nation in
- It believes in the rights of all men
- Universal Negro Improvement Association Marcus Garvey, President-General

January 1, 1924

Nation of Islam (Black Muslim)

- Founder Elijah Muhammad, 1920s (after Garvey's deportation)
- [NOT mainstream Islam! Considered an offbeat sect by most Muslims]
- Picked up the themes of UNIA/Garveyism
- Black separatism, rejection of White values, White dominance
- Black self-development: businesses, employment
- Insist on individual self-discipline, moral values, pride and dignity

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Separatism 1960s

- Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) Elijah Muhammad.
- 1960 TV show: "The Hate that Hate Produced." Expose, controversy
- Malcolm X: most visible. Charismatic, articulate. Rejected non-violence, said Blacks should defend themselves if attacked
- Controversial among Blacks as well as Whites



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Malcolm X (El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz)







1950s - 1960s

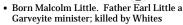
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M.L. King & Malcolm X (now Malik El Shabazz) move toward each other politically 1964-65

This famous picture was shot the only time they met, at a press conference about the Civil Rights bill in Washington, DC in March 1964. They were together only a minute, just long enough for the pictures to be taken.

Malcolm X



- After a life of crime, converted to Nation of Islam in Prison; Elijah Muhammad his leader
- NOI national coverage 1959, Mike Wallace: "The Hate that Hate Produced"
- Prominent separatist speaker 1950s-1965. Charismatic, powerful speaker.
- 1964 Split from NOI, went to Mecca, converted to mainstream non-racial Islam, changes name to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz
- 1965 murdered

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Nation of Islam: Louis Farrakhan

- In NOI when Malcolm X was murdered. Much controversy about this.
- Took over NOI after Ward Muhammad led MOST NOI members into mainstream nonracial Islam (American Muslim Society)
- Current leader of NOI



Nation of Islam

- NOI Statement of goals
- http://www.noi.org/muslim_program.htm
- http://www.noi.org/index.html

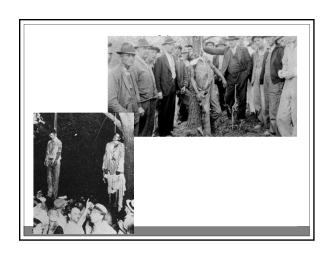
Ida B. Wells-Barnett

- · Anti-lynching campaign 1900-1930: documented lynchings
- Worked with DuBois & NAACP
- Was 1930s before a US president said lynching was wrong



Other separatist impulses

- SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee). Integrationist, mixed-race in early 1960s, becomes separatist in late 1960s
- Afro-centrism, Pan-Africanism, etc. Cultural movements among African Americans stressing separate culture, ties to Africa
- Black churches (both political and non-political): own worship spaces, own worship styles, selfdevelopment, self-governance, self-improvement



Integrationists Before The Civil Rights Movement

W.E.B. DuBois

- Sociology professor
- Niagara Movement 1906: Critique of Booker T. Washington, all-Black integrationist
- 1909 NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). Invites Whites to help. (Only Black in top leadership)

 • After 1919 becomes a pan-Africanist;
- conflicts with Garvey
- After 1930 abandons integrationism & NAACP, becomes socialist & Pan-Africanist, moves to Africa in 1950s



NAACP

- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- Founded 1909 by DuBois
- Integrated leadership nationally, dominated by Whites (but not only White)
- · Lawsuits on behalf of Blacks
- Built the legal challenges leading up to Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954

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1930s Depression

- Unemployment ~ 30%, much suffering; Communists and Socialists had large popular organizations
- Communists had strong anti-racism policies, organized many mixed-race unions and campaigns
- Both socialists and communists had organizations among Black sharecroppers
- Many Black labor and political organizers affiliated with Communists or Socialists

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James Weldon Johnson

- Leader of NAACP in 1920s
- Developed strategy of legal challenges that chipped away at segregation, built case law & precedents leading to 1954 Brown v Board of Education



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Communist Poster From 1930s VOTE COMMUNIT FOR VERY WHERE! VOTE COMMUNIT FOR VERY DELICE FOR V

Black socialists and communists 1930s-1950s

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B. D. Amis

- Example of a Black Communist
- Worked with Ida B. Wells-Barnett when he was still in high school
- Began as an organizer for the NAACP
- Recruited by Communists in the US when they decided to focus on the race question in the 1930s
- 1931 Scottsboro nine: Black youths accused of raping two White women; major organizing case
- Union organizing
- (Source: Article by Barry D. Amis, his son)



A Philip Randolph

- Organized National Negro Congress, umbrella organization of anti-racist organizations
- Head of Brotherhood of **Sleeping Car Porters**
- March on Washington 1941: all-Black protest movement
- Strong sense of movement before and after WWII



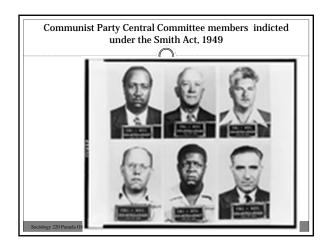
National Negro Congress, 1940 Convention

Sleeping Car Porters



Civil Rights Congress 1946-1956

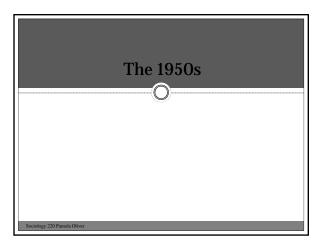
- Continued militancy
- Included both Communists and non-Communists
- Sit-ins, campaigns
- Attacked by "McCarthyism," anti-Communist campaign of repression

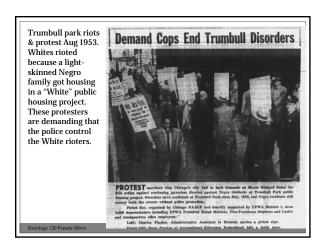


Repression and Movements of 1950s

- Repression of Communists & Socialists in late 1940s
 early 1950s included a lot of Black activists
- Rise in church- and school-based organization partly in response
- Many activists who left and even repudiated the Communist Party (especially its domination by the Soviet Union) kept their skills and activist commitments in the Civil Rights era

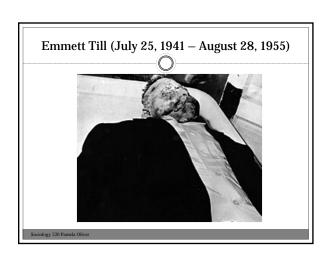
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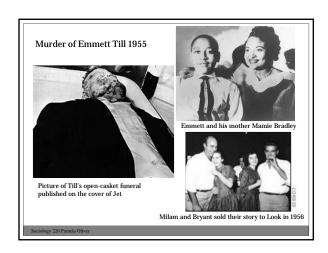


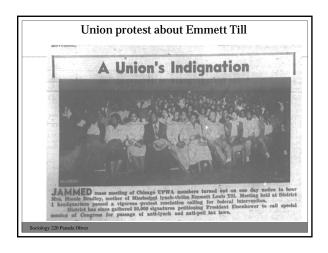


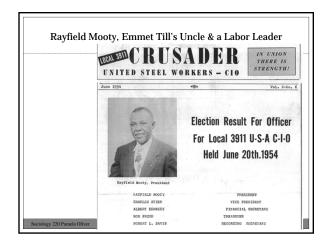
1950s

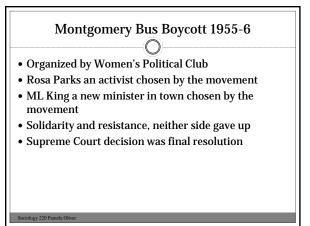
- 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education. Bans segregation, but allows graduate implementation.
- 1954 Emmett Till murdered. Widespread publicity among Blacks.
- 1955-56 Montgomery Bus Boycott, rise of Martin Luther King, Jr. Nation-wide publicity.
- 1950s Malcolm X preaching on the streets of Harlem.
- 1957 Martin Luther King, Jr. founds Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

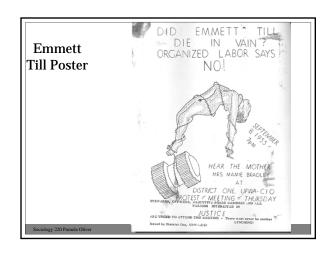


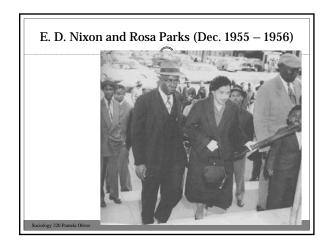












Edgar Daniel Nixon

- Long-time Black activist
- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
- NAACP
- Along with White allies, bailed Rosa Parks out of jail and asked her to be the signal case for the Montgomery bus boycott.

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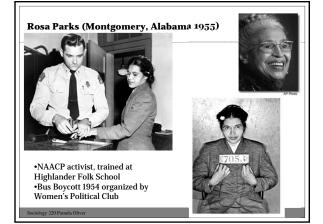
Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth



- Militant integrationist
- Birmingham, Alabama
- Died October 5, 2011



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White Resistance 1950s

- 1954-1970 (and continuing?) White resistance. Violence against Blacks, close public schools, mobilize organizations
- 1957. White riots at Little Rock High (Arkansas) to block small-scale integration. US Troops protect integration.
- 1954-1960s NAACP persecuted in south. Banned as "Communist." Teachers, others fired for being members. (Same people who were members of NAACP involved in other Black organizations, involved in Black churches.)

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Martin Luther King, Jr.



Murdered 1968; effective end of the non-violent civil rights movement

- Baptist minister, doctorate in theology, son of MLK, Sr. an activist minister
- Asked to lead Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955-6: young, new voice
- Powerful orator, nonviolence, love your enemy; rhetoric of God and Americanism
- Founded, led SCLC Southern Christian Leadership Conference

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Little Rock integration protest RACE STORMAN RACE STORMA

Little Rock

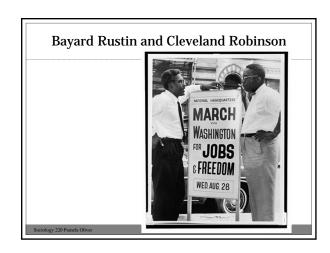
Elizabeth Eckford was separated from the others, chased by a hostile crowd. Hazel Massery, the White woman (16 years old) yelling, apologized at a meeting of reconciliation in 1997.

The Civil Rights Advance 1960s

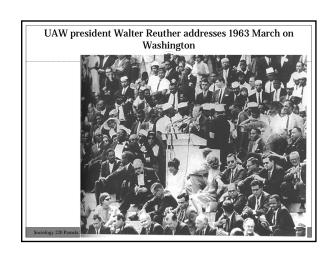
- 1960- Sit-ins start (SNCC = Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee)
- 1961 Freedom Rides (CORE=Congress of Racial Equality)
- 1963-65 major civil rights marches, major civil rights legislation
- 1963 March on Washington
- 1963 Kennedy killed. President Johnson (a southerner) vows to be the "civil rights president."
- 1964 Public Accommodations Act

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Civil Rights Integrationism 1960s







Drama of Civil Rights

- Movement uses nonviolence, claims moral high ground
- · Segregationists respond violently
- · Confrontation leads to disruption
- Federal government, economic elites want peace, less committed to segregation.
- Disruption + moral high ground of non-violence leads "bystanders" to support the Black movement.
- However, many blame the movement for "causing" the violence by challenging people known to be violent

Jack O'Dell. SCLC New York Director in 1960s

- Southern Negro Youth Congress
- Communist Party member in 1940s
- Came back from World War II ready to fight for equality
- Controversial when called Communist in



1964

- Freedom Summer. White college students go south. Civil rights workers killed.
- Battle over the Mississippi delegation to national convention. Fanny Lou Hamer "Is this America?"
- Johnson re-elected. The shift of the White racist vote to the Republican Party.
- Malcolm X travels to Mecca, embraces nonracial Islam, changes his name to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz



Fannie Lou Hamer

1965-6

- Watts riot 1965.
- 1963-1968 Black urban riots. Militancy. Northern/ western. Policing, poverty - not just "rights." White
- 1965 Malcolm X assassinated
- 1965 Selma, the last big civil rights march. Voting Rights Act
- 1966 "Black power" Stokeley Charmichael and SNCC. Marginalization of Whites in the movement. Power rhetoric frightens Whites.

M.L. King, Jr. & Malcolm X (now Malik El Shabazz) move toward each other politically 1964-65



SNCC Ella Baker (1903-1987)

- Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.
- Founded 1960 (by Ella Baker, long-time activist)
- Shock troops of sit-ins, rural organizing Integrationist, mixed-race through ~1966
- Growing tensions between
- Shift to "Black Power" and separatism after 1966. Stokely Carmichael (later Kwame Ture) (Born Trinidad, educated in New York & at Howard University)





Labor leaders giving money to King in 1967



1965-6

- Watts riot 1965. (There had been riots in New York, Birmingham and elsewhere in 1963, 1964)
- 1963-1968 Black urban riots. Militancy. Northern/ western. Policing, poverty – not just "rights." White fears.
- 1965 Malcolm X assassinated
- 1965 Selma, the last big civil rights march. Voting Rights Act
- 1966 "Black power" Stokeley Charmichael and SNCC. Marginalization of Whites in the movement. Power rhetoric frightens Whites.

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Integrationist Continuities

- NAACP, SCLC still working
- Urban League: development programs
- Multi-racial labor unions
- MANY community workers, politicians with visions of multi-racial or non-racial society
- Become disheartened when encountering setbacks and resistance

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End of Civil Rights Era

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Counter-trend: Segregation

- All the while civil rights movement was advancing, federal housing laws were promoting residential segregation
- FHA rules specifically favored segregated White areas for housing loans, specifically denied loans to integrated or Black areas
- "Block busting," segregation
- Consequences for wealth 40 years later

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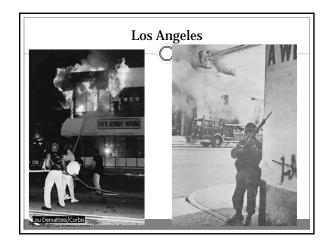
The End of the Civil Rights Era

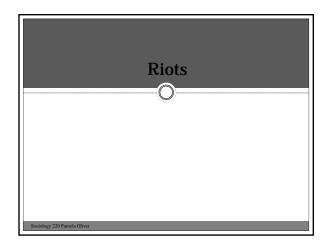
- 1966-1967 King takes the movement north. Much less success. "Where Do We Go From Here?" Stresses need to address economic issues
- 1968 ML King assassinated. Huge wave of riots.
- 1966-1971 White students increasing involved in anti-war movement. White campus riots over the Vietnam war.
- 1969 Nixon. "Law and order." The beginning of the decline of Black political influence.

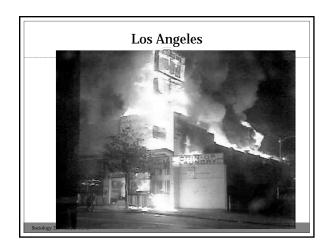
Anger and Polarization

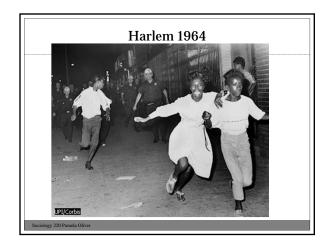
- White segregationists resisted even moderate reforms
 Non-violence as tactic (vs religious principle for MLK)
 Growing Black activist anger at White reactions
 Segregation laws a narrow goal: cannot address the economic, political, cultural deprivation of a people
 Riots 1963-1970: Eruptions of the Black lower classes. White responsiveness + White fear

- Belief in possibility of race war by late 1960s
 Black turn to separatism, "Black power," "Black pride" magnifies themes long present in the culture
- White flight. Race-coded "law and order" & "anti-crime"

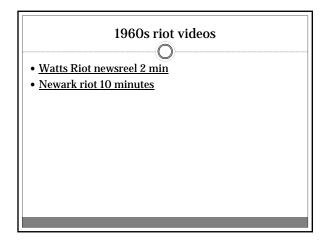


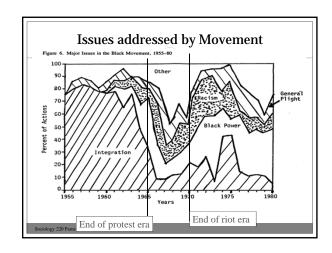


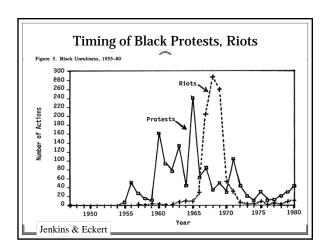


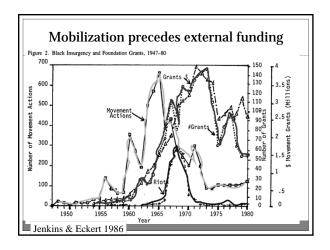


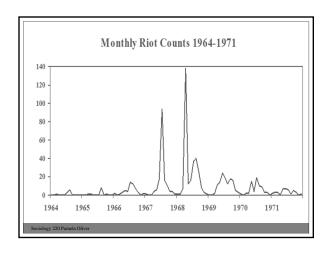


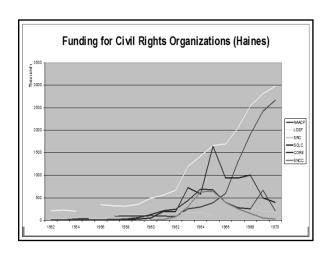


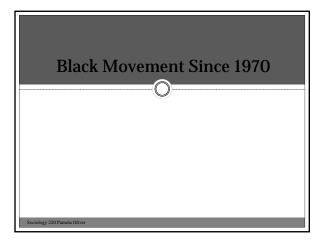


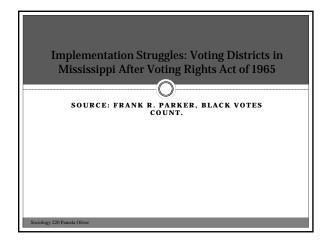








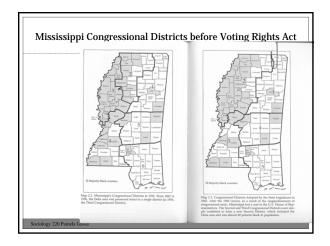




Politics 1964-2000

- 1964 election pits strong Civil Rights activist LB
 Johnson against far right conservative Goldwater.
 Self-conscious racists shift to Republicans,
 Democrats come to be viewed as the party of Blacks
 & civil rights.
- 1968 2000 Blacks vote Democratic 95%+. Republicans ignore the Black vote, seek to shore up the White vote with "race coded" appeals. Democrats take Black vote for granted, chase White votes.

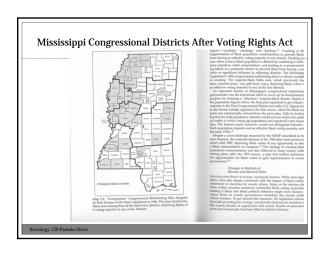
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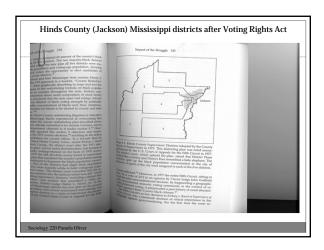


1970s Part 1

- \bullet Implementation struggles. White resistance changes form.
- Black political organizations become part of the "system."
- Affirmative action policies are initiated
- Cultural nationalism grows: Black (Afro-American) studies departments; Kwanza invented
- Black progress: reduced poverty, increased education, increased college enrollment.

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1980s_part 2

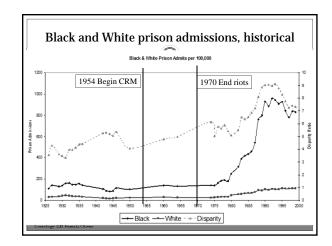
- Black high school graduation continues to rise, but Black college enrollments drop.
- White flight. Limited progress in school integration begins to reverse. By end of the decade, schools are as segregated in 1990 as in 1960. (Trend continues into the 2000s.)
- Race coded use of crime as a political issue: "Willie Horton" 1988.
- Politicized "drug war" leads to massive incarceration of African Americans.

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1970s Part 2

- Generally difficult economic times: stagflation, gas lines. Political left declines, White activists involved in environmentalism, anti-nuclear.
- "White backlash." Anti-busing riots oppose school integration: Boston, Louisville. Rhetoric of "neighborhood schools" & racial attacks.
- "War on drugs" begins, Black imprisonment climbs.
- White working class, not Blacks, are the swing votes.
- Split in Nation of Islam 1975: most follow W. Deen Muhammad into mainstream non-racial Islam; Louis Farrakhan leads separatist splinter)

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1980s Part 1

- Reaganism. Conservatives strike back. Huge cuts in welfare, college scholarship programs, low-income housing, other social programs. Large tax cuts, S&L bailout create deficits.
- The effective end of federal support for affirmative action in employment. Whites even use MLK's equality rhetoric against Blacks.
- Recessions. "When White America has a cold, Black America has pneumonia." Economic disaster in segregated Black urban areas: unemployment, poverty, hunger, infant mortality, segregation, crime all rise.

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1990s Economics

- Early 1990s recession followed by long period of boom.
- Late 1990s low unemployment, growing wealth of the top 20% (especially top 1%) of the population.
- Declining real incomes since the 1970s of the bottom 60%, especially the bottom 40%, with only a slight rise at the end of the decade, decline with 2000s recession. Rise in homelessness of families, particularly of Black families.
- Dismantling of the last vestiges of a social welfare system.
 There is no "safety net" for the poor, few supports for the "working poor."
- Growing self-segregation of the affluent: well-off people rarely even see non-affluent people. More economic segregation than in any prior period.

1990s Race

- Growing Black middle class, college educated.
 Largely segregated in Black middle class areas, as
 Whites flee even non-poor Blacks.
- Declining economic well-being of Black lower class.
- Simultaneous growth of integrated, non-racist consciousness among Whites AND of renewed "respectability" of overtly racist images, jokes, language.
- Explicit White racist movements growing.

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1990s Events

- 1992 Rodney King beating & trial. Major shift in the anger of the Black middle class.
- 1992 Clinton elected.
- 1995 Million Man March. Louis Farrakahn and the Black masses
- Growing Afrocentrism, separatism among middle class Black families. Kwanza celebrations spread. (Note: Most Blacks are Christian; Kwanza is a cultural celebration, not religious.)
- 1995 OJ Simpson trial.
- 1995. Oklahoma City bombing by White right-wing antigovernment terrorist.

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LA Riot of 1992

- March 3, 1991 Rodney King Beaten. National news.

 1 minute of beating
- March 4, 1991 Headline: "Korean store-owner Soon Ja Du gets probation after shooting 15-year old Latasha Harlins for a \$1.79 bottle of orange juice"
- 1992 April 29 the police are found not guilty by a predominantly White jury in Sylmar (outside LA)
- Riot videos 2 minute "official" clip
- Black Attacks on Whites, Latinos especially in first day
- Arson of Korean businesses, police did not defend.
- $\ensuremath{^{1\!\!/}\!\!_{2}}$ of those arrested were Latino, $\ensuremath{^{1\!\!/}\!\!_{2}}$ Black; multi-racial looting
- Most deaths occurred in Central American neighborhoods

Other riot slides

- Watts Riot newsreel 2 min
- Newark riot 10 minutes

Other riots



- Police kill unarmed Black businessman who was speeding on a motorcycle
- o Found not guilty after a change of venue
- o Pressures from Cuban migrants contributing to problems
- 2001 Cincinnati
- o Police officer kills unarmed Black man running away from him

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Some Themes of the late 1990s & early 2000s

- Continuing increases in anti-crime rhetoric, building more prisons
- Declining high school graduation for Blacks in the 1990s after gains of the 1970s, then rise in college enrollment in 2000s
- Metro segregation declines in many areas, generally where Black population is smaller; segregation more stable in Black population centers
- Lack of political unity among Black movement organizations
- Debates about affirmative action

