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## The Negro Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's: An Analogous Study in the Phases of Revolutionary Development

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THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE 1960'S:  
AN ANALOGOUS STUDY IN THE PHASES OF  
REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT



SALIENS

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PRAIRIE VIEW AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE

Studies in History

STUDIES IN PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT: DOMESTIC NO. 4

THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE 1960'S: AN  
ANALOGOUS STUDY IN THE PHASES OF REVOLUTIONARY  
DEVELOPMENT

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THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE 1960'S: AN  
ANALOGOUS STUDY IN THE PHASES OF REVOLUTIONARY  
DEVELOPMENT

A Thesis

By

Gerald C. Saliens

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To Georgia, my wife and Gerald Jr.; to my mother, father and brother; to my faithful colleagues, Calvin and Paul; to my advisor, Dr. Woolfolk who guided my research; to William Brink and Louis Harris who influenced my subject choice; to Lerone Bennett who shaped my attitudes, this study is dedicated. Many thanks.

G.C.S.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Revolutionary change is one of the most interesting phenomenon in the study of social science. The purpose of this paper, which is attempted as a part of some very interesting research, is to examine the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's in the light of Modern Revolutionary Theory. This writer chose this topic being aware of the many emotional opinions given on the Civil Rights Movement. This researcher feels that an objective and technical viewpoint should be included among the various literature concerning the issue at hand. Thus it is hoped that this study will be important in exposing new aspects of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's.

### THE PROBLEM

Opinions vary as to the revolutionary aspects of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. Many authors, scholars, and writers refer to it as a revolutionary phenomenon but others claim that this movement is not a revolution. Bennett claims that at the point he looked at the question in 1964 that it was not revolutionary.

Tactics, strategy objectives! All point to a petit revolution straining on the edge of an open confrontation, but the movement, so far has not solved the two basic problems that would make it a real revolution: the organization of a sustained national resistance movement and the mobilization of the so-called underclass in the great concrete ghettos. For this reason and others, primarily the limitation of the Negro situation, it would be more accurate to call the upheaval a rebellion, a turning away from, a giving out of - a becoming.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr. The Negro Mood, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1964, p. 45).

Herndon feels that the Civil Rights Movement is too formal to be revolutionary. "In a word, the Freedom Movement has become institutionalized. . . how may one evaluate the current wave of Negro protests as a revolutionary movement? The answer is inescapable. There is no black revolution."<sup>2</sup> These are the general bases for the opinions that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's is not revolutionary.

In contrast to the above opinions contending that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's is not a revolution, there are many who feel that it is revolutionary. Robert Warren based his premise in his book Who Speaks for the Negro? on the assumption that it was a revolution. "I have written this book because I wanted to find out something first hand, about the people, some of them anyway, who are making the Negro Revolution what it is - one of the dramatic events of the American Story."<sup>3</sup>

Time Magazine made the statement that "Week by week, the U. S. Civil Rights Revolution burns more intensely, shifts into bewildering new directions, expands fiercely in its dimensions."<sup>4</sup> Wish contends that "Long before the Negro Revolution of the 1960's, American Negro leaders had fiercely established a persistent

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<sup>2</sup>Calvin C. Herndon, "Is There Really a Negro Revolution?," Negro Digest, XIV, December, 1964, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Robert P. Warren, Who Speaks for the Negro? (New York: Random House: 1965, p. 1).

<sup>4</sup>"The Big Five in Civil Rights," Time, Vol. 8, No. 26, June 28, 1963.



tradition of resistance--to slavery, to schemes of African colonization and to social discrimination." These examples are representative of viewpoints that the Negro Civil Rights Movement is revolutionary.

In considering the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's technically, a problem of method is involved. To examine its compatibility with the concepts of modern revolutionary theory, an analogous study must be attempted. "An analogy is a comparison which, on the basis of certain points of resemblance between two cases, suggests the existence of some further resemblance selected because of its relevance to the purpose of the comparison . . ."<sup>5</sup> This writer is aware of the limitations of such a study. "At best an analogy can only suggest a plausible conclusion whose validity must then be established on other grounds."<sup>6</sup>

Many persons as mentioned, have made the statement that the Civil Rights movement is a revolution, but few have looked at it objectively to determine its validity. It is the purpose of this writer to provide some concrete evidence to prove or disprove the premise that the Civil Rights Movement is really revolutionary in the technical sense of the word. In order to examine the problem, the following questions will be considered: Is the present Civil Rights Movement revolutionary in the technical sense of the word? Can one apply the concepts of definitions, processes or stages and

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<sup>5</sup> Social Science Research Council, Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Committee Report of the Committee on Historiography, New York, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

and causes of revolution to this movement. If these questions can be answered in the affirmative, when did the Civil Rights Movement become revolutionary? To attack the problem at hand these are the pertinent questions to answer in carrying out this research.

The researcher is aware that it is virtually impossible to make a completely objective comparison of past events with events of the present. This, as mentioned earlier, is one of the problems of an analogous study. Thus, it is necessary to include some of the obstacles detrimental to the writing of a completely objective paper.

The first problem stems from the principle that each scholar included in any study is a product of his own time. That is, in writing about any phenomenon, they were more than likely influenced by problems that were predominant during their own time. In considering scholars this researcher is cognizant of the fact that each may be shaped by his training and the ideas that may be prevalent during his period. The same principle applies to newspapers and magazines used as sources; this researcher is aware that they are usually slanted to a particular editorial policy.

Secondly, in an attempt to be objective, this writer acknowledges his own prejudices and biases as an "American Negro" who is living a part of the problem discussed. This writer is impressed with the class struggle as a part of the revolutionary phenomenon and the role of economics on the relationship of various groups. More important, this researcher is deeply impressed by the suppression of individual and group needs as examined by Pitirim A. Sorokin

as being the key to many of the problems discussed. The above mentioned factors explain to some extent why complete objectivity is not claimed in the completion of this paper.

Revolution, according to Lubasz, is "Generally a sweeping fundamental change in political organization, social structure, economic property control and the predominant myth of a social order, thus indicating a major break in the continuity of development."<sup>7</sup> The term will be explored more extensively in Chapter II but for all practical purposes this definition is somewhat suitable. Movement generally refers to an organized action by a group working concertedly towards some goal. Often when it is opposed to revolution it connotes a sort of gradualism. Myrdal noted that "More to the right of the messenger group was the New Negro movement a somewhat undefined term to describe an outburst of intellectual and artistic activity and a tendency to glorify things Negro in a creative way."<sup>8</sup> The term "Civil Rights" is sometimes used by the courts in a broad sense of rights enjoyed and protected under positive municipal law. Often it is used in a more narrow sense to denote the legal and social rights of the Negro in the United States. In the Congressional

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<sup>7</sup>Heinz Lubasz, Revolutions in Modern European History (New York: McMallian, 1966, p.1).

<sup>8</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dillemma: Volume II, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964, p. 763.

stature in 1866 it was defined as "any of the civil immunities belonging to white persons, including the right to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property and to have full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and estate, including the constitutional right of bearing arms."<sup>9</sup>

The hypothesis of this researcher is that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's is a revolution in the technical sense of the word. This writer contends that an analogous study in the phases of revolutionary development will prove or disprove the premise stated above. It is the purpose of this researcher to test positively the validity of the Civil Rights Movement as a revolutionary prototype.

The material scope of this paper will include various aspects of the Civil Rights movement such as the intellectual phase. This includes the various literature, editorials and speeches denouncing the status quo. The next phase considered will be the resistance phase, which includes peaceful demonstrations as the sit-ins, pickets, mass marches and other passive means of Negro actions confronting the status quo. Finally the activists period will be covered which will be centered around the violent street, riots, attacks on police and assassinations which have been so characteristic of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's.

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<sup>9</sup> Milton R. Konvitz, A Century of Civil Rights (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p.49.

The time scope of this paper will be drawn mainly from the contemporary period of about 1959 to the present. It is this writer's contention that the start of the Civil Rights Movements revolutionary character can be pinpointed around the latter part of the 1950's. It was the point at which Negroes began resisting the deprivation of their rights and by attempts to challenge the status quo through peaceful demonstrations and finally to violent reactions of the 1960's that the movement in reality became revolutionary.

#### Plan of Study

As stated, this writer intends to give an objective and technical viewpoint of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. An analogy will be attempted to evaluate whether the Civil Rights movement is compatible with any of the technical concepts of revolutionary theory. This will include concepts of definitions, stages, and causes of revolutionary phenomenon. Various activities, violent and non-violent which have occurred in the Civil Rights movement will be examined to determine if they are revolutionary and if they are, how revolutionary are they in the technical sense of the word.

Chapter I will be devoted to a general Introduction of the paper. It will include the purpose of the writer and the importance of such a study. Also included is a statement of the problem and the method used to attack the problem, the definition of key terms, the hypothesis and scope and the plan of study. In addition to the

problem the researcher will include an analysis of the obstacles which make complete objectivity impossible. One of the major goals of the new social sciences is to recognize one's own prejudices and biases.

Chapter II is concerned with the development of revolutionary theory as a part of the new social sciences. The writer will give various definitions of technical concepts of revolutions contributed by leading scholars and schools of thought. Secondly the writer will attempt to examine the various processes or stages of revolution as expounded by scholars. An attempt to discover the various causes of revolution will be undertaken as the final determinant in revolution. Finally the cyclical scheme for this study will be emphasized.

In Chapter III the writer will examine various phases of the Civil Rights movement to determine to what extent they can be considered revolutionary. The phases included will be the intellectual phase, the resistance phase and the activists phase. Based on the findings here, it will enable the writer to determine if the civil rights movement is revolutionary in the technical sense of the word.

Finally, Chapter IV will give a summary of the paper. The summary will include a brief discussion of the concepts uncovered in this paper. The researcher's conclusion will reveal whether the hypothesis stands in the light of historical research.

## CHAPTER II

### WHAT HAS BEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Throughout the history of civilization man has been concerned with revolutionary phenomenon. The first recorded interest in revolution as a reality went back to the time of the early Greek civilization. Aristotle stated many principles that are still being considered by many contemporary scholars. Even Thucydides was aware of the seemingly inevitability of revolutions. Thomas Aquinas, Hobbes, Rousseau, and Locke even during their time acknowledged their occurrences. Even though the forementioned philosophers did not deny revolutions, they had many varying opinions concerning revolutions, their meaning, processes or stages, and causes.

"Thucydides describes both violent and non-violent revolution in the alternations of democracy and oligarchy in the Constitution of the Greek City-States."<sup>10</sup> Not completely contrary to this view, Aristotle felt that revolutions are effected or carried out in two ways, one by force and one by fraud. These thinkers seem to feel that all revolutions did not devote violence. The opposing view assumes that revolutions can only occur with violence. Hobbes and Locke felt that revolution meant war and is inseparable from violence. Thomas Aquinas also seemed to relate revolution with war and strife.

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<sup>10</sup>"The Great Ideas a Syntopicon II," (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Britannica, Inc.; 1952), p. 626.

Some contemporary scholars feel that revolutions are recent phenomenon in history as Arendt. "Historically, wars are among the oldest phenomena of the recorded past while revolutions, properly speaking, did not exist prior to the Modern Age. In contrast to revolution, the aim of war was only in rare cases bound up with the notion of freedom, and while it is true that warlike uprisings against a foreign invader have frequently been felt to be sacred, they just have been recognized in theory or practice as only wars."<sup>11</sup> But whatever the case, in the development of revolutionary theory, these have been the philosophers and scholars who have laid the foundation for modern revolutionary theory.

Basically, revolution means "a sweeping, fundamental change in political organization, social structure, economic property control, and the predominant myth of a social order, thus indicating a major break in the continuity of development."<sup>12</sup> Many varied opinions have been given as to the real meaning of revolutions. Frequently labels have been attached to the concept of revolution such as political revolutions, social revolutions, popular revolutions and many others. But all of these are attempts by various scholars to define it in the realm of their own understanding.

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<sup>11</sup>Hannah Arendt, On Revolution, (New York: The Viking Press, 1953), p. 2.

<sup>12</sup>Heinz Lubasz, Revolutions in Modern European History, (New York: McMillan Company, 1962), p. 1.



The concept of revolution as explained by Robert Hunter attempts to point out the comprehensiveness of the term.

Although a fundamental change in the political organization of a nation has been accepted for many generations as a satisfactory definition, it is quite obvious that in one day it has come to mean more than that. Since the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia we have been forced to think of revolution as a fundamental change not only in the political but also in the economic organization of society. Political revolutions are sudden, violent, and often of short duration; but those which destroy an old economic machine and install a new one exhaust the energies of many generations. It will be necessary to bear in mind that revolution, as the term is used here, is a force transfer of power within a nation from one class group or individual to another--a transfer sufficiently permanent to enable those who have obtained possession of the state to make basic changes in the social, military, and economic positions of the several classes.<sup>13</sup>

Everett Martin seems impressed with Aristotle's idea of revolution which states that all revolutions produce a change from one form of government to another. But even he went so far as to state that there was a second meaning of the concept of revolution. "The term revolution is used to denote any far reaching cultural change, as for instance we speak of the Industrial Revolution. . ."<sup>14</sup> Martin defines more specifically that "A revolution occurs when a faction in the community without sanction of law resorts to armed hostilities in an attempt to constitute itself the governing force in a society."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Robert Hunter, Revolution: Why, How, When? (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), p. X.

<sup>14</sup> Everett Martin, Farewell to Revolution (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1935), p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

Pitirim Sorokin also recognizes the depth and inclusiveness of the concept of revolution. He contends that the common but superficial definition of the term in essence states a change of society realized by violence. To him, one cannot adequately define revolution in reality without including several of its characteristics.

First of all revolution is a change in the behavior of the people on one hand and their psychology, ideology, beliefs, and valuations on the other . . .

Secondly, revolutions signifies a change in the biologic composition of population and of the reproductive and selective processes in the midst . . .

Thirdly, revolutions represent the deformation of the social structure of society. . .

Finally, revolution means the change of the fundamental social processes.<sup>16</sup>

As mentioned, various labels are often given to the term revolution to either narrow down or make more specific its meaning. George Petteer contributed five different labels to the term revolution. The first type he calls the "private place revolution" which is similar to the assassinations in Shakespeare's plays like Macbeth. Another type of label he calls the "public place revolutions" which happens on a larger scale but fail to make any fundamental changes in the type of government. Petteer associates these types with the coup d'etat in many Latin American countries and South Vietnam. Strangely enough he includes as a third type of revolution the rebellion of one country against the rule of government of another.

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<sup>16</sup>Pitirim A. Sorokin, The Sociology of Revolution, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925), p. 11.

Thus the attempt by North Vietnam to change the government of South Vietnam is considered revolutionary. The fourth type he places a great deal of emphasis on is what he calls the "great national revolutions."

The most important of the recognized types, however is the type of which the French and the Russians are the classic examples. They may be called the great national revolution, . . . Here we have a mass phenomenon, a people rejecting its government and a ruling class. It moves by plan but the events constantly contradict the plans, and the results can be measured only long after the event. The social and political structure is drastically reorganized . . . The process in some respects is like the business cycle, a mass action by a great number of individuals with the course and outcome on a basis that statistically and historically logical but not understood by the participants.<sup>17</sup>

The final type of revolution is labeled as the systematic revolution. The "system referred to is not the internal, social, and political system; rather, it is the system of state organization, the type state for a wider human area than a single state."<sup>18</sup> This type refers to World War II which pitted the ideas of dictatorship and world conquest against democracy and sovereign nations. Also in this class would be the attempt by the Communists to conquer the world through revolution.

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<sup>17</sup> Carl J. Friedrich, Revolution, (New York: Atherson Press, 1967), pp. 15-17.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

The Communist idea of revolution takes it to the very extreme as pointed out by Marx and other believers in the Communist doctrine.

. . . Revolution for Marx is a social, an economic, a technological, a political, a legal, and an ideological phenomenon. It is even, in its way, a natural phenomenon, for it involves the appropriation of the man-produced world of material objects . . . Furthermore, revolution means transformation of man himself. Marx said that the whole of history is nothing but a continual transformation of human nature. He is especially a continual transformation of human nature that looks to the future communist revolution as the source of a radical transformation of man. . . the whole of his theory of revolution is set in the frame of the materialist conception of history. His theory of society is a theory of society in history and his theory of revolution is a theory of the transformation of society in history, a theory of history itself as a process of Marx's revolutionary evolution.<sup>19</sup>

To the Communist the entire idea of the development of man is tied up in revolution. Thus, the world will not become stable until the classless world society is formed.

Chinese Communism is often contrasted to the Russian brand or the Marxist brand because it was shaped to apply to an agrarian or peasant society. "Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao, the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism have been integrated with the particular requirements and capacities of Chinese society."<sup>20</sup> But as in all brands of

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>20</sup> William Peterson, The Realities of World Communism, (Englewood Cliff, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 125.

communism, revolution is very much a part of their system.

On the one hand, the Communists leaders are 'true believers' who take the doctrine seriously and who have fought a lifetime on behalf of a cause to which they are totally devoted, gun in one hand, Marxian scriptures in the other. They have discovered ultimate truth and consequently, they have the same fundamental selfassurance, proselytizing zeal and fixation towards ends that mark all men who have been fully converted to a cause. But by the same measure, these leaders are practicing revolutionaries who by painful process of trial and error are continuously discovering what will work in China and what will not. . . The Chinese Communists claim to have come to power because of their ability to understand the peasant and to mobilize him effectively on behalf of revolution.<sup>21</sup>

Revolution is a very comprehensive term as pointed out by many scholars and schools of thought. One must go deeper than the idea that revolution means a sudden and far reaching change in the continuity of development. One cannot really understand the concept of revolution without pointing out that these changes may be either political, social, economic, or cultural and often contain several ingredients. Socially, many changes occur in the society which involves the new relationship of groups and the social structure of society.

Most revolutionary theorists take the position that there are definite and cyclical stages that occur in each revolution. Most agree if not loosely, that there are occurrences that

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

characterize all revolutions. This researcher is of the opinion that history does not repeat itself in the strict or literal meaning of the word but contends that similar occurrences can be present to connote a recognizable phenomenon.

"Is there such a thing as a natural history of revolutions? Nation differs from nation, and age from age, but there are some uniformities in human nature, some natural sequences recurrently presenting themselves in human history."<sup>22</sup>

Many scholars include several stages or periods in the process of revolution, but in most cases they contain similar characteristics. Sorokin divides revolutionary processes into two stages:

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<sup>22</sup>John Franklin Jameson, The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement, (Boofon: Beacon Press, 1956), p. 10.

A quite different picture is presented to us in the first period of revolution. Like a debilitated or putrefying organism, the structure of the social aggregate suddenly becomes weak, formless, and crumbles to pieces. Social borderlines suddenly disappear. The mechanism which used to regulate the circulations consequently become 'anarchial'. No brakes exist any longer and the individuals are carried off by the flood of revolution and more about without plan or system. . .

The second period of revolution is that of rebuilding of a new structure of the aggregate. The turbidness disappears little by little: the outlines of a social group again become visible.<sup>23</sup>

Along with his period Sorokin also includes their characteristics, the traits that distinguished the revolutionary period from normal times. Following are the differences in this respect between revolutionary and normal times.

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<sup>23</sup>Sorokin, Sociology of Revolution, p. 234. "For sake of brevity, the problem of the composition of the social aggregate is outlined here in a most general and not very accurate way. For the same reasons I was compelled to use occasionally figurative terms like 'organism', 'organ,' 'tissue,' etc. A detailed analysis of the composition of social aggregation and of all of the problems connected with it will be found in the second volume of my System of Sociology (Russ) and will be given in my book (now in the process of preparation)." Although in an analogous study comparisons of scientific occurrences and social changes shouldn't be used, Sorokin points out that he used them merely as a device to simplify explanation and not because he is trying to compare the occurrences.

1. The processes of change in the composition of social groups and of circulation of individuals in the first period of revolution go on much quicker and affect a large number of people.

2. The amplitude of fluctuations in the volume of social groups is much wider.

3. Old groups are extinguished and new ones are formed.

4. The mechanisms regulating the selection, distribution, and circulation of individuals are different and its operation leads to a different result as far as the distribution of individuals in the system of social coordinates is concerned.

5. In the second period of revolution we notice a "return to the old order" which finds its expression: (A) in the reverse circulation and the tendency of the transposed individual to return into their pre-revolutionary state; (B) in the contraction of the amplitude of fluctuation; (C) in the restoration of the old mechanism of selection and distribution; (D) in the fact that the structure of the aggregate approaches the pre-revolutionary type although it does not coincide with it.<sup>24</sup>

Robert Hunter felt that there are usually five movements of revolution. He stated that the cycle of a revolution begins with the downfall of the old regime and continue to the point of equilibrium in the new. But he failed to group the common characteristics of each stage.

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<sup>24</sup>  
Ibid.



Crane Brinton took great pains in setting up the stages of revolution as he saw them based on his observation of the French Revolution. He called the first stage of revolution the disaffection of the intellectuals; this is the point when the writers of an era or country begin to denounce the conditions that exist in their society. They attempt to publicize many of its faults and demand reform. The next stage he calls the intimidation of the ruling class by the reformers, which is characterized by riots, assassinations and violence stemming from public dissatisfaction. The ruling group is forced to make some concessions at various times. The third stage he refers to as the transfer of power from the ruling group to the reformers. At this point the moderates unsuccessfully try to control the revolution and the radicals take over the revolutionary machinery. Stage four is characterized by civil war between the old group and the radicals for the control of government. In most cases the radicals emerge victorious. The fifth stage Brinton calls the drift to normalcy whereas the revolution eases up and a new regime is established. And finally the revolution ends, according to Brinton, with a new regime which turns to imperialism to spread its ideas. It must be noted that every stage or characteristic in Brinton's

analysis of stages may not be true in every revolution. Just as Jameson contended that nation differs from nation and age from age, so these variations must be kept in mind when looking at any specific step in revolutionary processes. Even then Brinton takes into account that usually there may exist differences within the revolutionary group itself. This point of internal revolution was also considered by Jameson. An important concept in revolutionary theory is that you usually have a moderate and radical group, the former not willing to completely disarrange the status quo and the latter desiring wide and structural changes. Jameson also contend that there can be no controlled or limited revolution. "The stream of revolution could not be defined within narrow banks, but spread abroad upon the land. Many economic desires, many social aspirations, were set free by the political struggle, many aspects of colonial society profoundly altered by the forces let loose."<sup>25</sup>

The stages of revolution depicted by George Pettee resembles Brinton's in several characteristics. Pettee starts out with what he calls a pre-revolutionary society. In this

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<sup>25</sup> Jameson, The American Revolution Considered As A Social Movement, p. 9.

society he points out the following:

The state structure has failed to change with the times; and regions and classes alike feel antagonism to the government and to each other. . . The state of society is one general frustration or cramp. The system of laws and administration does not make it easy to do constructive things. Enterprise is stifled. . . The society is ready for greater economic and cultural progress and needs a better order. Meanwhile the overt symptoms emerge, including the transfer of the loyalty of the intellectuals, expressed in strife and criticism. . . In the same period before the revolution. . . various efforts at reform are made.<sup>26</sup>

It can be noted that this period resembles Brinton's disaffection of the intellectual stage.

In his second stage, Pettee describes it as being after the defeat of the major reformers. "A revolution may have been predicted by this stage; yet the real start comes unannounced. The incapacity of the state to deal with some simple fact brings a crisis; the demand that something be done reveals that some new agency must be created and suddenly men know that a revolution has begun."<sup>27</sup> The third period he calls the "Era of Good Feeling."

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<sup>26</sup> Friedrich, Revolution, p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

"Enthusiasm and optimism and friendly feeling and mutual congratulations on the happy state of affairs are expressed on all sides. This lasts until urgent problems present themselves, new controversies emerge and the struggle for policy turns into a struggle for power."<sup>28</sup>

The next period in this revolutionary process he describes as an extraordinarily energetic ideological period.

The revolution has all of the marks of being highly doctrinaire. . . In retrospect there is far more than enough doctrine and an active, intellectually kinetic swarming of ideas. The ideological life serves the purpose of examining all relevant ideas experimenting with many possible systems.<sup>29</sup>

Pettee's next steps resemble closely Crane Brinton's; he follows suit with several coup d'etat or shifts in power that usually occur during the course of the revolution, the civil war stage and finally a period of foreign wars. He concludes his steps in the revolutionary processes by describing what he calls the post-revolutionary society.

"The new regime is securely founded and has proven its ability to make good its power by force."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Friedrich, Revolution, p. 20.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

The Communist stages in revolutionary process according to Marx and his followers only find their end when the state has been completely destroyed and abolished.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where war breaks out into open revolution and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

We have seen above the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise (literally promote) the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest by the degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, that is, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.<sup>31</sup>

"As was mentioned earlier, Mao Tse-Tung and the Communist Chinese have adopted Communism to an agrarian society, therefore it is natural for their theory of process to differ from the conventional Marxists and Russian brand of Communism."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>V. I. Lenin, State and Revolution, (New York: International Publishers, 1943), p. 21.

<sup>32</sup>W. Peterson, Realities of World Communism, p. 128. "During the years up to 1952, a managed and far-reaching agrarian revolution was conducted throughout China. . . ."

The revolutionary government thus sponsored open-air accusation meetings in every area involving millions of peasants. In these meetings landlords' crimes were recited and punishments assessed. This constituted the most bloody, ruthless phase of the revolution. The wide-spread use of terrorism served both to level the gentry and committ in some fashion, the peasantry. . . Thus in agriculture as elsewhere the Communist thought in terms of complete revolution."

Based on the following discussion it is concluded that there are some basic, recognizable, patterns in the theory of revolutionary cycles. But it must be noted that many variations may occur in any given revolution; therefore, it is impossible to draw any rigid principles characteristic of all revolutions. This is due to the premise that age may differ from age and society from society.

In considering revolutionary theory one of the greatest fallacies is to conclude that all revolutions must move to the left. Regardless of how satisfying it may seem to state that revolutions seek to obtain freedom or a wider group of people, it is impossible to look at revolutions objectively without considering the revolution to the right. The most widely known rightist revolutions were those of the fascists in Germany and Italy before and during World War II. "Fascism is one of the two great authoritarian mass movements which started in the twentieth century in conscious opposition to the middle class capitalistic civilization of the nineteenth Century."<sup>33</sup> The fascists deceived the people by creating an extreme fear of the communist revolution.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Hans Kohn, The Twentieth Century, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 146.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 146. "Thus Fascism could present itself in a given situation as a bulwark of the social order against social revolution against Marxism and the proletarians and could in a different situation become the propagandist and spearhead of a proletarian revolution against conservatism and wealth. . ."

The fascist completely rejected liberal democracy and attempted to put their own system into operation.

Fascism regards itself as a rejection, a complete and uncompromising denial of the principles of liberalism and democracy as elaborated and realized in the Anglo-Saxon and partly in the French Revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. It is above all totally alien to the spirit of the British Revolution of 1688, with its insistence upon the democratic process of discussion, compromise and tolerance and its emphasis upon the rights and dignity of the individual. It is a return to an authoritarian order based upon the subordination of the individual and the authoritarian control of thought. The liberty of the individual in favor of the state, the actual inequality of man is proclaimed as immutable and beneficial. 'The bourgeoisie' achievement which liberalism had secured from the time of the English Revolution of the seventeenth Century on are not only abandoned but derided and combated. From the beginning Fascism has acted as the implacable enemy of democracy and the rights of man. Society is to be built strictly upon a hierarchic order; the leaders are not to be elected nor are they to be responsible to the leaders, whose appointment depends only upon those above them. Military discipline and blind obedience are permeate all civilian life.<sup>35</sup>

Another form of Fascist or rightist revolution was the National Socialist or the Nazi takeover of Germany. This revolution is often referred to as a revolution of Nihilism, which attempted to destroy all for the conventional ideals and create a totally new system with the state in complete control of the individual.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

National Socialism has not only destroyed the achievements and the past power of the working class, a fact might justify its description as a counter-revolutionary movement; it has also destroyed the political and social power of the capitalists class and of the former ruling classes of the society. It is also preceeding to the total and irrevocable destruction of the economic position of the classes . . .<sup>36</sup> But based on the tactics and methods used to achieve their goals, the rightist revolutions would have to be considered just as revolutionary as the Bolshevik or any other twentieth Century revolution.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Herman Rausching, The Revolution of Nihilism Warning to the West, (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, Longmans, Green and Company, 1939), P. 56.

<sup>37</sup>Herman Rausching, The Conservative Revolution, (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1941), p. 90. The last phase of the German Revolution, Nazism, is generally regarded as a direct continuation of Pan Germanism and Prussian Militarism. This is as one-sided a view as that of the Russian Revolution, as Marxists, and Communists. In its final Nazi phase the German Revolution is just as much a realization of Marxists theories as of nationalists ideas. Only the supporters of Marxists theories and needless to say, of Nazism, refuse to admit the fact. . .

The resemblance between the two is due to their common share of the general conception of Marxism. The similarity in the methods of domination in the two countries is due to the nature of that domination, the dictatorship by means of which the new order is to be enforced. The features that distinguish them are the German and Russian National elements. Marcel Forder, The Revolution is on (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1940). Most of us were aware that there was a revolution marching on after the war of 1914-1918. But we identify this revolution with the Bolshevik regime in Russia. Naturally the Soviet regime was a part and parcel of the revolution. But it was not the whole of the revolution.

Fascism and Nazism were counter-revolutionary apparitions and people did not realize that counter-revolutions may be part of a wider revolutionary process. . .



Even though many neglect or fail to mention a revolution to the right it must be acknowledged and emphasized. The aims it still makes a definite challenge to the status quo and if accomplished, it constitutes a break in the continuity of development.

Causality is also important to the understanding of revolutionary theory in order to evaluate what really set it off. What ingredients are needed to start the revolutionary machinery to rolling? Several scholars have considered this point and have attempted to designate a causa or several causes.

Jameson felt that some revolutions are caused by the political and social system in a country. "The French rose in a revolt against both a vicious political system and a vicious social system."<sup>38</sup> The Communist tend to feel that revolutions grow out of the class struggle. They contend that the upper class cannot and the lower class will not continue the old system. Petter feels that the cause of the revolution can be found in his pre-revolutionary society. "The state structure has failed to change with the times and classes alike feel antagonism to the government and each other."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Jameson, American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement, p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Freidrich, Revolution, p. 19.

Sorokin is probably one of the most profound scholars when it comes to depicting the cause of revolutions. He recognized that there must be several causes to precipitate any event even though he summarizes it into one major or immediate cause. "The immediate cause of revolution is always the growth of repression of the main instincts of the majority of society and the impossibility of obtaining for those instincts the necessary minimum of satisfaction. . . ."40 Underlying this cause he felt that there were several instincts which had to be satisfied or they could eventually constitute a cause for revolution. Among these he included the need for self-preservation and group security, the need for housing, clothing, a necessary temperature and sex and finally the need for self-expression and individuality plus the freedom of speech and action. He even then does not consider these a complete list of causes. "This is not a complete list of causes; we have merely tried to point out the most important impulses whose 'repression' leads to revolutionary catastrophes and also the main groups of repressed individuals by whose hands the old order is to be overthrown and the banner of revolution be hoisted up."41

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<sup>40</sup>Sorokin, Sociology of Revolution, p. 235.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 235.

Sorokin's last premise contends that besides a universal restriction of fundamental instincts there is another condition necessary in order to bring about revolution, such a condition is an insufficient and incomplete resistance to the revolutionary outbreak kindled by the restricted instincts.

Sorokin's last premise of cause is not contradictory to Martin's belief that revolutions are not inevitable. Martin contends that "There has doubtlessly never been a revolution which could not have been prevented had those in authority been able to recognize a revolutionary situation in time and they had acted wisely."<sup>42</sup> Therefore there is some belief that the cause of a revolution may be remedied before it is actually necessary. Lerone Bennett, like other scholars, point out that revolutions are caused by a number of oppressive conditions that accumulate over a long period of time. "Revolutions do not spring full-blown from the head of Zeus or Martin Luther King Jr. They are the products of a slowly accumulating changes in the never plasm of individuals. Over a long period of time, discontent builds up, accumulates and strains against the dams of social habit the explosion that follows is a product of action and lack of action, the increasing pressure of discontent as well as the counterpressure of the dams."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Martin, Farewell to Revolution, p. 24.

<sup>43</sup>Lerone Bennett Jr., The Negro Mood, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1964), p. 28.

In order to carry out a cyclical study of the Negro Civil Rights Movement as it relates to revolutionary theory, a theoretical scheme must be arranged. This scheme is based on the theory thus far discussed in this chapter. For re-emphasis and to enable this researcher to examine the revolutionary aspects of this movement, the scheme will consist of three phases, the intellectual phase, the resistance phase, and the activists phase. Again it must be stressed that revolutions and societies will differ and there is no means of rigidity classing the various stages of revolutionary processes. It is difficult to indicate exactly when the revolution moves from one stage to the next because the stages may overlap.

In general the intellectual period contains characteristics mentioned Brinton, Pettee, Sorokin, and others in their stages of revolutionary development. One of the more formidable accounts was given by Brinton who saw it as the disaffection of the intellectuals; this is the point when the writer of an era or country began to denounce the conditions that exist in their society. The attempt to publicize many of its faults and demands is what the intellectual tries to accomplish. Pettee points it out in his pre-revolutionary society as a transfer of loyalty

of the intellectuals expressed in strife and criticism.

. . . Among the important observations is the fact that there is not less but more wealth than formerly, though less than there should be. There is also more talent and education than formerly though less than there should be and less well employed than it should be. The society is ready for economic and cultural progress and needs a better order. Meanwhile the overt symptoms emerge, including the transfer of loyalty of the intellectuals, expressed in satire and criticism. The Cahiers of 1789 and the elections for the Third Estate expressed the downright depth of feeling.<sup>44</sup>

The resistance period is characterized by a direct confrontation with the status quo. First the reformers as Brinton calls them, peacefully try to gain concessions from the ruling group through intimidation. Riots, assassinations and violence often occur as a result but some concessions are granted.

The years just preceding the actual outbreak of revolution witness a crescendo of protests against tyranny of the government, a hail of pamphlets, plays, addresses, an outburst of activity on the part of interested pressure groups. Its tyrannous attempts at suppressing the rebellious opposition may fail because that opposition is too strong, resourceful, and vir-  
tuous; or its attempts may fail because they are carried out half-heartedly and inefficiently by government agents more than half won over to the opposition.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Friedrich, Revolution, p. 19.

<sup>45</sup>Brinton, Op. Cit.

Pettee likewise contends that:

"In the same period before the revolution, when the need for reform is widely felt and widely recognized, various efforts at reform are made. But the issues involved are complex and controversial, the sources of favorable power are prevented from making the necessary changes. Needs are not clearly formulated or their formulation gains little support. Political leaders of great talent and energy appear, but they lose the support of ruling groups and in turn the support of the formal source of authority. . . ."<sup>46</sup>

In the activists stage the revolution moves to a high level of violence stemming from public dissatisfaction. At this point mass riots occur, assassinations take place and general disorder over a wide area of country becomes recognized. At this point, Pettee goes further to explain

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<sup>46</sup> Friedrich, Revolution, p. 19.

that "The incapacity of the state to deal with some simple fact brings a crisis. The demand that something be done reveals that some new agency must be created and suddenly men know that a revolution has begun."<sup>47</sup> Pettee's period (which is similar to that also be included in the activists phase. "Enthusiasm and optimism and friendly feeling and mutual congratulations on the happy state of affairs are expressed on all sides, this lasts until urgent problems present themselves, new controversies emerge and the struggle for policy turns into a struggle for power."<sup>48</sup> At this point the internal portion of the revolution becomes more apparent. The moderates try to control the revolutionary machinery but the radicals attempt to take control and eventually succeed. As Jameson points out, it is almost impossible to restrict a revolution in narrow banks. Once started it tends to go far beyond limits of middle class objectives.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Brinton handles this point very well:

The moderates, once in power, turned out to have less homogeneity and party discipline than they seemed to have when they were in the opposition. They were faced with the difficult task of reforming existing institutions, or making a new constitution, and taking care at the same time of the ordinary work of governing. They were also confronted with armed enemies and found themselves engaged in a foreign or civil war or both together. They found against them an increasingly strong and intransigent group of radicals and extremists who insisted that the moderates were trying to stop the revolution, that they had betrayed it, that they were as bad as the rulers of the old regime -- indeed, much worse since they were traitors as well as fools and scoundrels. After a period, brief in Russia, longer in France and England, there came a show of force in many ways quite like that earlier one between the old government and the revolutionists and the moderates were beaten. They fled into scaffold, guillotine or firing squad, or if they were lucky or obscure enough, they dropped out of sight and were forgotten. The extremists in their turn took power.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Brinton, p. 129.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE 1960'S: HOW REVOLUTIONARY

In order to examine the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, it is necessary to examine it in the light of modern revolutionary theory. As mentioned, in order to look at various aspects of the current movement the revolutionary scheme will be utilized. The scheme devised to examine the revolutionary prototype include the intellectual phase, the resistance phase, and the activist phase. The hypothesis stated is that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's is a revolution in the technical sense of the word. It is the purpose of this chapter to give evidence to support or invalidate this premise.

#### THE INTELLECTUAL PHASE: HOW REVOLUTIONARY 1940--PRESENT

As a result of an examination of revolutionary theory, many scholars feel that its initial phase is the desertion of the intellectuals in a society. Crane Brinton explains that, "Intellectuals we may define without undue worry over preciseness as the writers, artists, musicians, actors and teachers and preachers."<sup>50</sup> These are the people who speak against the spoils

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<sup>50</sup>Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution. (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), p. 44.

and evils of the status quo. Brinton observes that:

In modern times we expect intellectuals to disagree among themselves, and certainly to a degree with the non-intellectuals, the vulgar, the Philistines, the Babbitt, or what ever other name the intellectuals may coin for them. Moreover, for a number of reasons, writers, teachers, and preachers are to a large degree committed by their function to take a critical attitude toward the daily routine of human affairs. Lacking experience of action under the burden of responsibility, they do not learn how little new action is usually possible or effective. An intellectual as satisfied with the world or himself would simply not be an intellectual.<sup>51</sup>

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's culminates the work of a vast array of intellectuals all dissatisfied with the status quo. As in all revolutionary atmospheres, opinions, goals and tactics tend to vary. Therefore it is necessary to examine a cross-section of the many intellectuals who sense the urgency of the Civil Rights problem. It is somewhat impossible to include all of the intellectuals in this period but those selected are prototypes of the variety of intellectual approaches to the problem of Civil Rights. For classification purposes the intellectuals will be classed into four categories: conservatives, moderates, liberals, and radicals. In all cases the classifications are relative; many would tend to classify radicals as persons who advocate violence

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

to enact a change in the status quo. The writer feels that the classification goes deeper than this. As mentioned, the problem at hand is concerned with civil rights which in the final analysis is related to "white power" and the spectrum embraces the extent to which black intellectuals show allegiance to or alienation from that power.

Sarah Boyle contended that:

Nineteen hundred sixty-three marked the outbreak of an American revolution which had long been smoldering. Negro citizens throughout the nation resorted to action that made clear what their many words had not! That they would not -- could not wait longer for full desegregation and equal opportunity -- that no price was too high for the goals they sought.<sup>52</sup>

She also points out that the ". . . five general characteristics of life on the black side of the segregation wall are dangers, handicaps, inconveniences, humiliations, and emotional stress."<sup>53</sup>

In classifying intellectuals the criteria used will be based on two principles; how much they reject the status quo or the inflecting of white values on the Negro race as a whole and the change they sense should be made in order to enforce

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<sup>52</sup>Sarah Pattern Boyle, For Human Beings Only, (New York: Seabury Press, 1964), p. 17.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

full equality. It would be an oversimplification to classify them only on the basis of whether the end could be accomplished through violence. As mentioned, based on Brinton's theory, in order to be considered an intellectual, there must be a degree of disaffection or dissatisfaction with the status quo. To classify an intellectual as conservative is somewhat delicate; usually a conservative would be a person opposed to change or satisfied with the status quo. But to keep this in line with our definition of an intellectual we must point out that this person is dissatisfied with the status quo but as far as accomplishing it he feels that he is bound to achieve his goals within the framework of law. One striking example of the conservative viewpoint is Robert Weaver. He observes that:

My responsibilities as a Negro and an American are part of the heritage I received from my parents - a heritage that included a wealth of moral and social values that do not have anything to do with my race. . . . Ours is a middle-class society and those who fail to assume most of its values and its general behavior are headed towards difficulties. . . . What are the responsibilities of Negro leadership? Certainly the first is to keep pressing for the status of first class citizenship for all - an inevitable goal of those who accept the values of this nation. Another is to encourage and help Negroes to prepare for the opportunities that are now and will be open to them.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Robert C. Weaver, The Negro as an American, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., 1963, pp. 3-5.

A moderate would be in line with classification, one who believes that in the movement one must occasionally move outside the framework of law and white criteria to obtain civil rights for the Negro. But this type of intellectual usually believes in non-violent resistance and trusts the moral value of the white man to eventually grant his rights. The moderate desires no drastic change in the status quo and is satisfied with middle class goals at equality. To point out this position, the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was a very good illustration of a moderate. He describes the role of the Negro in his attempt to gain his rights as follows:

The Negro, once a helpless child, has now grown up politically, culturally, and economically. The job of the Negro is to show them that they have nothing to fear, that the Negro understands and forgives and is ready to forget the past. He must convince the white man that all he seeks is justice for both himself and the white man.

The non-violent resisters can summarize their message in the following simple terms: We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust parties. . . We adopt means of non-violence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our word fail we will be willing to persuade with our acts. . . <sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Larry Cuban, The Negro in America, (Glenview Illinois, Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1961), p. 166.

To classify the liberal in the Civil Rights Movement we must judge him on the degree that he rejects the white values and standards as to how he should accomplish his rights. The changes and methods used to increase rights also point out the standards of a liberal. The liberal intellectual also does not believe in a complete change in the American society, but he does depart from the idea that white values and culture are superior to black values and culture. He also rejects the premise that Negroes must improve and prepare themselves in order to become integrated into the white society. Finally, the liberal does not completely reject violence as a means of obtaining the goal and often may feel that it contributes to the awareness of the urgency of the civil rights problems to the white part of our society. To illustrate this position Bayard Rustin stated that:

I want the right for the Negro fully to share the freedom responsibilities and the obligations of this society. . . . I want to fight beyond segregation and discrimination, and I want to build allies with labor, with church forces and liberals to demand the following five-point program: Full employment; national economic planning to train people within this planning for existing jobs; a federal subsidy for education which is our most important industry today. And finally a \$30 billion work program to help absorb the unskilled Negro labor. Here's where the Negro comes in. Being the least skilled he could first be put to work helping to construct these new roads, schools, hospitals; then be trained to take his place as a permanent worker inside these institutions.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>McClennan, Grant, Civil Rights, New York, The Wilson Company, 1964, pp. 34-35.

The radical group of intellectuals, unlike others in many cases, demand sweeping changes in the status quo or the American social system. Radicals usually reject all together white society and culture and often they offer the contrary opinion of white supremacy with that of black superiority. To characterize this viewpoint, the typical radical in general would first reject completely the American system as a possible solution to the civil rights problem and would offer an alternative to the system. This intellectual as mentioned would offer the Negro race a new feeling of black pride or black nationalism. Finally, the Negro radical, in some cases, would encourage revolutionary tactics as a means of attaining a solution to the civil rights problem. The radical viewpoints are expressed in various ways as Malcolm X once did when he stated, "America is a white man's country. They took it from the indians, built it on the labor of black folk; your times will never get better until you make them better. It will take fire to straighten out the white man; it will take fire to straighten our hell out -- fire from God!"<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Cuban, Op. Cit., p. 171.

Another view is offered by the Communists. Gus Hall points out that "As the people of the United States unitedly struggle against poverty, insecurity, Jim Crow, and war, they will eventually arrive at a point where they too will decide to discard the evil system of monopoly capitalism and will recognize our country's economic life along socialist lines."<sup>58</sup>

The "Black Power" view expressed black radicalism as Carmichael contributed the phrase and idea to the Negro Civil Rights Movement. He sums it up as follows:

Too often the goal integration has been built on complete acceptance of the fact in order to have a decent house or education, Negroes must move into white neighborhoods or go to a white school. What does this mean? First of all it reinforces among both Negroes and whites the ideas that white is automatically better and black is definitely inferior. . . Such situations will not change until Negroes have political power -- to control their own school boards, for example. With the achievement of such control, Negroes can become truly equal -- and integration is then relevant.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Gus Hall, Negro Freedom is in the Interest of Every American, (New York: New Currents Publishers, 1967), p. 16. It is necessary to note that Gus Hall is a white intellectual. The researcher uses him here because he is the typical example of the Negro Radical's line who would follow the Communist line of thinking. On trial for his part in the Minneapolis riot, Hall testified that he would be absolutely willing to overthrow the government of the United States, taking up arms against authorities when the time comes. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, "How to talk about Communism IV When A Communist Has talked about It," The P.T.A. Magazine, Vol. 57, No. 4, December, 1962, p. 11. When classifying intellectuals only "blacks" will be used, therefore Claud Lightfoot will illustrate the typical Negro Communist view.

<sup>59</sup>Newsweek, LXVII, No. 8, August 22, 1966, p. 36.



The five categories set up as the criteria for examining the disaffection of the intellectual follows no rigid standards. The classification of these intellectuals is based on their writings or speeches where they speak out against the status quo and demand or request reform. One must be careful to note that intellectuals' viewpoints may change from one viewpoint to another. For example at one time in his life Bayard Rustin was a member of the Communist party which we could classify as radical, but presently he discontinued his membership in the party and now takes a somewhat liberal standpoint. This change may occur in varying directions. A liberal may become a radical, a moderate may become a conservative or vice versa. In this study the researcher has intentionally excluded the white view as an intellectual, but this writer is cognizant of the fact that some whites articulate well the problem of the Negro in America. White intellectuals like Walter Lippman, Nat Hentoff, and William Brink, all have expressed the need for reform of the Negroes' situation in this country.

At this point it is necessary to scan through the various views of intellectuals to determine if the group is wide enough to constitute a revolutionary climate. Based on the

agreed definition of a conservative intellectual, some that fall into this category include Robert Weaver, Ralph Bunche, Thurgood Marshall, Carl Rowan, Judge Hastie and Jackie Robinson. The conservative attempts to attain his goals within the framework of law and white criteria. The first intellect to be discussed will be Robert Weaver.

Robert Weaver, at present, is the first Negro to be appointed to a cabinet position. He is the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Weaver is the great-grandson of a slave and the son of a postal worker. Weaver grew up in segregated Washington, D.C. He has received three degrees from Harvard which included the Ph.D. in Economics. He feels that the Negro should prepare for equality through education. He sees in his own life the affirmation of the myth of unfettered opportunity:

However, if emphasis upon self-betterment is employed indiscriminately by Negro leaders, it is seized upon by white supremacists and their apologists to support the assertion that Negroes, and they mean all Negroes, are not ready for full citizenship. Thus, because of the nature of our society, Negro leadership must continue to stress rights if it is to receive a hearing for programs of self-improvement. Sophisticated whites realize that the status of Negroes in our society depends not only on what the Negro himself does to achieve his goals and to prepare himself for opportunities, but even more on what all America does to expand these opportunities.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Weaver, Op. Cit., p. 8.

Following in the same Horatio Alger tradition is our next intellectual, Ralph Bunche. Ralph Bunche, like weaver, is also the grandson of an American slave (with mixed Indian blood). He was born in Detroit, August 7, 1904. He lost both parents at an early age and moved to California where he worked his way through U.C.L.A. He received both his Masters degree and Ph.D. at Harvard in government. In 1948 he won the Nobel Peace Prize by promoting a cease-fire in the Middle East Crisis. Presently Bunche holds the position of Under-Secretary of the United Nations. He explains his position as follows:

. . . But I know what I who have been for fifty-seven years an American of Negro ancestry want and how I feel. I do not doubt that my wants and feelings are fairly representative of those of most of my race. I want to be a man on the same basis and level as any white citizen. I want to be as free as the whitest citizen. I want to exercise, and in the full the same rights as the white American. . . But this should be read by anyone to mean that I want to be white; or that I am "pushy" seeking to go where I am not wanted. Far from it. I am as proud of my race as anyone could be . . . I really should close on a word especially for youth. Although I do not care very much for distinctions among people even on the basis of age. White or black, old or young, the real test comes in what you have done or can do. In a competitive world you must rise to meet the competition, this means preparation. It also means building up confidence on the basis of demonstrated performance.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Harvey Wish, The Negro Since Emancipation, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 139-141.

Thurgood Marshall is one of the highest ranking Negroes if the framework of American government, presently, he is an Associate Justice on the Supreme Court of the United States. "The success story of Thurgood Marchall is perhaps unparalleled in American history. The son of a pullman-car steward and the grandson of a slave brought here from the Congo, the young Marshall grew up in Baltimore and New York City with prospects no better than those of his Negro classmates, many of those whom failed to finish high school."<sup>62</sup> Marshall got off to an indifferent start at Lincoln University, but he picked up momentum and went on to graduate with honors and led his law school class at Howard. He says of his success, "I got the hosin' around out of my system. I heard law books were to dig in so I dug, way deep."<sup>63</sup>

"Carl T. Rowan was born in 1925 at Ravinscroft, Tennessee; he studied at Tennessee State University, Washburn College, Oberlin and the University of Minnesota from which he recieved a M.A. in journalism. . ."<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> U. S. News and World Report, LXII, No. 26, June 26, 1967, p. 12.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>64</sup> Warren, Op. Cit., p. 305.

He has been a distinguished journalist, he is the author of five books and a public servant. He has been Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. He has also held the position of Ambassador to Finland and the Director of the United States Information Agency. Rowan is a conservative and feels his success in itself aids the Civil Rights movement. He explains this position as follows:

I pointed out to him that every Negro in a position of responsibility who does his job well is aiding immeasurably in the Civil Rights struggle because he is carrying along with him a segment of public opinion - of white public opinion. Now one of the things that distresses me about some of these people who style themselves the new militants, who are replacing the NAACP and the Urban League and so forth, is that they would have you believe that somehow or other by their militancy alone they can force a solution to this business. Well it just isn't feasible in a society where the Negro represents a ten per cent minority.<sup>65</sup>

William Henry Hastie was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, in November 17, 1904. He received his LL.B. at Harvard in 1930 and admitted to the bar the same year. He along with Thurgood Marshall were the subject of much speculation as to their possibility of being elected to the Supreme Court. Judge Hastie like Marshall strictly follows the conservative view. He observes that:

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 305-306.

One of his (Negro) responsibilities is to deal with his fellow men as individuals, just as the white man would have the same responsibility. The Negro will have to come out of his protective shell because there is no question that today you find many situations in which members of the white community are willing to meet Negroes more than halfway in human relationship that generally ignore race yet find Negroes not responsive.<sup>66</sup>

Jackie Robinson is considered one of the greatest players in the history of baseball. He was the first Negro player in the major league. Robinson is presently an insurance executive and chairman of the Board of Harlem National Bank. "He continues to set examples for other Negroes; he also frequently gave Governor Nelson Rockefeller a hand in dealing with touchy racial problems. From the start Robinson committed himself to the fight for civil rights."<sup>67</sup>

Robinson shows his faith in the present structure by his faith in politics by stating the following:

I honestly believe that the two party-system is the answer to our social needs and I want very much to support the Republican Party. But I cannot and will not support any group that cares nothing about me and my people. We need some one who can bridge and not widen the gap between blacks and whites, who can instill a sense of hope and unity, who can provide a leadership that can make America a society where every man and woman can realize his or her full potential.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 275.

<sup>67</sup>Newsweek, Vol. 71, No. 59, March 18, 1968, p. 54.

<sup>68</sup>Chicago Daily Defender, July 20-26, 1968, p. 14.

In summarizing the views of the conservative Civil Rights intellectuals, in general, most of these tend to share the same Horatio Alger tradition of moving from rags to riches. Therefore it is impossible for them to believe that the Negro cannot possibly move out of the ghetto and gain his rights. These intellectuals are not alienated with the system of white authority. Since they were able to achieve success under this system they feel that other Negroes can achieve success under this system. Conservative intellectuals see no need for the militant attitudes of some of the Negroes, and feel that preparation and education can be the key to the gaining of equality and rights.

The moderates, as agreed by definition, are those intellectuals who feel that the civil rights movement must occasionally move outside the framework of white criteria of rights for the Negro. Characteristics of the moderates are usually that they are of middle class origin and education can verbalize a program. Their alienation is to the practices that deny full citizenship, but they still believe in the spiritual compacity of the system to solve it. Typical of this point of view are Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, A. Phillip Randolph, John Hope Franklin, and Whitney Young.

One of the most profound and most respected moderates of all races was the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. King was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929. He was ". . . The son of an independent minded Baptist prescher and a schoolteacher mother. After graduating from Atlanta's Morehouse College, he decided upon a ministerial career, took graduate courses in liberal arts at Boston College and Harvard University and was ordained in 1947."<sup>69</sup> He led the first successful bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, and served as founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It was King who popularized the idea of non-violent resistance. King was assassinated in April, 1968, for the cause of non-violence. King observes as the goals of the Negro movement the following:

The struggle for rights is at bottom a struggle for opportunities. In asking for something special, the Negro is not seeking charity. He does not want to languish on the welfare rolls any more than the next man. He does not want to be given a job he cannot handle. Neither, however, does he want to be told that there is no place where he can be trained to handle it. So with equal opportunity must come the practical, realistic aid which will equipt him to seize it. Giving a pair of shoes to a man who has not learned to walk is a cruel just. . . we find nothing strange about the Marshall Plan and technical assistance to handicapped people around the world and suggest that we can do no less for our own people.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Wish, Op. Cit., p. 147.

<sup>70</sup>Martin Luther King Jr., Why We Can't Wait, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 141.



Another widely respected and publicized moderate in the Civil Rights movement is Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Wilkins was born in St. Louis in 1901 and was the grandson of a Mississippi slave. "His mother died of tuberculosis and because his father was not able to keep the family together, Roy was reared in St. Paul by an Aunt and Uncle."<sup>71</sup> He was reared in a racially mixed neighborhood and worked his way through the University of Minnesota. His early life in Kansas City had a marked effect on his life; he was greatly moved by the Jim Crow laws and equalities he saw there. Wilkins fits into the criteria set for the moderate but is not deeply concerned about being called so. He sums it up as follows:

We are not seeking to overthrow a government or to set up a new government. We are here trying to get the government as expressed by a majority of the people to put into practice its declared objectives. . . I know I've been called a moderate but I always reply that our position has sponsored the most radical idea in the twentieth century -- the idea of eliminating racial segregation. So I'm not concerned particularly with the labels that these latter-day crusaders bring upon us.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Time, Vol. 82, No. 9, August 30, 1963, p. 10.

<sup>72</sup>Warren, Op. Cit., pp. 151-152.

James Farmer is the former director of CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) and during that time it may have been possible to label him as a liberal. But even then it would have been somewhat difficult. "Farmer is a World War II conscientious objector, and describes himself as a disciple of Gandhi. I feel very strongly for nonviolence."<sup>73</sup> Farmer observes:

In Plaquemine (Louisiana), after polarization became complete, the Negroes thought all whites were against them. I made it a point to send some of our white secretaries to work there. It succeeded in a subtle way -- these individual white persons were finally accepted by the white community -- in a sense removed from the white race. About one young lady I heard some Negroes say: 'Well, yes, she is white, but she is the blackest white woman you ever saw. . . .' And then one of his (the Negro's) chief responsibilities is to prepare himself to live in an integrated society.<sup>74</sup>

One of the oldest moderates is A. Phillip Randolph, one of the truly genuine Negro leaders. He was born in Crescent City, Florida, in 1889 and moved to New York City where he was educated at the college of the City of New York. Randolph was the organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

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<sup>73</sup>Time, Vol. 81, No. 26, June 28, 1963, p. 19.

<sup>74</sup>Warren, Op. Cit., pp. 201-202.

His prestige rose in union ranks, especially after he had publicized his refusal to cooperate with Communist infiltrated elements within the CIO; by 1957 he rose higher than any Negro had ever done in the labor movement when he became a vice president of the AFL-CIO organization.<sup>75</sup>

It was Randolph who organized and created the idea of a march on Washington to act as a pressure group on the conscience of Congress:

The March on Washington Movement is essentially a movement of the people. It is a Negro and pro-Negro (not anti-white). . . For the plan of a protest march has not been abandoned. Its purpose would be to demonstrate that American Negroes are in deadly earnest, and all out for their full rights. No power on earth can cause them to abandon their fight to wipe out every vestige of second class citizenship and the dual standards that plague them.

A community is democratic only when the humblest and weakest person can enjoy the highest civil, economic, and social rights that the biggest and most powerful possesses. By fighting for their rights now, American Negroes are helping to make America a moral and spiritual arsenal of democracy. Their fight against the poll tax, against lynch law, segregation and Jim Crow, their fight for economic, political, and social equality, this becomes part of the global war for freedom.<sup>76</sup>

One of the lesser known moderates of the Civil Rights movement is John Hope Franklin. Nonetheless, he is an underestimated moving force in the drive for equality. Franklin

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<sup>75</sup> Wish, Op. Cit., p. 158.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

of the University of Chicago, was educated at both Fisk University and Harvard, the latter at which he earned both the Masters degree and the Ph.D. He has also studied at Cambridge University in England. Franklin observes that "Almost invariably the Negro progresses only to the extent that the white man advances in understanding that a human being is a human being. There have been Negroes as talented as I before but they could not yet get where I have because the white man was not advanced enough to let them."<sup>77</sup>

Whitney Young is one of the younger, well-known moderate intellectual leaders in the Civil Rights Movement. Young was born in Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky, in 1921 and was educated at Kentucky State College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Minnesota. He is the Urban League's Executive Director and conceives the role of this organization to complement the work of other organizations. Young contends, "I do not see why I should go to jail to prove my leadership."<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>"John Hope Franklin at Cambridge," Ebony, XVIII, No. II, p. 160.

<sup>78</sup>Time. Vol. 81, No. 26, June 28, 1963, p. 14.

Franklin further explains:

The significance of the Negro Revolution is that America is now forced to look at the Negro. But I think increasingly white America, when it's confronted with the tragic consequences of indifference, with the consequence of considering race relations as a spectator sport, will find themselves on the right side. . . it is quite true that the Negro today no longer considers his goal in life as simply a replication of white society. He is now conceiving of integration more as a synthesis than a complete dropping of all that is Negro. He is saying that all that is white is not good or else we wouldn't have been kept in slavery all these years.<sup>79</sup>

Many of the moderate intellectuals considered tend to share a somewhat middle class background and education. Therefore they tend to strive for middle class goals as far as Civil Rights is concerned. The Moderate group is not completely alienated with the structure of white authority; they want to achieve their rights within the framework of the law and orderly society. Though many feel that non-violent resistance is proper against unjust laws, they want no rapid changes in the basic middle class capitalistic structure. They feel that all of this can be achieved through the moral understanding of the white race.

Intellectuals who are usually considered liberal reject the white standards or criteria, that is, the traditional, normal channel that he is expected to go through to attain his goals. The liberal does have a marked amount of

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<sup>79</sup>Warren, Op. Cit.

alienation for the white power structure and feels that possibly more extreme methods must be taken to make the whites aware of the drive and the push for equality and Negro rights. He favors rapid change but is satisfied with capitalism and does not desire any radical changes in the structure of the American society. Those included as liberals include Bayard Rustin, Lerone Bennett Jr., Kenneth Clark, Ralph Ellison, Elijah Muhammad, Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, and James Foreman.

Bayard Rustin is one of the most profound liberals, as mentioned earlier. He once was a member of the Communist Party but could not comply with its goals. Rustin was born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, and attended high school there. He attended college at Wilberforce University, Cheyney State Teachers College in Pennsylvania and City College of New York. "Unlike any other major figure in the Revolution, Bayard Rustin enters as a worker not primarily for racial justice but for general social reform."<sup>80</sup> Rustin has always realized the necessity of demonstration in contributing

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 235.

to Negro rights:

We are now in a period where fundamental problems can be solved through assistance from the Federal government -- tearing down slums, public works, putting everyone back to work. That's a political job. . . . However demonstration must still be called upon because they have two objectives, not one. A demonstration, first of all calls attention to an evil, and simultaneously pricks the conscience of men and, secondly, cure the problem.<sup>81</sup>

Kenneth Clark is another noted liberal intellectual during this current struggle. "Kenneth Bancroft Clark was born in 1914 in the Panama Canal Zone. He recieved his B.A. from Howard University in 1935 and his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1940."<sup>82</sup> Clark has won great respect as a professor and researcher at the City College of New York. Clark regrets that in this society in order for Negroes to gain rights they must become militant but he is ver cognizant of this fact. He complains that:

I should prefer to put it that apparently, rational reasonable men who are making for a change in the status quo are generally ineffectual. Changes in the status quo are more likely to come from irrational, unreasonable, questionable men. . . .

Isn't this horrible? It is horrible that irrational, vile and cruel, horrible things have to be done to prepare the way for the possibility of a little bit of change or justice.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 240.

<sup>82</sup>Warren, Op. Cit., p. 46.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 302.

Ralph Ellison has been praised as one of the most gifted novelists of our times. "He was born in Oklahoma, City on March 1, 1914, studied at Tuskegee Institute and then combined a literary career with frequent lecturing. He liked to speak on American Negro culture, particularly on Negro folklore."<sup>84</sup> He contends that the Negro is a unique part of America, and in the tradition of the liberal he is very critical of the status quo. He make his observation as follows:

I have never pretended for one minute that the injustices and the limitations on Negro life do not exist. On the other hand I think it important to recognize that Negroes have achieved a very rich humanity despite these restrictive conditions. I wish to be free not to be less Negro American so that I can make the term mean something richer.

I don't think it's a discovery of identity. I think rather it is an affirmation and assertion of identification. . . And it's an assertion of pluralistic identity. In terms of group identity and the current agitation it's revealing the real identity of a people who have been here a hell of a long time. . .<sup>85</sup>

An interesting part of the civil rights struggle is the growth of the Black Muslim Movement. Its founder and leader is Elijah Muhammad, who was born as Elijah Poole in rural Georgia. He was the son of a Baptist Minister whose formal education ended in the eighth grade.

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<sup>84</sup>Wish, Op. Cit., p. 142.

<sup>85</sup>Warren, Op. Cit., p. 347.



"But perhaps his real education began in the Detroit Negro ghetto when one of the numerous Negro Muslim cultists, Fapil Muhammed, 'Allah in Person' took him under his wings in the first temple of Islam built in that city."<sup>86</sup> Muhammed does not neglect the economic benefits of capitalism, only its vices, but he greatly blames the white man for the plight of the Negroes especially in the ghetto. "I give the white man credit. They do the best they can in some instances but at the same time I can't say that they are angels. They have jailed us and bound us up among them. They should take care of us or let us go."<sup>87</sup> These desires can be summed up in some of Muhammed's desires for his people, which are as follows:

1. We want freedom, full and complete freedom.
2. We want justice. Equal justice under the law. We want justice applied equally to all regardless of creed or class or color.
3. We want equality of opportunity . . .
4. We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were decendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own, either on this continent or elsewhere.
5. We want an immediate end to the police brutality.
6. As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States but equal employment opportunities now.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Wish, Op. Cit., p. 170.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>88</sup>Mohammed Speaks, Vol. II, No. 10, January 31, 1964.

Richard Wright was born on a sharecropper's farm in Mississippi. He has lived for a considerable period in both Chicago and New York. Richard Wright, who preceded current groups of Negro writers, chose voluntary exile in France to escape U. S. bias. Bitter until his untimely death at 52 in 1960, he wrote numerous novels denouncing the white dominance of the American society. He observed that:

I say to you white men of the west. Don't be too proud of how easily you conquered and plundered those Asians and Africans.<sup>89</sup>

To Communism, he contended that:

The persons who are killing blacks in northern Alabama are the white workers - sharecroppers, trade unionists, and artisans. The capitalists are against mob law and violence and would listen to justice in the long run because industrial peace increases their profits.<sup>90</sup>

Another intellectual of literary value to the civil rights struggle is Langston Hughes. "Of Negro, Indian, and white ancestry, Hughes was born in Joplin, Missouri in 1902. His youth was spent moving from one place to another: Kansas, Mexico, Illinois, and finally Cleveland, Ohio. He met Jim Crow life in one part of the country and ghetto life in another."<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Richard Wright, White Man Listen, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1957), p. 22.

<sup>90</sup>Wish, Op. Cit., p. 114.

<sup>91</sup>Cuban, Op. Cit., p. 159.

Hughes never accepted the degraded condition of Negroes in America. He expresses a deep sense of race pride. "We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased, we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. . ."92

James Foreman was one of the earlier militants in the Civil Rights Movement, he was formally the head of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. He was born in Chicago in 1928, but he spent the first seven years of his life in Marshall County, Mississippi, some thirty miles north of Oxford on the Tennessee Border. Foreman attended UCLA, Roosevelt University and Boston University where he received a fellowship. Foreman accepts the need for reform in the civil rights struggle and he observes:

I happen to accept non-violence as a way of life in a sense. But at the same time I am sophisticated enough to understand that one has to change systems that breed violence rather than try to change a particular person that may be violent. Race may be as some say, a superstition, but the consequences of superstitions can be facts with their own pervasive and maiming reality. To put matters a little differently, the Negro-ness of Negroes is not in itself a mark of inferiority, but in our superstitious social system it may become a contributing cause of inferiority.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>93</sup>Warren, Op. Cit., p. 182.

Many of the liberals share the characteristic of being alienated with the white status quo and they feel that more rapid change must take place to enable the Negro to gain equality. They are dissatisfied with the white structured society and they feel that the present course will not work; thus they offer more extreme action, but unlike the radical they want extreme change within organized society. They are satisfied with the American capitalistic system, only they want the blacks to share in its full benefits.

The radical viewpoint is characterized by those who encourage revolutionary tactics to attain their goals, those who encourage others to completely destroy the American capitalistic system and offer another alternative and, finally, those who offer the Negro race a new feeling of black pride or black nationalism. Typical in any list of radicals would Claude Lightfoot, Stockley Carmichael, Floyd McKissie, Ron Karenga, Malcom X, James Baldwin, Adam Clayton Powell, and Lerone Bennett Jr., and W. E. B. Dubois.

The radical that is a prototype of the Communist intellectual Negro is Claude Lightfoot. Claude Lightfoot was born in Lake Village, Arkansas in 1910. At the age of seven he moved with his family to Chicago. He was influenced by the

Chicago race riot of 1919, which he witnessed at close hand. He has been a member of the Garvey Movement and joined the Communists Party in 1931. He presently holds the position of Secretary of the National Committee in charge of the Department of Negro Affairs. He contends that the solution to all racial problems in the United States lies in the hands of the Communist Party. Lightfoot predicts that:

Wherever there is a white bandit who attacks Negroes, white Communists will jump at his throat; wherever black people, out of frustration or other reasons, follow a no-win policy, black Communists will help them find their way.

Together, black and white Communists are going to make significant contributions towards radical changes in our society. Eventually we will build a country of freedom for all - a socialist America.<sup>94</sup>

One of the recent trends of the intellectual view is that of 'black power' or black nationalism groups. The group goes to the extreme in alienation to white standards and culture. The leading proponent of black power is Stokley Carmichael. Carmichael was brought by his family from Trinidad to Harlem in 1952, when he was eleven years of age. His manner is calm with occasional

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<sup>94</sup>Claude Lightfoot, Black Power and Liberation: A Communist View, (New York: New Outlook Publishers, 1967, p. 60.

streaks of ironic humor - often self humor. He graduated from Howard University in Philosophy in 1964. He was formally a leader in the organization SNICK.

In Trinidad, some ninety-six per cent of the population had been Negro; all immediate authority, police, teachers, ministers, civil servants, and the storekeepers and entrepreneurs in general were Negro. The four per cent white population lived in 'mansions' but then many Negroes lived in 'mansions' too and the question of the exploitation of the black by the white had not occurred to the boy. In America all was different. Immediate authority was white and the storekeeper was white. . .<sup>95</sup>

From this background Carmichael became alienated and distrustful of white American culture. Thus he took up the cause for black power. Carmichael exclaimed in many speeches to black crowds:

We've been making men out of Negroes - men who aren't afraid of honkies whether they're wearing sheets or badges. . . Now black power is legitimate and we can begin to challenge white institutions. . . To hell with the laws of the United States (he tells black audiences). If a honkey tries to shoot you, kill him before God gets the news. . .<sup>96</sup>

Another black power advocate along the prototype of Carmichael is Floyd McKissick, 46, another militant in the civil rights movement. McKissick took over as director of

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<sup>95</sup>Warren, Op. Cit., p. 399.

<sup>96</sup>Newsweek, LXIX, no. 20, May 15, 1967, p. 20.

CORE in January of 1966 after James Farmer resigned. He defines black power as: "Black power is no mere slogan. . . it is a drive to mobilize the black communities of this country in an effort to remove the basic causes of alienation, frustration, despair, low esteem, and hopelessness."<sup>97</sup>

To point out the nationwide acceptance of the Black Nationalistic views, Ron Karenya of Los Angeles exemplifies this fact. "Los Angeles is Karenya's city and the birth-place of the movement called "US" which he founded last February. It is an intense, growing movement, still small (300 at the hard core) but reaching out with jammed public meetings, adult classes in Negro history and weekend drill sessions for children."<sup>98</sup> He was born as Ronald McKinley Everett in 1942 on a chicken farm in Parsonsburg, Maryland. He moved to California in 1959 and enrolled in Los Angeles City College.

"Ron Karenya is a black nationalist, one of the new faces above the crowd in the big city ghettos. He is entirely the product of the Negro revolution, of its grievances, its aspirations, its fury. And power is his aim."<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>"The Big Split Over Black Power," Sepia, XV, no. 9, September, 1966, p. 22.

<sup>98</sup>"Negro is Many People," Newsweek, LXVIII, No. 8, August 22, 1966, p. 27.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

H displays racial pride and claims to advocate violence only for self-defense; he explains: "Having been stripped of economic influence, I say we have only one power left - to disrupt things. . . unless America awakens to the fact that she must contend with us as an enemy, or bargain with us as citizens it will be to her serious disadvantage."<sup>100</sup>

Black power and black nationalism are nothing completely new. The Black Muslims came up with ideas and racial pride that preceded them. Malcolm X (who was assassinated in February 20, 1965), shows more alienation to white culture and practices than his former leader, liberal Elijah Muhammed. Malcolm Little was born in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 19, 1925, the son of a Baptist preacher, a race man who did not carry favor with the white people. At a young age his family was forced to move to Lansing, Michigan because of his father's preaching. Eventually his father was a preacher no longer and the family went into poverty and broke up. He followed a childhood of delinquency (even though he displayed outstanding mental ability) and finally spent a

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid.



period of time in prison. His background shows his extreme disillusionment with white culture. He expresses this view as follows:

America is a white man's country. . . they took it from the Indians, built it on slave labor of black folk. You time will never get better until you make them better. It will take fire to straighten out the white man; it will take fire to straighten out our hell - fire from God.

The white man doesn't want you to be good citizens. He wants you to get drunk so he'll have an excuse to put his club upside your head.

The government is responsible for our bad housing; the government is responsible for the cock roaches that eat better than we do, for poor schools in our neighborhood.

It is the white man that teaches hate. He taught you to hate yourself. Some of you have your hair so much you put lye on it to get it straight.

The white man's afraid of truth. Truth takes off all his breath. Truth makes him lose all his strength. Just tell him a little truth - his face gets all red; watch him yes, yes, yes.<sup>101</sup>

One intellectual radical of rare literary ability is James Baldwin. "In the contemporary literature of the Negroes righteous anger, perhaps no novelist or essayist has eclipsed the poetic sensitivity and articulateness of James Baldwin of New York"<sup>102</sup> He was born in New York City on August 2, 1924

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<sup>101</sup>Cuban, Op. Cit., p. 171.

<sup>102</sup>Wish, Op. Cit., p. 163.

and was raised in the ghetto of Harlem. In spite of this background he has always shown a rare literary talent. His theory of history is somewhat pessimistic:

The history as he sees it is an unending story of man's inhumanity to man, of the whites' refusal to see the black simply as another human being, of the white man's delusions and the Negro's demoralization. The theme floods his novels and essays. The white man, he writes, is guilt ridden and sex-ridden and he managed over the years to delude himself by transferring his own failures onto the Negro.<sup>103</sup>

He, typical of many radical intellectuals, shows a high degree of alienation to the whiteness of American life. He observes that:

. . . At the root of the American Negro problem is the necessity of the American white man to find a way of living with the Negro in order to live with himself. And the history of this problem can be reduced to the means used by Americans - lynch law, and segregation and legal acceptance, terrorization and concession - either to come to terms with this necessity, or to find a way around it, or (most usually) to find a way of doing both these things at once. . . In this long battle, the white man's motive was the protection of his identity; the black man was motivated by the need to establish an identity.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Time, LXXI, No 20, May 17, 1963, p. 26.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

Adam Clayton Powell Jr., though enjoying all of the luxuries and vices of the white man, was one of the earliest fighters for the rights of the Negro. Recently (1967) he was removed from his seat as the Congressman from Harlem. Powell is a native of New York City and the son of a Baptist minister. He was head of one of the largest churches in Harlem (12000 members) The Abyssinian Baptist Church. Powell may appear hypocritical' but he serves nonetheless as important in the movement against white authority:

I want immediate desegregation, North and South; this means that in the school system there should be immediate bussing in and bussing out of black neighborhoods. In employment, I want upgrading and retraining for Negroes; and legislation for the school dropouts and pushouts -- those youngsters who don't qualify for graduation. And there should be preferential hiring. . . If two people apply for a job and one is black and one is white and both have the same qualities, I say hire the black man. Preferential hiring is just, until a reasonable percentage of jobs for Negroes has been arrived at.<sup>105</sup>

Lerone Bennett Jr. is one of the most widely acclaimed social historians. He has expressed candid views on the present state of race relations. He is a native of Clarksdale, Mississippi; he graduated from Morehouse College

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<sup>105</sup> McClellan Grant, Civil Rights. (New York: The T. U. Wilson Company, 1967), p. 35.

In Atlanta. He now resides in Chicago and is senior editor of Ebony Magazine. He shows a complete in-alienation of the gaining of equality under the present white structured society. He points out that:

Semantics apart, the cataclysm in the streets is real enough, and it proceeds from revolutionary premises. The fundamental premise is that old forms and ways that are no longer adequate and that the social system as organized is incapable of solving, through normal channels, the urgent problem presented to it by history. The second major premise is allied to the first: that the social system as organized, is a part of the problem appealed to or relied upon as an independent arbiter in power conflicts of which it is a part. The third major premise is that white Americans, generally speaking, lack the will, the courage, and the intelligence to voluntarily grant Negroes their rights and that they must be forced to do it by pressure.<sup>106</sup>

One of the first radical intellectuals was W. E. B. DuBois; at an early period in the history of the Negro in America, DuBois expressed an alienation with the white power structure, but not white society. "W.E. Burghardt DuBois, editor, author and veteran campaigner for Negro equality, was born in a small western Massachusetts Village in 1868 of mixed Negro, Dutch and French protestant ancestry."<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>Bennett, Op. Cit., p. 46.

<sup>107</sup>Cuban, Op. Cit., p. 82.

He lived in an area in his early life where he experienced little discrimination and segregation. As a student at Fisk University in Tennessee, he felt the full sting of Jim Crow which had a profound effect on his thinking. He received his Ph.D. at Harvard University, but by this time, the inequalities of American life had already influenced his thinking. Later in his life he became a proponent of Communism. After a period with the NAACP and Atlanta University, he observed:

The history of the American Negro is the history of strife - this longing to attain self-conscious manhood to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In the merging he wishes neither of his older selves be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without having the doors of opportunity closed in his face.<sup>108</sup>

To conclude the radical intellectual viewpoint, it is noted that the background of the people generally follow one of two basic patterns. Some radicals came out of a background of relatively little if any segregation or discrimination; upon being exposed to Jim Crow, they became completely alienated with whites and developed the extreme hate for the white power

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<sup>108</sup>Frances E. Rivers, "Black Nationalism on Campus," The Crisis.

structure. Others lived and experienced ghetto life and Jim Crow life all of their lives, thus their entire life was filled with the hate for the white society.

The intellectual phase varies in many degrees. As in all revolutions, you have a different set of desires and goals and disillusionment with the status quo. The revolutionary climate always include conservatives, moderates, liberals and radicals. So therefore one is not disturbed when the Civil Rights intellectuals present no unified goals or objectives. The first stages of revolution have satisfied the criteria of a revolutionary prototype. Unified goals would be desired if it were possible, but in the Civil Rights Movement it is difficult. More than likely, the success of the movement, in the long run, will depend on the adoption of some type of ideology. This ideology must contain some of the goals and objectives of the liberals and radicals to become effective.

THE RESISTANCE PHASE: HOW REVOLUTIONARY STAGES  
1960-1964

On the basis of revolutionary theory, it has been pointed out through synthesis of the various stages of a cross-section of scholars that the next stage of revolutionary phenomena is the resistance phase. It has been noted from an analysis of Brinton, Pettee, Sorokin, and others, that generally this phase is characterized by a direct confrontation of the reformers with the status quo. In the revolutionary atmosphere, there may be observed a flood of protests against the tyranny of the government, which include pamphlets, plays, addresses and an outburst of activities on the part of interested pressure groups. Reform is widely felt and recognized and even attempts at reform are made. Nevertheless the issues which are involved are so complex and controversial, the government tends to be prevented from making the necessary changes. These efforts are further blocked by the fact that the needs are not clearly formulated or gain little support. In spite of the fact that political leaders of great talent and energy emerge, they lose the support of the ruling group and in turn lose the support of the formal source of authority.

Thus the resistance continues until another stage develops which will be considered in the last phase.

To look at the Civil Rights struggle in the light of revolutionary theory, it will be necessary to determine if the resistance is widespread and continuous enough to constitute a revolutionary prototype. Considered here will be the peaceful (or intended peaceful) demonstrations as the sit-ins, pickets, mass marches and other means of Negro actions confronting the status quo of a white dominating society. The non-violent resistance phase is revolutionary because it challenged the very foundations of white supremacy. In the North the Negro was looked upon as the virtual invisible man; in the South he was kept in place by the Jim Crow law. The idea of white supremacy was buried deeply in the hearts of southerners; separate but equal wasn't even supposed to be challenged even after the Brown vs Board of Education decision in 1954. No loyal, white, southerner could conceive of eating, riding the bus, praying in the same church or going to the same school with the Negro. Such was the problem facing the non-violent resistance in the opening of the 1960's.



Before 1960, most Southern whites felt that any disorder that challenged the status quo was the result of outside agitation. They could not conceive of the Negro in the South as being able or willing to challenge the idea of White Supremacy. Van Woodward observes that:

Until 1960 -- in several ways a turning point -- the Southern resistance had been able to persuade itself that the Civil Rights movement was wholly the result of 'outside agitators,' that Southern Negroes were contented and happy with the 'Southern way of life,' that they preferred segregation, and that left to themselves they would never think of protesting. It is true that the myth had received some jolts, most notably in the 1955-56 yearlong boycott of the city buses of Montgomery in protest against segregation. . . .<sup>109</sup>

But after 1960, this myth was to be destroyed rapidly.

Though the idea of non-violent resistance was not popularized until the 1960's, it had its conception in the 1940's. Many identify this tactic with Martin Luther King, but it was actually the brainchild of James Farmer as far as applying it to the drive for Negro rights.

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<sup>109</sup>C. Van Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 168-169.

Brink was to say of its origin:

CORE had been formed in Chicago in 1942 by a group headed by James L. Farmer, a former program director of the NAACP who became CORE's National Director. Farmer had been reading War Without Violence by Krishanalal Shridharanani - a disciple of Gandhi - and was intrigued with the idea of applying its concept of passive resistance to the Negro revolt. . .110

And also contrary to popular beliefs this method was first applied in the North rather than in the South. "The first use of it was at the now defunct Jack Spratt Resturant in Chicago in 1942."111

The perpetual growth of this idea of non-violent resistance was fostered by Martin Luther King Jr., an ordained minister. A student of the King phenomena wrote:

His congregation believed in their pastors' social emphasis upon race and community issues and joined the NAACP as a group. But despite the provocations of local racists, the Reverend King kept the tone of his sermons moderate, ever stressing the positive nonresistance of Apostolic Christianity combined with the passive resistance of Mahatma Gandhi. The great opportunity to test Gandhian techniques came with the Montgomery bus strike in 1955, when King found a made-to-order situation of long-perpetuated humiliations shown Negro passengers. Success followed the boycott. . .112

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<sup>110</sup>Brink, The Negro Revolution in America, pp. 42-43.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>112</sup>Wish, Op. Cit., p. 147.

King sums up the idea of nonviolent resistance as follows:

Non-violent resistance makes it possible for the Negro to remain in the South and struggle for his rights. . . we will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. . . We adopt the means of non-violence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail we will try to persuade with our acts. . .<sup>113</sup>

After the successful Montgomery bus boycott, King formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which was based on his idea of Gandhi-inspired philosophy of direct, non-violent mass protest. This was considered a very militant organization judged by the standards of its time. King was looked to as the most important leader in the fight for Civil Rights at that time. But the idea of mass action protest did not immediately catch on.

"Increasing Negro impatience accounted for the rising tempo of non-violent direct action in the late 1950's, culminating in the student sit-ins of 1960 and the inauguration of what is popularly known as the 'Civil Rights Revolution' or the 'Negro Revolt.'<sup>114</sup> It was in 1960 that the idea of mass action protest

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<sup>113</sup> Cuban, Op. Cit., pp. 165-166.

<sup>114</sup> The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Report of The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (New York, Bantam Books, 1968), p. 227.

caught on as tactic of challenging and confronting the idea of white supremacy and segregation. The dramatized details were as follows:

The date was February 1, 1960. The night before, a Sunday, McNeil A. Joseph, a 17-year old student at the all-Negro Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina in Greensboro, had been brooding about discrimination and wondering what he could do about it (segregation makes me feel that I am unwanted explained Joseph later). The next morning he approached three of his fellow students and proposed that they go downtown after classes and demand service at the lunch counter of the Woolworth store. Their sit-in began at 4:45 in the afternoon when after making small purchases at other counters, they sat down at the white lunch counter and asked for service. When they were refused they took out their textbooks and studied until the store closed at 5:30.

Nothing much really happened at Greenboro that day. But the sit-in of McNeil Joseph, which was entirely his own spontaneous idea-caught on like wild fire all over the South with Negro students who were fed up with the slow progress of their leaders. In less than two weeks the student sit-ins had spread to fifteen other cities; at the end of the month they reached 33 and on and on.<sup>115</sup>

The momentum of the sit-ins continued to pick up strength and eventually spread to seven other Southern states besides North Carolinz. To keep this drive going, in April of 1960 the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee was formed. It was small, very youthful, largely

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<sup>115</sup>Brink, Op. Cit., p. 42.

Negro and its leaders were Negroes. Under its guidance the idea of non-violent direct action reached its mass intensity as thousands who had never protested before joined the movement for rights.

The mass movement had begun to shake the idea of white supremacy in the South. But the Jim Crow symbol did not yield easily. Van Woodward observed:

The walls of segregation began to crumble under the new assault. Lunch counters yielded in more than a hundred cities within a year. The sit-in tactics were broadened to attack segregation in theaters, hotels, public parks, swimming pools, and beaches as well as in churches, courtrooms, libraries, and art galleries. Boycotts supplemented sit-ins to deal with discrimination in service or employment among merchants and other business establishments.<sup>116</sup>

In spite of this progress, violence broke out in the hardcore white supremacy states in 1961 in response to the freedom rides to challenge segregation in interstate buses and terminals. "At Anniston, Alabama, a mob attacked riders and burned their bus. White hoodlums attacked other riders at Birmingham, and at Montgomery a mob beat up a score of people in several hours of rioting that had the apparent sympathy of police and some city authorities."<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup>Van Woodward, Op. Cit., pp. 170-171.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

The encore of the mass demonstrations in the South came with the Birmingham march, which started in April of 1963. Martin Luther King led a series of mass marches against what he called the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States during that period. His demands included the creation of a biracial commission, fair hiring practices, amnesty for previously arrested demonstrators, and an end to lunch-counter and other segregation. The explosive events proceeded as follows:

At first, King had trouble mustering any sizable group of troops. When his demonstrators did show up, some owners quietly closed their downtown lunch counters, did not even call police. Connor's cops made some routine arrests but seemed uncommonly gentle about it all.

Predictable, however, King's movement attracted an increasing number of Negroes - and just as predictably - Connor reverted to form. He broke up a march on City Hall by ordering mass arrests. 'Call the wagons, Sargent, I'm hungry, Bull.' Next day he called out his police dogs.<sup>118</sup>

After these events, King and his non-violent troops fought against the tyranny of "Bull" Connors. Many Negroes were arrested and brutalized, some were bitten by police dogs; others were clubbed and bowled by high-powered water hoses.

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<sup>118</sup>Time, LXXXI, No. 16, April 19, 1963, pp. 30-31.

"The whole angry fabric of resistance and rebellion reached a peak on May 11-12, 1963, with a bombing counterattack by white segregationists. Angered by the bombings, Negroes rioted, burned the stores of white businessmen, and fought with policemen, state troopers, and firemen."<sup>119</sup>

Lerone Bennett considers Birmingham as the key to the drive for Negro rights; he feels it was the equivalent of Bastille Day in the French Revolution. "The Bastille of Birmingham was a turning point in the Negro resistance movement. Sparks from the flames of Birmingham leaped from ghetto to ghetto igniting inflammable material that had been gathering for years, welding Negroes into a great black mass of living indignation."<sup>120</sup>

William Brink also considered this to be the turning point in the Civil Rights struggle. After Birmingham, he noted that:

And now the tempo of the Negro protest rose even higher in what Negro leaders came to call 'the summer of our discontent.' Demonstrations erupted all over the country, North and South and not even the city halls of New York or Chicago were immune. In a three month period of the summer of 1963, the United States Justice Department counted 1,412 separate demonstrations. . . Over the land echoed the Negro hymn 'We Shall Overcome.' Now the revolution was indeed in full stride. . .<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Bennett, Op. Cit., p. 25.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

<sup>121</sup>Brink, Op. Cit., p. 46.

The climax of the mass peaceful demonstration in 1963 was the march on Washington. "Taking note of the new mood, Negro leaders called for a massive demonstration in Washington, D.C., to show the solidarity of the movement. The success of the march on Washington held on August 28, 1963, reflected the spirit of a revived Negro populace and of all those who supported the Negro cause. There were many hopes and desires fostered in this great march."<sup>122</sup> Cuban explained that:

Many Negroes had looked to the march as an end in itself, a massive demonstration that would somehow solve all their problems. It was not that. . .

Only when a 'Freedom Special' roared in from Deep Dixie did things get lively. The train originating in Jacksonville, Florida, carried 785 marchers, many of them youngsters in their teens or early twenties who, as a result of their participation in Negro demonstrations, had spent time in Southern jails or carried on their bodies the scars inflicted by southern cops. They piled off the train singing the battle hymn of the Negro's 1963 revolution, 'We Shall Overcome.' Their spirit perked up hundreds of other Negroes still wandering aimlessly around the depot. . . Wilkins talked quietly of the necessity for passage of President Kennedy's bill.<sup>123</sup>

The march on Washington, for all practical purposes, was a pressure group of Negroes who waged the passage of a strong Civil Rights bill that would wipe out segregation and discrimination in the United States. The participants hoped that they could

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<sup>122</sup>Cuban, Op. Cit., p. 173.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., pp. 173-175.



persuade Congress to grant them their rights. The climax of this demonstration was the classic "I Had a Dream" speech by Martin Luther King Jr. in which he fostered a very idealistic goal of complete harmony and equality between whites and blacks.

The year 1964 saw civil rights as the central issue in the country; it was no longer regarded as just a southern problem. The widespread protest burned in the cities of the North, East, West, and Mid-West as well. The tactics of non-violent protest became more intense and militant in the North than those in the South. They were less disciplined and sometimes irrational, a vague connection between means and ends. The events proceeded as follows:

On March 6, a small group of demonstrators sat down on New York City's Triborough Bridge, blocked all traffic, littered the area with garbage, and had to be forcibly removed. That night in San Francisco more than a thousand chanting sit-in demonstrators laid all-night siege to the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, and some four hundred arrests were made in a few weeks as violence increased. In Cleveland, demonstrators chained themselves together at construction sites and one of them was killed by a bulldozer. Thousands were arrested in jail-ins. New York City Negroes resorted to massive boycotts to protest school segregation and kept 464,000 pupils, 45 percent of the total enrollment, out of school for a day. Demonstrators drowned out President Johnson's speech at the New York World's Fair. All this was accompanied by ominous talk of revolt and revolution and a mounting apocalyptic tone suggested in the title of a book by James Baldwin, The Fire Next Time.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup>Van Woodward, Op. Cit., p. 183.

The mass protest confrontation in the Negro's struggle against the white supremacist and Jim Crow aspect of the status quo achieved some success. From a Newsweek poll it was found that most Negroes felt that mass confrontation with the status quo had accomplished something. "The Negro feels his faith in mass protest has already moved mountains. . . . If nothing more, it is enough to make a man walk taller. Even more the Negro is convinced that demonstrations work."<sup>125</sup> Many Negroes at the time of the survey in 1963, felt that it would be better to sit down with the whites but they considered it impossible. Therefore, to them, mass protest was their most potent weapon.

To conclude, it is noted that the resistance period of the Civil Rights Movement started on a small scale in Montgomery, Alabama, but at this point it could not be considered revolutionary on a wide enough scale. Beginning in the 1960's, with the student sit-ins, which challenged the foundation of White Supremacy, and race etiquette in the South, there was widespread peaceful confrontation enough to be considered revolutionary in a section of the country. The real challenge to the white dominated society came when the mass protests spread to Northern, Western, and Eastern states. The facts and events speak for themselves;

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<sup>125</sup>"Negro Goals in '63," News Pointer, November, 1963, p. 7.

they had become widespread enough to become characterized as a revolutionary prototype. It is clear, at least up to this point, that the Civil Rights struggle resembles a revolutionary phenomena.

THE ACTIVISTS PHASE: HOW REVOLUTIONARY  
1960-PRESENT

Tentatively, the revolution moves cyclically from one phase to another; the activists phase is generally considered as the next stage. Based on the modern revolutionary theorists, Brinton, Pettee, Sorokin, and others, the predominant characteristics consist of mass riots, assassinations, and general disorder over a wide area of country. "Pettee points out that the incapacity of the state to deal with a simple fact brings a crisis. The demand that something be done reveals that some new agency must be created and suddenly men know a revolution has begun."<sup>126</sup> During the activists period there is a wide area of violence -- some spontaneous and some organized over a wide area of the country. This stage magnified the internal portion of the revolution, the revolutionist quarrel among themselves over goals and the direction of the revolution; the struggle for policy turns into a struggle for power. The moderates who control the revolution at its onset suddenly lose favor and

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<sup>126</sup> Friederich, Revolution, p. 19.

are challenged by a group of radicals and extremists who feel that they have attained their goals and are attempting to stop the revolution.

Pitirim A. Sorokin gave a very inclusive list of causes of revolutions under his principle that the immediate cause of a revolution is the suppression of the basic instincts of a group. He concludes that the main instincts require the minimum of satisfaction; these instincts include the need for self-preservation and group security, the need for housing, clothing, a necessary temperature, sex and finally the need for self-expression and individuality, plus the freedom of speech and action. Another principle of revolutionary occurrences was pointed out by Pettee. He says that there is generally more wealth, talent and education than before but it is still considered not enough. It is felt that the society needs a better order and it can be noted that the people are more apt to revolution than when they were really down and out.

To consider the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's, we can look at it on the basis of the causes of the mass discontent which has led to the violent mass riots that culminated with the Harlem riot in 1964. Secondly, it will be necessary to examine the urban riots to determine if they are the results of any causes that precipitate revolutionary action. Finally,

it will be necessary to evaluate whether the riots have the necessary ingredients to be considered a revolutionary prototype.

As early as 1963, the revolutionary climate in the United States was felt. It was observed that:

Week by week, the U. S. Civil Rights Revolution burns more deeply in its intensity, shifts into bewildering new directions, expands fiercely in its dimensions. Leaders follow and followers lead. Congressional timetables are upset. Negro organization officials find themselves riding a creast they cannot control. Negro moderates suffer vilification or the threat of physical harm for their moderation. White politicians who have achieved power through their championship of civil rights find themselves hooted by audiences who think they have not been civil righteous enough.<sup>127</sup>

This climate continued to grow and intensify even after the August 28 march on Washington, which sort of brought reassurance to the whites that violence would not occur. In spite of this belief the Negro grievances that sponsored violence went very deep and the taste of hope had incited many to desire all that could be achieved.

To examine the causes of the Negro riots, William Griffin summarized them as four major factors. He summarized them as follows:

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<sup>127</sup> Time, Vol. 82, No. 2, July 12, 1963, p. 17.

The first is economic. . . As a result of automation, industry has dwindling need for unskilled labor. Thus, the Negro has lost his job in the South, is finding less opportunity in the North.

The second factor is psychological. Many of the people who have moved to the cities have had an enormous emotional wrench. They have become alienated in the most profound sense; they've lost their bearings, their sense of belonging to a community, their sense of family structure. The fathers, frequently unemployed, have tended to drift away. In many Negro families, the mother has become the breadwinner. The illegitimacy rate has risen: in the ghettos of many northern cities now it exceeds 50 per cent. All of this is extremely disruptive for any society.

The third factor is the "revolution of rising expectation"- Negroes had hoped that the civil rights movement would not only bring legal rights but would make them equal in every respect with the whites. As the civil rights movement progressed, however, they found that it was not bringing them economic equality with more technically skilled whites. On the contrary, the income gap between Negroes and whites have widened. Thus, Negro hopes after first being aroused, have been thwarted - the classic revolutionary situation. People don't revolt when they are down and out; they revolt when hope begins and is blocked.

The fourth factor - and this is the underlying long term cause - is racial discrimination. It has been going on for 300 years and has stored up a tremendous amount of emotional tensions. It is not racial discrimination alone that brings on riots, but its reaction with unemployment, psychological alienation, and rising expectations. The fact that these elements have all come together is what makes the solution of the problem so difficult.<sup>128</sup>

All causes of a revolutionary phenomena depend on the interactions of many of the above mentioned factors. Frustration reaches the point where many Negroes have little faith in the

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<sup>128</sup>William E. Griffin, "City Riots: Why and Where do We Go From Here," Readers Digest, Vol. 93, No. 555, July, 1968, pp. 83-84.

solving of their problems under the white structured status quo. Rustin observes that:

The first thing about those who are frustrated is that their frustration causes them to adopt a psychology, an economics and a sociology which are frustrated. The United States is no longer viable. All institutions must be destroyed and new ones established. . .<sup>129</sup>

In order to find a solution to the urban riots, President Johnson appointed an advisory commission to examine the relations of the causes and actual processes of the riots. Even before this committee was appointed, Van Woodward noted the rapid spread of the urban riots. He noted their superficial causes and processes as follows:

The first of the summer riots exploded in northern Negro ghettos started on July 18 in Harlem. Like the many riots that followed in other cities, the first was touched off by the resentment of police action. It raged for six nights and involved looting, beatings, many casualties, and fatal injuries. Another serious riot erupted while the first still raged in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of New York. These were followed in similar patterns by riots in Rochester, July 24-25, in Jersey City, August 3-5, in Paterson and Elizabeth, New Jersey, August 11-14, in a suburb of Chicago, August 16-17, and in Philadelphia, August 28.<sup>130</sup>

This violence and disorder took place predominantly in the eastern cities but in August of 1965, violence exploded on the West Coast. Only five days after the President signed

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<sup>129</sup> Bayard Rustin, "The Anatomy of Frustration," ADL Bulletin, XXV, No. 5, May, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>130</sup> Van Woodward, Op. Cit., pp. 183-184.

the Voting Rights Act, a riot broke out in Watts, a Negro district of Los Angeles, and gaged unchecked for four days and longer in sporadic outbursts. The riots continued throughout the summer of 1966. It proceeded as follows:

Chicago was termed a hot spot as violence erupted there prompting Illinois Governor Otto Kerner to mobilize 4,000 National Guardsmen to help police. . .

Violence wasn't confined to Chicago. New York had its share as police were attacked with bricks, garbage cans, and bottles. The nightly disorders occurred mostly in Brooklyn.

In Philadelphia, police battled demonstrators chanting "Black Power." Like in New York, there were charges of police brutality.

Other disturbances were reported in Jacksonville, Florida, Grenada, Mississippi, Des Moines, Iowa, Omaha, Nebraska, and Cleveland, Ohio.<sup>131</sup>

The riots and disorders had spread to cities in all sections of the country, East, North, West, Midwest, and South. Truly the momentum of the drive for rights had become unified.

As was mentioned, President Johnson, after the violent summer of 1967, appointed a commission to investigate the urban riots. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders evaluated and studied the disorder and came up

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<sup>131</sup>Sepia, XV, No. 9, September, 1966, p. 8.



with the following conclusions: "The typical riot did not take place. The disorders of 1967 were unusual, irregular, complex and unpredictable social processes. Like most human events, they did not unfold in orderly sequence. . ."132

The study did reveal some general conclusions about the riot processes. It was revealed:

In general:

The civil disorders of 1967 involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society, authority, and property in Negro neighborhoods rather than against white persons.

Of the 164 disorders reported during the first nine months of 1967, eight (5%) were major in terms of violence and damage; 33 (20%) were serious but not major, 123 (75%) were minor and would not have received national attention as "riots" had the nation not had been sensitized by the more serious outbreaks.

In the 75 disorders studied by a Senate subcommittee, 83 deaths were reported.<sup>133</sup>

The major disorders occurred in the cities of Buffalo, New York, Cincinnati, Ohio, Detroit, Michigan, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Newark and Plainfield, New Jersey, and Tampa, Florida. The cities exemplified the vast grievances that

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<sup>132</sup>Ibid.

<sup>133</sup>National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Op. Cit., pp. 113-114.

had been building up in the ghettos of our major cities. Most of these were precipitated or triggered off by a single incident, usually a police action. But usually the action was minor and disproportionate to the level of violence that occurred. Burning, looting, sniper fire usually rang out as the violence reached the peak of its intensity.

Since the intensity of the violence was not proportional to the triggering event, the commission came up with several underlying causes which were similar to those expressed by Griffin. The commission concluded that the causes of recent racial disorders were imbedded in a vast complex of issues and circumstances, which resulted from the historical pattern of Negro-white relations in America. The Negroes, they have concluded, were attacking the basic attitudes of white racial beliefs which affected them the most, that of segregation and discrimination. They contended that:

The first is surely the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress through discrimination in employment and education and their enforced confinement in segregated housing and schools. Most Negro citizens carry within themselves two basic aspirations of our society. They seek to share in both the material resources of our system and its intangible benefits - dignity, respect, and acceptance.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., pp. 203-204.

The uncertainty of the life in the ghetto fostered the seeds of violence in the ghetto. The threat to the personal security is great in the ghetto and the crime rate. There is a vast amount of poverty in the ghetto which results in deficient diets, lack of medical care, inadequate shelter, and clothing. Jobs are scarce, the pay low, and most of the residents are unskilled. The policeman in the ghetto is not only the symbol of white law but he is a tangible symbol of the entire white system of white law and justice.

"While the civil disorders of 1967 were racial in character, they were not interracial. The 1967 disorders, as well as earlier disorders of the recent period, involved action within Negro neighborhoods against symbols of white American society, authority and property, rather than against white persons.<sup>135</sup>

In order to understand the nature of the movement and its relation to the causes explored one must look at the nature of those who riot. The Riot Commission described them as follows:

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<sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 110

Characteristically, the typical rioter was not a hoodlum, habitual criminal or riffraff, nor was he a recent migrant, a member of an uneducated underclass, or a person lacking broad social and political concerns. Instead he was a teenager (average age 15 to 24), a life long resident of the city in which he rioted, a high school drop-out, but somewhat better educated than his Negro neighbor, and almost invariable underemployed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle class Negroes. . . .<sup>136</sup>

The racial pride displayed by the so-called new black image has spread throughout the country. It was observed that:

The attitude is producing a wave of Negro organizations and movements, on campuses, in professions, in local communities and also on state and national scales. All this can be rather grandly described as a case of the Negro looking to himself for salvation, and there discovering strengths that he never knew that he possessed. There is indeed evidence that black pride is nourishing the new Negro's determination to take over his own society and accept no definition of blackness but his own. This kind of Negro is not anti-white; he is pro-black. As one direct consequence of his attitude, America's most visible minority is more visible than ever. . . .<sup>137</sup>

So far it has been mentioned that the typical rioter in the ghetto was hostile to middle class Negroes as well as to whites. This results from the fact that most middle class Negroes are somewhat satisfied with gaining a few concessions from the whites and are willing to sell out the young to maintain their status.

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>137</sup> Time, Vol. 90, No. 22, December 1, 1967, p. 20.

The middle class Negro shared completely different values and aspirations than the riot participant. As compared to the lower class, the following was cited by Whitney Young:

On the other hand the lower class group sees in the flight of the middle class Negro as a desire to disassociate himself from the rest and this causes a tension. Middle class Negroes possess status or symbolic goals to which the lower class maybe completely indifferent. Negroes in the low or poorer class are concerned with reality or welfare goals.<sup>138</sup>

Usually the counter-riot participant reflects these opposing goals. The Riot Commission describes the typical counter-rioter as follows:

The typical counter-rioter who risked injury and arrest to walk the streets urging rioters to cool it was an active supporter of existing social institutions. His actions and attitudes reflected his substantially greater stake in the social system; he was considerably better educated than either the rioter or the non-involved.<sup>139</sup>

Out of this split in objectives, the concept of black power grows. Its pros and cons are debated as follows:

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<sup>138</sup>Whitney Young, "The Role of the Middle Class Negro," Ebony, XVIII, No. 11, p. 67.

<sup>139</sup>National Advisory Commission Report, p. 127.

Crying for Black Power are (1) The Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), headed by Stokely Carmichael, age 25 (in 1966) who first made the Black Power cry during a freedom march in Mississippi in June; (2) The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) under the directorship of Floyd B. McKissick.

Against Black Power are (1) The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.; (2) The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) with Roy Wilkins as executive director; (3) The National Urban League, directed by Whitney Young.

Outside the civil rights movement are three which likely will be using the Black Power cry: (1) The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), most radical of all Negro movements; (2) Deacons for Defense and Justice, a group of armed Negro vigilantes prepared to fight back against white attacks; (3) Black Muslims, a religious sect calling for complete separation of the races.<sup>140</sup>

The white power structure and rank and file are deeply disturbed over the militant approaches to black power. Usually these persons are labeled as extremists and strike fear in the Negro moderate as well as the whites. It may be summed up as follows:

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<sup>140</sup>Sepia, XV, No. 9, September, 1966, pp. 20-21.

There are serious dangers of violence among the new approaches to Black Power. Still at work are extremists who could shatter every vestige of positive action. Street riots shook Philadelphia when a recent Black Power demonstration abruptly degenerated into a free-for-all with the police. The toll: 22 injured, 57 arrests. In the Oakland - San Francisco area, the Black Panthers, the Black Students' Union, and other young activists, Negro organizations, have prompted deep concern among both state and local authorities.

There are sporadic outbursts of violence and rumors of cached guns and ammunitions. Investigators who have spent months inside the more violent wings of the movement say that some leaders are vowing 'to put the whites on reservations like they did the Indians. We don't want integration or segregation: we want the whole country. We are going to carry out total revolution and afterwards there will be only blacks, some Negroes and no whites.<sup>141</sup>

Contrary to the report of the National Advisory Council on Civil Disorders, this researcher does not agree that all of the riots and disorders were unplanned. The riot participant is aware of how to start a precipitating event. Gerald Moore - LIFE'S Midwest Regional Editor, was allowed to make observations in a typical Negro ghetto on Chicago's west side. He made the following observation while there:

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<sup>141</sup>Time, Vol. 90, No. 22, December 1, 1967, p. 20.

I sat on a bumper watching, and saw two young men, about 20 and 21, come into the parking lot with a gallon can of gasoline and two pop bottles. They sat near me and made a funnel from a piece of scrap paper. They were drunk and I watched while they tried to pour gasoline into the bottles.

I guessed at first that they were helping Peter. But then they rolled old Kleenex into wicks and stuffed them into bottles, and I knew they were making Molotov cocktails. One of Peter's friends, Duprey, tugged at my sleeve. "Let's get out of here," he said. "There's going to be trouble." Duprey said a store had short changed the two and they were going to burn it. "See, this is how it starts," he said. "They throw those bombs then the cops come and shoot one of them, then the rumors start and everything blows. . ."142

Even though the incident described by Moore was prevented from attaining its goals, it points out that (1) there is a degree of planning that goes into the precipitating of disorders by the riot participants, (2) that the major tactic and weapon - the Molotov cocktail and fire - to strike back at the symbols of white suppression, and (3) that appropriations are realized through the burning and looting of the big city riots.

In the final analysis of the resistance phase of the Negro Civil Rights Movement, it can be noted that the ingredients are present to constitute a revolutionary prototype. Unlike many other revolutions, the struggle is somewhat handicapped

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<sup>142</sup>Gerald Moore, The Ghetto Block Life, Vol. 64, No. 10, March 8, 1968, pp. 72-74.



because there is an attempt to culminate it in a well-established society. The white power structure has virtually complete control of the machinery of government which includes the police force, the armed forces, and the means of communication. Along with all of this, the movement is harnessed by a number of middle class Negroes who think that it is compatible to gain their goals within the framework of organized society.

Modern revolutionary theory shows that the movement has basic ingredients that generally characterize a revolutionary prototype. It has an ideology which is somewhat undefined as was pointed out in the intellectual phase; the conservatives and moderates do not believe in shaking the status quo but they want to gain their share of middle class capitalistic benefits of the society. The liberals are seeking an equal share in the opportunities of this society for all people and as rapidly as possible but they still are under the impression that it can be accomplished in the established society. The radicals want to change the structure of the society but their goals are somewhat incoherent, some have turned to communists which still faces them with the whites. Others have turned to black nationalists, which would center the power in the hand of the Negro. The success of the

revolution will depend on the extent to which a unified ideological approach is applied.

Another fundamental of modern revolutions is that they are youth movements. The Civil Rights movement complies with this principle, which is pointed out by the age of the riot participants (15-24). The new student protests, the new fads in dress, and the return to the idea that black is beautiful exemplifies this position.

In most revolutions, the non-secular aspects overshadow the spiritual aspects. "Black Power" has replaced the "We Shall Overcome" phrase as the slogan of the revolution. The church like the school has become a symbol of the idea of moderation and comply with the status quo in the revolution; thus, it has been rejected as a part of the struggle for equality.

Another general characteristic of modern revolution is that they usually have a scapegoat. The Negro revolutionist holds the white as the barrier to reaching his goals. As was pointed out in the riot report, most attacks were aimed at the symbols of white domination and authority. Burning and looting in the ghetto riots of white owned and middle class Negro owned businesses pointed out the expropriation characteristic of revolutionary prototypes. Another scapegoat in the Civil

Rights struggle is the moderate or middle class Negro and liberal whites. These are the leaders referred to by Bennett as the Establishment, those directly connected with the white structure. Bennett observes that their days are numbered. He contends that:

Having survived Marcus Garvey in the twenties, black Lenins in the thirties, and A. Phillip Randolph in the forties, the establishment is waiting for the next turn of the wheel. The only thing wrong with whis calculation is that the name of the game has changed. The young students are behind them, the young black nationalists are playing for keeps. When a game of historical process reaches that point, as French conservatives and American Tories discovered, Establishment men who refuse to bet lose all the time.

Almost everyone knows that the white power structure is threatened by the Negro rebellion. What is not noted often enough is that Negro men of power are also on trial, not for the decisions they made but for the decisions they did not make, not for the battles they lost, but for the battles they did not fight.<sup>143</sup>

Underground or coercive organizations for enforcing conformity are usually the products of revolution. In the recent stages of the Civil Rights Movement, there are several overt groups that resemble this typology, namely the Deacons for Defense, the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM),

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<sup>143</sup>Bennett, Op. Cit., p. 78.

"The Black United Front, a new Negro group in Washington who has called the killing of a white policeman justifiable homicide in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide."<sup>144</sup> There have been rumors that attempts will be made on the lives of many of the so called moderate Civil Rights leaders.

Urban areas are generally considered the centers of a revolutionary phenomena. Based on the Riot Commission's Report, in 1967 alone riot and disorders occurred 164 times in 128 cities.

Based on the evidence presented, the ingredients, tactics, and events point to a revolutionary climate, therefore it is concluded at this point that the Activist stage of the Negro Civil Rights Movement appears to be a revolutionary prototype.

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<sup>144</sup>Houston Post, July 6, 1968, p. 15.

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The phenomena of revolutionary change as applied to the current Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's has provided a field of some very interesting research. In this study the critique of revolutionary theory was established in order to set the criteria for this undertaking. All theories were covered in order to perceive the vastness of modern revolutionary phenomena. The popular premise that all revolutions must occur to the left and desire or create more freedom for the people was invalidated by looking at the experiences of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution pointed out that even though there are ideologies that are working toward so-called equality in the classless society, they usually never pass the dictatorship stages. In revolutionary theory, the definitions, processes or cyclical stages, and causes, were examined to set up the synthesis of applying theory to actual practices. The scheme that was desired to examine the Civil Rights movement technically was the intellectual phase, the resistance phase, and the activists phase.

The hypothesis of this researcher was that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's constituted a revolution in the technical sense of the word. In using an analogous study in the stages of revolutionary theory, this writer has intended to examine the Civil Rights struggle on this ground. This researcher examined the intellectuals in the current movement, the resistance or demonstration phase in this movement, and the activist phase in the Civil Rights movement.

This researcher concludes that with the culminating of a vast array of intellectuals in the Civil Rights movement, it has the appearance of a revolutionary prototype. As in all revolutions, you have a variety of values, goals, and degree of alienation to the white dominated power structure. In this movement, as in most modern revolutions, you have moderates, conservatives, liberals, and radicals with views ranging all the way from those with only a slight alienation to the white dominated society to those with a complete alienation to white standards and culture. This writer is of the opinion that one shortcoming of this revolutionary phenomenon is its lack of a unified ideology of aims and goals. The success of this

revolution will depend on the extent to which these aims and goals are realized.

The essence of the resistance phase revealed that the Civil Rights movement reached its height of revolutionary promise in 1963. Generally, it was found that two key events - The Birmingham Demonstrations in April and the "March on Washington" in August - were the sparks that unified the Civil Rights Movement into a drive for full equality. Based on revolutionary theory and practices, the resistance phase has all of the characteristics of a revolutionary prototype.

The final stage encountered was the Activists phase, which was culminated by the great urban riots which tend to erupt on a mass scale during the summer months. In this phase it was revealed that the Civil Rights movement had the ingredients in different levels of intensity to constitute a revolutionary prototype. It was revealed that there were several principles in modern revolution: the list included that most revolutions have a basic ideology, most are youth movement, they usually become non-secular rather than spiritual, they occasionally have a scapegoat and internal conflicts. And finally, revolutions in the

modern sense, have undergrounds or coercive organizations to enforce conformity. This researcher concluded that the Civil Rights movement to date has complied in varying degrees all of the requirements necessary to constitute a revolutionary prototype.

It was cited in the introduction that there were those who felt that the Civil Rights movement is not a revolution. The most notable examples given were Calvin Herndon and Lerone Bennett. It was Dr. Herndon's contention that the Civil Rights movement was too institutionalized and most of its leaders have accepted the white man's standard of achieving freedom. Mr. Bennett contends that there were two basic problems that prevented the Civil Rights movement from being a real revolution: the first was that it failed to organize a sustained national resistance movement and secondly, it failed to mobilize the masses in the ghetto.

This researcher's response to these opinions is that these opinions were given in 1964, their views were given before the great urban ghetto riots and other new developments. Herndon, as mentioned, felt the movement was too institutionalized,



he stated that the only leader who deviated from the white norm was Malcolm X. But the evidence speaks for itself. Since 1964, we have seen the rise of the Carmichaels, Rap Browns and the black nationalists who shake the nerves of even liberal whites and moderate Negro leaders. As it was pointed out, moderate leaders can no longer control the revolution. It is in the hands of the young and this in itself is revolutionary.

In answer to Lerone Bennett, whom this researcher has great respect, the revolution now has a sustained national resistance movement. This refers not only to the traditional NAACP, Urban League, or CORE, but other organizations like the Black Panthers, and other militant black nationalists. The evidence even points to the possibility of an organized underground movement that may exist. The probability of foreign intervention from Red China or Cuba is also suspected or rumored in the Civil Rights movement. The Hong Kong Star reported that "A pipeline through Latin America was set up to smuggle money and ammunition to militant black groups in the U.S. The paper said sources inside China said Mao Tse-Tung had waited until the pipeline was in weakening order before calling for a black revolution to overthrow the United States government."<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Jet, XXXIV, No. 5, May 9, 1968, p. 7.

All of the possibilities cannot be overlooked, and it is evident that the Civil Rights movement is well organized in many areas.

To his second problem - the failure of organization in the ghettos - it is this researcher's contention, that the riot report attempted to play down the idea that some of the big city riots may have been organized conspiracies. This in this writer's opinion was to pacify and avoid panic among many whites and moderate Negroes. More recently, it is evident that some of the disorder may be organized. Both the mayor and officials of Cleveland, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana, claimed that the possibility of organized conspiracies were more than present.

This researcher concludes that all of the evidence of this study, according to the criteria used in modern revolutionary theory, prove the validity of the statement that the Civil Rights movement is a revolutionary prototype. To this researcher, the Civil Rights Movement and revolution are wide open to more expansion and inclusive research. This writer intends for later research and investigation of the possibility of the Civil Rights movement as a wider spectrum of world wide fights for equality and the overturning of a white dominant world.

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