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MASTER'S THESIS

IMPORTANCE OF URBAN PLANNING FOR CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN JUNIUS W.WILLIAMS' MEMOIR *THE UNFINISHED AGENDA: URBAN POLITICS IN THE ERA OF BLACK POWER*

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THESIS APROVAL PAGE

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as "Importance of Urban Planning for Civil Rights Movement and Its Representation in Junius W. Williams' Memoir: Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power" has been written by myself without applying the help that can be contrary to academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honor.

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ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

Importance of Urban Planning for Civil Rights Movement and Its Representation in Junius W. Williams' Memoir: Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power

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In determining the identity of a person in a multicultural American lifestyle, economic classes, lifestyles, cultural differences, gender, ethnicity or race are only a few of the most important factors. Thus, in addition to multiculturalism in American society, the prejudices against these different forms of life and the consequences of this prejudice are quite large. The black community, which covers about 12% of American society, in particular, can be regarded as the most vulnerable group from this prejudice. The prejudice against the Blacks has affected them in many areas, especially in business, education and social life. The most obvious result of these is seen as ghettos, which are their living areas as this issue has turned into a vicious circle where bad living spaces have created negative living conditions. Although the black society has fought against these living conditions for centuries, this vicious circle has not yet been fully resolved.

Junius Williams, who is a black individual that had to fight against racism all his life, lived through a period in which he was able to observe the big change from Jim Crow's America to Barack Obama's Presidency. This change was portrayed in the "Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power," which sought to shed light on both American society and minority communities in other countries. In this study, the writer's memoir was examined in

the framework of the ghetto mentioned above issue, and the solutions that were tried to be produced through Williams's experiences were sought. The aim of this study is to find solutions to the living conditions of the ghetto, which is still a problem today, through the steps and thoughts of a black lawyer who has spent all his life actively supporting the rights of his community.

Keywords: Junius W. Williams, Ghettos, Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, Memoir, Blacks, Minorities.

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Şehir Planlamasının Siyahî Sivil Haklar Hareketi İçin Öneminin Junius W. Williams'ın "Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power" adlı Anısı ile İncelenmesi

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Çok kültürlü Amerikan yaşam tarzında kişinin kimliğini belirlemesinde ekonomik sınıflar, yaşam tarzları, kültürel farklılıklar, cinsiyet, etnik köken ya da ırk en önemli faktörlerden bazılarıdır. Bu yüzden Amerikan toplumunda çok kültürlülüğün yanı sıra bu değişik yaşam şekillerine karşı ön yargı ve bu ön yargının doğurduğu sonuçlar oldukça büyüktür. Özellikle Amerikan toplumunun yaklaşık % 12'sini kapsayan siyahi topluluk bu ön yargıdan en çok zarar gören grup olarak kabul edilebilir. Siyahilere karşı oluşan ön yargı onları başta iş, eğitim ve sosyal hayatları olmak özere birçok alanda olumsuz etkilemiştir. Bunların en belirgin sonucu ise yaşam alanları olan gettolar olarak görülmektedir. Zira bu mesele kötü yaşam alanlarının olumsuz yaşam şartlarını oluşturduğu bir kısır döngüye dönüşmüştür. Siyahi toplum her ne kadar yüzyıllar boyunca bu yaşam şartlarına karşı savaşmış olsa da bugün bu kısır döngü henüz tam olarak çözülmemiştir.

Hayatının her anında ırkçılığa karşı savaşmak zorunda kalmış bir siyahi olan Junius Williams, ayrımcı Jim Crow yasalarının hüküm sürdüğü Amerikan siyasetinden Barack Obama'nın başkan seçilmesine kadar oluşan değişimi gözlemleyebilecek bir dönemde yaşamıştır. Bu değişikliği Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power" adlı anısında aktararak hem Amerikan

toplumuna hem de diğer ülkelerdeki azınlık toplumlara ışık tutmaya çalışmıştır. Bu çalışmada ise yazarın anısı yukarıda bahsedilen getto döngüsü çerçevesinde incelenmiş, Williams'ın deneyimleri aracılığıyla üretilmeye çalışılan çözümler aranmıştır. Çalışmanın amacı, hayatını aktif olarak mensubu olduğu toplumun haklarını gözeterek geçirmiş bir avukatın adımları ve düşünceleri aracılığıyla günümüzde hala bir sorun olan getto yaşam şartlarına çözümler bulmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Junius Williams, gettolar, Sivil Haklar Hareketi, Anı, Black Power, siyahi, azınlık hareketleri

IMPORTANCE OF URBAN PLANNING FOR CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN JUNIUS W.WILLIAMS' MEMOIR THE UNFINISHED AGENDA: URBAN POLITICS IN THE ERA OF BLACK POWER

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ABBREVIATION

USA	The United States of America
US	The United States of America
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People
MIA	Montgomery Improvement Association
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee
SRC	Southern Regional Council
COFO	Council of Federated Organizations
VEP	Voter Education Project
NUL	National Urban League
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
SRE	Students for Racial Equality
SDC	Students for a Democratic Society
NCUP	Newark Community Union Project
ENLSP	Essex Newark Legal Services Project
NAPA	Newark Area Planning Association
HDRC	Housing Development and Rehabilitation Corporation
COMA	Committee on Minority Affairs
NBA	National Bar Association
PUBS	People United for Better Schools
ALI	Abbott Leadership Institute

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to analyze the political memoir of Junius Williams titled *Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power* and find out the writer's views on the resistance of the black society in the United States of America starting from 1955 to 2015. This chapter includes the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, research questions, the scope of the study and the definition of terms.

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Throughout the history of the United States of America, the question of the minorities has always been one of the most controversial issues both socially and politically. As a country that has had open doors policy since it was founded, the United States always had to deal with minorities, their demands as well as racism. Being one of the largest minorities in the nation, African Americans has also suffered from racism from both people's and government's sides. Therefore, gaining their civil rights and equality with the white society has always been the main aims of the black communities since the beginning of their residence in the country. Although they have achieved these goals to a great extent, racism remains as one of the biggest issues of today's America. This study aims to find solutions to this problem by analyzing the life of Junius Williams, a black attorney, and activist who has gone through the big change of policy towards the black society through his memoir as well as his articles that he writes today.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There has always been the belief that black people are and must be in the secondary position in the American society; hence, they are valued less in every area of life. This belief affects not only the white attitude towards blacks but also the black people's motivation to lead a successful life. This kind of de-motivation has always

slowed down or, at least, prevented blacks from taking political action. However, as one can infer from this study, minorities can and must request equality and freedom from the dominant culture in many ways. One of these ways, as the activists of Civil Rights Movement and Williams urge upon, is passive, non-violent resistance. This study also focuses on non-violent resistance as the key factor to reach the goals aforesaid.

1.3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In this qualitative study, the purpose is to focus on black movements from 1955 to today, their aims and ways to resist, the notion of non-violence and passive resistance and the development of the black policy of the American government from then to today. It aims to analyze the black movements history in three different stages: Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, and Black Lives Matter. It also analyzes the memoir of Junius Williams to personify the history of the oppressed society and aims to study this period through the eyes of a black individual.

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The issue of racism among the Americans -not only whites but also blacks and other minorities- is still a hot topic today. The activists of Black Lives Matter claim that although the nation has had a black president since 2008, police violence, discrimination and hatred still reveals itself in different ways. Although the attitude against blacks has changed drastically compared to the 1940s, racism and discrimination in a different way still exist today. Especially after the election of Donald Trump, this issue is getting more controversial because of his tendency towards a de facto re-segregated American society. This study is very important in this field, because it not only compares today's attitude to the past but also tries to find solutions to the up-coming racial problems of the United States.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTİONS

This study aims to find answers to the following questions

1. What direction has the life standards of the black community in the United States changed since Reconstruction Era?
2. What were the main aims of the organizations of the Civil Rights Movement and what did they do to reach their goals
3. How does Junius Williams express his black identity?
4. What are the problems that are important to his period and what does he do to solve them?
5. What are his suggestions to the up-coming black generation?

1.6. SCOPE AND LİMİTATİONS OF THE STUDY

Although this study covers a large area in history, it is limited to only one aspect of the history and focuses on only one part of the American nation. Also, as the memoir was written in 2014, the results of the writer's opinion cannot be analyzed from an objective point of view. Also, as mentioned above, the issue is still a hot topic; thus, the claims of many people whose names are mentioned in the study cannot be generalized. Therefore, a larger and more elaborative research with surveys carried on among the citizens of the United States is needed to be conducted.

CHAPTER ONE

MEMOIR

The core material of this study is a political memoir written by a black activist. Therefore, the memoir as a literary genre needs to be defined briefly. In this part, the memoir is defined, and the importance of memoirs in the areas of literature and politics is discussed. The difference of memoir from other types of life-writing is also discussed to understand the importance of memoir for writing and studying history. The short biography of the writer of the memoir *Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power* is also included in this chapter.

1.1. WHAT IS A MEMOIR

Since the beginning of the history, the need for keeping track of it has led people to write down the important moments in different ways. Keeping the international or national documents, treaties, changes in the political systems in the archives and analyzing them in different disciplines is only one of the ways to record the history. These elements in the archives can be the newspapers and magazines that reflect the historical events not only to their period but also to the future. Life stories also help the historians find out what happened in the past as well. Therefore, writing down the life of an important person or a group of people that suffered from racism, discrimination, war and other oppressions is one of the key factors to record the history.

One of the ways to keep track of history or write a life story, memoir, is defined roughly as "written a factual account of somebody's life" (LiteraryDevices Editors, 2013). It comes from the French word mémoire which means "memory" and now is known as a literary genre in which the writer tells his/her own life in a certain context. Memoirs are not necessarily about the life of a politician or writer; the writer of a memoir can be anybody who feels the need to express their life story to inspire or warn the reader. It is quite common to see examples of memoirs written by such people as

activists, refugees, criminals or drug dealers as well as oppressed groups of people whose stories are collected by the writer.

Memoirs are studied not only to keep the record of history but also to grasp the effects of the historical events in a community or a person. Analyzing a memoir provides the historian or researcher with the opportunity to analyze one's life and find out the results and effects of the important moments in history from the point of an individual. Especially when they are analyzed in a certain context, memoirs can help the researcher build up a certain stand in that context. By analyzing a memoir of a member of an oppressed group, for instance, a researcher can find out much information, probably which cannot be found in official history and have a better understanding of the period that s/he studies.

1.2. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIR

Writing of personal lives has various styles, and these styles have many things in common although they are different from each other as their contexts. Autobiography is the life of the author him/herself. The writer can be an activist, a politician or any important figure of a nation and s/he writes down all the details about their own private and public life so that their successors can find out information about their lives as well as the period which they live in. Biography, on the other hand, is writing down a person's life by another person. The biography focuses on the same issues with an autobiography.

Memoirs can be different from autobiographies and biographies regarding the issues they focus on. Like autobiographies, memoirs tell the life of the writer him/herself. However, when a writer writes a memoir, s/he focuses more on the public life than the private life. Thus, memoirs are accepted as reliable sources for historians although many are analyzed or criticized for being too personal or subjective. Louise Adler defines memoir as "an opportunity to secure one's place in history. Delusional perhaps, but this is often the politician's last chance to seize the microphone, to record their achievements for posterity." (Adler, 2015). According to many memoir scholars, a

memoir reader should study the period of the history that the memoir focuses on or was written very well so that they can analyze what they read in a historical context. Otherwise, the subjective source might lead to misunderstanding or subjective recording of the history.

In this study, I analyzed the memoir of an activist who lived through three different stages of American governmental policy towards black issues. Studying a memoir rather than fiction or autobiography gave me the opportunity to focus on an activist's real life, and through his life, I had the opportunity to observe the development of the black policy of the United States.

1.3. THE BIOGRAPHY OF JUNIUS WILLIAMS

Junius W. Williams, who was born in 1943 in Richmond, Virginia, is an important political and cultural figure in the black community of the United States. He worked for the black and human rights all his life especially during the years of Civil Rights Movement and Black Power. His strong personality as a leader was built first by his mother during his childhood in Richmond, Virginia under Jim Crow rules. His educational success which started at Amherst College and continued at Yale University was one of the most important factors which also built his leadership and problem-solving skills and helped him gain many experiences as a black youth in a white-dominated country. After many good and bad experiences in Newark, he becomes a nation-wide figure whose speeches in such places as the Smithsonian Institute in Washington D.C., the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and other colleges in the country inspire the next generation to get involved in politics and movements. Today, he teaches leadership and community organization at Rutgers University in Newark. In his memoir, he narrates his rises and falls like a black politician, activist and a regular citizen as well as all the lessons he learned through his experiences. His aim with this memoir is to enlighten the next black generation and teach them how to unite and take action to reach their goals.

CHAPTER TWO

BLACKS AS A COMMUNITY OF AMERICA

This chapter concentrates on the history and identity of the black communities in the United States. To understand the work of Junius W. Williams, the history of the race of which he is a member should be analyzed briefly. Therefore, in this chapter, the term "black identity" is discussed in a historical and social context; their identity and place in American culture and arts are analyzed.

2.1. THE ORIGINS OF BLACK PEOPLE AND THEIR JOURNEY TO THE UNITED STATES

The existence of African people in the land of America dates back to the 15th century with the slave trade to South America, and their immigration to and within the United States is analyzed by Ira Berlin in three waves. At first, they were forced in bad conditions by European trades people. The second wave of African immigration was mostly initiated by Africans through the internal slave trade, and the third wave was from South America to the North (Berlin, 2005).

According to historians, the immigration of Africans started with the treaties among European, American and African traders. The first wave of immigration was the result of a three-legged treaty of commerce among these three continents. The African tradesmen bought goods from Europeans in exchange for African slaves who were carried by ships to South America, mostly the Caribbean Islands. American tradesmen paid for the slaves by sending the products produced by slaves to Europe. The journey called "Middle Passage" took approximately six weeks and because of bad conditions on the ships, around 2 million people including men, women, and children were killed on the way (Gates, 2013).

At the beginning of the 16th century, there were around 4.5 million Africans working as slaves in the United States. The rest of the 12 million slaves carried by ships

in half a century were scattered around South America and mostly worked on cotton and tobacco plantations.

The number of slaves increased drastically due to the growth in productions. The more the slaves produced, the bigger the plantations got, and they needed more and more slaves, and this led to a big increase in the number of slaves from the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th century when the importation of slaves was abolished by law. However, the slave system continued until its abolition with the Civil War in 1864. Until it was abolished, the number of the slaves increased from seven thousand to four million in forty years.

2.2. BLACKS IN AMERICAN CULTURE

The Africans have a big influence on American culture and economy. With the knowledge and rural culture they brought from home, Africans not only helped the government but also took part in the construction of new plantations, navigating rivers and canals. They also taught European Americans to cultivate rice and indigo. In this matter, the African influence in the development of American economy cannot be underestimated.

The control of African slaves was totally in the hands of their owners. They were bought and sold, educated –according to the owner's will-, rewarded or killed by their owners and they had no protection against such intimidation. The six thousand free slaves, whose number increased to thirty thousand in 1830, were also not protected by law although they were set free by their owners. These ex-slaves got free by escaping the houses or buying their freedom from their owners. However, they had the big risk of getting kidnapped or returning to slavery by the force of law. The owners also had the governmental right to award the people who bring their runaway slaves, and the slaves were forced by the government to return home once they were caught.

The free slaves also worked in areas such as constructions, metalworking or rails. Some of them worked for the sake of the education of other black women and

children whereas some of them founded organizations to abolish slavery (History.com Staff, 2009).

Apart from their abilities in agriculture or handcrafts, the Africans brought their musical culture from their homes. They brought some special musical instruments from Africa and during the years of slavery they mixed their culture with the European forms and created a new genre. Also in the late 19th century and especially in the first half of the 20th century, jazz, blues, and swing genres became popular. The underground culture created by blacks in big cities such as New York City, Brooklyn or Harlem also influenced American literature and this period of the literature of the underground was called Jazz Age.

Although many of the blacks got free in the 19th century and moved to urban North to live on their own, they were still the members of the second class society. Harlem is known to be one of the most problematic cities because of its high black population. Nevertheless, it is home to a big black culture with music, literature, and art. Famous names such as Zola Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, Gwendolyn Bennet were only a few of the writers whose names are included in Harlem Renaissance; the name of this period of cultural prosperity of blacks in the literary history of the United States.

CHAPTER THERE
BLACK ACTIVISM FROM CIVIL WAR TO 1960s

In this chapter, the focus is on the process from Civil War to Rosa Parks' rebellion. The periods are named in literature as Post-Civil War and Reconstruction. As this period is recalled mostly by Jim Crow Laws and important cases such as Plessy v. Fergusson and Brown v. Board of Education, these themes are presented thoroughly.

3.1 CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The African American quest for freedom dates back to the period that leads the US history to the Civil War which took place from 1861 to 1864. However, even though this war was about the abolition of slavery, which was supposed to mean freedom of the African American society, it could not bring an end to the problems of the largest minority in the country. The post-Civil War atmosphere was hard for not only the Northern states that were concerned about the probable rush of free, uneducated African American ex-slaves in the urban areas but also the Southern states that were concerned that their free manpower and biggest source of the traditional economy would come to an end. The proposals for the solution of these problems were collected under the name of "Reconstruction, " and this is why the post-Civil War era was also called with this name (ushistory.org, 2017).

The regulations that came with the Reconstruction era were not able to meet the demands that both African Americans and the US officials had because their profits were truly different from each other. Thus, having already the authority to set up their own rules, the southern states enacted a series of rules called "black rules" which included the restriction of the freed people's actions in the society as well as the implementation of the use of ex-slaves as the source of manpower. Despite these regulations, two important bills were passed in 1866. The first was the Freedman Bureau Bill, which extended the life of the temporary organization that was founded to deal with the refugees and ex-slaves and the Civil Rights Act which gave the freed

slaves American citizenship so that they could enjoy their equality before the law (Regosin, 2004).

In the social life of the freed slaves, major changes occurred as well. These changes included developments in the public schools for the Blacks, regulations in the taxation system as well as the abolition of discrimination in public transportation and accommodation.

However, despite all these changes in both the social life and the political life of the African Americans, in the 1960s, a century later, the question of African American civil rights would be brought forward once again by both black and white civil rights activists.

3.2 SEPARATE BUT EQUAL: JIM CROW LAWS

The question of African-American civil rights remained alive for more than three quarters of a century because of a set of rules that dominated the life of the blacks. These rules divided every aspect of common life such as public transportation, drinking fountains, public toilets, bars, restaurants and libraries with the signs that read "White only" or "Colored." Although they were supposed to be "separate but equal," it was quite obvious that the "colored" parts of these areas were inferior, which affected the blacks not only physically, but also psychologically. Maddie Colbert (2011) expresses her experiences in her article "Growing up in the Jim Crow South: Prepared for Racism," as a little child who encountered such hardships in her daily life as seeing the sign "Whites only" in a department store or any other public places:

> When I was a kid, African Americans could not try on clothes, shoes included, in the big department stores. My mother forbade us to go in there, but we slipped in a couple of times 'cause they had the water fountains. They had the one that said 'white,' which was a little higher than the one that said 'colored.' We would go over and turn on the white water and go, 'Hmmm, I

always wondered what white water tastes like!' and run out. If they caught you, you'd get arrested.

Discrimination was not only present in the public life, but also the blacks were denied their right to vote through certain regulations in many southern states although they were provided with equal rights of an average American citizen. Accepted today as one of the most discriminatory practices after the reconstruction, literacy tests, poll taxes and other types of criteria such as the investigation of a black person's ancestors to find out if they had been slaves and denying them right to vote, also, negatively affected their political presence for decades. Barbara Arnwine and Marcia Johnson-Blanco (2013) show in their report on voting rights of African Americans that even in 1962, "the year before the march, only 1.4 million of the 5 million blacks of voting age living in the South's 11 states were registered to vote."

The codified rules that separated the blacks from the white society were generally known as "Jim Crow Laws, " and they interfered in the relationships between blacks and whites. With the signs on the walls of the public places such as prisons, bars, restaurants, hotels, hospitals or even barbershops, these rules prevented blacks from integrating into the white society. Some of these rules were as follows:

> No persons, firms, or corporations, who or which furnish meals to passengers at station restaurants or station eating houses, in times limited by common carriers of said passengers, shall furnish said meals to white and colored passengers in the same room, or at the same table, or at the same counter. (South Carolina)

> It shall be unlawful for any parent, relative, or other white person in this State, having the control or custody of any white child, by right of guardianship, natural or acquired, or otherwise, to dispose of, give or surrender such white child permanently into the custody, control, maintenance, or support, of a negro. (South Carolina)

> Any instructor who shall teach in any school, college or institution where members of the white and colored race are received and enrolled as pupils for instruction shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars ($10.00) nor more than fifty dollars ($50.00) for each offense. (Oklahoma) (The Jackson Sun, n.d.)

In addition to the rules above, intermarriage between black and white couples was also accepted as illegal and void according to the constitutions of the states. This was accepted as another humiliating regulation that the US has by the black activists.

3.3 BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

Known as one of the most striking landmarks of the United States constitutional history, Brown v. Board of Education not only laid the foundations of the Civil Rights Movement but also proved the states that the separate but equal regulations of the reconstruction era were not reliable. Its history dates back to the Plessy v. Fergusson case which took place earlier in 1896 as it overturned radically the constitutional decision which strengthened and legitimized "separate but equal" facilities for black and white citizens in daily life.

The Plessy v. Fergusson case was issued by Homer Plessy, a one-eighth black who was born as a free American citizen but denied his right to get on his seat in a white-only car according to the law of the state. When he was arrested and brought to court, he claimed and filed a petition that his arrest was a violation of both the fourteenth amendment which provided both races with equal protection and presence before the law and thirteenth amendment that banned slavery. However, the decision of the court was that the thirteenth amendment did not include "social rights" of the black persons, but it only included "political and civil rights." With this decision of the court, discrimination of races became legitimate in many public areas as well as schools. Although the facilities, systems, teachers' education were "equal," they were separated

from the white dominated schools, which brought about unequal opportunities for the two races.

Brown v. Board of Education was a radical decision taken by the court, because it overturned the Plessy v. Fergusson case, and hence the "separate but equal" logic that dominated especially the southern states for half a century. It was issued by Linda Brown who had to walk through a dangerous railroad to the bus stop with her sister every day to reach the school they were forced by the constitution to register. Although there was a school nearer their home, they had to take this road every day because they were registered in an "all-black" school and they were not entitled to attend the school that was nearer as it was "whites-only." As did Plessy in 1896, Linda Brown took this issue to court claiming that this regulation violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Mr. Chief Justice Warren stated while declaring the decision of the court on May 17, 1954, by mentioning the other cases that had come to him from Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware that:

> In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a non-segregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of these cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court, in Plessy v. Fergusson, 163 U.S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate."("Brown v Board of Education," 1954)

With the Supreme Court's decision, segregation in public schools was declared unconstitutional although this big step was not enough for the blacks only the beginning of stronger demand for their civil rights and freedom.

CHAPTER FOUR
BLACK ACTIVISM: FROM MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT TO BLACK LIVES MATTER

This chapter focuses on the notion of nonviolent/passive resistance and black activism that has gone through three different stages from 1955 to 2013. First, the non-violence doctrine of Martin Luther King is defined according to his book Stride Toward Freedom and, in the following parts the process from 1955 to 2013 is analyzed under three titles: Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, and Black Live Matter.

4.1 ROSA PARKS AND MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

The struggle of African Americans for their political, social and individual rights began to sharpen with Rosa Parks' disobedience to the rules in Montgomery. The nonviolent African American movement took its certain shape which would be protected until 1967 on December 4, 1955, when Rosa Parks rejected to give up her seat to a white passenger although the bus was almost half empty. It was not a planned action says Parks (2003) in her interview in the *Ebony* magazine, but she was too tired that she had let go another bus because it was full and she waited for another one in which no one was standing. When she got on, she sat on one of the first rows which were for "whites only"; however, when the driver arrived at another stop, and several more white passengers got on, one white man had to stand. This moment was when she and three more blacks who were sitting had to give up their seat as the constitutional, codified segregation rule required. Unlike the other three blacks -one man and two women-, Parks said "no" to the driver who got up from his seat and asked Parks to move. What increased tension and started the disobedience officially was that the driver went out and came back with two policemen who arrested Parks for not vacating her seat. She was taken to the police station, her fingerprint was recorded, and she was placed in jail. E. D. Nixon, an experienced Montgomery activist, and Clifford Durr a white, liberal lawyer bailed her out (p.158).

However, this was not the end, but the beginning of the story of Montgomery Bus Boycott. The arrest of Parks revived the same case of Claudette Colvin, a 15 year-old black girl who was arrested for not giving up her seat to a white passenger a few months earlier that year (Kramer, 2015). These two cases motivated Nixon and other members of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to organize a determined, planned bus boycott throughout the town. The persons whom Nixon called first were Ralph D. Albernathy, Rev. H. H. Hubbard and Martin Luther King, who was quite interested and ready to involve in such a protest. The next day, Jo Ann Robinson and the members of Women's Political Council gathered to prepare around 7000 leaflets that read "Don't ride the bus to work, to town, to school, to anyplace Monday, December, 5. Another Negro woman has been arrested and put in jail because she refused to give up her bus seat. […] If you work, take a cab, or share a ride, or walk. Come to a mass meeting Monday at 07:00 p.m. at the Holt Street Baptist Church for further instruction." (1955).

The black community in Montgomery was decisive in this movement as on Monday; the streets were full of Black walkers while there were almost none of them in the buses. They were determined that they not be "getting on until Jim Crow gets off"; and this determination took 381 days during which 90 persons along with King, Parks and Nixon were jailed for violating the anti-boycott law of Alabama. Meanwhile, a compromise was offered by the city, but it was rejected by the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), the committee that was founded to coordinate the boycott because it did not include employment of black people. As a result of this 381-day boycott, the blacks got what they fought for, and the Supreme Court declared bus segregation illegal on December 21, 1956 (Parks, 1992).

4.2 *STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM* AND NONVIOLENCE

With the realization of the Black community through Montgomery bus boycott that the civil rights could be gained with determination and devotion, Civil Rights Movement started to be systemized in the late 50s and early 60s. The organizations

which had already been founded decades earlier started to launch more effective sit-ins, boycotts, and protests, and thus got more attention from not only blacks and whites in the US, but also they made themselves heard all around the world. Despite the common view that nonviolence meant "turning the other cheek" and the black man has to get armed to "protect his wife and children from white attacks," the strongest weapon they had was the concept of nonviolent protest which Martin Luther King adopted from the Hindu leader Gandhi. In his book that he wrote two years after Montgomery Bus Boycott and titled *Stride Toward Freedom,* King lists the basic five rules of nonviolent protest strictly stating that "nonviolence is not a method for cowards":

The first thing he states in his book is that passive resistance is not a "do-nothing" method. Referring to Gandhi's statement that "if cowardice is the only alternative to violence, it is better to fight", King tries to show that they chose nonviolent resistance not because they are afraid or ready to give up or accept inferiority, but it is more powerful and wiser to convince one's opponent by staying calm. Resisting this way without physical force would not only make the resister emotionally and spiritually stronger but also make his/her brain active. He says "It is not a passive nonresistance to evil; it is active nonviolent resistance to evil."

One important concept that a resister must adopt according to King is winning the love and support of the opponent. By rejecting to defeat and humiliate the opponent, the nonviolent resister can not only win the understanding of the people who dominate them and this way (s)he can show the power of resistance to the world but also raise awareness that the way they are humiliated is a moral shame. According to King, "The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness."

King emphasizes another important characteristic that nonviolence has that be who and what they are resisting against. He repeatedly says in his book that "it is evil that the nonviolent resister seeks to defeat, not the persons victimized by evil." This way, he keeps expressing that this rivalry should not be between black and white races or any persons, but light should fight against darkness. If they remain strong and

determined, he believes that the light would win the fight and it would light up not only blacks but also the entire country as justice would defeat injustice in the whole US.

The fourth point he stands upon is that the resister should be ready to remain strong when it comes to suffering because resistance includes and requires pain and patience. They must "accept suffering without retaliation," and should only strike back when necessary. According to King and his inspiring leader Gandhi, suffering "has tremendous educational and transforming possibilities." It is an additional way for a person to learn about his/her strength (s)he has inside to alter the logic of the opponent however strong it can be.

The last but not the least point he focuses on in his book is to "refuse to hate." King believes that at the heart of nonviolent resistance lies the principle of love. The nonviolent resister must be strong against the campaigns of hate wherever it comes from. Then it will be a real victory of light against darkness, justice against injustice.

To demonstrate the power and effectiveness of nonviolent resistance in Montgomery Bus Boycott, King republished the leaflets distributed to the bus protesters the week that the segregated buses were declared illegal by the Supreme Court. He reminds the bus protestors about how to behave in an integrated bus and how the principles of nonviolent resistance can be adopted to their daily life through these leaflets because he thinks that otherwise would endanger their determination. Some of the general and specific suggestions that were made through these leaflets are that they should remember that the buses are integrated, and they have the constitutional right to take a vacant seat. They should also keep in mind that not all whites were against integration; thus they should respect the whites. Moreover, most importantly, they should be neither too arrogant nor too piteous; but they should always be careful and friendly with every move they make to "turn an enemy into a friend." Moreover, the suggestions for specific cases King makes are that they should keep their respect to the community not because they are whites, but because they are humans. This is not a matter of race relations; it is a matter of common sense. Therefore, the black passengers should accept the fact that the driver is in charge of their safety, and they should help the driver for this reason. Also in the case of any humiliation, they should answer with

not a counter-humiliation but silence and love. Moreover, the most important point he suggests is that if one cannot take the humiliation of white people in the bus, s/he should walk for a couple of more weeks until they make the whites get used to the integrated system of transportation (pp. 181-224).

As the suggestions and accomplishments through these suggestions show, nonviolent resistance was the core factor of the Civil Rights Movement. That was the reason why the March on Washington was a great success for the black Americans to gain support from the whole country as well as the world.

4.3 CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

4.3.1 The Big Five

If it had not been for the well-organized struggle of the leading five civil organizations as well as some smaller organizations here and there, the Civil Rights Movement could not have accomplished what they had been requesting from the US for more than a century. Referred to as the Big Five of the Civil Rights Movement, these organizations planned, launched and took charge of the results however bad they might have been.

Although Benjamin Muse (1968), the writer of *the American Negro Revolution*, defines the terminology of "civil rights" and its importance for this movement as "all manner of activities related to the movement and legislation looking toward justice for the Negro", he states that this term drew attention to the Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians and Jews who were other minorities that suffered from almost the same injustice in the land of America (p. 17)

The Big Five of the movement consisted mostly of African Americans; however, the support that came especially financially and emotionally from white activists should not be underrated. Besides, according to Muse, the variability of these organizations - even though it caused conflict within the movement from time to time- was one of the biggest factors that made the March on Washington effective.

4.3.1.1 The NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People was one of the oldest organizations that had been protecting and requesting the rights of the African Americans. It is stated in the official website of the organization that the community of 60 persons including white liberals, as well as seven African Americans, gathered after practices of lynching during the Reconstruction era and specifically the 1908 riot in Springfield, Illinois to discuss the race issues that were able to be solved neither with Civil War nor Reconstruction, and signed a call for political action against injustice. The African American founders of this organization were lawyers, activists, politicians or artists such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and Mary Church Terrell. Also, the names of the leading figures of the movement such as Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks or Charles Hamilton Houston were involved in the formation of the NAACP later on (NAACP, n.d).

Most of the 535.000 members, who were willing to pay yearly dues that made a minimum of two dollars a year, were members of the middle class African-American community. Although it drew hatred from the southerners, the member profile of this association was one of the most conservative of all the big five organizations. Thanks to its conservative and dignified nature that came from its old roots, the NAACP was remarkable for its patience and determination during the slow processes of law and peaceful attitude against hatred (Muse, 1968, p.18).

Known publicly as an organization that was associated with the NAACP, Legal Defense, and Educational Fund was established in 1939 to share the cost of legal work and propaganda of the NAACP. This way, this organization was one of the most effective financial sources of the NAACP. Because it provided the lawyers who were effective in the Brown v. Board of Education case in 1954, the latter organization is accepted as one of the most influential groups of the Civil Rights Movement.

4.3.1.2 The National Urban League

Although the National Urban League was not very active on the streets, it had an effective role in the field of employment and immigration. As understood from its name, the National Urban League was formed to deal with the problems of the African-Americans who had to migrate to the urban areas and find suitable jobs for themselves (Muse, p. 21). The organization successfully negotiated with the white employers of the black workers and solved a big deal of unemployment problem of the blacks.

It was established in 1910 and did not get too involved in the protests. For this reason, the organization succeeded in earning the sympathy of many white businesspeople that directly supported the organization financially or took part in the administration. The group dealt with not only the employment of the Blacks but also all kinds of problems such as education, integration in the social life, housing, accommodation, health, which a black person can have in a white-dominated city.

4.3.1.3 Congress of Racial Equality

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was established in 1942 by a group of unpaid volunteers who were willing to organize nonviolent resistance techniques. James Farmer, a successful black student in Howard University, founded this organization with his interracial friends thinking that they could help desegregate an eatery in Chicago with activities like sit-ins (Biography.com Editors, 2014). At first, the organization performed only with a tiny group of activist students; however, from the 1950s to mid60s, it transformed into a big “nonviolent army” with 13 field secretaries, 17 to 30 field workers and hundreds of crusaders who were trained. What made CORE one of the most famous and effective organizations of the Civil Rights Movement was the noted 1961 Freedom Rides organized by CORE members and supported not only by its volunteers but also the independent black individuals. After this eventful activity, the number of CORE members, as well as its budget, increased four times in only four years. As its name was famous for successful nonviolent demonstrations, CORE was

quite convincing for large groups of Blacks throughout the nation, as well as white activists for the Civil Rights. (Muse, pp. 21-22; Congress of Racial Equality, n.d.).

4.3.1.4 Southern Christian Leadership Conference

The SCLC was founded on August 10-11, 1957 after the Montgomery Bus Boycott by Martin Luther King, the members of MIA, who were the actors of negotiations on the desegregation of buses in Montgomery, to organize the upcoming demonstrations, protests or activities in the region. The main concern of the group after the March on Washington in 1963 was to find financial sources, make research and publications about racial issues and organize campaigns for the movement under the leadership of Martin Luther King. Its primary financial sources were collections at rallies and contributions of the white and black activists (Muse, p. 22)

4.3.1.5 Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee

Notorious for its aggressive, impatient members at their early twenties, SNCC was one of the most well-known figures of the Civil Rights Movement (Muse, p. 23). It was founded in 1960, in Greensboro by Ella Baker, the director of the SCLC at the time. North Carolina and mostly funded by volunteer contributors, wealthy activists or northern student groups.

It was the most radical group of the Big Five of the movement because it rejected the nonviolence doctrine of Martin Luther King assuming that nonviolence was kind of toleration to segregation, which, for the members of SNCC, must not be tolerated at all. The idea that individuals should “fight fearlessly” against segregation without concerning about the outcomes made this large group of students aversive to the white community, which did not bother them at all. This “determination” of the notorious group attracted the attention of thousands of oppressed blacks, which was one of the reasons why SNCC was the most influential organization on the street. It is famous for the noted sit-in protests for the segregated lunch counters and the

demonstrations of the early 1960s. Especially after 1966, when Stokely Carmichael was elected president of the group, they adopted Black Power as their doctrine that they should demand more than they were given by using their physical force when needed and they should be armed as a way of protection against white attacks (SNCC, 2009).

4.3.1.6 The Southern Regional Council

Although it is not considered as one of the Big Five of the movement, the Southern Regional Council was another effective organization that uplifted the power and influence of the Big Five by preparing reports and publications that recorded and interpreted the activities and development of the movement. Formed in 1944, the council revived the biracial system in the state and local human relations councils in the south. Besides, it was quite active in the activities of the movement in 1963 for increasing voter registration. Its members mostly consisted of Southern Black citizens and liberal white leaders (Muse, p.24).

4.3.1.7 The Black Muslims

The Black Muslims were not identified with the Civil Rights Movement although they were an outstanding component of it. The Black Muslims rejected the doctrine of Gandhi's which preached love between races, equality, integration and most importantly nonviolent protesting against injustice. What made them differ from the other organizations of the movement was their radical view that one day "in the coming Armageddon the white race would be destroyed and the black man would inherit the earth."(Muse, p.25).Besides, they also kept themselves aloof from the movement because the other organizations were Christian dominated; they included Christian religious leaders and mostly made their meetings in churches. Unlike the desegregationist activists, the Black Muslims urged complete segregation because they assumed the white community as "white devil."

Even though they had radical, discriminating ideology in the USA, where the dominating community is the white Christian community, the Black Muslims received a big deal of support from 20.000 to 100.000 activists.

The most well-known and effective figures of the Black Muslims were Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, both of whom chose to change their surnames as they rejected the "Christian roots." Elijah Muhammad, known as the "Messenger of Allah," the prophet was the leader who put forward the idea that the earth would be dominated and ruled by the black race. Moreover, Malcolm X was another influential figure who became well known especially after 1963 when he broke his connection with the Black Muslims and launched on his own separate, independent career until he was assassinated in 1965.

The influence of these two figures above affected the radical impression the Black Muslims have on the American community in a good way: their strict rules such as scholastic diligence, cleanliness, morality and most importantly self respect and pride in their race uplifted the negro cause, which led black and white activists of the movement to respect the ideology of the oppressed Muslim black community in a Christian white dominated country.

4.3.2 Objectives of the Movement

One of the key factors that led the movement to the successful march on Washington and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is that the goals of the movement were outlined properly so that both sides of the struggle knew what people were fighting for. The Big Five organizations of the movement established a framework of the movement, which is why the movement succeeded in drawing attention from all around the world. The objectives of the Black community were collected under five primary problems that were the problems with education, voting rights, public accommodation, employment, and housing. These problems were dealt with by the organizations that had experts on each type of problems with very careful steps although its cost was quite heavy.

4.3.2.1 Equal and Desegregated Education

One of the most important problems that the African Americans had been facing for ages is unequal educational opportunities. The decision of Brown v. Board of Education case radically changed the constitutional rule that forbade Black communities to register "white only" schools; however, it could not solve the problem completely. Muse (1968) notes in his book *The American Negro Revolution* that Mississippi had not accepted Black children in any of the white dominated schools until 1964. He states that slightly more than 30 thousand of approximately 3 million black students in the eleven southern states received equal educational opportunities with white students by December 1963 (pp. 66-67). Moreover, despite the constitutional regulations, the practices of racism showed itself in many schools, especially in the South. Black communities had to fight against racist practices such as lynching, discriminatory behaviors of white teachers or blocking off the gates of the school by the mayor himself even after the passage of the bill that banned segregation in schools all around the country.

4.3.2.1.1 Little Rock Nine

One of the cases that remained as one cornerstone of the black rights movement was called Little Rock Nine. It symbolizes the conflict between the passive, nonviolent resistance of the oppressed race versus the angry, aggressive reaction of the dominant race. The story of Little Rock Nine, symbolically the story of Elizabeth Eckford, who is the protagonist of the lynch attempt, was narrated by Daisy Bates, a desegregationist activist who organized nine students to enter the Little Rock Central High School after segregation at schools was abolished in Arkansas. In the story titled "She Walked Alone," Bates narrates how Elizabeth Eckford, the 15-year-old hero of the day became the symbol of passive resistance.

The night before the 4th of September, 1957, Daisy Bates, who was then the president of the Arkansas state conference of NAACP, informed the activists of Little

Rock Central High School protest about the change in the plan and she announced that they would meet several blocks away from the school due to the information of around 400 people's gathering at the gate of the school and a probable lynching attempt by the mob. However, Elizabeth was the only student of the Little Rock Nine who had not heard about the change of plan as she did not have a phone at home. Thus, she took the bus that day and got off only a few blocks before the main entrance of the school where a 400-person mob and many guards were standing.

"Maybe I was ashamed to admit to you or myself that white men and women could be so beastly cruel," said Dr. Benjamin Fine to Bates while he was telling the day Elizabeth entered the school. Dr. Benjamin Fine, referred to as "Ben" in the story, was a white actor of the Little Rock High School protest who was attacked with words like "dirty Jew," "nigger-lover" and who was spat on the face. One important thing he found ironic was that the National Guard made no attempt to protect Elizabeth and him from the crowd. "Instead," he says, "they threatened to have me arrested –for inciting to riot."

After two days of silence during which she stayed at Ben's house, Elizabeth agreed to talk about the day of the lynching attempt. She expressed not only her anger with Bates for not letting her know about the change of plan but also her disappointment about protection issues. She told Bates that Superintendent Blossom had warned the nine students about the possible reactions of the mob, but he had not told them that there would be no protection. Besides, she said, "He told our parents not to come because he would not be able to protect the children if they did.".

As Bates records in her conversation with Elizabeth, she thought that the front entrance would be safer as it was behind the guards. Even though she was startled with the shuffling and shouting of the crowd, she claims that she was not afraid that a bit nervous because she says "I kept thinking that the guards would protect me." One moment that she described to Bates in detail was that she was looking for a friendly face in the mob, and found one, but when she looked at her again, she spat on her face. After that, she found a bench which she thought would be the safest place for no reason, and headed to it while the crowd was yelling and saying "Drag her over to this tree! Let's take care of the nigger.". When she sat down, she heard a white man say "Don't let

them see you cry." These were the words which helped her calm down and feel that she walked alone, but she was not alone actually.

Although it was a small action by only one individual, this case helped the quest of the blacks for the right to have equal educational opportunities with the whites to be heard all around the nation. It is counted now as a little spark that fired and strengthened the movement of the blacks, and today it is still remembered by the photo taken by Will Counts while she was walking "alone" with a dozen of angry faces staring behind her (Bates, 1962, pp. 272-276).

4.3.2.1.2 Princeton Plan

The history of the civil rights struggle of the black population of the US in the field of education does not just consist of mere racist attacks or (non)violent demonstrations. Official steps were also taken by the government in some cities such as Princeton, N.J. One of the regulations to deal with the huge gap of the success rate of the predominantly white and predominantly black schools was called the "Princeton Plan" for instance. It was a project developed in 1948 by the officials of Princeton, New Jersey to "pair" the black and white students and replace them not according to their race but according to their grades. The black students in lower grades from black dominated school were taken to previously white dominated school, and white students of higher grades were taken to black dominated school. By this way, the law was meant to equalize and integrate the schools without concerning the parents.

However, in her article published in *New York Times* in 1964 – sixteen years after the passage of Princeton Plan, Peggy Streit describes the plan as a "three-act drama" the first of which she calls "a period of Negro hopes." At first, when the plan was implemented in 1948, 120 black students from Witherspoon Elementary School in a black neighborhood were registered to Nassau High School with 580 white students. The first attempt was received warmly by the white community as they were ready by demonstrations here and there and they were convinced that their life standards would not change. Also, the Board of Education gave no time for agitation to break out.

Physically, the conditions of the students of the both races would not be changed, as well. The schools were close enough to each other so that the students were taken to their new schools without any problems. Besides, the conditions of all the schools were designed to be the same standard.

However, she found out from her interviews with many Black people in Princeton that school integration is not enough when the basic thoughts of the dominant society do not change. Even though the schools were legally integrated, socially they were segregated. “The only real contact most of us had with whites was in athletics. It did not take any brains to be an athlete, you see, so obviously that was where we belonged.” says one of the interviewees in her article. She states that there was a common understanding of “a negro place” that never changes even though they get the best educational opportunities. A black father who attended the integrated school asks in the article why he should convince his children to be good at school while the only job he can get after years of “good” education in an integrated school was a janitor. According to the principal Howard Waxwood, it was inevitable for the vocational schools not to accept Negro students as they cannot place them in good jobs afterwards. Of course, the core of this problem was housing. The quality of the education they get would indirectly determine the quality of the spaces they live in.

Streit ends her article with a conclusion about the plan. She called the period when she wrote this article as the “third act of Princeton Drama.” Moreover, she believes that nobody should deceive themselves that only integration would bring them prosperity and perfect equality. She concludes that:

> The experience of Princeton suggests that integrated education barely begins to be an answer to basic Negro problems. By itself, it may hardly affect basic relations between Negro and white. There must be much more; to be truly meaningful, educational opportunity must be supplementeded by economic opportunity and by a change of social attitudes. For the Princeton Negro, an education began to have real meaning, to serve a useful purpose, only when it began to be useful in acquiring and holding a

job which, in turn, might be useful in acquiring such things as better housing. (Streit, 1964)

4.3.2.1.3 Freedom Schools

New York was one of the biggest cities that had to handle the biggest problems. It had a bigger black population. Thus it had more de facto segregated schools. One of the steps to settle down the educational system of these de-separated schools was taken by James E. Allen, the state commissioner of education. According to the Allen Plan, the students would attend the primary schools in their neighborhoods in the first four years. For the next four years, the students would be redistributed to biracial schools. The high schools that the students would attend in their last four years would also be biracial and city-wide. There were, of course, some objections to this plan, too, and the unsolvable problem of the black students' education would be protested by a system of demonstrations called Freedom Schools (Muse, p.70).

Benjamin Muse states that the big wave of demonstrations and school boycotts started with the killing of 27-year-old Presbyterian minister Reverand Bruce William Klunder with a bulldozer. The driver was trying to avoid the demonstrations, and he did not see him and caused his death. This event was followed by mostly violent demonstrations which were not approved by the Big Five (p.70).

The Freedom Schools were founded for three main goals. The first goal was to register more blacks for voting; second, to raise awareness and attention to the problems of the housing; and last and most importantly to ask for a more qualified and equal educational opportunities for all races. The project was wide because it was supported by Puerto Ricans and other minorities who had the same educational issues with the blacks. It was an important project for Jon N. Hale who wrote in his article in 2014 "The Freedom Schools raised questions about the very nature of American democracy—in particular, how to provide a quality education to all citizens, a still-unrealized promise that had been embedded in the monumental *Brown v. Board of*

Education decision." Hale states that the freedom schools substituted the governmental schools which the black students missed while they boycott.

In the Freedom Schools, the students were taught about the African-American history, identity, citizenship, and activism. The educational system was student-centered and obtained the doctrine of learning-by-doing. Also, the teachers were black and white activists who accepted working outside the classes of the governmental schools without any payment. The freedom schools accepted any teachers who were good in the area of activism and other subjects as well as who was willing to give education to the students of the oppressed races.

In the curriculum of one of the courses of a freedom school in Mississippi, the aim of the school was announced as:

> We are going to talk about many things: about Negro people and white people, about rich people and poor people, about the South and the North, about you and what you think and feel and want. . . . Moreover, we are going to try to be honest with each other and say what we believe. . . . We will also ask some questions and try to find some answers. The first thing is to look around, right here, and see how we live in Mississippi. (Emery, Braselman & Gold, n.d.)

Supported, coordinated and organized by the Big Five organizations of the Civil Rights Movement, and led mainly by an umbrella organization called the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), the Freedom School was only a part of a bigger project called Freedom Summer or Mississippi Summer Project. The effects of these projects would be quite big on the accomplishments of the Civil Rights Movement.

The passive and non-violent style and practices of the Big Five have always been criticized by some groups who believe that what the Big Five did was making the revolution acceptable to whites while it should be acceptable to blacks. In the education field of the movement, a lot of riots and events happened without the consent of the Big Five. These included shop-ins, – filling shopping carts with groceries and making piles at the cashier's gate which caused loss of manpower and time-blocking the entrances at important events, blocking the traffic in New York or blocking the World's Fair in New

York by sitting, kneeling and lying on the street. These demonstration methods were condemned not only by whites but also the Big Five and their Black supporters (Muse, 1968).

4.3.2.2 Equal Voting Rights

The blacks had been prevented from voting throughout the history in the United States in many ways. Until Civil War after which their slave status was abolished, they had not been counted even as an American citizen; however, the prohibition of slavery did not mean that they were able to decide the fate of the country. Especially in the Deep South, in other words the old eleven confederation states, blacks were denied their right to vote with various methods. They were subject to poll taxes taken from Black citizens to be able to vote, literacy tests which blocked the Black participation in many elections as most of the Black community had not got a good education or got no education at all, or they had to fill application forms before they gain right to vote and every information they write on the forms were taken as a reason for the officials to deny them right to vote. One of the biggest weapons to prevent the Blacks from voting was frustration strategies to create a feeling of fear and hopelessness in the Black's mind and making them believe that their vote was not valuable. Although the activists tried a lot to involve the Blacks in the elections especially through the Freedom Schools, many blacks did not even attempt to register to vote. According to NAACP's estimations, in the election of 1960, the number of black voters was only 5.5 million (Phillips, 1964).

4.3.2.2.1. Voter Education Project (VEP)

The Big Five offered many solutions to recover the problem of prevention of the blacks from voting. Founded in 1962 by the Southern Regional Council (SRC), the Voter Education Project played an umbrella role on the organizations which were planned to solve the problem of voting rights. The VEP not only coordinated voter

registration campaigns of the Big Five, but it also helped provide tax-free donations for these campaigns.

The main aims of this project were studying why the voting rates were low among the blacks, creating methods to increase the number of black voters, developing educational programs to provide the blacks with the necessary information for the literacy tests and keeping the record of voter registration among black citizens. It also made negotiations with the officials to prevent potential riots and even the protests organized by the Big Five by mediating between black activist groups and officials.

The VEP also kept a record of the violent reactions of the white groups against these practices to register voters. According to a report that VEP drew up on March 31, 1963, Mississippi hosted twenty-eight acts of violence, beatings, shootings, and damage to the Black properties in the first year of the project. Thus, the number of registration in the first year of the project was only about 3.500.

Despite the success at the increasing number of the voter registration in the long term, VEP concluded before the 1964 election that the voter discrimination practices would not be prevented without federal intervention. Nonetheless, the VEP was responsible for the 800.000 black Southern voters who registered to vote in three years as well as the 175.000 more black voters after the passage of Voting Rights Act of 1965 (First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, 1963).

4.3.2.3. Equal Access to Places of Public Accommodation

One of the areas that the activists of the Civil Rights Movement worked on was desegregation in public accommodation. Blacks, having problems in finding places to stay temporarily, eating or entertaining themselves, decided to take actions for equal conditions for the places of these areas. According to Muse (1968), convincing whites for desegregation in the public accommodation places was the hardest part of the movement whereas it was the easiest to realize (p. 59). By 1963, 31 states had already

forbidden segregation in this area. However, this does not mean that the process to bring it forward to the governmental stage was easy.

What irritated the whites most about desegregation was the assumption that their maids or janitors would rush in and fill up the "good" restaurants "of their own." Also, as the Blacks were notorious for their low culture lifestyles, the white life standards would be affected in a very bad way. In short, desegregation in this area would mean a great change in the daily lives of the white population.

Suffering from this cruel humiliation, blacks, and their white supporters protested segregation in public accommodation in a peaceful, nonviolent but effective way as they did in every field. The most common methods they used were boycotts – which proved its success with Rosa Parks and Montgomery Bus Boycott, sit-ins and Freedom Rides. According to Susan Cianci Salvatore (2004), "In the face of cresting southern racism supported by the separate-but-equal doctrine, Negro disfranchisement, and northern white indifference, blacks relied on boycotts as a way to protest oppression without confrontation." (p. 26)

Another effective method to attract attention and be heard was sit-ins. The problem of unequal conditions in the restaurants for blacks was heard nationwide when on February 1, 1960, four black students refused to leave the lunch counter of a store in Greensboro, North Carolina until it was closed. When they got in, they ordered coffee which was refused by the waitress as they were "occupying" the seats of the whites. This was the spark of the following sit-in protests by students whose numbers were getting larger and larger in more than 100 cities across the South. Although they were harassed, beaten and even sent to jail, the students kept going to the stores and only sitting until their request for desegregation was answered (Muse, pp. 59-60).

Freedom Riders were other protestors from the age of 18 to 60s who attempted to test if the Southern states were enforcing the rule of desegregation in public places by traveling in "white-only" buses to Southern states, using "white-only" bathrooms and other places of public accommodation. The first ride was initiated by 13 Freedom Riders who were the members of CORE on May 4, 1961, from Washington to New Orleans, Louisiana. Although it could not attract much attention, the freedom rides

following the first one were heard nationwide because of the violent reactions from whites. The photos were taken when a mob of 200 whites attacked the Greyhound bus on May 14, 1961, in Alabama were published not only in the United States but also all around the world. As the survivors expressed years later in 2011, the attackers first blocked the road, and the driver locked the protesters in and left, which for the protestors was safe at first. However, when the mob attacked the bus with firebombs and smoked filled up inside the bus, the protestors had no other choice than getting out to breathe. Hank Thomas, one of the survivors of the event recalls that they had to "choose the way they wanted to die; … at the hands of a violent mob or within the confines of a blazing bus". They could find the way out only when the back of the bus exploded (Capretto, 2016).

The problem of segregation drew worldwide attention after this violent event. It also resulted in more participation by many activists in the freedom rides for the following months and led the way to the regulations that prohibited segregation in interstate bus terminals with the enforcement of Kennedy administration.

Although it was mostly solved with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, discrimination in the public areas continued to affect the daily lives of blacks for a long time. However, the outcomes of the boycotts, sit-ins and especially the Freedom Rides showed the nation one more time that non-violence and decisiveness were the most important factors of accomplishing a goal.

4.3.2.4. Equal Opportunity in Employment

As Benjamin Muse observes, although the number of African American lawyers, doctors as well as artists and writers increased largely especially after the movement began, the number was decreasing in the area of independent business. In the cities, the public places were largely owned by not only white Americans, but other minorities such as Puerto Rican, Greek, Chinese or Armenian groups also managed these places. The African Americans were unsuccessful in this area because as Muse (1968) explains, the "Negro worked for the white man.", Thus, his chance of getting a job depended

mostly on the white man's "customs and prejudices." This is why the ideals of the blacks in the area of employment were the hardest to put into practice and achieve because it would not only "demand the utmost in wisdom and goodwill on the part of both statesmen and industrialists," but also "it would take continuing, unrelenting Negro pressure." (p. 60).

According to the report investigated by National Urban League in New York, among the 23.600 employees of ten leading advertising companies, only 11 of them were blacks. Generally speaking, the blacks were only active in the areas that required manpower rather than certain skills or education. Whereas the rate of unemployment was 5.6 per cent across the country, the percentage of black unemployment was 11 %. Thus, the organizations of the movement, especially National Urban League forced the government to take actions to increase the number of black workers in the federal work force and equalize it with that of the whites' (p. 60).

Putting a racial quota for positions in business was one of the solutions that the National Urban League offered. However, although it would create a big scale of job opportunities for blacks, the activists of the Civil Rights Movement were reluctant to advance it as limiting the number of applicants forcefully for a certain race only was the core idea that they had been fighting against (Muse, p.63).

As an alternative to the proposal above, the National Urban League offered an informal process of persuasion of white employers to open up positions for blacks with their free-will. Whitney Young (1964), the president of the NUL then, called this process as "indemnification" of what the whites had done for centuries and asked for "only a decade of dedicated special effort" in his book *To Be Equal.* This was useful to a certain extent and the number of companies that tried to compensate for the past increased. Some of the companies designed their calls for job applications according to the black community while some bigger ones hired experts on race relations to create a system of equal job opportunity.

Despite the efforts on both sides, the unemployment problem of the blacks could not be figured out completely. Although the conditions of schools attended mostly by Blacks were improved; vocational programs were expanded; the blacks were

encouraged to work and live with their white friends; they still lacked the education required for higher positions. It was not only because of the unequal educational opportunities, but also an internalized lack of self confidence on the side of the blacks. This feeling of inferiority was hard to demolish because of long years of discrimination they had faced all their lives. This led to a strong prejudice against themselves, which Muse expresses as "The Negro youth saw little reason to struggle with learning; only the white could aim at the stars." (p.65)

4.3.2.5. Equal Opportunities in Housing

The last but not the least aim of the Civil Rights Movement was to accomplish equal opportunities with the white citizens in neighborhoods. As it was mentioned above, the problems of where the black communities living go hand in hand with the problems in education which create problems in employment and the general position of the blacks in the American society. Thus, housing was one of core issues that had to be solved completely.

However, according to Muse, the problem of housing was not solved; in contrast, it was increasing in 1968. Although there were many whites who support black rights, Muse expresses, they were reacting "differently to living next door to a Negro family" (p. 71). He claims that for this problem to be solved, attitudes of millions of whites whose prejudice had been settled down for centuries had to be changed. Despite the governmental preventions, "no law could make a Negro family welcome in a white neighborhood." The laws and legislations allowed blacks to move to white dominated better neighborhoods, but when the whites moved out, those places became just another ghetto.

Another reason why these legislative orders or other actions were slightly effective was financial. The whites believed that their property values would reduce because of the increasing population of blacks in their neighborhoods.

There had been a lot of governmental cautions to prevent discrimination in housing even before the Civil Rights Movement began. The federal housing agencies

supported racial homogeneity in neighborhoods and took financial cautions to integrate black and white communities till the end of the 1940s. Besides, President Kennedy also passed the "Executive Order 11063 of November 20, 1962" which legally banned discrimination in housing. The units of houses that were to be built with federal support were prohibited from being discriminatory. Also, the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing was founded by this order to supervise the implementation of the orders, find ways to make the process more productive and effective and provide educational opportunities to end discrimination socially. Nevertheless, these actions were not completely successful at creating perfectly equal conditions for black and white communities upon which Julius Williams wrote his memories to a certain extent.

Kenneth B. Clark, an influential black rights activist who lived between the year 1914 and 2005, also concentrates on this issue of housing in his book *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas in Social Power* which he wrote in 1965. Using the metaphor "invisible wall" he focuses on the lower conditions in the ghettos, especially the ones in big cities such as New York or Chicago, despite the passage of civil rights act, which abolished segregation in public areas, education, and housing, and gave blacks equal opportunities with whites in many areas. However, Clark represents prejudice and hatred against blacks by whites as an invisible wall which "is opaque from the outside in." The problem that prevents blacks from developing socially and economically is that ghettos are surrounded by a wall of prejudice and hatred. Whereas the residents of the ghettos can see what is happening in the outside world and fail to reach it, whites can never see, thus ignore the poor conditions of the other side of the wall. For the whites of the big cities, ghettos are the "dark" sides that should be avoided (pp.11-20).

Clark insists in his book that unless the equal opportunities are provided by the government especially in the areas of employment, housing and education, the revolts, high rate of crime, poor standards and threat of black communities will be inevitable. There are many reasons why ghettos cannot improve. First of all, economic and social problems shape the life standards of the black community. In most of the ghettos, big companies of the big cities are almost impossible to see. There are only a little liquor stores, bakeries, bars or small shops which are mostly owned by the Jews or other white

communities. Black business within the borders of the ghetto is very low because of insufficient economic resources and lack of loans that should be provided by organizations or banks. This situation forces the black residents of the ghettos to get employed in menial sector –because of their past- for quite low salaries. Another reason why they cannot improve economically is the white attitude. The residents of these neighborhoods claim that white store owners charge them more for lower quality goods.

Another big issue the blacks in the ghettos should deal with is housing. Clark observes that the poor conditions of the houses impact the blacks physically and mentally. He finds that "the multiple uses of toilet and water facilities, inadequate heating and ventilation, and crowded sleeping quarters increase the rate of acute respiratory infections and infectious childhood diseases." Also, he believes that "a house is a concrete symbol of what the person is worth."

Under-employment is another big problem faced by blacks, especially in the ghettos. As they cannot afford to have a quality education in the same condition with their white peers, blacks lack the skills needed for better jobs. Therefore, even though they might get the same rate of education, white applicants are luckier for the position available just because their skin is white. Although the employers are banned from taking race into consideration while employing an applicant by the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, they are discriminated as they "lack the qualifications necessary for a particular job." Another way they discriminate blacks is setting up a quote of ethnicity for the sake of "ethnic balance." Black applicants are mostly denied jobs because of the ethnic quotas.

Under-employment of blacks in the ghettos directly affects the families and the children. As they lack the opportunities such as a clean house in a good neighborhood and economic power, blacks have significant problems within their families. According to the Haryou records, for instance, 20% of the black men are separated from their wives. The poor physical and psychological conditions within the walls of a black family result in unsuccessful children at school and inadequate employment among black adolescents (Clark, 1965, pp. 11-62)

4.4. BLACK POWER

In the literature of Black resistance, the period that came after the accomplishments and disappointments of the Civil Rights Movement was called the period of the Black Power. The scholars refer to this period with a different name and perspective because of the great change in the style of the movement. The supporters of the Black Power thought that the laws of the government were not strong enough to protect blacks especially black children and women from white racism. Thus they needed to get armed and take their cautions. Besides, they believed that asking for their rights in a nonviolent way meant that they admit their inferiority. Some strong supporters of this new movement had the idea that the blacks had to show their power to the world and nonviolent resistance was not an effective way to do it. Of course, the scholars of the African American resistance believe that there are many reasons lying behind this new, harsh perspective to the white community (Muse, 1968, pp. 230-254).

4.4.1. The Death of Medgar Evers (1963)

Medgar Evers, an outspoken activist and an active member of NAACP, was killed by Byron De La Beckwith who defended himself afterwards by saying that he killed to protect their wives and children from "bad niggers." He believed that what he did was to "make a sacrifice for the cause." Although he was freed with this defense, new evidence caused his retrial and imprisonment. (Biography.com Editors, 2017)

4.4.2. The Death of 3 COFO Members (1964)

When three members of CORE left for Neshoba County of Mississippi on June 20th to inspect the ruins of a "Freedom School" after it had been burnt down, they were arrested by Sheriff Cecil Price for speeding. After the arrest, the absence of the three activists Michael Schwerner (24), Andrew Goodman (20) and James Chaney (21) aroused public fear. However, the sheriff did not see "any cause for alarm" which Muse

claims are very usual for missing black activists. Also, Neshoba County sheriff Lawrence Rainey commented on the loss of the COFO members as "If they are missing, they just hid somewhere, trying to get much publicity." His comment on the issue illustrates the common hatred and injustice against the black society in the state. Six weeks after the search began, FBI found the bodies of the activists buried under a dam construction which was 5 miles away from Philadelphia (Muse, 1968, pp.143-145).

4.4.3. The Death of Lemual A. Penn (1964)

Lemual A. Penn was a black educator who, as his wife notifies, tried to stay away from the conflict to "avoid racial unpleasentness." However, he was murdered on his way from Fort Benning to his home in Washington D.C. by KKK members. Although the strongest evidence indicated two white locals named Cecil Myers and Joseph Howard, they were acquitted by an all-white jury of the Madison County. However, as the investigation continued for two more years and new evidence were found, the two suspects were sentenced to ten years in a federal penitentiary (Muse, p.146).

4.4.4. Watts Riot (1965)

The riots that started in Watts county of Los Angeles, California was one of the cornerstones of the black movement. It was one of the biggest and harshest riots that were started by the blacks. Although California was well known for its peaceful atmosphere for the black community, the arrest of a black youth named Marquette Frye because of driving recklessly was enough for the tension. Besides, the rumor that Frye's pregnant mother was abused by the police drew more attention from across the town and caused a bigger agitation. Following this event, the black rioters burnt down the stores that had been notorious for being too expensive specifically for black customers; attacked white motorists and burned the automobiles of the whites with the slogan "Burn Baby Burn!". Despite the efforts to calm down the rioting crowd from both the

police and the black activists, riots did not stop, which ended up with the Governor Edmund G. Brown's declaration of curfew for one day. After the efforts of Martin Luther King who negotiated with the officials and organized a meeting with around 300 people the curfew was lifted and the Watts riot was reported in "Violence in the City – An End or a Beginning" by Governor's Commission (1965) to be "as senseless formless riot, "not a CR demonstration".

Although these violent actions of the blacks were condemned harshly by not only white officials but also black activists, they began to reshape the perception of the black activism. The anger that resulted from the abuse of black activists throughout the nation led to the common idea that nonviolence was not a strong solution to white and police brutality and that they needed to take over the control of themselves by taking their precautions.

The period of Black Power was known mostly for ghetto riots that were incited by SNCC and CORE who adopted the violent demonstration style. They organized violent riots especially in the ghettos because they wanted to show the white community that there would be no lasting peace until they accept blacks in their neighborhoods as their neighbors. One of the strongest names in this new style movement was Stokely Carmichael, the new president of SNCC, who believed that "If a man steps on you, you deserve to be stepped on.". This kind of a reaction against the racial problems was a determining factor that led to negotiations between white officials and black activists, which resulted in several steps taken by commissions such as enforcement of the housing regulations, mortgage bankers to have no segregation against black customers and funding of them to find better conditions to live (Muse, p. 206).

4.5. BLACK LIVES MATTER

According to many activists, politicians or academicians of today's black issues, the problem of racism and the conditions of the ghettos have slightly changed since the 1960s. Although both foreign and domestic policies of the nation have changed many times within this period, and even the first black president of the whole nation was

elected recently, the problems such as state violence, inequality and discrimination against black students which still exist in many states especially in the South continues to affect the lives of the black people negatively. The continuing problems that blacks have been forced to face for decades resulted in another big, national movement called Black Lives Matter. The members of this new organization define it as "a chapter-based organization working for the validity of Black life" on their website. They claim that they are working to "re-build the Black liberation movement" (About the Black Lives Matter Network, http://blacklivesmatter.com).

Black Lives Matter was first organized by three black women Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi, Patrisse Currols in 2012 when a 17-year-old black teenage Trayvon Martin was shot by George Zimmerman, a 29-year-old Hispanic man. According to the newspapers and police recordings and reports, Zimmerman suspected Martin as a drug dealer or user and reported the police. A few minutes later, gun-shots were heard in the neighborhood, and Martin was reported to be lying dead in the grass and Zimmerman was also injured. His injuries were later used as evidence of violence from Martin's side, which during the judicial process supported his claim of shooting for self-defense. At the end of three years of judicial process on February 24, 2015, the US Justice Department announced that no federal civil rights charges would be brought against Zimmerman (Capeheart, 2015).

The research made upon the issue of racism throughout the US history shows that blacks have been facing this kind of decisions all the time. The case of Trayvon Martin became the symbol of the new generation Civil Rights Movement for some of the activists, and the Black Rights Matter movement has attracted national attention to the issue of state violence against black people. The members of the group claim that they are "re-building" the black liberation movement by dealing with the lives of the undocumented black immigrants, black queer and transsexual people and "all lives along the gender spectrum" (ibid). Since the organization was created, the Black Lives Matter has succeeded in making themselves heard all around the world through protests, social media actions, and the press. Bijan Stephan (2015), an associate editor of the *New*

Republic, especially claims that the modern movement's biggest difference from the Civil Rights Movement of the 60s is that they spread any news or ideas very quickly through social media. Thus, through the pressure of the movement, which was successfully carried out by not only the activists but also supporters on the social media, the federal government investigated the infamous police actions in Fergusson and Baltimore; the presidential contenders discussed the policy proposals that concern specifically the black people and police brutality.

4.5.1. All Lives Matter

Of course, the Black Lives Matter also has opponents. One of the biggest alternatives to this movement is the All Lives Matter notion. It occurred as a response to the black activism and the supporters of the idea claim that saying "black lives matter" divides the nation even more. However, according to the Black Lives Matter activists, All Lives Matter is a response to the movement and those who say it say it because they are "uncomfortable" with the word "black." It is a form of "colorblindness, " and a white Black Lives Matter activist John Halstead (2016) feels that colorblindness is "a white privilege to be able to ignore race." He says in his article in *Huffingtonpost* that

> Black people, on the other hand, don't have the luxury of being 'colorblind.' They live in a culture which constantly reminds them of their Black-ness, which tells them in a million large and small ways that they are not as important as white people, that their lives do not matter as much as white lives. Which is why saying 'Black Lives Matter' is so important.

In short, according to many activists and supporters of the Black Lives Matter movement, although all lives matter, unless people stand for black humanity and against unjust actions of the white police, all lives matter notion will remain as a racist response to racism.

4.5.2. Black Lives Matter vs. Civil Rights Movement

The modern black movement resembles in many ways the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. It is mostly accepted as the re-building of the old movement after five decades. Although the rights that they had asked for through protests and other political actions have been achieved legally, discrimination against black people at schools, in the courts, in the neighborhoods, and before the police continued to show up even during the presidency of a black leader. In this way, the modern activism calls people for action on the same issues as those of 1960.

On the other hand, Black Lives Matter differs from the former movement in many ways, as well. Frederick C. Harris (2015), a professor of political science and director of the Center for African-American Politics and Society at Columbia University, focuses on three main differences between the former and new movements. First of all, communication tools and the way people get to know about what is happening have changed drastically in a half-century. While in the 1960s, people used only telephones, which they needed to wait for long hours to reach the target person with a potential white person who wants to block the communication; today, the information can be spread very quickly through social media. People can be organized faster and spontaneously with Facebook or Twitter, or they can organize secretly through WhatsApp or other messaging tools. Additionally, the visuals of the protest and especially police brutality can be shared and spread fast, and they can be used as evidence in the court. Live stream publications also help the protestors spread what is happening in the protest area and raise a clearer understanding of what they are fighting for. Another difference is the style of the organization. Harris claims that the supporters of the new movement "are rejecting the charismatic leadership model that has dominated black politics for the past half century …" (ibid). They do not have leaders or branches in the movement, because, Harris explains, "Black Lives Matter activists today recognize that granting decision-making power to an individual or a handful of individuals poses a risk to the durability of a movement." These charismatic leaders, as history proves might place their interests or concerns on the top and abuse the struggles

of the rest of the community or them. Thus the whole community can be the victims of the government or actions of hatred. Therefore many Black Lives Matter activists count on individual support and group actions without any “strong” leader. They believe that they do not need strong leaders because they are all strong themselves. The third and for some, the most important difference between the two is what they fight for. Whereas they seem to have the same concerns, the Black Rights Movement, as its name offers, fought for the legal rights that blacks also had to gain. However, Black Lives Matter stands against the injustice against black communities who already have rights but cannot make use of them. The modern movement focuses on black humanity and practical racism against which even governmental regulations fail to stand.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF *UNFINISHED AGENDA: URBAN POLITICS IN THE ERA OF BLACK POWER* AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

5.1 JUNIUS WILLIAMS IN HIS MEMOIR UNFINISHED AGENDA: URBAN POLITICS IN THE ERA OF BLACK POWER

5.1.1. Childhood under Jim Crow Laws

Williams starts his memoir by explaining his early years as a happy childhood, grown up by a well educated family in a town well-known for its "good race relations." His father Maurice Langston Williams was the first black music teacher in Richmond Virginia, and his mother Bernyce White Williams was the first black supervisor of the music of Norfolk, VA. Because of his musical heritage, Williams also took musical education from his parents and relatives. He had a more active, better and relatively freer childhood than other blacks in the nation, but he was constantly being reminded about the race relations in the US by the society that he lives in as well as his parents. They believed and taught him to think that "to succeed, they had to be twice as good as white folks" (Williams, p. 14). Thus, throughout his memoir, Williams focuses upon how hard he had to work to prove himself while for his white fellows gaining success in the community, and educational life was much easier. He had to work harder not only to be successful at school but also to show the people around him that he was no different from the rest of the society.

Despite the fame of Virginia for being safe for the blacks, even Williams, who had a well-educated family that belonged to the middle class society, had almost no white contacts for his first seventeen years. He describes his relations with white students with the relationship between "guns and homemade bows, arrows and spears" (p. 16). He says that they could not even get close enough to use their weapons against the guns of the white students. Also, he confronted the institutionalized racism particularly in the weekends when he and his brother were taken by their mother to the

movies that read “Colored Only” which had been seen months earlier by the whites. According to Williams, it was his first resistance when he tried to drink water from “White Only” fountain. His mother intentionally told him to drink from it, because she wanted to protest the rusty “Colored Only” taps. When he was rudely warned by the saleswoman who was supposed to take care of the fountains, his mother had a fought with her. This memory was one of the most important moments for Williams because he became conscious about his position in American life and learned that he needed to react somehow at such an early age. It would build up his desire to fight for the life which he was prevented from by the government for no reason.

After his years in Richmond, he was accepted to many collages; however, because of the scholarship offer and his mothers support, in 1961, he attended Amherst College where he encountered the dominance of white population and the feeling of inferiority. One of the biggest problems was to catch the pace of the other white students who came from upper or middle class white schools because they had already known the subjects before they registered to Amherst College. He says in his book “I had to learn the process and master it at the same time, while my classmates had only to master it.” (p. 23). In his college years, he confronted one of the biggest problems that the Civil Rights Movement activists have been fighting for decades to solve: the unequal conditions of white and black dominated schools and the “Separate but Equal” educational system. He had to face the inequality that resulted from a governmental decision that affects the professional lives of millions of black people without their consent. However, although he had many problems with some of the courses that he was not eligible; he managed to be successful at the end of his senior year by working twice as much as his white friends. He believes that he also owes his success to the writing style of the college, which replaced his existing belief system with their system of analysis and critique, and the perspective of political science that he gained at the college.

One of the biggest factors that shaped his personality at the college was the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity house that he joined as the first student in 1962. His attendance to this club was subject to critiques that he was being used for his color,

while others thought it was a success. Williams closed his ears to these critiques and joined the group where he experienced both racism and equality strongly. Although some experiences led him to the idea that whatever he did he would never be anything else than "just another nigger to" his friends, he realized at this phase that "Being the exception and the first was not what [he] needed to gain a sense of self-worth. That only came when [he] accepted the role of resistance he had to play." (p. 30)

However, what he calls the turning point was neither his success at the courses nor his membership to the fraternity. The biggest factor that earned him charisma in the campus was the letter he wrote to the editor of *Amherst College* as a question to an anonymous student whom he called 'Mr. Pseudonym'. The student wrote in the magazine that blacks had all the opportunities that Abraham Lincoln had, thus what hold the blacks back was the blacks themselves. After Williams had asked him to reveal his name and defend his idea in an open forum, Mr. Pseudonym wrote no more articles like that one. Moreover, this attitude of Junius' was applauded not only by other students but also his writing teacher for expressing a sense of "controlled anger" with great skill.

With a great effort and motivation for resistance which was built by his mother and his experiences at the college, he took big steps regarding activism. He was elected to the student council and on February 12, 1965 he organized a three-day conference on "The Civil Rights Movement: Reform or Revolution?" with Students for Racial Equality (SRE) with financial support of college administration, and called very important names of the movement such as Tom Hayden, Jesse Gray, the leader of Harlem rent strike, representatives of New Left and many leaders and activists from organizations such as Northern Student Movement and CORE. He also managed to reach Malcolm X and invited him to the conference. Although Malcolm X accepted his invitation, he could not attend the conference because he was in Europe during that time and he was denied entry to France. So, he could not come back to Massachusetts and could not attend the conference, either. Despite his absence, the conference achieved its goals. There were workshops where over one thousand students from all over New England had the chance to teach each other about the history of blacks in the United

States, how the movement took shape and how the history of the US was being shaped by the movement then. This conference gained Williams a great fame which he explains "It increased my status and visibility, not only on campus but also off."(p. 38).

In 1963, he was invited by a young black lawyer Marion Wright to Africa through a summer project named Crossroads Africa. She found a scholarship for him and Williams made his way to Uganda where he happened to experience his black identity this time, not as a "negro" but an African. He stayed in tents for ten weeks helping the construction of an outpatient hostel as a part of the Church of Uganda Kisiizi Hospital with the local activists. Although the people he met and all his experiences he had in Uganda helped him build his African identity, he realized that he belonged to the movement back in the States when he saw the pictures of black SNCC members being arrested by the police in Danville. He expresses his feeling of guilt as "We came by different paths, but we reached a point of consciousness at the same time" (p. 44).

Another important event he regrets missing was the Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964 when students from across the nation gathered to volunteer in the voter registration programs. He missed this event because he was invited to Washington D.C. for a summer school program sponsored by a well-known professor at college. However, this led his life to another turning stone in his life, which is Harlem.

When he learned about the death of three activists whose bodies were found near Mississippi, he felt guilty for not being with the "people he cared about" while the government was doing nothing. Although he never attended the registration programs in Mississippi that year, he attended Harlem Education Program which was a division of Northern Student Program and left for Harlem where he not only volunteered for heavy physical work during the construction of a playground but also had deep conversations about world politics and read a lot about communism and other economic systems. He states that this was a critical moment in his life because he learned a lot of things which otherwise he would never read or even think about.

After his experiences in Harlem, Williams decided to join SNCC in March 1965 to attend the big Selma March. However, on the way to Selma in Montgomery, he met

Stokely Carmichael, who was a strong supporter of Black Nationalism. Carmichael asked Williams and his friends to stay in Montgomery as there were enough protesters for Selma and they decided to join the march in Montgomery.

On the day of the march, the crowd of protestors was met by a group of white men called Klansmen. They appeared there to block the demonstrators with violence, which also led the SNCC activists to violence. Then, he explains, they needed the leadership of Martin Luther King to calm down the crowd. Thanks to his reputation, only presence of the leader was enough to put the things in order in Montgomery and draw the focus on Selma again. What Williams and SNCC interpreted from it was that there had always been competition even within the leaders of the groups who have the same concerns.

The members of SNCC organized a mass meeting in a church in Montgomery in which James Forman and other Black Power activists made angry speeches about how black people would be ignored unless they take action. These were the people who did not believe in King's non-violent resistance doctrine.

This mass meeting was one of the most important events in his life as it led him to go to jail voluntarily. The next day, they organized a different march to the Capitol Building where they sat down on the floor and waited to be arrested. Hundreds of demonstrators were arrested that day, and Williams was placed in Kilby State Prison for one week. As he remembers, the cells were full, and the prisoners had to sleep on the mattresses without blankets. Worth Long was an important figure for Williams because he reminded him and all the activists in the cells that the officials gave one or two blankets for each cell just to play them off against each other. Long reminded them about the importance of unity by saying that unless all of them are provided with blankets, none should sleep with blankets. Moreover, they kept demanding until the officers brought them blankets. Williams recalls this action of Worth Long even today. He was a significant figure for him because although he did not see him in his life ever again, Long remained as one of the most influential people in his life. He saw the power of unifying and resisting even in the prison where all of their ability to do anything was taken over by officials.

The jail and Montgomery movement earned Williams many lessons, and he expresses that he did not hear or read about the importance of unity and organization in such cases but he experienced it himself. This experience earned him not only these lessons but also it made him realize his skills as a leader. In the summer of 1965, SNCC created an independent party called Lowndes County Freedom Organization, which was later known as Black Panther and Williams would join this group when he graduated in May 1965.

The Selma to Montgomery march was an impressive experience for Williams. He says in his memoir "I was a part of something that was growing that many white folks in power did not want to see happen: black people comfortable with the knowledge that they could shake the foundations of America." (p. 61) The violence and hardship he witnessed and the passage of Voting Rights Bill showed him that the black resistance was not in vain. During the spring of 1965 after Selma, he became aware of his leadership skills and decided to move to Lowndes County, Alabama where he joined Lowndes County Freedom Organization founded by Stokely Carmichael and other SNCC workers. This organization was the first Black Panther Party.

5.1.2. Newark: the Path to Politics

After he had graduated from Amherst Collage, he was invited by Tom Hayden to change his direction from South to North –specifically Newark where the two-thirds of the population was black, and they were suffering from the problems such as high rent, poverty, unemployment and police brutality despite the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Tom Hayden told him in March 1965 that now that they achieved their five goals with the act, the Civil Rights Movement was over, and now it was time to concentrate on the Northern cities like Newark. Thus, he needed young, black college students to work with a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)-sponsored project called the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP). Now he had to choose between many strong options. Whether he would follow his parents' advice and register Yale or Colombia University, both of which he was accepted with a scholarship; or he would

follow Tom Hayden and attend the NCUP, or he would follow his own will and go to South. In the end, he directed his enthusiasm for the movement from South to North and accepted Hayden's invitation to Newark in June and decided to register at Yale in September.

5.1.2.1. NCUP and Newark

When he arrived in Newark, he had the opportunity to observe what the conditions of the community are like not only on the streets but also in the neighborhoods. Most of the community was working-class black citizens and poor whites because of the "white exodus." The wealthy whites had left the town because of the rising black population, and the rest had to cope with local problems. NCUP and CORE were the two most active organizations with approximately 250 black and white members who knew how to address to the average community. Williams was also working on the street trying to draw attention to the organizations, meetings, and demonstrations.

One of the activities that Williams took part in was visiting houses in Avon Avenue, introducing himself as a member of NCUP, sharing what they had in mind with the hosts and asking for their ideas and support. A stoplight, for instance, was one of their demands for a better life standard in the neighborhood. Williams and his friend Corrina Fales, who was a white woman activist from Pennsylvania, noted during this experience that at least one kid was killed by a speeding car and the need for a stoplight on this avenue was urgent. Thus, they managed to convince many people by doing so to attend the demonstration that took place on the 18th Avenue only a few blocks away. After the demonstration Tom Hayden was arrested; Billy, one member who did not believe in the white support, accused Williams of working with whites; and no goals were accomplished. What Williams earned, though, was leadership skills and self-confidence even Amherst was unsuccessful in teaching.

5.1.2.2. Yale Law School

In the first summer of his Yale years, in 1966 he joined Essex Newark Legal Services where he worked as an advocate for NCUP members who was arrested and charged. It was a harsh experience for him because while the defendants were black, all the lawyers and most of the court officials were white. As he observed through his first years at Yale, Newark and all around the country Black Power was taking the place of non-violent resistance. Stokely Carmichael and his supporters gained popularity during these years which he expresses as "Black Power would prescribe a whole new set of rules." (p. 96). This new doctrine was accepted by many white people as well as many NCUP members as an "affirmation of violence" while for the supporters of Black Power –including Williams- it was "self-determination and direct action" (p. 97).

5.1.2.3. Newark Rebellion

The summer of 1967 was a climax of rebellions in Newark. There had already been debates over a medical school that was planned to be built on a private land from where 22000 people most of whom were blacks had to be evaded under the rule of urban renewal. However, on July 12, 1967, the arrest of John Smith drew much more attention. The black taxi driver John Smith was beaten up by the police in front of many people. This drew the attention of many organizations including CORE, NCUP, and others and they managed to control the anger of the crowd and turn it into a march for a demonstration in the City Hall. At night Williams was driving with some people back from a Black Power conference in Philadelphia. His car was stopped by the police, and they were searched. His law books saved him from being charged, or even a police murder as one of the sergeants prevented other officers from arresting them saying "he has got law books in the back of the car. They are law students. Let 'emgo."(p. 102). After this last event, riot lasted longer, and Williams took part by interviewing witnesses and prepared affidavits for the activists for legal action against the police.

However, on the 3rd day of the riot police got on the stage and violence got tougher. People in the ghettos as Williams notes back in 1967 were scared to get out of their houses; "being in the streets was an open invitation to death; houses offered little sanctuary to high powered bullets." (p. 105).

Junius Williams managed to interview the only witness to the execution of James Rutledge by the state police in a bar. As the witness told him, the police burst in the bar, two young men one of whom was the witness, couldn't get out and had to hide while Rutledge stood up and surrendered. They heard the police swear and shot thirty-nine times on Rutledge. He claims that "No police officers or National Guard were prosecuted." probably because of lack of evidence and witnesses. This riot not only resulted in the fear regarding blacks but also whites. Williams observed two weeks after the riots that "as we raised our heads after the shooting was over and the smoke from a thousand fires cleared, we realized white folks in power were afraid of us." (p. 106). It is quite obvious from these lines that although he is a strong supporter of passive resistance notion of Martin Luther King, in small areas, Black Nationalism was more efficient. He believes that while it is honorable to resist without violence, it is also hard to make an oppressed community heard unless a great rebellion is held.

5.1.2.4. Medical School Fight

Medical School fight is one of the most important topics to be concentrated on in this study. It is not only the core of Williams' political views and one of the biggest successes in his political life but also a symbolic event that summarizes one of the main concerns of this study. The Medical School fight represents the basic question and problem of the black community in the USA: the issue of the ghettos. As Kenneth B. Clark focuses on in his work *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas in Social Power*, which will be discussed more in detail in the following parts; unless the equal opportunities are provided by the government especially in the areas of housing, the revolts, high rate of crime, poor standards and threat of black communities will be inevitable and they need to be demanded to be solved by the black activists in the first place. Likewise, Medical

School fight not only represents the general understanding of fighting for better opportunities but also proves what Williams, Clark and other black leaders believe.

The construction of a medical school on a 150-acre land where mostly black people lived was the hot topic of June 1967. For the "white power brokers" urban renewal was an effective way to get rid of a black community and "landless, rootless people [were] no help to anybody interested in organizing for power, and so the status co could be preserved." (p. 111) Williams and other activists preferred to use this as an opportunity to unite many blacks to stop the construction and save the land for their needs.

Williams gathered a group of activists from legal and planning areas and named it Newark Area Planning Association (NAPA). The group was organized as a people's organization to take control of the urban renewal all around the city, and the starting point was the Medical School. The difference of this new organization was that it was based on not only demonstrations or meetings but also the law of relocation and an alternative plan. They aimed to show the community and the officials that medical school did not need that much space and the dislocation of the black communities was unlawful because of the low standards of the places they were sent to.

In September when Williams went back to Yale, he asked a professor in the architecture department to assign a group of his students to create a project to the slightest details such as the visual plans, charts and a desk model, which could be used as a medical school in a smaller area. In December 1967 the Committee against Negro and Puerto Rican Removal and NAPA organized a press conference in which Williams' speech was printed in *New York Times*.

According to Williams, organizing a community against such governmental actions is vital for many reasons. It is not only about stopping a significant action against the community but also about teaching them the importance of unifying and supporting each other in a "constructive" way. Creating an alternate plan was another significant factor for the whites to be aware of the black power and potential. It not only collapses the "invisible wall" as Clark names but also constructs a better neighborhood and life which can be shared by whites and blacks. The alternate plan was a big

opportunity for the two communities to come together in equal conditions and share a quality life.

What made NAPA successful was the combination of "the power of suits and power of the streets." The members of the organization were lawyers, professionals, planners, architects as well as bartenders, workers or ordinary people on the streets. According to Williams, NAPA symbolized his own life that goes on between the poor streets of Newark and the fancy halls of Yale. He never gave up working in the field, on the streets for the sake of the people of the community; furthermore, he tried to keep his relations with the "high standard" communities not to lose contact with the levels of the government who would be solving the problems of the community in the long term.

Thanks to his contacts with the highest and lowest parts of the society, which are the lawyers, architects, and professors as well as kids, tenants of the area in question and homeowners, Williams succeeded in achieving Medical School Agreements. After the negotiations between the governor and the organizations that fought for a more efficient plan, these decisions were taken:

1. The area of the Medical School was reduced from 150 to 57.9 acres.
2. The workforce of the construction would include one-third of the journeymen and one-half of the apprentices as black and Puerto Ricans. There would be two groups; one to train individuals and the other as a Review Council to insure compliance with this agreement.
3. The new medical school would meet the demands of the whole community.
4. The quality of health care and the employment and training program for blacks and Latinos would be monitored by Health Review Council.

Although it was a small event in a small area, the Medical School fight earned Williams his strongest advice for the upcoming generation: "Those who control the streets, but know how to use the technical information usually available only to those who occupy the suites, win!"(p. 129).

5.1.2.5. Route 75

NAPA also managed to stop the construction of Route 75 project which would displace many black and brown people by cutting the Central Ward where they live in the middle. Williams took appointment from Department of Transport with the commissioner David Goldberg. He went to the appointment with the members of NAPA, NAACP, and Welfare Rights Mamas including black and white ministers from Ecumenical Ministry. Approximately two weeks after the appointment, they stopped the construction of the project.

On June 16, 1970, Ken Gibson was elected the mayor of Newark and recorded his name as the first black mayor of a major northern city. During the campaign, Williams took a significant part organizing meetings and sponsoring him. Gibson gained trust from many people thanks to Williams' support.

After Ken Gibson had been elected mayor, Williams became the nation's youngest Model Cities Director in July 1970 thanks to his roles in the Medical School Fight and other activities. To be able to build more houses, he gathered two separate corporations into one and called it Housing Development and Rehabilitation Corporation (HDRC).

Although Ken Gibson's campaign was based on equality and Black Power, he claimed that he was the mayor of all the people after he got his position. What irritated the Black Power activists was that he hired a white people in the council. Also, he had debates with other black activists which led to a clash of profits. The change in the policy of Gibson resulted in the untimely demise of Williams from the leadership of the group he had created. Also, the people he hired because of their ideas chose to remain in their seats no matter what direction the politics went. During the Gibson years, Williams concluded that "Black Power as we envisioned was a dream deferred. Moreover, I was no longer in a position to awaken the minds of the people about what was happening." (p. 197).

He graduated from Yale in 1973 and started his profession as a lawyer in Newark. He received cases such as divorce, robbery, injuries while he was working at

the Committee on Minority Affairs (COMA). His political career was on a break for a while because of the demise, and he took many cases for little or no money. Then, accepting the change in his life and his career, he decided to be active in the oldest and largest organization for black attorneys called National Bar Association (NBA). After attending several conventions and making friends in the association, Williams became the president of the Young Lawyers Division of the NBA. He gained not only the trust and appreciation of the older elite but also the respect of the young members. NBA gained him not only his self-confidence back after his demise from the council, but also nation-wide and international fame until he ran for mayor second time in 1982.

Following NBA, Williams focused upon the "so called third world entrepreneurs" in countries like Zimbabwe. He also spent time in Cuba to observe Castro policy after which in January 1981, he got a fellowship at the Institute of Politics at the Kennedy School at Harvard. He wrote weekly articles and taught a non-credit class called Urban America and the Third World to undergraduate students.

During the 12-year Gibson administration, the issues that Williams and his friends had been dealing with were left untouched. Thus, he decided to run for mayor in 1982 and promised to focus on the issues such as the need for more affordable housing constructions, the need for jobs in private and public sector, police brutality and lack of police involvement in black issues. To be able to address to more and more people, he focused on college students, tenants, churches, bars, streets as well as the old movement supporters. He believed that he needed to educate the new voters about the issues mentioned above and thus, he set up a new base called the Leadership Development Group. He tried to create an environment to discuss the new concept of power under Reagan administration and produce ideas about what new can be done. However, mostly because of lack of money –he was not granted because either Gibson or Earl Harris, the president of the city council was supported most- and because of his lack of organization which prevented him from reaching the core of the community, Williams lost the 1982 elections.

One day later he was offered a position in Essex Newark Legal Services Project (ENLSP) which he accepted as he wanted to be working with people, not individually.

Once he got his position, he made many changes in the staff, their works and responsibilities; he also increased control over what had been and would be done. These changes led to changes in the group members, but he managed to hire better staff for his "big projects" one of which was the Homeless Individual Welfare Rights Suit. He found with his agency that the homeless people were refused to be paid. He and his friends found the way to make a connection with the homeless men, brought them to the court to testify that they are in need. Judge Bedford decided that homeless people apply for emergency and assistance from the city welfare.

Williams also took part in People United for Better Schools (PUBS) in his free time. He defines this organization as "a coalition that included community people, labor unions, and local politicians that had a commitment to bringing parents and community folks back into the issues of schools and school reform." Despite all his efforts and success, Williams was fired from his position in ENLSP because of his poor management style and his "failure to hire enough attorneys, … to communicate with staff and [his] responsibility for low staff morale". In reality, Williams believes that his style was a thread to their "relaxed, social-services-agency approach to the law" and most of the members were Gibson supporters. Although he was voted to sign the contract for another year, his contract was not renewed, and he got fired from ENLSP in 1984.

In July 1984, Rutgers University, the New Jersey University of Medicine and Dentistry and the New Jersey Institute of Technology demanded more land to set up a project called University Heights. This project included a plan for student housing, college buildings, and businesses on college research and other areas. Although the conditions were perfect for the plan, they could not realize the plansbecause of mayor Gibson's timing.

In 1990, in Irvington, he ran into his friend Sara Bost who offered him a position as a lawyer in the city council. When she ran for mayor in 1994, he organized her campaign, and she was elected the first female mayor of the town's history. They worked together for eight years.

Following the three-term Sara Bost administration, Williams states in his book that he needed to return to Newark to awaken the spirit of the movement after failing some attempts. He decided to set up a new organization at Rutgers University, Newark and called it Abbot Leadership Institute (ALI). The institute consisted of nineteen parents, community advocates, "veterans" of the movement and young students. They organized on average eighty-person classes to discuss and produce ideas to make the Newark schools better.

5.1.3. Lone Ranger and Dynamic Triangle of Change

Lone Ranger is Williams' personification of today's black individuals. The idea that "you have no more excuse for failure since Jim Crow is dead" haunted not only the white community but also black community. As a result, today's black youth put the blame on the "unsuccessful black individuals who fail to fit the system" rather than the government who fail to create a system without discrimination. Today's black individuals of not only Newark but the whole nation prefer to put their own needs before the success of the group and think that dealing with problems as a group of "degraded" people was actually what was creating the problem. Indeed, they thought that the people like Williams who ask for a unified power are the ones "that have that problem" and once ignored, these individuals would be "swept away" along with their problems. His conclusion is that the 30-year period after the black rights era was full of judgment, mistrust, and disorganization instead of unity and he relates the failure of the recent organizations to "fear, hostility, and mistrust" which he calls "three Horsemen of Disorganization." For him, Newark was no longer under attack or risk of KKK or Jim Crow or racism, but "disdain for political solutions." He teaches in ALI classes the interrelation among "information, perception, and response." He thinks they should collect information about the schools with problems; use the information to formulate a perception of the problem and gather with as many people as possible to raise questions and finally seek for a response and put it in action.

At the end of his memoir, he expresses what he aims to teach to the next generation starting from his children. He wants and teaches his children to be aware of their African identity and be proud of having African roots; to be aware that they are "children of the blues" and carry the spirit of blues through generations, and to be aware that they are coming from "a legacy of struggle", thus they know now how to resist and demand for their rights as children. To make the rest of the black children of the nation, he set up Abbott Leadership Institute Youth Media Symposium where he, through a network of educators and parents, they teach the black children of the lower or middle class that "they have a voice." He not only teaches his students about civil rights and political movements but also allows them to practice their speech and leadership skills by providing them with opportunities to come together and discuss at a young age.

All in all, he concludes both in his memoir and in his articles today that the new generation should get rid of hopelessness or indifference that results from the idea that they are now equal enough not to complain or take action and remember to unify and get on the streets to stop the prevailing racism and hatred today. That is why he strongly advices the Black Lives Matter supporters to leave their individualistic style without any leaders and become more organized and take political action as soon as possible. Before the 2016 elections, he wrote in his article "An Open Letter to Black Lives Matter" as well that they should find ways to reach and work with Hillary Clinton, a strong candidate who seemed to be more caring and careful about human rights than Donald Trump. Today, he insists that the black individuals remember and be proud of their heritage and not hesitate to say it aloud.

CONCLUSION

The memoir of Junius Williams is an outstanding work for the black society as a minority, not only in the United States but also all around the world where blacks have been assumed as the second class members of society. The work represents the lives, struggles, pains, and hopes of a whole community and it has the power to motivate not only the blacks but also the other minorities who are discriminated by the dominant culture. With the realistic point of view that the nature of a memoir gives, Williams' book inspires the white and black youth to unite, organize and take action against racism which still does not hesitate to show off in the 21st century. Thus, it is the center of my thesis on the fight against racism.

This thesis aimed to study the development of black members of American society from the very beginning of their presence in the Americas to the 21st century and explore their assumption of where they are in the American society and politics through Junius Williams' memoir *Unfinished Agenda: Urban Politics in the Era of Black Power* written in 2014. A memoir was chosen to study the period between the end of Civil Rights Movement era and the beginning of Black Lives Matter movement in order to analyze the development from the point of view of a black activist who had the opportunity to observe all the historical turning points of the black society in the 20th and 21st centuries. I chose his work as the center of my thesis because it provides the reader with not only the struggles of a young black activist who has always suffered from discrimination in all aspects of his life including his social relations at school and political failures because of his blackness, but it also gives the reader the motivation and hope to stick to their aims and identities under any circumstances despite failures.

The first part of my thesis concentrated on the memoir as a literary genre and its importance to my work. As the thesis is in a certain community rather than an individual, and I aimed to study the period through the eyes of an ordinary member of this period rather than the writer himself, I focused on its differences from autobiography or biography. With the same reason, I chose a real life story rather than a fiction, because I wanted to have a realistic look at this issue.

To study the memoir objectively, I needed to first focus on the history of the black people thoroughly. I studied the blacks' history in three parts. First, I explained briefly how their ancestors live ended up in the land of America and how their position has changed from their first time in the United States to the 20th century. In the second part, I focused on the period between the abolition of slavery and the beginning of a series of mass movement. Moreover, in the third part, I explored the activism of the black community in three periods which are successively Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, and Black Lives Matter. To read the memoir of Williams with an objective perspective, I also compared Black Lives Matter with the notions of another movement that has emerged recently: All Lives Matter.

I needed the work of Junius Williams to have a conclusion in this comparison and analyzed his work also with this question in mind. I analyzed his work by dividing his life into three stages. First, I focused on how he expressed his childhood under the Jim Crow laws. In this part, I concentrated on his description of his mother as a role model for his activist personality. I found out that his mother is the most effective person on his personality. I also explained his school years and the conflict of identity as a successful black student. Williams' relations with his white friends and his observation on the relationship between white and black students, in general, were another main concern of this part.

The years he spent in Newark is the most important times of his life as then he was building up his political views that he has today. This is why I concentrated most of his life in Newark especially when he was organizing a campaign against the construction of a medical school in a black neighborhood in the second part of my analysis. This part helped me most to find out the biggest solution he offers to the issue of discrimination, because I sought to find realistic steps to take action, and I found the answer to my questions mostly in this struggle.

In the last part of the analysis, I sought to conclude with not only the lessons he took from such a life but also his suggestions for the next generation. The last part concentrated on his conclusion, the lessons he took from his failures, and how he assumes the source of ongoing problems such as police violence or white prejudice.

With the aim of having a better understanding of his views two years after he wrote the memoir, I also applied to one of his articles in a newspaper.

To conclude, I found through all the research and analysis above that the struggle of any minority in a society in which discrimination and racism are dominant should be carefully organized with certain limitations. No matter how much hatred and violence they have had to copy with, the members of an oppressed society must have the presence of mind to fight against what they suffer. The history of the black people in the United States shows us the never-ending prejudice against blacks; however, Junius Williams' life inspires this community not to give up and keep fighting. His notion of combining the knowledge of the suits with the power of the streets, which he gained through experience, shapes his perspective upon the black issues today. Moreover, this notion should always be remembered by the black youth of today to have a conventional wisdom and take practical, creative and constructive steps at the moments of crisis.

Another important point that I came to after this analysis is that the blacks should be proud of their identity to be strong. A member of an oppressed society must have no hesitation to show and practice his/her identity. Williams strongly recommends the next generation to walk their head up no matter how much prejudice and injustice they have to cope with. They need to prove their presence and power in the American society and culture through showing off their identity as black Americans. In short, the black members of the whole country should not hesitate to take political or social actions against injustice and discrimination; however, they must never forget to take these steps with a great common sense and a careful organization.

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