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The Role of The Black Life Matter and The Civil Rights Movement in Ending Violence and Systematic Racism Towards Black People in the United States of America

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Dedication

I dedicate this work:

To my lovely mother Rahmouna . And to my husband Mohamed .

There is no doubt in my mind that without them

I would never go further in my life, and I say to them:

"Thank you for your affection, prayers and your selfless sacrifices."

To my lovely brothers Abdellilah and Abdelkader

To all my family and to the family of my husband's , especially to my mother in

law Zohra and to my father in law Abdelali

To my friends who I have spent with them beautiful moments at the university

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Abstract

This memoir deals with The position of the Black Live's Matter and the Civil Right's Movements in the U.S. It explains each movement and how those movements work. The first chapter explain the study of the post-sixtie's era and how the racial activist change activism to social justice organization and the civil right's movement . It deals with the role of the memorialization and how it is essential to emphasize the success of the movement and it is a way to inspire the new generation of activists in their struggle. The second chapter examines the reason behind the creation of the Black Live Matter and its main goals, specificity how this movement was guided and its tactics to help black people. This extended essay concludes with the third chapter that deals with the older generation , in which it affirms that the civil rights movements does not solved many racial issues than it deals with the views of BLM , it support , criticism and response to criticisms. Finally, this chapter seeks to find a middle ground between Civil Right's Movement and Black Live's Matter .

List of Abbreviations

BLM Black Live Matter

BPP Black Panther Party

CBC Congressional Black Caucus

CRM Civil Rights Movement

FIP The Federal Bureau of Investigation

L.A Los Angeles

LGBT Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

MLK Martin Luther King

NAACP National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NCC National Council of Churches

SCLC Southern Christian Leadership Conference

SNCC Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

UNL National Urban League

VEP Voter Education Project

General Introduction

Many Americans consider the 1960s civil rights movement as one of the most important social movements of the 20th century. After the 1960s It inspired many social movements such as the Women's Liberation Movement and the Gay Movement. The movement has made several success in the abolition of de jure segregation and in securing some fundamental civil and voting rights. The social issues remain unsolved for the African-American population. The conservatives have tried to present the civil rights movement as successful and a bygone age which allowed African Americans to fully enjoy equality with whites. Nevertheless, it is clear that blacks do not have the same opportunities as whites in many fields . Indeed, even if the election of Barack Obama in 2008 embodied the hope of a more equal, fair America, recent years have proved that the racial situation remains problematic and echoes the problems of the past.

In the last years , several cases of police brutality brought out injustices to the blacks community is subjected to. Because of the police brutality , a new movement was created in 2013 Black Lives Matter. Black Lives Matter is a contemporary movement . BLM goes beyond the denunciation of police brutality and put forward the notion of black humanity. It addresses questions of gender and sexuality and defends the rights of the disabled.

This memoir addresses the position of the African-American people in society and how the civil rights movement and Black Lives Matter have helped those people . The first chapter of this extended essay deals with the legacy of the 1960s .The study of the post-sixties era allowed for a continuity to be established between the 1960s civil rights movement and contemporary activism and how the racial activism evolved and many organizations became a social justice organization . In addition to that this chapter seeks about how the commemoration of CRM can make the 1960s movement memorable today.

The second chapter starts with BLM . First it explains the reason behind the creation of the BLM . Then its main goals specificity and finally how this movement was guiding and how its tactics have tried to help black people .

Firstly, the third chapter seeks about the older generation , in which it affirms that the civil rights movement has not solved many racial issues. Secondly it deals about the views of BLM , its support , criticism and response to criticisms. Finally , this chapter aims to find a Middle ground between CRM and BLM .Many people do not agree on the extent of the divide, but most seem to agree on the importance of the help between the movements.

African Americans suffer from discrimination and racism from the beginning of the life till today. And for ending their problems several organizations was created for theme. So can this two organizations, the Civil Rights Movement and Black Lives Matter solved the problem of the African Americans. Through this memoire , the student will give each movement, its ways to fight for the Blacks.

CHAPTER ONE:
THE LEGACY OF THE
1960s

1.1 Introduction

According to many activists, the 1960s movement was a successful movement in which the study of the post-sixties era allowed for a continuity to be established between the 1960s civil rights movement and contemporary activism that it brought rights to the African Americans. The CRM passed by a lot of events in which it had changed the organizations' goals and the activists. The chapter sheds light on some details of the shape, the success and the development of the 60s Civil Rights Movement.

1.2 Post-60s

The civil rights movement was a mass popular movement to secure African Americans equal access to and opportunities for the basic privileges and rights of U. S. citizenship. It was considered as a successful movement because racism has been reduced and it has been ended in the 1970s and 1980s. It has been described as a problem of the past and it has been finished but the activists did not mention the consequences of racism on the oppressed people of the country. Therefore, the study of the consequences of the American civil rights movement became important and the civil right movement was considered as a decade of renewed racial turmoil.

1.2.1 From Civil Rights Movement to Colorblindness

The history of the civil rights movement is narrated by which presents a short lived movement that begin with the *Brown* decision in 1954 and ends with the passage of the Voting Rights Act in August 1965. This narrative mainly focused on leaders and their successful achievements and presented the history of the movement as confined to the South. The master narrative is also at the origin of the "top-down" perspective, asserting that the successful organization of the movement came from the top and moved down – through national leaders, organizations, and the federal government. The prevailing idea was that the movement was started with *Brown vers. Board of Education* (the landmark case of

1954 that declared separate public schools for black and white students as unconstitutional), and was then led by *Martin Luther King, Junior, the Kennedys*, and President *Lyndon B. Johnson*. (Frost 440). In the 28th August 1963 the American civil rights activist Martin Luther King Jr delivered a public speech in title "I have a dream" during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, in which he called for an end to racism in the United States. In the 1970s, despite the fact that some Americans – especially blacks – believed that the “dream” of Martin Luther King remained unfulfilled, others felt that the African American community had received a disproportionate amount of attention from the government, and that the government and the white community had done everything they could to end racial inequality(Zashin 1939).

The idea that racism and discrimination were abolished with segregation was also reinforced by Ronald Reagan's presidency (1981-1989). During his presidency, Reagan cut funding for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (the federal agency created in 1965 that enforced civil rights against discrimination in the workplace) and the Civil Rights division of the Justice Department (created in 1957). Moreover, he went against affirmative action policies, set up during the civil rights movement. According to Merriam - Webster dictionary the term "affirmative action" is defined as : an active effort to improve the employment or educational opportunities of members of minority groups and women . Affirmative action can be also described as “a series of presidential executive orders, civil-rights laws and governmental programs regarding the awarding of federal contracts, fair employment practices and licenses, with the goal of uprooting bigotry.”(Marable 81).

"Affirmative action "was aimed at giving equal opportunities to a disadvantage group who suffered from discrimination in order to overcome inequalities, especially in the fields of employment, education and business. President Lyndon B. Johnson stated that the civil rights

movement had more points to achieve, not just freedom. According to Ronald Reagan and Republicans in 1980s the vision of a continuing struggle for African Americans' civil rights was not relevant anymore and the goals of the civil rights movement had already been achieved . The 1980s embodied indeed an iconic period during which the themes of American idealism, progress and racial reconciliation were at the core of American society(Crenshaw 103).Nevertheless, colorblind conservatives growing focused on structural inequality (not just equality in terms of law), as well as its “radical reconstruction” goals. It ignored the complexity and dynamism of the civil rights movement and its growing focus on structural inequality . Instead, they insisted that colorblindness resulted in the elimination of racial classifications and finally established a formal racial equality before the law, and that those goals were the movement's objectives and were praised in particular by Martin Luther King (Hall p.1237) .

Moreover, the conservative see that the "affirmative action" as inverting racism and discrimination against white people. In the Republican National Convention in 1972, President Richard Nixon stated during his presidential campaign: “You do not correct an ancient injustice by committing a new one.” (Hartman). In 1980 Reagan declared: “I’m old enough to remember when quotas existed in the U.S. for the purpose of discrimination. And I don’t want to see that happen again.” Hartman Reagan justified his vision by often quoting and referring to Martin Luther King, fulfilling his commitment to “a society where people would be judged on the content of their character, not the color of their skin.” (Killian pp.6-7)According to him, affirmative action disloyalty King's dream. Poverty in the 1980s did increase for the black community. In the first year of Reagan's presidency, the black family income declined by 5 percent, and the overall number of poor families increased by more than two million. By 1983, black unemployment had reached 21 percent. Advocates of colorblindness suggested that by continuing to see themselves as victims of racism and by

waiting for governmental solutions for social issues, African Americans were failing to take responsibilities for their own lives – that is to say, they were said to be looking for excuses for not trying to succeed in the American society.(Killian pp. 6-7).

Moreover "color blindness" was responsible in reducing the welfare state, Congress and the courts allowed that, since laws no longer permeated racism, African-Americans could not claim racial abuse.(Taylor pp.52-53). At the end of the 1980s, many whites considered that they had done enough for the blacks. (Killian 7). Furthermore, those who were convinced that the civil rights struggle was no longer necessary pinpointed the development of the black middle-class as well as the popularity of famous black figures in politics (such as Colin Powell who was appointed as National Security Adviser under Reagan's presidency, but also in popular cultures with famous stars such as Oprah Winfrey) as the proof of improvement of black people's social conditions.(Fuller 173). However, the 1990s proved that those who thought that racial reconciliation was finally achieved in the post-civil rights movement were wrong, since racial tensions emerged in violent ways and brought the national conversation on race up to date.

1.2.2 The Nineties

The 1990s was a decade of turmoil, showing that the racial reconciliation put forward by the conservatives was not reached and that the fight for racial equality was far from being over. Nonetheless, three decades after the civil rights movement, opinion of most blacks and whites on race in American society was still very different and showed the continuous disparity between the two communities. Among the African Americans polled, 51 percent declared that “the USA is moving toward two separate and unequal societies – one black, one white,” whereas only one third of the whites polled agreed; 70 percent of African Americans favored “more laws to reduce discrimination” against barely one third of white Americans;

and almost half of the white Americans polled stated that “black civil rights groups ask[ed] for too much.”(Marable p.146)

For instance, in May 1991, Rodney King, an African American taxi driver, was beaten by Los Angeles Police Department officers after a high-speed car chase. A witness filmed the scene from his balcony, and sent the video to a local news station. The footage –spread around the world – shows King on the floor with several officers hitting him, and others watching the scene. The beating, which lasted about ten minutes, resulted in skull fractures, broken bones and teeth and permanent brain damage. Police violence was well-known in Los Angeles, but it was the first time that it had been recorded. The four main officers were brought to trial for using excessive force. However, the following year, the mostly white jury declared a verdict of “non guilty.” A few minutes after the unexpected verdict, rioting erupted in South Los Angeles, Liquor stores, chain stores and fast-food places were looted, destroyed and burnt and white and Asian people were the target of violence. On the second day, gun battles took place between store owners and rioters, and South L.A. began to burn. On day 4, the National Guard entered South L.A. to restore order. The riots resulted in 53 deaths in South L.A., and more than \$1 billion of damages were made. Anger and frustration held down for a long time also resulted in riots in San Francisco, Oakland, Las Vegas, Seattle and Chicago. Those riots were considered the most violent and destructive events since the end of the 1960s (“L.A. Riots,” South Central History).

Because of the heightening tensions, some laws and reforms were reinforced during the 1990s, notably the Hate Crime Enhancement Act of 1994, which defined hate crime as “a crime in which the defendant intentionally selects a victim, or in the case of a property crime, the property that is the object of the crime, because of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation of any person.”(Hate Crime Legislation, The Leadership Conference). In other words, a person

charged with crime risked a more severe punishment when convicted if the crime was motivated by bias. Nevertheless, intense racial violence persisted in the nineties.

The Los Angeles Rebellion in 1992 rekindled a national discussion about the persistence of racial inequality in society, and from the mid-1990s on, Americans began to ask whether or not America had achieved the equality for which the 1960s activists fought. In 1997, President Bill Clinton's Administration launched the Initiative on Race and created an Advisory Board to start a "national conversation on race." The Board had to examine race, racism and the potential of racial, reconciliation through studies, discussions, meetings and actions. The meetings focused on the role race played in society, in civil rights enforcement, in poverty, in education, employment, housing, justice, health care, immigration, and stereotyping. (Lawson and Franklin p.1). However, criticisms emerged, accusing the final report (One America in the 21st Century) of excluding serious debates and concrete actions on the issue of racism. In the end, the dialogue on race did not result in genuine proposals aiming at abolishing inequalities in the fields of employment, housing, education, health care and criminal justice. Nor did it provide an analysis of how and why institutional racism was still present in America. The Board did open discussions about race in the mass media, but the persistence of town hall meetings without concrete action made the overall goal of the measure considered a failure.(Walker pp 429-430) .

In conclusion, the 1990s were an agitated period that called into question the message spread by the conservatives in the previous decades, and the image of a post-racial society was deeply challenged. Concern about racial relations and anxiety in front of the violent hate crimes and protests rapidly grew and was apparent in political and media discourses. Both Presidents George H.W. Bush and Clinton tried to present America as a united, fully-integrated and non-discriminatory nation by passing anti-discriminatory laws and issuing statements, but the persistence of hate crimes and the clear racial divide displayed to the rest

of the world an image of a nation defined by its racist roots (1990s: Racial Tensions Heighten and American Society is Defined by Its Racism) .

Furthermore, racial activism has evolved after the 1960s: in the early 1970s, the growing number of black mayors as well as the creation of a Congressional Black Caucus embodied the shift towards the integration of blacks into the political mainstream. In 1972, the National Black Political Convention reunited all the black political and activist spectrum, but did not result in any concrete ideas to continue the fight for civil rights: racial activism mainly turned into social justice activism.

1.3 A Changing Activism

Racial Activism has become different from what it was in 1960s. The activist has developed their goals. In the beginning, they were struggling for racial equality, but after they wanted more rights for social justice which means that activism had been developed in the post-60s. Blacks became more presented in the political mainstream and social justice was first introduced as a goal by the Black Panther Party, and was at the core of activism in the following decades. Thus, these changes helped shape contemporary activism.

1.3.1 From Protest to Politics

The African American leadership had been transformed in the late 1960s. Black people wanted black faces to be presented in the government and to be in positions of authority in the social, political and legal system.(Marable xii.) . Those victories announced a new direction for black politics and were the starting point of black mayoralty of the 1970s and 1980s. The reason behind this new direction was when Carl Stokes elected as a mayor in Cleveland, Ohio in 1967. This phenomenon was defined in using the term “from protest to politics.” by Dr Keeanga Taylor, author of From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation.(Taylor 85). The first things that black mayors were doing were to work on developing and controlling the police departments because it was responsible for brutality and

oppression towards African American , and their aim was to incorporate blacks in jobs for the city government and to expand black-owned small businesses.(Thompson p. 4).

The small black middle -class has been growing with the integration of blacks into the political mainstream- The grow of this class has been explained by Dr Keeanga Taylor when he writes between 1965 and 1972 the federal government's investment in social welfare (a spending which rose from \$75 billion to \$185 billion),combined with anti-discrimination mandates in federal hiring, led to the creation of job opportunities for blacks. As a result , in 1976 , 64% of all new federal employees were minority groups. In politics, the black middle -class politicians addressed to and collaborated with. Even if the experience of this rather small group was far from representing the majority of the African American community, it was taken as an example to display how hard work could allow African Americans to go beyond institutional racism. The personal stories of those individuals of the black middle class “began to replace the narrative of collective struggle.” (Taylor pp 81-82).

The black mayoralty has been common in the early 1970s. The incorporation of blacks in the political scene would later turn into disillusionment. But under Reagan's presidency the cuts in federal aid to cities, the efficiency of black mayors to improve the living conditions and social progress of African Americans became very limited.(Thompson 4). Many black mayors of big cities pursued policies that included the increase of sales tax on the public and the reduction of taxes on corporations. As a consequence, those measures went against the interest of black working-class communities. (Marable xii). The election of black mayor was not enough to change or to improve for the black cause , and did not answer the question of how to solve for instance the problems in housing , jobs , education , or healthcare needs .In 1967 Martin Luther King said that elections alone were not the “ultimate answer” in the civil rights struggle. (Taylor 88).

The black politicals were strong. There was another argument about it which was the creation of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) in 1971. According to Oxford dictionary, The Congressional Black Caucus is apolitical group or organization (often a sub-grouping of a larger body) composed of African-Americans and aiming to promote the interests of black people; specifically (with capital initial) (more fully "Congressional Black Caucus") that composed of black members of Congress. The role of the Congressional Black Caucus was making concrete actions. In 1971 at a fundraiser, the actor and activist Ossie Davis gave a speech to congratulate the CBC for taking action rather than rhetoric and they were against 1960s movement that was based on rhetoric and they did not make a change in big cities . However, Dr Keeanga Taylor writes that even if the purpose of the CBC was to “get things done,” it was not really the case, since it principally involved “endless hearings and studies quantifying Black oppression” – as many organizations had already done before.(Taylor 88).

Furthermore, in the black political movement happened a big change, which was known as the National Black Political Convention of 1972, also known as the Gary convention , this event happened on March 1972 in Gary, Indiana, which gathered over 8,000 African American. This event gathered all black politicals, from Republicans to Democrats, nationalists, socialists, and independents. The purpose of the convention was to develop a political strategy for African Americans. This event has been taking several issues but few of them materialized afterwards (Gibbs). Even if it marked the first large-scale gathering of African American politicians and activists, the convention destroyed the illusion of black unity as it highlighted tensions between the various groups and the difficulties to set up a clear direction for the movement. The radicals and the nationalists who wanted to create a black political party independent from the Democrats or the Republicans were confronted to the growing incorporation of black politicians in mainstream politics. The CBC itself refused to take part in the event or to be related to the statements it produced. Contradictions also

emerged when some of the attendees denounced capitalism and called to overthrow the political system, while at the same time supporting candidates of the Democratic Party. (Taylor 92). Racial activism has been changed to be more related to social justice and this changed has shaped contemporary activism , which has mixed racial issues with social and economics.

1.3.2 From Racial Activism To Social Justice

After the civil rights movement, racial activism and civil rights organization been developed and it helped shape present-day activism . After the civil rights movement , some organizations are active today like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference founded in 1957 and the NAACP but other organizations failed such as in 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected chair of The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and he began to call for " Black Power" (Carmichael and Hamilton 51, 61.) but it took another way and it got away from the concepts of non violence and integration . In 1966 Huey Newton and Bobby Seale created the Black Panther Party, it aims was to establish patrols in black communities to keep a close eye on police activities, and to protect the black community from police brutality, but also demanded full employment and decent housing and there were some issues still topical and that were the goal of Black Lives Matter today as will be seen in the second chapter.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation had made many attacks and it blamed the BPP for riots and other evidence of violence, and launched the COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program) aimed at watching, infiltrating, and disrupting the organization. At the end of the sixties, members had been killed and even more were in jails. Newton wanted to develop survival programs, such as providing free breakfasts for children, the establishment of free medical clinics and the help for the homeless to find housing, and giving away free clothes and food. Nevertheless, the party declined due to internal conflicts and external attacks, and,

by the end of the 1970s, even though community service programs were emphasized, the Black Panther Party was no longer a major political force. Some community programs were sustained by women leaders until the early 1980s; but by 1980 the number of Panther membership had fallen to 27, and the Panther-sponsored school closed two years later (“Black Panther Party Founded) In the Black Panther Party, the concept of social justice was developed through its community social programs , and specially in its ten point program (the set of guidelines, ideals and ways of actions of the BPP). But the BPP has not continued.

During or after the 60s, several disintegration has happened of some of the main civil rights organization, but sometimes racial activism of the civil rights movements was highlighted and commemorated some decades later in order to throw light on the modern political and social agenda . For example, in 1993, a March on Washington DC was organized to commemorate the 1963 March. The American professor Manning Marable described this march as a “transitional moment in the history of black America.” (Marable 142). In front of the step of the Lincoln Memorial around 100,000 Americans gathered, and a wide range of political and social interests were represented. The idea of march had emerged from discussions between members of the “civil-rights establishment:” the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President Joseph Lowery, a former SCLC organizer and congressional delegate, the National Urban League director John Edward Jacob, and Coretta Scott King.

During the march, the 45-year-old 1993/1994 NAACP leader Benjamin Chavis was seen as the “youth leader” by the older generation of civil-rights leaders, and the march was seen as an opportunity to “pass the torch” to a new generation of activists. Nonetheless , Marable writes that “few appeared to ask whether the young organizers represented the anger and frustration of inner-city youth and students.” (Marable 144) .The civil rights activist and Minister Joseph Lowery declared that the March on D.C. was indeed “part of an effort to

revive the [civil rights] coalition, to spark a renaissance in social activism and pass the torch so the struggle will continue into the next century.”(Marable 145) . This will of making the civil rights struggle last thirty years after the movement shows that racial equality was not something of the past and that there was a wish to establish a continuity between two generations of activists in order to continue the fight.

Although to involve a new generation of activists , an old civil rights organization , the NAACP has tended in recent years to be seen as an organization directed by and for the “senior generation,” with no relevant discourse for the young one. Moreover, internal conflicts erupted about the role that the organization should take as the new century started. the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education published an article entitled The Struggle for the Heart and Soul of the NAACP in 2007. This article speaks about the place of the NAACP in the 21st century, and more particularly about the resignation of Bruce S. Gordon in March 2007, appointed as president of the NAACP in 2005. He defined the organization as “once more conflicted in its effort to determine if it should stray from its original mission as an advocacy organization and devote more of its resources to helping blacks help themselves.” Bruce S. Gordon resigned , and he proclaimed that he was in disagreement with the association "old guard" on the role of the organization in present day society . He wanted to change the role of the NAACP, and to create social service programs such as a hurricane relief campaign, a literacy program, and a plan to incorporate black seniors in Medicare's prescription drug program .

Others who disagreed with his ideas stated that he was trying to change the course of the fight of the organization. (The Struggle for the Heart and Soul of the NAACP). In an interview for the Los Angeles Times, Gordon declared that it was no longer sufficient for the NAACP to “simply push the government to institute policies. It's important for us to step out into our communities and deliver services.” NAACP Chair Julian Bond disagreed with

Gordon by affirming: “we very much appreciate and value social service but that's not what we do. And that's not what we're going to do. It is popular to say that we are in a post-civil rights period, but we don't believe that.” For Gordon the organization focused only on what the government does, and that it should do by itself what it has the capacity to do. The message that racism has come to an end and that it was time for African Americans to work by themselves to improve their integration in society, it was interpreted by the idea of "self-help". Gordon resigned from his position of President, after months of battle in the press. Those who stated that the NAACP had not evolved to be appropriate for 21st century issues pointed out the fact that the group's mission statement was the same in 2007 as at its foundation almost a century before, and ignored contemporary realities. The article dwells on the fact that one half of the entire African American population was under 32, that is to say they were born after the civil rights movement. In that sense, the article insists on the fact that the NAACP needs to find a way to address the young population with programs and practices relevant to them, in order to remain a significant organization for the black community.(The Struggle for the Heart and Soul of the NAACP 40)

Furthermore, with the election of Barack Obama in 2008, several political observers concluded that the NAACP was now irrelevant. With the election of a black man at the head of the country, they stated that black oppression and lack of opportunities belonged to the past. However, the election of one man cannot call into question the oppression of an entire community that has always been ingrained in American society.(This Is Not Your Grandfather's NAACP 40.) . NAACP wantS to enhance the image to the young generation of African Americans. In 2009 , the NAACP elected Benjamin Todd Jealous, a 36 year old man, so he was born after the civil rights movements and he was the youngest president in the history of the NAACP. His aim was to make the NAACP relevant to the young black community . The struggle to end discrimination and racism remains much needed nowadays ,

this fact was adopted by many activists and historians , and that there is an “unfinished business” that has to be addressed by contemporary racial and social activism.

1.4 Unfinished Business

The racial equality remains unachieved, this fact was underlined by both generations of activist and historians. Some of them saw the civil rights movement as a " long civil rights movement". Furthermore, because of this idea of unfinished business, some people question the commemorations and celebrations of victories of the 1960s movement, for they fear that it presents the 21st century as post-racial, and therefore discredits the need for a new movement

1.4.1 The Long Civil Rights Movement

In the civil rights historiography a new term has been introduced "long civil rights movements " . This term was introduced by the historian Jacquelyn Hall . He wanted to prove that the movement was not in the end of the 60s but its continuity , in the 21st century ,racial problem remained, which it linked to long civil rights movement. Activists can understand how current racial activism, and more particularly Black Lives Matter ensues both from the 1960s and the evolution of activism in the following decades through the notion of a long civil rights movement. In that sense, linking current activism to the 1960s thanks to this concept (shared by many historians) is a way to testify to the relevance of the comparison between the two movements cannot denied the triumph of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement (with the end of Jim Crow, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965) but racism is stile persisted in American society. Hall saw the civil rights movement as “an undefeated but unfinished revolution, a world-defining social movement that has experienced both reversals and victories and whose victories are now, once again, being partially reversed.” (Hall 1263).

In the 1990s, the emergence of community studies, autobiographies, and memoirs, revealed the masses of individuals at the heart of the movement, and began to highlight the efforts of women as well as anonymous activists. Before the emergence of autobiographies and memoirs, the focus of historians was on what had been successful but they often forgot to mention what has been left undone. The same claims can be found today in the Black Lives Matter movement, when current activists explain that they recognize the victories of the 1960s movement and respect the activists of that time, but that many of the racial and social problems in American society persist and racism has not been erased with the victories of the 1960s. The triumph of the 1960s civil rights movement is indisputable, but discrimination and racism are the proof that the struggle over racial and social justice is not over. Jacquelyn Hall wrote:

The resegregation of the public schools; the hypersegregation of inner cities; the soaring unemployment rates among black and Latino youths; the erosion of minority voting rights; the weakening of the labor movement; the wealth and income gap that is returning the United States to pre-New Deal conditions;.....those historical legacies cannot be waved away by declaring victory, mandating formal, race-neutral public policies, and allowing market forces to rule. (Hall 12631) .

The American author, speaker and scholar of African American studies Ronald W. Walters developed the idea of racial equality is not over, and the obvious persistence of discrimination in the United States (considering the social and economic status of African Americans)in an article entitled “The Impact of Slavery on 20th and 21st Century Black Progress.” He explains that contemporary racism in American society is the direct consequence of slavery. He establishes that even if slavery was an institution that dominated race relations 250 years ago, and persisted in different ways in the century that followed its

abolition, it is rarely deeply discussed that it is the foundation of modern racial dynamics such as the socioeconomic conditions of black Americans or the racial attitudes of white Americans.(Walters 111 ,112). In other words, he affirmed that the socioeconomic status of the African American community today can be traced back to slavery; an idea that meets the concept of a long civil rights movement.

Moreover, the African American political activist, academic scholar and writer Angela Davis recently displayed her vision of the civil rights movement by affirming that the 1960s were just part of a much bigger movement, the “freedom movement,” which started with the anti-slavery movement and which is still running today. Indeed, she declared: “There is this freedom movement and then there is an attempt to narrow the freedom movement so that it fits into a much smaller frame, the frame of civil rights. The civil rights is not immensely important, but freedom is more expansive than civil rights.” (Davis). She supported the idea of continuity in time before and after the civil rights movement , by saying:

Acknowledging continuities between nineteenth century anti-slavery struggles, twentieth century civil rights struggles, twenty-first century abolitionist struggles—and when I say abolitionist struggles I’m referring to the abolition of imprisonment as the dominant mode of punishment, the abolition of the prison industrial complex—acknowledging these continuities requires a challenge to the closures that isolate the freedom movement of the twentieth century from the century preceding and the century following.

Therefore, her opinion is in accordance with Jacquelyn Hall's idea of a long civil rights movement which is not a singular moment in the 20th century. The American civil rights activist, Baptist minister and politician Jesse Jackson took a concrete example to highlight the fact that there was an “unfinished business.” In 2000, the town of Wallingford, Connecticut, was the only town in the state that kept its office open on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day (a

federal holiday observed on the third Monday of January). Jesse Jackson visited the town and was confronted to a group of white supremacists opposed to King's commemoration – he declared that it proved that there was an “unfinished business” in the struggle for racial equality in America.(Alderman 73) .This example of commemoration of a civil rights icon is part of a much larger process of commemoration and memorialization of the civil rights movement, a much debated topic today for it triggers some concerns about its consequences on the image of present-day activism.

1.4.2. Commemoration and Celebration

In 1990s, a lot of museums and institutes have opened, for example ; the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis located in the motel where Martin Luther King was assassinated, Martin Luther King Jr. Historic Site run by the National Park Service in Atlanta , the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, the Voting Rights Museum in Selma and the Rosa Parks Museum in Montgomery. The development of commemoration of the civil rights movement has been through these museums and memorials celebrating the victories of the 1960s. The current activists saw the idea of commemoration as a topical and questionable matter because they considered that the fight for racial equality and justice seems far from being achieved and the idea of commemoration asked questions about the role of commemoration and the limits of celebration . Therefore, it seems relevant to dwell on this issue, since it is discussed by Black Lives Matter activists.

The historians Renee Romano and Leigh Raiford defined the term memory in their book entitled *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory* ,as “the process by which people recall, lay claim to, understand, and represent the past. These memories may be personal and individual; they might be collective and widely shared.” (Romano and Raiford xiii). In recent years , many groups wanted to be identified and to push their own political agendas with the CRM . For instance, the disabled and the Christian conservatives wanted to

show themselves as carrying the legacy of the CRM. Activists for gay rights presented themselves as the defenders of a basic civil right and portraying those who opposed gay marriage as the new segregationists of the 21st century, so they compared their cause to the black civil rights cause. But others were against this comparison, stating that gay marriage was a “special right”.

The commemoration or celebrating the CRM was a debated topic among the historian or even the activists, some point out the possible dangers of this process. Some activists underline the fact that since commemorations and memorials display the victories of the 1960s, people can tend to see the civil rights movement as belonging to the past and not relevant to contemporary issues anymore. The American people should present the victories of the sixties in order to inspire the young generation to continue the fight for racial equality. Since the movement did succeed in several ways, the idea of commemoration victories of the movement was supported by Randell Kennedy, he said that people should use this process in order to continue the struggle today. Kennedy wrote that American people should “recall [the movement] with admiration, attentiveness to its limitations, and renewed determination to further social justice.” He praises the 1960s movement by writing that it should be a source of pride and inspiration, but he recognizes its limits, and he affirms that it should not be the basis for uncritical triumphalism. (Kennedy)

The idea of commemoration and memorialization of the civil rights movement was recurrent topic among activists of the new generation, and more particularly among Black Lives Matter activists. Moreover, in lecture delivered in October 2013 entitled "Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Closures and Continuities", Angela Davis talked about the many anniversaries which were celebrated that year: the fiftieth anniversary of Dr Martin Luther King's Letter from Birmingham jail, the fiftieth anniversary of the Birmingham children's crusade, the anniversary of the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church and the killing of

four young black girls, as well as the killing which took place during the March on Washington DC. In order to commemorate them, a series of events were organized.

Therefore, Angela Davis feared that these commemorations tended to “enact historical closures.” Davis aim was that the victories of the freedom struggle should be understood as an unfinished struggle, and she insisted on the fact that the movement should be continuous not ended (this idea is in accordance with the idea of a long civil rights movement). She proved it through the use of many references to Dr Martin Luther King in popular culture – for example, there are more than 900 U.S. streets named after him . Besides, she said that geographers who have studied those naming practices suggested that they tended to “deflect attention from persisting social problems — the lack of education, housing, jobs, and the use of carceral strategies to conceal the continued presence of these problems.”She pointed out a paradox in American society today concerning the remembrance of the civil rights movement: “a saturated geographical presence of the culture of the Black Freedom Movement and a lack of anything more than abstract knowledge about that movement.” (Davis) which means that Davis insisted on that commemorations and celebrations should not be covered by the persistence of racism and racial inequalities in the U.S. today. She mentioned that people know the history of the CRM , and people should understand its dynamism and roots and also its effects on contemporary society, in order to understand its continuing in the 21st century .

Even if the dangers of commemoration and celebration are pointed out by some activists , others insist on the fact that remembrance of the past can have a very positive effect on current struggles. The historians Larry Griffin and Kenneth Bolen defined race as “one of the most important issues [today] for which the presence of the past is both potent and sorrowful.” (Griffin and Bollen 594). The 1960s civil rights movement memory was narrated by presence of museums, celebrations, and recollections shows that individuals and communities are shaped by the past. The 21st century's racial and social struggles could use

the victories of the 1960s as examples . The activists could be inspired by the sense of community, and personal as well as national identities and they could use the strength but the weakness of that decade in order to adjust their own ideologies or tactics.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Through this chapter, the study of the post-sixties era allow for a continuity to be established between the 1960s civil rights movement and contemporary activism. Some organizations like SNCC and the BPP had failed but the others had continued the struggle in the late 60s and early 70s. During Reagan presidency, racism has been presented as a problem from the past . Then the blacks had emerged in the political system .According to the conservatives those factors presented the success of the post civil rights. In the 90s , the violent tensions had emerge in which it brought back the fact that the country was not post-racial, and that racism and racial inequalities were still deeply rooted in America, even thirty years after the civil rights movement some historians described the CRM as a long civil rights movement and this term was shared by some activist like Angel Davis.

The racial activism evolved and many organizations become a social justice organization and this concept was highlighted by the BPP. The activism of the 21st century is the direct legacy of the CRM . In addition to that, the 1960s movement is still memorable today because of the commemoration . Even if some activists were against it because according to them commemoration can be used to present the battle for racial equality as being over, in the same way as the conservatives did in the 80s. The memorialization of the 1960s is essential to emphasize the success of the movement as well as what has been left undone, and it is a way to inspire the new generation of activists in their struggle. Therefore, the Black Lives Matter - a new movement- can be studied its goals, strategies, hierarchy and tactics with the role of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement.

CHAPTER II

BLACK LIVES MATTER:

A NEW FORM OF

ACTIVISM

2.1 Introduction

The Black Lives Matter is a contemporary movement, through this movement it was noticed that racial activism is still rooted . While some activists see that this movement is similar to the CRM . This chapter focuses on the context and the living conditions of African-Americans in the 21st century have a clear idea on the importance and the circumstances the BLM was created for. In addition to that the goals and the leadership of BLM are going to be highlighted, and finally it will deal with tactics in ending racism and violence. This study will help in understanding the BLM movement .

2.2 The Twenty-First Century and the Creation of BLM

In order to understand why BLM was created, we must conduct an analysis of the social status of African Americans at that time. Racism has been rooted in American society for 50 years, which means that ethnic issues in the 21st century are the echo of the 1960s. Racism is rampant in many areas such as education, institutional racism, mass imprisonment and employment. Racism led to the anger of the young generation which allowed to create a new movement to deal with issues.

2.2.1 Racial Issues in the Twenty-First Century

Chapter one explains that black society in the United States is not homogenous and visible, but they suffer from poverty. Sociologists Walter R. Allan and Reynolds Farley work on the economic situation of African Americans between 1940 and 1980. They pointed out the presence of "two competing realities in black social communication."(Walters p.116). They notice the contrast between an emerging black elite and a black underclass "mired in poverty and possibly at risk of permanent exclusion from full participation in the society." (Walters p.116) . They mentions that in the 21st century the "two countervailing trends" is still exist , they talk of an intergenerational poverty transferred through the decades. In the

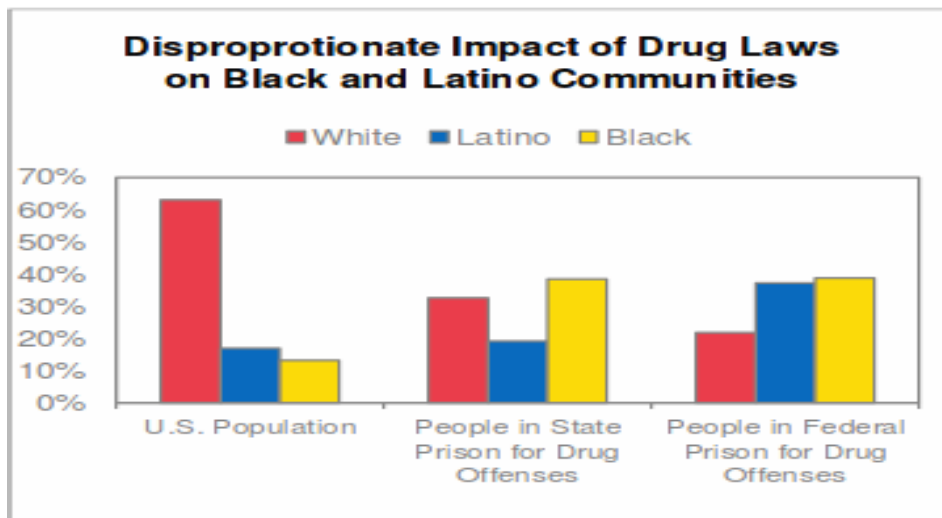
African American communities , poverty become more and more visible in the South and also in the North. (Walters p.117).

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has published statistics studies about the unemployment among blacks and whites . This statistics has showed that the disparity between black and white American unemployment remains at the same proportion as fifty years ago. So the black unemployment rate is about double that among whites. (Black Unemployment Rate Is Consistently Twice that of Whites)The differences of the rich and the poor is clear among blacks more than the whites . The richest whites have 74 times more wealth than an average white family while the richest African American families have around two hundred times more wealth than the average black family. (Taylor 7)

After the CRM education has been improved, but it is still a disparity between blacks and whites. In 2009, a study was published by the National Center for Education Statistics at the US Department of Education. This study showed that children with good rates dropped out of school every day and their number estimated by 7,000 students . Even if in between 1980 and 2007 the number of the white, African Americans and Latinos who exited the school declined but the number of the Blacks and Latinos is still in the top (“Fact Sheet, African American Education,” *NAACP*). In elite American Universities the number of black students attending has declined in recent years. And in the institutions that give associate degrees, such as community colleges, the number of black students has increased since 1994, but at top-tier universities the percentage of blacks has remained around 6 % in the last twenty years. The reason behind this is the extremely selective admission which disadvantages minority students since high schools in predominantly black areas are underprepared to answer the selective criteria. (McGill, *The Atlantic* no p). In other words, the racial equality has not been reached yet. Even if the progress in education for African

Americans compared to fifty years ago is undeniable. (“Criminal Justice Fact Sheet,” *NAACP* <http://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2016.html>.)

The "war on drugs" campaign, which began in 1970 under Nixon’s administration, was one of the factors that led to mass imprisonment. Its goal was to fight drug abuse which was known as " enemy number one " by Nixon. In the 1980 , the arrests for drug crimes increased by 126% and today disproportionately targets African-Americans, not whites. in fact, the minorities in urban communities and the low income groups were targeted by drug law, this is the reason behind the number of the blacks prisoners was increased compare to whites. (VII. Racially Disproportionate Drug Arrests).The chart below shows the impact of drug laws on black and Latino communities in the US population in 2014. Whether in State Prisons or in Federal Prisons, African Americans remain the most disproportionately imprisoned population for drug offenses. (The Drug War, Mass Incarceration and Race)



“VII. Racially Disproportionate Drug Arrests,” *Human Rights Watch*

Taylor wrote in his book *From #Black Lives Matter to Black Liberation.* " the imprisonment of Black men has led to social stigma and economic marginalization, leaving many with few options but to engage in criminal activity as a means of survival." (Taylor 3). This quotation insure that the consequence of economic difficulties and social isolation lead to imprisonment which means that the social conditions of African Americans lead to the

mass incarceration. The most affected category of African Americans by the criminal justice system is the youth category because they are the victims of what is called the school-to-prison pipeline. Which refers to the policies and practices which push students out of school and directly into the criminal justice system. This pipeline is favored by a zero-tolerance policy at school: for instance, the involvement of the police and sometimes arrests for minor incidents, and the exclusion from the school system by suspension, expulsion, and discouragement. Moreover, it primarily targets African American young pupils. (School to Prison Pipeline). According to Dr Keeanga Taylor, this crisis in African American society and more particularly young African Americans goes beyond mass incarceration, she explains that the persistence of deeply ingrained old stereotypes of black Americans, who tend to be seen by white Americans as “dangerous, impervious to pain and suffering, careless and carefree, and exempt from empathy, solidarity, or basic humanity” is one of the reasons why the police can shoot and kill black people without being punished. (Taylor 3).

What persists in American society today is also the pattern of institutional racism. In her book, Dr Taylor defines institutional racism with the same terms used by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*, written fifty years ago: “Institutional racism, or structural racism, can be defined as the policies, programs, and practices of public and private institutions that result in greater rates of poverty, dispossession, criminalization, illness, and ultimately mortality of African Americans.” (Taylor 8) . According to Carmichael and Hamilton , racism was overt and covert ; it is overt because it was individual racism (from one white individual against a black individual) and it was covert because it was institutional racism (the white community acting against the black community) .(Carmichael and Hamilton 4) Institutional racism is a system of hierarchy and inequalities that favors white supremacy and results in disparities between whites and people of color in the criminal justice system, housing, employment and house

care. In 2007, the Pew Research Center asked white and black Americans whether they “almost, always or frequently experience racism in certain situations”, and the result was collected in the following table(Walters p.121):

Table 3. Percent of Black and White Response to Racism in Certain Situations, 2007

Situation	Black	White
Apply for job	67	20
Rent apartment or house	65	27
Apply to college or university	43	7
Eat in restaurant or shop in stores	50	12

Source: Author’s creation from data in the study, “Optimism about Black Progress Declines: Blacks See Growing Values Gap Between Poor and Middle Class,” in Pew Research Center, *A Social & Demographic Trends Report* (Washington, DC, November 2007), 30.

The result of this table shows that the African Americans are victims of racism especially in the situation of employment and housing.

Another racial issue is still debating today by the activist which was the question of the vote . The author and journalist Gary Younge wrote that the 21st century has seen the use of “a mixture of the older tactics of voter intimidation, manipulation, gerrymandering, and the creation of new requirements to vote.” Several states have recently passed legislation to require the presentation of “government-issued identification at voting sites” and challenged the voting status of some black American voters by for instance reducing the number of polling stations in black communities or by sending less voting equipment than needed (Younge P.21) .The previous convicted Americans had no right to vote , an estimated 5.8 million of Americans cannot vote, from 5.8million there are 2 million African American . This system is a part from the institutional racism .(Blauner 238) .

After 50 years of CRM, there are still ethnic problems today between white Americans and blacks. In the words of Ronald Walters, "Writing at the beginning of the 21st century, it is still true that African Americans are not free because they are not equal on any side they want to eat." (Walters p.127) The young generation are frustrated because the persistence of inequalities and discrimination. The scholar and media maker Sasha Costanza-Chock wrote an article about youth and social movements, and talks about a contemporary "War on Youth." Indeed, she explains that youth of color, and particularly young African Americans, are the first to be targeted by "laws, policies, and practices of heightened surveillance, repression, and criminalization." If they are the victims of the school-to prison pipeline, they also are the main targets of stop-and-frisk policies. (Stop and Frisk: The Human Impact .no p)

In other words, the African American condition of life has improved in some fields compared to the 1960s, but the inequality between white and black Americans is still persisted in several ways : the rate of unemployment, inequalities in higher education, mass incarceration, the persistence of institutional racism and restrictions of voting access recall the disparities which have always existed between the two communities in American history. The first victim of the racial inequalities are the young African Americans and their anger and disillusionment in a supposed "post-racial era" fuel current activism, and are notably at the core of the creation of the Black Lives Matter movement .

2.2.2 Black Live Matter

From the creation of Black Lives Matter in 2014, it has become controversial and more popular. Since long decades, it is the first time that a movement has been on the rise in the country and in the world. With its rapid expansion and its broad claims, the movement led to an extensive press coverage and brought many debates around racism and discrimination up to date. Many journalists reminded the 1960s CRM when they saw the demand and the youth activist of BLM. After 50 years, a new movement has taken a place in a new era , in a

different generation and benefits from new means of organizing, such as for instance online tools. A closer analysis of the creation and the spread of the Black Lives Matter movement will help the student understand in what conditions it was created, and the involvement of the young generation, also emblematic figures of “martyrs” of the movement.

The slogan “Black Lives Matter” appeared for the first time as a hashtag on Facebook on July 13, 2013, after George Zimmerman's acquittal. It rapidly reached thousands of people. The slogan was created by Alicia Garza, a domestic worker rights organizer in Oakland, Opal Tometi, an immigration rights organizer in Phoenix, and Patrisse Cullors, an anti-police violence organizer in Los Angeles. The three were already part of the Black Organizing for Leadership and Dignity, a national program designed to organize black communities and to help make black leadership central in the social justice movement. On the day of the acquittal, Alicia Garza wrote a Facebook post which ended with “Our Lives Matter. Black Lives Matter.”, Cullors initiated the hashtag #Black Lives Matter, and Tometi helped them spread the new movement. After 18-year-old Michael Brown's death, in August 2014 the first protest on the streets has made in Ferguson, Missouri. More than five hundred Black Lives Matter members were part of the protest. Brown's death was seen as a “breaking point” for many African Americans of Ferguson but also for many across the country (Taylor 153). Keeanga Taylor wrote about the “inhumanity” of the police officer who left Brown's body in the hot sun for four and a half hours, and who kept his parents away at gunpoint and with dogs. After that, the Ferguson rebellion became a “focal point for the growing anger” in African Americans across the US.(Taylor 157).

However, there were some disagreements over the goal and the meaning of those Ferguson protests, between activists, civil rights leaders and elected officials. Taylor explains that for the Ferguson African American community and activists, the target of the struggle was to continue the protests in order to win justice for Michael Brown. But the civil rights

leaders, the elected officials (the members of Congress) and the federal agents thought otherwise. She explains that members of the Congressional Black Caucus seemed more concerned to increase the voter polls and to use the anger of the protesters into a turnout in favor of the Democratic Party. Taylor wrote that the NAACP reputation was “in decline” in previous years – was seen as trying to renew its image by trying to lead and organize the events and the struggles in Ferguson.(Taylor 158). Little by little, the movement spread and it is now organized in 37 local chapters and one international chapter in Toronto, Canada.

The issue of police brutality was underlined, through the creation of BLM. For example, from 2007 to 2013 the Department of Justice conducted an investigation of the Philadelphia Police Department, and the final report showed that 80% of the people shot by Philadelphia police officers were African Americans, even though less than half the city’s population is African American. Among the 382 shootings by police officers, only 88 officers were found to have violated department policy, and in 73% of those cases there was no suspension or termination.(Taylor p.2-3) .Also black women are victims of police brutality or imprisonment who often remain unnoticed by the public and not widely covered by the mainstream media. It is not entirely surprising since most of the victims of killings are men, but some criminal cases show that women too are victims of police brutality: for instance Rekia Boyd, Shelly Frey, Miriam Carey, Alberta Spruill are women fatally shot by police officers. The hashtag #Say Her Name was created in February 2015 in order to campaign against anti-black violence against black women.

Keeanga Taylor explains the creation and the need of BLM through Martin Luther King's own words could describe the rise of such a movement by writing that if it began as a “local struggle of ordinary Black people in Ferguson, who for more than one hundred days 'slammed the door shut on deadening passivity' in the pursuit of justice for Brown, [it] has grown into a national movement against police brutality and daily police killings of unarmed

African Americans.” (Taylor 2) . In that sense, MLK's words echo contemporary problems in America. It may seem surprising to some that BLM emerged during the presidency of a black president and the rise of a black political class and a small but important black economic elite. However, the divergence between those population groups and the rest of the black community, and the deep class differences between them are very obvious.

Moreover, some black people expressed the disillusionment and disappointment they felt under the governance of Barack Obama. Indeed, although he received an important support in 2008 and 2012 based on his promises of hope and change, and the fact that people wanted an important change from the policies of George Bush, Dr Taylor writes about a “reluctance of [Obama's] administration to address any of the substantive issues facing Black communities [which] has meant that suffering has worsened in those communities over the course of Obama's term of office.” She points out that under Obama's presidency, black unemployment has remained in the “double digits,” and black college graduates are more than twice as likely to be unemployed as white college graduates,(Taylor p.137) which once again participates in young generations' anger and frustration. In the first place, Obama’s presence in the White House could have embodied the hope and the ideal of a multiracial society (the presence of a black president could not have been possible some decades before), but the living conditions of African Americans cannot be improved simply with a black president at the head of state or with a visible small black elite.(Russell " Black Lives Matter: Toward a Modern Practice of Mass Struggle" .no p)

One particularity of the BLM movement is the youth of its activists. Many young people participate in formal organizations, and are more likely to become active through their community. The historian Sasha Costanza-Chock explains in her article about youth in social activism that youth has always been a key factor in powerful social movements – such as the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, the two waves of feminism, the transnational Lesbian, gay,

bisexual, and transgender movement, the environmental justice, and the antiwar and immigrant rights movements – and knows how to use the “new media” tools of their time. Chock 1). Indeed, Charles Cobb, a journalist, professor, and a former SNCC activist and field secretary until 1967, said that in the 1960s “it [was] young people who [were] doing the sitting in, the young people — in their late teens and early 20s, just like the Black Lives Matter people are predominantly young. [...] It all resonates with us”.

However, as explained previously, youth often remain stigmatized in the media as, in Sasha Costanza-Chock's words, “at best, apathetic, disengaged and removed from civic action. At worst, youth (in the U.S., particularly youth of color) are subject to growing repression: increased surveillance, heightened policing, stop-and-frisk policies on the streets, overbroad gang injunctions, and spiraling rates of juvenile incarceration” (Chock 1). In her article, the historian insists on young people's ability to use technology and new social media for their cause, and their ability to communicate with each other and to build stronger alliances thanks to that.

Indeed, youth movements today can easily be transnational thanks to the use of social media, for they can be directly connected to social movements in other parts of the world, and they can find inspiration in movements that they encounter via social media or television. (Chock 3). In an article about student activism interviewed a 19 - year - old student Andrew Brennen, sees a parallel between protests on college campuses in the 1960s and nowadays. He declares that there was the same desire “to have agency and voice in their institutions” and he reiterates the critical role that youth serve in “bridging education policy and practice—and the historical legacy that lingers over this work.” Indeed, he takes the example of the Little Rock Nine, Freedom Riders, and Children’s Crusade of 1963 to show that young people risked their lives for quality and desegregated schools. He stresses that “organizations working to improve education that aren’t including student voice are doing it wrong ... [We’re] not presuming to

be policy experts, but we are experts on how many policies play out at the classroom level. We're a reality check." (Anderson. no p) .

Nevertheless, it is important to underline that there are important dissensions among the new and young organizers. As a matter of fact, some have embraced the building of organizations, but others think that it is useless, and prefer to embrace social media as the best way to organize the Black Lives Matter network. DeRay McKesson and Johnetta Elzie, two of the most visible activists of the BLM movement, are less committed to build organizations, and they point out the fact that for months, Twitter, Facebook, and other media were successful in planning and organizing important protests. Their opinion is that in the absence of formal structures and leadership, everyone has a voice and no one can take its control. McKesson said: "It is not that we're anti-organizations.

There are structures that have formed as a result of protest, that are really powerful. It is just that you did not need those structures to begin protest. You are enough to start a movement."(Noah) But other activists do not reject the need of organizations. Asha Rosa, an activist from the Black Youth Project 100, spoke on the need to be organized by saying: "Organizations are longer lasting than an action, longer lasting than a campaign, longer lasting than a moment. Organizations are where we can build structures that reflect our values, and build communities that help us sustain ourselves in this work and sustain the work itself." (Katch).

So , BLM was formed in response to murders of young African Americans by police officers, and its members are young African Americans, angry at the system and the persistence of racial discrimination. However, its goals are not limited to the denunciation of police brutality and go far beyond it.

2. 3 BLM Achievement

The main goals of Black Lives Matter are going to be presented, as well as the points of comparison displayed by historians or journalists concerning those goals. The latter goals are mainly compared to the ideas of famous figures of the black liberation movement (including Martin Luther King and Malcom X) but also to those of SNCC, the Black Power movement and the Black Panther Party.

2.3.1 Goals of BLM

The first purpose that BLM was created for is to denounce police brutality , but it has developed a wide range of issues to address .On its website, Black Lives Matter defines its goals in this way:

There is a range of issues that movement work will likely push in years to come. One is the issue of our failing system of public education, which is a virtual school-to-prison pipeline for many black youth.As I frequently like to tell people, this movement in its current iteration is just over a year old. Give it some time to find its footing and its take on all the aforementioned issues. But the conversations are on the table, largely because many of the folks doing on-the-ground organizing came to this work through their organizing work around other issues . (11 Major Misconceptions About the Black Lives Matter Movement)

The BLM's demands are more than police brutality, its raised other issues such as high unemployment for African American . According to activists, police brutality is just a symptom among many others in a long list of “structural injustices and social ills.” They demand solutions in order to reach quality education, restorative justice, job opportunities and health support. (Tometi and Lenoir. no p) . Moreover, in August 2016, Black Lives Matter along with 50 black organizations released a policy platform that includes demands and “key

solutions” that go beyond police reform. The platform is entitled “A Vision for Black Lives – Policy Demands for Black Power, Freedom and Justice” and has six platform demands and 40 policy priorities. The demands include ending the war on black lives, providing reparations for harms inflicted on black people, investing in education and health, demilitarizing law enforcement, and full and independent black political power. (A Vision for Black Lives – Policy Demands for Black Power, Freedom and Justice). Black Lives Matter calls on the recognition of “black humanity,” more than a simple demand for civil or political rights – ending racial discrimination goes beyond laws.(Harris). Opal Tometi write an article with Gerakd Lenoir in which she explained that Black Lives Matter was not a civil rights movement, but a human one. Indeed, she stated:

We recognize the current struggle is not merely for reforms of policing, anymore than the Montgomery Bus Boycott was simply about a seat on the bus. It is about the full recognition of our rights as citizens; and it is a battle for full civil, social, political, legal, economic and cultural rights as enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.... The movement is a struggle for the human rights and dignity of black people in the U.S., which is tied to black peoples’ struggle for human rights across the globe. (Tometi and Lenoir no p)

In this passage, Tometi makes a parallel between BLM and the history of the black liberation movement and shows that BLM's aims are similar to the ones of past decades, that is to say the overthrow of white supremacy. The system of white supremacy is a system in which African Americans have been oppressed and marginalized since the beginning of the American colonies centuries before. The words of Frederick Douglass, a former slave who became a social reformer, orator and writer, continue to echo today and still make sense: “the oppressor will always do wrong from choice and right from necessity.” By quoting this

sentence, Vanessa Young and Kevin Robinson said that in 2016 Black Lives Matter is a necessary movement for the liberation of black people because white supremacy has not been abolished in the US. They characterize the BLM movement as a “logical, political descendant of the four Black students who initiated the sit-in movements in 1960.”(Young and Robinson). While some argue that BLM's goals are still not clear, veteran activist in the 1960s, explains that BLM's goals at this point are still in flux, like for the case for the movements of the late 50s and early 60s, and as the struggle continues, activists will tend to see that more things need changing and therefore their politics will change and evolve. (Young and Robinson no p).

First of all, the goal of the struggle is to defend a “human” cause rather than only a black cause, specially the notion of humanity can be traced back to the early history of African Americans' struggles .Indeed, the idea of humanity was already present in 18th century anti-slavery movement. Members of the Society of Friends, also known as the Quakers, were the leaders of the abolitionist movement in Britain and in the Americas. In 1787, three of their members prepared a design which represented a black slave kneeling in a begging posture with the motto “Am I Not a Man and a Brother?” engraved around him. This image became a symbol of oppression and was used to denounce the inhumanity of slavery.(Am I Not a Man and a Brother?).

Furthermore, in an article Opal Tometi wrote about the aims of Black Lives Matter and she quoted Martin Luther King who declared in his 1963 “I Have a Dream” speech: “Since we know that the system will not change the rules, we are going to have to change the system.” In the same article, she also writes about Ella Baker (one of the founders of SNCC) by saying that “[she] reminded us of the global nature of our struggle when she stated: 'Remember, we are not fighting for the freedom of the Negro alone, but for the freedom of the human spirit a larger freedom that encompasses all mankind.'”(Tometi and Lenoir). An online

article entitled “From SNCC to BLM” even calls Black Lives Matter an “extension of SNCC.” The writers explain that the supposed idea that Americans live in a post-racial and colorblind society is “foolish [and] irresponsible,” and they state that Black Lives Matter reminds America of the SNCC movement of the 1960s, and that it embodies a new hope for destroying American white supremacy. (Young and Robinsonno p).

Therefore, one of the basic principles of SNCC which was to struggle for the freedom of humankind so as to overthrow white supremacy seems to be revived in BLM. (Hogan143). Danielle Allen a political theorist and the political science professor Cathy Cohen made an analogy between the slogan “Black Lives Matter” with the famous catchphrase from the Black Power movement “Black Is Beautiful” by writing “What “Black is Beautiful” was to the ’70s, #BlackLivesMatter is for us.”. Thence, there are some issues raised in the late 1960s and early 1970s that are still topical in the contemporary movement. (Allen and Cohen). Thus, the comparison between BLM and previous social movements is complicated, for activists, journalists or scholars do not always apprehend past and new movements in the same way . BLM’s program is shown through ten-point program. The main lines of the ten-point program are as follows :

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black and oppressed communities.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black and oppressed communities.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present day society.

6. We want completely free health care for all black and oppressed people.
7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and the murder of black people, other people of color, and all oppressed people inside the United States.
8. We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression.
9. We want freedom for all black and oppressed people now held in US Federal state, county, city, and military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology.

Indeed, in 2015 Black Lives Matter published a ten-point plan to restrain police killing. Since the beginning of the movement in Ferguson, several activist groups such as the Organization for Black Struggle and the Black Lives Matter network have displayed a list of demands. Those demands include legal investigation of all police shootings of black people and official governmental investigations about the number of people killed by police officers or the demilitarization of local police forces. The ten-point plan is :

1. End broken windows policing. This calls for an end to the decades-long focus on policing minor crimes and activities, especially in neighborhoods with people of color. Also addressed are the need for different approaches to those with mental health issues and an end to racial profiling.
2. Community oversight. This calls for an all-civilian oversight structure with discipline power that includes a Police Commission and Civilian Complaints Office. Both offices would have specific responsibilities and across-the-board power.
3. Limit use of force. This solution seeks to establish standards to monitor how force is used.

4. Independently investigate and prosecute. Among other recommendations, this point seeks a permanent Special Prosecutor's Office at the state level to investigate any police shooting.
5. Community representation. This calls for officers to be a more accurate representation of the communities they serve.
6. Body cams/film the police. This would require and fund body cameras as well as dashboard cameras. All citizens would have the right to record police interactions on a cell phone, and police would not have the right to confiscate that phone, as it is the case in some states.
7. Training. This calls for rigorous and sustained training, especially about racial bias.
8. End for-profit policing. This calls for an end to quota systems and limits fines for low-income people.
9. Demilitarization. This seeks the end of the sale of military weapons to the nation's police forces.
10. Fair police union contracts. This seeks to rewrite police union contracts that create a different set of rules for police, and asks that disciplinary records be open and accessible. (Spooner" Black Lives Matter Offers 10-Point Plan to Curb Police Killing" no p) .

The sixth proposal was extended by a group of Ferguson activists who call for body cameras on every police officer. However, this proposal is very controversial since other activist groups stated that it would lead to increased surveillance and possible invasions of privacy, and would provide a huge database of information about communities of color that are already heavily under surveillance, much more so than white communities.(Spooner "

Black Lives Matter Offers 10-Point Plan to Curb Police Killing" no p) This ten-point plan reminds of the Panthers' ten-point program . BLM deals with some new issues.

2.3.2BLM's Specificity

As previously explained, Black Lives Matter wants more than black equality and protests also for gender equality and equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer people and the disabled. In that sense, Black Lives Matter relies on the notion of an “intersectional” approach to organizing. Intersectionality means that the social and cultural categorizations such as race, class, gender, ability, sexual orientation, and religion are interconnected, and that issues of racism, sexism, and homophobia cannot be explained if they are studied separately. (Race/Gender/Class “Intersectionality). In that sense, oppression of African Americans is multidimensional and must be attacked on different fronts. In 1989 the term “intersectionality” was used for the first time by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a leading scholar of critical race theory . Although she created the term, she explained that the concept was not new

In every generation and in every intellectual sphere and in every political moment, there have been African American women who have articulated the need to think and talk about race through a lens that looks at gender, or think and talk about feminism through a lens that looks at race. So this is in continuity with that.(Kimberlé Crenshaw quoted in Lawrence Ware and Paul Buhle "Intersectional Black Power: CLR James on Capitalism and Race" no p)

In the late 1960s and in the 1970s , the concept of intersectionality played a role, notably to show that poor black women were even more discriminated against because they were at the intersection of gender and race. (Cary Nelson **The Intersectionality Muddle no p**). These days, Black Lives Matter uses this concept of intersectionality to defend the cause of people of all races, genders, sexual orientations, religions and people with disabilities. the Black Lives Matter movement defends people of all sexual orientations and embraces queer and trans black people. The term “queer” can be defined as “an umbrella term used to indicate both a fluid sexuality and a general experience of marginalization and to draw a variety of minority communities into a shared project of activism.”(Danielle and Cohen *The New Civil Rights Movement Doesn't Need an MLK no p*). As explained previously, the media tend to only talk about the victims of police brutality as primarily black men. By organizing protests, rallies and other events, BLM founders want to make public cases of police brutality against black women, lesbians, queers and trans. (Raickford). The fact that BLM is meant to defend the rights of black queers, LGBT and disabled is a proper characteristic of the movement and is new. In that sense the goals of the new movement are wide range .

Nevertheless, BLM is sometimes criticized for this wide range of goals. For instance, in meeting in Chicago attended by more than 200 people Gary Young talked of a “lack of focus as to what we might demand.” He explained that some activists wanted to focus on the plight of black youth in general others on gun laws, on the stop-and-frisk policy and racism in the judicial system, and others . He described contemporary activism as “pervasive and elusive” and declared: “We want something. In a sense, we want everything. But the specific route map as to how we get from here to there remains unclear, because even when the oppression we are fighting is blatant it nonetheless remains institutionally burrowed away and expresses itself in myriad ways.”(Younge 23). In other words, according to Younge BLM has many issues but bit has not a plan in order to give clear solutions.

So, one can say that Black Lives Matter is actively involved in the defense of social justice. In that sense, it has many common points with the previous advocates of social justice, the Black Power movement, but it also uses famous figures' ideas and values such as Martin Luther King's or Malcolm X's. BLM addresses new issues such as gender and sexual discrimination. However, the high number of issues and aims of BLM is sometimes subjected to criticisms. BLM leadership is now going to be presented through the following main points.

2.4.LEADERSHIP

Black Lives Matter defines itself as multigenerational, multiracial, and including people of all color, sex and religion. And its protests and rallies are organized through social media, the main point in BLM's hierarchy is that it rejects the traditional straight male leadership. Finally, the student will dwell on the notion of a multiracial organization by notably questioning the place of whites in the movement.

BLM was against straight black male leadership and has no centralized leadership. BLM activists want to avoid the mistakes of the past and they reject the charismatic leadership model which has always dominated black politics, because according to them, if the decision-making power leans on one individual or some individuals, it is going to be a problem for the movement in the long term. On its website, Black Lives Matter formulates its view of leadership and justifies it in this way:

The Black Lives Matter movement is a leader full movement. Many Americans of all races are enamored with Martin Luther King as a symbol of leadership and what real movements look like.... First, focusing on heterosexual, cisgender black men frequently causes us not to see the significant amount of labor and thought leadership that black women provide to movements, not only in caretaking and auxiliary roles... Finally, a movement with a singular leader or a

few visible leaders is vulnerable, because those leaders can be easily identified, harassed, and killed, as was the case with Dr. King. By having a leaderfull movement, BLM addresses many of these concerns. BLM is composed of many local leaders and many local organizations including Black Youth Project 100... And there is room for the talents, expertise, and work ethic of anyone who is committed to freedom. (11 Major Misconceptions About the Black Lives Matter Movement.)

In that sense, Black Lives Matter attributes the model of straight male leadership to a past age which is not topical anymore, and which prevents LGBT and queer people as well as young communities from having a voice in the movement. According to them, the rejection of leadership does not mean that they are a leaderless movement, but a decentralized “leaderfull movement” where anyone can take part in it. Ferguson activists explained this decentralization which does not mean that they are not organized or not coordinated: “We are connected online and in the streets. We are decentralized, but coordinated. Most importantly, we are organized.” For this young generation of activists, political equality can only be reached if they democratize the conversation and decision-making, and there is no need for one specific leader.(Allen and Cohen, *The New Civil Rights Movement Doesn't Need an MLK*, no p). The notion of collective history and collective victory is highlighted when some activists insist on the fact that the struggle has to “rest in the collective,” and that minority groups should lead the movement and decide when their goals are accomplished, since the struggle to end racism and discrimination cannot be achieved by one single person.(Kneefel, Macklemore's “White Privilege II”: Roles for White People in Black Lives Matter , no p).

Furthermore, BLM defines itself as a multiracial movement. Today, working with white activists may appear as less controversial than in the 60s. However, there are still questions and discussions about the place of whites in the movement, from black activists as well as

from white activists themselves. The writer and activist Brandon Kneefel wrote in an article about white involvement in the Black Lives Matter movement that white people can “consider the racism in themselves and acknowledge the unhealed trauma of black v. white in America.” Even if many white people today are not necessarily actively aggressive towards African Americans, there is an “inherited wound” that has left black communities disadvantaged. According to him, race relations can experience a collective healing only if the majority of white people start with doing an inner work to acknowledge the history of racism in America and wish not to transmit it to the next generations.(Kneefel). Alicia Garza also wrote that BLM need white and other people of color in the movement: “It is appropriate and necessary to have strategy and action centered around Blackness, without other non-Black communities of color, or White folks for that matter, needing to find a place and a way to center themselves within it.” (Garza, A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement, no p). Thus, white activism has an important role in BLM movement .

So, Black Lives Matter rejected the straight black male leadership . Moreover, giving power to a community rather than to some individuals was an objective of BLM. It claims to be multigenerational and multiracial. Now that the goals and main features have been explained, the following part will focus on the tactics of BLM.

1.5 TACTICS

Thanks to the social media, Black Lives Matter uses new ways of organizing and it uses some of the old protest tactics in its protests, such as direct action, the creation of freedom schools or the use of visual tactics. The movement is a collaboration between the Black Lives Matter network and other organizations. Moreover, BLM activists are often accused of triggering violence .

Through social networks, BLM uses new ways of actions and tactics in the current grassroots movement through social networks The use of technology allows activists to reach

hundreds of thousands of people. Thus, contemporary activists have the advantage of spontaneity: protests are much easier and quicker to organize . For instance, the intense reporting on police brutality via the social networks allows people to witness and document police violence in a way that was not possible fifty years ago.(Harris). Indeed, Black Lives Matter activists have created a website called “Mapping Police Violence” where they display various graphs and statistics as well as an interactive map of the U.S. which displays the cases of fatal police shootings in 2015 (Mapping Police Violence). Also Black Lives Matter uses cell phones, videos and photographs in order to denounce acts of violence committed against African Americans.

Furthermore, by the summer of 2015, BLM had initiated another new tactic which consists in publicly challenging politicians, including 2016 presidential candidates, in order to ask them their positions on Black Lives Matter issues and in order to know how their policies will lead to the improvement of black communities. They have challenged both liberal and conservative candidates to speak about the issues that concerned African American lives.(Ruffin). Also , In July 2016 Black Lives Matter Toronto created a three-week-long summer program for children aged 4-10 as part of the “Black Lives Matter Freedom Schools” project, in response to a “lack of humanizing, self-affirming, queer positive educational opportunities for Black children in the GTA.” (Erika Pulfer).

Black Lives Matter's activists do not work alone but with other groups such as the Black Youth Project (100) or Black Alliance for Just Immigration: the coalition with other activists groups allows it to address various types of issues. Moreover, BLM is at the origin of some activist groups. Like “We The Protesters,” and WTP activists consider themselves as part of the BLM movement. WTP have compiled and published a set of policing policy solutions and demands.(BLM Vs. 'We The Protesters' – In a Wrangle Over Bernie Sanders).

1.6. CONCLUSION

As a conclusion, the social conditions of African Americans in the twenty-first century clearly show that Americans today do not live in a post-racial society rid of racism and discrimination. The persistence of those inequalities is at the origin of anger and frustration of the young post-civil rights movement generation, and explains the creation of many organizations to address social issues, such as Black Lives Matter. Even if it was first designed to struggle against police brutality, the movement has much broader goals than that and wants to address social problems such as discrimination in employment, housing, education and health care, and seeks to defend the rights of minority and oppressed groups such as black women, black gays and lesbians, queers, transgender and the disabled.

The goals of BLM go beyond the denunciation of police brutality and put forward the notion of black humanity. BLM goals addresses questions of gender and sexuality and defends the rights of the disabled. Nevertheless, BLM is sometimes criticized for that – some people reproach BLM for having too broad goals and not a clear line to follow in order to address all those diverse issues

Moreover, BLM's leadership , “leaderfull movement” in favor of participatory democracy brings them close. Furthermore, BLM claims to be multigenerational and multiracial, in the same way as organizations from the first half of the 1960s. Regarding the tactics of BLM, it uses new techniques such as the social media and the organization of direct action and the creation of freedom schools. In the third chapter, the student dwells on some personal points of view of each generation of activists in order to show how they apprehend the role of each movement in ending violence and systematic racism towards black people in the U.S.

CHAPTER 3 :

INTERACTION BETWEEN

1960S AND BLM

ACTIVISTS

3.1 Introduction

Comparing the 1960s movement and the Black Lives Matter movement raises controversies. The controversies are raised when the researcher makes a comparison between the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Lives Matter. But several activists recognized that the BLM movement is the continuation of the CRM, and many of them realize the fact that BLM takes place in a new era with new methods and new conditions. Which means that BLM does not want to be related with the CRM. The chapter will explain the unclear relation between these two movements.

3.2 THE OLDER GENERATION

After the 1960s, many of the civil rights activists have continued their activism. In the 1970s, many women contributed to the feminist movement and most of the activists worked within social justice organizations. But others took the path of a political career like John Lewis and Jesse Jackson. Some of them are still involved today in social and racial activism, but because of their age they cannot necessarily take part in protests due to their age. Even the 1960s activist ensures the success of the CRM, they often underscore the idea of an “unfinished business” that prevails in the twenty-first century.

3.2.1 Success and Failure of the Civil Rights Movement

Through this veterans activists of the CRM, the work will present clearly the success of the civil rights movement. Seila Michaels the veteran activist, considers that the 1960s movement was obviously a huge success in abolishing segregation and in inspiring future social movements, like the gay rights movement and the second wave feminism. (Zellner) Bruce Hartford sees the civil rights movement as one of the rare times when the “truest meaning of American democracy was carried out in action.” According to Hartford, the civil rights movement is a time when “We the People” took history into our own hands and

created a mass movement for justice demanding that America actually live up to its stated creed of "one nation, with liberty and justice for all." (Interview: Alabama & Mississippi Bruce Hartford 2012) Another veterans activist , Bob Zellner see the CRM in this way: "it was a great success, so much so that it is now considered to be a second reconstruction in the South. The movement also ended for a while the use of lynching and castration as a way of keeping black people from voting."(Hartford) . Therefore , for those veteran activists, the victories of the 1960s movement are very important and unquestionable, and they think that it is primordial to acknowledge the legacy of those victories , and they are proud of what they successfully achieved in the 1960s movement.

In a newspaper article ,the former SNCC field organizer , Courtland Cox and he is now chair of the SNCC Legacy Project wrote that "people have a great view of what happened in the 1960s, and this country has moved forward and we've done all these things. We even elected a black president. We thought we were post [racial], but the reality is we're not." Elahe Izadi declared that Black Lives Matter and the 1960s civil rights movement were needed to be disruptive of people's view of the status quo. (Izadi)

Most of the veteran activists have one idea about the U.S. today , for theme America does not represent what they fought about it in their early days . In Veteran Website , an article was written by the African American former freedom and civil rights activist , Rider Charles , about the evolution of African Americans' living conditions and the decades that followed the civil rights movement in post racial period .He affirms that it seems as if the leaders of the "eighties have mismanaged [his] investment and the investment of millions of Afro-Americans. No one can accurately explain how a people or a movement can fall from the heights of the sixties to the lows of the nineties." and about the 21st century he says "Life in America today is not what I prayed for. It is not what I worked for and not what I fought for. I cannot explain these events nor do I understand them. I only wish I had the words to tell

my children so they may understand and not blame me for all that is wrong in our world today.”(Person). So , most veteran activists declare that contemporary issues come from past, unresolved problems. Like ,Dion Diamond , Joan Mulholland ,Joan Browning and the Reverend Reginald Green, participated in the sit-ins movement, the Freedom Riders, at the Washington State Community College, on November 5, 2015. When someone in the audience asked them about the seeming distrust between the black youth and some in law enforcement, Dion Diamond said that “today’s issues stem from unresolved problems of the past.” And, he explained: “My view of the issue is because the younger folks are a product of a group of people who have been stepped on for so long, all the problems forced on our parents grandparents etc., have filtered down and built a distrust, especially with how the protests have escalated. Kids today are saying ‘hey, enough.’ We have got to get to kids and get the message to them otherwise we are lost.”The Reverend Reginald Green said the answer is education, since they have to “reach the kids of tomorrow to correct some of the images of today.”(Phipps).

The limits of the 1960s victories are underscored by most veteran activists, who point out the main issues that need to be addressed today. Although it was in the related areas of poverty, economic discrimination, and race-related exploitation. Many veteran activist say that the 1960s victories are limited . Also the Freedom movement was successful in ending overt, explicit racism, the biggest failure of the civil rights movement . According to Bruce Hartford , there is still widespread covert discrimination in employment , housing and schools (Phipps). Sam Friedman agrees that the successes of the civil rights movement are “currently under savage attack.” Indeed, racism is still presented .(Friedman)

For Hartford the main racial issues of today are voting rights class , race , police killings and environmental racism. Also , he say about the voting rights restriction : “To a degree, [the Supreme Court's] efforts are racially-motivated in bigotry against nonwhites. And

to a degree their motives are simply partisan because nonwhite, elderly, and college student voters tend to vote for Democrats more often than Republicans.” He defines the persistent patterns on the part of the police, prosecutors, courts and politicians to deny the value of nonwhite lives as a “pressing issue.” Concerning police brutality, he insists on the fact that it has always been present in American society – during the 1960s but the media, politicians, and the white public refused to accept any challenge to police claims. The use of video recording allowed the raise of police brutality issues, and it notably began with the Rodney King video. Moreover environmental racism is an issue underlined by the NAACP, too. (Hartford)

Bob Zellner, one of the biggest stakes of contemporary racial activism is to challenge capitalism and to carry out that revolution again, in order to “save this nation from destruction and help the earth to survive” (Zellner). And for Friedman says that racial activism has to be a major component of ending capitalism and “building something new and good,” (Friedman) .

The main racial and social issues they point about contemporary America are : police brutality , education , institutional racism, health , capitalism, housing, voting rights and economy . But the civil rights movement does not solved many racial issues .

3.2.2 Apprehension of the Legacy of the 1960s

The veteran activists and many others recognizes victories of the civil rights movement but consider that many racial issues were not solved with these victories. About the 1960s civil rights movement, Kareem Jackson, a St. Louis hip-hop artist declared: “One of the negligent areas of the civil rights movement is that we did not move the moral compass of racism to the right direction.”The civil rights movement confront mainly political and civil rights, but it did not directly addressed the “racialized degradation black people endured, and

many continue to endure, at the hands of the police.” (Harris). Kareem Jackson points out that policing and mass incarceration have not been aggressively pursued by more traditional organizations, “and none, certainly, have adopted the disruptive protest tactics – the street marches, die-ins, bridge and tunnel blockades, and the intense publicity campaigns – that have helped Black Lives Matter force these issues onto the national political agenda.” (Harris).

However, others insist on the fact that it is not the fault of the movement if racism and racial inequalities remain. For example, Justin Zimmerman, a 28-year-old African American who worked For Love of Children and for the Empowering Males of Color says that conservative politicians and judges have done their best to unravel the gains of the movement, but this is by no means the fault of the movement – the fact that racism persists in America is the result of a moral failure of the American people, not the movement. (Zimmerman). Nevertheless, Dontey Carter a young BLM activist criticizes the contemporary civil rights leaders and feels that they failed and they are the reason why the conditions of the African American population are like this today. For him, they do not represent the black population and that is why it is necessary to create a new movement.(Taylor 160).

The young generation of activists have not the same views and that there are more radical activists than others. This divide is similar to the one of radical activists and the 1960s between liberal . As Bruce Hartford assumes that there are similar tensions within BLM today(Hartford). Therefore, for BLM activists, even if BLM sometimes employs methods which can be traced back to past activism, the movement broke out in a new age which need new strategies and new methods . Keanga Taylor say that for the young generation, the legacy of the civil rights movement “mean[s] little in their everyday lives.”(Taylor 160). However, this is questionable considering that some, such as Justin Zimmerman, recognize the importance of the 1960s movement's legacy which should be celebrated, opposing those who think that there are too much celebrations of its victories.

Indeed, some young activists agree with Renee Romano's views on celebration and commemoration and criticize the feeling of nostalgia for the 60s. For many, this decade is indeed seen as a “golden age.” Gary Younge speaks of an “American capacity for nostalgia” and takes the example of the shift in perception of the civil rights movement as a whole that were unpopular among whites during the 1960s. Some decades later most people consider that “I Have a Dream” is the greatest speech of the 20th century (Younge 13). A young African American who works for “Arts 'n Autism” ,Justin Mixon thinks that commemorations are important for they are a huge step regarding speaking up about “how things were unfair at the time and that desegregation and equal treatment had come into play.” (Mixon).

The 1960s activists have different points of views. However, there is a common opinion about the successes and the limits of the 1960s civil rights movement, and the need to keep struggling against racial inequalities and racism. Many veteran activists support BLM actions. And the young activists are not in one group and with the same ideas about the failures of the 1960s movement ,the importance of its legacy or its celebration – seem to reflect the ones of the 1960s movement.

3.3 Views of BLM

The young generation of activists fight for racial equality , even if it has not been achieved yet. BLM is criticized for the question of respectability, the question of the church , the black-on-black crime question, or the leadership model. However, everybody , the young generation of activists do not agree on those questions, which shows how controversial the BLM movement can be. Even if BLM rejects some ideas, its activists agree that they are inspired by past activism. the following titles will speak about how BLM was supported and criticized , and in the other hand how it response to criticism.

3.3.1 Black Lives Matter : Support and Criticism

The growth of a new movement was justified by the current situation of the African American population, even for 1960s activists. For Zellner, who talked of the 1960s civil rights movement as the Second Reconstruction, defines Black Lives Matter as being in the leadership of the Third Reconstruction with activists who will not settle for business as usual.(Zellner). Sheila Michaels, due to her age , she does not share protests, and she is not sure about the goals of BLM's , but she notice that the current activists are doing good .(Michaels) . Bruce Hartford thought about BLM goals is that BLM is a decentralized, diffuse movement with variations between BLM groups. (Hartford) .In other words, those veteran activists support what BLM stands and BLM's goals are evolving. However, among 1960s activists BLM's goals, tactics and manners seem to be controversial , as some support them and others disagree.

In August 2016,many former SNCC members made a support . When BLM published its six-platform demands and key solutions, 67 former SNCC members signed a letter under the SNCC Legacy Project to support Black Lives Matter. They wrote: “We of yesterday's SNCC say to today's #BlackLivesMatter, 'Ya'll take it from here!” The letter continues: “With their protests and demands, the Movement for Black Lives is continuing to exercise their rights, guaranteed to all Americans under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. [...] We, the still-active radicals who were SNCC, salute today's Movement for Black Lives, for taking hold of the torch to continue to light this flame for a knowingly forgetful world.”(Jamilah) This letter appears as a strong support from the veteran community and marks one of its first official supports for BLM.

However, BLM being at the core of debates, can be easily criticized, even by some 1960s activists. Charles Cobb wrote about the fact that BLM activists were criticized, in the

same way as 1960s young activists. Cobb said that the general public often do not agree with activists' strategies simply because they are not affected by the issues central to the protests, such as segregation in the 1960s or police brutality today. (Izadi) Even if most of them seem to be supportive of the movement, some veteran activists can be skeptical about BLM's methods and ideas.

First, those who criticize Black Lives Matter affirm that BLM is too narrow in focus, even in its slogan. A 1960s veteran activist, Barbara Reynolds, wrote an article in the Washington Post entitled "I was a civil rights activist in the 1960s. But it's hard for me to get behind Black Lives Matter" in which she explains why she disagrees with BLM's methods – she writes that she "admire[s] the cause and courage [...] but fundamentally disagree[s] with their approach." (Reynolds) . According to her , She thinks that BLM has no specific and concrete goals and no clear agenda, and she fears that the movement will crash , with no clear strategy and well-defined goals . And even the slogan is too narrow – and she thinks that in order to reach more people it should work harder to "acknowledge the humanity in the lives of others.

Hartford understands that BLM activists have various reasons for avoiding the leadership of one or several people, and he believes that those reasons have some validity. For him the leaderless model will become problematic in the long run. However , the civil rights movement has its problems even with leaderships . So for him the benefits of responsible leadership is more than without leadership .

Furthermore, Bruce Hartford supports BLM tactics but BLM is not clear enough in the use of their methods. He is cut off from the main methods activists use to communicate ,because he does not use social media and he does not involved with BLM because he is not physically able to participate in protests .Nevertheless, from what he understands, he

supports nonviolent tactics, which BLM mostly adheres to . He understand that BLM activists are in practice almost always tactically nonviolent, but they do not make a strong point about publicly proclaiming their adherence to nonviolence. Because of this, it leaves them in a weak position when police officers are killed as it recently happened in Dallas and Baton Rouge.(Nutt, Zapotosky and Berman) Indeed, he explains that even if BLM usually respects and follows nonviolence, it would have been harder for Republicans and other “right-wing bigots” to accuse them of being responsible if they publicly endorsed nonviolence. For Hartford, BLM does not have that cover since it does not publicly claim it.(Hartford).The manners of BLM tend to be criticized as well. For instance, Sheila Michaels, who nevertheless supports BLM in most of their actions, thinks that interrupting speakers during conferences is not constructive and does not work to its benefit. (Michaels)

Barbara Reynolds heavily criticizes BLM manners and tactics as well, stating that activists are too violent and disrespectful during protests ed. Therefore, Reynolds attacks BLM's rejection of the concept of respectability. Indeed, she explains that in the 60s they were nonviolent activists “by delivering a message of love and unity,” but she considers that BLM activists reject their “proven methods” and ignore the history of the civil rights movement and what led to its success. (Reynolds) Bruce Hartford also thinks that rejecting respectability will hurt BLM in a long run. Besides, he disagrees with BLM's distance to the church. He explains that in the 1960s, their protest actions were seen by large segments of society (black as well as white) as going beyond the accepted norms. But they argued that their nonviolent protests were in fact within the norms of American tradition and culture, and they tried hard to obtain church support. Eventually, they succeeded since nonviolent protest once again became an accepted part of American society. However, for Hartford BLM failed to sustain religious support for progressive social action and instead religion has been taken over by right wing extremists.(Hartford) Barbara Reynolds seems to agree with Hartford's

view and regrets that church and spirituality are not high priorities for BLM as it was in the civil rights movement, For Reynolds, the anger she sees in the young generation is justifiable, but their strategies are not.(Reynolds.) . Moreover, Reynolds concludes the article by affirming that it is difficult for activists of the sixties to get involved in BLM because of the “group's confrontational and divisive tactics.” However, this view is questionable, as despite their support, it does not seem that most 1960s activists want to be actively involved in the BLM movement, considering that this is their own movement.

When looking at those criticisms, it appears that what is criticized is what differs from the traditional organizations of the 1960s civil rights movement: For instance, the new method of interrupting speakers, the rejection of respectability, and the distance with the church. As those manners, ideas or methods are a specificity of the BLM movement, it is understandable that veteran activists can be skeptical about the efficiency of those new concepts.

3.3.2 Response to Criticisms

Through its website, BLM has responded to the first criticism: the use of the terms “black lives matter.” BLM argues that “the statement “black lives matter” is not an anti-white proposition.”(11 Major Misconceptions About the Black Lives Matter Movement). It notably explains on its website that the slogan advocates inclusion and not exclusion of any race. BLM states that there is absolutely no hatred or resentment for white lives. Indeed, it is explained that “it is about acknowledging that the system already treats white lives as if they have more value, as if they are more worthy of protection, safety, education, and a good quality of life than black lives are.”(11 Major Misconceptions About the Black Lives Matter Movement)

Furthermore, BLM responded to the accusation that they overlook black-on-black homicide in this way:

However, those who insist on talking about black-on-black crime frequently fail to acknowledge that most crime is intraracial. Ninety-three percent of black murder victims are killed by other black people. Eighty-four percent of white murder victims are killed by other white people. The continued focus on black-on-black crime is a diversionary tactic, whose goal is to suggest that black people don't have the right to be outraged about police violence in vulnerable black communities, because those communities have a crime problem. The Black Lives Matter movement acknowledges the crime problem, but it refuses to locate that crime problem as a problem of black pathology. Black people are not inherently more violent or more prone to crime than other groups. But black people are disproportionately poorer, more likely to be targeted by police and arrested, and more likely to attend poor or failing schools. All of these social indicators place one at greater risk for being either a victim or a perpetrator of violent crime. To reduce violent crime, we must fight to change systems, rather than demonizing people.(11 Major Misconceptions About the Black Lives Matter Movement)

In other words, according to BLM, focusing on black-on-black homicide is a way to avoid the real problems of the African American population, which does not lie in the fact that most crimes on blacks are committed by other blacks, but that most victims of police brutality and poverty are black. Besides, insisting on the fact that black-on-black crime is very frequent carries on the old stereotype of the black population as being dangerous and violent.

Furthermore, BLM has justified its decision to reject the notion of respectability. In Salon Magazine , an article was published in which responding to Barbara Reynolds' article. ATV Editor and writer, Shannon M. Houston wrote the article entitled "Respectability Will Not Save Us: Black Lives Matter Is Right To Reject The "Dignity And Decorum" Mandate

Handed Down To Us From Slavery.” For Houston, the concept of respectability is rooted in history but was not set up by the Church or by African Americans , but rather by white people who enslaved blacks. Also, she explains that if some black slaves were more appreciated by their white owners , they could receive better treatment than others .(Houston) BLM itself declared on its website:

The BLM movement is an intergenerational movement. Certainly there have been schisms and battles between younger and older movers about tactics and strategies. There has also been criticism from prior civil rights participants. There is a clear rejection of the respectability politics ethos of the civil rights era, namely a belief in the idea that proper dress and speech will guard against harassment by the police. This is a significant point of tension within black communities, because in a system that makes one feel powerless to change it, belief in the idea that a good job, being well-behaved, and having proper dress and comportment will protect you from the evils of racism feels like there’s something you can do to protect yourself, that there’s something you can do to have a bit of control over your destiny. This movement patently rejects such thinking in the face of massive evidence of police mistreatment of black people of all classes and backgrounds. All people should be treated with dignity and respect, regardless of how one looks or speaks. If you ever have occasion to attend a protest action, you will see black people of all ages, from the very young to the very old, standing in solidarity with the work being done. (11 Major Misconceptions About the Black Lives Matter Movement)

Indeed, BLM activists think that the way people speak or the way are dressed should not have an influence on how they are perceived or treated by the rest of the population, even at protests. Also , they justify their distance with the church. Indeed, they argue:

Many know that the black church was central to the civil rights movement, as many black male preachers became prominent civil rights leaders. This current movement has a very different relationship to the church than past movements. Black churches and black preachers in Ferguson have been on the ground helping since the early days after Michael Brown's death. But protesters patently reject any conservative theology about keeping the peace, praying copiously, or turning the other cheek. Such calls are viewed as a return to passive respectability politics. But local preachers and pastors like Rev. Traci Blackmon, Rev. Starsky Wilson, and Rev. Osagyefo Sekou have emerged as what [we] call "Movement Pastors." With their radical theologies of inclusion and investment in preaching a revolutionary Jesus (a focus on the parts of scripture where Jesus challenges the Roman power structure rather than the parts about loving one's enemies) and their willingness to think of church beyond the bounds of a physical structure or traditional worship, they are reimagining what notions of faith and church look like, and radically transforming the idea of what the 21st-century black church should be. (11 Major Misconceptions About the Black Lives Matter Movement.)

Therefore, BLM states that it does not reject the black Church or religion in general, but does not see it in the same way as in the 1960s and wants to take some distance from it.

However, despite BLM's rejection of some concepts and tactics and its wish not to be compared all the time with the 1960s movement, some BLM activists are aware of the fact that BLM can learn from the history of the civil rights movement. Moreover, Alicia Garza herself (along with the other young black organizers) recognizes that the BLM movement can learn from past social movements while using new strategies that suit current-day issues, especially tactics and ideologies about intersectionality, that is to say the mix of race, gender,

and class.(Shor) She wrote in an article entitled “A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement:”

It is appropriate and necessary for us to acknowledge the critical role that Black lives and struggles for Black liberation have played in inspiring and anchoring, through practice and theory, social movements for the liberation of all people. The women’s movement, the Chicano liberation movement, queer movements, and many more have adopted strategies, tactics, and theory of the Black liberation movement. And if we are committed to a world where all lives matter, we are called to support the very movement that inspired and activated so many more. That means supporting and acknowledging Black lives. (Garza)

Shannon M. Houston does not mean that BLM activists do not respect the older generation, nor do they mean that activists are disorganized. Indeed, she wrote:

Such rejection does not signify disorganization, as Reynolds and so many believe. Such rejection does not signify a disdain for all who gave their lives, time, and literal blood, sweat and tears – quite the contrary. This rejection suggests that we are not living in 1965. It suggests that, like most generations, we want to do things our way – to embrace the past where it seems right and to construct a new path that is specific to our time. I wasn’t there, but from what I understand the young people of the Civil Rights Movement were often chastised and criticized by their own parents and by those of the generations before them for going about things in a new way—for pushing too hard up against injustice. Like so many other movements, it was the young people who fought, and they did not always have the support of those who came before them. [...] It’s our movement, inspired by their legacies and still determined to be what it must be on its own.(Houston.)

So, they have responded to the criticisms they had to face and justified their choices. In those points of views, there seems to be a constant back-and-forth from the wish to avoid the comparison with the 1960s movement to the recognition of its influence on BLM. Thus, the following titles will deal with how the two generations of activists should cooperate, and what it could bring to the BLM movement.

3.4 A NEED TO FIND A MIDDLEGROUND

In the protest or in the organization today, few veteran activists actively participate today. However, as explained previously, many of them support BLM, some of them criticize some aspects of the movement. Most of the time BLM recognize that they are inspired by the previous generation. Firstly, it will be discussed about the generational gap between the two, and how it is defined by some activists. Then, the fact that collaboration between the two could help Black Lives Matter will be analyzed.

3.4.1 Generational Divide Or Continuity

In 2014, during the Ferguson protests, Jesse Jackson, a former aide to Martin Luther King Jr, was booed when he tried to address the young protesters who saw him as an intruder. When this happened, many people interpreted this as a generational divide.(Cobb). And several tensions that emerged with the creation of the movement. Indeed, Keeanga Taylor says that the “division between the “old guard” and the “new guard”” deepened when the movement was created” and that the generational divide is very ingrained in the politics of the BLM movement.(Taylor 164) .During the “Ferguson October” forum: during this forum, representatives of the civil rights movement who did not take part in the protests on the streets were asked to discuss the new and emerging movement. When, the current president of the NAACP, Cornell William Brooks talked, some BLM activists stood and turned their backs. Some Black Lives Matter activists who are clearly reject some of the old generation of activists, like the NAACP. So BLM does not trust in institutional civil rights organizations

and the distrust in contemporary civil rights leaders . But not all BLM's activists agree with this views and some of them consider it as a lack of respect.

The old guard activists was shocked from the young generation reaction. Joel B. Pollack , a journalist has mention in his journal artical that tha same was happened in the 50s and 60s and the previous generation of activists.(Pollack). Also Hartford explains that the activists' direct-action protests in the 1960 were different from the “courtlitigation and legislative-lobbying strategies” of the 1940s/1950s generation. Thus, some of the 1940s/1950s activists strongly opposed their direct actions, like Thurgood Marshall ,Roy Wilkins, Ralph Bunche and Whitney Young (Hartford) . Zellner agrees with the idea of generational divides are normal and natural , and the younger generations need to develop their own forms of activism , but BLM are more willing to look at the history of activism like the role of SNNC (Zellner). So , being criticized or unapproved by some of the old guard does not mean that BLM employs the wrong tactics or that it will eventually fail in achieving some of its goals. In other words, divides or disagreements between two generations of activists are not a specificity of BLM and always occur when new movements with new tactics emerge.

However the idea that there is a generational gap between the two generations is not shared by everyone. like , Friedman who thinks that veteran activists have some value to BLM activists and Sheila Michaels disagree with this, as well (Michaels and Friedman). According to Hartford, the terms “divide” or “gap” are not the best ones and should be replaced by “evolution.” Indeed, according to him the words “gap” or “divides” imply opposition which he does not think is well chosen in this context, since every generation faces different political situations, new technology, and a changed cultural context from the previous generation, so there is a constant evolution in political analysis, goals, and tactics: that is evolution, not a gap. In his view, BLM represents a continuation of the direct-action protest movements of the 1960s with evolutionary changes that are to be expected.(Hartford)

Zimmerman agrees with Hartford and does not see a generational gap either, but he thinks that there are misinterpretations of history and a lot of “hindsight bias,” which makes BLM feel as if they were on their own – he believes that the tactics between the two movements are not even very different, but the need to demonize and to unjustly criticize on both sides is where the gap comes from, not because there is an important difference in goals.(Zimmerman). Reynolds criticize BLM but she recognized that “baby boomers like [her]self can be too judgmental, expecting a certain reverence for [their] past journey” and she agrees that the two generations need to find a middle ground for the sake of the movement. (Reynolds) .

So , some agree with the idea that there is a generational divide but most activist say that Past activism has proven that generational tensions areas an evolution, or even a continuity and it does not mean that there is a gap between them. Some scholars, journalists or even veterans encourages the cooperation between the “old guard” and the “new guard” of activists , for it could be beneficial for the future of the movement.

3.4.2 The Possible Benefits of Cooperation

As mentioned before, Keeanga Taylor wrote that when a new generation of activists emerges ,the generational divide is present. The young activists bring new perspectives and ideas and a new energy in the building of the movement. The necessity of work for both generations together is not new ,even with the tensions between two generations of activists. Also the young generation in the 1960s benefits from the former generation experiences. For example , Anne Braden a journalist , educator and a famous civil rights activist started her activism in the late 1940s , she wanted to “bridge the gap between old and young generations of activists.” (Stefani 209,210) Moreover, Taylor underlines that those generational tensions do not mean that BLM cannot be intergenerational. For instance, she takes the example of SNCC and Ella Baker, who was older and far more experienced than the young activists she

worked with the found SNCC, but the collaboration was a success because there was respect in both ways. In order to illustrate her words, she takes the example of one of Baker's essays, in which she wrote: “[The] desire for supportive cooperation from adult leaders and the adult community was tempered by apprehension that adults might try to capture the student movement. The students showed willingness to be met on the basis of equality, but were intolerant of anything that smacked of manipulation or domination.”(Taylor 163) In that sense, this fear of “manipulation or domination” by adult corresponds to BLM's refusal of being led by veteran activists or an appropriation of the movement. However, a cooperation can be beneficial for BLM. First, communication between the old and the new guard can underline the common points between the movements, and in that sense it can help BLM activists to put their own movement into perspective.

Furthermore, another advantage of a multigenerational collaboration is that the young generation of activists learn lessons from the former activists. Hank Jones , a former Panther want if the young feneration study the history of his generation of activism in order to learn both from its successes and its mistakes.(Jones) . Dr Wilhelmina Perry, old African American, proudly identifies herself as supportive of the BLM movement, and argues that her generation embodies a strong resource for the new movement. In other words, the veteran activists can make a great help BLM , without imposing their opinions and choices and without taking the control of the movement. She knows that BLM is a young movement but with the help of the older African Americans, the movement could be more successful . (Perry)

So, even with the tensions and the criticisms from both sides , many people agree with the idea that a collaboration between the young BLM activists and the veterans can only serve the movement , and the veterans believes that the movement has to be led by the youth. what is noticed in these Web sources and books , that some f the veterans' wish to more closely collaborate with BLM. They insist on the importance of being aware of the history of

past activism in order to create and organize a new movement. The months and years to come will tell us if BLM acknowledges the value of a closer cooperation with the old guard and use it for the sake of the movement

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has deal first with the Older Generation , in which it affirms that the civil rights movement does not solve many racial issues like police brutality , education , institutional racism, health , capitalism, housing, voting rights and economy. The 1960s activists have a common opinion about the successes and the limits of the 1960s civil rights movement, and the need to keep struggling against racial inequalities and racism. secondly it speaks about the views of BLM (Black Lives Matter: support and criticism and response to criticisms). The older activists criticize BLM tactical and strategic choices, like ;the rejection of respectability, its distance from the church, its leaderfull model, or sometimes simply the term “Black Lives Matter” themselves. But BLM did not hesitate to justify all of its choices and answered those criticisms. BLM avoids the comparison with the 1960s and it insists on the fact that this is their movement in their period. Finally this chapter wanted to find a Middle ground between CRM and BLM .Many people do not agree on the extent of the division, but most seem to agree on the fact that a generational division always happens when a new movement led by young people emerges. Most activists support BLM and they seem to acknowledge that collaboration could be profitable and constructive for the future of the movement and they encourage BLM to develop and to take its own path.

General Conclusion

It is necessary to take a look at the history of American racial activism, in order to understand how and why the Black Lives Matter movement was formed. The 1960s Civil Rights Movement was successful in many ways, but its victories tended to serve many Republicans and the media in the following decades in order to show that America had become post-racial. President Ronald Reagan's conservative policies reinforced this idea and persistent racial inequalities were said to be African Americans' own fault. This decade confirmed that racial activism was still genuinely needed and that the U.S. was not post-racial.

Moreover ,after the civil rights movement racial activism evolved ; the development of the fight for social justice by Black Power and the Black Panther Party , and in the following decades activism covered broader social issues such as class, gender , education , economics , race and health.

Thanks to the concept of the “long civil rights movement” used in scholarly publications that present the 1960s civil rights movement as having a direct impact on contemporary activism, we understand that BLM is a continuation of past activism. However, it is the first time in decades that such a national coordinated movement has appeared in the U.S. BLM's claim for “black liberation” and the emphasis on black oppression remind many people of the 1960s and underline the persistence of racism fifty years later.

Through , the analysis of BLM's structure , tactics and goals , it allows us to understand clearly what is BLM . It was against institutional racism, the issue of capitalism and the promotion of social justice . BLM insists on the notion of black humanity . One of its specificity is gender equality and equality for gays, lesbians, queer and trans . Furthermore, BLM leadership is different from some organizations. BLM's praise of a “leaderfull

movement” and rejection of a black straight male leadership and the individual leadership model as well and praised participatory democracy. Moreover, the use of social media is one of the tactics of BLM and also it uses the direct-action protests , street rallies and Freedom Schools. However, BLM rejects some key notions like respectability or the attachment to the church.

Furthermore, the use of the points of views of veteran and young activists allows us to understand the controversies and tensions between the two generations, but also within a same generation. Most veteran activists acknowledge the limits of the civil rights movement success despite the victories of the civil rights movement. Also most of them support BLM, especially former SNCC activists , but some critics BLM's goals, structure, or rejection of past methods. But BLM's activists answered criticisms and they insist on the fact that this is their own movement.

In BLM's activists interviews or articles they insist that they do not agree on the question of celebration and commemoration of the civil rights movement – some have an opinion similar to one of the veteran activist Joan Browning who believes that they are primordial and others agree with Doctor Romano who thinks that they are dangerous. Indeed, core activists insist on the fact that they do not want to be systematically compared to the civil rights movement or other movement .

The cooperation between the two movements could help BLM achieve some of its goals and could provide a solid base of support in order to be efficient in a long run.

The tensions that have emerged between the two generations since the creation of BLM and the tensions inside the movement can be problematic. Young activists have created their own movement, but it could be beneficial for them to learn from past activism.

So, the influence of the 1960s movement on BLM seems unquestionable , but BLM's activists want to improve the weaknesses of the 1960s movement and they insist on the fact that they do not want to replicate mistakes of the past . It will be interesting to follow Black Lives Matter's evolution in the future to see to what extent it will be successful and whether it will get closer to some of the 1960s civil rights organizations or will take some distance with it.

Finally , the racial and social activism has always managed to be successful to some extent even with the perpetuation of racism and racial inequalities in contemporary America. However, each movement has its limits and weaknesses, and the path towards black liberation seems still long and challenging. The history of the 1960s civil rights movement demonstrated that a movement can be subjected to important policy changes and Black Lives Matter is still evolving. No one know if the Black Lives Matter movement will be able to go beyond the criticisms in order to achieve some of its main goals or more

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