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African Dream in America 1619 – 2008

From White Supremacy to Black Presidency

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Dedication

At the outset, I have to thank “Allah” who guides and gives me the patience and capacity for conducting this research.

I would like to express my gratitude to my family especially my wife who encouraged me greatly in this project and to my sons: Abderrezak, Mohamed, Abdelaziz and Fawzi.

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Abstract

Most of European immigrants decided to leave their home countries taking the way towards the American continent full of hopes and dreams. Some groups looked for freedom, whereas others came to seek for fortune in the new country which was thought to have unlimited resources. Not all Europeans came voluntarily to America, but there were others indeed who were taken forcefully from their countries against their will, most of them were Africans. The latter were sold to European slave traders to work as forced labourers in the field of plantation. If we go back to the early seventeenth century, we find that for men whose immigration was not voluntary but a result of force, the circumstances were different. They had absolutely no choice and therefore no control of their future. As it is already mentioned, the African immigration to America was unique among immigrant groups. In other words, most Africans came to North America as indentured servants, caught up in a brutal system of human exploitation. They lived hard conditions, suffered for long centuries, and waged a long battle for freedom, dignity and for full participation in the American society. So, my modest research tries to shed light on the issue of African Americans, and the way they liberated themselves from slavery and challenged the white supremacy for centuries till they realised their dream during the United States presidential elections 2008.

So as far as my research work is concerned, I try to tackle many significant events in the African American history starting from 1619, which witnessed the beginning of slavery in the northern part of the American Continent to the year 2008 which, in turn, witnessed the realization of the African dream in presiding the World-leading power.

List of figures

Fig.01: Slaves Working in a Mine. Ancient Greece	14
Fig 02: The Main Slave Routes in Medieval Africa	16
Fig.03: The Atlantic Slave Trade Rout	23
Fig.04: The Triangle Slave Trade	24
Figure 05: The Slave population in the period between 1680 and 1860	25
Fig.06: Slaves for Sale, Newspaper Advertisement from 1780's	30
Figure 07: Number of Deaths in Historical US Wars	68
Fig 08: Free and Slave States from 1789 to 1861	77
Fig. 09: Slave holding areas in 1862 after the Emancipation Proclamation	83
Figure 10: Slave Population in the Nineteenth Century	102
Fig. 11 and 12: Campaign in Favour of the March on Washington 1963	147
Fig.13: View from the Lincoln Memorial towards the Washington Monument on August 28 th , 1963	148
Fig14. Banners and Slogans of the Black Protest in the March on Washington 1963	149
Figure 15: Black Vote and Party Affiliation from 1936-2012	175
Figure 16: Black Political Affiliation 2000-2004	177
Figure 17: Results of the Democratic Party Primary Elections for Candidacy for Presidential Election 2008	179
Figure 18: Poll Data over National Security 2004	186
Figure 19: The Rate of Bush Popularity 2001-2008	189
Figure 20: The Growth of the African American Population 2010-2012	202
Figure 21: Poverty Rate in the Obama's First Term	206

Figure 22: The Rate of the Labour Force from 2004 to 2014	207
Figure 23: the Rate of Adult Males put in Jail (2009)	210
Figure 24: Rate of African American Victims of Police Killings (1968-2011)	213
Figure 25: The Rate of Unemployment within the Black Community	215

List of Tables

Table 01: Slave Population from 1790 to 1860	44
Table 02: Percentage of Slaveholding Families	44
Table 03: Percentage of Slave Holding 1790-1860	45
Table 04: Percentage of Slave-Owning Families in 1860	47
Table 05: Decades of Gradual Slave Liberation in the State of Maryland	76
Table 06: Voters' Rate by Race 1996 to 2012	181
Table 07: Past Non-voters that Voted In Current Election (By Race)	182
Table 08: Interest in Presidential Campaigns, 1996-2008	183
Table 9: Percentage of Voters by Race	184
Table 10: The Rate of Black Poverty in 2012	216

List of Acronyms

TAST	Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade
USA	United States of America
CW	Civil War
A.P	Antebellum Period
CSP	Creole Slave Population
ASM	Anti-Slavery Movement
C.H	Code of Hammurabi
ACS	American Colonization Society
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
AST.	Atlantic Slave Trade
AMEC	African Methodist Episcopal Church
FWW	First World War
SWW	Second World War
KW	Korean War
VW	Vietnam War
WS	White Supremacy
CRM	Civil Rights Movements
PAM	Pan African Movement
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Appendices

Appendix 01	Abraham Lincoln	237
Appendix 02	Assassination of Abraham Lincoln	238
Appendix 03	A Terrorist Group of Ku Klux Klan in a Meeting	239
Appendix 04	African American Protest against the Racial Discrimination	240
Appendix 05	Whites' Sympathy with Blacks	241
Appendix 06	Freedom Riders against Segregation in the Means of Transport	242
Appendix 07	Free Black Schools	243
Appendix 08	Dr. Martin Luther King	244
Appendix 09	President Barrack Obama	245
Appendix 10	Barack Obama during the Electoral Campaign and after the Victory	246
Appendix 11	African American Supporters of Barrack Obama	247

Table of Contents

Dedication	II
Acknowledgements	III
Abstract	IV
List of Figures	V
List of Tables	VII
List of Acronyms	VIII
Appendices	IX
Table of Contents	X
General Introduction	01

Chapter One

African Americans and the Slavery Era

1.1- Introduction	11
1.2- Historical View on Slavery	12
1.3- Slavery inside Africa	15
1.3.1- Slavery in West Africa	17
1.3.2- Slavery in East Africa	18
1.3.3- Slavery in North Africa	19
1.4- European Contact with Africa	21
1.5- Slavery in the American Continent	24
1.5.1- Slavery in Virginia	27
1.5.2- Slavery during the Colonial Period	31
1.5.3- Slavery in the Antebellum Period	36
1.5.4- Slave Relations in the Antebellum Period	40
1.5.5- Slavery in the North of America	41
1.5.6- Slavery in the South of America	43
1.6- Antebellum Slave Life	46
1.6.1- Slave Family	47

1.6.2- Slave Religion	50
1.6.3- Slave Community	52
1.7- Conclusion	54

Chapter Two

The African American Challenge against Enslavement

2.1- Introduction	58
2.2- The Divisive Conflict over Slavery	59
2.3- African Americans during the Revolution	62
2.4- African Americans in the Civil War	66
2.4.1- African Americans in the Union Army	67
2.4.2- African Americans in the Confederate Army	69
2.5 - Establishment of the Anti Slavery Society	71
2.5.1- Congressional Confiscation Act	74
2.5.2- Gradual Emancipation and Compensation	76
2.5.3-Abraham Lincoln and the Policy of Black Colonization	79
2.5.4 -Emancipation Proclamation	82
2.6- African Americans in the Reconstruction Era	89
2.7 - Lincoln Restoration of the South to Union	92
2.8- Great Migration and Civil Rights Movements	95
2.9- Southern Free African American Population	101
2.10- Opposition to Slavery	105
2.11- Slave Resistance on the Plantations	109
2.12- Conclusion	110

Chapter Three

African American Civil Rights Movements and the Struggle against the White Discriminatory Policy

3.1- Introduction	114
3.2- Black Politicians after the Era of Reconstruction	115

3.3- Participation of African Americans in different World Wars	117
3.3.1 - Black Participation in the World War I	118
3.3.2- African American Participation in the World War II	121
3.3.3- Black Participation in the Korean War 1948	125
3.3.4- Black participation in the Vietnam War 1945-1975	128
3.4- Ku Klux Klan Re- Emergence	131
3.5- White Supremacy	133
3.6- African American Pressure against Discrimination	136
3.6.1- East St Louis, Illinois, Riot of 1917	136
3.6.2- Elaine, Arkansas, Riot of 1919	138
3.6.3- Detroit, Michigan, Riot of 1943	139
3.6.4- Atlanta, Albany, Georgia, Riot of 1906 and 1960	141
3.6.5- March on Washington Movement 1941 and 1963	144
3.6.6- Los Angeles, California, Riot of 1965	150
3.6.7- Long Hot Summer Riots 1965-1967	152
3.6.8- Los Angeles, California, Riot of 1992	154
3.7- Pan African Congresses 1919-1945	155
3.8- Freedom Movements	158
3.8.1- Freedmen's Bureau	158
3.8.2- Freedom Rides	159
3.8.3- Freedom Schools	161
3.9- Civil Rights Acts	162
3.10- Martin Luther King, the African American Hero	164
3.11- Conclusion	167

Chapter Four

Realization of the African Dream: Obama in the White House

4.1-Introduction	172
4.2- African American Contribution in the U.S Political Life	173
4.3- United States Presidential Election, 2008	178
4.4- Contributing Factors in the Election of Obama	182

4.4.1- The Minorities' Participation in the Presidential Elections	182
4.4.2- War in Iraq	185
4.4.3- Bush's Lack of Popularity	188
4.4.4- Obama's Change vs. the Hillary's Experience	190
4.4.5- The Economic Factor	192
4.5- Political life of Barack Obama	194
4.5.1- Obama's Legislative Membership	198
4.6- Does President Obama satisfy the needs of the Black Community?	200
4.7- Attitudes of Blacks towards Obama's Administration	205
4.8- Attitudes of Obama towards the Criminal Events against Blacks	209
4.9- Has the United States Changed its Racial Face?	212
4.10- Conclusion	219
General Conclusion	222
Bibliography	230
Appendices	236

General Introduction

General Introduction

After the discovery of the new American continent, people from all over the world started to think about leaving their homelands seeking for political and religious freedom; escaping then from the persecution of the crown and the tight situations they lived a long period of time. So, most immigrant groups came to America full of hopes and dreams. Some of them looked for freedom, whereas others came to seek for fortune in the new country which was thought to have unlimited resources. This does not mean that all immigrants came voluntarily to America, but there were other persons who were kidnapped from their countries like people from Africa.

Africans, then, were bought there against their will to work as forced labourers in the building of a new nation. So, my modest research tries to shed light on the issue of African Americans, and the way they freed themselves from slavery, and challenged the white supremacy for centuries till they realised their dream during the United States presidential elections 2008.

If we go back to the early seventeenth Century, we find that for men whose immigration was not voluntary but a result of force, the circumstances were different. They had absolutely no choice and therefore no control of their future. As it is already mentioned, the African immigration to America was unique among immigrant groups. In other words, most Africans came to North America against their will, caught up in a brutal system of human exploitation. They suffered for long centuries, and waged a long battle for freedom, dignity and for full participation in the American society.

So as far as my research work is concerned, we try to discuss several important issues in the African American history starting from 1619 which witnessed the beginning of the slave trade to the year 2008 which, in turn, witnessed the realization of the African Dream in presiding the United states of America for the first time in the American history.

My dissertation will first discuss the process of enslavement and the institutionalization of slavery in America. For this issue, we try to refer to the historical event during the establishment of the first American colony Virginia, represented by the arrival of a Dutch warship carrying indentured slaves from the African continent. The battle against slavery including slave resistance and abolitionism will also be discussed. Although slavery was the law of the land for more than three centuries, it was challenged and resisted every day by its victims, survivors and by those who found it morally unacceptable. So, the long campaign to abolish the trade in

human beings was one of the Great War in the United States history, and its success was the result of decades of organization and agitation by African Americans and their European American allies.

In the following step, we will tackle how freedom was achieved and created during reconstruction and the life of the African Americans in the Nineteenth Century, particularly as racism remerged after the reconstruction era.

We will also shed light on the abolitionist movement and its evolution from moral activism to a political one, and the role free African Americans played in the abolitionist movement and the attempt by slaves to escape their involuntary servitude.

The dissertation will refer to the conflict between the South and the North which led to the state secession and the beginning of the American Civil War. The participation of African Americans in this war and their efforts to seize and define their freedom will also be discussed as well as the organization of white racial violence against black people who, in turn, made great efforts to challenge the white supremacy.

Another part in my research will be dedicated to the emergence of black leaders in the early Twentieth Century and the impact of the great depression and the Second World War on the African American community.

The last part will tackle the issue of African Americans in the new millennium and the realization of their dream represented by the election of Barrack Obama as a president of the United States of America.

So, as far as my research is concerned, we will divide the work into four chapters:

Chapter one tackles the era of slavery, the tight situations African Americans lived in, and the difficulties they faced in life. Slavery existed as a legal institution in North America for more than a century before the foundation of the United States of America in 1776, and continued in the South until the final agreement on the Thirteen Amendments to the Constitution. The first important event, to shed light on in this first chapter, is the establishment of the first American colony Virginia which received its first African group in 1619 via a Dutch war ship carrying twenty kidnapped Africans. So, most slaves were black and were held by whites. Slavery spread to the areas where there was a good soil for plantations devoted to cotton, sugar and coffee. The labour was organized under a system of bonded labour known as Indentured Servitude. This system of enslavement lasted for a long time. People with their labour paid for the costs of the

transport to the colonies. So, because of the great importance of slavery, the assembly of elected representatives of English colonists in North America enacted a new slave law by adding new provisions which insisted on the principles of white supremacy. Later, colonial courts and legislative bodies created a new system in which slavery applied exclusively to Black Africans and people of African descent. In about three centuries, twelve millions of Africans were shipped as slaves to the Americas. In the coming years, Slavery became a contentious subject to be discussed in the American legislation, and a topic of debate in the Philadelphia meeting when drafting the Constitution in 1787. Most Americans thought of slavery as morally unacceptable. This is indeed what will be discussed in the second chapter.

Chapter two discusses the African American battle and resistance against slavery as well as the abolitionist movement and the quest for freedom. Northern blacks participated in personal and organized acts against the system of enslavement which deprived them from their freedom and the better life they deserved as human beings. In the North, African Americans faced a systematic violation of their civil rights. Consequently, they were supported by abolitionists to rebel against their masters through enactment of laws that might help them to do so. Northern blacks started to form groups to support the cause for freedom. So, the African Americans resisted against slavery in different ways. They had slave revolutions which expressed their complete refusal of slavery. They also escaped from their masters' homes after being protected by abolitionists' acts. They showed, in several occasions, to the white community that they were willing to stop losing their lives for them, and that they all, blacks and whites, belonged to the same race of human beings and not animals. All these were shown through several slave revolts against the white supremacy which resulted to the ban of slavery and segregation against African Americans. Consequently, they were given the right of citizenship and started to contribute efficiently in the development of the nation. This issue will be referred to in the following chapter.

Chapter three will be devoted to the issue of African American participation in the political domain and their contribution in the development of the United States of America. African Americans and their descendents have helped to build America in many domains: politics, economics, social reform, military service, culture, music and sport. All these contributions made America successful and powerful. They also made it rich and a commercial leader in the world of economy. In general, the African Americans made the United States of America a

world-leading power in all fields of life, and their contributions paved the way for Obama's victory in the presidential elections 2008 which will be dealt with in the fourth chapter.

Chapter four discusses the African situation in America in the new millennium, and the efforts African Americans made to rule the nation which is considered as the world leading power. The presidential elections of 2008 will also be referred to in this part. There were many unique aspects of the election of 2008. The election was the first in which an African American was elected president as well as the first election in which an African American was nominated by a major party for the office of president. It was also the first time two senators ran against each other, and the first time a political party nominated a woman for vice president. So, in these elections, the African Americans realized the unthinkable, and the results were not expected at all. This happened in a society that hasn't indeed eradicated its institutional racist project. For some specialists in the American history, this was not the first time Africans Americans participated in ruling such high institutions, but indeed, it was preceded by a series of appointments during several decades. Basing on these insights, some other Americans had expected the victory of Obama in these historical presidential elections. During the era of Jimmy Carter, an African American was appointed at the head of a prominent foreign policy position whose name was Andrew Young. The latter was the close lieutenant of Dr Martin Luther King during the Civil Rights Movements, and was selected by Carter to be his ambassador to the United Nations.

Colin Powell was also another African American who had the chance to serve as a National Security Advisor in the Reagan Administration which appointed several black conservatives to domestic policy-making position. Colin Powell also served as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and manager of the invasion of the Gulf War in the first Bush Administration as well as another African woman Condoleezza Rice who served on Bush's National Security Council. Jorge Moose and Suzan Rice were also Africans being involved as members in the Clinton Administration foreign policy team. Moose took the charge of the Secretary of State for African Affairs for four years. Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice had the chance to participate for the second time in the second Bush Administration. So, all these appointments were based on some reasons. These African Americans had an educational background and a governmental and military experience. That's why they deserved to be in such high foreign policy-making positions. Their selection in these institutions could be argued that the Executive Branch, during

the appointments, used these African official persons as a sympathetic face in dealing with the Third World and some other African issues. This was to show that the United States of America has representatives who understand the different problems of these third world countries especially Africa, and speak their languages to regain credibility that might facilitate the administration objectives.

Finally, one could notice that this African American participation in ruling different American institutions as well as all these important appointments in prominent higher positions, especially foreign policy, paved the way to Obama to reach presidency, and contributed efficiently in a way or another to offer African Americans a respectable place in the American society. So, for African Americans, the Obama victory, in the presidential elections of 2008, was considered as the African Dream being realized in America after centuries of sufferance from racism and white supremacy.

Rationale

The present study aims at discussing several considerable issues in the African American history. Slavery is one among such important historical events that Africans lived during a special period of time, especially at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In other words, the year 1619, that is mentioned clearly in the theme of the present and modest research work, witnessed an event in the American history that paved the way to a great disaster in the exploitation of humanity in the service of other people of different colour and race; it was the arrival of the first human cargo, brought forcefully, to the American continent to be used as indentured servants in different domains especially plantation. This status of indentured servitude developed later to take the form of slavery. Black Africans, later African Americans, fought against such inhuman institution for several centuries till they finally put an end to it. They not only stopped such an illegal process, but they went beyond that by gaining the American citizenship and participating in the development of the country like White Americans, till they realized their aim by arriving at the head of the nation and ruling the United States of America. It was an African American challenge with the proper sense of the word. So, the objective of the study is to shed light on this African American process from the beginning of the slavery disaster to the time Barrack Obama was elected president in 2008; i.e. from Slavery and White Supremacy to Black Presidency. The present study also aims at explaining how Black African Americans overcame the political, economic, religious and social obstacles through

several centuries to finally be free, and then contributed efficiently in changing the racial face that the United State of America had along bitter centuries. In order to well organize such inquiry, and clarify the historical image of the black race represented by African Americans, some important questions related to the topic should be asked.

Research Questions

The overall research question is: How was the African American dream in ruling the world-leading power realized?

This general question is broken down into a number of more specific questions:

- Had slavery been practised before it took place in the New Continent?
- How did Europeans make commercial contact with Africans?
- What was the difference between slavery in the North and the Southern one?
- Did the antebellum period contribute in the expansion of slavery in the American South?
- How was the antebellum slave life?
- How did the African Americans challenge the White Supremacy?
- After the emergence of African American leaders and the development of their original culture, how did they contribute in the development of the United States of America?
- In spite of its racial face against the black colour, how did African Americans succeed to rule a powerful world-leading country?

Research Methodology

Throughout this dissertation, we try to discuss the African American process of battle and resistance against the enslavement of the Black free born human beings along the American history as well as the challenge against the White Supremacy. The latter tried to present an inferior black social status to the world, basing on the skin colour. The present study also sheds light on the dream that African Americans had had since several centuries before it was realized in 2008, and the historical opportunity that was given to them in presiding the powerful country in the world. For the sake of organizing and conducting an acceptable work, two important types of research are applied to answer the questions mentioned above.

The research methodology that is conducted in this subject of American civilization on African Americans is both quantitative and qualitative. It is qualitative in the sense that it takes narrative and descriptive forms. In other words, it is a narrative approach through which different historical events are referred to, for the sake of shedding light on the issue of slavery starting

from the ancient times till the time it began to be practised in the American continent after the Euro-African commercial contacts had been made. The slave life was also discussed in which different domains were referred to, in order to show that slaves were also human beings like other races. The narration does not stop in this period of time, but it goes beyond that, till it reaches the peak of the year 2008 that witnessed indeed the realization of the African Dream in America which is in fact a part of our exact area of inquiry. It is also descriptive in the sense that it presents the issue of ethics and morality by describing some African American leaders that contributed efficiently in paving the way to the victory of the Black community in 2008. The description is not at all a physical one, but it is indeed a moral description.

As mentioned before, the research is not only qualitative, but it is also quantitative. Quantity, in this case, refers to the tables of statistics that are presented from time to time in the content when dealing with some important slave subjects in a special period of time. Such statistics could also be shown and analyzed to clarify the comparison between, for instance, two slave periods of time or two or more significant areas in the continent where the issue of slavery was practised. One could say that the present study is more qualitative than quantitative. In other words, the research approach is, indeed, more narrative than descriptive or analytic. So, this is more or less a brief presentation about the methodology of research that is followed in this dissertation, and the way it is organized in order to achieve the expected objective.

Chapter One

African Americans and the Slavery Era

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1.1- Introduction	11
1.2- Historical View on Slavery	12
1.3- Slavery inside Africa	15
1.3.1- Slavery in West Africa	17
1.3.2- Slavery in East Africa	18
1.3.3- Slavery in North Africa	19
1.4- European Contact with Africa	21
1.5- Slavery in the American Continent	24
1.5.1- Slavery in Virginia	27
1.5.2- Slavery during the Colonial Period	31
1.5.3- Slavery in the Antebellum Period	36
1.5.4- Slave Relations in the Antebellum Period	40
1.5.5- Slavery in the North of America	41
1.5.6- Slavery in the South of America	43
1.6- Antebellum Slave Life	46
1.6.1- Slave Family	47
1.6.2- Slave Religion	50
1.6.3- Slave Community	52
1.7- Conclusion	54

1.1 Introduction

The first chapter deals with the most important period of time in the African American history. It is about the slavery Era. Before engaging deeply into the subject of the black enslaved people, a historical view should be referred to in order to show that this disaster of human exploitation did not start after the period of the establishment of the first British colony Virginia as it is mentioned in the theme of the present research, but rather it had been practised before the written records in the ancient time. In other words, slavery touched the whole globe, and all continents witnessed the practice of such trade in human beings since the ancient period till the modern time.

The enslaved people suffered a lot under the system of slavery. They were treated as a property to be sold and bought at any time. After shedding light on the old era of human history and how people suffered from the system of slavery, we move to discuss the way this system of exploitation was dealt with in different parts and continents of the world. So, despite the fact that the focal point of my research work should be on the African Americans only and the historical relation between Africa and America, we have tried in a bid to show that not only people of the two continents who were subjected to slavery but many other parts of the globe witnessed such issue. The present study is mainly projected on both Africa and America which are considered as our exact area of inquiry. Before dealing with the subject of slavery in the American continent, and how Africans were brought there against their will, it is important first to tackle this significant issue within the African continent itself. Some historian analysts in the African civilization showed that the process of servitude inside the African area took place even before the coming of the Islamic religion and even before making commercial relations with European slave traders.

Talking about the subject of slavery in Africa drives us to briefly discuss, in the following points, on the way such illegal trade in human beings in various sides of the continent was practised before being extended overseas, particularly to America, through the contact with Europeans. In this respect, three important parts will be tackled briefly beginning with the West, East to the North. All these African parts witnessed slavery at a large scale. Talking about Africa leads us to discuss an important period of time before the Civil War known as the antebellum period. Many issues are to be dealt with in this modest dissertation like the slave life, the slave family and the slave community to simply show that the Black enslaved people were also human beings like others, and they used to live their own lives which seemed to be quite different from the one of their masters. They suffered from the

White Supremacy which was imposed on them forcefully, believing that the black community did not deserve the American citizenship, but blacks were considered as citizens of the second degree. This racial ideology against Blacks was the cause of the daily suffering of many coloured people who were deprived of their individual liberties and separated from their families forcefully. The first part of the present dissertation will also shed light on the way of living of a large number of slaves under the slavery system. Slaves were not completely free to follow their own African traditions or practise their religion. All these issues of slave community and the way the slave families lived within a situation full of perils and hard conditions will be discussed in the following sections of our first chapter.

1.2 Historical View on Slavery

According to some specialists in the field of civilization, slavery had been practised before written records were dealt with. It is so in the sense that the earliest or the old known records in ancient times referred to slavery as an institution already established and not as a new one. For instance, in the Middle East during the Bronze Age, Sumer; the land of civilized lords called nowadays Iraq was a historical region in southern Mesopotamia. The latter also included Akkadian, Babylonian and Assyrian empires. The Sumerian civilization showed that slavery had been known before this Sumerian community came to existence. For instance, the Code of Ur-Nammu written between 2100 BC and 2050 BC by King Ur-Nammu with the Sumerian language and translated in 1952 by Samuel Kramer, included laws dealing with slavery. The Code of Hammurabi in 1760 BC also witnessed the practice of such issue. It stated that death is the only punishment for anyone who would try to help a slave to escape from the master's house or shelter a fugitive.

Slavery in the Arab world lasted more than a millennium. It also took place in Ancient Egypt. So, during all Egypt Dynasties and especially the Eighteenth one (1550-1295 BC), people were captured in wars and given to the king who, in turn, gave them to their captors as slaves. The latter started to be sold in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (732-656 BC), and the contracts of servitude began to be dealt with in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (672-525 BC). Starting from the reign of Darius the Great; the third king of the Old Persian Empire (550-486 BC), the slave consent was required with regard to the contract of servitude.

With regard to the Arabic world in the medieval period, slaves were captured from different regions such as the Sub Saharan Africa, the central of Eastern Europe, the Central Asia and the Caucasus. These slaves were victims of the Trans-Saharan slavery. Arab, Indian,

Asian and Somali traders participated in a way or another in the capture and transport of slaves across the Sahara desert and the Indian Ocean towards the Arabic Sub Continent (Arabia) and the Middle East. The latter were also the destination of Arab and Somali traders from East Africa. Many black slaves were taken to Iraq, and later constituted there half of the population during the ninth and tenth centuries. The kind of servitude differed from males to females. Male slaves worked as servants, soldiers or labourers, whereas female slaves were employed as domestic servants in the Middle East countries and Arabic Kingdoms. Ottoman Empire was also involved in such issue of slavery. According to historians, one fifth of the population consisted of slaves. The reason why the king Murad I was able to establish a slave military force called Kapikulu. It was an army which consisted of captive slaves taken in wars and converted later to Islam. Their role was to serve the army or the Sultan himself and his family as well. The slave trade continued to be practised in the Middle East till the early twentieth century. Slavery in North Africa, and exactly in the Moroccan kingdom, as an example, was banned in 1930, whereas twenty years later, slavery constituted twenty per cent of the Saudi Arabia population.

Concerning the African continent, countries like Sudan, Nigeria and Algeria were considered as the main African parts where the Islamic slavery took place. The majority of captives were transported to Spain. Others were sold to slave merchants in Sudan, Ghana and Congo who, in turn, expelled them to the West Indies Islands.

Europe was also concerned with the issue of slavery. Millions of Europeans were captured by Ottoman pirates, and sold as slaves to the North African traders. Most parts of Spain, Portugal and Italy, especially coastal ones, were invaded by such Barbary pirates, and thousands of inhabitants were taken as slaves to Istanbul some North African parts like Libya. England also faced problems with these Ottoman pirates. During a period of time of three years, One hundred and sixty English ships were captured by Algerians. The United States was also a victim of such Ottoman actions. So, after making peace with the British crown in 1783, the first American ship was captured in Morocco. This event obliged the United States and some other European countries to pay the pirates for not being attacked once again.

The Asian continent was not immune. It was invaded by Arabs who enslaved thousands of Indian soldiers and prisoners. They also brought slaves from Africa to India. In modern times, historians reported that there were millions of labourers who worked as slaves in India to pay their debts. Not only India which witnessed such subject of slavery, but many other parts of the Asian Continent did the same like Afghanistan, China, Japan and Korea. So, as it

has already been mentioned, slavery touched the whole globe, and all continents witnessed the practice of such trade in human beings since the ancient period till the modern times.

This is more or less a brief historical view on slavery to show that it was not practised only in the modern times but even in the ancient period before written records. Fig.01 shows clearly how ancient people suffered from such disaster of human exploitation. As it has been already mentioned, the enslaved people suffered a lot under the system of slavery. They were treated as a property to be sold and bought at any time. They were also obliged to work, and deprived of their natural rights once they found themselves between the hands of their owners, captured forcefully against their will. Slaves were not allowed to claim or to escape. Many laws, at that time, were issued in order to put an end to any potential slave rebellion like the Code of Hammurabi (C.H) in 1760 B.C which prescribed death for anyone who might give a help to any slave to escape from the slaveholding. So, slavery was known in most of the ancient civilizations and societies.



Fig.01: Slaves Working in a Mine. Ancient Greece¹

¹ *Slavery in Ancient Greece*. (n.p). From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. Retrieved in 2011. > https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_in_ancient_Greece

Despite the fact that the focus of my research work should only be on the Afro-Americans and the historical link between Africa and America, I have tried in an attempt to show that not only people of the two continents who were subjected to slavery but many other parts of the globe were concerned too. So, after shedding light briefly on the history of this human disaster, let's refer now, in the following section, to the main situations that compelled, in a way or another, to enslave human beings in the African continent in which the black race was targeted despite the fact that Black Africans were born free.

As far as my research work is concerned, the focus is mainly projected on both Africa and America which are considered as our exact area of inquiry. But before dealing with the international contacts between African and European countries, it is of great importance to discuss first the subject of slavery within the African continent. So, important African geographical parts will be referred to in the following section.

1.3 Slavery inside Africa

Before dealing with the subject of slavery within American continent, and how Africans were taken there forcefully, it is of great importance to shed light first on this significant issue within the African continent itself. In this respect, we discuss the process of enslavement between the African countries before they made contacts with European traders, and the circumstances that paved the way to such great disaster in human exploitation across the Atlantic Ocean. Important questions could be asked then in this side: Was slavery practised within Africa before being spread outside the continent? How were African slaves treated inside their homelands? Was there any difference between the African slavery and the one across the Atlantic?

Historians in the African civilization showed that the process of enslavement within the African continent started even before the coming of the Islamic religion and also before the contact with European slave traders. Unlike the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the internal African one had been practised on a small scale. So, African slavery was more flexible and benign than the European one which would later be established in the Americas. It was so in the sense that most of the African enslaved people could be free one day after their indenture service. Many African nations, then, were involved in the slave trade like Ghana and Nigeria as it shows the map below. The latter refers to the main areas and African countries that were interested in this slavery disaster.

Slaves were employed there in the field of agriculture. Several groups, whose role was to wage war against nations to capture slaves, emerged within the African societies such as

Ambagala of Angola and Neamwezi of Tanzania. Slavery in Africa was based on contacts for a limited period of time in exchange for clothing, food and other necessities of life. So, this system of indentured servitude was an opportunity to provide jobs for poor people without being paid. Speaking about slavery in Africa leads us to briefly shed light, in the following sections, on the way such issue took place in different parts of the continent before being spread overseas, especially to America, through the contact with Europeans. In this respect, three significant parts will be referred to starting from the West, East to the North which all witnessed this disaster of human exploitation. The first African part that will be discussed in detail in 1.3.1 is about the western side that also witnessed cruel employments of human beings in different fields.

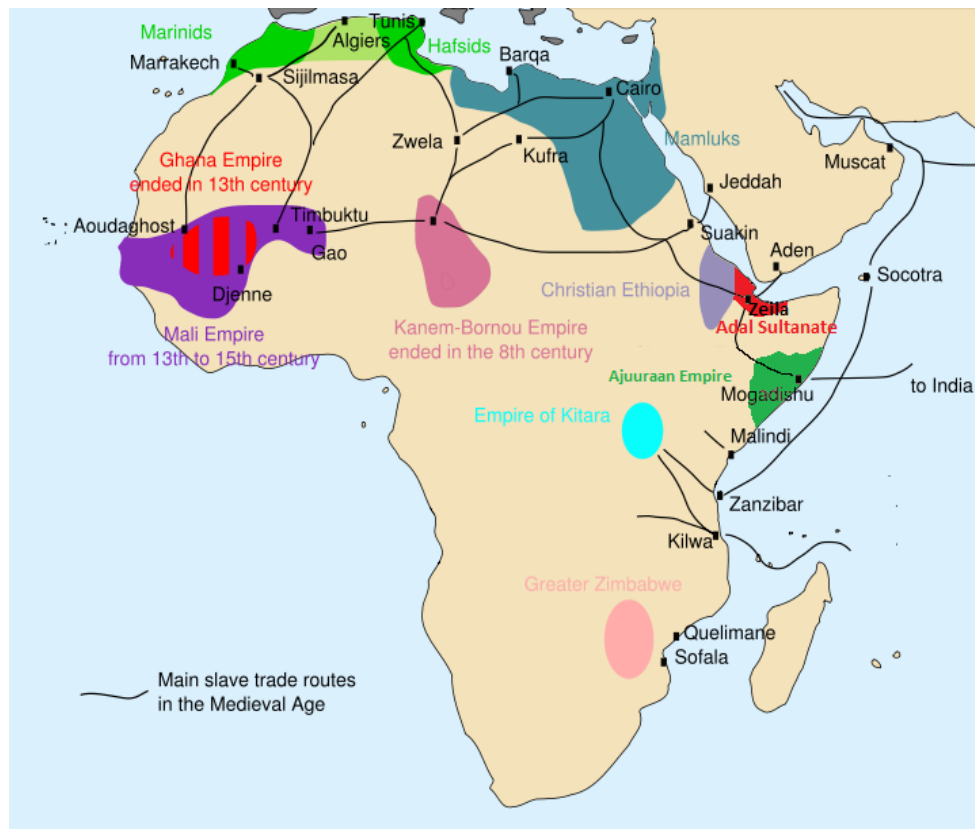


Fig 02: The Main Slave Routes in Medieval Africa.²

As it is clearly shown in the map above in fig. 02, one could easily notice that the disaster of human exploitation, i.e. slavery, spread all over the African continent during the

² 'Slavery in Africa'. (n.p). From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia Retrieved in 2011 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_in_Africa.

medieval Africa between the fifth to the fifteenth centuries. So, many African Empires were established along the area like the Ghana Empire that ended in the thirteenth century, and the one of Mali that lasted nearly two centuries after the former. Ghana was more interested in the slave trade if compared with the other African countries, and it was considered as the capital of such international business during the emergence of the T.S.T.

1.3.1 Slavery in West Africa

Slavery in the African Continent had been practised for a long time ago and for centuries. It was practised through different ways in all the different West African communities before making contact with Europeans. The slavery institution in West Africa was natural and endemic in its society. An organized West African slave trade for export started to develop especially during the coming of foreign Muslim and European traders with the demand for labour. Other historians stated that it was the external demands for labour inside West Africa that led to the emergence of such disaster in Human history within this part of Africa and corrupted its society. Ghana, for instance, was the capital of the British slave trade in West Africa that lasted for a long time for a long time. Historians said that more than 100.000 slaves a year were brought forcefully as transatlantic cargo. The British succeeded to sell and buy a big number of slaves.

Many Europeans engaged into such business. The Dutch, Portuguese and American traders were all involved into this illegal trade on a large scale. This doesn't mean at any time that slavery started with the coming of Europeans, but indeed it had been practised before that in different ways along the western part of the African continent. Later, and because of the development of the Trans-Saharan trade in both slaves and gold, many African states organized themselves very well around such kinds of trade like the Empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai. Not all African states were for slave trade, but there were other West African communities which defended against it like the Mossi Kingdoms.³

Slavery in the western part of Africa was not possible without the active collaboration of local Africans themselves. Some historians said that the Portuguese were the first Europeans that arrived at the West Africa. By 1471, the navigator Prince Henry⁴ organized an

³ The Mossi Kingdoms, sometimes mistakenly referred to as the Mossi Empire, were a number of different powerful kingdoms in modern-day Burkina Faso which dominated the region of the Upper Volta River for hundreds of years. The kingdoms were founded when warriors from the Dagomba area, in modern-day Ghana moved into the area and intermarried with local people. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mossi_Kingdoms

⁴Prince Henry (Henrique) the Navigator (1394-1460) was a Portuguese royal prince, soldier, and patron of explorers. Henry sent many sailing expeditions down Africa's west coast, but did not go on them himself. Thanks to Prince Henry's patronage, Portuguese ships sailed to the Madeira Islands (Joao Goncalves Zarco, 1420),

expedition, and reached an area that became known later as the Gold Coast. The aim of such expedition was to explore such source area of gold and other important goods. The Portuguese were interested in the trade with African countries, and by 1482, they built their first permanent trading post on the Western Coast of what is known today by Ghana. Along the west coast of the African continent, the Europeans succeeded to build about more than sixty trading posts. Seeking for fortune, they brought clothes, guns and other goods to such forts, and sold them to African people. The latter, in turn, were also transported forcefully to the New World across the Atlantic Coast and sold to the slave holders there in order to be used servants in different domains especially in the field of plantation.

1.3.2 Slavery in East Africa

Slavery in the eastern side of the African continent, like other parts, was very important and a very interesting area in which the process of enslavement was taking place against humanity. Such illegal trade was established and developed by the Christian Europe. Portuguese traders were the pioneers in flourishing the Atlantic Slave trade as well as the commercial exchanges with the African traders in the African Eastern area. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they turned their attention to some important products like ivory and gold. During this period of time, the majority of African slaves were taken from the East of Africa to the Arabian mainland. In other words, Arab slave traders were also interested in the slave trade. Their markets preferred to buy female slaves rather than males. This selection of females among males was based on the idea that the female slaves were urgently needed as household servants or sexual slaves rather than working on farms. The port of Zanzibar⁵ was used as the trade centre with Arab traders. The Omani Arabs issued a law which banned the slave trade with Christian traders in 1822. They signed the treaty called “Mosby Treaty” that abolished buying or selling slaves from or to Such European slave traders. The treaty was not respected, and soon the trade continued. This illegal trade continued to take place across the Indian Ocean.

rounded Cape Bojador (Eannes, 1434), sailed to Cape Blanc (Nuno Tristao, 1441), sailed around Cap Vert (1455), and went as far as the Gambia River (Cadamosto, 1456) and Cape Palmas (Gomes, 1459-1460). These expeditions were sent to create much-needed maps of the West African coast, to defeat the Muslims, to spread Christianity, and to establish trade routes. Prince Henry helped begin the Great Age of Discovery that lasted from the 1400's to the early 1500's, retrieved from <http://www.enchantedlearning.com/explorers/page/h/henry.shtml>

⁵ Historically, Zanzibar was a major center for the spice trade, but it also became the capital of the Arab slave trade. The Arab slave trade began in the seventh century, and over a thousand years took at least ten million people out of Africa. By the nineteenth century, more than fifty thousand slaves were passing through Zanzibar's slave markets every year (and David Livingstone estimated that far more died in transit). Article “*Arie goes to Augunda*” was pulished on January, 2009, no author's name mentioned, retrieved from <http://kam-shafted.blogspot.com/2009/01/slavery-in-zanzibar.html>

During the development of the Muslim civilization during the eighth century, the Arab traders started to transport a huge number of slaves from the seaports of East Africa to some important world markets of some countries like Turkey, Persia, Arabia and India. Arab traders were characterized by their cruelty vis-à-vis their enslaved people. In other words, they didn't care about their slaves, and as a result many of them died on their way towards the markets mentioned earlier. So, unlike European traders, the Arab slaveholders didn't have sufficient ideas and information about how to treat their slaves and the way to prevent diseases. Historians reported that from five black African slaves, probably only one who might survive and reach the Middle East markets. As it was mentioned before, the port of Zanzibar, which belongs to Tanzania, was considered as the largest and considerable area of slave trade. Through time, Arab traders began to infiltrate into some African countries such as Congo and Uganda. This situation did not last for a long time, and soon, exactly in 1873, the port of Zanzibar was prevented from exporting slaves. In other words, Britain made a great pressure on the governor to put an end to the slave market. So, it was not easy to ban such trade till a treaty was realized between the authorities of the ocean.

1.3.3 Slavery in North Africa

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, many Europeans and Americans were captured by pirates in some North African states like Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco. This piracy as well as slavery was considered as the source of wealth. Pirates in the area captured any traffic passing through the Atlantic and Mediterranean Oceans. More than four hundred ships were captured in a short period of time from 1609 to 1616. As historians reported, the first American colonial vessel was attacked by an Islamic pirate vessel in 1645. The majority of the crew members were involved into the list victims during this violent attack. Not only the European and American ships which were victims of assault, but even the isolated villages located near the sea, were attacked by pirates because of the simple fact that they were not armed to defend themselves against such cruel piracy. In the summer of 1625, the Plymouth governor estimated that nearly a thousand of persons had been enslaved; a huge number of them disappeared without leaving a trace. The king of England Charles I⁶ sent an

⁶ Charles I was king of England, Scotland and Ireland, whose conflicts with parliament led to civil war and his eventual execution. Charles I was born in Fife on 19 November 1600, the second son of James VI of Scotland and Anne of Denmark. On the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 James became king of England and Ireland. Unrest in Scotland - because Charles attempted to force a new prayer book on the country - put an end to his personal rule. He was forced to call parliament to obtain funds to fight the Scots. In November 1641, tensions were raised even further with disagreements over who should command an army to suppress an uprising in Ireland. Civil war

envoy to the area in order to know what was taking place there. The following century was characterized by military confrontation at sea between the pirates and the authorities, but the victory was always the one of piracy because of the fact that they were better at sailing. Not only blacks who were subjected to slavery, but also whites. The pirates were also eager to capture white female slaves. The Arab Sultans were interested in kidnapping and enslaving white women in order to make a pressure on the European governors. Piracy, for the Sultans, was considered as a source of wealth. The pirates were more interested in kidnapping persons to be used as slaves rather than what the ship was carrying. Many white men were kidnapped forcefully against their will; some of them were lucky to be converted to the Islamic religion. For the enslaved people, religious conversion was a good opportunity given to them to survive; otherwise they would not have any chance to remain alive. It was because of this reason that they accepted to change their religious beliefs. Doing so meant that these enslaved people wouldn't undoubtedly be welcomed in their homelands again for the simple reason that they became traitors in the eyes of European authorities.

The converted slaves were better fed and married with local women. Europeans were not well informed about this situation of their people in North Africa. Once they knew about, they started to their operation in the area especially after an escaped European white slave called Pellow escaped from his Arab master, and wrote a book about his life in slavery in this northern side of the African continent when arriving to England. So, it was till this time that European authorities were really aware of the horror of this disaster of white slavery in North Africa. White slaves were used in exploited in different domains. For instance, in Morocco, they built a palace for the Sultan, but what unfortunately what was built in decades by slave physical efforts, was destroyed in just a short period of time during the earth quake that hit the country in 1755. In this natural disaster, many European and American slaves were victims while they were still building. Piracy then was a source of fortune that characterized North Africa, and also led to the catastrophe of human exploitation that lasted centuries. When referring to the white people in North Africa as being victims of slavery, this does not mean at

began. The Royalists were defeated in 1645-1646 by a combination of parliament's alliance with the Scots and the formation of the New Model Army. In 1646, Charles surrendered to the Scots, who handed him over to parliament. He escaped to the Isle of Wight in 1647 and encouraged discontented Scots to invade. This 'Second Civil War' was over within a year with another royalist defeat by Parliamentary general Oliver Cromwell. Convinced that there would never be peace while the king lived, a rump of radical MPs, including Cromwell, put him on trial for treason. He was found guilty and executed on 30 January 1649 outside the Banqueting House on Whitehall, London. Taken from > http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/charles_i_king.shtml.

any time that these people innocent in committing such crime. They indeed did the same mistake that had been done by the Arab Sultans. Europeans also engaged into such illegal trade in human beings especially when they were given the opportunity to make commercial contacts with some African traders. This subject of Afro-European mercantile relation with Africans, which led later to the Atlantic Slave Trade, will be discussed in detail in the following section.

1.4 European Contact with Africa

This kind of trade was a result of commercial contacts between the old world and the new one; i.e. between Europe, Asia and Africa on the one side and the Americas on the other side. It took place across the Atlantic Ocean and lasted for centuries. Most of the victims of this trans-Atlantic trade were Africans. The latter were kidnapped by African traders and some other tribal leaders and sold to Europeans such as Portuguese, French, British, Spanish and Dutch who, in turn, took them against their will towards the British colonies in North America and to the south of the continent as well. They were forced to work in the field of plantation and as house servants too.

As a result of the spread of the Islamic religion via Arab invasions, Africa benefitted a lot from the Islamic civilization without making any contact with Europeans. The Mediterranean was considered as the most suitable place where Asian, African and Europeans could meet each other. A relation of trade was established between Europeans and some Arabic countries like Egypt. It was through this country Egypt that African and Asian exports arrived to Europe. African slaves were included into such European demands. Africa, in turn, received weapons. This economic cooperation paved the way for some powerful European countries, especially Portugal, to think about how to reach Guinea; the land of gold which was out of Muslim control. Portugal succeeded to make contacts with black Africans in the fifteenth century. It started to colonize the Islands of Cape Verde near Senegal for the purpose of making a commercial contact with Mali. By the end of the century, the Portuguese arrived to the Gold Coast. They made efforts to expand their commercial influence by making contact with the state of Sudan. They also penetrated in the African Sub-Sahara, and controlled the trade along the Western Indian Ocean. This Portuguese control failed after the emergence of the Ottoman military power which succeeded to make North Africa a Turkish country. Europeans, in turn, were interested a lot in the sea trade. They were in need of manufacturers like silk, drug and perfumes or crops like spices and sugar. Unfortunately, Africans were not able to produce such European requirements. The reason why Europeans thought about

producing such commodities inside Africa by themselves and for themselves despite the problem of disease and climate they might encounter in this continent.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the system of plantation was established in West Africa. This African agricultural system was transported to the West Indies by the Spanish and to Brazil by the Portuguese. West Africa became able to offer not only gold and ivory but also other essential commodities that European societies urgently needed. It was, then, the focus of the European traders. In the seventeenth century, the European demand for workers in the field of plantation in America changed the situation. The Portuguese traders supplied the early Spanish colonies in America with African slaves. Later, the growth of the European demand for sugar paved the way for what historians called the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The latter mainly took place in West Africa. Consequently, more than two hundred thousands of black African slaves were taken against their will to America and other parts of the world. By the eighteenth century, French and English traders became the pioneers of such international trade. This situation was the result of the Dutch victory against Portugal which was expelled from the gold coast. Despite this failure, Portuguese continued to practise slave trade from Angola to Brazil. The British domination in such trade, among other countries, was apparent to all. Britain, in her activity, focused a lot in Guinea. However, the French activity took place between Senegal and Gambia. In the process of Afro-European commercial cooperation, European traders supplied Africa with clothes, metals and firearms, whereas African traders sold them not only gold but also slaves. The European demand of slaves increased in exchange of firearms for Africans. The TAST had both positive and negative effects on Africa. It played a big role in shifting the centre of power from the North and East to the West of the African continent. The effect was positive on West Africa in the sense that the area became wealthy and powerful as a result of the commercial exchange with Europeans. However, the negative impact was clearly seen in the East African situation which became less populated and lacked the productive manpower. So, Europeans, especially the Portuguese, succeeded to make a real contact between some African states and the rest of the world via an international commercial trade.

Africa also benefited from the fact of getting in touch with the outside world. It imported, through Portuguese traders, some important food plants from South America. This international Afro-European trade based a lot on slave trade despite the fact that Africans tried to find other types of commerce other than slavery which was very profitable for Europeans. This profitable trade paved the way to the colonization of the African continent. This is more or less a short survey on the European contact with African states which made it easy for the

rest of the world, especially Europe, to penetrate inside the African communities and to benefit from their natural resources. Some West African states played an important role in violating human rights by selling black Africans as slaves to Europeans in exchange with firearms. It was really a disaster in human exploitation. The latter was a destructive process of many African families which were deprived of their rights of life. Families were separated of each other, and even the members of the same family were taken forcefully away from each other to serve other families in Europe and America. There was an exchange of slaves between African traders themselves and Europeans. Africans were not safe even in their countries because of the conspiracy of African traders within the African society against their brothers. The slave exchange formed a triangular trade between three continents: Europe, Africa and America. These continents witnessed a violation of human rights against a large number of Africans who found themselves face to face with a bitter reality that divided the society between two social classes, one which considered itself as the one that ought to run the country and to exploit the remaining minority for its benefits, and another class which had to serve the previous one and had no right to claim or rebel against. The map below shows the main routes that Europeans followed during this process of international trade that emerged after the commercial contacts between European and African traders (see fig.03).



Fig.03: The Atlantic Slave Trade Routes

(Source: https://www.maps.com/ref_map.aspx?pid=11318)

If anyone goes deeply into the map, he may notice that this trade takes the form a triangle between three significant parts of the globe; between Europe, Africa and the

American continent which will be discussed in the next sections in detail. The map mentioned below shows these Afro-American mercantile contacts (see fig.04).

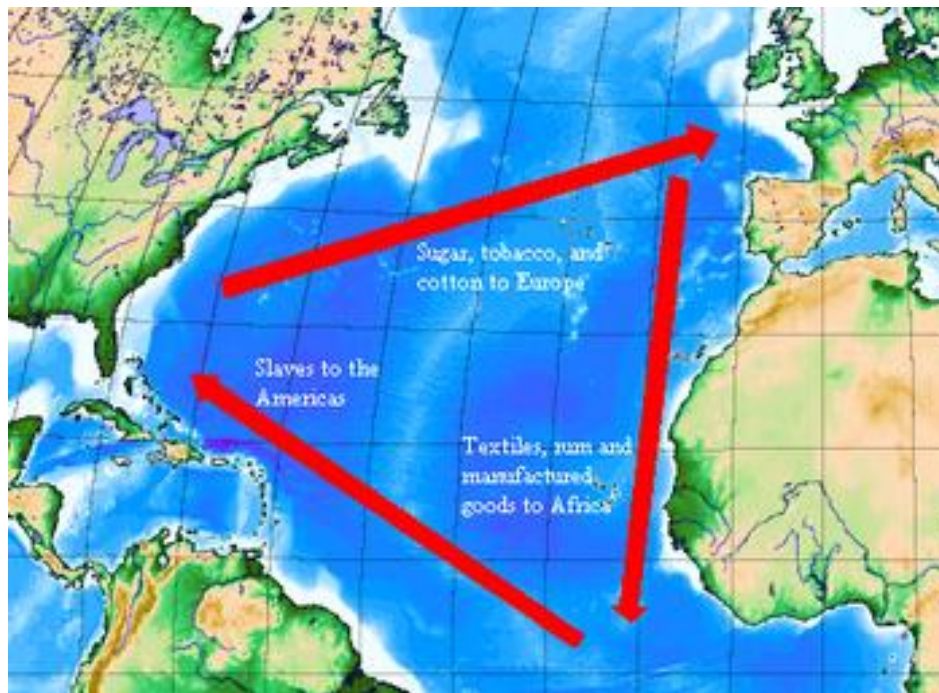


Fig.04: The Triangle Slave Trade

(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Triangular_trade)

Historians state that the Trans-Atlantic slave trade is the most known and famous triangle trading system in the world. These international contacts between the three significant parts of the world practised slave trade from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. They carried slaves, manufactured goods and cash crops. As the red arrows indicate in the map above, the triangle trade was between the American colonies, West Africa and the European colonial powers on one side, and the British northern colonies within the American continent.

1.5 Slavery in the American Continent

Slavery in the United States started to take place after the English colonists established their first colony Virginia in 1606. More than a decade later, Virginia witnessed an important event in the American history; it was the arrival of a Dutch warship carrying twenty African slaves. This process of enslavement continued and lasted more than two centuries until it was banned by the thirteen amendments of the constitution of 1787⁷ that succeeded to make union

⁷ Before the creation of the U.S. Constitution in 1787, constitutional amendments had already been instituted as part of several early state constitutions. The pioneering framers of these state constitutions recognized the need to incorporate an element of flexibility into Constitutional Law, and they provided for constitutional amendment through the legislature or

between Americans under a powerful and centralized government after the failure of the Articles of Confederation.

As previously mentioned, the first group of black African slaves arrived to Jamestown⁸ after being captured from a Spanish ship. These black slaves were taken against their will to join the indentured slaves already in Virginia. So, the period of the seventeenth century witnessed an active slave trade in the whole country that exploited innocent human beings against their will to serve a white minority of slave owners in the American society. The graph below represents the statistics over slavery in a period of two centuries.

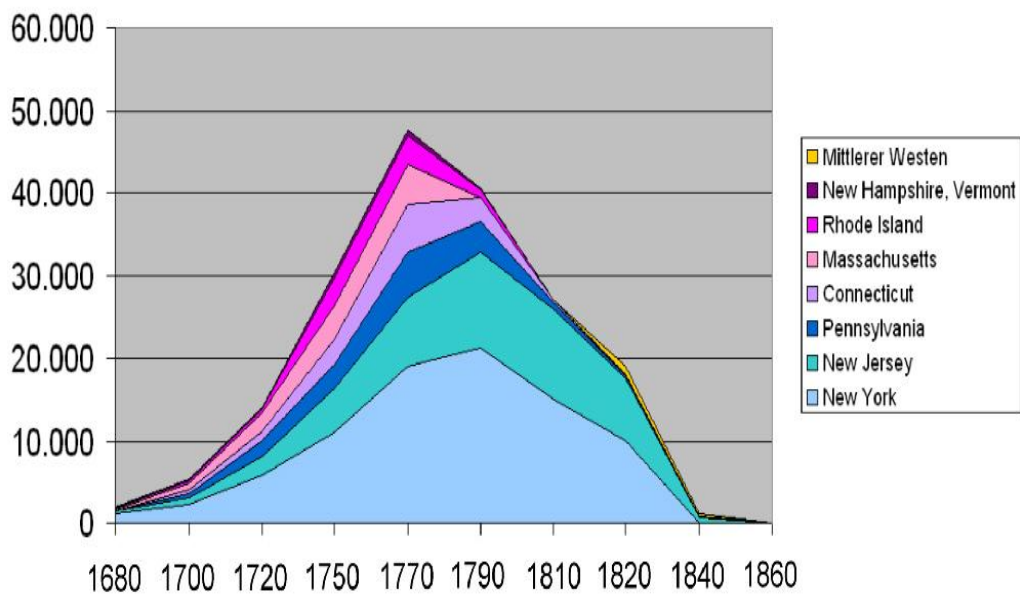


Figure 05: The Slave population in the period between 1680 and 1860

(Source: <http://www.google.fr/imgres?imgurl=https://upload.wikimedia.org/>)

The graph above shows the increasing number of slaves within the American continent in the period between 1680 and 1860. The number of slaves increased from 5000 slaves in

through special conventions. Proving the truth of Madison's contention, the first ten amendments to the Constitution were passed as a package by the first session of Congress in 1791. This group of amendments is called the Bill of Rights.

⁸ The **Jamestown** settlement in the Colony of Virginia was the first permanent English settlement in the Americas. William Kelso says Jamestown is where the British Empire began ... this was the first colony in the British Empire. Established by the Virginia Company of London as "James Fort" on May 4th, Jamestown served as the capital of the colony for 83 years, from 1616 until 1699. The settlement was located within the country of Tsenacommacah, which was administered by the Powhatan Confederacy, and specifically in that of the Paspahugh tribe. Mortality at Jamestown was very high due to disease and starvation, with over 80% of the colonists perishing in 1609-1610 in what became known as the "Starving Time". In 1619, the first documented Africans—about 50 men, women and children—came to Jamestown aboard a Portuguese slave ship that had been captured in the West Indies and brought to the Jamestown region. They most likely worked in the tobacco fields as indentured servants initially. The London Company's second settlement, Bermuda, claims to be the site of the oldest *town* in the English New World, as St. George's, Bermuda was officially established (as New London) in 1612, whereas James Fort, in Virginia, was not to be converted into James Town until 1619.

1700 to more than 45000 in 1770. So, within two centuries, the number of slaves increased of more than 40000. This indicates that the Americans were interested in practising slavery and bringing slaves from Africa to be exploited in the field of plantation in USA, especially in the Southern part of the country. The data, in the diagram previously mentioned, presents slavery in some of the American states. The city of New York witnessed the large number of slaves being exploited in different fields. So, till 1790, New York represented more than 45% of the whole number of all states. New Jersey came in the second position with 15000 slaves, then Pennsylvania and the remaining states such as Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire. The diagram also shows that the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth witnessed the decline of slavery from 45000 in 1770 to less than 5000 slaves in 1840. The decreasing number indicates the determination of the Northern authorities to put an end to slavery in the American Continent. Starting from this period, the sectional destructive and divisive conflict began to take place between the North and the South which later led to what is known as the Civil War.

The process of human exploitation did not start under the term of slavery, but it had taken the form of indentured servitude in which servants of different races had the chance to get their freedom after serving their masters a given period of time. Later, the system of indentured servitude became practised as slavery, and the servants became known as slaves serving their masters for an unlimited period of time. Slaves then were transported like goods. This way of dealing with human beings was known as Chattel slavery. So, as it has already been pointed out, before the establishment of what was known as Chattel Slavery i.e. slaves became the master's property, the labour had been organized under the system of indentured servitude. This means that there was an agreement between the servants and their masters to work for a limited period of time before being free. Through these years of work, the indenture servants paid the costs of transportation to the new land. This system of servitude continued to take place for many years for both black and white people. Later, slavery took a racial direction. It only concerned black Africans and people of African descent. In this case, white people were not subjected to slavery. In 1705, the Virginia rulers issued a law which stated that slavery would only apply on people from countries where religion was not Christianity. The south of Virginia was more agricultural than the north. It relied a lot on plantation, especially tobacco. This compelled the southern colonies to import more slaves. From the beginning of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth centuries, slavery was legal, and the majority of slaves, if not all, were black held by white people. This doesn't mean that only whites who practised such crime against humanity but also some free black

people and Native Americans who engaged into such business. A high number of slaves were held by planters. According to historians, ninety five per cent of slaves lived in the south and constituted the third of southern population. In the nineteenth century, the labour of African Americans contributed efficiently in the enhancement of the United States wealth.

As it has been already mentioned, the establishment of the first colony Jamestown witnessed the arrival of the first group of African slaves to the new land. This historical event leads us to shed light on this illegal trade within the first British colony Virginia. The latter was established in 1607 as the first British colony in the North America. People in this area, were interested a lot in plantation. This domain urgently needed slaves who were exploited in working for the benefit of their masters who, in turn, guaranteed their clothing and feeding.

1.5.1 Slavery in Virginia

After the discovery of the new land America, many European countries entered the race of exploration. They made all their efforts to send navigators for the sake of discovering new areas in the new continent. Each country, at that time, claimed the area it had found. But claiming that they possessed lands there was one thing, and actually making them theirs was something completely different. So, in order to really possess them, Europeans thought about establishing their settlements of their own people. Britain was one of the European countries which were interested in such subject. It established its own colonies in the North America. Jamestown, called later Virginia in honour of the virgin Queen Elisabeth, was the first colony to be planted in 1607. European people were ready to settle in America for different reasons. Some hoped to become rich, others hoped to find safety from religious and political persecution, and another class of people was kidnapped and forcefully brought against its will. In 1619, Jamestown witnessed the arrival of the first group of African slaves. According to some historians, these black Africans

“ ... Were considered as servants, like the white indentured servants brought from Europe. But the strong probability is that, even if they were listed as “servants” (a more familiar category to the English), they were viewed as being different from white servants, were treated differently, and in fact were slaves. ”⁹

Howard Zinn, in his statement mentioned above, states that the British colonists, because of the lack of labourers in the field of plantation, brought whites and blacks from all

⁹ Howard, Z. ‘*A People’s History of the United States. 1492-Present.*’ Printed in the United States of America, 2001. p.23

over the world in order to serve their masters under a system called indentured servitude. White and black indentured servants were not treated the same way. White servants were expected to work in the tobacco field for a limited period of time before being free, whereas the black indenture was completely different. The blacks had no hope to be free one day. Their indenture was for life. As Howard said, they were not servants but indeed slaves. Later, slavery became an institution that made a racial relationship between whites and blacks. This institution of enslavement put blacks in an inferior position in all the American territory. The Virginian planters urgently needed more workers to plant tobacco and corn for export and subsistence as well. It was somehow difficult for them, if not impossible, to oblige Indians to do so because of their savage way of life. In addition, the white servants did not satisfy the masters' needs because of the insufficient number they brought from England. Virginians decided that the only solution to the problem of shortage in labour was resorting to bring blacks as slaves and not as indentured servants. For them, slavery was more beneficial than indentured servitude. As a result, an illegal trade started to take place and thousands of blacks were brought from Africa to the south of America. These slaves surprisingly found themselves in a difficult situation in which they were deprived of their lands, culture, language and their families as well.

So, slaves in Africa were more like most of the population of Europe. In other words, despite the fact that they suffered a lot from the harsh servitude, they, at least, had rights that those brought to the American Continent did not have. Besides, they were not treated the same way as those in America were. In Africa, for instance, a slave might marry and own lands. He can also be adopted as a family member, whereas slavery in America was hard, lifelong and destructive of family relations. The slave's future was also ambiguous. Slavery in Virginia was harsh and cruel, which later caused racial hatred among humanity in the continent. European settlers there based on the idea that Black Africans deserved to be only slaves, whereas whites always remained their masters. African slaves brought to Virginia had been captured and sold by African traders like animals and not human beings. They are

"... put into a booth or prison ... near the beach, and when the Europeans are to receive them, they are brought out into onto a large plain, where the ships surgeons examine every part of every of them, to the smallest member, men and women being stark naked. ... Such as are allowed good and sound are set on one side ... marked on the breast with a red-hot iron, imprinting the French, English, or Dutch companies.... The branded slaves after this are returned to their former booths where they await

*shipment, Sometimes 10-15 days....*¹⁰

Here, Howard (2001) referred to the conditions in which Black Africans were kidnapped and removed forcefully to Jamestown in order to be used in the field of plantation. They were transported as goods, and many of them died because of long distance and because of the fact that they did not endure being kept in their cages for a long time. It is estimated by historians that, in two centuries, ten to fifteen million African slaves were transported to the Americas. The Virginia settlers were in urgent need of labourers. It was, somehow, impossible to use Indians and difficult to oblige whites to work in the field of plantation. Virginians resorted to use blacks. This choice was based on the fact that Black Africans were available in big numbers. They could also endure the suffering of slavery. They concluded that such human race was ripe for enslavement and ready to be used in hard works. This does not mean at all that there was no white slavery. Indeed, whites were also used as slaves, but they were not treated the same way as blacks. The latter were listed separately. In 1639, The Virginia government issued a law which stated that all persons could bear arms and ammunition except Negroes who had no right to be protected. They should also serve their masters for life. Whites were considered as indentured servants, whereas blacks were no more than a chattel property. Such treatment of both blacks and whites was not just. It, later, caused an antipathy of the white race against the black one. It led to what is called racism. The black colour was distasteful and divorced from humankind. Black people were not considered as human beings, but rather they were sold as animals and even goods as the following picture shows. White people who were looking for slaves could simply take a look to newspaper pages and they easily found a list of slave Negroes advertised here as it is shown in fig.06 below.

¹⁰Howard, Z. *'A People's History of the United States. 1492-Present.'* Printed in the United States of America, 2001, p.28.



Fig.06: Slaves for Sale, Newspaper Advertisement from 1780's¹¹

For them, the black colour represented night and darkness, whereas the white colour had a close relationship with beauty. Many historians referred to the good relations between blacks and whites in a given period of time when both indentured servants had problems and enemies in common. Unfortunately, this good relationship between the two races came to an end because of the Virginian Governmental tendency to make clear physical differences. The government of Virginia did so by providing the banishment of any white man having the intention to marry a bond or free Negro or Indian woman. It was because of such Virginian laws that racism started to take place among humankind. Virginians were interested a lot in plantation, and the number of white servants was insufficient to satisfy the needs of their masters. So, the growth of slavery in this first British colony was because of the labour shortage in agriculture. By 1763, slaves represented half of the population there. Despite the fact that the first groups of Black African slaves were brought to America and used there as indentured servants having, of course, the right to be free like whites after few years of service, the situation changed and Blacks became obliged to serve for life in the economic

¹¹ Dr. Neil A Frankel's. "The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slavery in America". (n.d). Retrieved in 2011. > <http://www.slaverysite.com/images/images2.htm>

growth of the colonies especially in the colonial period that will be discussed in the following section.

1.5.2 Slavery during the Colonial Period

By 1640, the permanent enslavement of Black Africans for life, as well as their children, had been established in Virginia. After a short period of time, it became recognized and legalized. The importation of tobacco, by the English traders, contributed efficiently in the growth of the plantation system of this important commodity. After half a century, Virginians became eager in participating in such beneficial trade which took direction towards Africa. In 1750, most of the thirteen British colonies agreed on a system of black bondage. Slavery then became legal. This does not mean that only Black Africans who were enslaved but also Native Americans and Europeans. The latter could escape and considered as free persons because of their colour. Indians were familiar with the American territory, the reason why they could easily run away. Black Africans, then, became victims since they completely ignore the new terrain. They surprisingly found themselves in a strange society quite different from theirs in the African Continent. They were brought to be used in agriculture. The latter was given much importance in the Southern colonies than the Northern ones. This was because of the suitable soil and climate of the South which helped to cultivate big quantities of significant crops such as indigo, rice and tobacco. It was indeed because of this beneficial agriculture that slavery developed quickly. For instance, Virginia had the largest slave population. In the mid eighteenth century, slaves constituted sixty percent of the population in South Carolina. In the Northern colonies, slaves were engaged in domains other than plantation. They were used in mining, maritime and domestic works.

During the colonial period, black slaves reacted against their enslavement through different ways. They killed their masters; destroy crops that had been cultivated and escaped towards unknown directions. They sometimes preferred suicide to put an end to their sufferings. Rebellions were also another form of protest. In 1739, South Carolina witnessed the largest slave rebellion of the colonial period. The fear of potential slave insurrection in the future compelled most of the British colonies to enact some important laws called 'slave' or 'black codes'. This set of laws stated that slaves were forbidden to travel without having a written permission of the part of their masters. They were also deprived to congregate in big numbers without the presence of whites. By the end of the colonial period, black Africans represented twenty percent of the American population. Most of them were native-born Americans. They had undergone an acculturation process in different parts of the British

colonies. Later, this process paved the way to form a black cultural group known as African Americans. The latter tried to keep their African traditions into a pan-African culture. Among these traditions, music, dance and religion took the big share of interest. They also adopted the manners and customs of the area where they are enslaved.

The colonial period witnessed the emergence of a slave society. In other words, black Africans contributed efficiently in the economic development and social order especially in the South in which whites constituted an important proportion of the population. Blacks, there, were a minority that constituted thirty five percent. In South Carolina, Black slaves represented the majority of the population. By the eighteenth century, slaves constituted 84 percent of the rural population. Slaveholdings were much more concentrated. Because of such conditions, slave owners applied a new system called 'task system'. Under this regulation, each slave was given a special work or a task to perform in the morning then he stopped working and relaxed after its completion. In New York and Rhode Island, slaves worked as farmhands, servants and craftsmen. The task system failed to be spread outside Georgia and South Carolina. These two colonies counted about forty thousand slaves, i.e. seventeen percent of slaves of the thirteen colonies, whereas sixty one percent of them lived in Virginia and Maryland.

The British colonists were not all Slave owners, but there were a substantial number of them who did not experience slavery at all. In the South, for example, those who owned slaves represented a minority of the white population. The presence of these non-slaveholding whites made a social balance. In other words, it put an end to the dominance of slave owners on the Southern society. This fact might be the source of a future potential political conflict between Southerners over the subject of slavery. The period of time before the American Revolution witnessed the emergence of two different generations: American-born masters and the American-born slaves. With regard to the masters' class, slave owners were divided into two groups. There were some slaveholders who preferred to control their slaves and look after them. This class of slave owners lived on their farms and plantations and involved themselves on a regular basis with the lives of their slaves. They were really interested in the management of their slave holdings. The second group of slave owners was represented by those who preferred the absenteeism. This idea spread in some Southern colonies but not in the entire South. These absentee masters looked to their slave holdings as an investment that required little attention. In other words, they preferred to live in a colonial city or in their home countries far from their properties. They only visited their plantations from time to time, or

received reports from persons to whom was assigned the task of controlling slaves on their behalf. These slave holders had

“... an absentee mentality; their hearts would be elsewhere, and they would show relatively little interest in the day-to-day shores of plantation administration. The huge numerical preponderance of unassimilated Africans rendered a West Indian plantation an inhospitable environment for most British planters; as historian Richard Dunn put it, ‘The West Indian slave masters could not expect to assimilate or Acculturate such a huge alien population. If they wished to preserve their own identity, they had to segregate themselves socially and culturally from the blacks.’”¹²

Kolchin (1993), in the quotation mentioned above, referred to the situation of the West Indian slave holdings where there was no direct supervision of the part of the slave owners. Most of the time, masters were absent in their properties. This absence led to the lack of good organization and hygiene in the plantation. It became inhospitable for planters because of the big number of black African slaves who could not be assimilated and acculturated easily into the American society. Masters viewed their slaves as a strange population, whereas slaves considered their masters as outsiders. This absentee mentality, as Kolchin said, was spread in West India, Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, Russia and some African states like Jamaica. It was also prevalent in some areas in South Carolina and Georgia. With regard to the American colonies, masters did not have an absentee mentality but a resident mentality. This means that most of the American slaveholders paid attention to their plantations and lived in their farms very close to their slaves. This American mentality of residency contributed efficiently, in a way or another, in the assimilation and acculturation of the black African slaves into the American society. So, the emergence of this class of resident slave owners paved the way to develop the colonial society. Virginian English settlers as well as those in Massachusetts were interested a lot in plantation. They came to the North America to live together with their families and established agricultural communities. French and Spanish were completely different. They lived in their mother countries and visited occasionally their properties in the Americas. The permanent life of English colonists in the American continent does not mean forgetting the socio-cultural values of the mother country England, but they remained English at heart. From time to time, they sent their Children back to England to be well educated. This fact of being tied to the mother country did not last for a long time, and soon the English gradually started to become Americans rather than English. They gave more importance to their local

¹²Peter Kolchin. ‘*American Slavery. 1619-1877.*’ Published by the Penguin Group, 1993, p.35

legislatures to speak on their behalf and represent them than to the king or the parliament in England. They were determined to run their own affairs, to pass laws of taxation and regulate slavery. This determination spread quickly along the British colonies.

In some countries like Brazil, the number of slaves diminished because of the harsh works that the cultivation of sugar demanded, which causes the death of a big number of slaves. The American colonies also witnessed the same situation. The proportion of black African slaves declined especially at the beginning of the American Revolution and later during the abolition of slave trade. The majority of slaves in the southern colonies were American-born slaves and not Africans. These slaves represented a new slave generation in the North America. The shift from an African-born slave generation to an American-born one differed from one colony to another. It depended a lot on the slave importation which effectively came to an end. This period witnessed a demographical transformation that led to the emergence of what is called Creole slave population. The natural reproduction of such slave generation (creoles) contributed in the growth of the black African population more than the importation of slaves did. This new black African society was a self-reproducing class, and Africans became finally Americans. Later, the majority of slaves were either Africans or the grandchildren of Africans enslaved by either Europeans or the grandchildren of Europeans. This situation established a relationship between European masters and African slaves. In other words, it was a complex relationship between whites and blacks.

The question that can be asked on this subject is: Were Africans ‘Americanized’? Did they keep their African traditions or adopt the new American way of life?

Concerning this subject, historians are divided into two groups. There are some who believed that black Africans quickly forgot their African ways of life like the sociologist Franklin Frazier who stated that the Africans brought to America were deprived of their African culture. He said that “... *probably never before in history has a people been so nearly completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes who were brought to America.*”¹³

The opposing idea was maintained by another group of historians like the scholar Melville Herskovits who referred to the support and encouragement that Africans received from black nationalists to celebrate the African culture. He also insisted that Africans were rarely influenced by The Christian religion, and their culture was purely African. Kolchin, speaking about this dichotomy of Americanization and African survival, said that the African

¹³ - Peter Kolchin. ‘*American Slavery. 1619-1877.*’ Published by the Penguin Group, 1993, p.40

grandchildren or, in general, the African descendents were neither Africans nor Americans. In his view, there was an exchange of influence between slaves and slaveholders. In other words, African slaves were influenced by their American masters, and they sometimes had, in turn, an impact on the behaviour of their masters too. Black Africans created a new cultural base known as the African American culture. With regard to those who were kidnapped and taken forcefully from their home countries, they were Africans at heart. They found themselves face to face with a new strange situation in which they were forced to speak a new strange language and adapt with new customs and traditions. They could not deny their status as slaves, but they refused to give it legitimacy. In their views, being a slave was an illegal act that is imposed on human beings. This was for those Africans brought to America who were somehow conservative, whereas for their children or their grandchildren, the situation was completely different. These African descendents rarely used even few words of their African native language. Simply, they were not Africans as their antecedents were, but, indeed, they became African Americans with an African American culture. This means that what had begun as an African tradition had been transformed as an African American one.

The growth of the African American culture contributed in a way or another in facilitating acculturation and paving the way to the emergence of an individual autonomy among African Americans especially in the southern colonies where there was a substantial number of black slaves who represented a threat to the American social order. This increased number of slaves facilitated the spread of the social life among slaves in case of marriage and friendship. By the outbreak of the American Revolution, eighty percent of blacks in America, whether in the South or the North, were American-born (creoles). With such substantial number and such significant demographic transformation, these creoles succeeded to form a new African American society. In spite of their slave status, they were also given the opportunity to work in different domains because of the lack of skilled persons especially in the Southern area like South Carolina. They were used as sailors, trappers, hunters and guides. In the North, black slaves worked as skilled craftsmen and domestic servants because of the fact that northerners were not interested in the field of agriculture like those in the South. Unlike their antecedents, the descendents of African slaves lived in a stable and balanced population. They lived together with their families and developed new forms of social organization and interaction with whites around them.

The new slave situation did not prevent whites to make great efforts in converting black slaves to Christianity despite the fact that Africans in America were tied to their native religions. Not all slave owners were interested in this religious subject, but indeed there were

others who opposed such idea of converting their slaves to be Christian. They were afraid that the spiritual Christian message of equality of all souls before God would produce anxiety among white people. The generation of American-born slaves (Creole), especially those who lacked their parents' ties to their home country Africa, were targeted easily by the conversion to Christianity. In the eighteenth century, a substantial number of slaves were converted to the masters' religions. In other words, they were Christianized. Slave owners were called to treat their slaves in a Christian manner. Later, they came to have true feelings of affection towards their slaves, especially those American-born ones seen grow through childhood till adulthood. This white affection towards blacks was spread in significant parts of the colonies. It contributed positively in changing the slaveholders' mentalities especially in the Northern side which was less interested in the plantation field. A sectional conflict, over slavery, started to take place between the South and the North which led to the C.W afterwards. But before dealing with slavery during this divisive and destructive war, let us refer to the situation of black slaves, especially Africans, during an important period of time in the American history called 'Antebellum Period. The latter that is considered as the most important period of time in the American history will be dealt with in the next point.

1.5.3 Slavery in the Antebellum Period

'Antebellum' is a Latin word that means 'before the war'. When talking about the antebellum period, we always refer to that period of time that led to the Civil War in the United States of America. This special period of time witnessed a massive expansion of slavery towards the South and a movement of emancipation in the North. In the mid-eighteenth century, slavery spread all over the thirteen colonies. This situation did not last for a long time, and soon the South became the only area that was still dealing with slavery.

Slavery in the South became distinctive. It witnessed then new developments in the masters' views towards their slaves. Masters started to express their concern for the well-being of their slaves. In other words, the slave owners showed their intention to take care of their enslaved people and treat them in a good way. This does not mean at any time that slaves would be free, but rather the slave dependence should be promoted and new restrictions must be imposed. Through such measures, the Southern whites tried to defend their distinctive slavery institution in the area. So, during the colonial period, such southern institution relied a lot on cotton despite the fact that it grew in very limited quantities. The British Industrial Revolution contributed in a way or another in giving importance to the American cotton. The latter prompted the planters of Georgia and South Carolina to increase its cultivation. During the

antebellum period, the production of cotton developed the southern American economy. Such production rose from 3000 bales in 1790 to 178000 bales in 1810 and more than four million bales on the eve of the Civil War. Big quantities of this valuable cotton were exported to Britain. It was considered as the basis of the New England factories. It also played an important role in the development of its industrialization. The American cotton in the southern area was given a significant value. It was closely related to the subject of slavery. It urgently required the slave labour in the field of plantation like tobacco in Chesapeake region and rice in South Carolina and Georgia. Before the Civil War, the slave owners moved their slaves from their existing homes, where there was no cultivation of cotton, to other states that were interested in its production. So, according to some historians, about one million slaves were transported westward between 1790 and 1860. Most of slaves were moved from Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas to Georgian, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas.

Slavery, during the A.P, was a diversified institution in which slaves lived in diverse conditions. Some lived on wide farms under the control of supervisors, whereas others worked in small plantations beside their masters. The small number of wealthy planters having multiple holdings was of necessity, absent most of the time from their slaveholdings because of their political obligations and legal practice or because of personal affairs. In South Carolina and Louisiana, small numbers of slaves belonged to free black masters, whilst others were enslaved by Native Americans. The enslaved people served as carpenters, house servants, preachers, planters and drivers. They were also assigned the task of cultivating different crops such as tobacco, wheat, rice, sugar and cotton. The slave living conditions were quite different from one group to another. In other words,

“ They faced variations in region and climate as well as in treatment and in owner disposition; some lived on isolated rural holdings, others were able to visit neighbouring farms and plantations, and still others resided in urban areas and enjoyed considerable freedom and local movement and association. Such diversity has contributed a sharp disagreement among historians over the nature of Southern slavery, about which virtually every assertion can be challenged with counter-examples. ”¹⁴

Slavery in the American South witnessed a special relation between the enslaved people and their owners. The southern slaves were living and working close to their masters. They

¹⁴ - Peter Kolchin. ‘American Slavery. 1619-1877.’ Published by the Penguin Group, 1993, p.99

represented one-third of the population there. Slave owners in the South preferred to live in the rural holdings which were considered as their homes. Southern masters then had a resident mentality. In other words, they were in need of a direct and personal supervision of their slave properties. They felt strongly bound to such places near their communities, landholdings, governments and slaves. In small plantations that included few slaves, the resident masters controlled and directed operations personally, and they sometimes worked beside their enslaved people.

With regard to the large slaveholdings, masters were obliged to hire white overseers. The latter had different backgrounds. Some of them did not possess slave properties, others were the sons of some planters who wanted to gain experience in supervising such wide farms in order to be well formed managers in the future and to establish then their own slave properties. In other plantations where slave owners were always absent, overseers were assigned the task of observation. Such overseers represented the master's will, and they were given great authority. They served as administrative assistants whose role was to transmit daily reports about the operations to the slaveholding owners. In some large farms, slaves were organized into groups. They were led by an appointed slave called the slave driver. The latter was selected among slaves according to his managerial ability, his intelligence and his strength. In Georgia and South Carolina, the absentee planters used the task system¹⁵. Their large plantations were controlled by some super overseers called 'stewards'. They were given general authority over more than one estate, and they were sometimes helped by black drivers. The task of supervising the operations of plantations was a difficult task, for the overseer was likely to be blamed for any bad management. Such supervisors were given special instructions and warned to perform the task as it had been expected from them; otherwise they would be expelled for anything that might go wrong. Such warning compelled the overseers to be severe and exercise then a firm control over slaves. They were also called to avoid excessive severity. In some farms, slaves played the role of overseers, despite the fact that this task was normally assigned to Whites and not Negroes. But because of the fact that some resident masters distrusted the hired white overseers, the black slaves were asked to report any wrongdoing on the part of such administrative assistants. The question of confidence was the cause of the expulsion of many white hired agents that showed the lack of

¹⁵ The task system is a reference within slavery to a division of labor established on the plantation. It is the less brutal of the two main types of labor systems. The other form, known as the gang system, was harsher.^[1] The difference between the task labor system and the gang labor system was characterized by the amount of work time required by the slave and also the amount of freedom given to the slave. Some plantation owners allowed their slaves to produce goods for sale in task systems. The gang systems forced the slaves to work until the owner said they were finished and allowed them almost no freedom.

respect towards their employers. Planters accused them of being lazy and dishonest. So, finding a perfect overseer was not an easy matter. Many slave owners were fed up of the search of confident and vigilant agents, and they were determined to manage their plantations themselves with the help of trusted slaves. Such situation contributed in the emergence of a managerial crisis in the antebellum South. The majority of slaveholdings were managed without overseers. In some farms, the masters themselves supervised their farms.

Slaves in the antebellum South were engaged into different activities such as cultivating various crops, building houses, unloading boats and clearing lands. These African American slaves were enslaved on small farms, wide plantations, in cities and towns, inside homes and outside in transportation and industrial fields. They were considered as properties because of their black colour of skin. This social status of property was imposed on them forcefully and by violence. They were always regarded as inferior. The southern slavery was characterized by large plantations and big numbers of slaves. Not all whites in the South owned slaves; there were some who did not do. Although the latter were not engaged in this disaster of human exploitation, they defended in a way or another slavery institution. The non-slaveholding whites disliked the power and wealth of the slave owners, but aimed at the same time, at owning slaves themselves and then joining the wealthy social class. White people gained a status of superiority over those blacks exploited in farms. They gained a sense of power simply because they were white.

In some southern areas, especially in the lower South as in South Carolina and Georgia, the majority of slaves lived and worked on cotton plantations. Cotton was the leading cultivated crop, but slaves also planted rice, sugar, corn and tobacco. In addition to plantation, they also participated in other activities. For instance, they worked as carpenters, mechanics, drivers and traders. Besides men, black women collaborated by taking care of families especially children as well as cooking and weaving. Some slaves worked as house servants by providing services for their master's or overseer's families. This slave's home activity seemed to be less tiring than the outside one in the field of plantation. Because of such close proximity, the white and black children of both masters and their home servants were in contact with each other. Black and white Children played together on farms and plantations. Because of the fact that they were too young, and they were not aware of the system they were born in, black children became affectively attached to white caretakers. In addition to the bad nutrition, slaves of the South, as well as their children, were exposed to the risk of diseases by not being protected against heat and humidity. They were forced to work even if they were ill, and the rice plantations were the most deadly fields. So, the inadequate

nutrition, unsanitary living conditions and the daily hard works made the enslaved black people highly exposed to various illnesses such as malaria. Child mortality was extremely high on rice plantations for the simple reason that they were obliged to stand in water for hours every day.

The southern slaves suffered from worst living conditions. They were exposed to different risks in their lives among which the fixed problem of sale took the big share. Black slaves were sold from time to time as a punishment for any financial loss or a crisis within the plantation. Despite the fact that the public sentiment towards slaves was to keep their families together, their masters sometimes did not respect such norms. Consequently, these slave families were often separated and never to see each other again. African American women still faced other threats such as the practice of sexual exploitation. They were not protected by safeguards from being sexually violated by their masters and even the overseers. The latter were assigned the task of controlling the slave discipline and punctuality. Blacks were threatened at any time by being punished for arriving late to the plantation, for running away, for not respecting their masters and overseers, for defying their authority and sometimes for not performing the task enough fast.

Despite all these difficult conditions that Black African slaves lived, they resisted by forming their own communities within the plantation settings. They married, had children, and made all their attempts to live together without being separated whatever the circumstances were. They started to develop their own culture secretly for the purpose of confirming their humanity. In their districts, they began to improve their skills in different domains like fishing, hunting, gathering wild food and herbal medicines. This leads us to refer, in the following section, to the special life that Black Africans lived as slaves.

1.5.4 Slave Relations in the Antebellum Period

This special period of time was characterized by a dualism with regard to the American slavery. That is the Black African slaves were both subjects and objects. The purpose of human exploitation was to enrich both masters and other individuals using other lives as their own properties. This was clearly seen in the southern societies. Special relations started to emerge between slaves and their masters. These relations were characterized by what is known as ‘paternalism’¹⁶. The latter is not a term that refers to a kind and painless slavery, but rather it refers to that one in which masters took personal interests at the expense of their slave

¹⁶ The slave-owners paternalism allowed them to think of themselves as benevolent and to justify their appropriation of their slaves' labor. Paternalist ideology, they believed, also gave the institution of slavery a more benign face and helped deflate the increasingly strong abolitionist critique of the institution.

lives. Slaves were not only directed in their labour, but were also controlled even in their private lives. In other words, they were not seen as masters' labourers, but as their own people i.e. as their inferior human properties from whom obedience and hard works were expected. This does not mean at any time that all slaves lived in hard conditions, but masters, especially in the South, did all their attempts to take good care of their people. So, the slave conditions in the antebellum period were quite different from the circumstances during the colonial period. The southern masters supplied their slaves with food in order to realize a balanced nutrition. Others distributed some luxuries like wine, coffee and sugar, and allowed their slaves to trade the products of some pieces of lands for such materials.

1.5.5 Slavery in the North of America

The majority of imported African slaves were taken to the sugar colonies in the Caribbean and to Brazil as well. These numbers of enslaved people were expected to solve the problem of lack of workers in the field of sugar plantations. So life expectancy was high. It was so in terms of less disease, better food and life medical care. Consequently, the number of slaves grew quickly because of the fact that the rate of slave births exceeded the one of deaths. It reached four millions by 1860. The growth of North American slaves was greater than population of any European country, and it was twice if compared with the one of England. Europeans had a great dream to come to America and own large lands across the Atlantic in order to make a fortune in a trade or a craft. Workers were needed in the northern area to clear the land, work the soil and build towns. So, all the American colonies turned to compulsory labour because of the workers' shortage.

For instance, in 1640 in New Netherland, free European labourers could be hired 280 guilders a year in addition to food and lodging. Experienced African slaves from the West Indies could be bought for 300 guilders. Slaves played great efforts in developing the north area and the whole continent as well. The historian Edgar McManus states that there is no doubt that the development was significantly speeded by their labor. They provided the basic working force that transformed shaky outposts of empire into areas of permanent settlement. He added that the export agriculture and effective colonization would not have happened on the scale it did if enslaved Africans had not been brought to the New World. So, all major American exports towards Europe were produced by Africans. The early seventeenth century witnessed that the black slave status was not considered as an absolute enslavement. Blacks were in an ambiguous situation similar to indenture servitude. In other words, they were regarded as servants and not as slaves. They had a hope to be free one day after years of

servitude. Slavery in England was on the decline and in most of Europe. This situation compelled White Americans and exactly masters to start thinking about the legal slavery as a perpetual servitude for blacks and their children as well instead of indentured servitude. So, the first official legal slavery institution in the British North America started to be established in Massachusetts in 1641 with the body of liberties.¹⁷ Slavery became a legal institution in New Plymouth and Connecticut when being integrated into the Articles of the New England Confederation in 1643.¹⁸ Rhode Island issued a similar law in 1652.

It is obviously known that slavery is the prominent feature of the South. This does not mean that slaves did not exist in the other parts, but there were indeed slaves in all the old British colonies. Enslaved people were sold and bought in market of Philadelphia, in Boston, in New York and sometimes in the shadow of the congregational churches in Rhode Island. So, even those who were considered as the heroes of the American Revolution like Benjamin Franklin and John Hancock sold, bought and owned black enslaved people. There was another person who may be classified as one of those who belonged to the anti-slavery administration of Abraham Lincoln whose name is William Henry Seward, grew up in the Orange country in New York in a slave family. It was also reported that even the family of Abraham Lincoln himself owned slaves when it lived in Pennsylvania in the colonial times. The historian Joanne Pope Melish, who has written a perceptive book on race relations in ante-bellum New England, reports that slavery was not only in the south, he adds that

"In Connecticut in the 1950s, when I was growing up, the only slavery discussed in my history textbook was southern; New Englanders had marched south to end slavery. It was in Rhode Island, where I lived after 1964, that I first stumbled across an obscure reference to local slavery, but almost no one I asked knew anything about it. Members of the historical society did, but they assured me that slavery in Rhode Island had been brief and benign, involving only the best families, who behaved with genteel kindness. They pointed me in the direction of several antiquarian histories,

¹⁷ 'The Massachusetts Body of Liberties' was the first legal code established by European colonists in New England. Compiled by the Puritan minister Nathaniel Ward, the laws were established by the Massachusetts General Court in 1641. The Body of Liberties begins by establishing the exclusive right of the General Court to legislate and dictate the "Countenance of Authority".

¹⁸ The Articles of the New England Confederation in 1643 was an organization of four American colonies. In 1643 delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth met to solve trade, boundary, and religious disputes and to form a common defence against the French, Dutch, and Indians. They drew up articles of agreement and established a directorate of eight commissioners. The confederation was weakened by its advisory status and by the 1665 merger of Connecticut and New Haven. It was active in King Philip's War but dissolved in 1684 when the Massachusetts charter was revoked.

which said about the same thing. Some of the people of color I met knew more."¹⁹

Professor Pope Melish²⁰ in his statement said that Black people were not enslaved only in the South as they were taught in schools but it was indeed an institution that spread all over the American sides even in Rhode Island. The only difference as Melish said was that, in the North, it was somehow benign if compared with the one that took place at the level of the southern part of the continent that will be discussed in the following section.

1.5.6 Slavery in the South of America

Historians report that slavery was practiced in the British North America from the early colonial times, and it was promptly established by the time of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Later, after this period of time, the northern side witnessed a gradual abolitionism. The South, in turn, witnessed a rapid development of agriculture and the expansion of the cotton industry which also paved the way, in a way or another, to the extension of the institution of slavery. The latter divided America into slave-states and free-ones along the Mason-Dixon Line²¹ that separated Maryland as a slave-state and Pennsylvania as a free one. So, despite the fact that slavery was banned in 1808, it continued to be practised at the international level, and the slave population reached the number of four million slaves before abolition. The table below provides data of slave ownership in North Carolina from 1790 to 1860 by David Walbert²².

¹⁹ Douglas Harper. 'Slavery in the North'. 2003. Retrieved in 2011 > <http://www.slavenorth.com/>

²⁰ Joanne Pope Melish is an associate professor of nineteenth century U.S. history at the University of Kentucky. Her fields of interest include the history of racial production in the United States, slavery and emancipation, nineteenth century American culture and social history, and nineteenth century African American history. She is the author of *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and Race in New England, 1789-1860* (Cornell, 1998). She has received several awards, among them a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship, and has reviewed numerous books by colleagues in her field. Professor Melish is actively involved in public history and education, and to that end has served as a consultant historian to the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice and to the Rhode Island Council for the Humanities. She has also been a presenter and scholar at many conferences for educators and museum-goers throughout New England

²¹ The Mason–Dixon line (or Mason's and Dixon's line) was surveyed between 1763 and 1767 by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon in the resolution of a border dispute between British colonies in Colonial America. It is a demarcation line among four U.S. states, forming part of the borders of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia (then part of Virginia). In popular usage, the Mason–Dixon line symbolizes a cultural boundary between the Northeastern and the Southern United States (Dixie).

²² David Walbert was Editorial and Web Director of LEARN NC until 2011. In that role, he was responsible for all of LEARN NC's educational publications, overseeing development of various web applications including LEARN NC's website and content management systems, and was the organization's primary web, information, and visual designer. David holds a Ph.D. in History from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is the author of *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America*, published

Year	Slave	Population	% of enslaved people
1790	100.572	393.751	25.5%
1850	288.548	869.039	33.2%
1860	331.059	992.622	33.3%

Table 01: Slave Population from 1790 to 1860

(Source: <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-antebellum/5347>)

One could analyze, with regard to the statistics of table 01 above, that the more the time passed the more the percentage of slaves increased. This happened exactly during the process of abolition of slavery in North Carolina as an instance. So, the slave population increased from 100.572 in 1790 to 331.059 in 1860. The latter date had reached the peak of 33.3% of enslaved people before it started to be banned definitely after the Civil War.

With regard to the slave families, the table below provides the following data about the percentage of slave holding families from 1790 to 1870.

Year	percentage
1790	31%
1850	27%
1860	28%

Table 02: Percentage of Slaveholding Families

(Source: <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-antebellum/5347>)

The data provided in the table above (table 02) shows that the percentage of slave families started to decrease from 31% in 1790 to 28% in 1860. This percentage may refer to the fact that white families were not interested in owning slaves or that the law which was issued in 1808 obliged the white population to stop enslaving people or at least the process of enslavement went slowly.

in 2002 by Oxford University Press. With LEARN NC, he has written numerous articles for K–12 teachers on topics such as historical education, visual literacy, writing instruction, and technology integration.

Concerning the percentage of the slave owners, another table provides us with the following data.

Number of Slaves	Number of Slaveholders					
	1790		1850		1860	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1	4,040	27	1,204	4	6,440	19
2-4	4,959	33	9,668	34	9,631	28
5-9	3,375	23	8,129	29	8,449	24
10-19	1,788	12	5,898	21	6,073	18
20-49	701	5	2,828	10	3,321	10
50-99	90	1	485	2	611	2
100-199	11	0	76	0	118	0
200-299	2	<0.1	12	<0.1	11	<0.1
300-499	0	<0.1	3	<0.1	4	<0.1
Total	14,966	100	28,303	100	34,658	100

Table 03: Percentage of Slave Holding 1790-1860

(Source: <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-antebellum/5347>)

The statistics of table 03, mentioned above, leads us to conclude that the percentage of slave holders was not stable in the period between 1790 and 1860. According to the data that is provided, the number of slaveholders started to raise and decline according to the number of slaves. So, the more the number of slaves was high, the number of slave holders declined. For instance in 1790, we notice that there were 04 masters for only 01 slave. The number of masters declined to only 02 when the number of enslaved people rose to nearly 300. In 1850, the percentage of slave masters was higher than the one of slaves. 08 slaveholders enslaved almost 05 slaves; whereas 500 slaves were supervised by only 03 masters. It seems to be that

it was the same situation even for the year 1860. The idea that can be concluded in this table is that the master's supervision was not easy especially with the big number of slaves, the reason why black slaves themselves were appointed to keep an eye on the slaveholding. These selected slaves were used as overseers that controlled the area in the absence of their masters.

1.6 Antebellum Slave Life

Many specialists in the American history state that during this period masters or slave holders never dominated their slaves' way of life. Masters did all their attempts to regulate the slave activities and keep them under a daily control, but they could not. The southern slave holders intervened in the life business of their enslaved people more than the Brazilian and Russian masters did. Slave life in the southern side was restricted. It is so in the sense that slaves were not quite free to behave or move the way they liked during the antebellum period. This situation did not prevent the enslaved people to develop their autonomy. In other words, they started to think about having their own way of life quite different from the one which was really imposed on them of the part of their masters. They also interacted with one another basing on the same values and customs they shared as Africans. Out of work, slaves were somehow free to live their own lives; loving, playing, praying ...

Historians also stated that the majority of slaves were illiterate. They couldn't write. They left no written records. They were considered, at work, as objects of white actions. They started to focus and give more importance to what slaves themselves did rather than what slavery did to them. For instance Ulrich B. Phillips exposed a portrait of the white planters' life and behaviour towards the life and behaviour of their black slaves. He referred to this situation by saying that a Negro was what a white man made him. He added that the plantation was viewed as a school where enslaved people were trained and controlled as pupils in a backward state of civilization. Slaves were dominated via such imposed educational process within the field of plantations. So, the unusual hard conditions that black slaves faced, contributed in the production of an environment that deprived them of their African culture. This situation they lived impeded the development of any meaningful social relations. Negro slaves were regarded as childlike whose role was to internalize their masters' values. The church in Latin America saved slaves from the worst abuses of enslavement. Slavery in the south became like a Nazi Camp that really made the enslaved human beings victims that couldn't psychologically defend themselves. Slaves were obliged to adopt the situation and consider their masters as good fathers whose instructions should be respected and obeyed. Some historians said that the southern slaves faced and endured harsher

conditions than those in the rest of the Americas. In the following sections, the slave life including the family, the religion as well as the slave community will be discussed in details.

1.6.1 Slave Family

The most important event with regard to this subject is the emergence of an African American population called Creole Slave Population. In other words,

*“ A new African American family structure took root in the eighteenth century and spread throughout the South, along with slavery, in the nineteenth. Those families were not, of course, untouched by slavery. Even under the best of circumstances, slave families lacked the institutional and legal support enjoyed by those that were free, and in extreme cases masters could not only hinder but prevent the development of normal family relations; ... ”*²³

Historians’ state that the American South witnessed the separation of young children from their mothers was relatively unusual. So, during the antebellum period, the enslaved people lived together with their families, and the majority of children lived with their mothers. Slave holders also claimed that they were the real supporters of their slaves’ families, and they were concerned a lot in the well being of their slaves as well as their children. They paid attention to the family lives of their slaves, and encouraged the family morality in different ways. This means that enslaved people were expected to be punished in case they committed crimes of adultery or divorce. When saying that masters supported their slaves does not mean that there were not some kind of annoyance, slaves were indeed disrupted via forced sex and separations. The CSP was touched by slavery, and lacked the support that was offered to some free blacks. The table below shows clearly the percentage of slave-owning families.

State	Percentage	State	Percentage	State	Percentage
Mississippi	49%	Louisiana	29%	Kentucky	23%
South Carolina	46%	Texas	28%	Arkansas	20%
Georgia	37%	North Carolina	28%	Missouri	13%
Alabama	35%	Virginia	26%	Maryland	12%
Florida	34%	Tennessee	25%	Delaware	03%

Table 04: Percentage of Slave-Owning Families in 1860

(Source: <http://www.civilwarcauses.org/stat.htm>)

²³Peter Kolchin. ‘*American Slavery. 1619-1877.*’ Published by the Penguin Group, 1993, p.133

The statistics of table 04 of families having slaves, state that the states of the southern area had a big number of slaves more than those of the other parts of the American continent. This leads us to conclude that unlike the northern American side, the southern Americans were interested so much in plantation the reason why they urgently needed slaves to work in such field. So, despite all the harsh situations that slaves faced in their daily life, they made great efforts in building and defending their families against any danger that might come from any side. Southern slaves lived in simple households that included children and their parents. A study over slave families, the historian Ann Patton Malone showed clearly that among twenty thousands of slaves in Louisiana between 1810 and 1864, 73% of them lived in simple households formed of single parents or married couples with or without children. 18.3% of this slave population lived alone, and only 8.7% lived in complex, multiple, extended or simple households. In the American South, slave families were wide, with the average woman giving birth to about seven children in the same family. Married slaves were usually long lasting but sometimes broken by being sold. So, slave families represented a survival technique that helped slaves to fight any danger, mistreatment or any effort to deprive them of their humanization of the part of their masters. At work, the enslaved people owed their masters obedience and respect, but within their families, they laughed, loved, sang and enjoyed their lives as human beings.

The women status and their significant role within the slave family were considerable. Many historians state that affection between slave men and their families was weak. It was so because of some reasons. First, unlike free families, those of enslaved people were less dominated by men. This means that slave men didn't possess authority over their wives that the free men had. Free women, when being married, lacked the right to control their properties, and became dependent of their husbands. Second, slave women were likely to be all the time at home. They were also sold and hired to the white slaveholders but less than men. When being married abroad and far from home, it was the slave men who travelled to visit their wives and their children after a long period of time of absence. Historians said that households in Louisiana were in most of cases headed by a single parent, in the majority of time by women. So, slave women played an important role in providing continuity to their families and their communities as well faced with discomfort and disturbance all the time.

Slave children faced bitter experiences in life because of the fragility of their families under such disaster of human exploitation. Despite this bitter reality that slave children lived, they, at least, had freedom if compared with their elders. Generally, in the plantations, there were nurseries whose role was to supervise workers in the field, but despite this medical care,

children of enslaved people received little supervision against diseases. They sometimes played with local white children. During the Antebellum period, even children were touched by slavery. Slaveholders intervened in their private lives. They were sometimes taken as domestic servants, whereas others were assigned other tasks until they reached the age of twelve, and then automatically they were put to regular field work. Masters obliged their slaves to be exposed to their version of Christianity. This means that slave children were given Christian names. They were taught how to read and write. Others tried to do so on their own, and sometimes by some other black people, despite the fact that the slaveholders made all their efforts to keep them illiterate.

In their early ages, the enslaved children were informed and learnt that they should obey and respect two authorities; their parents and their masters as well. They were also informed that both authorities contributed efficiently in bringing them up since they were babies. The master's authority over adults was apparent, and slave children learnt an appropriate lesson that the authority of their fathers' owners was not like that authority of their parents. The latter were abused physically and verbally before their children. They lost their dignity as human beings. With regard to the other side of authority, slave parents fight to provide their children with affection, love and attention. They made their children enjoy life; they sang to them, narrate stories and taught them to pay attention what to say in front of white people. Through time and as they aged, slave children started to know more about their real situations in life and to be aware of their unfree status. So, despite the fact that the slave families provided their member shelters against the panic and terror of slavery, this protection was not really secure. Slave parents as well as their children were threatened at any time. They might be hit, violated and sold. The slaveholders threatened their slaves by what is called paternalism. This means that masters must be considered as fathers and should be then obeyed. Even slave children should be brought up the way these masters liked and not the vice versa. In such situations, the slave families became vulnerable because they simply lacked power to resist against their masters' interference in their private business. The reality showed clearly that slaves had at least their own households in which they were husbands, children, parents, friends, wives and lovers. They were also members of their masters' households, but couldn't rebel against their dependence. Slave families were determined to make all their efforts to achieve their autonomy, but unfortunately this slave autonomy was fragile. After referring to the family and the way it lived under the slavery situation, let's now move to talk about their religion in the following section.

1.6.2 Slave Religion

With regard to this religious subject, slave holders did the best to convert their slaves to Christianity and this happened during the colonial period. The eighteenth century witnessed a wide spread conversion to Christianity. This process quickly emerged throughout the South. Not all slaves who were exposed to such conversion were able to worship. There were some slaves who were isolated in some areas and couldn't reach the access to religious services, whereas others faced the same problem because of the masters' refusal to let them go to church.

Slaves of the antebellum period experienced a competing religious influence. They prayed and read the Bible with their masters. So, unlike their ancestors, most of slaves of the mid nineteenth century were Christian. They sometimes practised Christianity far from the eyes of their masters, and this is what some historians called the "invisible Church". In this case, black slaves adapted white forms to their own needs. White churches tried to provide lectures to black people, especially to slaves. The aim behind such lectures was to make black slaves learn important lessons on the necessity of obedience to authority of their masters. The Church tried to avoid any kind of black slave rebellion that might emerge at any time. These lectures received by slaves might put an end in advance to any slave intention to mutiny against their slaveholders. Historians stated that those who were assigned the role of presenting lectures noticed that half of the slaves seemed to be quite against their lecturers' ideas or were not convinced and satisfied with that. The invisible Church, we have already referred to, encouraged black slaves to think about their own religious services quite different from those provided by their masters. The enslaved people learnt in Church that Moses led his people out of bondage, whereas their masters pushed them in a way or another to obey their authorities. For them, it was a contradiction in the speech of white people, especially those religious men who were expected to defend the freedom and dignity of humanity. The majority of slaves thought that their masters lacked true religious feelings.

The black Christianity, in black districts, was characterized by special features, and in spite of this distinction, it was influenced by whites. Undoubtedly, this situation showed the daily interference of masters into the black slaves' private affairs. White and Black southerners shared the same religious heritage which clearly shows that there was a close contact between them. This contact took place within the frontiers of white "paternalism". The latter means that blacks were brought up under the authority of whites who were, in turn, considered as fathers that should be respected so much. Religion is considered as a significant

factor that made this close religious relationship between whites and blacks who were, in a way or another joined together as believers in God, and temporarily put aside the sensibility towards class and race. For instance, the contact was represented by reading the Bible to slaves by their masters, praying together in the same Church and presenting some lectures to the black enslaved people about their Christian duty to obey and respect the orders of their masters for the sake of avoiding any potential rebellion that might occur at any time against them in the future. Many historians reported that many white and black southerners had not only the same religious visions but a common religious experience.

As it was said before, many slaves could not participate in the religious services because of many reasons. They did not do so either because they lived in distant areas from the Church or their masters disliked their religious aspirations and then they prevented them from attending the religious meetings. This does not mean at any time that all slaves were prohibited from attending such religious settings, but there were others who were not interested in such religious subject. These people were eager to see themselves one day spending their time together with their families, working in their own lands and having at least a sufficient time to relax. The combination of Christianity and the pre- Christian religion that emerged in the slave districts, as it was said before, was resulted through the contact of European and African cultures. This Afro- European contact, that based a lot on the enslavement of Black Africans, was the source of the emergence of the African American culture. In the South, during the antebellum period, there was an interaction between the lower class of whites and the black slaves who were magicians and conjurers. The Slave Christian religion and the slave magic coexisted, but were both practised in suitable fields. Slave magicians, for instance, were expected to cure the sickness, to punish a rival lover and to prevent an overseer from hitting the enslaved people. Unlike the slave magic which was a concrete subject, the slave Christianity was abstract. The latter promised the Christian practitioners to be rewarded in the afterlife and not in the one they were living. Lecturers in the Church tried to convince the black enslaved people not to think about any rebellion or struggle through which they might realize joy since the latter is promised by God in the world after death. Slaves, in turn, wanted to be free in this life, and to put an end to the white oppression they were facing in their daily life, whereas the lectures they were receiving about the endurance of the slave life, in order to live an everlasting happiness in the afterlife, was not beneficial and profitable. The enslaved people succeeded, in a certain degree, to establish a special slave community different from the one in the other side. This is, indeed, what will be discussed in the following point.

1.6.3 Slave Community

The first point that should be tackled in this important part is the subject of slave autonomy. The aim behind this discussion is to know if the black enslaved people were able to secure control of their own lives or not. The second point is the slave communality. In other words, to which degree the black slaves were able to live in a society on the basis of mutuality and common interests. During the Antebellum period, huge number of southern slaves tried to establish relations other than the ones with their masters. Enslaved people, especially in the South, formed what can be called as slave villages near plantations. These villages were controlled and directed by special groups to whom was assigned the role of organizing and leading the slave lives far from any kind of white supervision. These slave quarters were established far from the master's house. This isolation contributed efficiently in a way or another in the privacy of the slave community. In such situation, slaves were considered as refugees in that world they were living. They were not given a complete autonomy. The latter came in the second position after doing and performing the task they were expected to do of the part of the master. After doing the work, they became somehow free to sing, to play, to love, to fish, to hunt and in general to live enjoy their lives together with their families and neighbours within the same slave community. They did all their efforts to fill their lives with pleasurable activities, and to forget in certain times their slave status.

The Black slaves succeeded to develop their own customs and traditions based on shared values far from the direct white supervision. They approached peasant autonomy, developing their personal views towards certain severe economic conditions of life, having the intention to reach a political and economic independence. Slaves did not have a complete autonomy; they only tried to establish a slave community, basing on the background keeping an eye on the African culture, preserving the slave-slave relationship through solidarity, and fighting peacefully for human dignity. From generation to generation, the black slave community succeeded to fight most of white teaching, to isolate itself apart from the white society, and to form its own cultural norms. Despite the fact that black enslaved people had the slave status, this did not prevent them from protecting, at least, their physiological freedom and celebrating their human dignity. This does not mean at any time the slaves were free, but their autonomy was, indeed, limited, and their slave life was not safe and secure. The quality of slave life in the South changed within two centuries. This period was characterized by the development of the slave Christian community. The latter was influenced by the African culture, especially during the time of the arrival of new African slaves that

contributed efficiently in the continuation of the African traditional way of slave life. Unfortunately, this African traditional life was weakened in the Antebellum American South by the emergence of the second, third and the fourth African American generations.

As it was mentioned before, the slave autonomy was limited, especially in the South. It was so because of a demographic reason. In other words, most of the southern slave holdings were small in size, and the white population was bigger than the one of blacks. Unlike the population in Jamaica and Saint Domingue²⁴ which was overwhelmingly black and really threatened the Whites especially the European planters, the situation in the South of America was quite different. It helped in making contacts between black slaves and whites because of the fact that the majority of slave holders were resident having a daily close contact with their enslaved people. The latter tried to seize the opportunity, of any occasion given to them, to practise their own social autonomy and their relative daily life independence in ruling their own affairs in their own ways. The European slaveholders in Brazil and Saint Domingue felt somehow uncomfortable and unable to control their slave lives in a society where white masters represented a small size of population if compared with the one of their enslaved people, whereas slaves in the American south lived forcefully in the world of their masters. It is known by all that geographically, a community consists of people living together in one site having a shared sense of mutual responsibility. A community normally has to base on an economic, political and geographical ground. The members of any community should have the sense of sharing the same interests, and forming the different institutions that protect these interests. What was seen by historians with regard to the slave community, it lacked somehow the economic and institutional bases of an appropriate and normal community. In other words, the southern slaves of antebellum period were not able to form appropriate communities as the Russian peasants did. The latter had the right to marry, to own lands and to form communal organizations.

²⁴ Saint-Domingue was a French colony on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola from 1659 to 1804, when it became the independent nation of Haiti. Saint-Domingue is the French version of the Spanish name *Santo Domingo*. The Arawak, Carib and Taínos people occupied the island before the arrival of the Spaniards. When Christopher Columbus took possession of the island on December 5, 1492, he named it *La Española*, meaning "The Spanish (Island)". The Latin translation *Hispaniola* was soon in common use. Spain controlled the entire island of Hispaniola (also called *Santo Domingo* or *San Domingo*) from the 1490s until the 17th century, when French pirates began to establish bases on the western portions of the island. In the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, Spain formally recognized French control of the western third of the island. Spain called the island Santo Domingo. The western part of Hispaniola being neglected by the Spanish colonists, French buccaneers settled there, first on the Ile de la Tortue (Tortuga, Tortoise), then on Grande Terre (mainland West Hispaniola). French called the western part Saint-Domingue. In 1804, the western portion of the town became the independent nation of Haiti. The eastern portion, later returned to Spain, now comprises the Dominican Republic. Taken from > <http://henry.mpls.k12.mn.us/uploads/saint-domingue.pdf>

1.7 Conclusion

The first part of my research work focuses clearly on the era of slavery to reveal the hard situation that African people lived in special periods of time in the American history. But, before dealing with this point, a historical view on the process of enslavement was exposed. So, it attempted to detect that the earliest or the old records in ancient times considered slavery as an institution already established and not as a new one. This means that the operation of servitude had been practised from the ancient times till the modern periods before it was banned in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Because of the fact that there was a close relationship between the American and African continents, it was preferable for us to discuss first the issue of slavery within the African continent. Three most important parts were tackled starting from the West of Africa till the Northern side. For instance in the West, the slavery institution was natural and endemic in its society. An organized West African slave trade for export started to develop especially during the coming of foreign Muslim and European traders with the demand for labour.

In the North, it was quite different; in such area not Africans who were subjected to slavery, but indeed the Europeans were victims of Piracy, and as a result, they were enslaved by the Arab Sultans for the sake of making a pressure on the European governors. The difference then between the western side and the northern one was that in the former it was a black slavery whereas in the latter it was indeed a white one. The discussion of such point leads us to conclude that slavery had started to be practised within Africa and by Africans themselves before the coming of Europeans. The only difference that existed between African and European slavery was that the African one was more flexible and benign than the European side. Most of the African enslaved people would have the chance to be free in the future after their servitude for a limited period of time. The practice of such crime did not stop in Africa, but it extended to be spread all over the world.

The European desire of making relations with Africans, especially in the economic domain, was considered as the main source that undoubtedly led to the expansion of the slavery disaster from the African continent to the rest of the world. Most of the victims of this Trans-Atlantic trade were Africans. The latter were targeted to be brought forcefully to the British North America during the establishment of the first colony Virginia. They were obliged to serve their masters in the domain of plantation, especially tobacco. By 1640, the permanent enslavement of Black Africans for life, as well as their children, had been established in Virginia. An important era in the American history called the antebellum period

was also discussed. In this respect, a number of important issues were referred to like the slave's life and his relation with his master. In addition, the slave family was also given much importance in order to show that slaves were also human beings like other people and deserved to live their own styles of life keeping within their African traditions and religious beliefs. The situation under enslavement was very hard for Blacks. In other words, the Black enslaved people got tired of the slave life and decided then to challenge the situation by engaging into a battle and resistance against this disaster of human exploitation.

The next chapter will discuss this issue of African American challenge against the process of slavery and the way the Black community succeeded to split the American society into two sides, one for slavery and another one for their process of abolition and emancipation.

Chapter Two

African American Challenge against Enslavement

Chapter Two**The African American Challenge against Enslavement**

2.1- Introduction	58
2.2- The Divisive Conflict over Slavery	59
2.3- African Americans during the Revolution	62
2.4- African Americans in the Civil War	66
2.4.1- African Americans in the Union Army	67
2.4.2- African Americans in the Confederate Army	69
2.5 - Establishment of the Anti Slavery Society	71
2.5.1- Congressional Confiscation Act	74
2.5.2- Gradual Emancipation and Compensation	76
2.5.3-Abraham Lincoln and the Policy of Black Colonization	79
2.5.4 -Emancipation Proclamation	82
2.6- African Americans in the Reconstruction Era	89
2.7 - Lincoln Restoration of the South to Union	92
2.8- Great Migration and Civil Rights Movements	95
2.9- Southern Free African American Population	101
2.10- Opposition to Slavery	105
2.11- Slave Resistance on the Plantations	109
2.12- Conclusion	110

2.1- Introduction

The second chapter discusses the African American battle and resistance against slavery as well as the abolitionist movement and the quest for freedom. In other words, the issue of enslavement divided the society into two most important parts; one in favour of this process and another quite against such inhuman exploitation. There was a conflict indeed between the northerner states where slavery was legitimate but not economically significant, and the southern side which based a lot on plantation that urgently needed enslaved people for the economic growth. Northern blacks participated in personal and organized acts against the system of enslavement which deprived them from their freedom and the better life they deserved as human beings. In the North, African Americans faced a systematic violation of their civil rights. Consequently, they were supported by abolitionists to rebel against their masters through enactment of laws that might help them to do so. Northern blacks started to form groups to support the cause for freedom. So, the African Americans resisted against slavery in different ways. The most important aim was freedom. They did not care to which side they fought. In the era of American Revolution, slaves, especially the African Americans, participated in the war for the sake of getting their freedom. They aided the British forces. They sometimes faced each other. No one understood to which side Blacks bore arms.

Black slaves, in general, were fighting for their freedom. They had slave revolutions which expressed their complete refusal of slavery. They also escaped from their masters' homes after being protected by abolitionists' acts. They showed, in several occasions, to the white community that they were willing to stop losing their lives for them, and that they all, blacks and whites, belong to the same race of human beings and not animals. All these were shown through several slave revolts against the white supremacy which resulted to the ban of slavery and segregation against African Americans. The process was not somehow easy; it was indeed a difficult task which was assigned forcefully and intentionally to people of the black community. The second chapter will deal with all the historical events that paved the way to African Americans to move forwards asking for their civil rights and individual liberties. The civil War will also be discussed in order to show that Blacks were divided into two groups not only in the Revolution but also during the sectional conflict between the North and the South. The decision of helping the union army or siding with the confederate one returned to Black soldiers themselves and their personal views towards their future. The establishment of the anti-slavery society will also be referred to in order to show that African

Americans wanted to remind the authorities of the constitution that gave their complete rights without excluding any minority.

The era of the sixties of the twentieth century was an important period in the African American history in which Blacks did the best to establish many Civil rights movements for the sake of defending their rights of freedom. This part of the present research also deals with the process of emancipation and compensation. The latter was a governmental project to liberate the enslaved people. Liberation of slaves does not mean at any time forgetting their masters, but even the slave holders were encouraged to follow such process in order to encourage them in participating in the success of banning slavery in the whole territory. This leads us to discuss in detail the era of President Abraham Lincoln who was considered as a strong personality that contributed efficiently in putting an end to the process of enslavement and the illegal exploitation of human beings. In this chapter, another important historical point will also be discussed; it is indeed the issue of the great migration. The latter refers to the movement of black people from the rural areas to urban cities in the period between 1890 and 1970. The black migration played a great role in increasing the African American population which did the best to claim about their civil rights. Consequently, they were given the right of citizenship and started to contribute efficiently in the development of the nation. This issue will be referred to in the following chapter.

2.2 The Divisive Conflict over Slavery

Slavery was considered as the source of the American conflict that led later to what is known as the American Civil War. It has been seen by historians as the divisive issue that split America politically and socially. It divided the society into two most important parts; one for slavery and another quite against such inhuman exploitation. In other words, the nation, after the Revolution, was divided into two classes of states; between the northerner states where slavery was legitimate but not economically significant, and the southern side which based a lot on plantation that urgently needed enslaved people for the economic growth. Americans, especially those of the North, were inspired by the Declaration of Independence for the question of state independence and individual liberties and freedom from the British colonialism, the reason why they started to think about stopping definitely the enslavement of human beings. For them, this issue should gradually be abolished in the new American nation. The Southerners, in turn, had another view towards such issue of slavery; they saw it beneficial and very important for the economic growth despite the fact that such economic development was expected to be realized at the expense of other people of different race. In

spite of the northern call for banning the human servitude which was seen as a dream that could be realized in the future, the South continued to practise such international business. It was committed to the slave labour that was needed in the field of plantation. Consequently, many international markets emerged in order to supply the British textile factories as well as the North American ones. The slave labour in the South was used at large scale in order to satisfy the World needs of cotton and tobacco. Slavery, then, became known as the main source of the Southern prosperity and the White safety of individuals and institutions as well. With regard to the states of the North, slavery was fiercely attacked. By 1820, the areas located in the North of Maryland succeeded to ban slavery. People there hated this illegal and inhuman business, and were convinced that it should be fought by all means and abolished soon. For this reason, some active Americans, having the intention to abolish slavery, organized themselves into groups and made great efforts to achieve their aim.

New England was the first region to take the initiative of stopping the slave labour. In Massachusetts, it seemed easier to do such action than Virginia. Unlike Massachusetts which involved 1% of slaves, Virginia had a huge slave population (30%) that hardened somehow the banning operation. The antislavery emotion was powerful in New England than in any of the rest of the American territory. This does not mean that there was no antislavery movement in the South and other regions, but there was indeed a small minority of activists. In 1830, most of the abolitionists came from the northern small villages. They belonged to the reform-oriented families as well as the religious ones. One year later, William Garrison was the first author to publish ‘*the liberator*’¹ for the sake of sensitizing people of the necessity of being united against slavery. Through one of his articles, he tried to show that there is no reason to continue in such illegal business. He stated

*‘I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.’*²

¹ *The Liberator* was a weekly anti-slavery newspaper founded in 1831 by William Garrison when returning to New England. Most of its subscribers were Blacks.

² William_Lloyd_Garrison. ‘*The_Liberator*’ (n.p), quoted from the site http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/#on_May_31st, 2014.

In his statements mentioned in the quotation above, William Garrison recognized that he was somehow severe in dealing with the issue of slavery, and that many people might refuse and object to this, but, for him, the truth is the truth and no one could hide it. He insisted on telling it and no place for moderation that didn't tell the truth. He called for giving a real alarm not a moderate one to rescue those who were in the fire of slavery as well as their families. He confirmed, through such article, to continue objection to this disaster of human exploitation that took place every where without any reason and without taking into consideration humanity and justice.

Later, he, with his friends, organized the Antislavery Society of New England. The formation of such association aimed at joining together the West and New England into one rank against the enslavement of the Black free-born human beings. In the mid-nineteenth century, other groups of anti-abolitionists criticized the Garrison's association, and many demonstrations started to take place in several American cities. These people were well organized, and belonged to the middle social class and many respectable families. They thought that the slavery banning operation was considered as a threat to their business community.

The beginning of the nineteenth century was not easy for abolitionist to carry on the process of abolitionism. It was so in the sense that they needed persistence and constancy as well as courage in order to face any physical danger that might surprise them at any time. All of them shared a stimulating view that no one could justify slavery, and that their anti-slavery operation should continue whatever casualties would be. The Anti-Slavery Movement increased in the late nineteenth century, while the ant-abolitionist one decreased as the majority of Americans were convinced of the danger of racism that the nation was exposed to. The ASM refers clearly to the historical long debate and dispute between the American North and South over the problem of slavery. This quarrel reached the top after the end of the American Mexican War in 1848. The beginning of this problem traced back to the 1840's when the United States occupied a vast area in the West. So, it was obvious that the New Land would sooner or later be divided into territories and then into states. Southerners were quite against any restraint on slavery. In the opposite side, Northerners desired to establish a federal government to put an end to such a disaster of human exploitation in the newly acquired lands. Others proposed the doctrine of popular sovereignty. This means that people of these acquired areas had the right to decide themselves whether to practise slavery or not to do. At the beginning, both sides tried to find solutions to this conflict through debate and compromise, but it seemed to be difficult if not impossible to reach agreements. But, before

moving to deal with the situation of African Americans after the abolition of slavery, let's discuss briefly the African American situation during both the Revolutionary era and the Civil War. The African American situation in the Reconstruction era will also be referred to in the following sections.

2.3 African Americans during the Revolution

During the Revolutionary war, slaves, especially the African Americans, participated in this war for the sake of getting their freedom. They aided the British forces. They sometimes faced each other. No one understood to which side Blacks bore arms. Black slaves, in general, were fighting for their freedom. Not all African Americans were lucky to obtain their freedom, but few of them were rewarded with liberty for their military service. Those who fought for the rebels remained as properties of their masters. Americans, at that time, were fighting for their freedom and not for the one of their slaves. On the other side, African Americans had a hope of being free with the British more than Americans. They were promised by the British government, to be emancipated and would also be given lands and self-government. It seemed to be somehow difficult for the British to respect their promise towards African Americans. The latter faced a difficult choice whether to fight with or against their slave holders. So, the Black slaves showed no clear image about the side they preferred to help and no true or exact

*'...choice was immediately apparent. Some African Americans joined the revolutionaries, but to most an alliance with Great Britain appeared more promising. Thus news of slave conspiracies surfaced in different parts of the colonies in late 1774 and early 1775. All shared a common element: a plan to assist the British in return for freedom. The most serious incident occurred in 1775 in Charleston where Thomas Jeremiah, a free black harbour pilot, was brutally executed after being convicted of attempting to foment a slave revolt. Fear of such acts made sugar planters in the British West Indian colonies more cautious in their opposition to parliamentary policies than were their counterparts on the mainland. On most of the Caribbean islands, slaves outnumbered their masters by six or seven to one. With the ever-present threat of slave revolt or foreign attack hanging over their heads, planters could not afford to risk opposing Britain their chief protector.'*³

So, the African American fear, as it has been mentioned in the quotation above (3), compelled them to select the British side. Slaves who preferred to leave with the British soldiers after the conflict had been over; they were treated in their new lands, as the previous situation. As the war was in its beginning in 1775, an important number of slaves were

³ M. B. Norton, D. M. Katzman, P.D. Escott H. P. Chdacoff, T. G. Paterson, W. M. Tuttle and Willaiam J. Brophy. *A People and a Nation*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston New York. Printed in USA, (1999) p.105.

emancipated. Lord Dunmore, the Lord Governor of Virginia, offered liberty to both slaves and indentured servants. The freedom that was given to them was based on the fact that these enslaved people would bear arms with the British forces against the American rebels. This Dunmore emancipation concerned only those who were enslaved by American planters and not those held by the loyalists. His decision towards slaves was to help them on one side and to punish rebels on the other side. In 1769, slavery was limited in England.

Three years later, a court ruled that slaves could not be sold under any pretext. This means that slavery was still legal till 1834. At this time exactly, there was a rumour which spread along the different colonies especially the Southern ones, that slaves had been freed in all the British territory. This good news for slaves attracted them to the world of freedom. The enslaved people who respected the call of Dunmore suffered a lot from hunger, disease and bombardment. In spite of this bad socio-economic situation, slaves participated in the War of York Town which ended with the victory of Americans over the British forces. They realized that their participation and their sacrifices didn't bring profits or benefits as it had been expected before. The American troops consisted of a blend of White and Black soldiers. Most of free and enslaved Blacks were from New England, Rhode Island was the colony that represented the first black unit. In the southern area, there was a plan, discussed in the Congress, to free and arm three thousands of slaves as a military unit for both Georgia and Carolina. When being informed about that, the British officials encouraged slaves that were in the hand of American rebels to escape. The proclamation of the British Commander Dunmore to free them encouraged hundred of slaves to flee and join the British military groups. Third of them were women despite the fact that only men who were called to such military service. During the war, not all slaves were accepted in the British side; there were indeed some slaves who were given to loyalist slave owners, others became as English properties in the Caribbean or sent back to their American owners when the British found no benefits behind. A great number of slaves were ready to leave the American colonies. This reality shows us that slavery was an institution in America.

At the end of the war with American rebels, the British sent their slaves back to the rebel slave owners in order to spread various diseases in the colonies among the American and French military troops. Some Blacks were obliged to flee. Others left to Philadelphia with the French military men. There were other loyalists with their slaves who preferred to take the direction towards the British colony East Florida. Later, this colony was given to Spain by Britain. The Spanish governor gave sufficient time to the loyalists to flee in order not to be threatened by Georgia and South Carolina. The former slaves were lucky to get their freedom

as a result of a British plan, whereas the rest kept their slave status. After the Americans had signed the treaty with France, the slave owners were given the chance to go to New York to search their slaves who has escaped. The treaty of 1783 obliged the British not to take any Negroes or other American properties. The British commander in the city of New York did not respect the Article seven which prohibited to carry any slave, and started to deliver certificates of freedom to slaves. He said that the article didn't apply on those enslaved people before the signature of the agreement. Later, Commander Carleton sent a fleet of thousands of loyalists and the Black runaways to Nova Scotia. Blacks did not live much better than they had been before, and remained slaves. Freedom, then, was the primary motivation for free and enslaved African Americans whether to join the British forces or being simply patriots. With regard to the free Africans, they had taken their decisions by their own will. For those who were enslaved, the main motives that compelled them to join the British side were mainly the hope to be free one day. For others, they might believe in justice, having also the desire of adventure for the sake of being granted later after the victory for their contribution in the war. The issue of African Americans as patriots leads us to refer briefly about the period before the Revolution during which they supported the anti British cause.

Some historians stated that the first minutemen that were victims at the time of the massacre of Boston were the Black enslaved people. Free and enslaved Africans had joined the northern militias in order to defend their villages against the Indian attacks. In 1775, when the Second Continental Congress decided to cut all links with the British government, it formed some military units as minutemen in Massachusetts. They were trained in a very good way to defend the area in case the British forces attacked them. Peter Salem was one among those enslaved Blacks who participated in the war against the British troops after getting his freedom from his master. At Lexington in the same year, Black slaves as well as the free ones replied positively to the call of patriots to join the rank and fight together with white soldiers. They believed that their participation into such war would lead either to their freedom or at least expand their civil rights. They performed many roles; they were spies, messengers and even guides. They were welcomed in the Continental Army, and they were promised to get their freedom after they finish their service in this military body. As a result, the African American volunteers constituted the one-fifth of the army in the northern area. Later, the army was estimated to be constituted of the quarter from Blacks.

Black Africans were not only patriots, but they also participated as sailors. This happened because of the shortage in the manpower at sea for both the British Royal navy and the Continental one. So, even the southerners rejected their worry about giving guns to their

slaves, and gave them the opportunity to pilot the ships. Some of them were captured from the British navy and used by patriots on their vessels. Later, the majority of states had an important number of Blacks as pilots in their navy forces especially in the South Carolina. They also served as seamen on the British vessels, and they showed their courage and ability to fight without hesitation without being sure if they got their freedom or not. They fought for an unknown future.

Concerning the American revolutionary leaders, they were afraid of using Black slaves in the army. They were so in the sense that these enslaved people might rebel against them. They believed that the military service required free people and not bound ones. They were concerned indeed in freeing their slaves. In 1775, the Massachusetts Committee of safety gave up from joining Blacks as soldiers in the army. This idea was accepted by the Continental Congress. George Washington ordered the state armies not to enlist any old man unfit to fight, deserter, Negro or a vagabond. The Virginia Royal governor, Lord Dunmore, decided to maintain the British rule into the southern colonies. Later, he issued a Proclamation Act that he would free both Black and White men who came to fight with the British troops. By the end of the year 1775, the British army had three hundred slaves as soldiers mentioned in their military uniform "Liberty of Slaves". These slaves were given the name of the Dunmore's Ethiopian regiment. It was in fact for this aim that African Americans were ready to fight at any time they were called to join the Royal troops as well as the Continental army. The patriots, in turn, became afraid of these Black slaves used as soldiers in the British army. George Washington sent a letter to the military commander Henry Lee explaining to him that the victory of any side whether the British forces or the patriots would depend on the number of Black slaves that could be used as soldiers in the state armies or the Royal one.

The victory, for Washington, had a direct relation with the participation of Black slaves in the war. Later, he ordered the recruiters to reenlist the free Blacks who had been joined to the army. He was afraid that these soldiers might be used by the British army. In 1776, the Continental Congress replied positively to Washington call. The fear from slave rebellion was not only from patriots, the British also feared such future potential problem that slaves could surprise their masters by using weapons against them. With regard to the British side, and in exception of those of the Dunmore Ethiopian troops, African Americans were used as spies, skilled workers and labourers. In the cities of Savannah, Augusta and Charleston, felt that African American soldiers were urgently needed, so they filled the gap in their ranks by using them. As a result 200 Black soldiers joined the British forces, and succeeded to defend the city of Savannah against the French and patriot attacks.

In 1789, as the British forces left some American areas, African Americans fled to Jamaica and St Augustine without gaining their freedom they made great attempts and sacrifices for. The period of Revolution passed and African Americans still thought about the way to get rid of all these problems related to the issue of slavery. The United States got its independence in 1783; they started thinking about how to be united under a powerful centralized federal government. They succeeded to form this government in the meeting of Philadelphia in 1787. The American union they established was still threatened to be dissolved. It was so in the sense that the state delegates that were supposed to discuss all issues considered as the sources of conflicts, did not discuss the main problem that was seen as a bomb that might explode at any time. It was the subject of slavery that was postponed to be discussed later in order to avoid any conflict and any potential failure in forming the future federal centralized government. This fact of postponing such a complex issue led to a sectional conflict between the southerners who based on plantation, and were interested in holding slaves and the northerners who, in turn, preferred to ban slavery and put an end to such an illegal trade of human exploitation. African American slaves, in turn, seized the opportunity to engage into this conflict that might bring freedom to them. They caught in a dilemma a difficult choice whether to fight with the North which advocated the idea of union, or the South which was completely against the American union, and rebelled against the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 that was considered as the founding stone of the current World-leading power known as the United States of America. The North was obliged to wage a war against the South in order to stop such a state rebellion that might weaken the United States and deprive it from its power it gained from union. This leads us to refer, in the following section, to the American Civil War and the way African Americans dealt with in order to get their freedom as they had done before during the American Revolution.

2.4 African Americans in the Civil War

During the sectional military conflict, African Americans served in both union and confederate sides. In the Union Army led by the North, more than 150000 African American men were joined to more than 150 military units including the navy. The African American military groups consisted of free African Americans and those slaves who escaped from the South. With regard to the Confederacy side, Africans were still labour slaves. It was till 1865 that they were allowed to be enlisted in the Confederacy army to fight against the North, but with a small number. In order to go deeply into such issue, let's refer first to the contribution of African Americans in the Union Army.

2.4.1 African Americans in the Union Army

During the outbreak of the Civil War, African Americans were engaged as volunteers in the union forces. So, in spite of their participation in the American revolution and the War of 1812, these Africans were not allowed to fight because of the law that was issued in 1792, it forbade them to bear arms in the United States Army. Abraham Lincoln expressed the fear of those who fought against Confederacy to enlist Africans in the Army in order not to give a chance to the Border States, such as Missouri and Maryland to secede. Later, the Second Confiscation and Militia Act offered freedom to those slaves having masters in the Confederate Army, and allowed them to be enlisted as soldiers supposed to fight against the Confederate states. This happened in 1862, and Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation Act. One year later, the Bureau of Coloured Troops was established to manage the Black volunteer soldiers with a small number. This compelled Frederick Douglass to encourage free African Americans to fight if they desired to obtain a full American citizenship. The first Black American troops were formed from the areas under the control of those who advocated Union such as Massachusetts, Tennessee and South Carolina. The first military body called the “Corps d’Afrique”⁴ was formed in Louisiana. This body consisted of eighteen troops of soldiers, engineers and medical staff. Union Black soldiers were not paid or treated the same way as their colleagues. So, it was till 1864 that coloured and White soldiers received the same monthly pay.

The North also witnessed similar racial discrimination against Blacks of the part of White soldiers. Some of the military units led by White officers had low opinions towards their coloured fighters, and refused to train them. Coloured soldiers kidnapped by the Confederate troops were treated in a very bad way than those the Whites war prisoners. The Confederate Congress declared to punish the White union officers who might be captured as well as their Black troops and to enslave them. Lincoln replied to the Confederate issued law by a similar act calling to treat the same way the Confederate soldiers who might be kidnapped by the union Army. The Union soldiers and their officers refused to surrender. Blacks succeeded to play a great role in the battle of the Crater during the siege of Petersburg.

⁴ ‘The Corps d’Afrique’ was formed in New Orleans after it was taken by Union forces. It was formed around the Louisiana Native Guards. The Native Guards were militia units raised in New Orleans. They were formed from property-owning free people of color, who had developed as a third class in New Orleans since the colonial years. Although they wanted to prove their bravery and loyalty like other Southern property owners, the Confederates did not allow them to serve and confiscated their arms. The Confederates said that enlisting black soldiers would hurt agriculture. Since the units were composed of freeborn creoles and black freemen, it was clear that the underlying objection was to having black men serve at all.

In Virginia, and formed a significant part of the union force in the Nashville battle. The war then witnessed the loss of a large number of victims as the diagram below indicates.

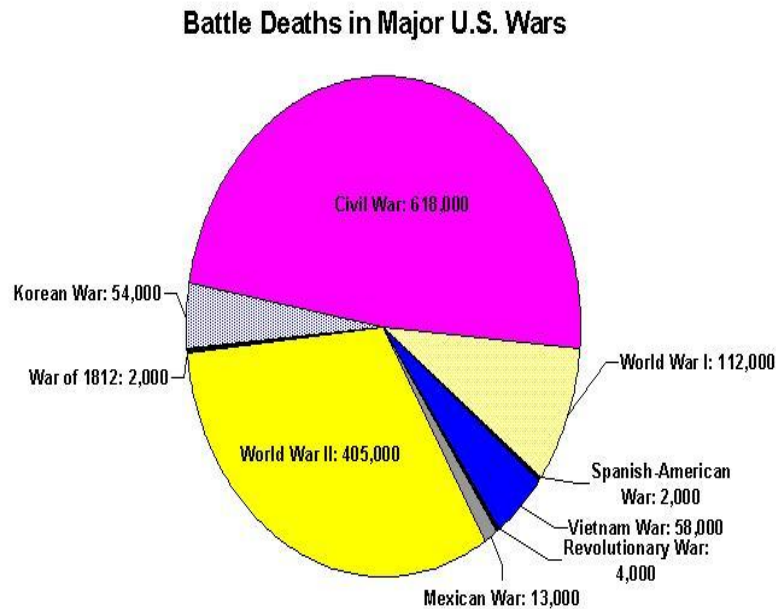


Figure 07: Number of Deaths in Historical US Wars

(Source : <http://www.google.fr/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Fhighered.mheducation.com>)

The diagram above indicates the number of military victims during the different wars that the United States waged on different countries. It is clearly noticed that in each war, there was many soldiers killed in different battles. The number lost in the Civil War was higher than any other number if compared to the one of the First or Second World Wars and the Vietnam or Korean War. One could notice that 50% of the whole number of victims lost in all wars belongs to the Civil War. It was really a divisive and destructive war that USA has ever seen. It was divisive in the sense that it divided two American parts from each other; it separated the South from the North because of the issue of slavery. It was also destructive in the sense that many lives were lost in different battles, 618000 victims lost their lives in four years because of the sectional conflict that threatened the new American nation, built after centuries of efforts, to be destroyed in few years. During this war, the black community participated with an important number of Blacks. The latter were distributed between the Federal Army that represented the North and those who wanted to ban slavery, and the

Confederate Army which represented the South and all those who advocated the idea that slavery process should continue since it brought benefits for slave masters.

At the end of the war, more than 170000 Black men represented 10% of the army. Twenty thousands were used in the navy, forty thousands died, nearly three forth, because of diseases. The African American people free and enslaved ones played other significant roles in the civil War. They practised some relief roles. This means that they were pushed to work in the nursing field. This happened because their officers refused to arm them, and they did not believe Black troops would fight. So, instead of fighting together with White soldiers, Blacks were assigned some roles and duties to perform having no relation with fight within the military camps in order to serve the injured fighters or to feed them. They were also used as guards in the railroads and bridges. They were served as spies and scouts in the Union Army. Spying was an important role assigned to the African American men in order to provide the union troops with valuable information about Confederate forces and their plans. Slaves having the opportunity to escape were seen as contrabands in the early times of the war because of the fact that were viewed as properties of the Confederate states. Spying was not the task of only the enslaved people; the freed men were also concerned with such issue. Although the White men played the same role, but the chief source of information received by the union troops was of the part of Negroes. The latter made valuable efforts that were really recognized by both Union and Confederate leaders. The African Americans were not involved only in the Union Army, but also in the Confederate troops which is our next discussion in the following section.

2.4.2 African Americans in the Confederate Army

Most of the Black African slaves were used as labours in different fields. Others were obliged to satisfy their masters' needs in the camp. Some were obliged to serve their masters' families after their death, while others replaced their masters in the firing front lines. Some historians suggested that nearly thirty thousands of black people put on the military uniforms and fought in favour of the South. At the end of the war in 1865 and in a reluctant way, the Confederate Army approves the use of Black troops. So, the idea of enlisting Black slaves as soldiers had been discussed several times. The fact of arming Blacks was an important step towards setting them free, since it was somehow impossible to use them again in the plantation field. There were some military leaders, like for instance the general Patrick Cleburne, that had proposed to let Black Africans participate in the war as fighters, but few of the participants in the discussion considered the proposal. The majority of them were not

interested in the idea, since slavery was the foundation of the Southern society. The southerners asked themselves why they were fighting if it was not for protecting their slave properties. They added that if slaves became good soldiers, the idea of slavery would be wrong. Some of the South leaders urged the officials of the area to take a final decision to use slaves in the army or not to do. They said that if the coloured people were not used by the Confederate troops, they would be used against them by the Union Army. They proposed to free those who would accept to fight in the Confederate military ranks. It was the same idea that had been proposed and applied in the Union Army. For the Confederate States, the idea was too late to be applied. The Bill passed in the Confederate Congress, and freedom was not referred to as a condition for those who would fight against the northerners. Because of the fact that the states, already mentioned, did not take into account the slave participation in the war, the Confederacy was in its right path towards destruction. So, several thousands of Black soldiers fought with the patriots, but they were unable to defeat an important number of Blacks, nearly two hundred thousands, who fought for Union.

Although the majority of Civil War soldiers were volunteers, both the Confederate Army as well as the Union forces decided to apply a compulsory enlistment for state service, typically into the Army forces. Some historians have suggested that the threat of military compulsory enlistment may have had a great influence on increasing volunteers than it did in supplying with large numbers of trustworthy soldiers. Casualties in the Confederate side were very big. Historians made an approximate calculation of the number of Confederate dead men were nearly 100.000 dead or mortally injured in the fight, more than 150.000 died from disease and the remaining human casualties took place in the Union camps and prisons deaths in Union prison camps. The number of the seriously injured Confederate soldiers was more than 190.000. This estimation does not involve those war fighters who died as a result of various reasons like accidents which added many thousands to the number of deaths already referred to. Many White men were enlisted in Confederate army in a society in which more than thirty percent of the population was enslaved. The society needed stability and protection. The latter could be realized by giving much power to the military side represented by the state army. The latter required a big number of trustworthy soldiers. To realize such aim, officers were in urgent need to resort to the Black African slaves who might succeed to offer victory for the South. J. Brown, the Governor of Georgia, stated that the country depended on its army, and the latter was no more powerful without being supported by the slave population. Slave labour was urgently needed in a diversity of functions, from the basic physical and organizational structures needed for the operation of the society and also mining

to medical roles like nurses and workers in hospital. The idea of using slaves as Confederate soldiers was widely debated from the outbreak of the Civil War, but it was not given much importance as it was not seriously debated by the statesmen. In spite of the letter sent to the Confederate Congress by Patrick Cleburne asking to discuss the issue of emancipation of Black enslaved people in order to encourage them to contribute efficiently into the military troops, the Confederacy administration did not discuss the issue of offering freedom to Blacks seriously, and it was until Robert E. Lee urged the Congress to deal positively with such a good and beneficial idea that would attract a big number of both free African Americans and the enslaved ones as well. The idea was discussed and taken into consideration and a number of slaves were enlisted into the confederate military troops.

Historians state that the exact number of African Americans who were used in the Confederate forces is unknown, but the United States official count of 1890 shows clearly more than three thousands of African Americans who were officially used in the Confederate Army. The latter witnessed casualties in its ranks. As it has been already mentioned so far, many Union soldiers died as a result of accidents or killed after being captured, suicide or execution by the Confederates. The end of the Civil War witnessed the Victory of the North over the South. More than 170.000 men of the Confederate forces surrendered to the Union Army. The victory was beneficial for the enslaved people who would get their freedom later, since the North had the intention to ban slavery which was seen as a disaster of human exploitation that should stop as soon as possible. As a result, an anti-slavery society emerged later whose aim was to sensitize people of the necessity of slave emancipation. The role of such society will be discussed in the following point.

2.5 Establishment of the Anti Slavery Society

The foundation of such kind of American society based on the fact that all human beings are God's creators, and they have the right to live together peacefully on the face of the earth. This anti slavery movement also based on the principles that had been recognized in the Declaration of Independence that '*...all mankind are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*'⁵

This abolitionist movement was determined to defend the rights of an important Black population that found itself held in bondage in the American nation by their fellow citizens.

⁵ Joanne Grant. *Black Protest: history, Documents, and Analyses 1619 to the Present*. Random House of Canada Limited, Toronto. Printed in Canada. (1983) p: 69.

These African Americans were deprived of their rights to live in an ordinary way filled with all signs of a decent life. Abolitionist then called white masters to emancipate their slaves immediately. They believed that the process of enslavement is quite against the principles of a natural justice and the Christian religion as well. They added that it would endanger the future of the American established centralized government; it would also threaten peace between Americans and the individual liberties. In general, it would endanger the American union and the prosperity of the country. In their views, and in order to avoid all these future dangers that might cause a deep division among American citizens, masters should cancel all their plans of expatriation. Abolitionists wanted to awaken a public sentiment throughout the national territory to ban slavery. They called all Americans to form themselves into a society called the anti-slavery society. So, it was an abolitionist society founded by William Lloyd Garrison and Arthur Tappan. The escaped slaves Frederic Douglass and William Wells Brown were also active members in this movement. The objective of such kind of society was to abolish this disaster of human exploitation in the United States of America, and to convince all American citizens that slavery was a crime in the sight of God. So, if Americans wanted safety and internal stability, they should stop it immediately. The members of this society also aimed at forcing the Congress to put an end to such illegal domestic slave trade, and to promote the life conditions of the Black race by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement in order to have later equal rights with White Americans.

So, between 1829 and 1831, serious discussions over the abolition of slavery started to take place in the Virginian legislature. The same thing happened in the northern side in which discussions began over the possibility of redeeming African slaves and sending them to Africa. In 1833, Anxiety increased in the South and resulted later to the foundation of the American Anti-slavery Society in Philadelphia. Despite the fact that this society had an aim to be realized peacefully, it sometimes witnessed violence i.e. met with violent public opposition. This anti-slavery situation surprisingly witnessed from time to time groups of armed men attacking speakers, invading meetings and burning printing institutions. In the middle of the 1830's, slavery was economically involved in the United States of America, and the attempt to ban it would negatively affect the Southern economy which completely based on plantation that urgently needed slaves. Americans who were really concerned with the future project of putting an end to slavery, called for a meeting to take place in Philadelphia. Sixty two delegates were invited among which twenty one were Quakers. William Lloyd Garrison was charged to write the declaration paper of the new organization. The written document denounced the slavery institution and accused those who owned slaves of

committing a sin of stealing men from their homes and their families. The document also called them to stop exploiting the free-born human beings and let them live an ordinary life like the rest of people in the world. The participants in the meeting declared that their activities were pacific and they were ready to sacrifice their lives for this aim. In the New York City in 1834, a series of four nights witnessed anti-abolitionist riots known as the Farren Riots which attacked homes and properties of the abolitionists. So, after the riots were crushed, the anti-slavery society denied the fact that it had the intention to break the laws and dissolve Union or force the Congress to impose abolition on the different states or even to promote the intermarriage between Whites and Blacks.

The Black Clergyman Theodore Wright, who was a founding member in the executive committee of the organization, worried a lot about the situation of African Americans vis-à-vis education and Black suffrage. Wright referred to slavery as a moral sin directed at those who were persecuted. For him, this unacceptable act of enslavement was against Christian religion which called for equality between human beings regardless their races. In 1839, the organisation was threatened to be dissolved because of several conflicts between its members over some issues. Garrison and his group were more radical than those of the other side. They declared that the United State Constitution supported the issue of slavery. For them, the participants in the meeting of Philadelphia in 1787 did not clarify things about slavery and let it ambiguous, and they should normally have discussed this problem. Anti abolitionists in the in the Anti Slavery organization declared that the issue of slavery needed to be discussed worldwide. They were obliged to form a new society called the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society under the leadership of Joseph Sturge. One year later, they organized their first Anti Slavery Convention in London. The meeting attracted many people all over the world where slavery was practised. So, despite the fact that the majority of the organization leaders were from the United States of America, the meeting was known as the Whole World Convention. It was so in the sense that it called to ban the slave trade in the whole world and not only in the American territory. It included Anglicans and Quakers. The members of the committee succeeded later to abolish slavery, and started to make efforts to ban it even in the Middle East area and the African Continent. Slavery was the main cause of the sectional conflict that led to a bloody and destructive war which lasted for four years and was the source of the destruction of the South, which desired to continue in the enslavement of the Black race, by the North which was quite against this idea. After the southern great destruction, the northerners started thinking about its reconstruction. African Americans made great efforts in offering victory to the North in order to gain freedom, but it appeared to them

that freedom was not easy to get as White Americans still had an inferior view towards The Black race. The following point to be discussed attempts to shed light on African Americans during the era of Reconstruction.

2.5.1 Congressional Confiscation Act

This Act was enacted at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861 by the Congress. This law allowed the courts to seize any property, including slaves that might be used to help the Confederate forces. The law passed in both the Houses of Representatives and the one of Senates by the majority of state delegates. The idea of confiscation was discussed in the Congress when

*' A group of Republicans Congress, known as the radicals, had from the early days of the war concerned themselves with slavery. In August 1861 at the Radicals' instigation, Congress passed its first confiscation act. Designed to punish the Confederate rebels, the law confiscated all property used for 'insurrectionary purposes.' Thus if the South used slaves in a hostile action, those slaves were declared seized and liberated. A second confiscation act (July 1862) was much more drastic: it confiscated the property of all those who supported the rebellion, even those who merely Resided in the South and paid Confederate taxes. Their slaves were declared 'forever free of their servitude, and not again (to be) held as slaves. Let the government use its full powers, free the slaves, and crush the revolution, urged the Radicals.'*⁶

The reticence of Lincoln in signing accepting the law was clearly felt at the level of the Congress. His reluctance was because of his feeling that the law would not be respected and practical, and would not be effective at all since the reality on the ground witnessed Confederate victories. Lincoln was afraid that this Act would be seen as an unconstitutional law that might impede the process of slave liberation. It was not easy for the congressional legislators to convince Lincoln to sign the Act. It was till August 1861 that these senators succeeded to convince him to do so. After his signature, Lincoln had no intention to compel any one to respect the law; as a result, few people were victims of such Act of seizure. The Confiscation Act warned the slaveholders to deprive them from their slave properties without having any right to claim after the court final decision. With regard to whether slaves would be free or not, the law remained things ambiguous. This law's ambiguity led the United States government to take slaves as properties under its protection and control. The Enslaved

⁶ M. B. Norton, D. M. Katzman, P.D. Escott H. P. Chdacoff, T. G. Paterson, W. M. Tuttle and Willaiam J. Brophy. *A People and a Nation*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston New York. Printed in USA, (1999) p.287.

African Americans in the areas under the control of some military commanders, like the one of Georgia, South Carolina and Florida, General David Hunter, heard a good news in 1862 which stated that all slaves under the previously mentioned commander should be given their complete freedom. Later, when Lincoln heard about such individual emancipation decision taken by Hunter, he declared that such law was neglected, and all slaves that had been given their freedom should back to their initial status as slave properties of the United States Federal government, and remained under its authority, control and protection. Many American legislators were in favour of the idea of keeping slaves as properties like Benjamin Franklin Butler who was considered as the first one to announce that slaves were contraband. Franklin's idea was advocated by many northerners as well as some other officers who thought about giving masters their slaves who had fled before from plantations.

The Union defeat in the military confrontation of Bull Run, the union officials realized that the result of the war would not be as it had been expected before. The Union military forces in the North were for banning slavery that was being practised in the southern areas under the form of labour and servitude. The Union north was obliged to introduce a set of laws that would free all slaves in the hand of the southern rebels and used them in the war. Americans, other than confederates, realized that the Confiscation Act did not bring good results for the USA because of the fact that it was taken in special and critical conditions after a discussion that witnessed ideological differences in the middle of the war. The meeting discussed the conflict between the participants over the positive role that slaves would play within the society, and the state sovereignty over its own properties that was guaranteed by the Constitution of 1787.

Different ideological coalitions emerged after the Bill of Trumbull had been issued. Trumbull led a radical group for supporting the confiscation bill, joined by Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Benjamin Wade of Ohio in the House of Senate and George Julian of Indiana in the House of representatives. These radicals faced an opposition from within their party of Republicans. Conservatives blamed the radical Republicans for their attempt to violate the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution. Republican senator Orville Browning of Illinois led the conservatives to refuse the radical confiscation project. In 1862, President Lincoln signed the second Confiscation Act which gave an explanation to the first Act. This political decision reflected the President Lincoln's concern that permanent property confiscation was a corruption of blood forbidden by the Constitution and stated that the slave property taken forcefully from individual criminals under the act could not be seized beyond the lifetime of the guilty person. Lincoln threatened the representatives to use his veto against

the bill if they did not ratify his resolution. Finally, he succeeded to compel them to accept the resolution as a law that should be respected.

2.5.2 Gradual Emancipation and Compensation

Compensated emancipation was a governmental project to liberate the enslaved people, so they became able to act freely without being under any control of any one. Those who planned such ideas had the intention not only to free slaves, but also to pay or compensate their masters. The Republican policy of 1860 Knew it was the best solution to put an end to the problem of slavery.

The following table shows the gradual process of slave liberation from 1789 to 1861; i.e. from the building of the new nation to the period of the conflict that led to the destructive war of 1861. (See table 05 below)

States/year	1789	1800	1821	1837	1846	1858	1861
Slave states	08	09	12	13	15	15	15
Free States	05	08	12	13	14	17	19

**Table 05: Decades of Gradual Slave Liberation
in the State of Maryland⁷**

President Lincoln wanted to emancipate slaves in a gradual way that might help the government to finance this process of slave liberation. He expected that such ideas would spread to the Border States in order to free all slaves all over the American territory. In 1862, Lincoln replied to the American antislavery views and desires by asking the Congress to vote for a new resolution on compensating slave holders for any act of emancipation they did. Congressmen, in turn, gave him the green light to do so, and called the Border States to follow the process. Unfortunately, these states did not support such act. It was only in the region of Columbia that slaves were liberated after a Congressional Emancipation Act which had been issued short period of time ago within the same year 1862. Lincoln pleaded the Representatives to help him in ratifying the law in the parliament. The message that was sent by the president to the Congress was the following.

⁷*Underground Railroad* '. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. (n.p). Retrieved in 2012. >http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_slavery_in_Maryland

'Resolved, that the United States ought to cooperate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system. If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that he states and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The Federal government would find its highest interest in such a measure as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that this government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave states north of such part will then say, "The Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section." To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion, and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it as to all the states initiating it.'"⁸

President Lincoln, in his message addressed to the state representatives, stated that the United States would help any state having the intention to free its slaves. The process of abolition of slavery was expected to happen gradually and not urgently. So, the following map which seems to be faithful to the statistics in table 05 mentioned above, reveals the slave situation of the different states with regard to the process of enslavement.

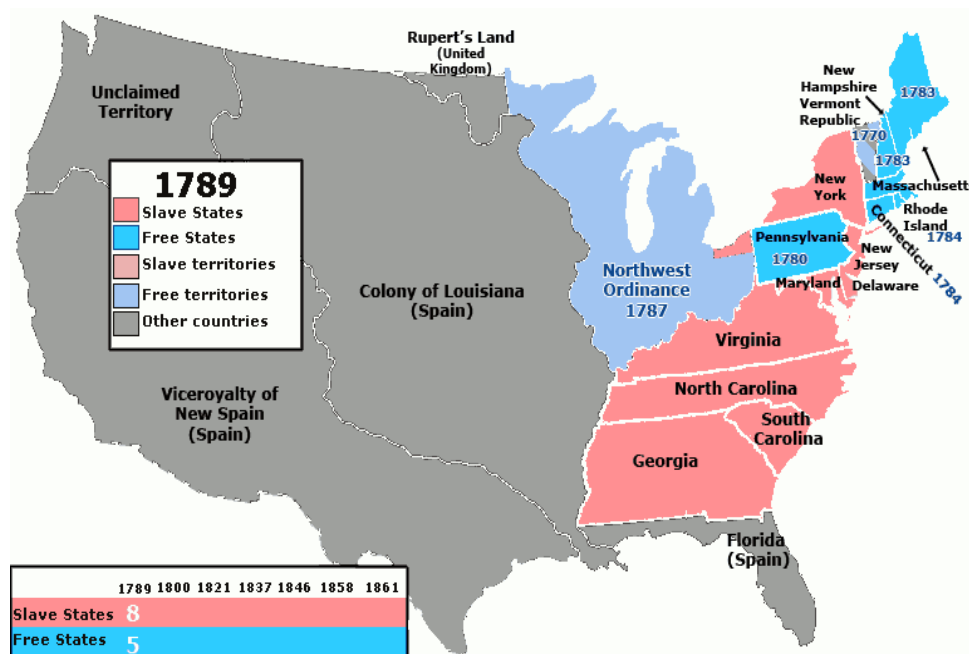


Figure 08: Free and Slave States from 1789 to 1861

(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slave_and_free_states)

⁸ 'Slave and Free States'. From Wikipedia, free encyclopedia. (n.d). Retrieved in 2012.> <https://www.britannica.com>.

The map mentioned above in fig.08, shows the situation of slavery within the different parts of the United States in 1789. This date represents the beginning of the establishment of the new nation after a long debate between the founding fathers that lasted two years starting from 1787. The debate took place exactly in Philadelphia the capital of Pennsylvania. The map reveals that the majority of states preferred to continue dealing with slavery. The southern part, represented by Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Virginia, was really interested in enslaving Black people. One could explain this situation that despite the fact that there were an important number of American leaders who showed their anti-slavery feelings during the meeting, but the participants did not want to enter into another conflict with the southern states, so they postponed the subject of slavery to be discussed later in order to avoid any future misunderstanding between states that had just realized the American Union. This peaceful view of some leaders by closing their eyes on slavery, especially in the South, encouraged the southern states to carry on this disaster in human exploitation. So, only five states over eight attempted to free their slaves. This shows that the anti-slavery feeling among Americans was in its beginning, and did not have an impact within the American territories.

Later, in 1862, during the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation that made great efforts to ban slavery in a gradual way that might give the opportunity to some slave states to change their view towards slavery by liberating their enslaved people. Later, President Lincoln decided to modify the content of the proclamation by adding some articles that called for compensation. As a result of the system modification, Lincoln added that he was ready, as a president, to compensate any side which respected the resolution whether it was public or a private one. He said that if the Congress did not accept such ideas, it would not be obliged to do it, but if the Congress passed the bill, American all over the United States should respect the law, and try to emancipate all the enslaved people, especially the African Americans, progressively according to the living circumstances. President Lincoln explained that slaves of the North were waiting for their freedom. He stated that the Black Africans did the best to fight for Union against Confederacy in order to get free, if they did not realize their dream, they might resort to the Southern Confederate states in order to fight together against the North. So, Lincoln transmitted a clear message to the northerner states that the issue of emancipation was very significant to the point that all Americans were concerned if they wanted the Union forces to win the war. For him, Black Africans were expected to play an important role within the Union Army, and might contribute efficiently in the Union victory. These African Americans deserved to be freed, and

no right for legislators and representatives as well to deprive them of this hope. The northern states were ready and certain to emancipate slaves more than those states in the South. For the Federal government, the gradual emancipation was better than the sudden one. The emancipating proposition stated that the Federal authority had no right to intervene with the issue of slavery within the states, but the latter had the sovereignty to deal with such subject of slave liberation gradually. States were then free to regulate the process according to each state's circumstances without any Federal interference.

The Union authorities viewed Union as very important for all Americans, and that it should be protected from any threats by the use of all possible and legal means to achieve such goal. War was seen as the possible lead towards liberating the African American enslaved people. Cease fire was possible if the southern Confederate states replied positively to the Federal call. The contrary, would undoubtedly lead to a complex conflict that compelled both sides to carry on the war that would certainly be economically and socially destructive. While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be somehow theoretical, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon drive to some significant practical results. Emancipation was an act that was expected to outlaw slavery by establishing a plan through which it would be banned completely by granting liberty to those persons seen as human properties.

Each European power was concerned with the issue of slavery in its colonies beyond its borders. For instance, Britain followed a policy leading to compensate any act of emancipation within the territories of its own colonies. This happened in 1833, followed by France and Denmark in 1848 and Netherlands in 1863. The decade from 1850 to 1860 witnessed a planned gradual process of emancipation in the South American and Caribbean nations. Brazil also made a great attempt to emancipate its slaves in 1871 followed by Cuba in 1880.

2.5.3 Abraham Lincoln and the Policy of Black Colonization

This section is devoted to an important point to be discussed over President Lincoln (see appendix 01) and his politics of Black colonization. So, the policy of advocating the foreign colonization of the freed enslaved African Americans had a long history in the United States of America. The American Colonization Society, an organization established in 1816, had an aim to find a solution to the problem of race within the country after the Revolutionary War. There were some Americans who proposed to send the Africans Americans to their original

countries. The organization (ACS) mentioned above was moderate in its position towards slaves. It proposed to deal with the issue of slavery in a republican democracy. In the Upper South and the Mid-Atlantic States, a great number of White Americans were against slavery, but they did not want to expose themselves to risk if the process of emancipation succeeded to spread along the area. For Blacks, being free or enslaved meant the same thing, since they lacked freedom to express his political idea within a self-governing Republic. African American freed slaves were threatened to be removed to the African Continent. The ACS made efforts to find a suitable way to deal with such problem through a clear plan of emancipation which was expected to be gradual. In addition to this process of slave liberation, the slaveholders should be compensated for their voluntary act of offering freedom to their enslaved people. The organization, mentioned above, contributed in a negative way in presenting its own plan to resettle Black Africans in their original continent Africa. Consequently, they succeeded to found Liberia after all measures of colonization had been taken. The well known member of the Society called Charles Fenton Mercer, contributed efficiently in pushing the Congress to pass the Anti-Slave Trading Act in 1819 proposing to transport the African Americans to Africa. Charles Mercer succeeded to convince the president Monroe about the idea of Black colonization. So, with the cooperation of the Society, he sent some agents to look for a suitable area in African in order to keep it for the Black Africans that would soon be evacuated from the United States. This area was later known as 'Liberia'. Its capital was given the name of Monrovia in the honour of the American president Monroe. Lincoln advocated the idea of Black immigration towards Africa. Historians state that it was '... *Lincoln's opinion, as it was Thomas Jefferson's that the only natural right which the Negro possessed which required civil recognition, beyond emancipation, was the right to emigrate.*'⁹ They added that Paul Friendly, the biographer of President Lincoln, showed that

'It appears that during the 30th Congress, Lincoln also embraced a new doctrine as a method of dealing with the institution of slavery in the United States. Lincoln's ideal, Henry Clay, had long espoused the concept of colonization of the removal of blacks to Africa or elsewhere and had been a long time member of the American Colonization Society. Throughout his service in Congress, Lincoln voiced no support for colonization. On January 18, 1848, however, Henry Clay presided over a mass meeting of the American Colonization Society in the House chamber. Lincoln surely attended and by then had probably adopted the colonization idea as

⁹'Colonization'. (n.p). Quoted from Wikipedia. Retrieved in 2012. > <http://www.mrlincolnanndfreedom.org>

*the long-range solution to the slavery problem, as well as the larger problem represented by the presence of blacks in American Society. After leaving Congress, on July 6, 1852, Lincoln delivered a eulogy on Henry Clay in Springfield. Touching on colonization, Lincoln concluded: This suggestion of the possible redemption of the African race and the African continent was made twenty five years ago. Every succeeding year has added to the hope of its realization. May it indeed be realized!*¹⁰

The statement of Lincoln, quoted above, shows clearly his intention to adopt a new method being taken as a doctrine with regard to the problem of slavery. He stated that the only right that the freed African Americans had, was to take the way towards Africa as soon as possible where they would find liberty. So, in 1848, however, Lincoln attended a meeting of the American Colonization Society presided by Henry Clay, and by then had probably taken the final decision that the colonization idea as the best and suitable solution to the slavery problem. He felt that the Black presence in the United States of America would be a real threat to the American society. He viewed such process as a potential solution to a political problem having no relation with society and the separation of the races is the only perfect preventive solution of integration. Lincoln revealed that not all the members of the Republican Party were in favour of the separation of the Black race from the white one within the American society, but the majority of them were for this idea. They advocated such a political idea in order to put an end to the problem of slavery. Some historians, such as Ray Basler, stated that Lincoln felt he was obliged to accept the idea of Black colonization that he took from Henry Clay, because he had no solution to the issue of slavery.

For historians, Lincoln was not expected at all to do such an acceptable action against humanity. He was known for his efforts to ban slavery and put an end to the Black suffering. He always called to limit the extension of slavery, keeping the essential central idea of equality between all human races. He also called to respect the Black race represented by the African Americans. The content of the Lincoln's message seemed that it lacked effectiveness, since he had said what he could not do later. He strongly believed in colonization though it seemed difficult to be realized. In other words, he preferred to take the African Americans forcefully and implant them within a given area in Africa like what was known later as Liberia. He had the idea of colonization in mind but he faced the problem of how to do it, and how to deal with the institution of slavery that spread along the American territories and all

¹⁰ *Colonization*'. (n.p). Quoted from Wikipedia. Retrieved in 2012. > <http://www.mrlincolnandfreedom.org>

over the world. His only concern, and his followers, was to free slaves without giving them the chance to remain within the country where they were born. Free African Americans were threatened to be expelled sooner or later to their own native land Africa. The Lincoln administration also believed that a sudden execution of the law was impossible. For officials, gradual execution was seen as the best way to deal with the Black African existence in America, and the suitable direction that Americans should follow if they really wanted to keep the Black threat away from their new North American country they had sacrificed a lot for a long period of time to get their independence. Despite the difficulty that Lincoln faced, he decided to continue in this path. For him, colonization was not difficult if Americans had the courage and the heart will to execute such federal decision. He called American people to believe that the Black forced immigration to their native land was morally right and not against their interests.

So, in spite of the fact that colonization was an important part in his emancipation plan, Lincoln, after a period of time, came to a conclusion that colonization was impracticable that he must resort to a program of racial adjustment within the United States. Both races Whites and blacks must learn to live together as free men. The president was convinced that the use of Black soldiers was the only possible lead he should follow if he wanted to achieve a great victory against the Confederate forces. It was till the end of the war that he changed his idea from resettling the free Blacks outside the United States of America to integrate them into the society they knew since their childhood. He came to accept the idea that Black African Americans must be allowed to remain in the only country where they were born; they should be given education and opportunities for self-support, and started on the way to a full absorption and integration into the American society. His policy was somehow difficult to meet with his popular reputation as the well known emancipator, and historians have long struggled with how to explain this apparent deviation on the way towards emancipation. One could say that the Lincoln's views on colonization took place and were practicable which shows clearly that he had a racial face. The reason of his deviation was based on his deep personal panic about the persecution of the emancipated African Americans on the part of their former masters in South after the war. Lincoln showed his capability for personal growth during the war, and his plan of colonization was among the policies that developed in parallel.

2.5.4 Emancipation Proclamation

As a result of the Confederate defeat, Abraham Lincoln issued his law of Emancipation Proclamation. This happened in 1862, after the battle of Antietam. The law was executed and

many Black slaves were freed in the states that witnessed rebellion. The following map shows clearly the areas that witnessed emancipation in red colour, whereas the blue parts were still under slavery.

The map below (fig.09) represents the process of emancipation in the United States of America in 1862. The blue part refers to the states where slavery was still being practised, whereas the red part represents the states where slavery was banned as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln. If anyone goes deeply into such map, he undoubtedly notices that the process of slave liberation developed through time, and the percentage of the freed slaves was higher than the one of those enslaved people. This shows that the Lincoln's call had an impact on the American slave societies, and that the slaveholders started to reply positively to the emancipation law. So, the subject of slavery was challenged by the constitution of 1864 that was adopted by the Congress. The constitution substituted the one of Maryland of 1851, and those who advocated union added some articles in the Annapolis meeting Maryland, that took place in April 1864, especially the article 24 which clearly called for banning slavery. The constitution was ratified in the same year through a referendum. People of Maryland who were in favour of the idea of emancipation contributed in a positive way in the ratification of the law of slave liberation.

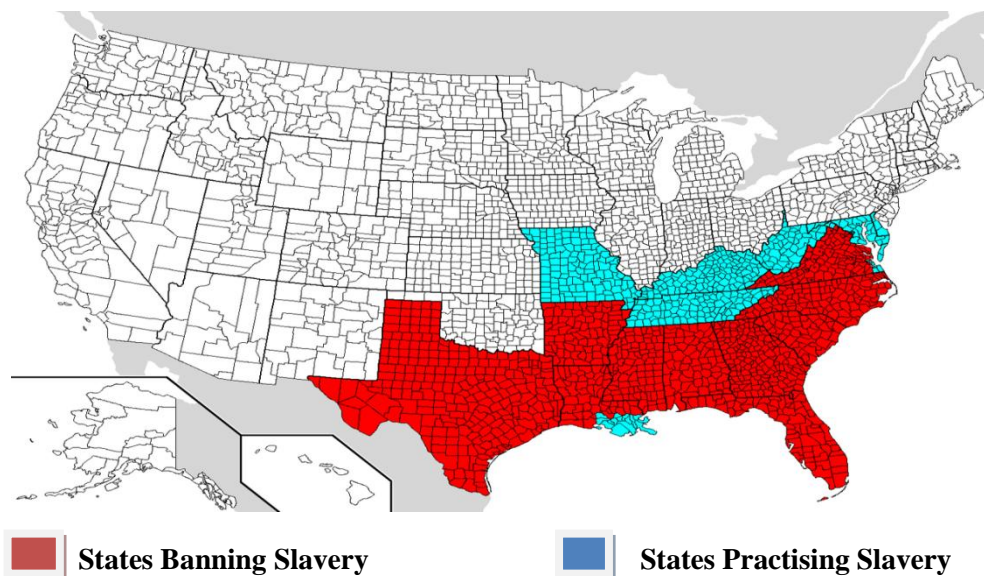


Fig. 09: Slave holding areas in 1862 after the Emancipation Proclamation

(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emancipation_Proclamation)

Historians state that the process of enslavement lasted for two centuries in Maryland. In spite of the fact that slaveholders in Maryland claimed to be given an important sum of

money as a compensation for their attempts to liberate their slaves, they received nothing at the end.

So, in spite of the efforts he made in order to ban enslavement, Lincoln was blamed for not making more attempts to do the maximum. Lincoln had no constitutional power to end slavery in states loyal to the Union. His emancipation law compelled in a way or another African American slaves to help the Union forces against the Confederate ones and the fight became then quite against the subject of slavery. In 1862, a proclamation was released by the president of the United States of America calling for offering freedom to slaves and stated that

*"... all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thence forward, and forever, free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom. That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the states and parts of states, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such states shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."*¹¹

Statements, in the quotation above, show the intention and the final decision of the president to go far with regard to the issue of liberating the Black enslaved people. He transmitted the message to all Americans, in both the South and the North, to reply positively to such presidential call. He added that all persons who still enslaved slaves should free them as soon as possible, otherwise they will be considered as rebels against the constitution of the United States of America. He also called the military and the naval forces to maintain the freedom of these enslaved people and to fight all Americans possessing slaves until they stop their rebellion against the United States of America, and respect the law. Abraham Lincoln imposed itself before those who had the intention to defy him and his authority. He said

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said

¹¹ 'Africans in America: Emancipation Proclamation'. Boston Athenaeum. (n.d). Retrieved in 2012 ><http://www.tnmuseum.org>

rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the states and parts of states wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaque mines, Jefferson, St. Johns, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued. And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons."¹²

In the statement, mentioned above, the President sent a message to those slaveholders who did not want to respect the law of emancipation. He said that he possesses the power to execute laws forcefully since he was the president and he was also the commander of the union Army. So, he could use force against the rebellion against the authority and the government of the United States of America. He clarified that the naval forces as well as the other military forces bore responsibility towards slaves, and that these enslaved persons should be free as soon as possible. Lincoln sent his first annual message to the Congress in 1861, in which he showed an expression of approval and admiration to the free labour system for taking into consideration human rights over property rights. He favoured a legislation to treat the situation of slaves that were bought and sold as smuggled goods within the states themselves and beyond their borders. He proposed to buy their freedom with federal taxes. He also referred to the issue of voluntary colonization. This means that slaves would be asked to leave the American territory after being offered his or her freedom.

One year later, the Republican leader Thaddeus Stevens, called to wage war against the Confederate states in order to compel them to stop slavery and start emancipating them. He added that by the fact of obliging them to put an end to the slave labour, the Confederate economy will be weakened, and consequently, they would lose their power. In the same year,

¹² Douglas t. Miller. 'Abraham Lincoln :The Emancipation Proclamation 1863'. (n.d). Retrieved in 2012.>
<http://www.tnmuseum.org>

Congress issued a law which was expected to create a supplementary act of War. This law called the Union military officers not to give any of the fugitive slaves back to their masters. Later, the Congress revealed that the federal government was ready at any moment to compensate the slaveholders who showed the courage to emancipate their slaves. Consequently, the majority of enslaved people, if not all, were offered their freedom in the region of Columbia, and their masters were paid for their humanitarian actions. In the middle of the same year, Congress banned slavery not only in the existing states, but also the future ones that might be established. Abraham Lincoln showed his support towards such legislation, and signed it quickly. By such decision, the Congress in cooperation with the President refused the idea of giving sovereignty to the American people that had been proposed by Stephen A. Douglas in order to put an end to the conflict between the federal government and the confederate states over the subject of slavery. So, even the proposition of Thomas Jefferson to deal with slavery within the limits of states was refused and rejected.

The Congress and President Abraham Lincoln issued another Confiscation Act in July 1862. This second Act gave the power to the courts to free slaves that were in the hands of the condemned masters still existing in the Confederate side, and even those who escaped to the Union side. The Act could be used in case of criminal condemnation and to those who were slaves of unfaithful masters. Lincoln was disappointed towards the Congress inability to free all slaves within the states in rebellion. He, as a military leader, could oblige the Confederate states to stop the process of human enslavement via using the military force that he had thought about so far. As a result of the Emancipation declaration, many slaves were liberated. This slave liberation took effect during the destructive war and got good results according to some historians. Thousands of Black African Americans were given their freedom in many districts within the state of South Carolina. These Africans were immediately informed that their slave status was rejected, and that a new legal one would be given to them soon. Historians estimate the freed slave population in both North Carolina and South Carolina at nearly 20,000. This important number of slaves was liberated immediately by the Emancipation Proclamation. The area that was under the control of the Union authorities, and where freedom started to be offered to the Black African Americans, involved some significant districts such as some parts of eastern North Carolina, the Mississippi Valley, northern Alabama, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, a large part of Arkansas, and the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina. So, despite the fact that there were some regions in Virginia that did not respect the federal emancipation call, there were indeed other counties within the same state, such as the lower Shenandoah Valley and the area around Alexandria

that immediately replied positively to the law, and started liberating their black enslaved people without hesitation.

The process of emancipation was gradually executed as the federal authorities succeeded to enter the confederate areas. At this suitable time, the enslaved African Americans seized the opportunity to flee their slave holdings, and join the areas where the Union soldiers were waiting for them for assistance. Emancipation witnessed non violence actions between masters and their slaves. American Union under one federal government was no longer the only aim of the Northern authorities. The Process of slave liberation appeared to be a move or a transfer with regard to the objectives of the North. This shift was considered as a movement forwards to realize the main purpose represented by the abolition of slavery in the United States. This step is considered by historians as the birth of a new era of freedom. This era was the dream of many slaves especially the African Americans who had been waiting for a long time. One of the people being enslaved with his family described the process of emancipation as good news that they did not believe it was real. He said he

“...was born a slave on a plantation in Franklin County, Virginia. I am not quite sure of the exact place or exact date of my birth, but at any rate I suspect I must have been born somewhere and at some time. As nearly as I have been able to learn, I was born near a cross-roads post-office called Hale’s Ford, and the year was 1858 or 1859. I do not know the month or the day. The earliest impressions I can now recall are of the plantation and the slave quarters—the latter being the part of the plantation where the slaves had their cabins.

My life had its beginning in the midst of the most miserable, desolate, and discouraging surroundings. This was so, however, not because my owners were especially cruel, for they were not, as compared with many others. I was born in a typical log cabin, about fourteen by sixteen feet square. In this cabin I lived with my mother and a brother and sister till after the Civil War, when we were all declared free.

Of my ancestry I know almost nothing. In the slave quarters, and even later, I heard whispered conversations among the coloured people of the tortures which the slaves, including, no doubt, my ancestors on my mother’s side, suffered in the middle passage of the slave ship while being conveyed from Africa to America. I have been unsuccessful in securing any information that would throw any accurate light upon the history of my family beyond my mother. She, I remember, had a half-brother and a half-sister. In the days of slavery not very much attention was given to family history and family records—that is, black family records. My mother, I suppose, attracted the attention of a purchaser who was afterward my owner and hers. Her addition to the slave family attracted about as much attention as the purchase of a new horse or cow. Of my father I know even less than of my mother. I do not even know his name. I have heard reports to the

effect that he was a white man who lived on one of the near-by plantations. Whoever he was, I never heard of his taking the least interest in me or providing in any way for my rearing. But I do not find especial fault with him. He was simply another unfortunate victim of the institution which the Nation unhappily had engrafted upon it at that time. So far as I can now recall, the first knowledge that I got of the fact that we were slaves, and that freedom of the slaves was being discussed, was early one morning before day, when I was awakened by my mother kneeling over her children and fervently praying that Lincoln and his armies might be successful, and that one day she and her children might be free. In this connection I have never been able to understand how the slaves throughout the South, completely ignorant as were the masses so far as books or newspapers were concerned, were able to keep themselves so accurately and completely informed about the great National questions that were agitating the country. From the time that Garrison, Lovejoy, and others began to agitate for freedom, the slaves throughout the South kept in close touch with the progress of the movement. Though I was a mere child during the preparation for the Civil War and during the war itself, I now recall the many late-at-night whispered discussions that I heard my mother and the other slaves on the plantation indulge in. These discussions showed that they understood the situation, and that they kept themselves informed of events by what was termed the "grape-vine" telegraph."¹³

The quotation shows how Black African Americans dealt with the hard days of their enslavement life and how they felt when the process of emancipation came to take place. When they first heard that the president Lincoln would free slaves in all American territories without exception, they did not believe that their long suffering would soon disappear and that a new period of freedom would come instead. Under the Confiscation Acts, the slaves who had escaped from the confederate areas to the North had assisted by the Federal military authorities and they were received, in their camps, as contraband of war. When the proclamation became applicable, they were informed of the good news they had been waiting for, since a long period of time ago, that they were free to live like other Americans. As a result of fear, the whites escaped to other regions, and the blacks remained in their areas. A plan of Reconstruction was installed for the former slaves, including schools and training. Naval officers read the proclamation and told them they were free. For the Confederate states, slaves were considered as the motors of the war. They were used in the war, because they were indeed expected to contribute efficiently in the Confederate victory against the federal forces. Different tasks were assigned to them such as working on plantations and in factories, preparing and producing food, repairing railways and mines. They were also used as hospital

¹³ It's also called 'grapevine telegraph'. a person to person method of spreading rumors, gossip, information, etc, by informal or unofficial conversation, letter writing, or the like. > <http://dictionary.reference.com>.

attendants and labourers in different domains. So, the information of the slave liberation stimulated the wish of freedom, and was spread quickly along the American areas in both sides North and South. The news of freedom created a general ambiguity among Whites and Blacks as well, and encouraged thousands to escape to the Union side. The plantation masters tried to keep their slaves away from hearing such news but they were unable to do so, and soon all slaves became aware of the good news by means of a group called Lincoln's Legal Loyal League whose role was to bring information of the proclamation to slave meetings secretly. The Emancipation Proclamation was viewed as the suitable way to increase the number of soldiers within the plantations in order to oblige the Confederate troops to surrender and consequently the issue of slavery would be banned.

2.6 African Americans in the Reconstruction Era

The Reconstruction era witnessed political, social and economic changes within the new American nation. After Lincoln had been killed (see appendix 02), his successor Andrew Johnson and the Congress attempted to draw a plan of Reconstruction of the South. Before the end of 1865, he changed direction with regard to his policies. He excused some rebels and gave them the opportunity to occupy offices in the administration. He also called the American officials to give plantation back to their original owners. These events frightened the northerners, and tried to stop this process of giving lands back to the southerners who might deal with slavery again after it had been stopped.

As a result of the Black positive contribution in the Union Army, the North succeeded to defeat the slave-holding South during the Civil war. This victory of Union troops as well as the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, being added to the Constitution in 1865, millions of slaves were given their freedom waiting for the American citizenship that seemed to be a dream difficult to be realized. Through time, African Americans realized their dream they thought it was impossible to be reached, and as a result of the addition of the Fourteenth Amendment, they were offered the American citizenship. The African American gains did not stop at this point, but they also benefited from another amendment made at the level of the Constitution represented by the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 which gave them the right to participate in any vote that might take place within the new nation in the future. These three Amendments were the hope of the Black race to get rid of the White Supremacy that was really imposed on them for centuries. Unfortunately, their efforts they made during the Revolutionary War as well as the Civil War came to no benefits as in the Reconstruction era that took place during a period of twelve years between 1865 and 1877. Black people were

disappointed and became frustrated since such provisions added to the Constitution of 1787 were not respected, and were quite neglected by the Southerner states. The post-Civil War period witnessed the ignorance of the African American request of the minimum protection of their lives. They gained freedom, but they were deprived of several necessary things as human beings. Freedom, for them, had no sense since they found themselves landless and jobless. They moved everywhere to look for a work that might guarantee their lives as well as their families'. They also suffered from the lack of shelter, clothing and food. The South, in turn, issued some laws, black codes, for the sake of putting their movements under control within the area, in order to oblige the former enslaved people to serve their former masters, and work in their plantations without being well paid.

The era of Reconstruction witnessed the Black gain of political power in the Southerner side for the first time. This African American power in the field of politics came to existence as a result of the emergence of some leaders who were able to occupy important posts in different field. They were clergymen, lawyers, and teachers who had received their education in the American North and even abroad in other European countries. Robert B. Elliott of South Carolina and John R. Lynch of Mississippi were Among the African leaders that contributed efficiently in transmitting the African messages to American officials in the Congress; both were speaking on the behalf of all Africans in the House of Representatives since they were members of the United States' Congress. B.S Pinckney and Jonathan Gibbs were both African American leaders that honoured the African population. The former was elected the Louisiana governor, whereas the latter was appointed as the secretary of state of Florida and the education manager. Within three decades, nearly Twenty African American leaders emerged as state representatives and two of them became senators in the United States Congress, such as Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi.

The African American political power did not last for a long time. The North gave priority to reconciliation. In other words, it pardoned those White leaders who bore arms with the Confederate Army against the Union troops. The majority of these leaders, if not all, were given the opportunity again to vote and hold offices. The bad economic situation as well as the violent activities of some groups, like K. K. K, against Blacks played an important role in keeping the African Americans away from voting and participating in ruling their states because of the fact that they were seen as strangers or foreigners and not as American citizens. During the Union military withdrawal from the South in 1877, the southern White leaders were still controlling the area. So, despite the provisions that had been added to the Constitution of 1787 represented by the different Amendments agreed on in Mississippi,

South Carolina and Louisiana during the period from 1890 to 1895, Africans in the American territory were still deprived of the necessary rights for a decent life. Few of them were appointed officials in some offices. At the level of the Congress, no coloured person had the chance to be a state representative for more than twenty years especially after the North Carolina Governor had left the state in 1901.

In the South, White Supremacy spread along the territory, and contributed negatively in the emergence of several terrorist and racial groups that called for separation between White and Blacks. The idea of separation was first applied in Tennessee in 1870, during which the southern states made many laws that would undoubtedly forbid and prevent marriage between Blacks and Whites. Jim Crow laws were also a clear sign of segregation. These enacted laws limited the movement of Blacks, and forbade them to be in public spaces. Later, and exactly in 1885, the majority of states in the South, officially prohibited Black children from joining the White schools. A decade later, segregation moved from schools and public places to the transport domain. The law was issued in Louisiana in 1896 stating that African Americans passengers should be kept away from taking any means of transport reserved to Whites. During the period following Reconstruction, it seemed somehow difficult for coloured people to get a job especially in the South. They were offered only a small quota of the big number of industrial jobs in the cities. Few African Americans in the rural South had their own farms, but the remaining Blacks were poor and heavily indebted by the White landowners. In the northern urban side, The African American population was not also in a good situation but felt better than the one in the South. The majority of posts were granted to Europeans who came to live permanently in The United States. The bad living situation compelled many African Americans to take the direction towards the West in order to improve their way of living.

In spite of all these bad living conditions, Black Africans really showed a big challenge, and started to organize literary and musical meetings through which they might keep their African traditions and teach them to the future African American generations. Their literary works involved different writings such as the literary works of Thomas Fortune and Washington Williams. Many Black cultural organizations emerged in different states such as the Fisk Jubilee Singers. These groups had a great influence on White Americans themselves, and on their culture because of their celebrity. Black men also participated in Georgia politics during the Congressional Reconstruction in 1876. Sixty nine African Americans were given the chance to represent their states as delegates or as legislators in the Constitutional Convention between 1867 and 1868. Henry McNeal Turner, Tunis Campbell and Aaron A.

Bradley were the three well known Black legislators in the United States Congress. The former returned to Georgia from Washington in 1865 to win Black congregations to the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He was a Black politician who contributed efficiently in the organization (AMEC) of the Black republican vote which encouraged other Blacks to be leaders of different African organization within USA especially in politics. Henry McNeal Turner was a delegate to the Georgia constitutional convention of 1867 and was elected for more than one term in the Georgia legislature in 1868.

2.7 Lincoln Restoration of the South to Union

Before the victory of the North against the rebel south, the president Abraham Lincoln had the intention to reintegrate the Southern states into union again. The project of the Proclamation of Amnesty was considered as the first step towards reconciliation, and a call directed to those who preferred rebellion to return to union again. For this goal, he undertook the project of amnesty already referred to. He did so in order to forgive and give a chance to those who had mutinied against the federal authority and divided the country into two sections. The latter, as it is known by all, engaged into a divisive and destructive conflict that brought no benefits for both sides. The Lincoln's plan consisted of two aspects. The former refers to the complete forgiveness to any southern rebel who would be ready to present an oath of loyalty towards union, and clearly show his willing and readiness to agree with all the federal acts that had been issued by the Federal Congress legislature before the outset of the sectional conflict and even its proclamations, especially those laws that dealt with the issue of enslavement of human beings along the American territory. The second part of President Lincoln Plan gave a good opportunity to the rebel states to draft their own state constitutions respecting of course the mother constitutions ratified in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1787. They were also asked to appoint their officials. In general, the southern states were called to back to the American Union basing on the idea that all Americans, whites and Blacks, are created equal, and that this equality between even states should be respected in order to achieve a real stability within the New North American nation that was established as a result of great efforts made by Americans themselves. So, Lincoln asked American people to be involved into one united front against any potential problem from over the seas. For him, this union could not be achieved if the South didn't make attempts to join again the union and get rid of the misunderstanding over the issue of slavery that should be banned since it was an illegal human exploitation that is refused by God and unaccepted even by his creators. After Lincoln had launched his plan, many Americans, especially the republicans, known as

“Radical Republicans”¹⁴ objected to such political ideas, and showed clearly their fear that the Amnesty would not be beneficial for the United States political life as the ex-confederates would not accept union or they would offer the African Americans legal and political rights. There were some American legislators that proposed to grant African Americans their political and educational rights. They also asked to give economic independence to the Black population and to severely punish those who were responsible of injustice and discrimination that had been established against Blacks under the White administration in the South.

So, most of the Republican leaders agreed on the idea that president Lincoln should clarify his political plan on how to restore the southern states to Union. They were afraid that the southern democrats would destabilize the political life in the United States of America. In order to keep Democrats¹⁵ away from dominating the political life, the republicans gave Blacks the right to vote, and refused the idea that the former Confederate leaders would occupy public offices. The plan of Lincoln faced an opposition of the part of the Wade-Davis Bill that insisted on giving political power to those southern leaders who stayed loyal to Union. Americans advocating the previous mentioned bill added that the confederate war debts should not be paid by the Union authority, since the Confederate states violated the Convention of Pennsylvania that stated Union should be perpetual, and no one could stop the union process under any pretext. For them the Confederate southern leaders should be punished for their violation of the agreement, and no right for anyone to help them. In 1865, Abraham Lincoln was surprised by a shot that put an end to his political life forever. Andrew Johnson came to become a president from a party quite different of the Lincoln's one. He had different political ideas. He was appointed as the vice president in order to be supported by more voters in case of any elections. After he had been assigned such high post in the nation, Johnson had the intention to follow the same political plan of Lincoln. The reality showed that he did not do that. He insisted on the idea that both Whites and Blacks should be provided with civil rights and should also be politically equal. The last year of the bloody war

¹⁴ The Radical Republicans were a faction of American politicians within the Republican Party from about 1854 (before the American Civil War) until the end of Reconstruction in 1877. They called themselves "radicals" and were opposed during the war by moderates and conservative factions led by Abraham Lincoln and after the war by self-styled "conservatives" (in the South) and "liberals" (in the North). Radicals strongly opposed slavery during the war and after the war distrusted ex-Confederates, demanding harsh policies for the former rebels, and emphasizing civil rights and voting rights for freedmen (recently freed slaves). (From http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_Republican).

¹⁵ The Democratic Party is one of the two major contemporary political parties in the United States, along with the younger Republican Party. Tracing its origins back to the Democratic-Republican Party, the modern Democratic Party was founded around 1828. There have been 15 Democratic presidents, the first being Andrew Jackson, who served from 1829 to 1837; the most recent is the current president, Barack Obama, who has served since 2009.

witnessed the surrender of all southern states except Texas. These states suffered from a plenty of problems. They were economically weak. In addition to the poverty that caused many victims, African Americans faced a difficult living situation in all domains; they became homeless and jobless with an ambiguous future. They established a bureau to which was assigned the role of taking in charge the abandoned lands as well as the emancipated Black slaves and the refugees under the leadership of General Oliver Otis Howard who supported indeed those Blacks who urgently needed help. After the defeat, the southern states decided to regulate things with regard to slaves. The latter were freed, but their freedom was not completed. The southern White legislators issued some laws called "Black Codes"¹⁶ through which they prohibited Blacks from owning arms without the consent of the southern states' authorities. Even the African American labour was under control. The southern Congress did not accept the Black representation because they were seen as non trustful people.

The political plan of Johnson contributed in a way or another in pushing the Radical republicans to dominate the Congress. The latter succeeded to make an important law, called "Civil Rights Act"¹⁷, that realized an African American Dream by giving Blacks the American citizenship and equal of treatment as the Whites' one. Despite the fact that the president had the veto in the Congress, the Bill passed in the parliament. Because of the congressional veto, the president faced an opposition of the part of the Radical Republicans, since they viewed that such president's acts were against the Union victory and not in favour of. With regard to the moderate members of the same party, they made all their efforts to protect the rights of the Black enslaved people. The fourteenth Amendment offered African Americans the American citizenship, which means both White race and the Black one were equal under the federal law. Several demonstrations were organized within the South. They were considered as a clear political message that was conveyed to the White authorities over the issue of African American protection.

The year 1870 witnessed the return of all the Confederate states to the Federal Union. The moderate Republicans gained more support while the radical ones were losing their political power gradually. The Fifteenth Amendment stated that the American citizens had the right to participate in any franchise regardless religion, race and skin colour. The Radical

¹⁶ A body of laws, statutes, and rules enacted by southern states immediately after the Civil War to regain control over the freed slaves, maintain white supremacy, and ensure the continued supply of cheap labour.

¹⁷ The Civil Rights Act of 1866 granted citizenship and the same rights enjoyed by white citizens to all male persons in the United States "without distinction of race or colour, or previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude." taken from <http://www.pbs.org>

Republican political life lasted a decade in which they did the best to reintegrate the confederates into the Federal Union. Both southerners and northerners ignored the Bureau of Freedmen that was established in favour of the Black emancipated slaves. It was indeed in an urgent need of a financial support. Later, the South witnessed the emergence of some African American senators elected in the southern state governments such as Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce who represented the Mississippi state. Black Africans started to organize their societies secretly in the South. This news compelled some Whites to organize themselves into terrorist groups in order to spread fear among the African environments. The Ku Klux Klan¹⁸ and the Knights of the White Camellia were some important secret military organizations against Black politics. These racial groups were not against the Black existence in the South but against the Black participation into the American political life.

2.8 Great Migration and Civil Rights Movements

The Great Migration refers to the African American emigration of millions of persons from rural areas to the urban districts within the states of the South. This African American movement lasted for nearly half a century. The migration was not limited only in the South, but it also spread to the industrial regions of the North. Within a period of sixty years and exactly from 1910 to 1970, African Americans emigrated from fourteen southern states such as Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama to other cultural urban cities of the United States. During the second migration that took place between 1910 and 1960, a great number of skilled people from urban cities emigrated to the industrial North. Consequently, the African American population became urbanized as a result of such migration. Later and according to some historical statistics, 53% of blacks stayed in the South, 7% in the West while 40 % lived in the North, so more than 80 % preferred to live in cities. These statistics reveals clearly that this migration is considered as the largest and speedy collective one in the American history.

¹⁸ The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) or just the Klan is the name of three distinct movements in the United States. They first played a violent role against African Americans in the South during the Reconstruction Era of the 1860s. The second was a very large controversial nationwide organization in the 1920s. The current manifestation consists of numerous small unconnected groups that use the KKK name. They have all emphasized secrecy and distinctive costumes, and all have called for purification of American society, and all are considered right-wing. The first Ku Klux Klan flourished in the Southern United States in the late 1860s, then died out by the early 1870s. Members made their own white costumes: robes, masks, and conical hats, designed to be outlandish and terrifying, and to hide their identities. The second KKK flourished nationwide in the early and mid-1920s, and adopted a standard white costume (sales of which together with initiation fees financed the movement) and code words as the first Klan, while adding cross burnings and mass parades. The third KKK emerged after World War II and was associated with opposing the Civil Rights Movement and progress among minorities. The second and third incarnations of the Ku Klux Klan made frequent reference to the USA's "Anglo-Saxon" blood, harking back to 19th-century nativism. Though most members of the KKK saw themselves in holding to American values and Christian morality, virtually every Christian denomination officially denounced the Ku Klux Klan. (details taken from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki>).

because of the increase of jobs in the South, and because of the fact that many cities in the North-eastern and Midwestern of the United States witnessed difficult economic conditions, African American people felt that moving again to the South that was characterized by lower costs of living, was much better than remaining within the North full of various economic problems. As a result, many blacks got back to the South where economic opportunities were the best. In addition to all these reasons, the familial and racial relations also contributed in a way or another in compelling Black Africans to return back to the South again in significant numbers. African-American people carried on their reverse migration starting from the Northeast and the state of New York as well as the Northern New Jersey. If we back to the time of the Emancipation proclamation in 1863, no more than 8% of African Americans lived in the North-eastern or Midwestern United States. Later, the situation did not remain as it had been, but it started to change in the following decade. For instance in 1880, a migration was taking place to Kansas.¹⁹ In the beginning of the twenty first century, nearly 90% of Black African Americans lived in the southern states.

Within the period of twenty years between 1910 and 1930, and as a result of its internal emigration, the African-American population witnessed an increase of about 40% in the big cities of the Northern states such as New York City, Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland. These states saw an increase of population in the beginning of the twentieth century. In these regions, the African Americans were given the opportunity to work in some industrial domains like the railroad extension that was taking place in the state of Pennsylvania. Historians stated that not only the American people who were interested in moving from rural regions to the urban industrial areas where they would probably have more chance to get jobs, but Europeans were also attracted to such cities. This European external migration from the overseas to within the American states had a negative impact on the American living conditions. In other words, tensions and conflicts started to take place between Americans who succeeded to gain new territories and positions, and the recent European immigrants who, in turn, threatened to take most of the jobs that might be delivered in the future at the

¹⁹ Kansas is a U.S. state located in the Midwestern United States. It is named after the Kansa Native American tribe which inhabited the area. The tribe's name is often said to mean "people of the wind" or "people of the south wind," although this was probably not the term's original meaning. Residents of Kansas are (to be continued) called "Kansans." For thousands of years, what is now Kansas was home to numerous and diverse Native American tribes. Kansas was first settled by European Americans in the 1830s, but the pace of settlement accelerated in the 1850s, in the midst of political wars over the slavery issue. The abolitionists eventually prevailed and on January 29, 1861, Kansas entered the Union as a free state. After the Civil War, the population of Kansas grew rapidly when waves of immigrants turned the prairie into farmland. Today, Kansas is one of the most productive agricultural states, producing high yields of wheat, sorghum, and sunflowers. Kansas is the 15th most extensive and the 34th most populous of the 50 United States.(Information taken from <http://en.wikipedia.org>)

level of different industrial institutions. In the absence of the governmental assistance, most of African Americans emigrated moved as individuals or small family groups towards northern industrial cities that were recruiting skilled people to occupy jobs in the railroads, meatpacking, and stockyards. Later, and after the internal emigration from the North to the South looking for good living condition, the African American movement suddenly changed the direction, and became interested in the Northern area because of plenty of significant reasons.

The spread of violent attacks against the coloured people, the segregation against any race other than the white one and the total absence of jobs' opportunities were all the primary reasons that compelled African Americans as well as their families to leave the dangerous southern regions taking the way towards the North which was seen as the direction that might bring benefits and improve the Black way of leaving. Many blacks were killed without legal trials; nearly more than three thousands of them were executed between the end of the nineteenth century and the middle of the twentieth. It was because of this critical situation that African Americans decided to leave the South towards the North with the hope of having more chance of educating their children in better schools, and benefited from the creation of jobs there in addition to the opportunity of participating in the vote that was given to adults in the northern states regardless their origins and races. This historical event of African American migration of six millions southern blacks towards the North was viewed as a clear image of the discriminative and racial face of the South. By such movement, Black Africans fled the southern terrorism of the Jim Crow Laws towards an unknown area where their future would not be guaranteed. When arriving, they faced a reality represented by the struggle to adapt the life in the northern states.

The African American internal emigration had a great effect on the demographic side within the United States of America. As a result of the Black migration, the majority of the rural areas of the South witnessed a decrease in the population. The fall of the black population was seen in most of the southern states. For instance, in 1910, African Americans represented more than half of the population of both Mississippi and South Carolina, and more than 40% percent in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia. According to some historians the black population changed within decades. As an example, in the first decade of the twentieth century, only eight percent of the African American population preferred to stay outside the South. After decades, nearly 47% liked to remain far from the southern cities which represented more than ten millions of Black African Americans. The latter, through their presence with great numbers in the western and northern cities imposed a new

demographic situation which undoubtedly had an impact on the total population of the United States of America. In the middle of the twentieth century, the states where the Whites constituted the majority became overwhelmed by the black population. The Black people suffered a lot from racism which forced them to sacrifice economically and socially. Segregation was also an impetus for them to permit the Black northern capitals to improve their basic organizational structures and facilities, buildings, roads, and power supplies needed for the operation of their society or enterprise. They were supposed to develop their churches, businesses, newspapers, and political institutions that would gradually contribute in establishing new styles of racial politics and new forms of black culture. Consequently, the African Americans succeeded, through emigration, to build big black urban regions in the northern side. For instance in the first decade of the twentieth century, the African-American population of Detroit was less than seven thousands inhabitants, but because of the internal and external black movements from the European eastern side as well as the western one towards the United States of America, transformed the town to become the fourth largest one in the nation. Later during the American economic crisis in 1929, the Black population developed to more than 100.000 inhabitants, and the same demographic situation for the cities of Chicago and Ohio. Other industrial cities, like the New York City, Philadelphia and Baltimore also witnessed such increase in the African-American populations. So, many industrial cities were destinations for substantial numbers of black emigrants where they had relatives there. People preferred to go to the areas where they had relatives and friends. In most of the southern states, the black population witnessed a dramatic fall as a result of their significant migration. For instance, the black population declined from 56% in the beginning of the twentieth century to about 37% in its middle. The black population in South Carolina fell from 55% in 1910 to about 30% by 1970.

The Black movements helped in a way or another intellectual African Americans to be integrated in the American society near the White citizens, but on the other side there were other Blacks who really faced significant forms of discrimination. The recent European-American immigrants felt somehow disappointed with the great migration of black people within a short period of time. So, the European urban working category became afraid that they would not be able to conduct any talks on wages. They were threatened by the emergence of new labour race. The recent immigrants of the 19th and new immigrants of the 20th century were the most people who felt they were economically menaced. Each working class of the European immigrants in many regions made great efforts to protect their districts. African Americans, in turn, benefited a lot from various employments such as the industries

of shipbuilding, automobile, steel. After the American historical crisis known as the Great Depression²⁰, the black population especially the working class became well organized in labour unions, under the Congress of Industrial Organizations²¹ that represented different races. This happened between the thirties and the forties of the twentieth century. The African Americans were lucky to occupy several higher posts within the American society after making attempts to put an end to segregation. The unions ended the segregation of many jobs, and African Americans began to advance into more skilled jobs and higher positions. Both the African American and the European populations witnessed an important and rapid increase which undoubtedly became the source of the big lack and sometimes shortage of houses especially in the big populated regions. So, even the old houses were not easy for recent immigrants to be found whether for rent or sale. There were indeed a real competition in everything and at the level of any sector between the ancient immigrants and the newer ones. Several ethnic groups emerged and created in turn their own territories which they protected from any future potential alteration.

Discrimination was also another factor that played a significant role in limiting African Americans to live in populated cities. There were some populations which had the intention to renew their old houses, so because of these reasons, many immigrants seized the opportunity to move to big new cities after the authorities had finished their new housing projects. The African American population faced somehow difficulties in moving towards such new buildings as they were developing in the neighbouring counties. So, the mortgage discrimination²² restricted the African American population to locate and set their own new

²⁰ The Great Depression was a severe worldwide economic depression in the decade preceding World War II. The timing of the Great Depression varied across nations, but in most countries it started in 1930 and lasted until the late 1930s or middle 1940s. It was the longest, deepest, and most widespread depression of the 20th century. In the 21st century, the Great Depression is commonly used as an example of how far the world's economy can decline. The depression originated in the U.S., after the fall in stock prices that began around September 4, 1929, and became worldwide news with the stock market crash of October 29, 1929 (known as Black Tuesday). The Great Depression had devastating effects in countries rich and poor. Farming and rural areas suffered as crop prices fell by approximately 60%. Facing plummeting demand with few alternate sources of jobs, areas dependent on primary sector industries such as cash cropping, mining and logging suffered the most. Some economies started to recover by the mid-1930s. In many countries, the negative effects of the Great Depression lasted until after the end of World War II.

²¹ The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), proposed by John L. Lewis in 1928, was a federation of unions that organized workers in industrial unions in the United States and Canada from 1935 to 1955. The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 required union leaders to swear that they were not Communists. Many CIO leaders (to be continued) refused to obey that requirement, later found unconstitutional. The CIO merged with the American Federation of Labour to form the AFL-CIO in 1955.

²² Mortgage discrimination or mortgage lending discrimination is the practice of banks, governments or other lending institutions denying loans to one or more groups of people primarily on the basis of race, ethnic origin, sex or religion. One of the most notable instances of widespread mortgage discrimination occurred in United States inner city neighbourhoods from the 1930s up until the late 1970s. There is evidence that the practice still

residence and to get a new apartment with an acceptable price. After a given period of time, exactly in 1934, the federal government issued a law known as the National Housing Act²³ which tended to restrict new African American emigrants to occupy new areas within the cities where the black population was living. African-Americans started to be integrated within the American society gradually. This happened in some big populated cities such as New York and Chicago where they lived and worked together and with European Americans. No conflicts and no split between different races, including the Black one, characterized this period. They all lived together in the same districts. This does not mean at any time there was no discrimination, but there was indeed at a lower level. This period witnessed an important switch of the African American population from the rural way of living to the urban one. In other words, they were given the chance to leave their farms taking the way towards a new urban and industrial lifestyle.

This black transition was considered as the source of the emergence of a new Black culture which was developed in big cities like Chicago and New York. In the former, the region of Bronzeville was called the 'Black Metropolis',²⁴ where many African American cultural institutions were established. These Black institutions were assigned the task of providing people from the same race the possibility of getting a work within the city of Chicago. In such cities, Black as well as European immigrants faced from time to time some discriminative actions within the same residence. These racial acts compelled the white population to prevent any recent immigrant to buy or rent apartments in the district overwhelmed by white citizens in order to put an end to a potential increase of crimes, drugs and violence that characterized the districts with large black populations. These decisions

continues in the United States today. African Americans and other minorities found it nearly impossible to secure mortgages for property located in redlined zones. (Information taken from <http://en.wikipedia.org>).

²³ An act created to make home mortgages easier to acquire and also to reduce the foreclosure of family home mortgages by banks and mortgage lending companies. It brought about the creation of federal saving loan insurance corporation and the federal housing administration (FHA), which creates greater opportunities for low-income earners to become home-owners by assisting with mortgages with down payments that are as much as 70% lesser than the average national requirement. (taken from <http://www.businessdictionary.com>)

²⁴ Black Metropolis-Bronzeville District or simply Bronzeville is a historic district in the Douglas community area of Chicago in Cook County, Illinois, United States. It includes nine structures that were accorded the Chicago Landmark designation on September 9, 1998.^[1] These buildings are Overton Hygienic Building, Chicago Bee Building, Wabash Avenue YMCA, Chicago Defender Building, Unity Hall, Eighth Regiment Armory, Sunset Cafe, Victory Monument, and Supreme Life Building. Six of these were each individually added to the National Register of Historic Places as a multiple property submission on April 30, 1986. They are not a U.S. Registered historic district however. These six are the Overton Hygienic Building, Chicago Bee Building, Wabash Avenue YMCA, Unity Hall, Eighth Regiment Armory, and Victory Monument. In addition, South Side Community Art Center, which has been accorded Chicago Landmark status, is in this district. The neighborhood encompasses the land between the Dan Ryan Expressway to the west, Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive to the East, 31st Street to the north and Pershing Road (39th street) to the south. (taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Metropolis-Bronzeville_District).

helped them to keep discrimination in the North it. In the middle of the twentieth century, African Americans succeeded to achieve a more populated black urban society. African-American population which moved from the South to the North kept some southern cultural and linguistic features. This fact did not prevent them to be integrated into the northern society. Talking about the migration of the Black population to the North does not mean that the discussion about the South is finished, but the subject of the southern coloured people is still being discussed especially the free black population which will be referred to, in the following section.

2.9 Southern Free African American Population

If anyone wants to discuss the subject of the American South, the first image that could be seen on the African Americans in the South is that these people suffered a lot from hard enslavement of the part of the white American population for centuries, especially in the time of the Civil War. This does not mean that all Blacks were enslaved, but in fact there were others who fought for their freedom and got it. They also tried the maximum to keep their social status as free human beings. They were able to live within districts of semi freedom before the prohibition of slavery. The free Black population lived in most of the big cities of the American United States, but the majority of them lived as enslaved people in the American South. In the middle of the twentieth century, according to some historians, there were more than one million free blacks in the South. One could ask for the way these people got their freedom. The latter was realized in different ways. There were some slaves who were offered such social status as free human beings by their masters. This process of freedom became somehow difficult to be achieved especially in the nineteenth century. There were in fact some slaves who were really lucky to be given liberty via Manumission²⁵. In other words, this kind of freedom refers to the slaveholders' voluntary liberation of their enslaved people. Slaveholders were sometimes obliged to offer freedom to their slaves because of the fact that no benefits were got behind them. So, liberation was offered voluntary from masters. The

²⁵ The motivations of slave owners in manumitting slaves were complex and varied. Firstly, manumission may present itself as a sentimental and benevolent gesture. One typical scenario was the freeing in the master's will of a devoted servant after long years of service. This kind of manumission generally was restricted to slaves who had some degree of intimacy with their masters, such as those serving as personal attendants, household servants, secretaries and the like. In some cases, master and slave had had a long-term sexual relationship. Owners sometimes freed the woman and children born of such relationships. While a trusted bailiff might be manumitted as a gesture of gratitude, for those working as agricultural laborers or in workshops, there was little likelihood of being so noticed. Information taken from <http://en.wikipedia.org>

different races were free in establishing relations in the American society. As the abolitionist movements emerged in all the American territories, many enslaved people were emancipated. Slaves were sometimes liberated in a voluntary way during the existence of their holders, but most of the time the African American slaves took their freedom forcefully against the will of their masters by escaping from the slaveholdings whenever they found the possibility to do so. The fact of escaping from plantations was not easy, but rather it was faced by challenges and perils. The enslaved people had many ways to flee towards another area where they would find their freedom. The latter does not mean at any time that Blacks were given their complete rights as Whites. For instance, in the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century, Virginia issued a law which obliged schools not to teach Blacks to read or write. Free blacks throughout the South were banned from bearing arms, or teaching the content of Bible. So, many African Americans were forbidden to come back to the United States if they were educated abroad. They were given the choice between staying within the United States without education or going beyond the territory for education but without having any hope to return. In the majority of states, the laws that had been issued in order to retain the African American population under slavery were also used to liberate the coloured people. The graph below indicates the slave population in the nineteenth century for both free and enslaved coloured people.

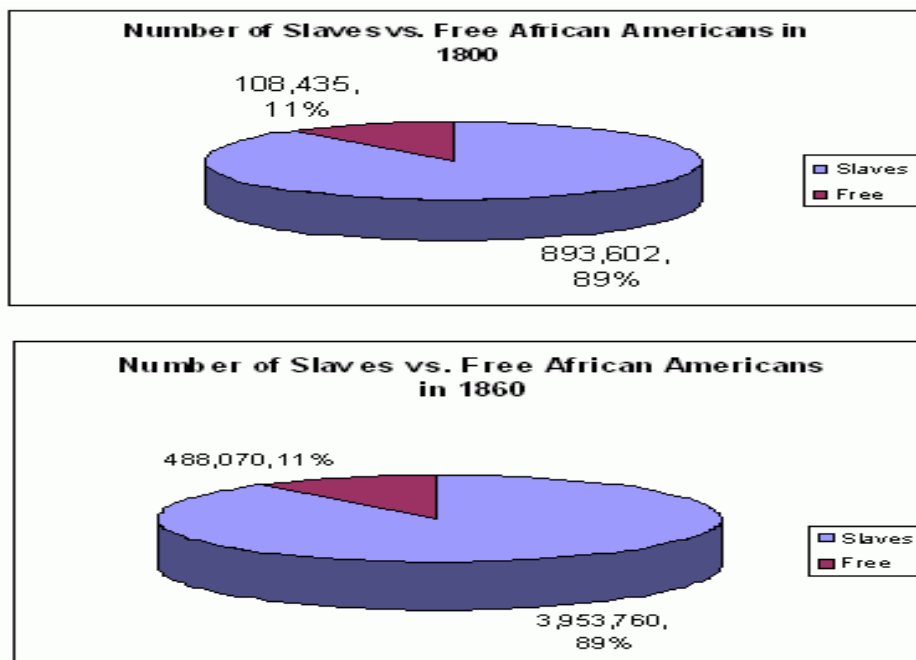


Figure 10: Slave Population in the Nineteenth Century

(Source:<http://www.google.fr/imgres?imgurl=http://www.blackiowa.org/wpcontent/uploads/2010/11/population-graph.png&imgrefurl>)

The graph above (fig.10) refers to the population of African Americans in the beginning of the nineteenth century and its middle. The free population of Blacks was only 11% if compared to the enslaved one which reached 89%. One could notice that most of the African Americans were not given their freedom. They were tied by the rules of their masters and the severe administration of the white community which imposed itself before any movement of blacks towards getting their freedom and their rights. So, from a population of more than three millions and half of blacks living in the American society, only 488000 people who were lucky to move freely without being controlled by whites. This was in the middle of the nineteenth century, whereas its beginning witnessed a worse situation in which only 100.000 free blacks over 890.000. The sixties of the nineteenth century was the severe era for the black community which did not have the right to be educated or to claim their different rights.

Blacks were not completely free; they lacked many rights in the American society. For instance, they were not allowed to be presented as eye witnesses in favour of or against anyone in the different courts. For example, if any white slave holder claimed that a free Black was a slave, this Black person would not have any right to defend himself and show his or her innocence. So, in spite of all these obstacles set by Whites in front of the Blacks, the African Americans succeeded to establish their religious institutions like the African Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁶ The establishment of this African American church represents an important change in the U.S history. The church played an important role in the Black free population. As it has been already mentioned, the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church witnessed a significant shift in the African American society. It was established under the Black presidency and extended from Philadelphia to Charleston and to

²⁶ The African Methodist Episcopal Church was born of racial discrimination following the American Revolution, when African-Americans struggled to establish their own houses of worship. Today the African Methodist Episcopal Church has congregations on four continents. The church was organized in America by people of African descent, its beliefs are Methodist, and its form of government is Episcopal (governed by bishops). The African Methodist Episcopal Church has more than 2 million members worldwide. In 1794, Bethel AME was founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as an independent black church, to escape the racism prevalent in New England at the time. Richard Allen, the pastor, later called a convention in Philadelphia of other persecuted blacks throughout the region. The AME Church, a Wesleyan denomination, was formed in 1816 as a result. The AME Church is Methodist in its basic doctrine: The church's beliefs are summarized in the Apostles' Creed. Members believe in the Trinity, the Virgin Birth, and the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ on the cross for the once and final forgiveness of sins. The African Methodist Episcopal Church practices two sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper. A typical Sunday worship service includes hymns, responsive prayer, Old Testament and New Testament readings, a sermon, tithing/offering, and communion. (Information taken from <http://christianity.about.com>)

many other areas in the South. The spread of such church took place without waiting for the consent of the White population or the federal authority. It was a challenge against the White Supremacy in spite of the laws that were issued to prohibit such African American religious and even political institutions. The church was attacked from time to time by White extremists and even from the authorities and witnessed huge arrests of its members. These White attacks were a sign of fear and an attempt to put an end to any African American solidarity from the beginning. The Church succeeded to sensitize people of the necessity to free the enslaved people, and give them the opportunity to live peacefully beside the White population. As a result of the big role this church played, most of the persons who led it succeeded to be ardent abolitionists. Free blacks were quite skilful. They occupied the posts as writers, businessmen, educators, artisans, planters, musicians, hairdressers, and cooks.

The African American population challenged the White people with its invention in different domains. Many inventors emerged like Thomas Jennings who fabricated a method for the dry cleaning of clothes, and Henry Blair Glenn Ross who invented a seed planter. They all contributed efficiently in a way or another in the development of science. Some of the African Americans succeeded to own properties and hold boarding houses in order to help others to get a shelter. There were others who held slaves themselves. So, Frederick Douglass²⁷, Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and Harriet Tubman were all considered as the most known African Americans who contributed efficiently in the development of the Black American population and challenged the barriers that were imposed on it for a long period of time. These African American leaders showed clearly their opposition and objection to what was taking place against their population on the part of Whites represented by the American authorities. This Black opposition will be discussed in the following section.

²⁷ Frederick Douglass was born in a slave cabin, in February, 1818, near the town of Easton, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Separated from his mother when only a few weeks old, he was raised by his grandparents. At about the age of six, his grandmother took him to the plantation of his master and left him there. Not being told by her that she was going to leave him, Douglass never recovered from the betrayal of the abandonment. When he was about eight he was sent to Baltimore to live as a houseboy with Hugh and Sophia Auld, relatives of his master. It was shortly after his arrival that his new mistress taught him the alphabet. When her husband forbade her to continue her instruction, because it was unlawful to teach slaves how to read, Frederick took it upon himself to learn. He made the neighbourhood boys his teachers, by giving away his food in exchange for lessons in reading and writing. He was internationally recognized as an uncompromising abolitionist, indefatigable worker for justice and equal opportunity, and an unyielding defender of women's rights. He became a trusted advisor to Abraham Lincoln, United States Marshal for the District of Columbia, Recorder of Deeds for Washington, D.C., and Minister-General to the Republic of Haiti. Frederick Douglass died late in the afternoon or early evening, of Tuesday, 20 February 1895, at his home in Anacostia, Washington, DC."

2.10 Opposition to Slavery

The sentiments started to emerge against the process of enslavement within the American society. The majority of people, if not all, strongly thought that this illegal exploitation of human beings should stop as soon as possible. Historians stated that many Americans of different races started to express their objection to slavery long before the beginning of opposition to British existence in the American territory. The opposition to slavery came from moral and religious grounds. Not only religion which was the source of this movement against slavery, but through time the economy and culture as well as politics had a great influence in moving against such illegal trade. At the outset of the eighteenth century, a rich trader called Samuel Sewell from Massachusetts published his first article in different newspapers through which he attacked those who preferred to carry on slavery in order to gain benefits at the expense of innocent Black people. Sewell clarified his objection to slavery from a religious point of view stating that Christianity represented by the Bible called for stopping the bad treatment of special people who deserved to live a normal life like others. He asserted that all men had equal rights to freedom. The publishing of these anti-slavery articles succeeded to gain the support of an important number of people. Other religious groups also made efforts to follow the same anti-enslavement direction, and started to face a difficult situation in Pennsylvania against those who called for keeping slaves and did not respect their religious faith which forbade them to practise such illegal actions.

The end of the seventeenth century witnessed a religious assembly by Quakers²⁸ in Germantown in which they demonstrated against the continuous slavery system. The period witnessed some violent events that showed the Black anger against White Americans. In other words, there were some African Americans who started kidnapping children of the slaveholders who had separated the members of the slave family. There were others,

²⁸ Quakers (or Friends, as they refer to themselves) are members of a family of religious movements collectively known as the Religious Society of Friends. The central unifying doctrine of these movements is the priesthood of all believers, a doctrine derived from a verse in the New. Most Friends view themselves as members of a Christian denomination. They include those with evangelical, holiness, liberal, and traditional conservative Quaker understandings of Christianity. Unlike many other groups that emerged within Christianity, the Religious Society of Friends has actively tried to avoid creeds and hierarchical structures. The first Quakers, known as the Valiant Sixty, lived in mid-17th century England. The movement arose from the Legatine-Arians and other dissenting Protestant groups, breaking away from the established Church of England. These Quakers attempted to convert others to their understanding of Christianity, travelling both throughout Great Britain and overseas, preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ. Some of the early Quaker ministers were women. They based their message on the religious belief that "Christ has come to teach his people himself," stressing the importance of a direct relationship with God through Jesus Christ, and a direct religious belief in the universal priesthood of all believers. They emphasized a personal and direct religious experience of Christ, acquired through both direct religious experience and the reading and studying of the Bible. Quakers focused their private life on developing behavior and speech reflecting emotional purity and the light of God. (Information about the religious group taken from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki>).

especially the religious men, who acted differently by moving from one area to another to convince people to dismiss the idea of slavery from mind. The message was strongly transmitted to the slave owners to liberate their slaves and let them live their ordinary life together with the rest of the human beings on the globe. There were in fact some contradictions among the religious group of Quakers. So, the latter themselves got slaves. It was because of this reason that some anti-slavery members of the Church tried the maximum to convince their colleagues to emancipate their slaves and not to buy or sell any human being. So, most of their efforts were dedicated to the objection to the slave trade, and the exposition of the disaster that spread in the United States. In Philadelphia in 1759, the Black anti-slavery leaders established a night school for the African American population, and began to publish their significant articles in newspapers calling the American public to support the idea of gradual emancipation of the Black slaves who should be liberated as soon as possible. As a result, the early 1758 witnessed a meeting in Pennsylvania which decided not to accept any member in the meeting who owned slaves or advocated the idea of holding them.

Later, and at the end of the American Revolution, the majority of the northern slaveholders had liberated their enslaved people. As it has been already mentioned, the anti-slavery movements emerged from moral and religious backgrounds that forbade the exploitation of human beings. During the Colonial Era, and in addition to all these grounds, the anti-bondage feelings started to be inspired by the rational and philosophical thoughts that advocated the equal natural rights of human beings. Historians state that while the settlers were showing their objection and resistance against the British persecution and desired to be independent, other Americans claimed there was a relation between the colonists' claims of their independence from the British government and the right of Blacks to have their freedom and to live their normal life away from the bondage life. Many religious men such as Samuel Hopkins and Ezra Stiles managed to put an end to slavery, and insisted on the fact that those who possessed slaves had to liberate them, and to increase the sum of money that would be sufficient to do so. This call was transmitted to those slave holders within the territory of New England.²⁹ Benjamin Rush was also an anti-slavery leader from Philadelphia who started

²⁹ New England is a region in the northeastern corner of the United States consisting of the six states of Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. New England is bordered by New York State to the west, Long Island Sound to the south, the Atlantic Ocean, the Canadian province of New Brunswick to the east, and the Canadian province of Quebec to the north. In one of the earliest English settlements in North America, Pilgrims from England first settled in New England in 1620, to form Plymouth Colony. Ten years later, the Puritans settled north of Plymouth Colony in Boston, thus forming Massachusetts Bay Colony. Over the next 126 years, New England fought in four French and Indian Wars, until the British

calling those who advocated the slave trade to stop this disaster and illegal exploitation of human beings promptly and to start emancipate their slaves gradually. He published several articles in different journals in which he conveyed the same anti-bondage message to everyone in the American territory to ban slavery and to severely punish those who had not respected the human value and continued to commit such crime. Benjamin Rush imposed a great impact on the American anti-slavery society. He succeeded then to push the authorities of Pennsylvania to organize an assembly which finally issued a law that came to put an end to slavery within the colony. After these good results of all the efforts made by Rush and others, some Americans interested in stopping slavery started to spread the idea to all the other states with the hope of banning the bondage in all the American colonies.

Slaves of the New England replied promptly to the anti-slavery call, and started to discuss the connection between the rights of colonists to put an end to the British oppression and get their independence and the right of the African American population to get its freedom as soon as possible and live their own life filled with all signs of a decent life. They said that since the settlers opposed the British laws like the Stamp Act and the Townshend duties, so they, as African Americans, had in turn, the same right to oppose the bad treatment on the part of the White Americans against their existence as human beings within the same society. They noticed a contradiction in the White American declaration. In other words, The American slaveholders advocated their human rights and their freedom from the British colonization on one side and supported the enslavement of innocent Black people on the other side. Most of the Americans protested against slavery in Massachusetts. These riots were considered as the best way of blaming the government for closing eyes on what was happening to the Black race within a society that contradicted itself when dealing with the issue of human rights. Slaves attempted to present several supplications to the government as well as the judicial department to give them a chance to devote few days for serving themselves and their families, since they share in common the same human rights endowed by

defeated the French and their native allies in North America. In the late 18th century, the New England Colonies initiated the resistance to the British Parliament's efforts to impose new taxes without the consent of the colonists. The Boston Tea Party was a protest to which Great Britain responded with a series of punitive laws stripping Massachusetts of self-government, which were termed the "Intolerable Acts" by the colonists. The confrontation led to open warfare in 1775, the expulsion of the British authorities from New England in spring 1776, and the Declaration of Independence in July 1776. New England is the only one of the United States Census Bureau's nine regional divisions whose name does not derive from its geography and it is the only multi-state region with clear, consistent boundaries. It maintains a strong sense of cultural identity set apart from the rest of the country, although the terms of this identity are often contested, combining Puritanism with liberalism, agrarian life with industry, and isolation with immigration. (This significant information was taken from the site http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_England).

God. Unfortunately, these slave supplications were not taken into consideration, and postponed to be discussed in suitable times.

During the American Revolution, the subject of slavery was discussed in the media. The latter witnessed a debate of different ideas that supported or objected to the subject of slavery. In the South, Americans there did not understand what was taking place, and they were somehow disturbed by the contradictions over the issue of freedom and natural rights that was normally expected to spread in all territories, and touch all Americans of different races and religions. So, in spite of all these claims and conflicts over the subject of freedom, no American colony attempted to liberate its slaves. Thomas Paine³⁰ was one of those who published many articles such as 'Justice and Humanity', in which he wanted to understand why some Americans viewed the British colonization as an attempt to enslave them, and in the same time they got thousands of slaves in their plantations without giving them the minimum of natural rights. Later, he became organized together with his colleagues what was known as the Abolitionist Society in America. The process of the abolition of slavery took a long time after the Revolution to be quite realized. The North was the first American part to fight against slavery, and to put an end to the disaster of human exploitation.

³⁰ Thomas Paine was born on the twenty-ninth of January 1737 at Thetford, Norfolk in England, as a son of a Quaker. After a short basic education, he started to work, at first for his father, later as an officer of the excise. During this occupation Thomas Paine was an unsuccessful man, and was twice dismissed from his post. In 1774, he met Benjamin Franklin in London, who advised him to immigrate to America, giving him letters of recommendation. Paine landed at Philadelphia on November 30, 1774. Starting over as a publicist, he first published his *African Slavery in America*, in the spring of 1775, criticizing slavery in America as being unjust and inhumane. At this time he also had become co-editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. On arriving in Philadelphia, Paine had sensed the rise of tension, and the spirit of rebellion, that had steadily mounted in the Colonies after the Boston Tea party and when the fighting had started, in April 1775, with the battles of Lexington and Concord. In Paine's view the Colonies had all the right to revolt against a government that imposed taxes on them but which did not give them the right of representation in the Parliament at Westminster. But he went even further: for him there was no reason for the Colonies to stay dependent on England. On January 10, 1776 Paine formulated his ideas on American independence in his pamphlet *Common Sense*. In his *Common Sense*, Paine states that sooner or later independence from England must come, because America had lost touch with the mother country. During the War of Independence Paine volunteered in the Continental Army and started with the writing of his highly influential sixteen American Crisis papers, which he published between 1776 and 1783. In 1777 he became Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in Congress, but already in 1779 he was forced to resign because he had disclosed secret information. In the following nine years he worked as a clerk at the Pennsylvania Assembly and published several of his writings. After his release he stayed in France until 1802, when he sailed back to America, after an invitation by Thomas Jefferson who had met him before when he was minister in Paris and who admired him. Back in the United States he learned that he was seen as a great infidel, or simply forgotten for what he had done for America. He continued his critical writings, for instance against the Federalists and on religious superstition. quoted from <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/biographies/thomas-paine>).

2.11- Slave Resistance on the Plantations

Slavery was not accepted in the American colonies for moral and religious reasons. This does not mean that there were not others who dealt with slavery, but they were indeed interested in holding slaves for increasing their benefits. They preferred to carry on this process of enslavement, but they faced many difficulties in their plantations because of the increase of the anti-slavery feelings among Americans, and even slaves themselves started to rebel against their masters. In case the slaves could not face directly their masters, they at least slowed down the rapidity of work by showing their inability to move because of the illness. They sometimes caused fires within the plantations and broke the necessary tools. When finding the possibility, they escaped from the slaveholdings taking the way towards North America, South America or England. All of these slave rebellions made slavery less beneficial. Other slaves, when escaping from plantations, they fought again against their masters. In 1655, many African Americans fled to Jamaica after it had been given by Spain to the British authorities. They started to establish their free black African American population there. They succeeded to organize their society, and they from time to time, surprised the plantations by their attacks. The various communities in parts of the Caribbean who were originally descended from escaped slaves established what was known as the Jamaican Maroons³¹. The latter waged two battles against the British colonists, these wars stopped as a result of agreements that gave independence to the Maroons. There were some

³¹ During the 18th century, the powerful Maroons, escaped ex-slaves who settled in the mountains of Jamaica, carved out a significant area of influence. Through the use of slave labour, the production of sugar in this British colony flourished. But the courageous resistance of the Maroons threatened this prosperous industry. These efforts included plantation raids, the killing of white militiamen, and the freeing of slaves. The threat to the system was clear and present; hence, the planters were willing to sign a treaty with the Maroons in 1738. The treaty offers good insight to the relationship between the planters and the Maroons at the time, and deserves further attention. Although the articles of pacification granted the Maroons of Jamaica many privileges, it also attempted to limit their attacks against the system of slavery in general. There were hints of favouritism towards the planters, for example, article thirteen required that the Maroons continue to help clear roads from Trelawney Town to Westmoreland and if possible from St. James to St. Elizabeth. This was biased because, as free men, the Maroons were not entitled to labour for the planters. This showed that the planters viewed the Maroons to be inferior to them. Another bias in the treaty includes article eleven which states that "Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, shall wait on his Excellency or the Commander in Chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required." This article reveals an attempt to keep the Maroons subordinate and under control. In addition to article eleven, another article that reveals a biased attitude is article fourteen, which affirms that two white men shall live with the Maroons "in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island." Even though this treaty was to encourage a friendly relationship between the two parties, it also gave white planters first-hand knowledge of the situation in the Maroon camp. Most important of all, the treaty also required the Maroons to act as a sort of police force for the planters, returning future runaways to the plantations, and drafting them to fight against future rebellions. This treaty contained elements of fairness and favouritism that were evident through its articles. Some of these were beneficial to the Maroons, while others were not; however, the signing of the treaty indicated that the Maroons constituted a substantial threat to the planters. This treaty was not only ground breaking in that it recognized the Maroons and their needs, but also revealed that the English planters were fearful of the Maroons capabilities and ever-rising power. Information taken from <http://scholar.library.miami.edu/slaves/Maroons/maroons.html>

other slaves who could not resist against their enslavement. They failed in their attempts to escape, and consequently they were given back to their master to be punished for their rebellion. So, in spite of all these failures, the period witnessed many slave revolts against the White Supremacy. These revolts increased in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The enslaved African American population threatened to take soon the decision to free themselves in case no authority tried to liberate them. During the period of time from 1789 to 1815, they waged two wars in per year.

2.12 Conclusion

The divisive issue split America politically and socially. It divided the society into two most important parts; one for slavery and another quite against such inhuman exploitation. The Southerners, in turn, had another view towards such issue of slavery; they saw it beneficial and very important for the economic growth despite the fact that such economic development was expected to be realized at the expense of other people of different race. In spite of the northern call for banning the human servitude which was seen as a dream that could be realized in the future, the South continued to practise such international business. During the Revolutionary war, slaves, especially the African Americans, participated in this war for the sake of getting their freedom. They aided the British forces. They sometimes faced each other. No one understood to which side Blacks bore arms. Black slaves, in general, were fighting for their freedom.

The foundation of the American Anti Slavery society based on the fact that all human beings are God's creators, and they have the right to live together peacefully on the face of the earth, the anti slavery movement also based on the principles that had been recognized in the Declaration of Independence. So, between 1829 and 1831, serious discussions over the abolition of slavery started to take place in the Virginian legislature. The same thing happened in the northern side in which discussions began over the possibility of redeeming African slaves and sending them to Africa. In 1833, Anxiety increased in the South and resulted later to the foundation of the American Anti-slavery Society in Philadelphia. President Lincoln wanted to emancipate slaves in a gradual way that might help the government to finance this process of slave liberation. He expected that such ideas would spread to the Border States in order to free all slaves all over the American territory. President Lincoln, in his message addressed to the state representatives, stated that the United States would help any state having the intention to free its slaves. The process of abolition of slavery was expected to happen gradually and not urgently.

The Reconstruction era witnessed political, social and economic changes within the new American nation. After Lincoln had been killed, his successor Andrew Johnson and the Congress attempted to draw a plan of Reconstruction of the South. Before the end of 1865, he changed direction with regard to his policies. He excused some rebels and gave them the opportunity to occupy offices in the administration. He also called the American officials to give plantation back to their original owners. These events frightened the northerners, and tried to stop this process of giving lands back to the southerners who might deal with slavery again after it had been stopped. So, in spite of all these failures, the period witnessed many slave revolts against the White Supremacy. These revolts increased in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The enslaved African American population threatened to take soon the decision to free themselves in case no authority tried to liberate them.

Later, the African American community decided to claim their rights as American citizens by establishing Civil Rights movements and organizing different marches and riots at the level of the national territory. This issue of Civil Rights movements, that succeeded to make a political pressure on the Federal as well as the state authorities, will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Three

African American Civil Rights Movements and the Struggle against the White Discriminatory Policy

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Discriminatory Policy**

3.1- Introduction	114
3.2- Black Politicians after the Era of Reconstruction	115
3.3- Participation of African Americans in different World Wars	117
3.3.1 - Black Participation in the World War I	118
3.3.2- African American Participation in the World War II	121
3.3.3- Black Participation in the Korean War 1948	125
3.3.4- Black participation in the Vietnam War 1945-1975	128
3.4- Ku Klux Klan Re- Emergence	131
3.5- White Supremacy	133
3.6- African American Pressure against Discrimination	136
3.6.1- East St Louis, Illinois, Riot of 1917	136
3.6.2- Elaine, Arkansas, Riot of 1919	138
3.6.3- Detroit, Michigan, Riot of 1943	139
3.6.4- Atlanta, Albany, Georgia, Riot of 1906 and 1960	141
3.6.5- March on Washington Movement 1941 and 1963	144
3.6.6- Los Angeles, California, Riot of 1965	150
3.6.7- Long Hot Summer Riots 1965-1967	152
3.6.8- Los Angeles, California, Riot of 1992	154
3.7- Pan African Congresses 1919-1945	155
3.8- Freedom Movements	158
3.8.1- Freedmen's Bureau	158
3.8.2- Freedom Rides	159
3.8.3- Freedom Schools	161
3.9- Civil Rights Acts	162
3.10- Martin Luther King, the African American Hero	164
3.11- Conclusion	167

3.1 Introduction

The third chapter is devoted to the discussion of the African American Civil Rights movements and the long historical fight against racism which was based on a discriminatory policy. In this part of my dissertation, many issues having a relation with the era of the twentieth century which was considered as an era of Black rebellion against the white Supremacy that lasted for centuries will be discussed in detail. The black community suffered from segregation more than any other minority had suffered the reason why it was determined to mutiny and revolt against the daily violation of human rights and the hate crimes committed without any reason.

The first point to be referred to in this chapter is the black participation in the political life after the era of Reconstruction to show that the African American community was given the chance to interfere in the field of politics. Blacks seized the opportunity to engage as members in different political parties in order to claim their individual liberties as American citizens. So, after the Civil War, African American politicians left the northern area going towards the South in order to defend the rights of millions of people belonging to the Black population there. Blacks did not hesitate to seize any opportunity that might help them get their rights. Their participation in different wars was for this reason. They participated in the two World Wars and made all their efforts to fight together with the White soldiers in many battles, but their military contributions were not appreciated, and they were not respected, but ignored. The Korean War will also be dealt with in this part. This African American participation in different battles of this war resulted indirectly in some changes in the views of the authorities towards their social and political status. Historians state that no benefits at all were gained through their participation, and the black status was not given then its suitable position it deserved. The Vietnam War was also an opportunity to them in order to impose themselves and show their courage and sacrifice for defending the nation. The process of emancipation of the enslaved black people led to the emergence of terrorist groups known as the Ku Klux Klan. This violent group committed hate crimes against the black community under the pretext of White Supremacy. The latter will also be referred to in this third part of the present dissertation.

African Americans started then to make a political pressure on the federal and state authorities by organizing many demonstrations in the streets asking for their rights to be treated equally as whites and to be given their rights of being well educated, enlisted in the U.S army and to be given the chance of participating in ruling the internal issues of the

country. Many congresses were organized for the same purpose, and many other Civil Rights movements were established in order to compel the officials to think deeply into the issue of banning racism which spread in the whole territory. The discriminatory policy was not a threat for Black people only, but it put the whole country, including all citizens from different minorities, at risk and real danger. It also threatened the internal stability of the nation and distorted its image in the world. So, all important historical points previously mentioned will be dealt with in the following sections of the third chapter.

3.2 Black Politicians after the Era of Reconstruction

The period of time after the era of Reconstruction witnessed a new way of dealing with the African American population. The latter was given the opportunity to intervene in the business of politics for the first time in the American history. So, a small number of African American politicians called the authorities to make some political, economic and social reforms during the era of reconstruction. So, within the period between 1865 and 1877, thousands of African Americans succeeded to obtain political posts at the level of the state and at the national level as well. These politicians found themselves in the heart of the American authority after they had been neglected, marginalized and deprived even from their right to vote for centuries. Before occupying such posts, they had lived different situations. There were some African American politicians who had their freedom before the bloodiest conflict between the North and the South, whereas some others had suffered from the enslavement and its terror that spread at the national territory especially in the Southern area. Those who had suffered a lot from slavery got their freedom through different ways. They were either liberated through the acts of emancipation, or escaped from the slaveholding whenever they found an opportunity to do so. So, even the American authorities within the northern area issued some fugitive acts through which they encouraged slaves in the South to escape from any setting they were enslaved in. In the era of reconstruction, i.e. after the destructive war, thousands of Black politicians left the North taking the way towards the South in order to defend the rights of millions of people belonging to the African American population there. These black politicians had different professional levels. Their political professionalism depended on their origins.

Those who occupied political posts at the local level such as councilmen, tax collectors and sheriffs were not highly educated, but they had indeed a limited education, and some of them were not educated at all. They from time to time found themselves obliged to call for others to help them by showing how to deal with some internal economic and political affairs.

Unlike the local politicians, the black state and national authorities were well educated and most of them had a large educational background like Hiram Revels, the minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC)¹, who was selected as the Mississippi Senate in 1870, and received formal training at a Quaker seminary in Indiana and at Illinois's Knox College. The most well known African American invasion into the domain of politics took place after the Civil War at the level of the state constitutional conventions during the confederacy. The African American politicians had the chance to be selected and elected in each state. The number of those who participated in such state constitutional conventions and their political impact differed from state to another. For instance, most of the members of the constitutional convention of the South Carolina were African Americans, whereas in Alabama only few of them represented the African American population. So, the African influence in the American politics depended on the number of African politicians that could occupy high political posts. The African American presence in the state constitutional conventions had a great impact on their legislative departments. This means that even the state legislatures were overwhelmed by black senators. In South Carolina, from 127 members in the legislative body, 87 of them were African Americans.

The black freed population had the chance to be protected in any state where the legislative department consisted of a big number of African American politicians. The latter were able to claim the Black rights, and succeeded to bring some changes at the level of all domains. They were also determined to educate the Black population and helped them to realize their dream of improving their lives. Despite the fact that the Black politicians made all their efforts to be united together with their population, they faced a continued objection from the White politicians as well as their population too. For instance in Georgia, most of the White legislators objected to the participation of Blacks in ruling the internal affairs of the state. They stated that these Blacks were not suitable men to defend the right of American citizens. Later, the Black members were allowed to participate as members in the legislative body by the Supreme Court of the state of Georgia. These Black legislators were welcomed and considered then as the suitable politicians to serve American people, especially the coloured population. Becoming members in the legislative branch did not mean at any time they were allowed to move the way they liked, but they were still facing opposition from their white colleagues. These Black legislators did not face such objection from only their colleagues but also from some violent and terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Within a

¹ For more information about this religious institution, see the footnote n°26 in chapter two.

period of time of one year from 1867 to 1868, more than 10% of black delegates were killed by the violent groups of Ku Klux Klan. So, despite the hostility towards them, the African American legislators succeeded in a way or another to gain support and bring reforms at the state level from which the Black population benefited a lot. Blanche K. Bruce gained a great political support in the county of Bolivar that belonged to the state of Mississippi. He succeeded to remain as a Senator in the United States legislature for six years, after he had served in some high local political posts as sheriff, tax collector and as a supervisor in the field of education.

African American politicians had a great impact on the different laws that the American authorities issued in a given period of time like the right of vote. In spite of all these Black efforts, their political impact was limited, especially in the era of Reconstruction. Pickney B. S. Pinchback, the governor of Louisiana was one of those African Americans who succeeded to rule the governorship in any previous Confederate state. He served as a governor of Louisiana for more than one month after the accusation of its former governor Henry Wormoth in the end of 1872. After him, no African American had the chance to rule any state till 1990. At the national level, African American politicians gained seats in both the House of Representatives and the one of Senates. Within a decade, few African Americans served in the Congress as defenders of the Black rights. They made efforts to ameliorate the infrastructure and protected the relief of both Blacks and Native Americans. So, in spite of the participation of African Americans in making laws within the legislative bodies in both state and national levels, there was a strong White objection to the Black presence in such political institutions. This shows clearly that the African American presence in the political domain was because of the great pressure that was made on state authorities in order to avoid domestic conflicts with Blacks and was not a White conviction to work together with them. Although, the African American politicians have not realized all their dreams, they showed to the American White society, through their high levels that they deserved all their high political posts they were assigned. This Black participation was the first step towards a happy future that really gave them hope to reach equality one day.

3.3 Participation of African Americans in different World Wars

The following section will be devoted to the participation of the African American community in different wars that took place in the world starting from the First World War to the Vietnam War. Through their participation, they had the intention to have their freedom which had been lost for centuries.

3.3.1 Black Participation in the World War I

African Americans engaged into many historical wars starting from the First World War to the Gulf War. They contributed efficiently in fighting together with White soldiers in many different battles. Their military contributions were not taken into account, and they were not respected, but ignored. The United States' entrance in the First World War was in the last year of the war. The African American soldiers were all asked to fight in France until the cease-fire in 1918. They gave a share in the victory against Germany. Despite the fact that these Blacks participated in wars, and brought victory to their country, they were not respected but marginalized. In other words, their efforts were not really appreciated. In addition, they were faced with fierce attacks, and a violent campaign was organized against them within the period of the FWW. This period witnessed dangerous crimes against Blacks, especially in the southern part of the United States. As a reaction against such violence, Black people organized riots in the streets of New York, St Louis and Houston. Through such action, they asked for their rights like the other American citizens. These violent actions compelled the American authorities not to count on the African American soldiers, but they relied on their national guards. Other military groups were kept inside the American territories in order to save security at the level of borders such as in Arizona and California. The year 1917 witnessed the arrival of the first French military units led by General John Pershing. The task that was assigned to such American military groups was to guard the German prisoners of war, and to supply the warriors with what they needed. The African American military participation in the war under the supervision of white officers was not seen as a good idea. For some Americans, it was put later under the control of French forces. The participation of Black people was accepted to take place in all domains except in the military level. This was because of the fact that they were somehow frightened to be betrayed by Blacks at any time. The white military groups were well trained and well equipped whereas the Black soldiers did not receive the same thing. They received insufficient training and poor equipment.

The African American aim behind participation in the Great War was to win respect by the White citizens. The war was a good opportunity to establish again a good relationship with Whites that might bring respect to the Black population. The American society was a continent that was characterized by segregation against Blacks who were not seen as citizens, and even if they were so, they were from a second class. So, in spite of this segregation against them, African Americans were eager to participate in the war. When the United

States was determined to enter the war, Blacks were not allowed to serve as soldiers in the military. The United States entrance in the war in 1917 witnessed the lack of a sufficient number of soldiers, and realized that an army of almost 126000 fighters would not guarantee victory against Germany. The standard volunteer system was not suitable to enlist a big number enough in order to raise the army and give it power. In 1917, all males aged between twenty one and thirty one years old were called to join the military as soon as possible. Before the Congress legalized such action, African Americans had shown their desire to serve in the military operations. They saw that their participation would be a good chance to show to their white authorities their fidelity, loyalty and trustfulness that might put an end to segregation and be the source of an equal treatment within the same nation in the future. Later, the groups of volunteer Black soldiers were eliminated and replaced by a regular army which consisted of coloured military troops under the supervision of White officers.

Blacks participated in many wars such as the Spanish-American War. Six units of Black soldiers were established during the war. At its end, there were four Black military units. The Black military men were seen as heroes in the African American community. So even the during the enlistment of new soldiers, there was a discrimination. In other words, draft boards that were expected to attract Blacks to the army; they followed a discriminative policy by forming the boards by only White members. During the military enlistment, African Americans were asked to tear off a part of their registration cards in order to be easily known to which colour or social class they belonged to. It was indeed a sign of segregation without being legislated. The draft boards made great efforts to enlist a big number they could from Blacks especially from the southern side. In a county that belonged to the state of Georgia, the draft boards refused to enlist 44% of white candidates, and only 3% from the Black side. So despite of the fact that the United States' population was consisted of 10% of Black people, the latter contributed with 13% of volunteers having the intention to join the Army. African Americans having their own farms and families had priority to be drafted instead of the single ones. For Blacks, being a soldier did not mean they were accepted in all military branches. The reality showed that the discriminatory policy still existed in the army. For instance, the coloured people could not serve in the marines. They were accepted to serve in limited military positions in the navy and the coast guard. During the post- war era, they were given opportunities to join the cavalry, infantry and medical units as well as engineering and intelligence officers. Although they showed their ability to fight, only few Black soldiers were given the opportunity to participate in the combats. The

regular all-black units were distributed along the American territory without being used in the front against the enemy. The white fear of the Black participation in the war helped in a way or another to keep discriminative policy within the military units.

Consequently, a year before the end of the First World War, there was a strong reaction of the part of African Americans against the white discrimination. In order to avoid any conflict and preserve the internal stability, white authorities decided then to join blacks as soldiers in the USA army, and created two big black military divisions allowed to participate in the war. After being joined in the army as regular soldiers, the African Americans demanded the white authorities to give them the chance to be officers. This idea was not given much importance at the beginning, basing on the idea that Black soldiers would be more likely to follow people of the same skin colour. The white refusal tried to reduce of any potential black rebellion in the future. African Americans accepted to be officers in the army waiting for the war department decision. Later, they all agreed to create a black officer training camp. This was in 1917 when the Fort Des Moines opened its doors to African American officer trainees. More than one thousand persons participated in the training; few of them were already in the army, whereas the remaining numbers were new civilians. The test given by the army showed that the average persons in the military camp had to be highly educated and less than twelve percent exceeded the average of education. The trainees started to practise with and without arms. They were shown how to read maps, the way to memorize the organization of the different military troops. Historians referred to such training as a waste of time since the black trainees did not take such military practice seriously. As a result, the war department decided to reject the training of Fort Des Moines since it proved its weakness. After months, some African Americans were nominated as captains or lieutenants, and joined to the military divisions that had been formed by a big number of Blacks. The latter were distributed in different world training schools like special training camps in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Panama or other local schools within the United States territories. Each training camp was independent and free to draw its own plan of how to integrate the officer trainees in different military units. Not all camps were opened to them; there were some which were shared between Whites and Blacks, whereas others were completely used by Whites without giving any chance to coloured people to join it. More than one thousands officers were graduated in these camps. The fact of taking higher positions in the army did not mean at any time that the African Americans were treated the same way as Whites. There was a sign of hostility and segregation at the level of training

camps. White soldiers used not to respect any of the Black officers who, in turn, found difficulties and obstacles to join the officers' clubs and quarters. They were treated in a bad manner and sometimes went for long periods without proper clothing, and also forced to sleep outside the camp tents even in the cold weather.

Not all Blacks were treated the same bad way, but there were indeed some others who were lucky to be well received and lived in the same good conditions like Whites. The Black soldiers sent abroad were only military servants. They were assigned different tasks having no relation with war. Others were asked to transport men and materials from and towards different military bases ports, and railroad depots. So, despite all these great efforts and the significant contribution in the army during the First World War, African Americans could not convince the white authorities to treat them as human beings that needed to live in good life conditions, and deserved to be integrated in the American society. The African American population in the war challenged different tight situations and did the best to find the peaceful way to push the white population to believe in the idea that Whites or Blacks were all God's creators, and must live together without any sign of hostility or discriminative policy that might drive the American society to the wrong destructive path.

3.3.2 African American Participation in the World War II

The African Americans have made great efforts in all domains in order to save the nation from any potential threat that may come from the overseas or even from within the country itself. Their servitude has taken place in war and peace. In other words, the Black population defied all difficulties through history, and succeeded to impose itself within the United States socially and politically. With regard to the military side, The African Americans realized their aim for the first time by creating the first all-black military unit. It was the infantry unit n°54th established in Massachusetts. It contributed efficiently in serving the army during the Civil War against the British troops. Another all-black cavalry unit n°10 also did great efforts in defeating Native Americans. The Blacks' infantry division n°93 was awarded several times for their good and successful actions they had made during the First World War.

The Second World War has been known by historians as a special period of time in the American history. During this period of time, African Americans fought against two fronts; an enemy from the overseas that threatened the country, and another serious and dangerous enemy that was inside the country itself represented by the violent discriminative policy against the coloured people within the American society itself. This segregation against blacks

was considered somehow as grains for the emergence of several civil rights movements in the twentieth century. The period of war was a suitable opportunity given to African Americans to participate in the different military actions to show their ability to fight on one side, and the establishment of many civil rights movements that might put an end to the daily violation of the Black rights. For African Americans, the fight against the foreign enemy was easy than engaging into a peaceful political battle against the enemy of discrimination at home. Different civil rights (le 08/11/2014) movements were established within the American society like for instance the National Urban League in 1907, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in 1910 and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. An important number of African communities started to move from the rural life to the urban one especially those living in the south. This happened during the period of great migration. During this period the African Americans showed their challenge against discrimination and their fight for equality with the white race. More than twelve million African Americans lived in the United States of America. They contributed efficiently in the emergence of the Harlem Renaissance which renewed the African traditional culture. The laws that were issued later and known as the Brown v. Board of education ended legally the discrimination against Blacks within the educational institutions. Some other governmental institutions played another important role in the protection of civil rights in favour of Blacks. As an instance, Frank Murphy, an Attorney General, created a unit of civil liberties at the level of the department of justice whereas the Governor Robert La Follette created the committee of civil liberties.

As the Nazi military forces swept across the European territory, President Roosevelt and other politicians became fully aware of the potential war that might take place later. So, they started to think about human and material resources that might be used against such potential enemies. For this reason, they organized many discussions about how to well use the Black communities against the military invaders. Blacks, in turn, focused a lot on industrial companies. They were given opportunities to work but only simple and not essential jobs. The National Urban League, whose role was to defend the Blacks' civil rights, investigated into such business of discrimination, and noticed that the American Black community did not receive proper and sufficient training for the different nonessential jobs they were offered. Basing on such investigated results, many Blacks decided to organize a demonstration in Washington in order to attract attention of the American officials about their rights. The Governor of New York City was afraid that this Blacks' march would push such coloured community not to vote for them, and advised his followers to convince them to cancel the riot

and negotiate their issues with President Roosevelt. The meeting succeeded to ensure some rights to the Black community. The President issued the Executive Order 8802 and the committee of Fair Employment Practice. These two acts were considered as a good step towards guarantying a fair hiring practice in the field of industry with a good timing as well. In addition, women were also given good opportunities to have good jobs other than the military side. Rayford Logan, the veteran of the First World War, saw to establish a new committee that would play the role of convincing as well as organizing Black men and women when joining the military barracks. The committee was called Committee for Participation of Negroes and National Defence.

The American Coloured people continued making great efforts to ensure a good position in all domains within the American society. They succeeded to oblige officials to create another law called the Selective Service Bill in 1940, which increased the number of Blacks to be joined to the military. Historians state that such political decision did not put an end to the discriminative policy that White officials had followed for a long period of time. At end of the First World War, more than 400.000 African American soldiers were serving in the Army including 1300 officers. However, during the Second World War, no more than 3500 Black soldiers were serving in the military field including only five officers. Few of them were given the chance to join the navy. Starting from the year 1942, African Americans began to take high positions as military leaders. As an example, Colonel Benjamin Davis became the first African American General, and the number of Black soldiers exceeded 460.000. The Black men and women were also offered the chance to join the Air corps and marines after they had been forbidden to be enlisted during both the First and the Second World Wars. So, despite all these efforts of the part of White officials to show that the discriminative policy against Blacks was ended, the African American community was neglected and marginalized. In other words, the coloured people did not have the chance to serve in the army at a higher rate like Whites. This Black situation was due to the lack of education because of discrimination. This means that African Americans were too late to be educated if compared with the white community. They were not allowed to enter whites' schools. Consequently, they were characterized by a poor performance and bad training. They were also physically poor because of the socio-economic conditions they were living. Historians state that more than 12% of Blacks were not allowed to be enlisted because of their poor health, whereas 16% of them were refused due to other unknown reasons other than the physical condition. The educational background took the big share as it became the main cause that rejected them from

occupying positions in the United States' Army. Later, and exactly in 1948, President Harry Truman was determined to put an end to discrimination within the US army, and opened the door to Blacks to join it. As a result, the period witnessed the emergence of different military units like for instance the 99th Pursuit Squadron of the 332nd Fighter group which was known as at that time as Tuskegee Airmen. It was given this name because of the fact that they received good flight training at the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama. Forty Black pilots were engaged into an Air military service in the North African Campaign because of the lack of manpower. The 99th unit that included Black soldiers was transported to Africa, but did not obtain good results. This Black military unit lacked sufficient experience in wars, and were not ready to attack or defend even themselves, let alone protecting people. Because of all these bad results, the military unit was called for more extensive training in order to avoid any potential weakness in the future. Another important Black military unit proved its effectiveness after it had been tested in the battles it undertook at the end of the SWW. It claimed indeed the insufficient number of soldiers to engage into different battles.

The African American soldiers made great efforts and tried to defy and resist against the Army reticence to develop and well train the Black military units. They were also considered as the pioneers of the different Black Civil Rights Movements of the 1950s. Many units witnessed extensive military action abroad like Italy where they were trained at different installations like for instance in Fort McClellan, Alabama, Camp Atterbury, Indiana, Camp Breckenridge, Kentucky, and Camp Robinson, Arkansas. There were also some other Black units such as Mark Clark's Fifth Army, but it was somehow poorly equipped and badly trained. They did not received sufficient education too, because of the discriminative policy that was followed by White military leaders. Because of the lack of all these necessary things, that have just been mentioned, the unit 92nd waged a war against a veteran German Army but did not win and suffered a high casualty percentage. A half century later, President William Jefferson recognized the efforts and the sacrifice that some members of the Mark Clark's Fifth Army had presented to the nation during the war against German forces. Two of them who witnessed and participated in such war, were also awarded the Congressional Medal of Honour by President Clinton. Among those who remained in the American people's memory First Lieutenant John Robert Fox who was assigned the task of being an observer of the 598th military unit in Italy in 1944. Fox was awarded the Purple Heart and Bronze Star for his courage and the great efforts he had made during the war against Germans in order to save his soldiers from being killed when they were surprisingly attacked during the night, and all their

military positions were encircled. Fox was not only awarded one time, but he was also awarded later by being given the Distinguished Cross and the Medal of Honour. Not only Fox who was in the list of those Blacks who contributed efficiently in giving the American Black community a good reputation of courage and honour, but there were others indeed like the lieutenant Vernon Baker who was a member of the 360th Regimental combat Team of the 92nd infantry Division.

In April 1945, He was ordered to attack the Hill X and the Aghilnofi Castle. Two third of his soldiers were killed and lost. After these casualties, Baker tried to withdraw the rest of his army. In spite of the difficult situation and the German blockade that was imposed on his positions, Baker waged an attack, and succeeded to destroy the German observation tower and other military machines. He succeeded then to destroy more gun emplacements and obliged the German military forces to flee and move away from their positions after receiving casualties in their ranks. Later, Baker was awarded the Bronze Star, the Purple Heart, Distinguished Service Cross and the Medal Honour. Both Fox and Baker were considered as the Black heroes that gave the maximum of honour for the African American and also for the American Nation as a whole. So, more than five Black military leaders received highest honour since the Second World War.

3.3.3 Black Participation in the Korean War 1948

In the Korean War, African Americans were used in great numbers in battles, and were involved in different operations. They contributed efficiently in the advance of the American military troops within the Chinese territory. More than one hundred thousands of Black soldiers were practising their military duty in the United States' Army in 1950. The number of such soldiers represented 08% of the Armed forces. After the end of the Korean War, historians state in some statistics that more than 500.000 blacks were enlisted within the military barracks and actually participated in the military operations. This African American participation in different Wars led indirectly to some changes in the officials' views towards their social and political status. The American government as well as the ministry of defence realized that African Americans were not given the social position they deserved, they were not also given the high military positions they deserved as an award for their positive and effective service within the Army. For instance, the Black military unit called the 24th Infantry Regiment, which emerged in 1869, served in several wars alongside the American forces starting from the Spanish American war, the First World War, the Second World War and the outset of the KW. In spite of all this sacrifice for the US nation,

the African American status was not given its suitable position it deserved. Later and step by step, the Black community succeeded to gain the minimum they asked for especially at the end of the Korean War, and as a result hundred of Blacks were appointed in higher military positions and served in various technical military specialties. So because of all these changes, the Black soldiers preferred to stay within the army and serve for more years when they realized that there was an improvement in the social environment, a financial benefit from their military service and an educational chance that were given during this period. They were also expecting a potential high grade in the future. African Americans felt, in this period, that their dream of being commanders in the Army as well as winning some other leading positions in other fields started to be realized.

During the war against the Northern Korean army, the Black soldiers distinguished themselves among other participants. In other word, they showed their courage and their ability to fight on the ground and on the air as well. In July 1950, a military unit led by Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Pierce that consisted of four engineering and infantry companies captured the Korean military leader Yech'on. This operation was welcomed in the American society, and it was considered as an important and successful action made by the previously mentioned Black units. The leader of the engineering company, Captain Charles Bussey, was awarded by being given the Silver Star for his efforts he had made to save his troops from being devastated by the Korean forces in the time of war. Basing on his military strategies, the military groups of Bussey succeeded to kill more than 200 Korean soldiers. The war results showed clearly to the American officials that African American soldiers had sufficient capacity and different significant and acceptable strategies in any war against any potential enemy.

At the end of the Korea War, some Black soldiers were lucky to be ranked among the US Army commanders. Captain Daniel Chappie James was one of them after he had succeeded to lead the fifth Air Force Unit to victory. He was the most known Black pilot by his exceptional courage to fly on the dangerous areas and even behind the enemy lines. Some statistics state that he made more than one hundred missions over the Korean forces. He was then awarded by offering him the Distinguished Flying Cross for the dangerous missions he made during the war. Not only Captain James who presented all this sacrifice to the American nation but also other Black military leaders like Lieutenant Frank Peterson who preferred to be enlisted in the marine forces. He was also a pilot in the Marine Corps, and he made more than sixty missions in the time of war. The American Department of Defence

awarded him six Air Medals and also the Distinguished Flying Cross, these were offered to him a short period of time before the end of the Korean War. There were some African American soldiers who sacrificed their lives for the nation such as the pilot Ensign Jesse Brown who fought against the enemy forces till he died. A short while before he was shot down, he was supplying the 7th unit with what they needed. After the end of the war, Brown, in spite of his death, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for his dangerous and deadly military operation which cost his life. In 1972, and in the presence of the Brown's widow, a US war ship was given the name of USS Jesse Brown in his honour.

Specialists in the American history estimate that more than 600.000 Black soldiers participated in the war against the Korean forces. Unlike those who remained alive and who were awarded medals, more than 500.000 of them lost their lives during the combats, and were also awarded by offering their widows, sons or their relatives some medals such as the Distinguished Service Cross, Bronze and Silver Stars on the behalf of their martyrs. William Thompson and Sergeant Cornelius Charlton were at the top of those African American soldiers who sacrificed their lives during the military operations against the Korean forces. The US Department of Defence saw that these two heroes and others should be offered Medals of Honour. Historians state that The Us Army became a blend of soldiers from different races. The Black race had a big share in the formation of different military units. African Americans then were given the chance to be commanders and leaders at the time of war. During the Korean War, there were some other African American soldiers who were interested in writing about the war events like Alex Haley. The latter made great efforts to report the most important events that had happened within the Korean territory. Later, he was offered medals for his sacrifice as a journalist. He wrote many books among which the one entitled "Roots" became popular at the international level. The year 1950 witnessed the enlistment of more than 100.000 Black soldiers in the US Army, which constituted 08% of the total number. Statistics showed by historians show that among the number of African American soldiers previously mentioned, more than 1000 were officers. With regard to the Air forces, among 20.000 Blacks who were enlisted, 300 were officers. Concerning the navy, there were about more than 500.000 African Americans who actually joined this military domain, and participated in the different combats of the Korean War. African Americans did not participate only in this war, but they indeed joined the US Army forces when they first entered the Vietnam territory. This War is our subject in the following section.

3.3.3- Black Participation in the Vietnam War

The Vietnam War that lasted three decades (1945-1975) was considered as the first American military confrontations that witnessed the total absence of segregation. The latter was completely ignored as Blacks found themselves fighting together with Whites in the same rank. Having said that the army was desegregated does not mean at any time that Blacks were treated the same way as those from the white race. During the V.W, African American soldiers felt that discrimination against them still existed. In their view, the US Army became a racial institution because of the Whites' behaviour towards their Black colleagues. The presence of racism within the military institution led in a way or another to the emergence of conflicts between blacks and Whites.

The period of war also witnessed the rise of some radical African American organizations within the Army forces. These Black African movements were against the war in Vietnam, and contributed efficiently in pushing the American government to withdraw its forces from Vietnam. The American attempt to help a French war ship was the source which ignited the military clashes between Vietnam and the United States of America from 1945 to 1975, but the most important battles did not take place in Vietnam until 1964. Just after the war, the African American community viewed the situation as an improvement of their rights within the American society. For instance, they saw the Black military situation good and positive. They viewed it so, because they felt they were given an acceptable status within the military units. In other words, Blacks were given several opportunities to become leaders and commanders of different units. They had the chance to guide and supervise many combats against enemy forces. This situation compelled them in a way or another to remain loyal to their nation. Not far from the military, they were also offered permanent jobs in the civilian sector with good or at least acceptable wages. From time to time, Black soldiers were also given an amount of money as a bonus added to their wages on a seasonal basis, especially as a reward for good performance. This bonus encouraged many of them to be volunteers for combats in the time of wars. Because of such financial encouragements, most of people especially African Americans became no more patriotic.

In spite of most of the Blacks' positive views towards the Us Army, as being desegregated, there were others who viewed the military about reproducing its racial face. Undoubtedly, this situation promoted for the emergence of racism within the American society. As a result, the late twentieth century witnessed a decrease in the number of African American soldiers within the military barracks. So, the fact of being smaller and fewer in

numbers was because of many reasons. First, many Black soldiers that preferred to join the army as volunteers and participated in different battles against enemy troops, gave up from continuing in the military service. Others left the sector because of the different segregated actions that were apparent to Blacks and even those Whites who sympathized with them. For instance, the wages for both Whites and Blacks were not the same since they were not given the same social status. One could say that African Americans lacked the American citizenship. In addition, they were seen as criminals that deserved to be ousted and punished by not putting them in the same social positions as the White race. The white community denied completely the truth of the black existence, and refused even their religions and traditions. This White widespread view towards coloured people promoted the emergence of some violent groups which consisted of White businessmen.

The Ku Klux Klan was the main terrorist group that led the segregation policy against Blacks. Segregation in the education field took the big share. The bad wage that many coloured families received did not encourage them to send their children to school. Undoubtedly, this situation had a negative impact on them. This White racial face led directly to a widespread poverty of the black communities. Many activists saw such white discrimination against Blacks as a crime against humanity and a destructive weapon against human rights. The coloured people who were enlisted in the military faced many difficulties in their lives because of the discriminative policy they found themselves face to face in everyday life. This happened to those Blacks who were members of the military units, whereas the others having the intention to join the Army for the first time faced a discriminative qualification test which strongly witnessed inclination towards White candidates and against the coloured ones. They were not accepted under the pretext of not being well educated. This black lack of good education was because of their attendance in underfunded classes. In other words, the segregated schools devoted to Blacks were not well funded. It was the big lack of finance which put them far away from having the same social status as Whites that might offer them much respect within the American society.

Black activists and sociologists claimed that the test devoted for candidates was always unjust and in favour of European Americans. African Americans, in turn, were refused, and even if they were accepted, their military service was limited. They were assigned the task of participating in different combats instead of joining other specialities such as engineering or communication. In spite of this segregation policy, African Americans were highly interested in the military service especially in the first decade of the war. The draft board, that was

issued by the government and supervised by racial groups, forbade many Black people from having their rights of joining the Army. This situation did not prevent many of them to challenge these laws like Muhammad Ali who refused to be ousted from participation in the test, he succeeded to participate, but he failed in the exam of writing and reading. Muhammad Ali did not surrender. He attracted the attention of the Black community throughout his insistence to participate again. Two years later, the government made modifications concerning the criteria of Black participation, which undoubtedly helped Ali to be eligible to serve the US military. He was against the War of Vietnam despite the fact that he participated in its combats. Ali and all African Americans claimed that in addition to the decrease of the number of Black enlisted soldiers in the military, those who had the chance to be inside their barracks faced many difficulties and racial faces on the part of the white service members. Black soldiers often faced hostility on the white officers and the military justice. Some public places like bars for example witnessed racial conflicts between the Black enlisted staff and the White soldiers.

During the War of Vietnam, the Black soldiers dealt with the war situation differently than Whites did. For instance, the Vietnamese political movements like the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were intelligent in the way they used the subject of racism against the American government. They knew that the Black community was suffering from the White supremacy that invaded even the state of Vietnam. For them, the Vietnamese and the Black soldiers who were fighting each other should know that they were facing the same enemy represented by the White United States of America. It was indeed a message that was conveyed to the Black community not to participate in the war, and to withdraw their relatives from the US Army. Black soldiers were informed that nothing bad would happen to them if they did not attack the Vietnamese. Historians state that many African American soldiers were found by the Vietnamese military forces, and were released. Vietnamese wanted to know why the black soldiers sacrificed their lives and fought for a country that did not respect them, and did not even consider them as American citizens. The assassination of Martin Luther King had a great impact on the African American community especially those who were participation in the War of Vietnam. The Vietnamese seized the opportunity of such crime against humanity to address a message to the coloured people in the United States that their contribution in the segregated army would not come with good results which had been expected, and that Blacks would remain persecuted and rejected in spite of their sacrifice. It was a good lesson that was learnt in Vietnam. For African

Americans, many lessons were learnt; the experience of racism in the armed forces, the revolution in black consciousness at home and the King's assassination. Before the assassination, Blacks were somehow loyal to the American government, but after that they were not pleased. They felt that they were threatened in their lives especially when they saw the sharp increase of the racial violence against them. Starting from the year 1968, the military service witnessed many violent actions between Whites and Blacks soldiers. The murder of Martin Luther King and the White celebration of the day of assassination was the cause that really ignited the emergence of the Black Civil Rights Movements and the anti-war organizations that obliged the US armed forces to withdraw themselves from Vietnam.

3.4 Ku Klux Klan Re- Emergence

The KKK (see appendix 03) is a name which was given to three violent White organizations that were created as a reaction to the process of emancipation of the Black people. These groups were known as the three Klan movements, which were characterized by violence especially in their first steps in 1865 against the southern African Americans during the era of Reconstruction in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first Klan was by Veterans of the Confederate Army in the state of Tennessee. These groups spread expanded across the South. They were known by their secrecy and vigilance. In other words, their targets were the freed African Americans and their allies represented by the White Republicans. Their main aim behind their terrorist actions was the establishment of the White Supremacy along all the American territories by means of terrorism and killings. In 1870, the American government was obliged to issue some laws in order to punish the members of such movement and to prosecute their crimes. These punishments against the Klan groups, that took place later, succeeded to put an end to their activities. In 1874, other organized groups emerged having the same Klan view towards Blacks. Among these groups, there were the White League and the Red Shirts. Their aim was to reject the Blacks' voting and even the republicans who sympathized with them. These segregated groups succeeded to encourage the White Democrats having the same segregation ideas to gain the political power in all the southern territories in 1877.

The Second Klan became spread along the nation and became a nationwide movement. It was founded in 1915, in Atlanta, Georgia. It was characterized by the emergence of different small groups which lacked coordination between them. They preferred the secrecy, and called for separating the Black community from the White one. The movement was considered as another face of racism in the United States of America. It was against the

Catholic Church and natives. They focused only on the White Protestants. They attacked private houses, and waged terrorist activities in most of the southern areas. These groups were well organized by establishing a fraternal organization having a national structure in all states. More than four millions of politicians joined it. The movement did not last for a long time and soon its members started to withdraw themselves one by one because of the internal divisions and the criminal behaviours of its leaders. All these reasons led the group to a collapse in its membership which became less than 35.000 in 1930. In 1940, the second Klan disappeared automatically after the public refusal of its terrorist actions against humanity.

The third Klan re-emerged after the Second World War especially between 1950s and 1960s. It opposed the Civil Rights Movements and any kind of progress of any minority within the United States' territory. So, in order to gain power, they started to establish a good relation with the police departments of the southern states. Many of the Klan members were jailed after the crimes they had committed against the civil rights activists in the bombing that targeted the Baptist Church of Birmingham. Historians state that there exist an important number of the Ku Klux Klan members nowadays in the US territory. In 1997, it was said that four members were arrested by the security agents in Dallas for their terrorist plan to explode the institution of natural gas. In 1999, the KKK was declared to be a terrorist organization that should be banned as soon as possible. Americans were convinced that such groups threatened not only the Black community but also all Americans including Whites, especially after their Klan decision to see the Catholic Church as an enemy that should be attacked without hesitation. The Klan movement was not against only some religious sides but also against some political parties like the Republicans who were seen as a support to the African Americans.

Other Klan factions remerged in 1950, and the term 'Ku Klux Klan' started to be used by many military groups in Birmingham, Alabama. These White terrorist groups were determined that facing the political and social changes within the United states was a duty in order to put an end to the improvement of the Black community. They started to devastate several neighbouring Blacks' homes. So, because of the explosions that took place in Birmingham, this city became to be known as 'Bombingham'. The Klan groups seized the opportunity of the appointment of Bull Connor as the chief of police in Birmingham, and made an alliance with him. As a result, there was complicity between Connor and the Klan members over an attack on the Freedom Riders who arrived to the city. Connor closed his eyes on these military units when attacking the freedom activists, which obliged the federal

government to intervene after the failure of the local authorities to ban such terrorist events. The Klan groups started to make alliances with the local governments in order to make it easy for their members to commit crimes without being punished. Many homes of many civil rights activists were targeted; physical violence and intimidation of African American individuals were also another way of their racial actions. In addition, Blacks were not given the opportunity to vote or to be members of any jury at the local southern courts. So between 1951 and 1952, more than thirty five black homes were destroyed, and most of the victims were social activists who sacrificed their lives and challenged the convention of racism that took place between the Klan members and the local authorities especially in the South. Among the Black institutions that were targeted, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the Baptist Church in Birmingham and Residence of the Methodist activist Robert Kochtitzky.

The African American community, in turn, resisted to the Klan crimes. For instance, some publishers led a campaign against the Ku Klux Klan in newspapers for more than two years. These Black publishers were rewarded the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service for their successful and organized efforts they had made against racism and terrorism in order to convince the Klan members to stop their terrorist operations, and to put an end to their membership in these racist military units that threatened not only African Americans but most of the American citizens including the White community. Later, the federal government succeeded to suppress the Klan movement by issuing a lot of laws that convicted many of them and put them in jail. This doesn't mean that the racist movement disappeared completely, but many groups emerged later especially in the 1970s when African Americans gained the protection of their civil and voting rights. These groups appeared as a reaction to the courts' orders to desegregate schools.

3.5 White Supremacy

Historians state that with the exception of some states like Florida, North Carolina and Tennessee, the early twentieth century in the United States of America witnessed the prohibition of the African Americans from participating in the election. This happened with the Democratic Party primary elections to nominate candidates for political office. This political prohibition took place in the South where the Democratic Party dominated the political life at that time. The absence of a real opposition led indirectly to the emergence of a one-party state. The party imposed its idea that only Whites who had the right to run the country. African Americans were deprived from their constitutional right of voting. The

White supporters of the Democratic Party decided to prevent the Black community from participating in the political state issues. Their decision was based on two main reasons. First, they were determined not to let African Americans succeed in achieving social and political equality with Whites. Second, they believed that Blacks would keep their loyalty towards the Republican Party because of the fact that the members of this party sympathized with them during the Ku Klux Klan terrorist attacks. So, in spite of all these White restrictions, the African Americans showed their challenge against their exclusion from the political life.

The legislative department of Texas issued a law in 1923 declaring that the African Americans were allowed to participate in the primary elections of the Democratic Party. This opportunity led Dr Lawrence Nixon, a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, tried to vote in the previously mentioned party. His attempt did not succeed to reach its aim. In other words, he was prevented from giving his vote. Nixon claimed against such white decision and reminded the local authorities of the Fourteenth Amendment that gave the right of equality, and the Fifteenth Amendment that guaranteed the right to vote. The subject of the law violation was discussed at the level of the Supreme Court whose decision was ambiguous. Later, the Texas legislature gave the different political parties the power to determine who could participate in their primary elections. The Democratic Executive Committee decided that only White citizens who had the right to vote. This segregated decision did not prevent Nixon from trying again, but he failed. The failure obliged the Supreme Court to deal with this issue for the second time. The court was in favour of the Nixon's claim that there was a clause in the constitution that called for the equality of rights between both the White and Black communities. The Supreme Court's decision did not solve the problem. This meant that the Federal Constitution that was drafted in 1787 in Philadelphia after several rounds of discussions was not respected by the states' authorities at all especially in the South.

The African community continued to resist against these white discriminatory political decisions. In 1940, the Black dentist Lonnie Smith was not allowed to vote. He lifted suit to the Supreme Court as Dr Nixon did. One could say that these repeated attempts on the part of Blacks were considered as a message to the White states' authorities that the constitution that Americans had all agreed on was really violated. These continuous attempts led the state legislators to increase the number of Blacks who had the right to vote from 30.000 in 1940 to 100.000 in 1947. Historians state that despite the fact that not all political obstacles were rejected; the attempts of Nixon and Smith for participating in the internal Party elections were

considered as significant steps towards the achievement of the African American Civil Rights. So, all these discriminatory decisions against Black people led in a way or another to the emergence of what became to be known as the White Supremacy. The latter is a racist ideology that took place within several communities for centuries. It characterized the antebellum era as its ideology was based on the superiority of the slave owners over their enslaved properties. The White slave holding community benefited a lot from such racial ideology. The coloured people were seen as properties and then it became legal for their masters to exploit them where it was necessary to do. The inferior status that African Americans were given, led to the emergence of the slavery institution. The latter started to disappear from within the American society after the Civil War and also after the federal government had issued the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865. This does not mean that the institutionalization was banned completely, but the White Supremacy still existed even after the era of Reconstruction in the South.

Many African Americans achieved their aims and got their freedom. According to some experts in African American history, four million coloured people were freed in the period of time just after Reconstruction. Southerner masters and White people in general were not at ease; they started to think about the effective ways through which they could control their ex- enslaved people in their lives. In other words, they desired to keep their dominance over the political, economic and social issues. In the post- Civil War period, The Black community tried to join the middle class in order to face the W.S. They joined high schools and universities, and became later well educated men. Consequently, they, from time to time, participated in local elections and won high political positions at the level of different state executives and legislators. The nationwide winning of the Blacks was the main cause of the emergence of the racist Klan movements. The latter had the intention, through their terrorist attacks, to impose and reinforce the White Supremacy. For instance, in the South, the members of the Democratic Party tried to use force in order to impose their supremacy over Blacks through their drafting of the Mississippi Plan and the Jim Crow laws which rejected Blacks from having the right to vote. The Democratic Party was leading such racial political operation against the coloured people, and succeeded to divide the American society into two communities; a black one with an inferior status and another white one with a superior status. Even with this social separation, the local authorities were not at ease; they were afraid that African American institutions would, sooner or later, threaten the White dominance over the American society known as the White Supremacy. All these attempts on the part of White

people to humiliate the Black community were faced by a resistance that lasted for decades. This African American resistance was represented by the several marches and riots that were organized at the level of most of the states. This was indeed a Black revolution against discrimination and the racial face that the United States had towards the coloured people. Demonstrations that took place in a given period of time especially between 1919 and 1992 and the Civil Rights Movements that were the source of the organizations of such Black marches will be discussed in detail in the following section.

3.6 African American Pressure against Discrimination

During the mid-1950, mass protest movements of the Black people took place against the racial discrimination in the southern part of the United States of America (see appendices 04-05). The main aim behind these movements of the African slaves and their descendants was to face such a racial segregation against a race that should normally be taken into consideration and should also get its American citizenship. The institution of slavery was the main target of the CRM that Blacks undertook to put an end to its expansion within the territories of the southern part of the USA. The Federal Constitution that had been ratified in 1787 and the Bill of Rights stated that all men were created equal, and that all races within the new nation should have the equal rights.

3.6.3 East St Louis, Illinois, Riot of 1917

The riot of East St Louis took place between May and July 1917. The events of Illinois were because of the problem of labour and other issues having a direct relation with racism. The racial face of the white community was the source of the outbreak of these violent events that happened in this region. Historians reported that hundreds of lives were lost and an extensive destruction of public and private properties. The area was an industrial city on the east bank of the Mississippi River in Missouri. It is known as the worst racial demonstrations in the USA history. The chamber of the commerce asked the local chief of the police to resign. Thousands of people organized a silent march in New York to express their complete disapproval of the damage that touched the city of Illinois. The year 1917 witnessed an economic development of the United States of America. The economy increased because of the fact that USA seized to sell destructive arms to the participants in the First World War. These military industries needed workers. It was because of this reason that a great number of people escaped from the South that relied a lot on plantation towards the North that was seen as the place where they could find better work and good living opportunities for themselves and their families as well. On the one side, the southern workers

had the intention to improve their lives and avoid living harsh conditions. On the other side, they preferred to live in a region that sympathized with them against the slavery institution. In other words, African American labourers felt somehow free in the northern area that was against the bondage than in the South which relied a lot on the enslavement of innocent people. This period of time witnessed the Great Migration that was discussed previously in the second chapter of the present dissertation, many people moved towards the industrial centres across the northern and Midwestern United States. African Americans arrived each week to St Louis in 1917 with an important number of emigrants. In this city, Blacks were excluded from working in the industrial companies by the local white unions which fought against this new situation that was seen as a black invasion on their city. This labour segregation deepened the social division within the American society. In spite of this racial exclusion, some Blacks had the chance to find work in some companies located in East St Louis.

The white community was not at ease towards the black newcomers of different cultures from the rural areas to the modern cities. As a reaction against the black migration towards some cities like East St Louis, thousands of Whites organized a march on the downtown of the city. From that time onwards, terrorist attacks on Blacks started to take place. The escalation of this tight situation against the coloured people compelled the governor of the city of Illinois to ask the national guards to keep order and put an end to the crimes and the destruction of buildings. Tensions between Whites and Blacks developed gradually in the region. African Americans also waged a war against whites who showed their resentment towards the black existence in the city of Illinois. For instance, in the second of July, a car passed through an area which belonged to African Americans containing a group of persons including a journalist and two white police officers, was attacked and one of the officers was dead and others were injured. This event happened as a reaction and retaliation to another event which had taken place before, and led to the death of a group of Blacks when a group of whites opened fire on them. After the crime, whites organized riots within the black areas, and began to burn their houses and properties. In addition, several black inhabitants, who tried to escape the zone, were killed under the pretext that African Americans should be killed without trial. The state government called the military forces represented by the guards previously mentioned to keep order and to put an end to such bloodiest conflict, but it seemed to be, as historians said, that these guards biased towards the whites rather than separating the two racial groups, and trying to reach an agreement or

reconciliation within the city of Illinois. The local police department estimated that more than one hundred of Blacks were executed in these military confrontations, whereas others became homeless after they had lost their houses burnt.

3.6.4 Elaine, Arkansas, Riot of 1919

Elaine race riot took place in September 30th, 1919 in the town of Elaine in county of Phillips that belongs to Arkansas. It is also called the Elaine Massacre. Elaine witnessed then an African American demonstration led by some farmers who claimed their rights of the sharecropping. This group of African American demonstrators was led by Robert Hill, the founder of the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America, and organized their riot near a Church in Phillips. In this demonstration, they claimed their rights of better wages for their cotton crops that were obtained from the lands which were taken forcefully during the era of Jim Crow. White plantation owners benefited then from both the exploitation of Black efforts and their lands. African American farmers wanted better prices for their crops obtained from the white plantation lands. Their claim was based on the fact that there had been an agreement between Black farmers and White landowners to share the benefits of the crops when being sold. The problem was that when selling crops in the market, only White land owners who were responsible of selling them without the presence of Black partners. Negroes whose cotton had been sold did not receive their money for one year. They established a meeting outside Elaine in a Church, and appointed persons as guards at the door of the church in order to protect the participants of the meeting from any potential attacks on the part of Whites because the high tensions between them. Clashes started to take place in the area which led to the death of one white man. This event urged the white military forces to bring more of their soldiers to keep order. Five white men and more than a hundred of African Americans were killed. Other historians estimated that the black victims were hundreds. The white military authorities, which saw the black meeting as a rebellion, waged a war against the participants, and massacred unarmed men, women and children. A great number of African Americans were arrested and put in jail, whereas other participants were sentenced to death after a quick unjust trial. After six years, all prisoners were released as a result of lawyers' efforts. The summer of 1919 witnessed deadly demonstrations at the level of most of the US cities such as Chicago, Knoxville and Washington.

Racial tensions between Black and White communities still took place in the First World War because of the labour disorder. In the Mississippi Delta where Blacks outnumbered Whites, the latter were afraid to lose their dominance over the area because of

the African American resistance. So, the events of Elaine in 1919 were the result of many years of racial treatment towards the coloured community that resisted and showed challenge for the sake of getting their rights to be well paid for their crops and well treated as human beings and as American citizens as well.

3.6.1- Detroit, Michigan, Riot of 1943

The demonstration happened in the state of Michigan, and exactly in Detroit. It was characterized by its violent events because of a public disorder that really disturbed citizens and the local authorities. It took place in 1943, and witnessed a three-day high tension between African American protestors and the federal security forces which controlled the area later. The events had begun in a town called Belle Isle on June 1943 and lasted for three days, more than thirty victims were killed by the white officers who did not hesitate to shoot any Black who was moving in the street. Detroit was known by its racial face against the Black society. Later, the city became dominated by the terrorist movement KKK and another movement called Black Legion; two movements which were committed to both to the idea of White Supremacy. These events happened during the Second World War. This period witnessed the escalation of racial tensions between the Black and White communities in the city of Detroit. The industrial development and the establishment of companies promoted American people to live in this town because of the high wage that workers were given in these industrial institutions. Thousands of people especially Blacks, moved from the rural life towards a new one in cities. Racial groups that considered themselves as the supreme race that should dominate the city of Detroit resented the existence of African Americans with Whites within the same area.

This discriminatory policy divided the American society into two hostile communities. Whites saw the situation as a threat to their future since Blacks were making all their efforts to gain a work, job and attend religious sessions in Churches. Those who were responsible for factories called African Americans to come, and work in these institutions, promised that they would receive high wages. As a response to the call, African Americans started to move towards the northern side thinking that they would improve their family life. During a short period of time after their arrival, they realized that the racial policy did not exist only in the South, but it was a nationwide system to which an important part of Americans relied on in order to purify the American society. Black emigrants were not allowed to be offered houses, and even the rent was paid the double if compared with the one of the White families. The police department of Detroit also followed a discriminatory

policy towards the Black citizens. In 1941, and after the city had received large numbers of new comers, it was somehow difficult to find shelter to all of them. Later, the national government decided to devote two sites for housing; one for Blacks and the second for Whites. This division of the area into blacks and whites raised hostility between them. As a result, Blacks were not allowed to enter or move into the White neighbour site. In 1942, both races were promised to be offered housing projects. Later, the authorities built houses for whites, but they did not find a suitable area to build others for Blacks who were called to be patient and wait. Under pressure, the local authorities were obliged to give Blacks their new homes within the White site. This situation of living as neighbours annoyed whites, and pushed them to claim that no African American would stay in their area which whites supposed it belonged to them. Afterwards, Whites organized themselves into groups and began waging a fierce war against the Black neighbours. The latter were ousted from their homes despite the fact that they had already paid the rent of the white housing. The African American families left their homes, and moved towards another area. The governor of Detroit called the local police department to keep order and to prevent any clashes during the displacement of the Black families. A short period of time later, a company recruited three blacks to work alongside whites. Consequently, 25000 white workers left the company as a reaction against blacks. This had a negative impact on the company production.

In June, 20th, 1943, a confrontation started to take place between Blacks and Whites because of the fact that a white woman was insulted by a black man. This conflict spread along the city. The situation escalated after Blacks heard that an African American had been thrown in a river near Detroit. Another false news was heard by Whites that a white woman was killed the Belle Isles Bridge. Rumours spread along the state in order to ignite a war between the two races. All the rumours that swept the city were false, but they had a negative influence on the relation of neighbourhood between Blacks and Whites. During the riot of Detroit, African Americans were killed everywhere, buildings were burnt and stores were stolen. The demonstration witnessed a destruction of the city's infrastructure, and the majority of clashes happened in the black neighbourhood. Blacks and Whites were insulting each other, burning cars of innocent people and looting stores. The false claims that spread because of the false rumours encouraged both Blacks and Whites in a way or another to join the riot of Detroit.

Because of the fact that the demonstrations of three days were destructive, the governor Harry Kelly called the President Roosevelt to interfere in order to put an end to

what was happening to the people of his state. The President responded promptly and sent military forces to the city in order to keep order. More than thirty people were killed during the period of three days, 25 were African Americans, and most of them were killed by the police. After the end of the riot, both Blacks and Whites began to blame each other. The governor as well as the white community accused the young blacks known as 'Hoodlums' to be the cause of the clashes, whereas the Black one blamed the white neighbourhood of job and housing discrimination and the police for the savage physical violence. Later, the Supreme Court charged that police biased towards the Whites, and that its department was unjust in dealing with the bloodiest events that happened in the Detroit City.

3.6.9 Atlanta, Albany, Georgia, Riot of 1906 and 1960

With regard to the first riot, it took place on September, 22th to 24th, 1906 in Atlanta. The latter became the centre of the regional economy. The black population was 35000 at the beginning of the twentieth century. The increase of population led in a way or another in the emergence of the conflict between the two working communities. This period was characterized by a real competition over work. Whites began to think about how to restrict and control the black working class. They expressed its concern towards the growth of different working classes of races. They were afraid that the black workers will dominate the companies in the city of Atlanta. This fear drove to the expansion of the Jim Crow segregation which called for the separation of Whites and Blacks wherever they were. In other words, neighbourhoods as well as the public transportation should take into consideration that both races should be separated and did not use the same means or sit in the same places. The increase of high racial tensions between the two races was because of the emergence of the black elite that was assigned the role of claiming the civil rights on the behalf of the coloured people such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which had been mentioned in the paper of the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson. So, it was till the period after Reconstruction that the black community was given somehow the possibility to participate in the vote. This opportunity encouraged African Americans to establish commerce, social networks and develop their communities. The improvement of the Black situation resented the white community. In other words, Whites were not at ease to see the advances of the black elite as well as the opening of several saloons for black women. The latter attracted people to visit such saloons. These black visitors were accused by many whites of committing sexual crimes and violence against white women.

The election of 1906 showed that the black educated class threatened whites in their political positions. The electoral campaign witnessed a debate between Hoke Smith, the formal publisher of the Atlanta Journal, and Clark Howell, the editor of the Atlanta constitution. These two politicians had a great impact on the American society especially in Atlanta. Smith Hoke referred, in his campaign to the high racial tensions showing that Blacks should be rejected from participating in the elections. For him, this human race should not be given any value, but rather it should be given an inferior social status. With regard to Clark Howell, he insisted that the Hoke's claims of White Supremacy should not be listened to, because, according to him, this person had cooperated with some black political leaders. Political tensions rose between Whites and Blacks. Many articles in different newspapers were published to sensitize people of the importance of the racial subject. Many newspapers published several stories about potential violent attacks against white women that might happen in the white neighbourhoods on the part of the coloured people. These published articles created anger within the African American society, because of the fact that all the stories were not true. The American editors of different journals had the intention to convince Whites of the importance to wage a war against this inferior race that should be kept in its inferior place, and had no right to be integrated in the American society or lead the American political life there. On September, various news were published in different newspapers that several black attacks on white women took place in different areas of Atlanta. These false information had a negative impact on the relationship between the two communities. This situation created fear among Whites who began to sensitize their people about the necessity to face such black invasion on their neighbourhoods. All the reported news had no relation with reality. The only intention behind such information was to make a solid front against the coloured people who started to show their challenge from time to time in different domains especially the political one.

Whites did not feel at ease, that's why they started to think about the suitable way to retaliate and get rid of such inferior race in their views. As a result of such racial campaign in newspapers against African Americans, thousands of Whites organized a march in the downtown of Atlanta. The city officials tried to play down the increasingly conflict, but unfortunately they failed to put an end to it. The crowd of people gradually increased in number, and many Blacks were victims of their violent attacks. They also attacked the black shops and their companies, Street cars and buses were the targets of the white mobs. Nearly three African Americans were killed in this riot. The latter spread around the whole city, and

rioters refused to enter go home until a heavy rain started to fall, and compelled them to leave the area. The city of Atlanta was under the control of its militia. One day later, newspaper editors published that the state military troops had prepared themselves to impose stability in the city, and that the Black race is no more a problem for the white community, since no one of them was found in the street. For them, African Americans had no intention to create confrontation in the street, or to threaten the stability of the town. Despite the fact that the town was under the control of police, but Blacks were still under shock, and decided to bear arms secretly in order to defend themselves against any potential assault on the part of Whites. In spite of the police reinforcement, White rioters attacked some black districts. In some of their neighbourhoods, the African Americans defended themselves, and succeeded to oblige the attackers to return to their zones. In September 24th, the African American community attempted to organize a meeting in a town called Brownsville near Atlanta downtown. This group of Blacks were armed because they were afraid of any potential attacks on the part of the White local police. The meeting witnessed a conflict between participants and the policemen who lost one of their officers in this event. As a reaction, the local authorities were obliged to send military forces to keep calm there. These troops arrested more than two hundred Blacks, but the clashes continued to take place during that day.

Later, politicians as well as some religious men made efforts to put an end to the violent military conflict between the white and black communities. These American elite tried to open a real dialogue between them. They also attempted convince Americans that a reconciliation in the southern area was possible if they really had the intention to put aside the racial views towards each other. Historians reported that more than thirty five African Americans were victims of the military confrontations. After these Atlanta events, African Americans became worried about their businesses within the town.

Atlanta did not witness the riot of 1906 only, but also another one in 1960. So, the racial segregation emerged more serious during the period of emancipation in 1865. This time witnessed somehow a relative integration of white and black businesses and residences. The racial conflict started to emerge in all the United States of America especially in Atlanta, because of the migration of many African Americans from the different countries and states that surrounded the city in order to find a work in the industrial companies that were established there. This Black movement towards the Atlanta city worried a lot the white people, and considered it as a black invasion that should be stopped as soon as possible. The

city saw violent events in 1906 which led later to the Jim Crow Laws that called for imposing a segregated policy in the region against Blacks who, in the White views, should keep their inferior social status they deserved. In 1960, Atlanta became the major organizing centre of the U.S Civil Rights Movements led by Martin Luther King, who did not hesitate to speak on the behalf of the African Americans. In 1959, desegregation started to take its place in the public sphere. Many places like restaurants were desegregated, and became few southern white spheres which allowed Blacks to take seats there. The Black presence in such places together with whites does not mean at all that the segregation stopped, but racism continued till 1973.

3.6.8 March on Washington Movement 1941 and 1963

The March on Washington in 1941 was the most historical event which showed the Black challenge against the White Supremacy through the Civil Rights Movements that spread in all the US territory. The African American community succeeded to sensitize its people to organize nationwide demonstrations in order to put an end to the white segregated policy. In 1941, Phillip Randolph, the leader of the institution of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters called all Blacks to participate in the march of Washington to defy the segregation that Blacks faced in all domains. The aim behind such march was to make a pressure on the white administration to stop the segregation in all fields, especially in the army, the governmental institutions and the industrial companies. Those Black leaders, who were supposed to lead such march, wanted to achieve a social justice, and to show their daily suffering to the whole world. The US administration led by the President Roosevelt, in turn, decided to minimize the high tensions that were between Blacks and Whites by issuing an Executive Order 8802, and established the Committee on Fair Employment Practices to which was assigned the task of giving a chance to African Americans to join the white institutions. After this administrative decision, The African American community cancelled the march, and established what became known as the March on Washington Movement in order to show that the March was still possible if the administration did not respect the Executive Order issued by the President. It was a Black pressure on the federal officials in order to progress the Civil Rights Movements.

A year before three Black leaders had contacted President Roosevelt to discuss the enlistment of African Americans in the military units. Roosevelt took into account the Black request to join the US Army, and promised to talk about this subject with the military officials. His promise did not mean that he accepted the African American demand, but he

insisted that the discriminative policy should be maintained at the level of the military domain. Randolph, a Black leader who had met the president, declared that all the attempts and meetings that had been organized in order to put an end to segregation failed, and even if they succeeded to come out with some results in favour of the African American community, these steps were ineffective. Consequently, Randolph decided to call his colleagues to discuss the subject of organizing a march in Pennsylvania with the participation of thousands of Blacks calling the local authorities to offer them jobs in both civilian and military fields. The aim behind this potential march was to show the Black power to the local authorities in Pennsylvania on the one side, and to the national authorities in Washington. Randolph was determined to organize such march, and it was for this reason that he had travelled to many cities throughout the United States' territories in order to meet the Black local leaders, and sensitize people of the importance and the necessity to increase the awareness among the members of the Black community of the danger of the racial discriminative policy that was still maintained against the Black integration into the American society.

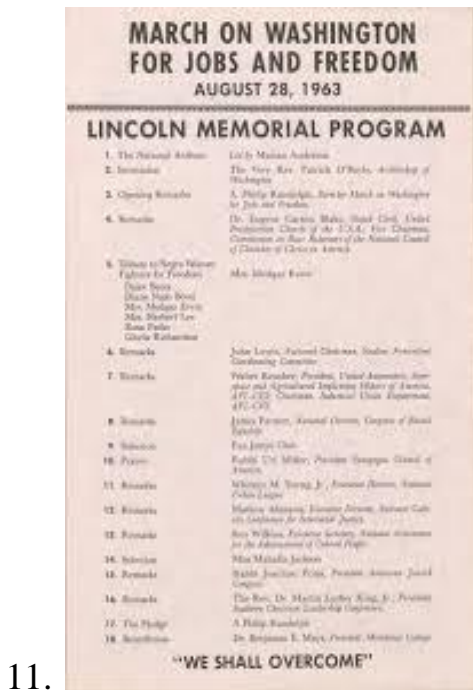
African Americans were all called to participate in the March of Washington to make a political pressure on the authorities there, and to compel them to accept undertaking the political negotiations in order to save the African American community by offering it the opportunity to rule the internal affairs together with the White officials, and to protect the country from an impending anarchy that might put it at a high risk. In spite of the hesitancy on the part of both Blacks and Whites over the participation in the March of Washington, Randolph insisted that it should be organized, and succeeded then to convince the Black leaders all over the US territory to start preparing for such protests and forming Black committees in different regions to which would be assigned the role of well coordinating their attempts for successful protests in Washington. Randolph succeeded not only to convince the local citizens to support the idea, but he also achieved to gain the sympathy of other Civil Rights Movements like the National association for the Advancement of Coloured people and some external allies such as liberals, trade unionists in New York, Chicago and other states, the National Negro Congress and the Socialists Associates under the leadership of Randolph himself. The latter was supported by some White movements, but this support was minimized because he viewed that there were some things which should be performed by African Americans themselves. It was in fact this vision that contributed in a positive way in the spread of the public actions in favour of the preparation of the March on Washington of both periods 1941 and the one of 1963 later. Randolph as well as the civil

rights activists were convinced that the different speeches and the various meetings and conferences, that were taking place between whites and Blacks, were not effective; they believed that the participation of the people for the sake of making a public pressure on both the local and national authorities would be successful and effective in reaching an agreement that might satisfy both White and Black communities over economic, social and especially political issues. Organizers of the March did not have the intention to stop in Washington, but they had also other significant plans to organize several mass meetings and demonstrations in all states across the United States of America.

The public pressure on the US authorities was a suitable and relevant strategy that was expected to show the African American power to the White authorities and a challenge against their segregated policies in different domains especially in the industrial companies and the military units as well. The March on Washington in 1941 was indeed a good opportunity to unite the African American community and strengthen its united front against discrimination and in favour of a political and socio-economic equality between all Americans regardless the racial issues. The beginning of 1941 witnessed the organizations of the March in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York. So, the majority of Civil Rights Black activists rented buses and trains to transport African Americans to Washington. African American leaders succeeded to gather thousands of black people to participate in the protests. They called the participants to avoid using violence during the riots. The White House ignored the March and denied the political claims of the Black community which was excluded from the employment. The authorities were threatened by the march, and in order to avoid clashes with the security forces, Randolph called them to end the demonstration near the Lincoln Monument which was considered as the symbol of anti slavery policy. President Roosevelt considered such black movement towards the capital as a rebellion and a revolution that might be the source of racial conflicts and might end with a destructive war because of the Black invasion in the Whites' views. This meant that Washington would be seen as a segregated city. African American protestors wanted hotels as shelters and restaurants for being fed, but the authorities saw this as an invasion, and then called the Black organizers of the March to feed their people in Churches and schools. Randolph insisted that the slogans, banners and statements of purpose of the riot should be determined by the committee that had been assigned such task and no right for any Black protestor to be free in the protest claims. President Roosevelt called Randolph to stop the March with a promise to well treat the Black society, but the latter refused and asked for an executive order

that would put an end to the policy of segregation in employment; a discriminative system that succeeded to divide the society into two racial groups fighting each other; one dominating the political domain and imposing an unjust treatment towards the remaining mass, whereas another one felt humiliation, and claimed for an equality in employment and all issues. Randolph achieved his aim by obliging the president to issue the Executive Order 8802 which prohibited the employment segregation in the industrial units and the governmental institutions as well. As a result the Washington March was postponed, and the president established what became known as the Fair Employment Practices Committee. The latter did not have the power to stop discrimination and soon Randolph and White Walter backed to the March of Washington. The decision to back to such March obliged the president to enact and respect the desegregated policy in the different governmental institutions. Despite the fact that the March of 1941 did not take place, but it achieved its goals without losing lives of both sides.

With regard to the March on Washington in 1963, the Civil Rights Movements made all their attempts to convince people to take part in the March. The local press also sensitized people of the necessity to participate in the March on Washington as it is shown in the figures 11 and 12 below.



11.



12.

Fig. 11 and 12: Campaign in Favour of the March on Washington 1963

(source: <https://medium.com/history-and-politics/the-march-on-washington-35843af44293#gwd73zric>).

retrieved on september 20th, 2014).

The Great March on Washington was one of the most significant historical events in the American history which witnessed a large public participation against the White Supremacy that did not let the African community to breathe from a political sense, or to move freely as it was the case of Whites. The fig.13 shows clearly the great number of people from both races, Blacks and even White sympathizers, who organized a memorial meeting near the Lincoln's Monument in Washington.



Fig.13: View from the Lincoln Memorial towards the Washington Monument on August 28, 1963²

The March took place in Washington for the second time after the first one in 1941, having the same claims. The African American participants still called for equality in employment. They asked for civil and economic rights for the African American community that was clearly excluded from the social and political scenes. Martin Luther King was one of those Black leaders that took part of such meeting, in which he presented his discourse entitled 'I have a dream' that called for putting an end to the racial policy that was spread

² William P. Jones. *The March on Washington The legacy of August 28, 1963*. 2013> <https://medium.com/history-and-politics/the-march-on-washington-35843af44293#.gwd73zric>. retrieved on september1 20th, 2014.

across the country. The March of 1963 had called for equality in jobs and freedom between Whites and Blacks. This slogan is clearly mentioned in the banner lifted by the two African American protestors in fig.14 below.



Fig14. Banners and Slogans of the Black Protest in the March on Washington 1963³

The March for jobs and freedom, as it is shown in the figure above (fig.14), was organized by civil rights activists and other labour and religious movements. Historians reported that more than 200,000 Blacks participated in this demonstration. The African Americans succeeded to compel the national authorities to pass the Civil Rights Act in 1964 which offered the Black community the opportunity to share the political life and to be integrated in the different industrial institutions that started to receive and enlist a number of African Americans having different skills and educational levels. They also achieved their

³ David Rosenberg. *Rare Images of the March on Washington, 50 Years Later*. sept, 2014>. http://www.slate.com/blogs/behold/2013/08/28/march_on_washington_50th_anniversary_leonard_freed_s_portraits_of_one_of.html

aim by the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, in which Blacks were given the right to participate in the different elections either at the local level or the national one. On the whole, the March on Washington in 1941 was fruitful without taking place, whereas the second March of 1963 was the most beneficial one in terms of the different Acts that were issued in favour of the whole African American community.

3.6.6- Los Angeles, California, Riot of 1965

The riot that took place in Watts that belonged to Los Angeles in 1965, was also known as the Watts Rebellion. The latter shows clearly the view of the local authorities towards the Blacks' demonstration. The riot lasted six days starting from 11th to 17th of August, 1965. These events resulted in more than 30 victims and 1000 injured persons. The riot paved the way to other violent clashes between the White forces and the Black protestors that took place later in 1992 in the same city Los Angeles. As it was mentioned before, the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed a great migration from the Southern rural areas to the Northern cities because of the industrial development that started to emerge within the modern cities. African Americans then seized the opportunity to look for jobs in the different manufacturing industries in the North. They fled the segregated situation in the South, especially the Jim Crow Laws that called for social separation between Blacks and Whites.

During the Second World War, a big number of African Americans moved to the West Coast in order to be enlisted in the military industrial companies. This period witnessed the growth of the Los Angeles population from 60.000 to more than 300.000 inhabitants as a result of the Black migration towards the city. African Americans, because of their large number, succeeded to establish an African American community which was apparent to all citizens there. Whites resented the fact that Blacks became an important minority that had to be taken into consideration. This situation threatened the White community, and was considered as an African American invasion on the city. Los Angeles became divided into racial districts. During the Second World War, the African American and Asian minorities were not allowed to benefit from the housing system. These minorities had participated in the war, and were an important mass working in the defence industries. In spite of efforts, Blacks were still facing the discrimination in housing, the majority were homeless, and were unable to get houses in some regions like Watts in Los Angeles and Compton in California. Later, with the arrival of large numbers of Blacks, Los Angeles neighbourhoods were overwhelmed by African Americans who succeeded to develop the real estate in the city. The Black residents gave the chance to some companies specialized in building to come and

practise the real estate. So, what was purely White as neighbourhoods became dominated by African Americans. These new housing developments supplied the Black residents with better ways of life with more space for families to grow and enjoy a good and healthy way of living. In the middle of the twentieth century, the southern part of Los Angeles was characterized by high racial tensions between Blacks and Whites who did not hesitate to fire into Blacks' homes, and burn their properties.

The African American neighborhoods were targets of a racial violence which started to develop after 1920. Black people were not able to travel freely into the Whites' districts. At Los Angeles, discrimination was not at the level of housing only, but also at the police departments. As an example, William Parker, a Black officer, was appointed as the chief of the Los Angeles Police. He faced many difficulties in managing the department issues, but this did not prevent him to impose himself, and called to professionalize the security forces by putting them away from the political pressure. This idea was taken into account especially after the violent events that had happened in 1951, known as the Bloody Christmas. Parker gained the public support to separate the police department from the local and national governments. Because of this political reform, the police of Los Angeles became the best one in the world. In spite of his positive contribution in such development, Parker was still facing difficulties and criticism on the part of the White community. It was indeed this discriminative policy that led directly to the events of 1965 in Los Angeles. The period witnessed clashes between Blacks and policemen that lasted few days. Later, the local authorities achieved an agreement with the African American leaders to put an end to violence. Historians estimated the casualties at 40 million dollars in addition to the devastation of more than 1000 buildings. A commission was assigned the task of investigation and came to write a report that identified the main reasons of the demonstration to be high unemployment, poor schools, and other inferior living conditions for African Americans in the Watts. The commission called for improving literacy and preschool programs for all Blacks, increasing their low-income housing, offering jobs, establishing health-care services and supplying them with public transportation. Historians state that this was only theory but nothing was applied on the ground.

The civil rights activists also participated in the process of investigation of the root causes; they concluded that the bad relationship between the African American community and the local police department had been the main reason of the outbreak of such a destructive racial conflict. The lack of dialogue was not with African Americans only, but

other minorities, like Muslims, also faced discrimination and were victims of the governmental policy that was seen only from a security point of view. Two days after these events, Martin Luther King addressed a message to the local authorities that what had happened was a reaction against the Proposition 14 which rejected the Rumford Fair Housing Act which at least gave a chance to Blacks to get houses for their families. The report had an impact on the Supreme Court whose members decided, one year later, to reject the proposition and tried to minimize the racial tensions that contributed negatively in way or another to the destruction of the public and private properties instead of building and developing the nation.

3.6.5 Long Hot Summer Riots 1965-1967

What is meant by long summer riots is all the riots which took place in the spring and summer months of 1965, 1966 and 1967. These three years witnessed violent confrontations between Blacks and the national guards, and resulted in many material casualties, and many victims. Many others were arrested and put in jail. Through such demonstrations, the African American protestors wanted to show that all the reforms that were expected by American people to remedy the political and social defects became the origin of the racial division at a national level. Historians state that these black protests were the result of the great migration⁴ which started from 1890 till 1965. In other words, Black people were deeply influenced by the industrial development in the northern cities, and decided then to improve their economic situation leaving the rural life which based on plantation and joining the new world of industry. In the South, their lives were at risks; they were often threatened by attacks as well as the drought. They faced the Jim Crow Laws that deprived them from the right of participating in different votes. It was because of all these reasons, African Americans decided to seize the opportunity that was given by the North to solve the problem of the labour shortage after the European immigration had declined especially in the First World

⁴In the spring of 1916, the attention of the American press and public was focused on the Great War in Europe. Few noticed the tiny stream of Southern black men brought north by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to work on the rail lines. But following this experiment between 1916 and 1918 alone, nearly 400,000 African Americans - five hundred each day - took what they hoped was a journey into freedom. The migration was a watershed in the history of African Americans. It lessened their overwhelming concentration in the South, opened up industrial jobs to people who had up to then been mostly farmers, and gave the first significant impetus to their urbanization. In 1910, seven million of the nation's eight million African Americans resided below the Cotton Curtain. But over the next fifteen years, more than one-tenth of the country's black population would voluntarily move north. The Great Migration, which lasted until 1930, was the first step in the full nationalization of the African-American population. Taken from >
<http://www.inmotionaame.org/print.cfm;jsessionid=f8301406761439299374032?migration=8&bhcp=1>

War. Northern industrial companies were in an urgent need of workers. During their arrival, Blacks were surprised to see their race being excluded from living or even moving in better neighbourhoods because of the discriminatory policy of the local White authorities. Many factors such as unemployment, overcrowding and unsuitable schools for education affected deeply the relation between Blacks and Whites and threatened the internal stability. The racial face of the local authorities made from African Americans bombs that might explode at any time, and undoubtedly led to the division as well as destruction of the nation.

The period from 1965 to 1967 witnessed the development of the civil rights in the presence of racism and violent clashes within the American society such as in Maryland, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cambridge, Savannah and Birmingham where four persons were killed in a Church, and three civil rights activists were lynched in Mississippi. In 1965, a Black was arrested in Los Angeles for driving with a high speed. Blacks who attested the event started assembling in the place. White people who moved in the area were also targeted by Blacks. In addition to the economic casualties, 34 persons were killed and more than 3500 jailed. One year later, the city of Chicago saw many explosions that required an urgent intervention on the part of the National Guard in order to put an end to the bloody violence as well as the demonstrations of Whites from time to time against the Black citizens in the area. In 1967, more than one hundred cities were suffering from the violent clashes between Blacks and Whites. So, when a violent confrontation started in an area, another fighting began to take place in another region. Most of the military confrontations happened during the months of April, May and June. The cities that witnessed such events were Nashville, Houston, Cincinnati, Mississippi, Tampa and Atlanta. In the same year, two major demonstrations happened in two main cities. The first one was in New Jersey and lasted from 14th to 17th of July. Its casualties exceeded 10 million dollars, 23 victims and more than 1000 arrested. The Black community suffered a lot from the labour discrimination, the unemployment average was high and bypassed 37%. The second important riot took place in Detroit. It lasted five days. What attracted attention in such events was the arrest of more than 80 persons who had attended the feast that took place by the way of the return of a participant in the Vietnam War. Such bad treatment towards such persons ignited violent confrontations between police forces and the Black protests. The end saw the escalation of violence which resulted in more than 20 million dollars in damage and 43 persons killed. Later, President Lyndon Johnson sent a commission to investigate into the events of New Jersey and Detroit. Its members concluded

that American citizens should be aware of the fact that their society was in its first steps towards division into two Black and White communities separate and unequal.

3.6.6 - Los Angeles, California, Riot of 1992

The triggered events of the riot that happened in California, Los Angeles such as the attack on an African American and a White driver ignited a high intension between the two communities. The racial conflict over these two events worsened and led to violent clashes between them. This violence lasted more than four days, and resulted in some casualties that bypassed the number of 50 victims and more than two thousands injured people. The riot witnessed the destruction of many buildings and businesses. The racial demonstrations became known as the most deadly and costly Violence in Los Angeles and in the American History in general. They caused the loss of more than 700 million Dollars. The arrest of an African American by four White police officers in the morning of the third of March, 1991 is also considered as another factor that drove to the violent riot.

The bad economic situation that Americans lived in Los Angeles in 1992 can also considered as an additional trigger event that led to the racial confrontations between Whites and Blacks. The latter suffered from the decline of manufacturing in the town and the low-paying with regard to jobs. This bad African American economic situation had a negative impact on the society in which they lived; trade in drugs started to emerge as well as an increase in crimes. The problem of unemployment reached 50% among youth, and even if they found a job, they would be underemployed in bad conditions. Sociologists state that, starting from 1990, Los Angeles witnessed a decrease in demonstrations and the frequent use of courts in order to put an end to disputes between minorities in the American society. The decline in such social problems was because of the efforts that the Civil Rights Movements had made in order to claim the Black society rights of employment and protection from various attacks. The courts that were established everywhere began to prosecute the White police officers. An African American activist called Rodney King declared that the trail of the police officers was not sufficient and fair. For him, the court biased towards Whites than Blacks, and decided to deposit a suit against the City of Los Angeles for being attacked without any reason. The court compensated him with more than three million dollars, whereas the four officers were accused to be guilty in the violation of the King's rights. This was in 1993 when Officers Powell and Koon were accused of committing crimes against humanity and violating human rights. One year before, two other Black people were killed in Compton, California. These two African Americans were accused wrongly of stealing containers of

justice. Justice always biased towards the Whites' rights against Blacks. The violation of the Black rights on the part of the court itself showed clearly the system of segregation and racism against the African American community that was normally supposed to protect individual liberties. Because of such judicial bias against Blacks, the violent events in Los Angeles started to take place, and caused many casualties and victims. The system of justice was not fair, and participated in a way or another in terrorizing an American race that was supposed to be protected by this judicial institution. The violent events contributed in a negative way in destroying the United States' economy because of the various attacks on different institutions.

3.7 Pan African Congresses 1919-1945

The aim behind organizing these Congresses was to realize peace, prosperity and unity. They also took place because of the challenges in different domains, politically and socially. African Americans had the intention to change their way of lives, and they were conscious that no one could transform on their behalf. They realized that they themselves were the agents of transformation. The period between 1900 and 1919 witnessed the Pan African Movement. The latter can be traced back to the European invasion of the African Coast to transport African slaves against their will to the American and European Continents. The term Pan Africanism came to existence in 1900 when the lawyer Williams Henry Sylvester called Black people to organize a meeting in London to claim the discrimination between the different races and the racial face that the White administration showed against the Black community. The stealing of lands within the colonies was also another important subject that African Americans should discuss in this Congress. The call of Williams Sylvester was not the beginning towards freedom, but it was preceded indeed by the spirit of the whole Black community to be free, put an end to slavery and to realize the independence of Haiti. Revolution in Haiti had an objective which was to organize an expedition against the slave trade in Africa. So, because of the international conspiracy against the Pan Africanism, the leader of the revolution in Haiti was killed, and Europeans as well as their political and commercial partners made all their efforts not to let anyone impede the process of the intentional slave trade since they benefited a lot. Many American politicians, such as Frederick Douglas and Recharad Allen, revolted against slavery and called to free the African Continent from human exploitation. They showed that there was a link between African Americans in both Africa and America. In other words, the freedom of Africans in the United States of America could not be achieved unless it was stopped in Africa. The African

Methodist Episcopal Church was established in order to have a force to lead the Pan Africanism and liberation of Blacks to success. Some religious men decided to move to Africa to face the British colonization there. For example, Blyden, a Danish settler in the Caribbean, embraced the Islamic religion, and decided to go to Africa in order to sensitize the educated people, through his writings, to fight against the European colonial rule. His decision came to mind after the Europeans had organized the Berlin Conference in 1885 which had the intention to split the West African into parts in which each European country could gain at least a part.

So, as it was mentioned before, the period between 1900 and 1919 witnessed many meetings that gathered all African Americans all over the world to discuss all issues related to their future such as freedom and unity. The first Congress was held in 1900 in London and lasted three days. This meeting revolted against the European colonialism and occupation of Africa. The participants, by discussing such political issues, encouraged in a way or another politicians in Africa to flourish the Pan Africanism. As a result, the continent witnessed many challenges against the European settlement like the military resistance of the Ethiopian Emperor in the battles of Adowa, the revolution of Bambata in South Africa in 1906 as well as the opposition of Simon Kimbangu in Congo and Angola. In 1914, Marcus Garvey tried to spread the ideas of African liberation among the poor and persecuted workers from the different plantations in Costa Rica and domestic workers in New York. All these African American movements inside Africa and within the United States of America paved the way to the convention of the ‘Declaration of the Rights of the Negro People of the World’ in 1920.

Another Pan African meeting was organized by W.E. B Dubois 1919- 1945. Despite the fact that the first Pan African Congress had taken place in London in 1900, nineteen years after Dubois organized what he saw as the First Pan African Congress in Paris from 17th to 21st of February 1919. Dubois and the participants called that

*“The Land (in the colonies) must be preserved, with its natural resources, for the natives, their working conditions must be regarded by the law, and slavery and corporal punishment abolished, as well as forced labour, except for criminals... the natives of Africa must have the rights to participate in governments as rapidly as their development will permit... with the goal that in due time, Africa will be governed with the consent of Africans.”*⁵

The second Congress took place in 1921 in London and Brussels and Paris. The third one was held in London and Lisbon in 1923, whereas the fourth one was organized in 1927 in

⁵ Horace Campbell. *The Pan African Congress Movement: Building Solidarity for Emancipation and Transformation* (n.d).> <http://8thpanafricancongress.com/a-brief-history-of-pac/> retrieved on February, 21st 2015.

New York. The fifth African American Congress took place in Manchester in October 1945 and lasted for five days. Its final decisions were represented by facing the colonial rule and racism in Africa. It also established the independence networks all over the continent. The sixth Congress was organized in Ghana. DuBois who was expected to participate in the meeting could not travel to Ghana because of the fact that his passport was seized by the US government. Accra was the region where the meeting was organized. At this meeting, 62 nationalist and liberation movements participated. In this meeting, a political institution called Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa. Ghana had become an area that attracted Pan African leaders such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X who considered their travelling to Accra as a pilgrimage. The seventh Congress was held in Kampala, Uganda in 1994 and lasted six days.

The defeat of the apartheid army in 1988 encouraged the development of the Global PAM. The result of all the previous meetings played an important role in liberating Nelson Mandela. The congress was expected to take place in 1993, but it was postponed one year later because of the bad economic situation that made African leaders unable to host participants. The main issues that were discussed during the seventh congress were the future of African unity, the social progress and democracy. Some African governments did not send their representatives to the meeting. Only Libya, Ghana and Namibia provided resources for this Pan African Congress. Governments having leaders in the Pan African Movement like Mobutu of Zaire refused to attend the meeting because they were afraid that the Congress would be dominated by revolutionary groups opposed to them. Many of the discussions on the 7th Pan African Congress were based on the term Pan Africanism, and dealt with important subjects such as politics, economy and social change in the twenty first century within the territory of the African Continent and even outside in any issue related to Africans all over the world like African Americans who suffered a lot from the racial discrimination. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, was one of the many prominent leaders who participated in the meeting. She called for women's leadership in the Pan African movement. This resulted in the establishment of the Pan African Woman Liberation Organization. The Sudanese woman Fatima Babiker Mahmoud was elected the First President of the Pan African Woman Organization. In her message to the Congress, she revealed that all African women, including her, shared the same history and lived the same situation under racism as well as sharing the common subject of freedom. From 2012 there were meetings and consultations about the holding of the 8th Pan African Congress. The eighth congress of the Pan African

Movement exposed the question of how to be united in opposing the governments of dictatorship. This question paved the way to the call for the end of the series of Congresses. It saw that the main objective was to support any anti-dictatorship or anti-globalization movements in the streets all over the Pan African world. The Pan African movement of the streets and villages did not wait on governments to give them the green light to organize marches of freedom.

In the year 2012, there was a Pan African meeting to remember Tajudeen Abdul Raheem, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. A committee was established in order to organize the 8th Pan African Congress in Accra, Ghana. Among the main points that the participants insisted on were the call for union between Africans within the continent of Africa and the need for a complete freedom of Movement of the people, and Africans, all over the world, should be given their rights at home and abroad. African Americans started to organize different meetings and established many organizations and movements to which was assigned the task of claiming the civil rights and freedom on the behalf of the African American community. This subject of Black freedom movements will be discussed in the following section.

3.8 Freedom Movements

These Black movements started to take place in the middle of the twentieth century. Their aim was to put an end to racism and the segregated facilities in the Southern states. Their efforts resulted in pushing the court to take a final decision of issuing the Brown v. Board of education Law which prohibited the segregation against Black students in public schools. In 1955 in Alabama, there was segregation against African Americans at the level of all means of transport, and the Montgomery Bus Boycott was a good example. Many African leaders, such as Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks, reacted against these racial actions against the black race. The boycott against Blacks lasted more than one year, but the determination of the Black community succeeded to desegregate all means of transport especially buses in the city of Montgomery. Blacks continued to challenge the White racial face and the segregated political decisions that were taken against their rights of living together peacefully as human beings. Three freedom movements will be dealt with in detail in the following point.

3.8.1 Freedmen's Bureau

The Freedom's Bureau was a US federal government agency to which was assigned the role of helping the African Americans who were emancipated after the end of the destructive Civil War known as the period of Reconstruction. This bureau was also known as the Bureau

of Refugees, Freedom and Abandoned Lands. It was established by the Freedmen's Bureau Bill on the third of March, 1865, and was supported by Abraham Lincoln. The bureau was expected to work for one year directly after the end the Civil War. The efforts were mainly projected on the freed men of the South. The Bureau was linked to the United States War Department, and began to operate in 1865 under the supervision of the General Oliver Howard. The beginning was somehow difficult for those who were leading such civil rights organization especially in the South which showed a challenge against the federal leaders who had the intention to ban slavery and give freedom to southern slaves. The members of the Bureau were assigned the task of helping in looking for the lost African American families and teach them how to read and write. They also played the role of lawyers for the whole African American community at the level of both local and federal courts. Black plantation owners were also encouraged to re-establish their plantations again, and to help the emancipated Blacks to get jobs.

The Freedom's Bureau was also called to control the contracts between labour and management as it was also expected to play an important role in paving the way to both the White and Black communities to work together as employers and employees better than slaves and masters. The Bureau's charter was renewed by the Congress in 1866, but President Andrew Johnson objected to such decision because he was afraid that it would intervene in the States' affairs, and it would deprive the freed slaves of their individual liberties. Three years later, the Bureau faced a financial problem which obliged it to expel most of its staff. The Bureau closed its doors in the South after it became threatened by several attacks on the part of the Ku Klux Klan violent organization. In 1872, Congress gave up completely from supporting the Bureau and surprisingly shut it down without asking for the approval of Howard who sympathized with its members after he had been appointed at a higher political post in Washington. He was transferred to Arizona where he agreed to close the Freedom's Bureau that undoubtedly made great efforts in helping the Black community to overcome political, economic and social obstacles.

3.8.2 Freedom Rides

The middle of the twentieth century witnessed the establishment of an important organization against racism that spread all over the US territory. The institution, called the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE),⁶ established in 1961, decided to organize the Freedom

⁶ The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is a U.S. civil rights organization that played a pivotal role for African Americans in the Civil Rights Movement. Founded in 1942, CORE was one of the "Big Four" civil

Rides (see appendix 06) for the purpose of defying segregation against Blacks in the means of transport like buses, especially those taking the interstate lines. The participants who decided to travel on buses from Washington to Mississippi wanted to transmit a message to the White community showing that all human beings are from the same race, and have the same rights. The participants, i.e. riders, faced a violent objection in the southern area. The Black journey attracted the attention of the media which played an important role in sensitizing American people of the importance of equality between US citizens. It also succeeded to gain the intervention of President John Kennedy, and the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission which put an end to segregation on the means of transport as well as commerce.

The movement gained the sympathy of the authorities on one hand, but it caused a misunderstanding between African Americans themselves. In other words, the Freedom's Rides witnessed a conflict between the activists who took the charge of organizing the journey and Martin Luther King who encouraged them but did not participate. The journey was not the first one to be done, but there had been another one in 1947. The latter organized an interstate bus ride in which Whites and Blacks participated together. The intention of the riders was to see if the Supreme Court would respect its decision or not. The Court had decided to ban segregation on interstate buses which was seen as an attempt against constitution. The participants in the journey avoided the maximum to organize the movement in the Deep South, and preferred to defy segregation in the upper southern areas. The positive side of the ride was the absence of any kind of clashes between Black riders and the white security forces. So, the peaceful movement did not attract the attention of the media, and the organization failed then to achieve its goal represented by informing American people about their fight against segregation and the danger that might bring to the American society. Later, they started to demonstrate everywhere, and also they succeeded to gain the support of many political and religious institutions such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This great support helped the Freedom's Ride to attract the attention of the media which paved the way to some political changes on the part of the federal government.

rights organizations, along with the SCLC, the SNCC, and the NAACP. Though still existent, CORE has been much less influential since the end of the 1955–68 civil rights movement. CORE was founded in Chicago in March 1942. Among the founding members were James L. Farmer, Jr., George Houser, James R. Robinson, Samuel E. Riley, Bernice Fisher, Homer Jack, and Joe Guinn. Of the 50 original members 28 were men and 22 were women, roughly one-third of them were black and two-thirds white.^[1] Bayard Rustin, while not a father of the organization, was, as Farmer and Houser later said, "an uncle to CORE" and supported it greatly. The group had evolved out of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation, and sought to apply the principles of nonviolence as a tactic against segregation. Taken from > https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress_of_Racial_Equality

In general, 'Freedom Rides' included both races Blacks and Whites who travelled together on segregated buses. It was reported that two buses had left Washington on the fourth of May 1961 but did not succeed to reach New Orleans which was their destination. Historians reported that the ride participants were violently attacked and buses were burnt. Another attempt was undertaken by students who organized a new ride, but they were faced and treated the same way by police without any intervention on the part of the federal government. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was reluctant in its intervention and finally did nothing. So, in spite of all these barriers represented by the different White attacks on Black riders, the latter succeeded in compelling the Federal Government to make some laws banning segregation in the means of transport. These Black movements challenged the difficult situation they were living and pushed a part of the White community to sympathise with.

3.8.3 Freedom Schools

Starting from 1964, the United States of America began to give a chance to the African community to establish free schools especially in the South (see appendix 07). The establishment of all these educational institutions for Blacks were a result of the great efforts that the different Civil Rights Movements did in order to give them a chance to improve their political, social and economic situations and to reach a real equality between all minorities within the American society and all races especially the African American one that suffered a lot from the White discrimination policy that deprived them from all their rights as human beings and as American citizens as well. The most important Schools of Freedom was established in the City of Mississippi in 1964. One decade before, the Supreme Court issued an important law that was supposed to put an end to segregation in the educational field. This Act represented by the *Brown v. Board of Education* did not succeed to desegregate this sensitive domain; that is some cities like Mississippi, which did not have a mandatory education law, sent the Black children of rural areas to work instead of joining schools. Even if they were given the chance to be educated, they found themselves before a poor curriculum quite different of the one devoted to White students. In other words, the educational program was limited. So, in addition to the foreign languages, Black learners were not allowed to study the American history from 1860 to 1875. Mississippi then did not respect the Federal Act and still practised racism against Blacks and violated the Supreme Court's rulings by keeping separate systems of education between Blacks and Whites. In 1963, an activist, of the organization known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, called Charles Cobb suggested the establishment and finance of Freedom Schools. One year later, the idea started

to spread within the American society by some activists and educators. The latter tried to sensitize Black people of the importance of education and the necessity for the establishment of Freedom Schools for Blacks after Whites had closed the public schools as a negative reaction to the *Brown v. Board of Education* law issued by the Supreme Court which called for ending the White discriminatory school policy.

In 1964, Mississippi witness the organization of a freedom Summer Civil Rights plan of education devoted to the African American community. Many Civil Rights Movements participated in such project for the purpose of improving the social life of the Black race. The aim behind this meeting was to lead a parallel primary election since most of the presidential primaries were dominated by Whites as a result of the exclusion of Black voters. So, the participants in the project succeeded to found the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The latter as well as the official delegations dominated by Whites went together to the Democratic National Convention in New Jersey. The Black community made a great pressure on the federal authorities and won the political battle represented by the foundation of more than forty Freedom Schools along Mississippi. The attempt encouraged many African American students to become an active citizen within the American society. By the middle of 1964, thousands of Black students joined these schools and received an educational curriculum from volunteer teachers who, in turn, had political and educational objectives. Teachers wanted behind their efforts to make from their students agents of social change that were supposed to take a big share in the continuity of the Civil Rights Movements. Their educational program was a blend of political, economic and social issues having a close relationship with the Civil Rights Movements and the social link between all races within the American society.

3.9 Civil Rights Acts

As it was previously mentioned, the efforts made by African American Civil Rights Movements resulted in several acts which contributed efficiently in political and social changes. These important Acts are referred to briefly in the following passage.

The first Civil Rights Act to be discussed at the outset is the one of 1957. The aim was just to make certain that the Black community is included into the list of voters. The reality showed clearly that only 20% of them who were given the chance to do so. The Black majority living in the South was unable to vote because of the discriminatory voter registration laws. So, in spite of the establishment of rules related to voter registration on the part of several states as well as the federal government's role to ensure the Blacks' right to participate in any vote, many Civil Rights organizations gathered an available body of facts and

information indicating that the administrative discriminatory policy was still practised in different districts. So, the situation in the South was quite different if compared with the one in the North. In the former, many political organizations emerged as a reaction against giving Blacks the right to vote such as the Democratic Party represented at that time by the Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Baines Johnson of Texas, whereas the North was represented by senators whose political views were in favour of the African American community to be given its constitutional right to participate in any vote that might take place within the United States of America.

The executive branch established a Civil Rights Commission of six members to collect information on any violation of the voting citizens' rights that might base on the skin colour, race or religion. American people, especially African Americans, were given the opportunity to complain any difficulties they would face during the registration or voting. The commission lasted two years and ceased to work after it had sent its report to the President. Federal judges started to hear cases related to discrimination with or without juries, but since the federal selection of juries was directly related to the selection at the state level and to local rules; most of African Americans were excluded from being members of the juries that were established in the South. Later, the African American community succeeded to serve in the federal juries after the federal courts had been freed from the intervention of the state rules which impeded them to protect the Black's rights of voting and being members in the federal as well as state juries. So, through the section 161 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the coloured people became qualified and eligible to serve on juries in federal courts.

Civil Rights Act of 1960 was issued as a complementary Act of the previous one; it treated some of its shortcomings. It extended the authority of the federal judges at the expense of the state ones which showed their bias towards the White population. This expansion of authority aimed at protecting the citizens' voting right from any attempt of exclusion or discrimination against certain races. So, in spite of all these beneficial Acts, Blacks continued to organize demonstrations peacefully to make more pressure on state and federal authorities to gain more rights. Birmingham in 1963, witnessed a series of protests which later compelled President John Kennedy to send a message to the Black community through television. In his speech, he called for a new legislation that was supposed to give the chance to all citizens without exception to vote any future elections and to benefit from the public facilities such as hotels, theatres, restaurants and the rest of the institutions at the national level. In the summer of the same year, coordination was made between most of the Civil Rights Movements to run

a voter education in Mississippi. Later, the city witnessed the creation of the Freedom Summer in which many students from the North participated in this Civil Rights ceremony held for organizing the Black community and asking for more legislation to protect their rights. The assassination of President John Kennedy paved the way to another legislation represented by the Civil Right Act of 1964 which made the White discriminatory policy illegal. It also called to desegregate all institutions in different domains, in order to give American citizens the right to live within the same society and having the same social status regardless their skin colour, their religion and their national origin. The Federal Government did not stop at this point, but it continued to make other Acts such as the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which, in turn, put an end to the poll tax. The latter was imposed on every adult without reference to income or resources. It also tried to abolish any means that might keep African Americans from participating in the vote. So, all these significant Acts were a result of the Civil Rights movements which made hard attempts in making a great pressure on both the local authorities which showed their racial discrimination against the coloured community at the state level, and the federal government which did the best to make laws in favour of them, but sometimes faced difficulties and barriers because of the state rules.

Speaking about the Black Civil Rights Movements leads us to shed light on an important and famous figure that showed a great challenge against the White Supremacy that became a rule imposed forcefully on Black citizens. This personality is Martin Luther King who will be referred to in the following section.

3.10 Martin Luther King, the African American Hero

Martin Luther King (see appendix 08) was an African American preacher and the most popular leader of the Civil Rights Movements that did the best to make changes not only within the American society but also at the international level. He was born on 15th of January, 1929 in Atlanta, Georgia. His parents were Baptist preachers in the same city. Starting from his childhood, he used to attend the segregated schools till he obtained his bachelor in the domain of sociology in the Morehouse College in Georgia in 1948. King was influenced by the philosophy of Mohandas Gandhi which disliked violence. He continued his studies and succeeded to get his PhD degree in 1955 from Boston University. After he had joined the different antiracism movements, he was selected as a member of the executive committee of the National association for the Advancement of the Coloured People. After showing his

ability and success, he was elected president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference⁷ in 1957 which encouraged him greatly to practise the task of this religious mission throughout the South. He then faced many difficulties in his political life. As a Christian activist in SCLC, he led a Black bus boycott in Alabama where he was arrested and his followers. He succeeded later to gain a good national reputation as the bus boycott dragged on.

Martin Luther king was one of the great activists of human rights and the racial view towards the Black population and the rest of different minorities within the American society. He had a great dream that he had fought for a long time till he left life definitely. He died, but his dream remained alive and was claimed later by millions of African American people. His message then was transmitted to all people all over the world who advocated the ideas of freedom and justice. So, not only Americans who were interested in the issue of human rights but every person in the world, since racism did not exist only in America but it had been found in many parts of the globe where people were still suffering from the discriminatory policy of the local authorities. Martin Luther King as well as other activists claimed the American Dream that was considered as a hope to live in peace with all races without conflicts or racial view towards each other. He wanted then to see every American getting his rights and treated with the same way as other members of different races. According to him, all people then should be given the right to express their ideas freely, believing that he and his followers could change the current situation if they put hand in hand fighting together the racial face that the society had towards the coloured citizens. He reminded the white people as well as the authorities that that the discriminatory policy should be banned and replaced by a policy of equality and justice, since all men were created free and equal by one creator. Through such message, Martin wanted to remind Americans of the Constitution of 1787 and the Bill of rights that was added. The latter for him was the reference of their rights, but unfortunately it was forgotten and violated by the federal government. In the sixties of the twentieth century,

⁷ The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is an African-American civil rights organization. SCLC, which is closely associated with its first president, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had a large role in the American Civil Rights Movement. On January 10, 1957, following the Montgomery Bus Boycott victory and consultations with Bayard Rustin, Ella Baker, and others, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. invited about 60 black ministers and leaders to Ebenezer Church in Atlanta. Their goal was to form an organization to coordinate and support nonviolent direct action as a method of desegregating bus systems across the South. On February 15, a follow-up meeting was held in New Orleans. Out of these two meetings came a new organization with Dr. King as its president. Initially called the "Negro Leaders Conference on Nonviolent Integration," then "Southern Negro Leaders Conference," the group eventually chose "Southern Christian Leadership Conference" (SCLC) as its name. Information taken from > https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_Christian_Leadership_Conference

he was seen as the most important leader of the civil rights movements having the intention to put an end to segregation in the American society that lasted for several years.

The Martin's messages and speeches that called for fighting racism peacefully are still being claimed in our time in many countries where Black people are still deprived of their rights and civil liberties. After his death, African Americans did not stop to this process, but they carried on the Martin's way of defending their rights, and did the best to realize their African American Dream. For them, the time Barack Obama announced his candidacy for the presidential elections in 2008, as a candidate of the Democratic Party, was considered as the first step towards the realization of the Black Dream. The latter was claimed by Martin in his speech of 1963 when he said 'I have a dream'. At that time he felt that this was not impossible, but it could be achieved if Blacks made efforts to fight for. People, who were listening to this word 'dream', were not sure that this could be realized. For them, it seemed to be just an imagination. They based their view on the fact that the Black community was weak and did not have the capacity to fight the racial white community which dominated the political institutions especially the legislative department that used to create severe laws against Blacks only. The Martin's speech was just a theory that lacked real practice on the ground. Through time, it was proved that Martin Luther King was right when he said that the Black dream could be achieved. It was indeed through the civil rights movements that succeeded to get the right of voting and the participation of many leaders in the political life by being active members in different political parties that African Americans realized their dream of ruling the powerful country considered as the world leading power. So, with the election of Obama as the Democrat senator of the state of Illinois in 2004, and his victory for presidency in 2008, the Black community moved a step forwards despite the fact that the Black president did not have much experience in the field of politics. With all this political progress, the American dream of Martin Luther King and President Kennedy became a reality of equal rights and dignity for both whites and blacks.

Researchers state that both Martin Luther King and Barack Obama represented the Black challenge against the White Supremacy that imposed its unjust administration for centuries without giving the chance to the coloured race to move freely or participate in ruling the internal affairs of the country at the federal or state affairs. It was a challenge indeed in which both African American leaders represented change in the United States through history. So, it was in fact a new way of defying the racial reality through a challenge guided by ethical values and democratic principles. Via such emotions, they succeeded to touch in a way or

another the sensible hearts of many Blacks and Whites who had dreams, hope and wishes to see Americans united as one man against racism and the divisive issues that might create hostility between American brothers. Both slogans of both Martin and Obama “I have a dream” and “Yes, we can” had one sense represented by the fact that it was possible for Americans to achieve the American Dream. So, Barack Obama is an important and a famous Black personality that is supposed to continue the Martin Luther King’s dream and the spirit that is always felt read and felt between the lines of his speech in 1963 can never be forgotten or destroyed at any circumstances in the future. So, the Martin’s speech was a motivating message and a dream that has been shared by all Americans not only Blacks and for generation to come in order to see a real union made by all American citizens regardless their origins, their religions or their skin colours. African Americans have been really motivated to overcome all these obstacles, and their dream was achieved later during the victory of Obama for presidency, but it was not a complete achievement. One could notice that despite all these good legislations for the protection of Civil Rights, the United States of America still has a racial face towards the African community which, in turn, still complains about the difficulties it is facing nowadays and the White hostility in some cities at the level of all domains.

3.11 Conclusion

The third part of the present dissertation is very important. It is so in the sense that it dealt with a significant issue in the American history represented by the emergence of the Civil Rights movements and their positive contributions in the success process of claiming their political, economic and social rights. So, the middle of the twentieth century was an important era that witnessed a real struggle against the White Supremacy that had lasted for centuries in which the Black community was deprived of all its rights and the minimum of living standards. It was because of this main reason that African Americans started to establish different organizations led by Civil Rights groups to which was assigned the role of claiming the individual liberties on the behalf of millions of Black people. The first point that was discussed in this part was the era of reconstruction which is considered as the starting point of Blacks to get their rights as American citizens. This period of time in the American history was a good opportunity for them to impose themselves and make a political pressure on the federal and state authorities to make some reforms that might result in realizing equality between all minorities that existed within the American society. Their movements succeeded later to force the white officials to offer thousands of African Americans some political posts at the level of the state and at the national level as well. So, after they had been neglected,

marginalized and deprived of their right to vote, to be well educated and to be enlisted in the military for centuries, the black politicians found themselves in the heart of the American authority. So, the Post-Civil War era known as the Reconstruction witnessed a black invasion into the field of politics, and exactly at the level of state constitutional conventions. Black politicians then had the chance to be selected and elected in each state. In some states like South Carolina, they succeeded to overwhelm the constitutional convention. This political situation led them to take important decisions in favour of American people especially the citizens from the same race. In other words, the African American influence in the domain of politics had indeed a direct relation with the number of African politicians that could obtain high political posts. The more posts they had, the more decisions they could make in favour of blacks. One could say that the African American participation in the state constitutional conventions had a direct influence on their legislative departments.

The participation of Blacks in different political discussions was not because of the white conviction, but because of the pressure that had been made through their demonstrations in the street all over the nation. Not only the riots that paved the way to their freedom, but also their participation in different wars. African Americans were promised to be given their freedom and the American citizenship if they participated in the different world wars side by side with the U.S army such the First World War, the Second World War, the Korean War and the Vietnam War. So, in spite of their contribution in many battles which resulted in many victories, they were still not respected but marginalized, and their efforts were for naught. This does not mean that they did not benefit from some political reforms, but there were some of them who succeeded to be enlisted in the military as soldiers and officers; they were given the opportunity to be educated having also the right to be allowed to teach in schools. This acceptable black social status did not please other terrorist groups which considered it as an African American invasion on the white community. Despite the fact that this was the minimum of rights Blacks could get, it was seen as a real threat to the white population. This racial view urged the emergence of some terrorist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan. The latter was created as a reaction to the process of emancipation in the nineteenth century and continued to fight against blacks till the twentieth. Their aim behind the violent actions was to reinforce the White Supremacy in order not to let African Americans succeed in achieving social and political equality with Whites. In spite of all these white restrictions, the African Americans showed their challenge against their exclusion from the political life. Their challenge against the white discriminatory policy came as a result of the different Civil Rights

movements that were established in different states whose main aim was to face such a racial discrimination against the black race that should normally be taken into consideration and should also been offered American citizenship. The latter was lacked and it was the best opportunity for many black leaders to claim this right. Later, they succeeded, through their continuous riots in the street for years, to get the voting right as well as the one of citizenship. This led them to join the different political parties, and declared themselves as candidates for state legislatures and the national one represented by the Congress. Among those who succeeded to do so, we have Barrack Obama who, in turn, did not hesitate to engage into the presidential elections of 2008 as a candidate of the Democratic Party.

This issue leads us to shed light briefly on the African American history in the twenty first century and the black contributions which paved the way for Obama's victory in the presidential elections previously mentioned which will be dealt with in detail in the following chapter. So, the fourth chapter, which seems to be the most important part of the dissertation, will be devoted to the issue of the realization of the African American Dream represented by the victory of Obama in the presidential elections, and the expectations of Black people under his administration.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

The subject that was dealt with in the present dissertation is very important. It is so in the sense that it referred to significant periods of time in the African American history. The latter led us to discuss many historical issues related to the struggle of the black community against the process of enslavement which lasted for centuries, starting from the era that followed directly the discovery of the American Continent to the twenty first century which witnessed the victory of Black candidate for U.S Presidency for the first time in the American history. The discovery then attracted many European countries to engage into the process of settlement of several parts of the continent. Settling the area needed urgently to bring people from their home countries, and encourage them to live an uncertain future in the new world. European immigrants at that time had different intentions and hopes. Some of them intended to get freedom, whereas others came to seek for fortune in the new land which was viewed as an area with unlimited natural resources. Researchers state that not all European settlers came voluntarily to America, but there were others indeed who were brought forcefully from their countries by traders from different countries of the world. So, the fact of kidnapping people and separating them from their families against their will was a crime against humanity that lasted for a long time. It was indeed the crime of slavery. The latter was our exact area of inquiry in which we shed light, in our modest dissertation, on the harsh circumstances that African Americans lived through history, and the way they freed themselves from slavery after a great challenge against White Supremacy till they succeeded to realize their dream in 2008 when a Black president came to preside the United States of America. Undoubtedly, the fact of ruling a world leading power was not easy, but it was achieved indeed by patience and struggle against the illegal trade of human beings and the racial treatment towards the coloured people.

In the present dissertation, we attempted to discuss many significant subjects in the African American history starting from the early seventeenth century which witnessed the outset of the slave trade in the American continent to the early twenty first century which, in turn, witnessed the achievement of the African Dream in presiding the United states of America for the first time in the American history. In order to well organize the work, some important issues related to the African American history were discussed in a chronological way. First, it discussed the process of enslavement and the institutionalization of slavery in America. The latter led us to refer briefly to the British settlement of the northern American area and the establishment of the first American colony Virginia. This colony undoubtedly

reminds us of the arrival of the first group of indentured servants from the African continent. This happened as a result of a conspiracy between the Africans themselves and the European traders. Second, the struggle against human exploitation was also referred to in order to show that African Americans did not surrender to the reality, but they were determined to put an end to their suffering through slave resistance and abolitionism. In other words, they defied the slaveholders, and openly resisted towards their illegal way of holding people. The black resistance against slavery caused many victims of those who rebelled because of the fact that they found it morally unacceptable.

The era of reconstruction was also discussed in the sense that it was considered as the starting point of the process of emancipation of the enslaved people who felt, for the first time, that freedom was not impossible and that it could undoubtedly be achieved one day. The period also witnessed the abolitionist movement which succeeded to transform its ideology from moral to a political activism. The emergence of such movement encouraged a large number of enslaved people to escape from the slaveholdings. The slave rebellion then was encouraged by the northern officials who reacted against the illegal enslavement of innocent people in the South, and engaged later into a bloody and destructive conflict that lasted for four years and resulted in thousands of victims of both sides. African Americans seized the opportunity to join the war having the intention to get their complete rights they had claimed about for a long time. Later, in the middle of the twentieth century, many African American Civil Rights movements emerged to defend the black individual liberties. These movements were led by the most known leaders like Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and others who did not hesitate to expose their lives to risk in order sensitize the whole world about their political, economic and social situation they were living under a racial administration. The period of twenties of the same century and the economic crisis known as the great depression also had an impact on the black community which benefited from the era of Roosevelt, and got the right of being integrated into the political institutions. It was in fact a good opportunity to impose themselves and benefited later from high posts in different domains of life especially the military and politics till they realized their main aim represented by the presidential victory.

The present dissertation was organized into four chapters; each one represented an important period of time in the African American history. The first part referred to the way the subject of slavery started to take place within the American society and its relation with other continents like Europe and Africa. The latter was the source of such disaster of human exploitation. A historical view was presented in this part to show that the process of

enslavement did not start in the seventeenth century only, but it had taken place before that throughout the earliest periods of time. In other words, the process of indentured servitude had been exercised starting from the ancient times till the modern periods before it was prohibited in the beginning of the nineteenth century. As it has already pointed out, three continents were linked to each other in terms of slave trade. This trade was spread in America, Europe and Africa. The latter was given an importance in my dissertation. Slavery in the south, the North and the West of the continent were all discussed in detail. The West African slave trade began to develop during the coming of foreign Muslim and European traders with the demand for labour. The northern part was quite different. This means that not only Africans who were threatened by enslavement, but Europeans were also attacked by Pirates who seized the opportunity to enslave them and give them to Arab rulers for the sake of making a pressure on the European governments. Historians state that the process of enslavement in both the West and the North was not the same. In the West, it was characterized by the black slavery in which most slave masters were black; however the North witnessed a white enslavement of black people. One could notice that the practice of slavery had started to take place within the African continent itself and by African traders themselves before they began to make contacts with Europeans who became interested in transporting the African slaves to the new American continent to be used in the field of plantation especially in the South.

The exercise of this criminality against innocent humanity was not limited in the African part only, but it was spread to the rest of the world. This slave trade extension was due to the strong economic connection that really existed between the African traders and the European ones who did the best to make profits in different goods and materials sold to the African tribes before this was developed to be practised even on human beings who, in turn, were badly treated, and also transported from one place to another as chattel properties. The only victims of such international slave trade were the coloured people. The latter were bought in large numbers to Europeans, and separated from their families for ever. It was indeed a criminal action to enslave persons as well as their children for life. This happened in the colonial period that started in the era of the British settlement of the North America that began with the establishment of the first colony Virginia. The colony witnessed hard living conditions for all the enslaved people who were deprived of their rights as human beings. These cruel slave conditions started to disappear especially in the antebellum period when slaves were permitted to live together with their families without being separated from each other as it had happened to them before. They were also allowed to practise their own African

traditions. On the whole, the slave family was granted a great significance and value after the slave masters began to understand that their enslaved people were also human beings and deserved to be respected and well treated like the rest of people, and they also deserved to live their own styles of life keeping within their African traditions and religious beliefs.

The Civil War was also an important event to be referred to. It is so in the sense that it divided the American society into two parts; one for slavery and the second quite against. So, while the North was doing the best to stop the human exploitation, the violation of human rights and the economic development at the expense of innocent people, the South continued to practise the illegal international trade which was beneficial and needed for making daily profits as it was also seen as a source for economic growth. Blacks did not hesitate to seize any opportunity given to them through which they might be free. They participated in the American Revolution, and sided with the British forces having the intention to please them and get their freedom finally. The black participation in the war was not clear; it was ambiguous in the sense that they were divided between those who sided to Britain and those who saw that their good future would be with the American rebels. One could say that Black slaves, in general, were fighting for their freedom. They strongly believed they were all human beings like others, and they had undoubtedly the right to live together peacefully on the globe. This was in fact the main principle of the organization of the Anti-Slavery Society that emerged later in order to defend the content of the Declaration of independence and American Constitution which both called for equality and justice between all races within the American society. Later, serious debates over the subject of slavery started to take place in different states, especially in Virginia. Its legislature witnessed serious discussions over the abolition of such disaster in human exploitation. These discussions did not happen in the state of Virginia only, but this was spread to other areas like Philadelphia which was determined to discuss this issue to see if it was possible to free African slaves and sending them to their mother countries in the African continent, but this was impossible to be realized. Another view of solving the problem of slavery was presented by President Lincoln who decided to liberate all enslaved people but in a slow process that might help the federal authorities to finance this operation of slave emancipation. He expected that this process would be applied to all States in order to liberate all slaves at the level of the national territory. President Lincoln called the state representatives to help any state having the decision to free its slaves.

The process of abolition of slavery was expected to happen gradually and not urgently. After Lincoln had been assassinated, his successor Andrew Johnson and the Congress attempted to draw a plan of rebuilding the South after it had been destroyed because of the

war. President Johnson was intelligent in his political decisions. In other words, he decided to forgive all those southerners who rebelled against the North, and allowed them to participate in different states' administrations. It did so in order to encourage them to stop practising slavery. His decisions came with some good results, and the process of emancipation still continued. A large number of the liberated people started to live their normal life like the rest of American citizens, but the freedom was not complete of course; this means that the black people still faced some difficulties and still faced racism and lacked important rights. This situation compelled them to establish many organizations having the main principle to defend their freedom. This leads us to talk about the third part of the dissertation.

The third chapter was devoted then to the discussion of the different Civil Rights movements that emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century which is considered by many historians as the most important era in the American history. In this part, we referred to the black positive contributions in the successful movements that claimed the political, economic and social rights. The era, previously mentioned, witnessed a historical struggle against the White Supremacy that deprived the black community of their minimum of rights. Different civil Rights organizations were set up in order to defend their individual liberties on the behalf of millions of Black people and impose their political ideas for the sake of making a political pressure on the federal and state authorities in order to make some reforms through which they might realize equality between all minorities that existed within the American society. Their movements succeeded later to force the white officials to offer thousands of African Americans some political posts at the state and at the national levels. So, after centuries of marginalization, neglect and violation of individual liberties such as the right of voting and being well educated, the black community, led by the Civil rights leaders, succeeded to win most of these rights, and found itself in the heart of political authority side by side with the white officials. So, the end of the nineteenth century witnessed the black invasion into the political domain. In other words, Black politicians were elected and appointed at the level of different political institutions in which they participated in ruling the internal state affairs in all domains of life. In some states, they succeeded to obtain the majority of members in the legislatures and the constitutional conventions. It was indeed a good opportunity for them to take important decisions in favour of the American citizens especially the black minority.

The African American influence in the domain of politics had undoubtedly a close relationship with the number of Africans that could obtain high political posts. So, the more posts they obtained, the more political decisions they could make in favour of the African American community. Historians state that the participation of blacks in the political domain

was not due to the fact that they succeeded to convince the white officials to do that, but it was because of the pressure that had been made through their frequent demonstrations in the streets all over the nation. This good black situation was viewed by other terrorist groups as a threat to their existence, although this was the minimum of rights Blacks could obtain. These racial and terrorist views towards blacks urged the emergence of violent groups like the Ku Klux Klan which carried on its terrorist against blacks till the twentieth century. Their aim behind the violent actions was to spread terror among blacks and reinforce the White Supremacy in order not to let them achieve social and political equality with Whites. These violent groups did not succeed to stop the black process towards a complete freedom. The African American community really showed a great challenge towards the racial discrimination in all states. Afterwards, they succeeded to obtain their rights like the U.S citizenship and the possibility to participate in various elections via their ongoing demonstrations in the streets for decades. As a result, they succeeded to engage into politics and to join the different political parties. They became candidates for state legislatures and the Congress as well. The fact of winning the candidacy in the most known parties like the Democratic Party and the republican one led us to refer directly to the issue of the presidential elections in 2008 and the victory of the Black Democratic candidate for the first time in the U.S history. This was discussed in the fourth chapter of my dissertation.

The last chapter was devoted to the discussion of the positive contributions of the black community in the victory of Barack Obama in the elections previously mentioned. It was considered as a dream that was supposed to be realized during this victory of the black Democratic candidate. In this part, a historical view over the early participation of African Americans into politics in both parties was discussed in detail in order to show that the victory of 2008 had a direct relation with what had happened in the previous centuries that witnessed a great struggle and challenge against the social and political restrictions imposed by the white officials on the black population. So, despite the fact that both parties participated in the practice of slavery through history, they later rebelled against this disaster, and gave Blacks the chance to be members and to take important political decisions within these parties. African Americans changed their political directions towards both parties according to their interests. For instance, they advocated the Republican Party during the era of Abraham Lincoln who waged a war against the southern slave practitioners, and succeeded to ban slavery in the whole territory. His anti-slavery view as well as his operation against the process of enslavement encouraged African Americans to advocate his political decisions and support the Republican Party in all presidential and legislative elections. But this black view

did not last for a long time and soon changed the direction towards the Democratic Party in the era of President Roosevelt who helped African Americans to gain a political position within its administration. This situation led them to sympathize with the Democratic Party rather than Republicans.

The victory in the presidential elections in 2008 was the concrete proof of the Blacks' interest in supporting the Democratic Party. Since then, the majority of them have been Democrats. This fact paved the way to the good position that the Democratic Party still occupies in the U.S political life. As a result of this Black support, Barrack Obama as a Democratic Candidate and as an African American politician succeeded to win the elections and became the first Black president of the United States of America. The victory was viewed as a historical moment that witnessed a significant shift in the US political situation. The elections that took place in 2008 showed clearly to the whole world that the event did not have any relation with race, but it was indeed purely political through which the African American community realized its dream of leading the most powerful country in the world. One could notice that in spite of these political achievements, Blacks are still facing discrimination at different levels and did not succeed to put an end to racism completely. This racial situation still exists, and violent crimes are still being committed against Blacks of both the white citizens and the security forces. Finally, one could conclude that the United States has not stopped its discriminatory policy and has not changed yet its racial face against the black community in spite of the different political decisions in favour of all minorities including the Black one.

Chapter Four

Realization of the African American Dream Obama in the White House

Chapter Four

Realization of the African Dream: Obama in the White House

4.1-Introduction	172
4.2- African American Contribution in the U.S Political Life	173
4.3- United States Presidential Election, 2008	178
4.4- Contributing Factors in the Election of Obama	182
4.4.1- The Minorities' Participation in the Presidential Elections	182
4.4.2- War in Iraq	185
4.4.3- Bush's Lack of Popularity	188
4.4.4- Obama's Change vs. the Hillary's Experience	190
4.4.5- The Economic Factor	192
4.5- Political life of Barack Obama	194
4.5.1- Obama's Legislative Membership	198
4.6- Does President Obama satisfy the needs of the Black Community?	200
4.7- Attitudes of Blacks towards Obama's Administration	205
4.8- Attitudes of Obama towards the Criminal Events against Blacks	209
4.9- Has the United States Changed its Racial Face?	212
4.10- Conclusion	219

4.1 Introduction

The fourth part of the dissertation will be devoted to the issue of African American participation in the political domain and its contribution to the development of the United States of America. African Americans and their descendents have helped to build America in many domains: politics, economics, social reform, military service, culture, music and sport. All these contributions made America successful and powerful. They also made it a rich country and a commercial leader in the world of economy. In general, the African Americans made the United States of America a world-leading power in all fields of life. The last chapter, which seems to be the most important part of the present dissertation, discusses some significant historical points such as the African American contribution in the domain of politics, the presidential elections of 2008 which was considered as a turning point in the American history, and the most important factors that contributed efficiently in the victory of the Black Democratic candidate, Barrack Obama (see appendix 10). With regard to this issue, we will discuss the participation of the minorities, especially the Black one, in the presidential elections previously mentioned, and their great they played in changing the political traditions of USA which had never seen a Black candidate participating in such political competition.

The U.S foreign policy will also be discussed in order to shed light on the Bush administration that made big political mistakes like the War in Iraq because of the lack of better presidential advisors. The bloody and destructive war was the main weak point of President Bush, who gave a good opportunity to the Democratic candidate Barrack Obama to sensitize American people of the danger that Republicans presented to the country. The war caused indirectly an important factor represented by the lack of Bush popularity. So, since the war in Afghanistan and Iraq started to take place, the popularity of President Bush began to decrease because of the fact that American citizens were afraid of their future which was threatened by the lack of internal security as a result of the military intervention outside the U.S territories and the crimes committed against innocent people in the Arabic and Islamic countries. The Obama's intention and determination of political change against the Hillary experience in the domain of politics was also another important factor that led to African American victory. In this point, we will give examples from the U.S history to show that not always the experience which gains. In other words, In spite of the political experience of Hillary Clinton over years and the great support from her husband Bill Clinton, Obama succeeded to win because of his determination to change the political tradition of the country that always came with a white man and selected experience more than other criteria. So, after

discussing the African American participation in the political life and the membership of many Blacks in the political parties, especially the Democratic and Republic parties and the most important factors that played a positive role in coming of a black president, we try to shed light on the economic situation that compelled citizens to call for a radical change that might come with a new political face that might realize the Americans' aims for a better life.

After dealing with economy, we move to present a brief history over the Obama's life from childhood till he won presidency. Then, many other issues will be referred to such as the attitudes of African Americans towards the Obama's administration to see if it satisfied their needs or not, and the attitudes of President Obama himself towards the hate crimes committed everyday by the white terrorists on Black innocent people without being severely punished. A significant question will be asked at the end of the modest dissertation to see if Obama has succeeded to change the racial face of the United States or not. Many examples will be given to see the reality on the ground and what it is still happening to African Americans under the administration of a president from the same minority and the same Black race. So, all these political, economic and social issues will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.2 African American Contribution in the U.S Political Life

The emergence of the political parties in the United States of America, as a result of the different political ideologies between the Federalists and the anti federalists in the period after the adoption of the constitution, divided the American society into two political factions, the Democrats and the Republicans. The Black community caught in a dilemma a difficult choice whether to join the Democratic Party or to be Republican. They were in this difficult situation because of the fact that both of them were practising slavery and violated the human rights of the Black race which suffered for centuries from the disaster of human exploitation. Later, in the era of Abraham Lincoln, Blacks sympathized with him because they felt that his administration began to fight of liberty and emancipation for their rights on their behalf against the discriminatory policy of the South. From that time and for decades, African Americans became overwhelmingly Republicans. Later, in the era of Roosevelt, their political direction changed towards Democrats. So, many questions can be asked for this issue:

- What made African Americans join the Democrats during the Depression Era?
- Why did African Americans vote for Franklin Roosevelt, although the Democratic Party had traditionally denied their basic civil rights?

The era of the Great Depression affected the Black working community by switching their allegiance during this important period of economic crisis. Roosevelt made all his attempts to

convince the southern Democrats to accept the African Americans to vote at the party level in their states. He also gave them the opportunity to be advisors in his administration. He also insisted that Blacks had also the right of relief and assistance in any worst situation. By such decision, Roosevelt succeeded to gain the support of African Americans for decades.

As it has already been appointed out, the era of Reconstruction witnessed a new political direction in the history of African Americans. During this time, the latter were given the chance to intervene in the business of politics, for the first time in the U.S history. So, a small number of African American politicians called the authorities to make some political, economic and social reforms during the era of reconstruction. Their political call was well received, and within a period of time of a decade, thousands of them succeeded to be appointed at political posts at the level of states and at the national level as well. These Black statesmen found themselves in the heart of the American authority after they had been persecuted, neglected, marginalized and deprived even from their right to vote for centuries. So, the historical African American engagement into the domain of politics was held after the Civil War at the level of the state constitutional conventions. As a result, many of them had the chance to be selected and elected in each state. The number of the Black participation into the constitutional conventions and their political influence differed from state to another depending on the Black size of population in the area. So, the more the big population African Americans had, the more political posts and legislative seats would be obtained.

The green light which was given to the Black community to participate into the political life encouraged the coloured people to seize this good opportunity to enter as members into the different political parties with the intention to improve the African American life and get more rights as American citizens. They began to play an important role in the political life of the United States of America. Both Republican and Democratic parties were the target of many of them. After the historical destructive and divisive war, the majority of Blacks were interested in the Republican Party rather than the Democratic one. This interest had a direct relation with the era of abolitionism during the era of Abraham Lincoln who made all his efforts to ban slavery and fight all those southerners who did not hesitate at any time to make profits at the expense of human beings under the pretext of White Supremacy. Abraham Lincoln was seen as a hero by the African American community which, in turn, did not hesitate to help him in different votes and political campaigns. In the opposite side, the Southern Democrats strongly objected to Black rights over centuries later. They were not permitted to officially participate in any Democratic meeting. This situation lasted for a long time till 1924. Things started to take another political

direction during the era of Great Depression of the 1930's with the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt. The latter was an opportunity given to the minorities, especially the African American community, to find jobs and to be integrated into the American society as citizens that might contribute in the development of the nation. So, despite the fact that the African Americans represent less than 45% in the Democratic Party, the great majority of them, which exceeded 70%, preferred to vote for this party in the presidential elections rather than to the Republican side. The Roosevelt program succeeded to gain the support of the African American community. This Black support encouraged the federal authorities, during the era of the Democratic Harry Truman in 1948, to do the best to desegregate the military domain by giving more opportunities to Blacks to be soldiers and officers in different military specialties. In addition, they were also given the right to employment in federal institutions in order to show them that the discriminatory policy under the administration of the Democratic Party did not exist at all. All these Democratic executive laws contributed in a way or another to increase the percentage of Blacks in the party from less than 45% to more than 50%.

The graph below (fig.15) shows clearly the Black Party Affiliation from 1936 to 2012 that the African American Community has become interested by the Democratic Party starting from the Truman administration which issued several executive laws to improve their social and political lives.

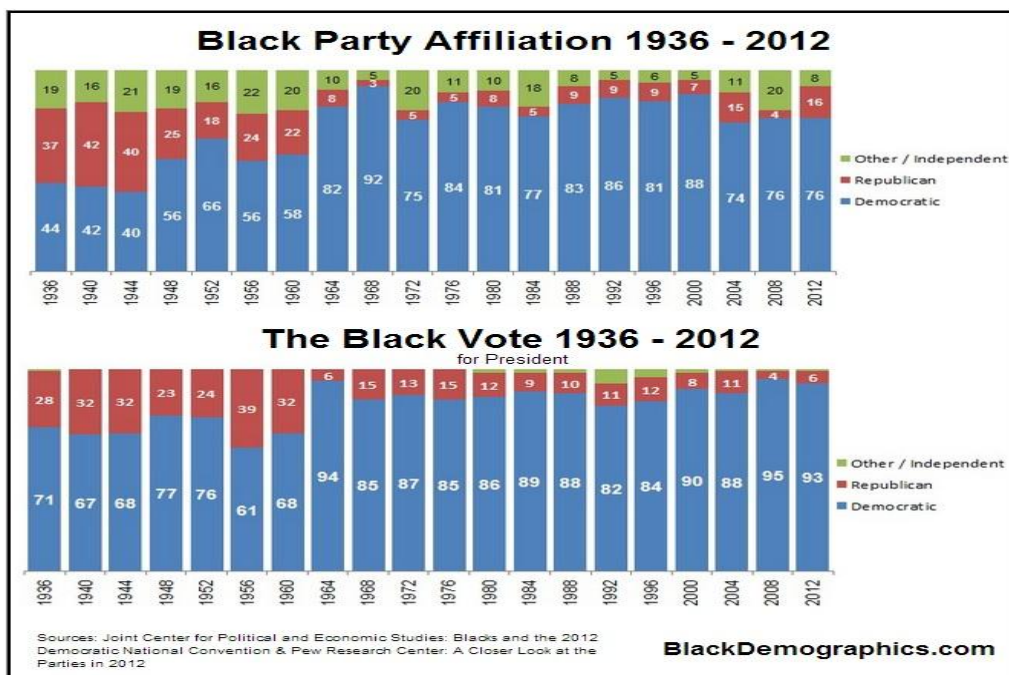


Figure 15: Black Vote and Party Affiliation from 1936-2012

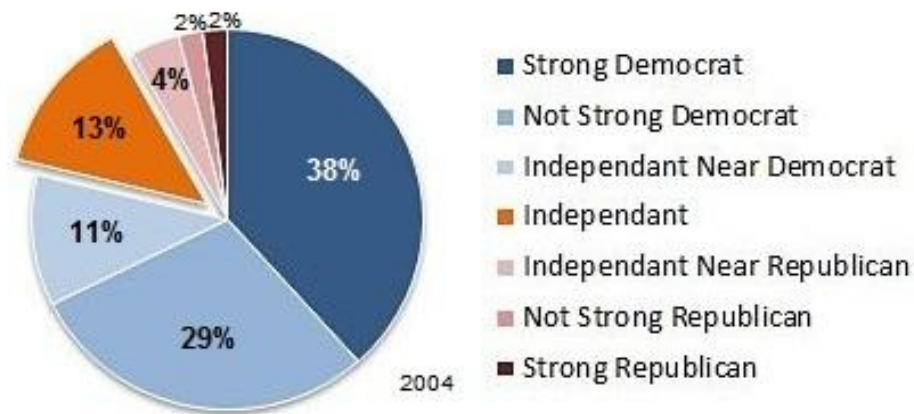
(Source: <http://blackdemographics.com/culture/black-politics/>)

The figure above (fig.15) reveals that Black citizens were really interested in supporting the Democratic Party. As it is shown in the graph, President Truman in 1948 gained the political assistance of African Americans from 68% in 1944 to 76% in 1952. This political situation and this Black new political direction were due to his executive laws in favour of the Black community. The year of 1964 was the top of the Black support for the Democratic Party, 94% of African Americans voted for Democratic presidency. This was the result of the Civil Right legislation proposed by President John Kennedy and signed by Lyndon Banes Johnson later. This legislation banned the discriminatory policy against Blacks in the public institutions.

The Republican Party was somehow completely ignored by the Black community; only 06% who voted for its candidate Barry Gold Water. The results of 94% of Black votes for Democrats against 06% in favour of Republicans were a great victory and a record that was still maintained till 2008 which witnessed the historical Black victory that came with Barack Obama as the first Black President to rule the United States of America. The results previously mentioned were due to the signature of President Johnson of the Voting Act of 1964 which actually encouraged the majority of African Americans to become later Democrats rather than Republicans. It was a message to both Democrats and Republicans that African American community was really a political power that should be taken into account, and that it could easily cause the victory of any political party that preserved and protected their civil rights and individual liberties. The record of 1964, during the Kennedy administration and the Johnson's later, was challenged by the results of the presidential elections of 2008 which showed that 93% voted for the Democratic Party represented by Obama at that time, and only 06% who voted in favour of the Republicans. The majority of Blacks then were Democrats, 76% of them were Democrats whereas those who advocated the Republican program were only 04%. After the end of the first Obama's term at the head of the US administration and exactly in 2012, only 16% of Blacks considered themselves Republicans, whereas the percentage of Democrats was kept the same (76%). So, according to the graph above (fig.12) the majority of Blacks became Democrats and the number increased from 44% against 37 of Republicans in 1936 to 76% against 16% of Black Republicans in 2008.

The graph below in fig.16, which is about the political affiliation of the Black community in a period of four years between 2000 and 2004, shows the political situation of the African Americans and their contributions to the political parties.

The figure above is a support of the comment previously mentioned about the statistics of figure15. It is so in the sense that the majority of Blacks preferred to join the Democratic Party; 38% considered themselves as strongly Democrats against 02% of the Republican side in 2000. Two years later, the number decrease to 36% but this did not have an impact on the whole allegiance towards the party. The whole percentage, including strong Democrats, not strong Democrats and the independent near Democrats reaches 71%, whereas the whole percentage of the Black Republicans, including all categories reaches 11% in 2000. With regard to 2002, the total percentage of all categories of Democrats was 71% but for Black Republicans, it decreased to only 08%. In 2004, it increased to 78% for Black Democrats and remained the same percentage for the Black Republicans. These statistics show clearly that the number of Democrats within the Black community was still increasing within the period between 2000 and 2004, and before four years of the historical presidential elections which revealed to the world the dream that the African American community had had before it was realized and became a reality.



BLACK POLITICAL AFFILIATION			
	<u>2000</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2004</u>
Strong Democrat	38%	36%	38%
Not Strong Democrat	21%	26%	29%

Independent Near Democrat	12%	09%	11%
Independent	18%	21%	13%
Independent Near Republican	05%	02%	04%

Not Strong Republican	04%	04%	02%
Strong Republican	02%	02%	02%

Source: University of California, Berkeley Survey Documentation and Analysis

Figure 16: Black Political Affiliation 2000-2004

(Source: <http://blackdemographics.com/culture/black-politics/> retrieved on March 21st, 2015.)

So, one could notice in figure 15 that starting from 1964, the African American community started to vote overwhelmingly and continuously, without great changes in the statistics, for the Democratic Party in each presidential elections, whose members did the best to protect their civil rights and fight the discriminatory policy in all fields of life, and also showed their great sympathy towards the different minorities within the US society especially the Black one. The presidential elections of 2008 surprised not only the American society but all people in the world. It was so in the sense that no one expected that USA would be led by a Black one day. It was in fact a turning point in the political history of the country. So, the events that preceded the historical ceremony and the political situation that paved the way to the victory of the first Black President will be discussed in the following section.

4.3 United States Presidential Election, 2008

Historians state that the victory of the African American Democrat in the presidential elections of 2008 was considered as a historical moment at which a decisive change in the US political situation occurred. It was in fact a great achievement for the African American community to succeed in being represented by a Black Democrat. In 2007, Barrack Obama announced his presidential candidacy in Illinois. The latter was the place where President Abraham Lincoln presented his famous speech 'The home divided'. The speech refers clearly to the era when the American society was divided into two sections, the southern and the northern. It was really a divisive and destructive conflict between the two American sides. The same place also witnessed the inauguration of the first movement towards the White House. The selection of the place of inauguration had indeed an expressive message, through which President Barrack Obama sent a great message to all Americans without exception telling them that the United States was no more divided as it had been said by President Lincoln, but became united after his victory. The period of 2007 as it was mentioned before witnessed a competition of many Democrat candidates like the Senators Hillary Clinton and John Edward. The victory was not easy to be realized because the candidate Obama faced much opposition from different sides. The opposition was based on the fact that the candidate was black having Islamic ancestors. This negative opposition towards the candidacy of the African American Democrat candidate became no more an obstacle since he was determined to challenge the reality and continued to convince the majority of Americans that the colour skin became no more a problem. The victory of Barrack Obama as the first African American president of the American history shows clearly that the American citizens had their voice and their influence on shaping any future government. In other words, the American people

including whites and Blacks as well as all minorities, decided that the selection of the future leaders of USA should not have any link with the skin colour or race, but rather, it should base on the political competency of the candidate to serve people in all domains.

One could say that American citizens imposed themselves politically, and transmitted to the world that they wanted to put an end to any racial face that the country might have. So, in each four-year term, people find themselves in front of a political reality which obliges them to select the most suitable person for leading the country. In 2007, it was the turn of an African American man who declared his candidacy for the US presidency, and he was also considered as the first black candidate who was lucky to win both the candidacy with the political party he belonged to and the final results of the elections later. The figure below refers to the primary elections of the Democratic Party for candidacy before the presidential elections of 2008.

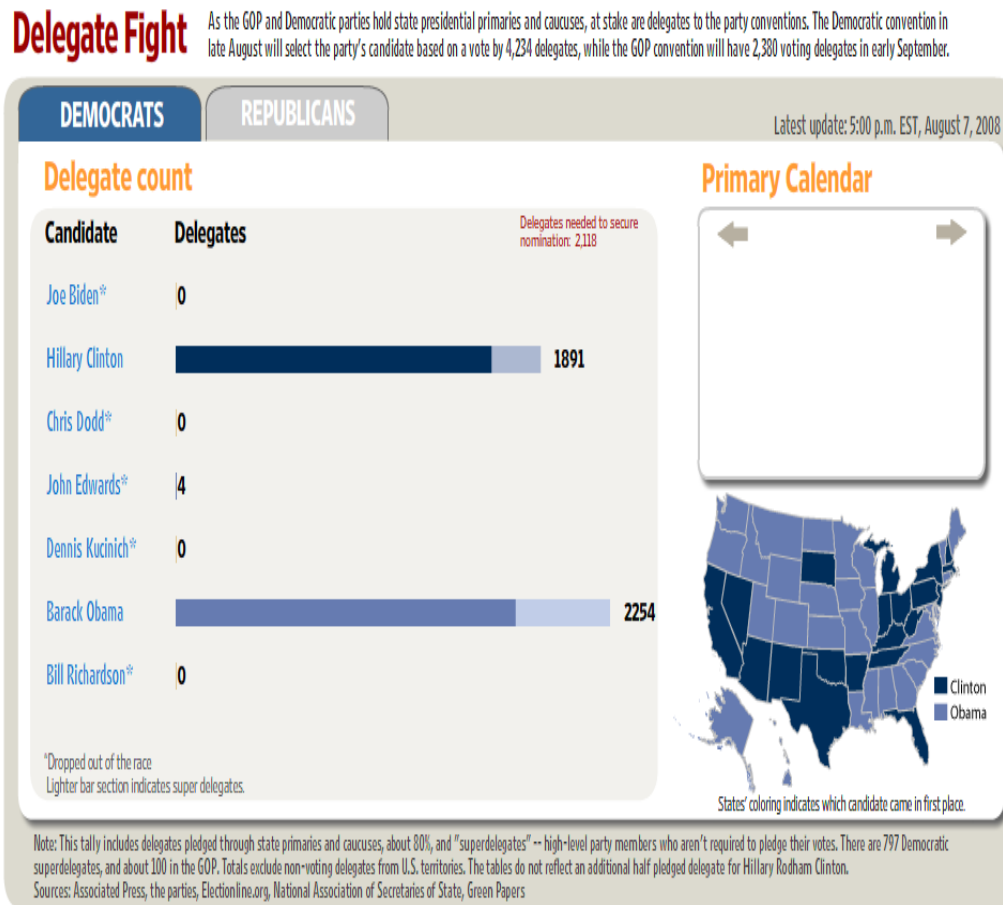


Figure 17: Results of the Democratic Party Primary Elections for Candidacy for Presidential Election 2008

(Source: <http://2012election.procon.org/files/1-2012-election-images/2008-democratic-delegate-map-picture.png>)

The diagram above (fig.17), is about the results of the candidacy for presidential elections 2008, which witnessed a political competition between two main candidates that would represent the Democratic Party in the presidential elections that would take place three months later. The results in fig.17 show that the senator Barrack Obama succeeded to gain more votes than Hillary Clinton. The former obtained 2254 votes, whereas the latter gained 1891 votes, a difference of more than 300 votes of the democrats for the current president. This shows that Obama had a great support within the party itself when engaging into the candidacy for presidency. For presidential elections, later, he was also offered another support by a large number of Blacks as well as Whites who did not hesitate to make changes for the first time in the U.S history, and they were also determined to rebel against the political tradition of the country that always witnessed the victory of a White president, neglecting then completely to give a chance to candidates belonging to the black community.

The elections of 2008 showed that the American citizens did not care about race at all, as it was not considered as an obstacle or a negative factor for selecting candidates, it was completely the contrary of the decade of the sixties of the twentieth century when most of Americans were quite against any idea that might be in favour of the Black Presidency. At least the era of the mid twentieth century, that witnessed the Civil War because of slavery, was forgotten by most of the American citizens. The victory of the senator Obama for the candidacy representing the Democratic Party, among many well known senators like Hillary Clinton, shows that he was popular and had a good reputation even within the White population. His candidacy for presidential elections was not easy as it was mentioned before. It was not so in the sense that there was another democrat candidate; Hillary Clinton, who was considered as a great challenger who might win the vote. She also had her supporters even in the black community. She was also popular because of her husband's popularity among blacks who recognized that President Bill Clinton cared so much about African Americans. The senator Hillary succeeded to organize many African American communities in the whole country in order to support her candidacy in the primary election of the Democratic Party. So, in spite of her popularity in the black community, Barrack Obama finally succeeded to win the majority of African American votes as well as White Democrats who preferred to support him rather than the white remaining democrat candidates such as Hillary Clinton and John Edward. The candidacy of Obama encouraged most of the African Americans to participate at a higher rate in the presidential elections of 2008. According to historians, the number of black voters was sufficient to make Obama win the US presidency, more than two millions and half of blacks participated in the vote.

Voter Turnout, by Race and Hispanic Origin: 2000 to 2012
(Numbers in Thousands)

Year and Race and Hispanic Origin	Total Votes Cast	Net Change from Previous Presidential Election
	2012	
Total	132,948	1,804
White, non-Hispanics.	98,041	-2,001
Blacks.	17,813	1,680
Asians.	3,904	547
Hispanics.	11,188	1,443
	2008	
Total.	131,144	5,408
White, non Hispanics	100,042	475
Blacks.	16,133	2,117
Asians.	3,357	589
Hispanics.	9,745	2,158
	2004	
Total.	125,736	14,910
White, non-Hispanics. .	99,567	10,098
Blacks.	14,016	1,099
Asians.	2,768	723
Hispanics.	7,587	1,653
	2000	
Total	110,826	5,809
White, non Hispanics	89,469	2,865
Blacks.	12,917	1,531
Asians.	2,045	304
Hispanics.	5,934	1,006

Table 06 : Voters' Rate by Race 2000 to 2012

(Source: <https://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-568.pdf>)

Table 06 is about the percentage of the voters by race during the presidential elections of 2008. One could notice that the number of black voters rose in each elections. Each four years, Blacks have become more interested in participating in the elections. The years of 2008 and 2012 witnessed the higher rate in the Black participation because of the fact that

the candidate was an African American senator who had the intention to make an important change in the history of the United States of America. The challenge of Obama was not easy, but there were in fact some factors that contributed efficiently in his victory of the United States Presidency.

4.4 Contributing Factors in the Election of Obama

The following section will be devoted to some of the main factors that played an important role in the selection of the Senator Obama as the president of the United States of America in spite of his different skin colour such as he minorities' participation in the presidential elections, war in Iraq, Bush's unpopularity, change vs. experience and economy. So, all these important points will be discussed in the following parts in order to show that Obama seized the opportunity of the failure of the Republican president Bush in many sides especially the big political and military mistake he had made when invading the Arabic country Iraq under the pretext of owning weapons of massive destruction.

4.4.1 The Minorities' Participation in the Presidential Elections

With regard to the election of Obama, many factors contributed efficiently in his victory in 2008. The factor that seemed to be the most important one was that the minorities which had not voted before did not hesitate to vote for the Democratic Party represented by the candidate Barrack Obama. Many observers state that several minorities participated in these elections and gave a strong support to the Democratic candidate.

Year	All that did not vote in previous presidential election but voted in current election	Whites that did not vote in previous presidential election but voted in current election	Minorities (sum of nonwhites) that did not vote in previous presidential election but voted in current election	Blacks that did not vote in previous presidential election but voted in current election
2008	43.9%	41.7%	49.0%	54.4%
2004	46.1%	44.5%	47.1%	50.1%
2000	36.7%	34.4%	42.8%	45.6%
1996	29.9%	29.1%	33.1%	35.6%

Table 07: Past Non-voters that Voted In Current Election (By Race)

(Source: 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008 American National Election Surveys)
(<http://caseyapeterson.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/researchpaper01.doc>)

The table above is about the voters of different minorities during the presidential elections of 2008 that witnessed the victory of Barack Obama who represented at that time the candidacy of the Democratic Party. According to the statistics within the period from 1996 to 2008, one could notice that there was no big difference between the percentage of voters of 2004 and 2008. The only difference that can be seen clearly in the table is the one of the non White minorities whose percentage increased from 47.1% in 2004 to 49.0% in 2008. So, it increased of about 16% from 1996 to 2008. This shows that the minority communities were interested in making changes at the top of the nation in their favour because of the Black candidacy for the presidential elections. So, it was because of the same reason that the Black community voters were more interested in participating in the elections in order to make a great victory not for the Democratic Party, but for the Black candidate Obama who wanted to challenge the White view of inferiority they had suffered from for centuries (see appendix 11). So, the percentage of the Black voters increased from 35.6 % in 1996 to 54.4% in 2008, i.e., an increase of 20% within a decade. This can be explained that the electoral campaigns were getting more interesting and more heated and the results generally closer than in 1996, when Bill Clinton handily defeated Bob Dole by 220 electoral votes. Voters in USA were more interested in the presidential elections since it was considered as a challenge between two Black and White races. The table below reveals the voting interest in 2008 if compared to the ones of the previous elections starting from 1996.

Year	Very Much Interested	Somewhat Interested	Not Much Interested
2008	44.8%	40.3%	14.9%
2004	41.1%	43.6%	15.3%
2000	41.4%	44.2%	14.5%
1996	27.2%	49.5%	23.3%

Table 08: Interest in Presidential Campaigns, 1996-2008

(Source: 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008 American National Election Surveys)

(<http://caseyapeterson.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/researchpaper01.doc>)

Table 08 is about the American citizens' interest in participating in the different presidential elections from 1996 to 2008. According to the results, it seems that the percentage of those who were interested in the electoral participation increased of 04% from 2004 to 2008. It is somehow less than the percentage that the elections of 2000 witnessed, which increased of 15% with regard to those who were very much interested in presidential elections from 1996 to 2000. Although the increase did not make a big difference between 2004 and 2008, one could observe that Americans were willing to make political changes at both the federal and the state levels through voting for a candidate that represented not only the Democratic Party that was very much liked by Blacks since 1965, but it was also seen as an opportunity that might lead a minority to rule the United States of America that has been considered as the World leading power. The minorities within the American society presented a challenge towards the White community; this can be seen in the following table.

Year	All	White	Minority	Black
2008	77.4%	78.2%	74.3%	78.5%
2004	79.8%	84.4%	63.3%	66.1%
2000	72.2%	73.5%	59.1%	72.5%
1996	71.8%	73.5%	57.4%	64.1%

Table 9: Percentage of Voters by Race

(Source: 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008 American National Election Surveys)

(<http://caseyapeterson.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/researchpaper01.doc>)

The statistics presented in table 09 above reveals that the African American community was really interested in participating in the Presidential elections of 2008. The percentage of Blacks was 78.5% against 78.2 of Whites' one. In all tables of statistics previously presented have shown that African Americans were more exited to vote in 2008 rather than in the other preceding opportunities. The reason of such important participation is obvious since it had a direct relationship with the Black candidate Barrack Obama who represented both the Democratic Party and the African American community and the running mate Senator Joe Biden at that time against the Republican candidate Senator John McCain and the running mate Governor Sarah Palin. Finally, one could notice that the important participation of the minorities that had not participated before in the previous presidential elections especially the

African American community, had a positive impact on the results of the elections of 2008, and was considered as a contributing factor in the victory of Obama against the Republican candidate Mc Cain who represented the White community which was really surprised to see its representative being removed from the presidency of the most powerful country in the world.

4.4.2 War in Iraq

War in Iraq is also another contributing factor in the victory of the Democratic Party and its candidate Barrack Obama. In other words, the destructive war that began in 2003 led to a great failure of the Republican Party which failed to manage its foreign policy when dealing with international affairs like the subject of the Arabic country Iraq. Before speaking about the victory and failure of both parties in the American historical presidential elections, one could say that the US troops did not come to protect the Iraqi people or to liberate them from Saddam Hussein, but, according to what happened during a decade, it came to destroy its military forces and destabilize the country. People claimed that under that US colonization, American politicians as well as military men made a lot of things worse, and destroyed many things. The country started at zero after their withdrawal.

What it has already been mentioned show that American military intervention had a negative impact on the Iraqi society and the political stability in the country. The war did not affect Iraq only, but it also had a negative influence on the internal political situation of USA itself. In other words, the thousands of casualties, the military troops and civilians deployed and the millions of Dollars spent for nothing, made Americans take another political direction and change their political views towards the Republican Party that was responsible for the crimes committed outside the country, and the casualties it caused for US economy because of the big sum of money it was spent without any benefit. The war in Iraq influenced negatively the position of the Republican Party in the US political life. This means that the Democratic Party seized the opportunity of the Republicans' mismanagement of the war to sensitize American people of the danger that might destroy the American economic power and national security. Prior to the presidential elections, Democrats saw that it was a good opportunity to claim the subject of national security that was monopolized by Republicans since the period following the Truman Administration. After the war, the Republican Party was not seen as the rescuer of the US economy and the strong on national security. The post war period witnessed a change in political direction of most of American citizens. This undoubtedly led to the victory of the Democratic candidate Barrack Obama who did not

hesitate to convince them to do the best to retake what was lost by Republicans and to save and protect citizens from any potential danger they might face under his presidency.

Saddam Hussein was accused of having nuclear weapons of mass destruction, the reason why his country was invaded. The reality showed later that these weapons did not exist at all; it was just a pretext for intervention. So, this false accusation was sufficient, for Americans, to distort the image of the Republican Party because of the crimes committed against humanity without any reason.

The figure below shows the poll that was done one year after the US troops colonized Iraq.

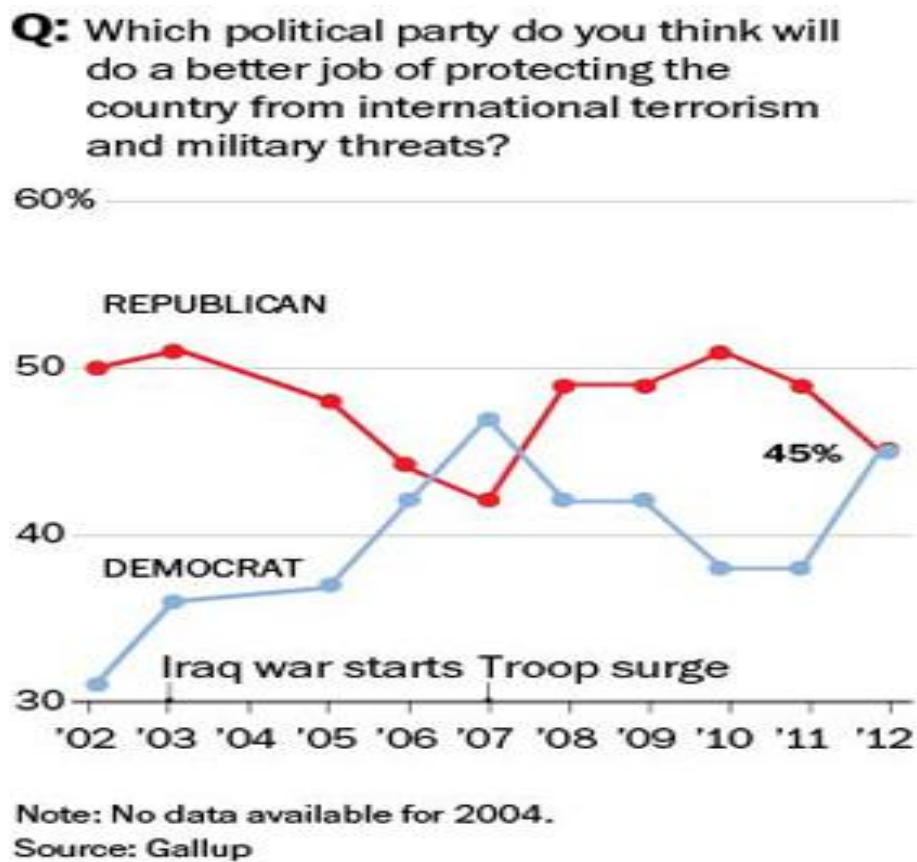


Figure 18: Poll Data over National Security 2004

(Source http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-the-iraq-war-hurt-republicans/2013/03/08/34e7eab8-82ca-11e2-b99e-6baf4ebe42df_story.html)

The figure above (fig.18) shows that a poll was organized in 2004 in which people were asked to give their opinion about the national security in USA. The question which was asked was the following: Which political party do you think will do the better job of protecting the country from international terrorism and military threats. According to the

results, more than 50% saw that it was the Republican Party which was expected to protect Americans from any potential threat of terrorism. In the period between 2003 and 2007, the percentage of citizens who preferred the Democratic Party increased from 37% to 48% while the Republicans lost their advocates and the percentage decreased from 52% to 43% in the same period of time. These statistics show that the American citizens were really afraid of their future under the Republican administration which they did not trust because of its failure in the foreign policy, especially in Iraq. It failed to stabilize the security situation there, and exposed the United States of America to risk of terrorism. Americans viewed the US military withdrawal as a result of the casualties of both soldiers and materials. Republican leaders were accused of not caring about American people. They had been trusted about the national security for about three decades before American changed their political direction to the Democratic Party.

In 2003, the latter was viewed as the only party that could protect the country from perils; this was based on the polls which resulted in 54% for Democrats against 25% for Republicans. Starting from 2006, the results have been in favour of the Democrat leaders who called for the withdrawal of the US troops from Iraq. The Obama's administration of both terms 2008 and 2012 has gained the public support of an important number of citizens who expressed the satisfaction over the Obama's program for both internal affairs and the foreign policy, especially after it executed his promise of the military withdrawal from the Arabic country Iraq. On the other side, the Republican Reputation has been distorted, and divisions within the party began to emerge. This internal conflict between Republican leaders was represented by the disagreement between the neoconservative military men Wolfowitz and Richard Perle on one side and the representatives of the foreign policy Brent Scowcroft, Robert Gates and Colin Powell who accused President Bush to engage the country into a business without benefits, and to weaken their political party as well as the national security.

The most important point that should be referred to is the opposition of Obama to the War in Iraq. The objection of his administration to the war contributed efficiently into unifying all Democrats all over the country as well as those who sympathized with his political view against the Republicans, and won the presidential elections in 2008. Finally, one could say that the war in Iraq had a negative impact on Iraq as an Arabic country which was destroyed under the pretext of possessing the nuclear weapons of massive destruction on one side while the reality showed that this was just a lie, and on the USA itself as a powerful nation which has lost her internal security and reputation of leading justice, security and stability in the world, whereas the reality revealed that it wanted to destabilize the powerful

Arabic countries and exploit their natural sources. So the war in Iraq was the main contributing factor that came with Democrats, represented by the Senator Obama in 2008, at the head of the nation against those who forgot to solve their internal problems and intended to intervene in the business of the world countries. This fact of unacceptable military interventions beyond the US borders made from Bush an unpopular President. This issue of Bush's unpopularity will be discussed in the following section.

4.4.3 Bush's Lack of Popularity

The lack of popularity among citizens is also considered as a contributing factor of the failure of the Bush administration in the Presidential elections of 2008. By his intervention in Iraq and his economic program, President Bush did not know that he put his political future as well as his political party at risk, and this is exactly what has happened since the period prior to the previously mentioned elections. Starting from 2006, President Gorge Bush began to lack his popularity. Polls that were organized before elections showed that only 30% were satisfied by the Republican national program. Bush avoided the maximum not to appear during the electoral campaign of Mc Cain, because of the fact he might distort the image of the republican candidate. His absence for a long time was due to his two bad presidential terms in which he lacked his popularity and public support.

In a poll organized in January 2008, an American research group a surprising result that President Bush had the lowest rate of popularity in his political carrier. The rate was only 19% among a population of 1100 people, whereas 77% were quite against his way of dealing with political issues, especially those related to international affairs. A month ago before this poll, there was another one which reported that only his popularity was less than 25%. One could notice that his popularity witnessed a decline that had never seen in his political life. The economy was at the head of the issues that people were asked about. People were afraid that their country would witness a great depression like the one that had been seen in 1929. Researchers state that the Democrats such as Hillary Clinton and Obama were supported by their colleagues as well as people, whereas President Bush found himself alone facing these two candidates. He was not supported by the Republican candidates let alone people who saw him as the man who would expose the United States to danger, especially in the economic side by his illegal military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq. These two military invasions as a result of false decisions led in a way or another to a great failure of the administration of Bush according to many historians. It shows clearly that he lacked experience in the field of diplomacy. It is so in the sense that he could, at that time,

have avoided the war if he had resorted to intelligent advisors of his cabinet. His negative decision drove him crazy to lose his popularity he gained several years ago. His failure did not influence his popularity only, but he was the source of the bad reputation of the Republican Party he represented.

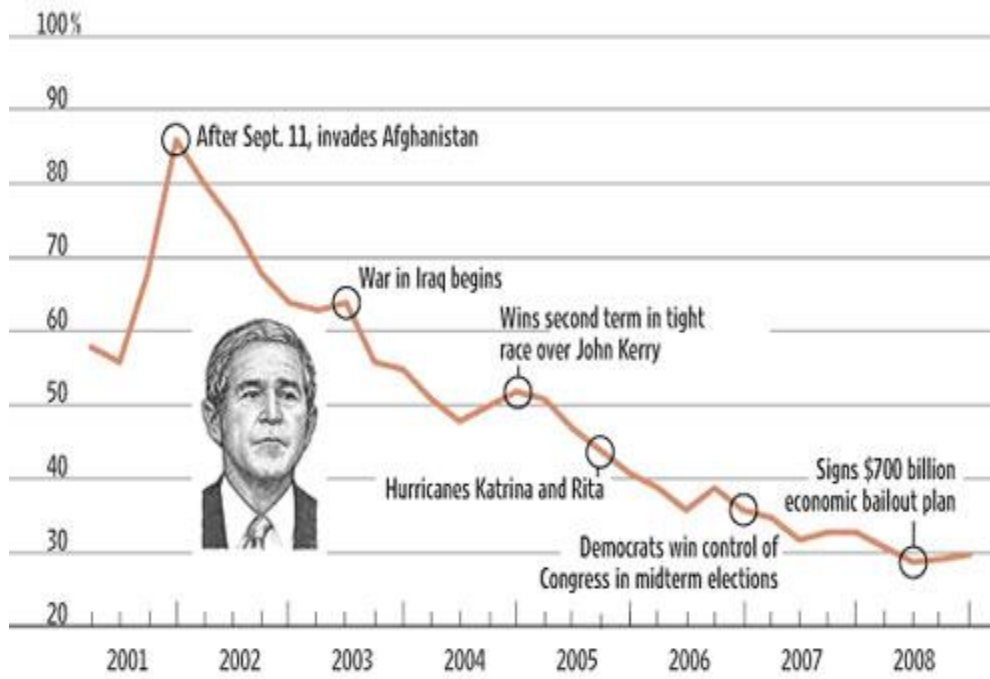


Figure 19: The Rate of Bush Popularity 2001-2008

(Source: <https://www.google.dz/search?q=graphs+on+the+popularity+of+bush>)

The war on terrorism after the September 11th attacks and the war he waged against Afghanistan was not the right political decision according to many political analysts. It was not so in the sense that it was not well studied and well calculated. The graph previously mentioned shows that the rate of the Bush popularity declined from more than 80% in 2001 before the World Trade Centre in 2001 to less than 65% during the war in Iraq in 2003, and then it continued to fall to less than 30% in 2008. In the middle of 2006, Democrats seized the opportunity of the bad economic situation under the Bush administration to convince people to vote for the Democratic Party in the legislative elections. As a result, Democrats won the control of the Congress. The democratic victory made a political pressure on President Bush who undoubtedly felt that he was in his last days in presidency. The cause of the lack of popularity, according to the diagram, was the surprising attacks of September 11th. This event pushed the United States to engage into a long confrontation with the Islamic

military groups in many Arabic countries, and what the world actually witnesses is indeed the result of these false political decisions of President Bush and his father before. The invasion of such Arabic country put the political future of President Bush at stake. First of all, the military troops which would participate in the war should be fed and financed, and this undoubtedly needed a budget. Second, the war would be destructive and many would result in many human casualties of both sides in addition to the violation of human rights. So, the issues of economy and human rights were the main causes of the decline of Bush popularity. The war made by Bush had a negative impact on the US economy, and threatened millions of people. As a result, Bush lost the support from the Republicans themselves let alone citizens and politicians from other political trends.

Not only the international policy which was the cause of the lack of popularity, but the domestic one was also another factor that led to this failure. President Bush was blamed for his reluctance when dealing with some destructive natural phenomena. For instance, He was criticized for his delayed intervention during the Hurricane Katrina which destroyed the city of New Orleans. The event witnessed human casualties (1836 people killed) and billions of damages. All these natural and war costs had a negative impact on the U.S economy. So, it was because of economy that Bush was disliked among people and his colleagues in the Democratic Party. According to a poll organized in 2010, the highest rate of popularity was 85% for President Kennedy who was assassinated in 1963; the second position was for Ronald Reagan with 74% and Bill Clinton with 64% then Gerald Ford 61% and Jimmy Carter 52%, whereas Bush was considered as the less popular president in the US history with 47% after President Richard Nixon (26%) who was blamed to extend the duration of the war in Vietnam which witnessed several casualties in materials and soldiers. So, despite the fact that Bush is out of office now, but his name has remained related with war in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the ambiguous war on terrorism he declared after the attacks of 2001 on the World Trade Centre in New York.

4.4.4 Obama's Change vs. the Hillary's Experience

When talking about both terms, experience and change, we always refer to the main competition that took place between the two most known candidates of the Democratic Party, Hillary Clinton and Obama. Researchers state that the American citizens were given the chance to select between the political experience of Hillary Clinton or a real change at the level of the political tradition of the United States of the part of Senator Obama. For Americans, both were important for both were needed urgently for the presidential elections

that would expect to take place in 2008. They are important in the sense that the president that was supposed to rule the nation, should be well experimented politically having knowledge and good judgment. The latter refers undoubtedly to the fact of paying attention to the final decisions that any president would take in the future. With regard to the two candidates, Hillary Clinton was known of her experience in the field of politics that she had gained in her political life. She also benefited from the experience of her husband, Bill Clinton who had been assigned the highest political post in the country as the president of USA. Experience is not always linked to good judgements; it may sometimes lead to bad decisions. For instance, during the Cold War, there was a conflict between the United States of America and the USSR (Soviet Union) over the missiles that were deployed in Cuba. The latter demanded the protection of the Soviet Union against the American threat. So, despite the fact that the U.S generals had much experience in dealing with military issues, they made a fault when they decided to deploy some ballistic missiles in Turkey and Italy. This event compelled Cuba to call the USSR to deploy, in turn, its missiles in Cuba not far from the State of Florida. USA decided then to impose a blockade on Cuba in order to stop importing more missiles again to Cuba. Fortunately, the war was avoided thanks to the intervention of President John Kennedy who reached an agreement with the Soviet Union to withdraw their weapons from both Cuba and Europe. This example is given in order to show that there is no relation with experience and good Judgment. One could say here that the judgement or the final decision that was taken of the part of generals to deploy this kind of weapons in Europe was a big mistake which was made despite the fact that these military leaders had much experience.

This shows us that experience is not always linked to good judgments. In other words, many political leaders made mistakes of their bad decisions in spite of their experience such as President Bush after the attacks of September 11th and President Richard Nixon who in spite of his experience; he made a big mistake when he decided to invade Vietnam. So, these are historical events that American citizens based on, when being asked to select between the senators Hillary Clinton and Obama for representing the Democratic Party in the presidential elections of 2008. Researchers said that Americans were asked to choose experience represented by Hillary Clinton or change represented then by Obama. The historical events that happened to the previous presidents and their failure to deal with some important political issues led the Democratic voters to choose Obama rather than Hillary Clinton, because they were afraid that her experience in the domain of politics won't bring any benefit for people of the United States. The majority of voters of the Democratic Party were

determined to rebel against the political tradition to select the well experimented candidate for the presidential elections. They were indeed eager to see a real change at the level of the future presidency. As a result change won experience, and the Senator Obama became the candidate that would represent the Democratic Party in the elections. The final decision which was taken by American citizens who were determined to vote for Obama showed that they wanted to change the man of the White House in order to change the current situation they were living, because they saw that the previous two terms witnessed a failure in both the domestic and foreign policies. The people's decision of making a selection between experience and change was another factor that contributed efficiently in a way or another in the victory of Barack Obama in the democratic candidacy for the presidential elections of 2008 and its victory later. Most of Americans then wanted change in the policy of the United States because they were afraid that their economic situation was at stake. Economy can also be considered as another factor that drove to the failure of the Republican candidacy in the presidential elections and the victory of the democratic one. So, the issue of economy will be discussed in the following section.

4.4.5 The Economic Factor

No one can deny the fact that economy is the real force for any country. This means that all countries in the world are powerful by their economy and become weak because of their economic failure. The economic issue then played an important role in the presidential elections of 2008. In other words, the Obama's electoral campaign based on economy more than it did with other issues. Under the Bush administration, Republican leaders were accused of not caring about American people. The US economy started to weaken at the end of 2007, and American people became afraid that the situation would lead them to recession. The main point that Democrats focused on as a source of the economic decline was the unacceptable foreign policy that the Republican president relied on. For international issues, Bush did not have a good diplomacy in solving problems outside the country; he saw that the only solution for the international problems should be through the military interventions and waging wars against enemies without giving importance to diplomatic negotiations that might avoid destructive conflicts between nations. The security solution is not always the best solution. It sometimes leads to failure and the collapse of the nation. Many countries, through history, have been destroyed and have lost their power because of wars. This is what happened indeed to the United States under the administration of Bush who engaged into international conflicts without thinking about their bad consequences that might happen to the economy of the

nation. After the attacks of 2001, he quickly took the false decision to attack Afghanistan; the same idea was followed in Iraq which was accused of having weapons of massive destruction without evidence. All these decisions reflected the lack of diplomacy and good advisors. These decisions had a negative impact on the economy of USA. The latter spent much money and lost many lives in both countries. These consequences of the two wars against “terrorism” threatened the political life of Bush, and distort the political image of the Republican Party as well.

The bad foreign policy also endangered the country since the economy was also exposed to a potential risk in the future. American citizens claimed their low personal income which could not guarantee their best way of living with their families because of the amounts of money that were spent for the hostile deployments of the US army in international conflicts. For Americans, the amount of money should have been spent on looking after citizens in health care and employment. The country began to witness inflation, and Americans suffered from taxes that were imposed on them from time to time. They also suffered because of the problem of unemployment within a society that has witnessed the growth in population, so how can any citizen feed his family if does not have a job? It was in fact a question that was asked on the Republican Candidate McCain who tried to convince American voters that it was possible for him to recuperate what Bush had lost. The Democratic Candidate Barrack Obama, in turn, seized the opportunity to show the Republicans’ lack of good policy in dealing with both domestic and foreign policies. These policies had a negative influence on the economic situation of American citizens.

So, it was because of economy that Bush was disliked among people and his colleagues in the Democratic Party. As it was mentioned previously, he started to lose the citizens’ support, and as a result, his popularity fell to less than 30%. Democrats found the best opportunity to convince people that their candidate Obama was the best choice for the Democratic Party as well as the nation as a whole. So, one could say that the victory was a difficult matter to be achieved because of the fact that it was not somehow easy for Democrats to convince Americans that they would not repeat the same mistake made by Republicans. In the period between 2003 and 2007, the rate of people who wanted the Democratic Party to take power, increased from to 48% while the Republicans lost their supporters, and as a result the percentage fell to 43% after it had been more than 50%. This percentage shows that the American citizens were really afraid of their future under the Republican administration which they did not trust because of its failure in the foreign relations that had undoubtedly a negative impact on the domestic policy. It failed to stabilize the security situation inside and

outside, and exposed the United States to risk of terrorism. Americans viewed the US military withdrawal as a result of the casualties of both soldiers and materials. Republican leaders were accused of not caring about American people, and then they decided to give their votes to the Democratic candidate Barack Obama who was considered as the first African American president to rule the country in the American history. The following part (4.5) will be devoted to his life and the way he began this political process till he realized the dream of winning the US presidency.

4.5 Political life of Barack Obama

The victory of Obama in the presidential elections of 2008 was not something easy, it was indeed a result of decades of hard work in the political domain. So, before dealing with the political issues, let's first refer to the ordinary life of this Black man who witnessed the era of slavery and the sufferings that his ancestors lived in a special period of time. So, Barack Obama was born in August 4th, 1961 in Honolulu, Hawaii to a White American mother and a Black Kenyan father. The name 'Barack' that was given by his father means 'one who is blessed'. It has indeed a relation with the Islamic religion since he was Muslim. In the period of his youth, Obama was known as 'Barry'. His father was a student from Nyanza Kenya, called Barack Obama Senior; he immigrated to the United States of America in order to realize his dream of getting a diploma from the University of Hawaii, whereas his mother, Stanley Ann Dunham, was as student from the American middle class studying in the same university.

One year before his birth, Obama's parents had met as students in the same university and married. The marital life of Obama's parents was short and brief. It stopped in the early first year 1960. This happened for racial reasons. They spent together difficult times of interracial marriage. In other words, they lived a period of time together under pressure because of the fact that the sixties of the twentieth century was an era that witnessed a divisive and destructive conflict within the American society that was divided into two classes, one which considered itself as the superior one that had the right to run the country and impose its rule on all minorities, and another class that was considered as the lower one having an inferior social status. The conflict between these two social classes, White and Black, was based on race which made a tremendous pressure on the couple. It was in fact the main reason that was behind the separation between the parents of Obama. This happened when Obama was two years old. After the separation, Obama senior succeeded to reach the higher education level. He went to Harvard University where he continued his studies in

economics. After getting the higher diploma, he decided to return to his mother country Kenya where he became an official in the government. President Barack Obama, when asked about his father and the separation of his wife, said “*A separation occurred and he returned to Africa to fulfil his promise to the continent.*”¹ With regard to his mother, Ann Dunham, married an Indonesian student seven years later, and decided to move to the capital of Indonesia, Jakarta. Obama went with the family and spent three years there. He stayed there till he was ten; he was then sent back to Honolulu in USA to live with his maternal grandparents. This happened after the birth of his step sister Maya Seotoro. Returning to Honolulu was a good opportunity for the young Obama to see his father whom he had not seen in his birth. It was indeed an unforgettable meeting for Obama to meet his father for the first and the last time because of the deadly accident he made two years later in Nairobi, Kenya in 1982.

In the age of twenty six years old, Obama visited his family in Kenya for the first time in his life. When knowing about his visit there, his mother said to him “*I hope you do not feel resentful towards him... it was not your father’s fault that he left, you know, I divorced him.*”² She asked her son not to blame his father for the separation because he was not responsible for that. She wanted to inform him that he was a victim of the divorce that happened in the early 1960 because of the racial social pressure that was made on both of them during a difficult period of time that witnessed a bitter conflict between White and Black Americans. She wanted to tell him that his parents wanted to challenge the reality at that time by making an interracial marriage showing to American people that it was possible for them Whites and Blacks, to live together but they failed to send this message to the society because of the early separation. The mother was frank by saying to her son that she was responsible for that because it was her who divorced his father and not the vice versa. The separation then had a negative impact on Obama’s life. It had so in the sense that he did not care about his study and began to escape from school. He became interested in practising sport rather than continuing studies. He also drank alcohol and experienced cocaine as well. Speaking about his childhood, Obama (1995) in his book “*Dreams from my Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*” tried to send a message to all American people saying that he “*...wanted to show how and why some kids, and may be especially young black men, flirt with danger and self*

¹ Barack , Obama. *Dreams from my Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*. New York: Three River Press, 1995, p.10.

² Ibid, p.125.

destruction.”³ For him, children, especially Blacks, faced difficulties in their lives because of the racial view and the separation of parents. He revealed that they, as Black kids, experienced all bad things in lives and faced perils because of the fact that they were neglected and marginalized if compared to White children who lived a luxury life. The speech above is considered in fact as a try to ask people not to blame him and all Black children for what they committed as crimes against himself. He expressed that by using the word “self-destruction”. He said that what he had been done was because of the lack of care of the part of the authorities which did not take care of the black community. So, after being graduated from the department of law, Obama went to Chicago where he met and married a woman called “Michelle Robinson”. They stayed there for years. In 1998, their first daughter Malia Ann was born, and Natasha, the second daughter, was born later in 2001.

One could say that Obama is an African American man who experienced difficult times in his life which was full of perils and different heritages since he came to life from a White woman and a Black man. The heritage from these two races made him a man of challenge, a man of hope having the intention to show to the American people that it is not impossible for all minorities, especially Blacks and Whites, to live together peacefully without any racial view towards each other. For the purpose of revealing the difficulties he faced in his life under the racial discrimination starting from his childhood, he wrote two books in which he showed clearly this bitter reality. The first book is entitled ‘*Dreams from my Father: a Story of Race and Inheritance*’ written in 1995 which is considered as a memoir concerning the struggle against racism and for the black identity in the absence of his father. The second book is entitled ‘*The Audacity of hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream*’, published in 2006. In his second book, he showed his vision for the future of America. These personal views and different ideas were used later in his electoral campaign as a Democrat candidate for the presidential elections of 2008. His focus on the internal stability and the well understanding between the different minorities especially Blacks and whites, led him to declare, later in a television program known as ‘Charlie Rose’ one year after his presidential victory, that he is “...rooted in the black community but not limited to it.”⁴ Obama transmitted the message to Americans that he was the president for all Americans without any exception and not to Blacks only.

³ Barack , Obama. *Dreams from my Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*. New York: Three River Press, 1995, p.79.

⁴ Enid Lynette Logan. *Barrack Obama's Presidential Candidacy and the Transformation of Racial Politics in the Post Civil-Rights U.S.* University of Minnesota, 2009.

With regard to the religious side, researchers state that the Obama's relation with Islam is ambiguous. Many perspectives were carried towards the qualification as well as the legality to lead the United States. Some of them said that he is Muslim having Islamic genes. In other words, Obama became a Muslim, since in Islam the religion passes from the father to his children automatically. Obama's name shows clearly that the man has indeed a relation with religion because of the fact that in addition to the word 'Barrack', no one denies the fact that the word 'Hussein' is purely an Islamic name. Besides, Obama grew in a family which was both White and Black. He also grew in a family which was characterized by a blend of religion both Islamic and Christian. He spent four years in Indonesia together with his step father who was Muslim, and tried to teach him Islam. So, his fathers, the biological and the step one were both Muslims. During the era he spent there, he used to attend Muslim schools that himself referred to in his book 'Dream from My Father'. He attended religious sessions which preferred to deal with Islamic subjects in Arabic rather than the native language. His step sister, Maya Seotero, stated that her whole family was Muslim when Obama was a child, and most of the people she knew were so, but for Obama he used to attend the Muslim school then the catholic one.

After his sister's declaration in an interview, Obama felt that he was accused of being Muslim. He seized the opportunity then to defend himself and clarify things in 2007 for all American people that he has "*...always been a Christian, the only connection I have had to Islam is that my grandfather on my father's side came from that country (Kenya). But I have never practiced Islam.*"⁵ He felt that he was threatened by being accused of following the Islamic religion. He also denied then that he has "*...never been a Muslim...other than my name and the fact that I lived in a populous Muslim country for four years when I was a child Indonesia, 1967-1971. I have very little connection to the Islamic religion.*" Obama, through such statement, wanted to deny any link with Islam as a religion; he asserted that he was named by an Islamic word not because he was Muslim, but because he lived in an Islamic state. He declared then that he was a Christian, and that Christianity is his original religion in spite of the years he had spent together with his Islamic family in Indonesia. He added that is an African American man who attended the United Church of Christ in Chicago when he was young. Such a declaration came after he had felt that his political life was put at risk and that this propaganda should be faced by declarations from time to time when the opportunity is given in any means of the media. After referring to his life, let's discuss in the two following

⁵ Andrew, J. Jolivet. *Obama and the Biracial Factor: the Battle for a New American Majority*. The Policy Press University of Bristol, United Kingdom. 2012, p.21.

sections his legislative career as well as the chance to be a senate in the upper house of the Legislative Branch.

4.5.1 Obama's Legislative Membership

Some researchers state that his political life started after he had been graduated in 1983 with a diploma in political science from the University of Chicago. Others saw that the beginning of such career began in 1983 with the attendance of a school inspiring respect and admiration having high status; it was the Harvard Law Review. Later, he returned to Chicago where he was given the opportunity to be a community organizer who shared a Christian group working in the south of the city on helping children and poor families. Obama considered the period he had spent with this religious group in Chicago as the best time and the best education he ever had in his life better than anything he studied or received at Harvard University. In the middle of the nineties of the twentieth century, a Democrat senator used to attend many several meetings in the state of Chicago.

It was indeed a good opportunity for Palmer, the Democrat senate and the African American politician Barrack Obama to strengthen their friendship. Later, Palmer was determined to leave the legislative Branch and exactly the House of Senates, she thought then to let this vacate seat to her Black friend, Obama, who was also a member in the same party. She made all her efforts to support Obama in his first step towards the upper house, House of Senates. She also encouraged him to declare his candidacy for the state senate of the city of Chicago in the mid September 1995. Palmer did not miss the opportunity to introduce him to the politicians of the Democratic Party as her successor for the seat he left in the legislative department. She said that the person deserved to be a senate of the state of Chicago and that he was a man to whom most of the American people showed a sign of affection and admiration. For her, he greatly deserved to represent the city. One year later, Obama succeeded to convince the Democrat members as well as other politicians to select him as the senate of the state of Illinois after his victory against another candidate. This victory showed to all people his political reputation within the American society, and his great determination to go forward in his political career in order to represent the African American community that had suffered a lot from the discriminatory policy imposed by the White authorities on one side, and to serve all American people who needed to get jobs in order to feed their families and participate in the development of the nation.

Obama participated in legislation on ethics and health care reforms together with senates of both Republicans and Democrats. One could notice that the starting point of his political

experience was his victory as a state senator of Illinois where he served citizens for more than seven years from 1997 to 2004. He was well known in the area by his political activities having the intention to serve people and do the best to solve their problems. Researchers reported that he faced some problems in his candidacy for the seat of the state senate of Illinois, but he succeeded to make a challenge after his candidacy had been accepted. After his victory in getting the seat, he did the best to serve all the state citizens. Later, he was one of those who opposed to the invasion of Iraq during the era of the President Bush, the son. This opposition took place in 2002 and it was an anti-war claim that was used again during the presidential elections of 2008. Obama, in his speech against war in Iraq, sent a message to President Bush advising him to avoid the potential war the maximum. He said,

“Let’s finish the fight with Bin Laden and Al Qaeda through effective, coordinated intelligence, and a shutting down of the financial networks that support terrorism, and a homeland security program that involves more than color-coded warnings.”⁶

What has already mentioned is a piece of advice given to President Bush. He asked him to put aside the issue of Iraq, and focus a lot on the internal security as well as the subject of Al Qaeda and its leader Bin Laden. It was somehow considered as it was a blame to the Bush administration for moving to deal with international affairs rather than emphasizing on the internal issues and the citizens’ needs like security. The United States, for Obama, was threatened in its internal stability, and needed to be protected at all levels, but the priority is always to the national side rather than the international one. In his office as a senator of Illinois, he was blamed of closing his eyes during the votes of many issues. This position that Obama took towards such issues was based on the fact that the legislator is not obliged to say ‘yes’ or ‘no’, but he also has another possibility to be neutral. This was indeed the preferable position for the senator Obama when facing votes on any issue. He was blamed then on being neutral in many subjects such as the bill that permitted the justice to judge the juvenile criminals as adults and the issue of abortion. His neutral vote in these two important issues compelled the senator Hillary Clinton to describe Obama as the one who talked too much without any practice on the ground. He succeeded then to move from a state senator to a US senator when being elected as a member of the Congress in 2004. His new post in Congress allowed him to participate in many important committees like the ones of health, education,

⁶ Josh, Clark. *How Barack Obama Works*. (n.p). quoted on July 23th, 2015 > <http://history.howstuffworks.com/historical-figures/barack-obama2.htm>

homeland security, government affairs, labour and pensions and the foreign affairs. He also participated in some subcommittees like the one of the federal financial management, federal services and international security, local and private sector preparedness and integration. Obama, as a US senator, submitted to the Congress many bills like Earmarks Act of 2006 through which he called to adopt transparency and integrity in everything. He also provided funds for another bill in 2007 which called to raise the child tax credit for those with low income as well as the working families. In the same year, he submitted to the Congress another bill known as the Global Poverty Act. The latter was supposed to give the green light to President to make efforts by making an effective plan to put an end to the suffering of American citizens and fight poverty which touched the lower social class.

The president was called to make a clear strategy through which he succeed to lessen the negative impact of poverty which spread in the society and threatened American people especially those of the African American community. In a period of three years and half, the senator Obama succeeded to submit to the Congress more than 130 bills. His success was not constant; he later faced some difficulties during votes in the Congress. Researchers state that

'In the Senate in 2007, Obama voted along Democratic Party lines 97 percent of the time, about 10 percent more than the average for all Democratic senators. Of the leading Democrat candidates, he's missed the most votes during the 109th Congress. Obama missed 282 of the 630 total votes from Dec. 8, 2007, to July 28, 2008, or 44.8 percent. Obama ranks third in votes missed behind fellow presidential candidate Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) and Sen. Tim Johnson (D-ND) who suffered a brain haemorrhage and missed the 2007 Senate session'.⁷

As it is mentioned above, there were some votes that Obama missed when presenting his bills over different issues; he is classified in the third position after the senators John Mc Cain and Tim Johnson. One could notice that the higher rate was during the period between December 2007 and July 2008. But in spite of this failure in convincing the US senators to accept his various bills, Obama succeeded, later, to convince American citizens to vote for him during the presidential elections that took place in the same year.

4.6 Does President Obama satisfy the needs of the Black Community?

During the electoral campaign for presidential elections, African Americans made all their attempts to sensitize both Blacks and Whites to elect the representative of the

⁷ Josh, Clark. *How Barack Obama Works*. (n.p). quoted on July 23th, 2015> <http://history.howstuffworks.com/historical-figures/barack-obama2.htm>.

Democratic Party; Barack Obama, in order to put an end to their sufferings from the discriminatory policy that threatened not only the Black community but also the national stability. The victory of Obama was considered as the day of the realization of the Black Dream. Blacks thought that 2008 became the starting point for an eternal justice between Whites and Blacks within the American society, and that the new Black president would satisfy all their political and social needs. However, most of African Americans were disappointed from the beginning. During his first speech over economy, Barack Obama was blamed of not referring to the impact of the economic decline over the Black community. The latter claimed that despite the fact that the last President Bill Clinton was not Black, he at least spoke about the special concerns of African Americans. This does not mean that President Clinton cared of them, but the reality showed that during his era, he put an end to the welfare of thousands of poor Blacks who lost their benefits.

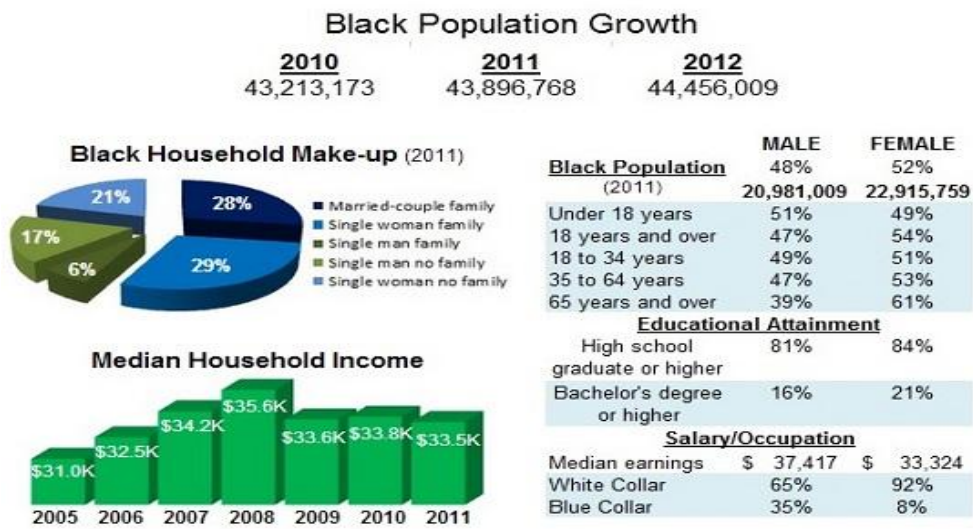
For Blacks, Obama did the same thing it had been done by Clinton. In other words, he was blamed by Blacks of not mentioning their special economic problems like the health care and unemployment. He also insisted that the tax cuts would go from 25% to 95% imposed on all Americans without exception of the minorities which were suffering from discrimination which was, in turn, driving them forcefully to poverty. The decision of tax cuts itself was a negative message to the African American community. Through his economic program, President Obama wanted to show that his government aimed at benefiting equally all the social groups without exception, including the African American minority, and that the American society did not need a special program. He gave importance to education by raising its budget, but did not make efforts in putting an end to inequalities into the market system and discrimination in getting jobs. Obama was accused of not following the way of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X who made efforts in claiming the rights of the Black race for decades. For African Americans, Obama closed his eyes on their daily sufferings in all domains. The Democrat Chris Matthews analysed the Obama's speech saying that

'He is post-racial, by all appearances. I forgot he was Black tonight for an hour. You know, he's gone a long way to become a leader [!] of this country, and past so much history, in just a year or two. I mean, it's something we don't even think about.' Who are the "we"? As Blair Kelley, an African-American associate professor at North Carolina State University put it after reading Matthews' comment: "It's important for us to remember that everyone has a race. When you say we're going to transcend race, are white people called on to transcend their

*whiteness? When Black people transcend it, what do we become? Do we become white? Why would we have to stop being our race in order to solve a problem?"*⁸

The quotation above reveals the disappointment of most of the African Americans towards the Obama’s administration. In other words, they accused him of forgetting that he was Black, and that the Black citizens did not expect him to forget their economic situations which urgently needed help of the part of the federal and state authorities. Obama, in turn, during all his speeches avoided the maximum not to talk about the racial issues because he was conscious of what he was doing. He avoided that because it was seen as the safe way to be followed in order to keep the internal stability. Obama tried to apply then a non-racial approach in his administration. This means that he advocated all solutions that did not refer or base on race. For him, he was a president for all Americans and not for African Americans only. For this reason, when he took any decision, he took into consideration the future of the country and all its citizens including the minorities. African Americans claimed that they voted for him with a large number of voters since the black community witnessed a growth. The diagram below shows the growth of the Black population within a period of three years.

African American Statistics



SOURCE: U.S. Census American Community Survey 2005-2011 & Estimates 2010-2012
BlackDemographics.com

Figure 20: The Growth of the African American Population 2010-2012

(Source: <http://blackdemographics.com/population/>)

⁸ Malik Miah . *Race & Class: Obama Forgets Black Community*. 2010 retrieved on July 2015><https://solidarity-us.org/node/2674>.

The diagram in fig.20 represents the Black population which witnessed an important increase during the period between 2010 and 2012. It's clear that the growth from 2010 to 2011, represented by more than 600.000 people, was not somehow important if compared to the following year which witnessed an important increase of more than 700.000 people in one year. The Black population then has been classified as the first minority in the American society after the White community. The growth was seen as a threat to whites who did not hesitate to face them through hate crimes. The African American support for the two presidential terms had a direct relation with the growth of the Black population that contributed efficiently in the victory of the first and second mandates. African Americans wanted President Obama to apply on the ground an economic and political program that might put an end to the legacy of slavery, the discriminatory policy in all fields, especially military and education, and also to segregation in the federal and the state institutions. For them, Obama should bear in mind that the African American community has been his strongest supporter regardless his policies. 80% of African Americans supported him in spite of their critics towards his administration. In other words, Blacks supported Obama in two presidential elections, but they felt they did not benefit from his two terms in the White House. They felt that discrimination in employment and education still existed.

With regard to the employment, it decreased to 07%, the percentage of jobless African Americans increased since President Obama came to the White House. According to the Bureau of Labour Statistics report, it decreased from 12.7% to 12.5% in 2009. Later, the economic situation became worse after the United States witnessed somehow a period of temporary economic decline during which trade and industrial activity were reduced. This had indeed a negative impact on the African American community who were unable to find jobs or educate their children. As a result, the poverty rate for Blacks increased from 12% to 16.1% in 2008. The median income of citizens decreased to less than 3.6% for American families, and to less than 10.9 for Blacks according to the Census Bureau. According to an African American analyst Tavis Smiley, "*The data is going to indicate sadly that when the Obama administration is over, black people will have lost ground in every single leading economic indicator category.*"⁹ He added, "*On that regard, the president ought to be held responsible.*"¹⁰ Smiley as well as many other African Americans showed their disappointment towards the Obama's administration which did not do the best to improve the Black political and social life. He

⁹ Tavis Smiley. *Black People Will Have Lost Ground in Every Single Economic Indicator' Under Obama*. N.P, (2013) quoted on July 11th, 2015.

¹⁰ *ibid*

added that by the end of his term, they would have lost everything, and their future would become ambiguous. Many of them saw no political progress for the Black community. They only heard words from President Obama without deeds. They accused him to be responsible for all what happened to them during his presidential term. In their views, the period before his presidency was better than the current situation. For them, the Obama's administration could help Black people providing them with jobs and educating their children. They gave a concrete proof of the Obama's neglect of Blacks represented by his rejection of the keystone pipeline project which could have a positive influence on the Black community which in turn could benefit from employment. Obama was seen as a president who could do lots of things, but he had not done. Blacks had expected more, but they were surprised to have less than what they had before the Black victory in the presidential elections of 2008. In his speech through an American Radio Network one year later, Obama defended himself against the African American accusations saying that

*"I can't pass laws that say I'm just helping black folks. I'm the president of the entire United States. What I can do is make sure that I am passing laws that help all people, particularly those who are most vulnerable and most in need."*¹¹

Obama denied the fact that he forgot the Black community or he closed his eyes on their sufferings. For him, it was obvious that Blacks needed more protection and help, but they were American citizens like others. He added that he could not pass laws for Blacks only, but he was indeed the president of all Americans and that he did the best to help all those who needed help without any exception regardless their race, religion or the minority they belonged to. Blacks, in turn, responded that there was no progress in his administration towards their rights of equal education and equal rights. They also said that what had been gained was gained before the coming of Obama as a president. This means that Blacks benefited more in the previous decades before he came at the top of the nation. With regard to the students' gains in education, they varied between the minimal and the nonexistent, and the discrimination still existed and it was obvious in the test scores. This segregation threatened to be spread after the end of the previous president and the coming of the Black one. As an example of the difference between the era of Bush and the one of Obama, especially between 1999 and 2008, White students obtained 11 points in math whereas Black ones succeeded to

¹¹ SHERYL GAY STOLBERG. *For Obama, Nuance on Race Invites Questions*. New York Times. February 08th, 2010. quoted on July 11th, 2015.

obtain 13 points in the same discipline, and more than 17 in reading. However, these students' benefits decreased to two points for each discipline in the period between 2008 and 2012.

The gap was big between Whites and Blacks in urban regions like Chicago. So, according to a report done in 2013, the gap in the discipline of maths between Black and White students exceeded 40 points. It was considered as the largest educational gap since 2003. According to the Schott Foundation's report of 2012, only 52% of Black students were graduated from high schools within a period of four years. President Obama made great efforts to extend the access to educational institutions of their choice to Students from different minorities. He also increased the budget of education and filed a lawsuit though the Department of Justice against the tuition voucher program of Louisiana which made profits for Blacks. By such decision, President Obama opposed to the program because it threatened desegregation in the area. The process of desegregation in Louisiana helped 90% of Blacks to obtain vouchers and select the best schools they liked. Despite all these efforts, President Obama was still accused of running his administration opposite to the growing support for education among Blacks. For this reason, President Obama continued to receive support despite the fact that he failed to solve many African American problems like employment. The Black dissatisfaction towards the administration of Obama contributed efficiently in a way or another in paving the political way to Republicans to win any future presidential elections.

4.7 Attitudes of Blacks towards Obama's Administration

The Black victory in the presidential elections of 2008 actually surprised the World as well as Americans themselves, especially the African American community which regarded the historical event as a dream to be realized and as an opportunity to improve their social and political lives which had witnessed hard stages in which they struggled against the discriminatory policy and the White Supremacy which deprived them of their rights as human beings like anyone all over the world. President Obama was seen as the savior and the rescuer of Blacks from segregation to a normal citizenship that might bring them back their rights of education, voting and the possibility of being enlisted within the military without any segregation that seemed to be still existing despite the fact that many federal and state laws were issued during decades before Obama gained presidency. The expectations of African Americans were in vain. In other words, many Americans thought that the president became unable to put an end to the problem of unemployment. His inability to solve such a big problem paved the way in a way or another to poverty. So because of unemployment,

Americans, especially the African American minority, found themselves in a bitter reality without homes and jobs. They felt that they had been living better before the Black President came to the top of the nation. They came to a conclusion that the Obama's America was over. It was so in the sense that American voters fell in love with the Black man who transmitted to them an important message represented by the electoral campaign slogan "Yes, we can.", but after he succeeded and through time, it became clear that he could not, and that the slogan was used only for personal interests; to win the presidential elections. The rate of poverty in the United States increased after 2008 as it is shown by the graph below.

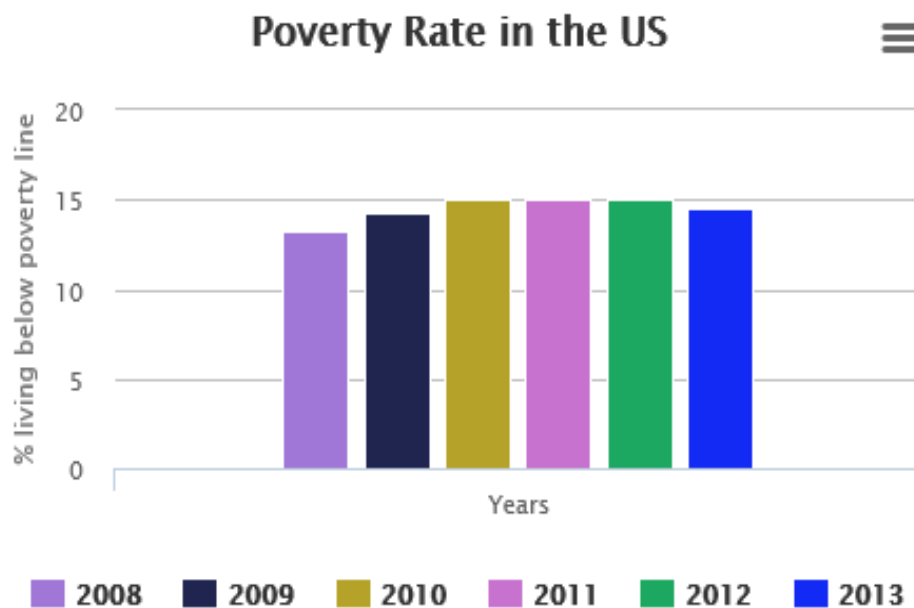


Figure 21: Poverty Rate in the Obama's First Term

(Source : <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/barackobama/11192438/Life-under-Obama-sucks.-And-these-numbers-prove-it.html>)

The graph above (fig. 21) shows the rate of the condition of living under the poverty line after the presidential victory of Obama in 2008. In the year previously mentioned, the percentage of poverty was 13.2% and increased to 14.3% one year later. So starting from 2010, the American society was suffering from poverty which touched the top of 15%. The latter continued to be in the same level during a period of three years till 2012. One year later, the Administration succeeded to lessen the percentage to 14.5%, but it still remained unacceptable if compared with the previous decades. As it was previously mentioned, the

rate of poverty under the red line was because of the fact that Americans, especially Blacks, were unable to find a job that might help him or her in buying a house or at least renting it, and feeding his or her family. The percentage of the labour force, which was expected to participate in the development of the nation, started to decline after 2008. This means that the administration under the leadership of Obama failed, with the appropriate sense of the word, to solve the problem of unemployment as it is shown in the next graph.



Figure 22: The Rate of the Labour Force from 2004 to 2014

(Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/barackobama/11192438/Life-under-Obama-sucks.-And-these-numbers-prove-it.html>)

The graph mentioned in fig.22 is about the American population and its rate of labour force during a decade, exactly the period between 2004 and 2014. The data shows clearly the percentage of people who had the chance to work in both Bush and Obama administrations. According to the results, the percentage of the working population was 65.8% in September 2004. It increased one year later to 66.1%; this shows that Bush administration cared a lot about people with regard to employment. The rate remained somehow the same, and varied from 66.1% to 66% between 2005 and 2008. It was an acceptable percentage if compared with the following years which witnessed a decline in the labour force. This decline

happened during the era of President Obama who failed to satisfy the needs of the Black population by providing them with jobs. If anyone goes deeply into the results of the graph, he may notice that the collapse in the labour force started to decrease starting from 2009 (65.1%) to 62.7% in 2014. The economic situation of Americans, especially the Black minority, became worse under the administration of Obama despite the fact that many economists recognized the efforts made by him in finding suitable conditions for all citizens without exception.

One could say that despite all the Obama's efforts, the President was still accused of neglecting the middle class which had good reasons to be afraid of their future, especially when Obama always claimed to be on the side of the vulnerable and poor people, whereas the reality showed that he worked for the benefit of the upper social class. Most of the Americans noticed that Obama was elected President not because of his programme, but because of his colour. In other words, one could notice that the presidential election of 2008 was considered as a revolution in American race relations. Through these elections, Americans wanted to revolt against the White race and side by the Black one, but they forgot that leading a country and running an administration did not have any relation with race, but it was related directly with the capacity of the man who was supposed to run the country and his programme that was expected to improve the lives of the American citizens in all domains of life. So, as it was mentioned earlier, the failure of the Obama's administration in making serious attempts at governmental reforms was apparent to all Americans, especially the African American community which claimed that the era prior to Obama was better than the current time. The Republicans have tried to seize the opportunity to pave the way to their future presidential and legislative victories by trying to sensitize people in general and Black people in particular to join the Republican Party as members or at least to give their votes for future Republican candidates. It is in fact a good opportunity for them to make the opposite of what happened in the twenties of the twentieth century when the majority of African Americans shifted from the Republican Party, which gave them the chance to be liberated and emancipated from slavery in the era of President Lincoln, to the Democratic Party which gave them the chance to participate in any election that might happen in the country.

Obama then, through his mismanagement, has given a golden opportunity to Republicans to think about the suitable way to attract the Black people to join the Party and work hard to help their communities in putting an end to the segregation which still exists in the United States of America in spite of all the laws that have been issued up till now by the Federal Government and the state authorities as well. Black people have become disappointed

after they have seen that the discrimination against them still exists despite the fact that the country is led by a Black president who knows very well that his ancestors as well as their descendants have suffered a lot in fighting against the White supremacy and the disaster of human exploitation during centuries. African Americans wanted Obama to focus on their current economic situation which urgently needed help of his part. They wanted him to focus, in his speeches, on racism against the Black race. The Black community sees that President Obama has been reluctant in defending the coloured people since his presidency. Obama, in turn, has seized the opportunity in each speech, to address a message to all Americans and to African Americans in particular that he is a president of all citizens including the different minorities, and that he is doing the best to put an end to any form of segregation or discrimination against any American citizen. President Obama has also been accused of not making efforts in stopping the crimes against Blacks by the federal and the state police. Many bloody events have taken place in the recent decade by the police officers without being punished. So, what is the attitude of Barack Obama as a Black citizen and as a president towards the crimes committed against African Americans from time to time within the American society? This is indeed the subject to be discussed in the following section.

4.8 Attitudes of Obama towards the Criminal Events against Blacks

Anyone who engages into the study of the criminal events within the society of the United States of America could notice that what has happened since the coming of Obama at the head of the nation has indeed a direct relationship with the issue of race. So, both Blacks and Whites possess racial ideologies against each other. Whites see Blacks as servants that have to serve their White masters, whereas Blacks see Whites as men against humanity. These two ideologies, which cannot be generalized on all of them, create a big conflict and a rivalry that has lasted for centuries till our current days. These ideologies resulted in many crimes committed against each other. African Americans who thought that President Obama would do the best to stop the killing of Blacks in the streets have been surprised to see their president ignoring these daily facts. Many crimes have been committed against Blacks by the federal police which deal with the issue as a racial subject. The political scientists Jon Hurwitz and Mark Peffley succeeded to publish a book in which they treated the subject of how both blacks and whites see and understand the criminal justice system. They state that they found important differences in the way both whites and blacks understand the criminal justice system. Blacks have a doubt that the system of justice can never be fair, whereas the

White people see that justice is blind and it focuses indeed on the skin colour. The diagram below shows this unfair justice in the United States. (See fig. 22)

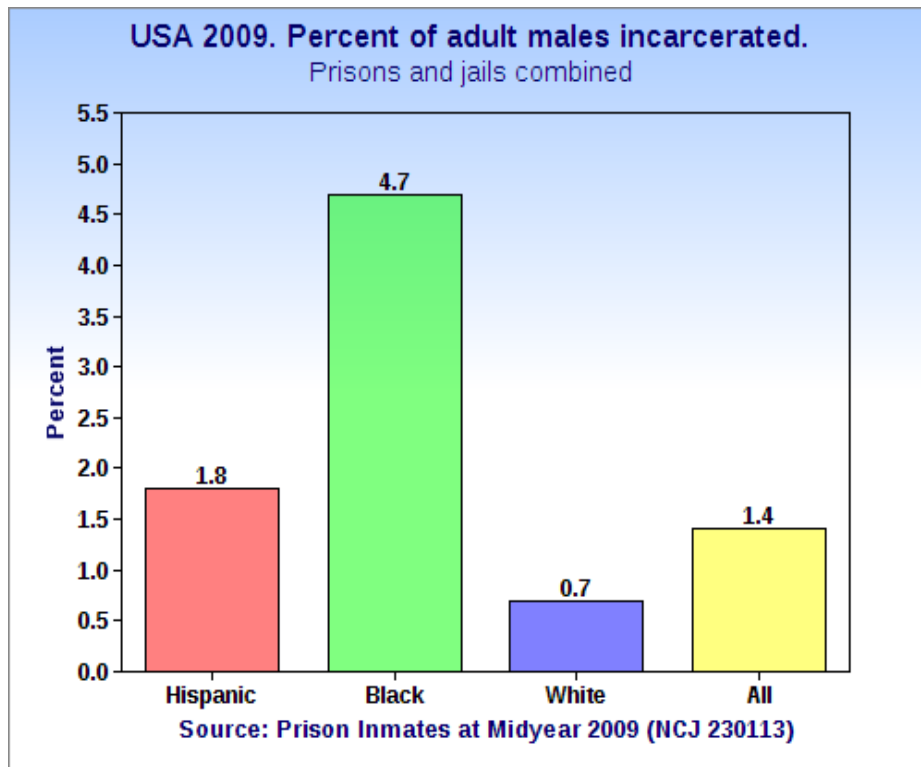


Figure 23: the Rate of Adult Males put in Jail (2009)

(Source:https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Race_and_crime_in_the_United_States#/media/File:USA_2009._Percent_of_adult_males_incarcerated_by_race_and_ethnicity.png)

The diagram above (fig.23) is about the percentage of American citizens including the different races and minorities, jailed in 2009. From the first glance at the graph, one could notice that the Justice system in USA was blind in this year. 4.7% of Blacks were put in prison for different reasons, whereas the rate of those prisoners from different races varied between 0.7% and 1.8%. What can attract anyone at the level of the diagram is the rate of Whites which is the lowest percentage in the year. For many analysts, this does not mean that the White community did not commit crimes, but because the System of justice has a racial face. Its blindness, as the political scientists Jon Hurwitz and Mark Peffley said, made this large gap between the different races especially the white and Black. 0.3% of difference in the diagram can be perceived as the absence of justice which does not see the White sin but only the Black one. The African American community has been targeted by the federal and state

courts. Blacks believed that the police could conduct a fair investigation into brutality charges, but only if the victim of the brutality was white. Many African Americans, especially younger black men, reported that they were badly treated and unfairly arrested by the police because of their skin colour.

The American society has recently witnessed many hate criminal events against the Black community that actually attracted the national attention. According to some statistics over hate crimes reported by the FBI, these crimes based on an anti-black ideology which resulted in increasing the number of Black victims. Barrack Obama, as a president of USA, in most of his speeches, he began to remind people by the origin of the American State, the Declaration of Independence and the subject of slavery which was permitted to take place within the continent for a long time. He, most of the time, referred to the Declaration of Independence as a solution to the problem of race, and promised them for a citizenship equality controlled by laws. He blamed people indirectly for their failure in achieving a perfect union that might put an end to segregation within the American society. He added that the constitution is the only document that is expected to end the racial face of the American society. The Democrat Obama knew that the issue of slavery would be the most difficult subject to be dealt with in the future when being a president. He addressed a message in 2007, published in the Guardian newspaper, that the solution of the slavery subject

“..was already embedded within our constitution, a constitution that had at its very core the idea of equal citizenship under the law; a constitution that promised its people liberty and justice and a union that could be and should be perfected over time.”¹²

In the quotation, Obama focused a lot on the constitution which remained the only solution to all problems that might happen in the American society. He wanted to remind people that they were all human beings, and they were all created equal and should have the same right in life. By such speech, he called for the American unity and called all people from different minorities to understand each other. Obama transmitted this message not as a Black man but as an American citizen who wanted to achieve a more perfect union that would be built by Whites and Blacks in addition to all citizens from different races that were concerned in keeping stability and fraternity within the same society. He insisted on fighting segregation in all domains of life, especially in education. He said that racism always led to violence

¹² The Guardian , obtainable at: [http://: www.the-guardian.com/world/2007/fab/10/barrack-obama](http://www.the-guardian.com/world/2007/fab/10/barrack-obama)

between American brothers and caused victims as it has been seen recently between police officers and Black protestors. In his book “Dream of my Father”, Obama recognized the impact of the Civil Rights leaders on his life, especially those of the sixties of the twentieth century who contributed efficiently in bringing great changes to the American society. No one can deny the fact that he, most of the time, tried to convince the American people of the urgent need for change, and they should work together ignoring the racial issues that became the source of dispute and conflicts over time.

The most important aim that President Obama wanted to realize is the fact of putting both races in one rank defending the nation instead of fighting each other. He did the best to end the violence between Blacks and Whites which has caused many victims of both sides. He declared that the only solution to avoid all these racial problems was to work for achieving equal rights to all Americans via the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and promotion of civil rights, because of the fact that every American citizen deserves equal justice under the law. This was the aim of President Obama after he came to Presidency, but has he succeeded to realize a real change that may put an end to the discriminatory policy of the American society? In other words, has the United States changed its racial face towards the Black community? This is in fact what will be discussed in the following section which is our last significant part in which some important points will be shown over the reality of racism under the rule of the Obama’s administration.

4.9 Has the United States Changed its Racial Face?

So, despite the fact that the United States succeeded to come with a Black president, many analysts of the internal issues of the country have noticed that the country still keeps its racial face. In other words, African Americans still face racism in every aspect of social life. So, African Americans are still suffering from racism and the terrorist attacks against them especially of the part of the federal police and the law enforcement departments. The African American community has shown its fear that the federal police are the real danger that is threatening Blacks in their daily lives wherever they are. They add that policemen are normally supposed to protect people and preserve their rights against any violation, but what they see is quite different and the Black rights are violated everyday without any reason. Under the Obama administration, African Americans have been deprived of their rights and many of them lost their lives. They concluded that their struggle against the unfair treatment towards Black Americans still exists and that their fight against racism should continue since it seems to be that the American racial face has not disappeared and still exists. The crimes

which have been committed recently by the federal police against young Blacks is the best proof for many Civil Rights activists that USA is still dealing with racism, and that what is expressed everyday by the officials over the human rights is only a theory that is still waiting to be practised on the ground. The African community is still targeted by the state and federal authorities which closed their eyes on the daily crimes against the black citizens. The following graph shows the important number of African American victims of White violence as a result of the law enforcement.

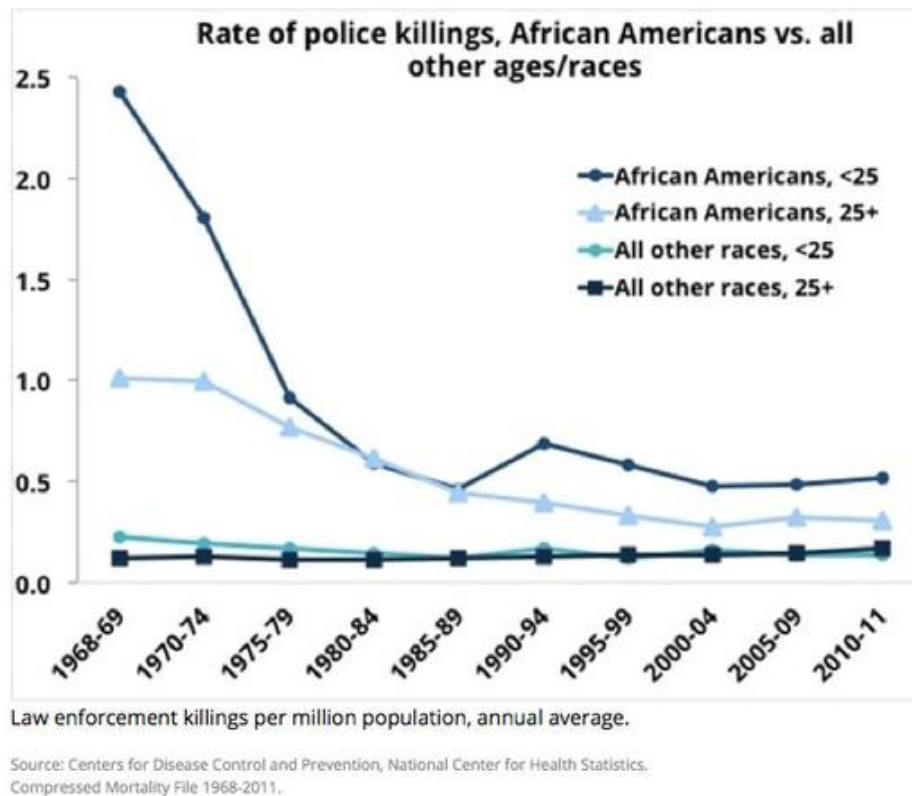


Figure 24: Rate of African American Victims of Police Killings (1968-2011)

(Source: <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2014/12/02/1348891/-Fox-Distorting-the-Stats-on-Police-Killings-of-Black-People-Again#>)

The graph previously mentioned in fig.24 shows that violence has not touched Blacks only, but it seems to be that it is a problem for all minorities whose groups have been killed by police at a higher rate if compared to their populations. The diagram also refers to the percentage of the Black victims of the law enforcement compared to the victims of other races. If one goes deeply into the data of the diagram, he may notice that the higher

percentage of killings is against African Americans. What is noticed is that the era of sixties witnessed a big number of black victims, but after that, the percentage started to decrease till 1989 then it increased for a decade and decreased again. From 2000 to 2011, the rate remained constant. This shows clearly that even after the coming of the Black president, violence still exists, and the Black community still faces an anti-black campaign by the police under the pretext of law enforcement. According to some reports made at the end of 2014, more than 320.000 blacks have been killed over the past 35 years. The US Bureau of Justice Statistics reported in 2007 that African Americans were victims of nearly 8000 assassinations in 2005 and that 93% of Blacks were killed by persons of the same race. This reality shows that Blacks are not threatened by Whites but they are also threatened by Blacks themselves. The Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted an inquiry between 2007 and 2012 which resulted in the fact that the local police forces kill 400 persons each year, 25% of this number represented the blacks killed by the white police officers. This report was accused to lack transparency, and that the number exceeds the one previously mentioned, and many assassinations were not included in the report of FBI.

Many Civil Rights activists state that the rate of racial crimes, as a result of the anti-black campaign, never transgresses 70% and the higher percentage was 69.7% in 1996. What has been noticed is that the percentage has started to go beyond that since 2008 which witnessed the victory of the first Black president in the American history. In the same year, the percentage reached the peak of 72.9% of crimes against the Black community. Many historians analysed this situation saying that the rise of the percentage had a link with the results of the presidential elections of 2008 which angered some of the White community and probably other minorities who did not grasp the fact that a person whose ancestors had been slaves, became the leader and the head of the most powerful country in the world. The election's results created sentiments of hate among Whites towards African Americans, even the president Obama was threatened to be assassinated like President Lincoln because of the racial conflict. So, the Obama's victory of Presidency was considered as the main factor that led to the increase of the rate of Black victims. In addition to the factor previously referred to, the increasing share of minorities in the United States of America can also be considered as another important factor that conducted in a way or another to the emergence of anti-black groups which conducted organized hate crimes against the Black minority. The increasing populations of different minorities threatened the white community which became afraid that it would be a minority in the future. As a reaction, this fear compelled the White people to commit crimes against other minorities. All these factors have indeed a relation with the racial

crimes committed everyday within the American society. It is true that the number of Black victims has decreased if compared to the decade of sixties of the twentieth century, but this does not mean that racism is on its way to disappear; it still takes place indeed. So, in spite of the decline of rate of crimes against Blacks, the nature of these crimes has become more violent. For instance in 2006, there were only three persons killed and six raped for racial reasons, whereas in 2009 eight people racially killed and nine raped. This rate shows clearly that the number of criminal activities against African Americans for racial reasons increased in three years. The only action that was seen as a solution to decrease the racial crimes was the severity of punishment against the murders.

Finally, one could say that racism has been the major issue from which the U.S society has suffered a lot. The racial conflict does not touch the African Americans only, but it has been indeed a real danger for all the society including the white community and all the minorities. So, researchers state that in spite of the Black presidency, the society has witnessed several hate crimes against Blacks who claimed that they are still facing difficult economic situations in spite of the efforts made by President Obama. If we go back to the diagram of the figure, the median household income increased from 2005 to 2008 (31 dollars to 35.6), then it started to decrease after the victory of Obama from 35.6 dollars to 33.5 in 2011. The low income was because of the unemployment that also increased after 2008.

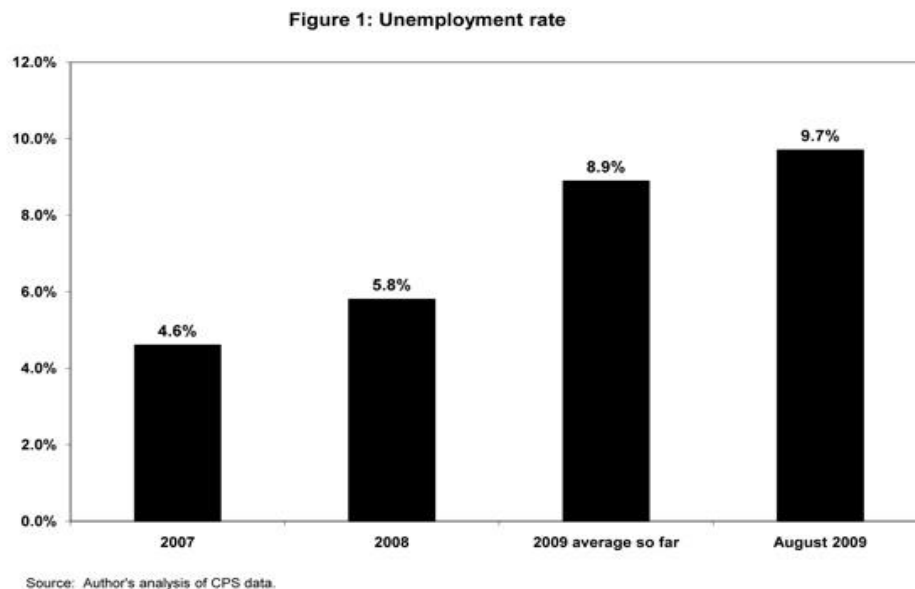


Figure 25: The Rate of Unemployment within the Black Community

(Source: http://www.epi.org/publication/income_picture_20090910/)

Figure 25 represents the unemployment in the African American community which witnessed an increase in its rate, years before the victory of Obama in 2008. The aim behind the displayed data is to show that the year, previously mentioned, did not witness the end or at least a decline in the percentage of the jobless Black people. The latter has become really surprised to see Black citizens suffering with poverty under the administration of Obama. For them, it is an unexpected situation under the rule of their black president to whom they made efforts in the electoral campaign. The graph shows that the percentage was 4.6% in 2007 during the Bush administration, and then it increased to 5.8% in 2008. Until here, President Obama was not blamed. The problem is that the percentage which was expected to decrease in his era, it started to increase more than it did in the previous year. So, it increased from 5.8% to 8.9%. One could notice that the difference in the percentage, which reached 03% in the period from 2008 to 2009, was doubled if compared to the previous period from 2007 to 2008 and continued to increase to 9.7% in the mid 2009. This increasing rate has become the source of the poverty which started to spread in the African American society with a high percentage even after the end of the first term (2012) of the Black president as it is shown in the following table.

Black Poverty Rates		
PERCENTAGE IN POVERTY	Blacks	all races
All families	24.2%	11.8%
With related children under 18 years	33.2%	18.8%
Married-couple family	8.4%	5.8%
With related children under 18 years	11.0%	8.7%
Female householder, no husband	38.8%	31.8%
With related children under 18 years	47.5%	41.5%
All people	28.1%	15.9%
Under 18 years	39.6%	22.6%
18 years and over	23.8%	13.9%
65 years and over	19.0%	9.5%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2012 ACS Report
BlackDemographics.com

Table 10: The Rate of Black Poverty in 2012

(<http://blackdemographics.com/households/poverty/>)

Table 10 is about the percentage of poverty in 2012 which witnessed the end of the first term of Obama and the beginning of his second mandate. The higher rate of poverty, according to the table, is the one of the Black population. 24.2% of African American families suffered from poverty because of the problem of unemployment and the discriminatory policy that has been spread in the whole territory against the Black race, whereas the other races, the rate did not transgress 12%. This shows clearly that the Black community has lived under an economic and social pressure because of the racial face that the United States still has towards the coloured people.

In addition to poverty, Blacks have exposed to daily perils of being killed by the segregated police or being attacked by white racial groups. The recent US police shootings of black suspects is the concrete proof of the white discriminatory policy towards the black community. In the recent months, the state police of South Carolina have accused a white officer of killing an unarmed black man as a result of racism and police violence against humanity. Not only had this crime which happened in the United States of America, but many other violent actions of the parts of white terrorists led to many victims later. For instance, An African American called Eric Garner, 43 years old, was arrested and jailed in July 17th, 2014 for selling cigarettes in New York without being authorized. Later, he died after being badly treated by police. In spite of this crime, the court did not charge the white officer responsible for that. As a reaction to the grand jury's decision, hundreds of blacks demonstrated in the streets of different cities calling for justice, and considered the event as a homicide against innocent persons. In August 9th, 2014, another black young man, known as Michael 18 years old, was killed by a white police officer, Darren Wilson, in Ferguson, Missouri¹³. The event caused racial tensions and violent protests happened in the city after knowing that Wilson was not charged of the crime he had committed. Two days later, another black victim called Ezell

¹³ Missouri is a state located in the Midwestern United States. It is the 21st most extensive, and the 18th most populous of the fifty states. The state comprises 114 counties and the independent city of St. Louis. As defined by the 2010 US census, the four largest urban areas in order of population are St. Louis, Kansas City, Springfield, and Columbia. The mean center of the United States population at the 2010 census was in the town of Plato in Texas County. The state's capital is Jefferson City. The land that is now Missouri was acquired from France as part of the Louisiana Purchase and became known as the Missouri Territory. Part of this territory was admitted into the union as the 24th state on August 10, 1821. Missouri's geography is highly varied. The northern part of the state lies in dissected till plains and the southern portion lies in the Ozark Mountains (a dissected plateau), with the Missouri River dividing the regions. The state lies at the intersection of the three greatest rivers of North America, with the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers near St. Louis, and the confluence of the Ohio River with the Mississippi north of the Bootheel. The starting points for the Pony Express, Santa Fe Trail, and Oregon Trail were all located in Missouri as well. Information taken from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Missouri>

Ford, 25 years old and mentally ill, was killed by a white police officer in Los Angeles. It was reported that he was shot in the back as he was walking in the street. The same court's decision was taken by not punishing any policeman for that crime. As a result, Ferguson witnessed demonstrations against racism and the lack of justice.

Another unarmed African American was a victim of police shooting in November 20th, 2014. Akai Gurley, 28 years old, was killed by an Asian American police officer who was charged of committing crime and jailed after the city of New York witnessed riots against the police shootings against black innocent people. Two days later in Ohio, a Black child, 12 years old, was shot dead. The victim Tamir Rice was accused of carrying a gun. Toney Terrell Robinson, 19 years old, was killed in the city of Madison. This event happened on the eve of a ceremony of celebrating the 50th anniversary of the protests of Alabama organized by the Civil Rights Movements calling for individual liberties and equality between the white community and all the minorities especially the Black one. On March 09th, 2015, Antony Hill was another victim of the white terrorism that took place in the state of Georgia. He was an unarmed black person who was attacked by a white policeman. The black victim was suffering from a mental problem. On April 2nd, 2015, a white police officer killed a black person called Eric Harris, 40 years old. Five days later, Walter Scott, an African American, 50 years old, was shot dead after being attacked by a police officer Michael Slager. The list of victims which has just been mentioned above shows the hate crimes that were committed against innocent black people who were reported by police themselves to be unarmed men. This indicates clearly that the American society still witnesses racism and discriminatory policy by the white authority which still considers black people as citizens of second degree. In other words, the segregated society has not changed even under the Black President Obama, and the list of victims already mentioned is a concrete proof. The society is characterized by the lack of equality and justice. The majority of police officers accused of committing crimes, were not charged and jailed, and even if charged, they were not severely punished. So, many African Americans claim that despite the fact that they elected a Black president, they are still facing violent attacks, as they have been considered as the most frequent victims of such hate crimes. Statistics of 2007 over crimes showed that of 7624 crimes, 34% of them were committed against African Americans. Later, the number of hate crimes increased twice during the Obama Presidency against the black race if compared to other minorities within the American society. The black community remains the only minority that has suffered from racial violence for a long time; starting from centuries ago, they suffered from lynching, burning homes and killing people by chaining them to vehicles for a

long distance till they died. Many of them were reported to be killed and injured without any reason. Their only sin they committed, in the whites' views, was that they were born black.

Through such kinds of crimes, the white supremacists had the intention to terrorize an important U.S minority. These violent events have undoubtedly a negative impact on the American society, because of the fact that not only the African American population which has been terrorized but the whole society including the whites and all the remaining minorities. Researchers state that the racial face of the United States still exists in spite of the efforts made by the official federal authorities as well as the state governments to fight without hesitation all the violent attacks against American citizens. The federal officials' words and deeds are quite different as no justice really exists, and no equality of rights applied on the ground, it remains just a theory that requires a real practice on the political ground.

4.10- Conclusion

The last part of the work was devoted to the issue of the African American dream that was supposed to be realized during the victory of the black democratic candidate Barrack Obama in the presidential elections that took place in 2008. Before dealing with the subject of elections, it was preferable for us to shed light briefly on the early participation of African Americans in the political domain and their contribution in the victory of both parties through history. It was not somehow easy for Blacks to select the appropriate party that would claim their rights on their behalf. So, for them, both Democratic and Republic parties had advocated the slave practice in a given period of time in the U.S history. Both parties were viewed as political organizations that deprived the black community of its right as an important minority that deserved to be given its normal citizenship. Later, Black Americans were determined to support the Republican Party during the era of Abraham Lincoln who did the best to fight the South in order to ban slavery. The Lincoln's decision was appreciated by the African American population which, in turn, supported him in most of his political actions. Blacks sympathized with him because they felt that his administration began the fight of liberty and emancipation for their rights on their behalf against the discriminatory policy of the South. From that time and for many years later, most of African Americans became Republicans. This political view did not last for a long time and soon the African American community decided again to change its political direction. This happened indeed in the era of President Roosevelt. In other words, the Black people became interested in the Democratic Party rather than being republicans. This political shift was based on the fact that President Roosevelt did the best to convince the southern Democrats to accept the African Americans to participate in

the party primary elections in all states. He also offered them the chance to be advisors in his administration. He also succeeded to convince American people of the necessity to help Blacks by offering them relief and assistance in any difficult situation. By such decision, he succeeded to win the support of African Americans for decades. Since then, African Americans have supported the Democratic Party instead of the Republican one.

The presidential elections that took place in 2008 were a concrete proof of the Blacks' interest in supporting the Democratic Party. Most of them were Democrats. The Republican Party was somehow completely ignored by the Black community. More than 90% of Blacks voted for Democrats against a percentage of less than 10% for the Democratic Party. This result led to a historical victory that came with Barrack Obama as the first Black President to rule the United States of America. The victory of the African American Democrat in these presidential elections of 2008 was seen as a historical moment at which a decisive change in the US political situation took place. Unlike the decade of the sixties of the twentieth century when the majority of Americans were quite against the idea of any Black candidacy for presidency, the elections of 2008 showed that the American citizens did not care about race at all. For them, race was not considered as an obstacle in the selection of candidates, it was completely ignored, and not only Blacks who supported the Obama's candidacy but even whites were in favour of. It was in fact a great achievement for the black community to be represented by a Black President. The victory was not easy to be realized, but it was achieved indeed because of many contributing factors.

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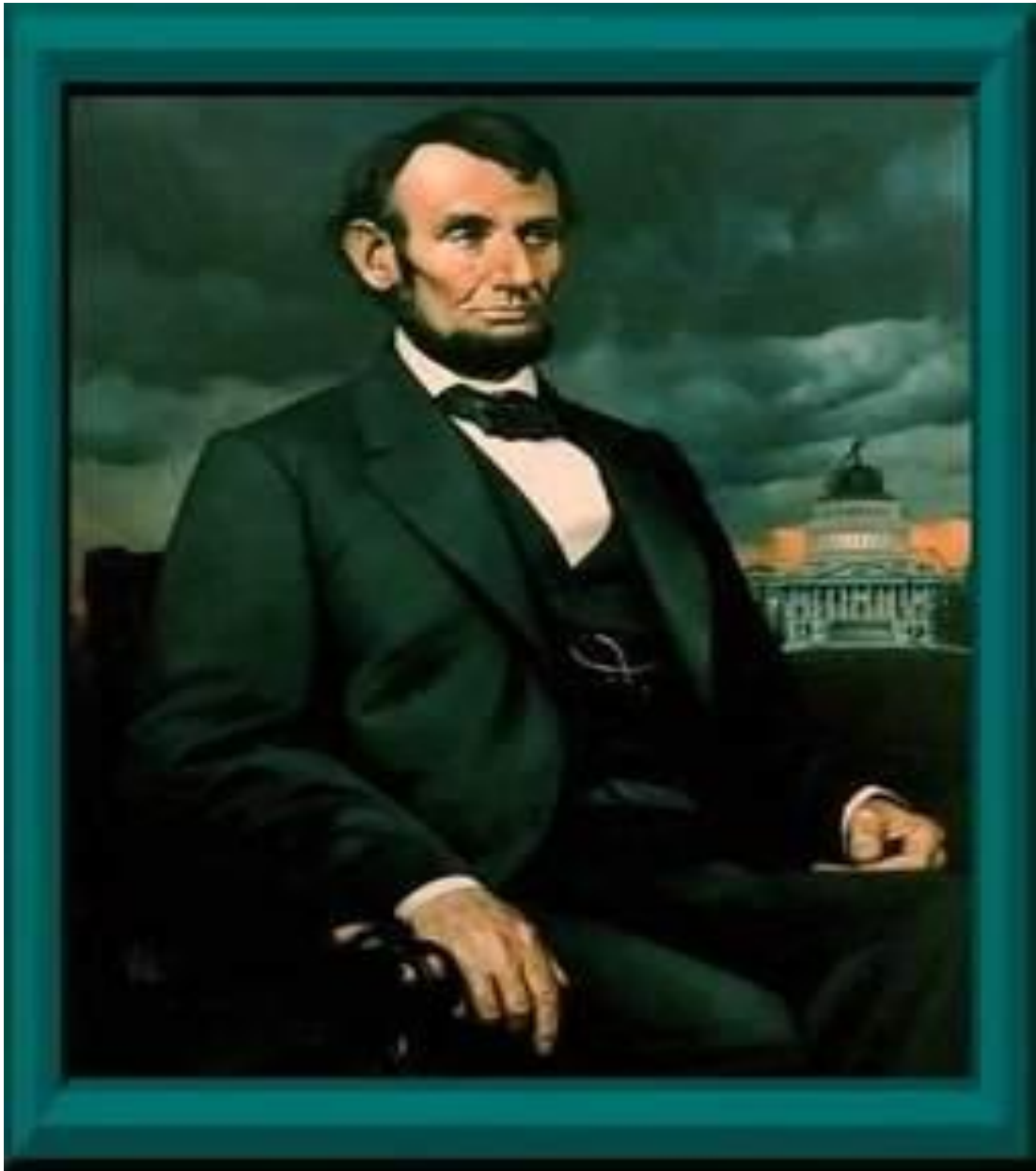
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Appendices

Appendix 01



Abraham Lincoln Portrait¹

Abraham Lincoln (ⓘ) /'eɪbrəhæm 'lɪŋkən/; February 12, 1809 – April 15, 1865) was the 16th President of the United States, serving from March 1861 until his assassination in April 1865. Lincoln led the United States through its Civil War—its bloodiest war and its greatest moral, constitutional, and political crisis.^{[1][2]} In doing so, he preserved the Union, abolished slavery, strengthened the federal government, and modernized the economy.²

¹ <https://www.google.dz/>

² Abraham Lincoln From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. > https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abraham_Lincoln.

Appendix 02



Assassination of Abraham Lincoln³

United States President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth on Good Friday, April 14, 1865, while attending the play *Our American Cousin* at Ford's Theatre as the American Civil War was drawing to a close.^[1] The assassination occurred five days after the commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, General Robert E. Lee, surrendered to Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant and the Union Army of the Potomac. Lincoln was the first American president to be assassinated.^[2] An unsuccessful attempt had been made on Andrew Jackson 30 years before in 1835, and Lincoln had himself been the subject of an earlier assassination attempt by an unknown assailant in August 1864. The assassination of Lincoln was planned and carried out by the well-known stage actor John Wilkes Booth, as part of a larger conspiracy in a bid to revive the Confederate cause. Booth's co-conspirators were Lewis Powell and David Herold, who were assigned to kill Secretary of State William H. Seward, and George Atzerodt who was tasked to kill Vice President Andrew Johnson. By simultaneously eliminating the top three people in the administration, Booth and his co-conspirators hoped to sever the continuity of the United States government. Lincoln was shot while watching the play *Our American Cousin* with his wife Mary Todd Lincoln at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C.. He died the following day at 7:22am.^[3] The rest of the conspirators' plot failed; Powell only managed to wound Seward, while Atzerodt, Johnson's would-be assassin, lost his nerve and fled. The funeral and burial of Abraham Lincoln was a period of national mourning.⁴

³ <https://www.google.dz/>

⁴ Assassination of Abraham Lincoln. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia > https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assassination_of_Abraham_Lincoln

Appendix 03



A Terrorist Group of Ku Klux Klan in a Meeting⁵

The **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**, or simply "**the Klan**", is the name of three distinct past and present movements in the United States that have advocated extremist reactionary currents such as white supremacy, white nationalism, anti-immigration, and, especially in later iterations, Nordicism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Semitism, historically expressed through terrorism aimed at groups or individuals whom they opposed. All three movements have called for the "purification" of American society, and all are considered right wing extremist organizations. The first Klan flourished in the Southern United States in the late 1860s, then died out by the early 1870s. It sought to overthrow the Republican state governments in the South during the Reconstruction Era, especially by using violence against African American leaders. With numerous chapters across the South, it was suppressed around 1871, through federal enforcement. Members made their own, often colorful, costumes: robes, masks, and conical hats, designed to be terrifying, and to hide their identities. The second group was founded in 1915, and flourished nationwide in the early and mid-1920s, particularly in urban areas of the Midwest and West. It opposed Catholics and Jews, especially newer immigrants, and stressed opposition to the Catholic Church. This second organization adopted a standard white costume and used similar code words as the first Klan, while adding cross burnings and mass parades. The third and current manifestation of the KKK emerged after 1950, in the form of small, local, unconnected groups that use the KKK name. They focused on opposition to the Civil Rights Movement, often using violence and murder to suppress activists. It is classified as a hate group by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center. It is estimated to have between 5,000 and 8,000 members as of 2012.⁶

⁵ <https://www.google.dz/>

⁶ *Ku Klux Klan*. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia > https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ku_Klux_Klan

Appendix 04



African American Protest against the Racial Discrimination⁷

(Source: <https://www.google.dz/>)

The Civil Rights Movement or 1960s Civil Rights Movement (sometimes referred to as the "African-American Civil Rights Movement" although the term "African American" was not widely used in the 1950s and '60s) encompasses social movements in the United States whose goals were to end racial segregation and discrimination against African Americans and to secure legal recognition and federal protection of the citizenship rights enumerated in the Constitution and federal law.⁸

⁷ <https://www.google.dz/>

⁸ Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. *African-American Civil Rights Movement (1954–68)*. >https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement

Appendix 05



Whites' Sympathy with Blacks⁹

⁹ <https://www.google.dz/>

Appendix 06



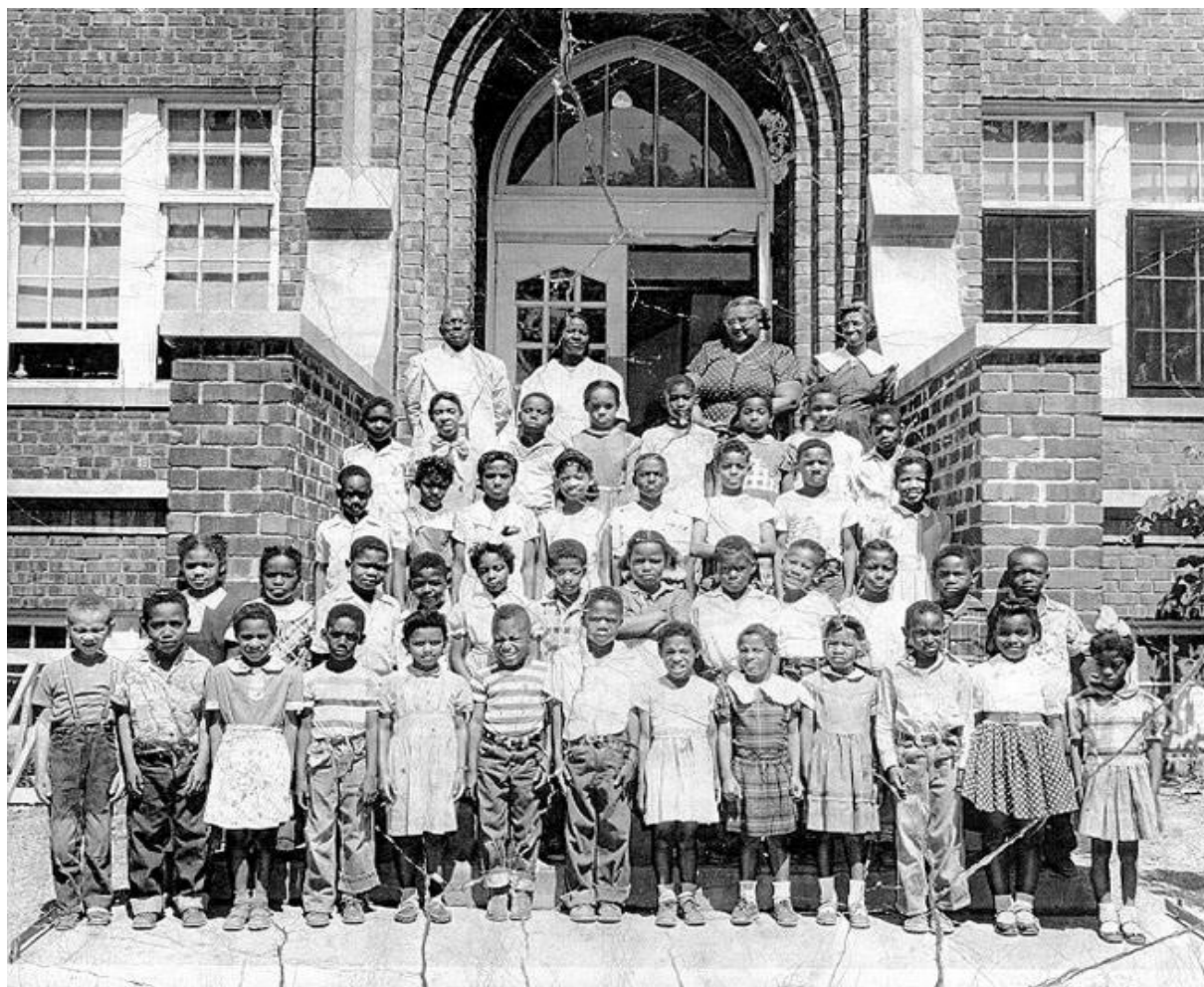
Freedom Riders against Segregation in the Means of Transport¹⁰

Freedom Riders were civil rights activists who rode interstate buses into the segregated southern United States in 1961. The Freedom Riders challenged the authorities by riding interstate buses in the South in mixed racial groups to challenge local laws or customs that enforced segregation in seating. The Freedom Rides, and the violent reactions they provoked, supported the credibility of the American Civil Rights Movement. They called national attention to the ignorance for the federal law and the local violence used to enforce segregation in the southern United States.¹¹

¹⁰ Source: <https://www.google.dz/>

¹¹ Wikipedia. *Freedom Riders*.> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_Riders

Appendix 07



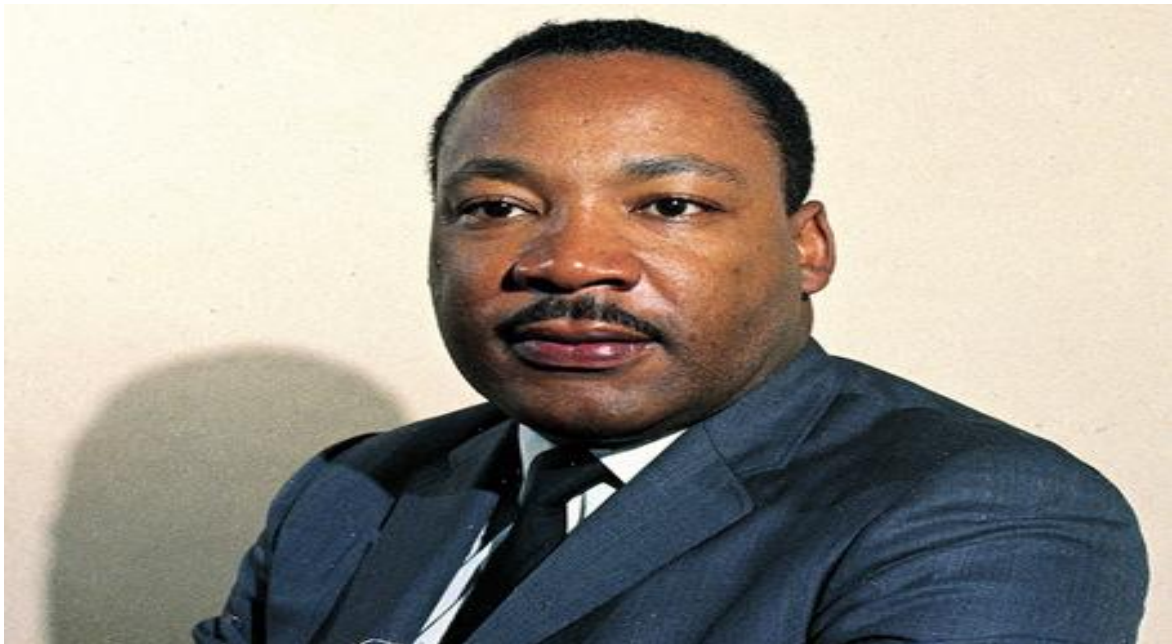
Free Black Schools¹²

Black schools originated under legal segregation in the southern United States after the American Civil War and Reconstruction era, in southern states' public policy to keep races separated and maintain white supremacy. In the United States white opposition to African-American success resulted in only the most rudimentary schools for African Americans. It often took decades after the South established public schools for systems to offer education at the high school level. Nonetheless, black teachers and students created some outstanding black high schools, including Dunbar High School in Washington, D.C.; Dudley High School in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Paul Laurence Dunbar Junior and Senior High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.¹³

¹² Source: <https://www.google.dz/>

¹³ Wikipedia. *Black school*.> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_school

Appendix 08



Dr. Martin Luther King¹⁴

Martin Luther King, Jr. (January 15, 1929 – April 4, 1968) was an American Baptist minister, activist, humanitarian, and leader in the African-American Civil Rights Movement. He is best known for his role in the advancement of civil rights using nonviolent civil disobedience based on his Christian beliefs.¹⁵

¹⁴ Source: <https://www.google.dz/>

¹⁵ Wikipedia. *Martin Luther King, Jr.* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Luther_King,_Jr.

Appendix 09



President Barack Obama¹⁶

Barack Hussein Obama was born in August 4, 1961. He is an American politician serving as the 44th President of the United States. He is the first African American to hold the office, as well as the first president born outside of the continental United States. Born in Honolulu, Hawaii, Obama is a graduate of Columbia University and Harvard Law School, where he served as president of the *Harvard Law Review*. He was a community organizer in Chicago before earning his law degree. He worked as a civil rights attorney and taught constitutional law at University of Chicago Law School between 1992 and 2004. He served three terms representing the 13th District in the Illinois Senate from 1997 to 2004, and ran unsuccessfully in the Democratic primary for the United States House of Representatives in 2000 against incumbent Bobby Rush. He became the US president in 2008.¹⁷

¹⁶ Source: <https://www.google.dz/>

¹⁷ Wikipedia. *Barack Obama*. > https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama

Appendix 10



**Barack Obama during the Electoral Campaign
and after the Victory**

(Source: <https://www.google.dz/>)

Appendix 11



African American Supporters of Barrack Obama

(Source: <https://www.google.dz/>)