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JAMES BALDWIN'S ROLE IN FIGHTING RACISM IN AMERICA

M.A. THESIS

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AMERİKA'DA IRKÇILIKLA MÜCADELEDE JAMES BALDWIN'İN ROLÜ

YÜKSEKLİSANS TEZİ

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APPROVAL PAGE

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ÖZET

İnsanlık tarihi incelendiğinde hemen hemen her toplumda çeşitli derecelerde bireylerin bireylere veya sistemlerin bireylere uyguladığı ırkçılık kavramının varlığını gözleriz. Tarih boyunca insanların maruz kaldığı ırkçılık, insan onuruna yakışmayan en aşağılayıcı ve acı verici haksız uygulamalardan birisidir. Irkçılığın temelinde; ekonomik durum, cinsiyet, kültür, inanç, dış görünüş, gelişmişlik düzeyi gibi pek çok husus vardır. Kısaca, ırkçılık sosyo-kültürel ve ekonomik şartları insanların birbirlerine üstünlük kurmak üzere kullanmaları neticesinde ortaya çıkan bir olgudur. Hayat; hayata kalma, üstün gelme mücadelesidir bu mücadelenin en acımasızcası çeşitli topluluklara ev sahipliği yapan kuruluş aşamasındaki Amerika'da gerçekleşmiştir. Amerika'da gerçekleşen bu mücadele vicdan, merhamet, insanlık, acıma duygusu olmaksızın temel insan haklarından yaşama hakkına dahi saygı gösterilmeksizin birbirlerini katletme de dahil olmak üzere her düzeyde şiddeti içererek meydana gelmiştir. İnsan onuru her zaman ve her yerde çoğunluğu önyargılara, kalıp yargılara ve saygısız tutumlara bağlı gelişen bu yaklaşıma karşı çıkmıştır. Yeni Dünya Amerika'da da birçok yazar, filozof, bilim adamı, yönetici olan sağduyu sahipleri birlikte yaşamın önünde sorun oluşturan ırkçılığa karşı mücadele etmişlerdir. Irkçılığa karşı mücadele edenler; ırkçılığın daha çok ten rengi üzerine yapılmasından dolayı Afrikalı-Amerikanlar olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu kişiler çok sayıda ırkçılık mağduru insana dokunarak adaletsizlik ve eşitsizlik konusunda insanları bilinçlendirmeyi amaçlamışlardır. Yazar ve sivil haklar aktivisti olan bu mücadelelerden birisi de James Baldwin'dir. Çalışmamızda Baldwin'in edebi kişiliği üzerinde durulacak, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, *Another Country*, *Sonny's Blues* eserleri incelenecek, ırkçılığa maruz kalan toplum kesiminin eşitlik mücadelesi değerlendirilecektir. Bu tezde, hayatını ne siyah ne de beyaz ulusa adamamış olan James Baldwin'in, eşitlik ve adalet vaat eden Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde ırksal baskı ve sosyal adaletsizlik konusunda kamuoyunu bilinçlendirme tutkusu ve anlayışı ortaya konulmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Irkçılık, James Baldwin, Mücadele, Sivil Haklar

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ABSTRACT

When the history of humanity is examined, we observe the existence of the concept of racism applied by individuals or systems to individuals in various degrees in almost every society. The racism that people have been subjected to throughout history is one of the most humiliating and painful unfair practices that do not befit human dignity. *Racism* is a phenomenon that arises as a result of the use of socio-cultural and economic conditions by people to gain superiority over each other. In other words, many issues such as economic situation, gender, culture, belief, appearance, and level of development can be counted. Life is the struggle for survival and prevails; the most brutal struggle occurred during the establishment phase of America, which is home to various communities. This struggle, which took place in America, occurred by including violence at all levels, killing each other, without respect for conscience, compassion, humanity, and the right to live, one of the fundamental human rights, without a sense of pity. Human dignity has always and everywhere opposed this approach, which mainly depends on prejudices, stereotypes, and disrespectful attitudes. In the New World, America, many writers, philosophers, scientists, and common sense managers have struggled against racism, which is a problem in life. Those who fight against racism appear as African-Americans because racism is mainly based on skin color. These people aimed to raise awareness of injustice and inequality by touching many victims of racism. James Baldwin is one of these fighters, a writer and civil rights activist. Baldwin's literary personality will be emphasized in our study, and his works *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, *Another Country*, and *Sonny's Blues* will be examined. The struggle for equality in a society exposed to racism will be evaluated. In this thesis, James Baldwin's passion and understanding for raising public awareness about racial oppression and social injustice in the United States, which promised equality and justice, will be tried to be revealed.

Keywords : Racism, James Baldwin, Struggle, Civil Rights
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SYMBOLS AND ABRIVATIONS

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	NAACP
Ku Klux Klan	KKK
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	UNESCO
American Nazi Party	ANP
Congress of Racial Equality	CORE
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	SNCC
Fellowship of Reconciliation	FOR
Works Progress Administration	WPA
Black Art Movement	BAM
Federal Bureau of Investigation	FBI
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University	Florida A&M University

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INTRODUCTION

America, the New World, is a country that faced many problems during its establishment. America, also called the land of dreams, hosts people from almost all over the world, but also people who have been forcibly taken from their families from their countries. Inter-communal conflicts are inevitable in America, which is home to different nations, as it is almost in the world. At the core of these conflicts lies the desire to dominate language, religion, race, economy, and cultural differences. Attitudes that harm human dignity, discrimination, marginalization, and racism that societies are exposed to as a result of conflicts continue to exist as social problems. These struggles, which we count in the rapidly developing and changing America, have continued for centuries, and racism is at the center of the struggles. When we examine racism in America, the subject of the first part of our thesis, it is seen that the white people who are racist are the dominant part of the struggle of people coming to the New World against racism. Whites started their racist struggles with red skin and continued with black skin.

Blacks had experienced painful events and turning point periods when racism prevailed in many areas, starting with slavery and after the abolition of slavery. Dissatisfaction with the abolition of slavery, the leaders of the former states of the Confederacy began to regain political control of the South. However, the Republicans used the military to create a biracial society, and the army gave the insurance of voting rights to black men. However, white supremacist terrorist groups were created in the South to intimidate freedmen into not voting and spreading fear to blacks and whites. As a result, whites and blacks founded organizations to make themselves heard in the context of the black experience. In the second chapter, I will mention some White supremacist and black equalist organizations. Blacks opposed painful practices, not through violence but resorted to art and literature. James Baldwin, the subject of our thesis, and many African-American intellectuals believed in the power of literature, art, and music in solving the racist problems they were exposed to. Afro-American intellectuals have stepped into a new era in which they struggle for self-knowledge, self-expression, equality, and freedom.

The fact that James Baldwin, who is the subject of our thesis, is an African-American intellectual makes it necessary for us to touch upon phenomena such as the abolition of slavery, civil war, racism, the Harlem Renaissance, and the civil rights movement, starting with the enslavement of blacks. What happens in the social environment in cause-effect relationships with an approach following the historical method will be explained chronologically in the first three chapters of our thesis.

In order to understand the role of James Baldwin in the civil rights movement, it is necessary to give some basic information about America and black people.

America, which had a population of 2,5 million just before independence in 1776, today has a population of more than 300 million, of which 40 million are blacks. However, until the 17th century, America was a vast settlement of primitive communities inhabited by Indians. America is the land of continental Indians, blacks forcibly brought from Africa, nations from almost all over the world, and immigrants, primarily European. America, where many languages, religions, nations, cultures, and colors meet, has come to its present day after overcoming many struggles and painful processes.

Muscle power is needed in the construction of every country. However, America meets the necessary human resources in its construction with the blacks brought to America by force and sold like a commodity. These people were brought to America in chains and employed in construction, wars, and heavy work. After the declaration of American independence on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, emphasizing the right of every American citizen to have life, happiness, and freedom, accepting that all people are created equal and have certain and inalienable rights given by their creators. Despite these equal rights promised to all Americans, slavery continued by enacting laws in the Southern states, called *The Tobacco States*, which led to a life based on agriculture. These local laws, known as the Black Codes, which caused the continuation of slavery, will be mentioned in the second part of our thesis.

Slavery was abolished in 1865 to provide free labor and capital to the North. However, it cannot be effective on democrats who are empowered to protect the rights of formerly enslaved people with no assets. Again, with the Jim Crow laws, which we will discuss in the second part of our thesis, racism becomes law. With the emergence

of violent groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the failure to enforce the rights given by the law causes disappointment in the blacks. The formerly enslaved people had no property or job and were forced to continue agricultural labor. In this period, called "The Splitter," the Negroes were taking half of the harvest for themselves by cultivating the lands of the whites and giving the other half to the whites. Blacks, who had no economic security, continued living as de facto slaves.

Engaging in science and art was not included in this way of life, which was considered familiar to blacks. Even African-American writers had to prove that they were writers through the court, which in turn was making decisions in support of racist whites. Despite the criticisms made of black literature and the intolerance towards the existence of blacks, African-American writers did not give up and continued to create literary products and to work on their own culture, equality, freedom, and being literate in their works. The Harlem Renaissance, which we mentioned in the third part of our Afro-American literature thesis, reached its peak with the New Negro Movement. With Harlem, negative reactions towards blacks in all areas of society began to decrease, and black literature began to attract the attention of even whites. During this period, white writers and blacks contributed to the development of black literature by covering the themes of discrimination, equality, fraternity, and slavery. The Harlem Renaissance was a movement trying to make their voice heard, which emerged due to the disillusionment of blacks who could not see the future promised to them by the North. Due to the rapidly increasing black population, the economic conditions in the North began to deteriorate, and the blacks were squeezed into Harlem by the whites. The struggle continues with music. 'Blues'; spreads in waves as music that calls for friendship, fraternity, and unity and increases sympathy for blacks. When the blues lose their importance, they shout with jazz for the whites who can not hear their voices. Blacks, who struggled to make their rightful voice heard with literature and music, also started an organized struggle. In the Harlem Renaissance, Langston Hughes, W.E.B. Du Bois, and writer and activist James Baldwin, the subject of our thesis, have come to the fore as influential values in the international community.

Harlem's loss of importance corresponds to a time when bloody rebellions took place worldwide, where wars and freedom struggles occurred. While social and

political unrest and upheaval prevailed due to World War II and Vietnam War, African-Americans began to engage in an organized struggle with the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. When we look at American history since the enslavement of African-Americans, social, economic, and political inequalities between whites and blacks laid the groundwork for the civil rights movement, as we mentioned in our thesis's fourth part. The blacks, who tried to make their voices heard in various ways, like through literature and music, started to react to the apartheid system to topple Jim Crow and destroy de jure segregation in masses this time. The first reaction started with the Montgomery Bus Boycott when Rosa Parks refused to sit in the black section of a bus. The struggle continued with sit-ins after the black university students were denied their requests at the lunch counter. Next, Freedom rides were held to abolish interstate travel discrimination. Finally, black people became American citizens by acquiring the right to vote in Selma, Alabama.

After the victory of the civil rights movement, the third sub-title of the third chapter of our thesis, the black arts movement, whose primary purpose is political and racist, emphasized blackness, created black awareness, glorified blackness through a great deal of polemical and theoretical works. The black arts movement consisted of politically motivated black poets, artists, dramatists, musicians, and writers who produced literary works that attacked white people. We can call "Black is Beautiful" the motto of the Black Arts Movement, which prompts black racial pride, black beauty, black cultural identity, and African heritage contrary to white supremacy.

When American history is examined, it is seen that blacks have been subjected to many inhumane practices by racist whites, and blacks have struggled to make their voices heard in various ways. Art and literature played an active role in this struggle. Black writers defended the rights of African-Americans by throwing their art into the fire. James Baldwin, who sees himself as a witness, not a spokesman of the black civil rights movement, without thinking about his art life, is the subject of the fourth chapter of our thesis. James Baldwin is a prominent essayist and novelist who writes without hesitation to reveal uncomfortable truths to a society mired in racial and social issues. James Baldwin was a witness, civil rights reporter, and the most eloquent and well-known voice of the civil rights movement.

This thesis aims to examine the role of James Baldwin in fighting racism in America as an African-American essayist, novelist, and playwright who gave various political speeches and tried to reveal his thoughts/personality in many fields and genres during the Civil Rights Movement. Literary circles have accepted James Baldwin as a prominent figure in African American literature. Baldwin greatly impacted the struggle of blacks to obtain their rights during the civil rights movement.



1. RACISM

1.1. Racism

The definition of racism, which differs according to the point of view, culture, and the period we live in, is also made in different ways, so it is difficult to make a single definition that everyone accepts. Like many sociological concepts, racism has an everyday use and many everyday meanings. This approach is undoubtedly due to its constantly changing dynamics. There are numerous definitions of racism available, and definitions of racism vary. So, what is the first thing that comes to mind when we say racism? For most people, it is the belief that one race is superior to other races because of their appearance. In 1932, the word "racism" appeared in the Larousse dictionary for the first time. In the Larousse dictionary, "racism" was defined as: "The belief that particular races, especially one's own, are better than other races; unfair or violent treatment of people because of this belief. ' (Carney & Mayor, 1996; 863) After the first dictionary definition; many dictionaries defined it. If we give an example, the term racism is described in Encyclopedia Britannica:

Any action, practice, or belief that reflects the racial worldview—the ideology that humans are divided into separate and exclusive biological entities called "races," that there is a causal link between inherited physical traits and traits of personality, intellect, morality, and other cultural behavioral features, and that some "races" are innately superior to others. (Wolff, 2006; 1581)

On a superficial level, the answer to the question of what racism is can be answered as a global hierarchy of superiority and inferiority along the line of the human that has been politically, culturally, and economically produced and reproduced; on the other hand, it is a matter of ideology, a doctrine concerning human races, too.

Apart from the encyclopaedical definitions of the term racism, the first definition was made in 1940 by the American anthropologist Ruth F. Benedict, and she defines it as:

The dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is defined as congenital superiority. It is the dogma that the hope of civilization depends on eliminating some races and keeping others pure. It is the dogma that one race has carried progress with it throughout human history and can alone ensure future progress. (Benedict, 1940; 21)

With this first definition, Ruth F. Benedict views racism as a judgment of races that usually exist. According to Britannica's and Benedict's definitions of racism, it can be said that racism is a kind of oppression or persecution in which one particular race dominates another.

Apart from Ruth F. Benedict, different thinkers have also defined racism. For instance, the French sociologist; Albert Memi's definition was the longest-standing definition of racism. Memi defines the term racism as; " Racism is the generalized and final assigning of values to real or imaginary differences, to the accuser's benefit and at his victim's expense, in order to justify the former's privileges and aggressions." (Memi, 1999; 180) Racism focuses on the difference between people based on hereditary figures that make specific groups superior or inferior to others. Therefore, the core of racism focuses on the individual's biological ancestry. We can speak of racism if the differences between ancestral people are claimed to be innate, indelible, and unalterable. Pierre van den Berghe, both sociologist and anthropologist, defines racism as:

(...) any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races. (Berghe, 1967; 21)

The differences can, after all, be real or imaginary. However, most researchers involved in the study of racism emphasize that races that racism exalts or despises. The differences were created by racism in the first place and accepted that dividing humanity into races is racism since race classification excludes people and justifies the notion of racism. In this context, we can mention UNESCO's anti-racist struggle. UNESCO organized meetings where researchers from different disciplines working on race came together. Four sessions were held from the 1950s to the 1960s. The first three sessions focused on demolishing the idea that race determines mental ability, temperament, and social habits. In the fourth session, a definition of racism was given:

All peoples of the world possess equal faculties for attaining the highest level in intellectual, technical, social, economic, cultural, and political development. The differences between the achievements of the different peoples are entirely attributable to geographical, historical, political, economic, social, and cultural factors. Such differences can in no case serve as a pretext for any rank-ordered classification of nations or peoples. (Borgman, et al., 1978; 2)

UNESCO expanded the definition of racism with the meetings it held. As a result, with this broadening definition, racism was no longer an ideological target and turned into a functional issue.

1.2. The Roots of Racism

Several scholars concluded the general lack of global racial prejudice and notions of racial superiority and inferiority before the advent of the Atlantic slave trade; moreover, scholars interfered that Europeans had positive attitudes towards Africa and Africans before this horrendous slave traffic. For example, Frank Snowden, an African American historian, states that people of the ancient world did not see black skin color as a sign of inferiority. Therefore ancient people never judged a man due to his skin color. By ancient civilizations, Africans were not seen as less intelligent, less virtuous, and less human than others. Intermarriages between Africans and ancient people were approved, and the Africans had the chance to have important positions in ancient societies.

On the contrary, interracial marriages were prohibited by U.S. laws during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, without seeing the Africans as inferior, ancient societies maintained cultural unity; ancient societies did not have the same connotation of color that they had for the Western World. Frank Snowden states these notions:

Yet nothing comparable to the virulent color prejudice found in modern times existed in the ancient world. This is the view of most scholars who examined the evidence and who have come to conclusions much as these: the ancients did not fall into the error of biological racism; black skin color was not a sign of inferiority, and Greeks and Romans did not establish color as an obstacle to integration in society; and ancient society was one that, for all its faults and failures, never made color the basis for judging a man. (Wilson, 1996; 40)

In the works of ancient societies' artists, historians, philosophers, poets, and writers, blacks were portrayed as positive and well-integrated images. This favorable image is evident in Greek and Roman mythology with the integration of African characters such as Delphos, the founder of the Delphi, which means Black Woman, and Andromeda, wife of Perseus and the daughter of an Ethiopian king. In ancient cultures, the formation of black skin was believed to be related to proximity to the sun. The mythology of Phaethon can be given as an example of this belief. In the legend, Phaethon persuades his godfather Helios to direct the sun with his solar chariot, and when he loses his control, the sun comes too close to the earth in some

regions, and the inhabitants there become black; when the sun is too far from the earth, the color of inhabitants turned pale. This humanistic pattern, not seeing oneself as superior or inferior to another, started to break down after the seventeenth century, and the term racism originated as a political ideology at the end of the 18th century with the Atlantic Slave Trade.

As mentioned, in recorded history, the most significant long-distance forced movement of people was the trans-Atlantic slave trade. From the sixteenth to the late nineteenth centuries, over twelve million African men, women, and children were enslaved, transported to America, and bought and sold by European and Euro-American slaveholders as chattel property used for their labor and skills. The Atlantic Trade was mainly based on shipping arms, textiles, and wine from Europe to Africa, enslaved people from Africa to America, and sugar and coffee shipped from America to Europe. The slave trade was the second of the three phases of the triangular trade.

In African ports, European traders exchanged metals, cloth, beads, guns, and ammunition for captive Africans brought to the coast from the African interior. The slaves were carried by the ships called “Tumberio,” which means “death ship.” (Of the 20 million slaves transported in 350 years, 8 million died during sailing.) Many captives died on the long journey from inner land to the coast due to the rough conditions on slave ships. Those who arrived at various ports in the Americas were then sold to plantation owners, merchants, small farmers, prosperous tradesmen, and other slave traders. Predominantly European slaveholders purchased enslaved Africans to provide labor that included domestic service and artisanal trades. However, most enslaved Africans provided agricultural labor and skills to produce plantation cash crops for national and international markets.

The slave trade started in the 15th century with the Portuguese, who used Africans in sugar fields; by the eighteenth century, when the trans-Atlantic slave trade reached its trafficking peak, the British had become the largest carriers of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic. The overwhelming majority of enslaved Africans went to plantations in Brazil and the Caribbean, and a smaller percentage went to North America and other parts of South and Central America.

Westerns' relentless pursuit of wealth led to the destruction of civilizations, the reduction of the Native American population, the establishment of the plantation

system, and the Atlantic slave trade. Columbus expressed this drive for wealth and said:

They are the best people in the World and above all the gentlest-without knowledge of what is evil- nor do they murder or steal. They are very simple and honest... none of them refusing anything he may possess when he is asked for it. They exhibit great love toward all others in preference to themselves. They would make fine servants. With fifty men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we want. (Wilson, 1996; 45)

In pursuit of wealth, after the Portuguese and the Spaniards, the ambition of richness arose in England by the seventeenth century. This ambition prompted Englishmen to trade in more enslaved Africans for labor in plantations and led the British to colonize the World; moreover, people in colonized countries were used for Englishmen's benefit, especially darker-skinned people. The accumulation drive led the British to peak in the black slave trade. This subjugation of black-colored people caused a new world order to emerge that separated people into colors. This new order characterizes white Europeans as superior and subjugated people as inferior.

It is very significant that the word race which means different human species, emerged in the British language, who exploited more countries and tortured their people to gain more wealth, coinciding with the time when they began to colonize more countries. Westerners massacred, murdered, and mutilated everyone who stood in their way for wealth. The early history of racist views illustrates a strong relationship with cruel attitudes and dehumanizing views of Westerners toward black-skinned people.

Initially, although there was not any race and color prejudice like in modern and postmodern eras, intermarriages between darker-skinned Africans and lighter-skinned Europeans can be an example of this, the relentless pursuit of wealth that needs increasing numbers of enslaved Africans, as workers in the mines and plantations produced racism, the notion that people of color are subspecies of humanity or species below humankind.

In the beginning, however, plantation laborers, mostly European servants, and a few enslaved Africans worked together without the awareness of physical differences during the seventeen century. Historian Kenneth Stamp states this situation as follows:

Moreover, the Negro and white servants of the seventeenth century seemed to be remarkably unconcerned about their visible physical differences. They toiled together in the fields, fraternized during leisure hours, and, in and out of wedlock, collaborated in siring a numerous progeny. Though the first southern White settlers were quite familiar with rigid class lines,

they were as unfamiliar with a caste system as they were with chattel slavery. (Wilson, 1996; 50)

However, during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, this humanistic climate was changed in the opposite direction. The number of enslaved Africans began to increase rapidly and during the last quarter of the seventeenth-century African population exceeded Europeans.

As the number of imported enslaved Africans increased, the number of imported indentured servants decreased. Undoubtedly, the declining costs of transportation across the Atlantic and the increased demand for unskilled workers caused more dependency on black slave labor. Furthermore, it is more advantageous to control black slaves in the social sphere because they can be easily recognized and distinguished by their skin color. Enslaved Africans were unarmed and had no expectations of freedom and land ownership. They were subjected to unlimited work as the master could demand from the slave. Regarding demographic reasons, slavery was also more productive because black women and their children were also workers on the plantations. For these reasons, black-skinned people became at the lowest level of the social area.

From the above explanations, we can say that slavery was not the cause of racism, but slavery formed the basis of racism. Racism was the same as the old worldview that justified that some men were born to rule and others were born to serve. This old and obsolete view supported slavery and racism due to several intentional decisions of Western-shaped racism. To summarize, due to the low costs of transatlantic transportation, more dependency on black slaves than the European indentured servants, the ease of restraint in the social sphere of blacks with brutality, the lack of human rights for enslaved Africans, the obedience of all Africans to all Europeans, all these performed actions created a duality between black slaves, at the lowest level of society, and white free persons.

Being a black slave was the most undesirable thing, even being the lowest class worker was more desirable. No matter how low Europeans' social status or poverty-stricken they might be, Europeans could stand above blacks. To be white is to be free. To be black is to be a slave.

2. APPLICATIONS OF SLAVERY AFTER ABOLITION

2.1. The Black Codes

Black codes are numerous laws enacted in the United States in the nineteenth century. *Black Codes* were defined as restrictive laws that limited the freedom of African Americans and guaranteed their availability as a cheap labor force of white supremacy after the abolishment of slavery during the Civil War. Four million enslaved Africans gained their freedom when the 13th Amendment was added to the Constitution of the United States. African people were slaves on farms, plantations, homes, and fields. The laws did not protect enslaved Africans but encouraged whites as superior to the African-Americans. Even poor whites were superior to African people because of their skin color, not being black.

The end of the Civil War was the beginning of freedom for the enslaved Africans; on the other hand, it was the starting point of turmoil for the United States. Throughout the States, slavery was abolished thanks to the 13th Amendment, and a step was taken to free black slaves by setting equality laws between whites and colored ones. After a while, the equality between whites and colored ones disturbed supporters of white hegemony despite Civil War and the 13th Amendment. Supporters of white supremacy refused the abolishment of slavery and tried to find ways to go back to the times when slavery existed. They wanted to be superior to blacks, regain control over them and have the economic power to decide the fates of enslaved Africans. Before the Civil War, African Americans were labored, humiliated, enslaved, and experienced a rough deal. Because of these nasty attitudes toward African Americans, former slaveholders feared losing their lives and properties; namely, they feared the vengeance of the blacks. Thus, frightened whites enacted laws that were called black codes. Thanks to the black codes, white landowners wanted to control the labor force

through a system similar to the one that had existed during slavery. In late 1865, the first laws were enacted in Mississippi and South Carolina.

Black codes aimed to re-establish slavery and limited their freedom to leave the South. Black codes' goal was to prevent black slaves' freedom and limit holding any occupation other than farmer and servant. In addition, laws were designed to maintain white supremacy by restricting the civic participation of freed people; the black codes prevented the right to vote, the right to serve on juries, the right to own or carry weapons, and even the right to rent land. Slavery was the cornerstone of the States' economic structure before the war; however, the black codes ensured the same labor system by recreating an antebellum economic structure under the so-called free labor system. In addition, codes ensured that many young African American orphans were bound to white landowners who would force them to work.

Furthermore, adult freedmen were obliged to sign contracts with their plantation owners. These contracts aimed to restrict African Americans from working for more than one employer. African-Americans who broke these labor contracts were punished, beaten, and arrested for vagrancy. Upon arrest, many African Americans were made to work for no wages. Although the 13th Amendment abolished slavery, black people effectively had no voice, and slavery was maintained in many southern states. It can be said that slavery was just only prohibited on paper.

On paper, emancipation had cost the slave owners about \$3 billion — the value of their capital investment in former slaves — a sum that equaled nearly three-fourths of the nation's economic production in 1860. The real losses of planters, however, depended on whether they lost control of their former slaves. Planters attempted to reestablish that control and substitute low wages for the food, clothing, and shelter that their slaves had previously received. They also refused to sell or rent land to blacks, hoping to force them to work for low wages. (Nittle, 2022; 1)

Despite the 13th Amendment, which abolished African American slavery, their lives were under surveillance. It was suspected that when they met a black person, they would revolt against white owners. When Blacks wanted to travel, they had to carry passes; furthermore, to rent houses or live in the towns, they also had to find a white person for reference. Even black children worked as laborers, and black women were exposed to sexual abuse by convicts and prison officers. In all areas of their lives, blacks were treated more inferior to animals and kinds of stuff.

The 14th Amendment was enacted in 1868 to protect the rights of formerly enslaved people. However, despite the 13th and 14th Amendments, southern states continued to discriminate against African Americans.

2.1.1. Need for muscle power in South America

After the Civil War, southern states wanted to regain control over the freed slaves and ensure the supply of cheap labor. The end of the Civil War and the 13th Amendment set slaves free; however, southern states tried to maintain white hegemony and slavery. Southern states did not accept the abolishment of slavery; furthermore, they wanted to control blacks and have the economic power to rule over African Americans. Until the Civil War, the economy of southern states depended on free labor and muscle power. Masters did not have to pay for slaves' hardworking, and slaves were of great value to the economy of southern agricultural states. As a result of the enactment of the 13th Amendment, southern states did not want to lose most of their workers, for whom they did not pay wages. Not to lose their economic power in the States such as Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina enacted their laws to limit the rights of free blacks and prohibit them from leaving the states. The primary purpose of the southern states was to prevent African Americans from moving to northern states because they could not dare to lose their workers. In order not to lose their unpaid workers, the Southern states created a system of forcing workers who could not pay their debts or taxes to unpaid employment, which was not different from slavery. Migration also threatened the South's agricultural, muscle-power-based economic system. Southern states wanted to prevent blacks from causing labor migration by being tempted by job opportunities in the North. Therefore, southerners kept blacks captive and prohibited them from moving out of states. They implemented harsh black laws; perhaps the harshest were Mississippi laws. According to the laws, African Americans had to work if they had not worked, they would have been imprisoned. Southern states' priority was to prevent slaves' freedom and hire African Americans as free laborers to use their muscle power in the agricultural-based economic system of the South, which was not different from the chattel system.

2.1.1.1. Mississippi Black Codes

Thanks to the enactment of the 13th Amendment on January 31, 1865, slavery was officially ended throughout the United States. However, governments in the southern states immediately began to reestablish white hegemony in the law called the Black Codes, and the first Black Codes were enacted in Mississippi. Although the Mississippi Black Code involves certain rights for former slaves, it also contains severe limitations on the rights of freedmen. Civil rights, apprenticeships, vagrancy, and criminal law were the primary issues addressed in the Mississippi codes.

The first section of civil rights restricts free blacks from renting or leasing lands and owning property outside the cities.

Provided, That the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to allow any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenements except in incorporated cities or towns, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same.... (Mississippi Black Codes (1865), 2022)

The third section forbids marriages between blacks and whites; moreover, those who have intermarriages are sentenced to life imprisonment.

(...) that it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to intermarry with any white person; nor for any white person to intermarry with any freedman, free negro, or mulatto; and any person who shall so intermarry, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life.... (Mississippi Black Codes (1865), 2022)

The fourth section of civil rights emphasizes the blacks' right to be a witness for blacks and whites; however, it limits serving as witnesses in civil cases solely between white litigants. The important situation is that a black witness should pass tests in court and be accepted as credible and competent.

Provided, that in all cases said witnesses shall be examined in open court, on the stand; except, however, they may be examined before the grand jury, and shall in all cases be subject to the rules and tests of the common law as to competency and credibility... (Mississippi Black Codes (1865), 2022)

The sixth section describes restrictions about leaving employment and searching for new and better-paying employment opportunities. It is also stated that those who quit their job will be punished.

(...) and said contracts shall be taken and held as entire contracts, and if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer before the expiration of his term of service, without good cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year up to the time of quitting. (Mississippi Black Codes (1865), 2022)

Section seven, similar to section six, clarifies the punishment for quitting the labor before the expiration date without good cause. Finally, section nine reveals the

punishment of any person who causes a freedman to leave legal employment before the expiration date.

The first section of apprenticeship laws mentions black or mixed-race orphans whose parents could not provide financial care. Orphans work for a person the court deems suitable and competent, or a minor's former master has a preference. Section two clarifies the accommodation and care of minors. Orphans are given food and shelter and are taken care of, but free labor is expected from them. Female orphans are obliged to work for their masters until they are eighteen and males until they are twenty-one. The third section reveals the rights of masters that are similar to the minor's father or guardian to punish, control, and manage, but it is forbidden to punish children inhumanely.

In the management and control of said apprentice, said master or mistress shall have the power to inflict such moderate corporal chastisement as a father or guardian is allowed to inflict on his or her child or ward at common law: Provided, that in no case shall cruel or inhuman punishment be inflicted.... (Mississippi Black Codes (1865), 2022)

The fourth section reveals the rights of masters in pursuing, recapturing, and bringing the apprentice, who leaves the labor without the consent of the master, to court. The court can remand the apprentice to the owner, or in case of refusal, the apprentice is sent to jail. When the court is convinced that the apprentice left the job for no reason, the court punishes the apprentice until he/she agrees to serve. On the other hand, if the court believes that the apprentice left for good reason, the court discharges the apprentice from the employment contract and gives the master a fine of not more than a hundred dollars to use on the apprentice.

Mississippi vagrant law does not treat blacks and whites equally before the court. Free blacks are punished for insignificant reasons and serious crimes, and blacks are punished more severely than whites. Both male and female blacks were obliged to pay taxes, but white women were excluded. Black people who were found to be unemployed and free were punished.

The first section of the Vagrancy Laws describes the term vagrant or rogue and the punishment of being a vagrant.

That all rogues and vagabonds, idle and dissipated persons, beggars, jugglers, or persons practicing unlawful games or plays, runaways, common drunkards, common night-walkers, pilferers, lewd, wanton, or lascivious persons, in speech or behavior, common railers and brawlers, persons who neglect their calling or employment, misspend what they earn, or do not provide for the support of themselves or their families, or dependents, and all other idle and disorderly persons, including all who neglect all lawful business, habitually misspend their time by frequenting houses of ill-fame, gaming-houses, or tippling shops, shall be deemed

and considered vagrants, under the provisions of this act, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, with all accruing costs, and be imprisoned at the discretion of the court, not exceeding ten days.... (Mississippi Black Codes (1865), 2022)

The second section clarifies the prohibition of meeting blacks and their punishments. What is striking is that the punishment for whites who meet with blacks is more severe than for blacks.

All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes in this State, over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons so assembling themselves with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, or usually associating with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freedwoman, free negro or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding, in the case of a freedman, free negro or mulatto, fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days, and the white man not exceeding six months.... (Mississippi Black Codes (1865), 2022)

The sixth section reveals the duties of blacks to support their families and all poor people of color. Free blacks and colored people between eighteen and sixty years old are obliged to pay taxes. However, in the case of not paying taxes, they were arrested for vagrancy. According to the seventh section, they can be arrested by the police for the negligence of their duty, refusing to pay tax, and are hired as they work until they repay it.

The Mississippi penalty codes are enacted to punish free blacks. The first section of penal codes emphasizes that military service is forbidden to them, they do not have the authority to fight for the country, and even if there is a war, they are excluded from the war. When they break the law, they will be punished.

That no freedman, free negro or mulatto, not in the military service of the United States government, and not licensed so to do by the board of police of his or her county, shall keep or carry fire-arms of any kind, or any ammunition, dirk or bowie knife, and on conviction thereof in the county court shall be punished by fine, not exceeding ten dollars, and pay the costs of such proceedings, and all such arms or ammunition shall be forfeited to the informer.... (Mississippi Black Codes (1865), 2022)

The second section discusses the behaviors that blacks will be punished for. If they commit riots, routs, affrays, trespasses, malicious mischief, cruel treatment to animals, seditious speeches, insulting gestures, language, or acts, or assaults on any person, disturbance of the peace, they will be fined between ten dollars and one hundred dollars and even they will be jailed maximum thirty days at the discretion of the court. The third section is an article that aims to prevent whites from pitying and helping black people. The penalty for the whites will not be more than fifty dollars, and they will even be imprisoned for not more than thirty days at the court's discretion. Finally, the fifth section legitimizes hiring a black person who refuses to pay the fine

within five days to any white person by the sheriff or any other official. Blacks may have gained rights after the civil war, but slavery laws were maintained in southern states, beginning with Mississippi in the guise of black Codes, which set limitations on blacks.

In the 1860s, many southern states changed their economic focus from cotton farming to manufacturing to racing with northern states. Black people's economic woes led them to work as sharecroppers or tenant farmers. The economic situation of sharecroppers worsened due to merchants charging them exorbitant interest rates for farm supplies. Furthermore, when Democrats introduced legislation to sue sharecroppers who could not pay their debts, indebted African American farmers faced imprisonment and forced labor. Previously enslaved people are now trapped in debt slavery. Northern states opposed all inequalities between whites and blacks in the South. After passing the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which protects blacks and prohibits discrimination and economic oppression, the 14th Amendment provided equal protection to formerly enslaved people. In 1870, the 15th Amendment was enacted, which protects African Americans' voting rights despite race, color, and previous enslavement. After the early 1870s, support for Reconstruction policies declined and was undermined by the violence of white supremacist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. When Reconstruction ended, blacks made little progress in the economic and social spheres. However, those who defended white supremacy took back the rights of black people, and discrimination in America continued with Jim Crow laws.

2.1.1.2. South Carolina Black Codes

The 14th Amendment was enacted in 1868 to protect the rights of black and people of color. However, Southern States persisted in enacting laws that discriminated against African Americans. During the Reconstruction Period, a conflict between Southern States and Congress proceeded from 1865 to 1877. In the previous episode, we talked about Mississippi Black Codes, the first Black Codes, but in this section, we will mention South Carolina Black Codes. After the abolishment of slavery, white Southerners feared that free slaves would no longer work on their fields and plantations and move to other states, especially northern states. In addition, because black slaves comprised the majority of land labor, white Southerners feared

the economy would collapse. As a result of these worries, prejudices, and fears, Southern States enacted Black Codes, the first one of which was the Mississippi Black Codes. South Carolina followed Mississippi and adopted its Black Codes in December 1865.

Civil rights, labor contracts, vagrancy, apprenticeship, penalty laws, and other restrictions were the features of the South Carolina Black Codes. States granted freedmen a few more civil rights. For example, blacks did not have the right to own property before because they were property themselves, but they had the right to own property by codes. Freedmen had the right to sue and were protected by laws. Their marriages were recognized, and their children were legitimate. However, laws did not allow biracial marriages and were considered illegal and void. White Southerners had a fear of losing black laborers, so they enacted codes including apprenticeship contracts between black, who were servants, and whites, who were masters. Previously, slaves did not receive wages, but after the contract, blacks and whites had to obey the contract's terms, and masters had to pay freedmen's wages. As before, they had to work from sunrise to sunset, and their day off was Sundays. Black laborers had to live on the property of their masters. They were not allowed to leave the property without the consent of their masters or receive visitors. In terms of quitting their labor, freedmen's wages would be deducted, and a court would force them to return their work. The court did not force them to do illegal duties but protected them.

Although the vagrancy laws of South Carolina aimed to restrict free blacks and hire them as laborers to white masters as a punishment, they did not include white vagrants. Children of vagrants and colored orphans applied for apprenticeships. Courts hired black children until they reached adulthood at eighteen for females and twenty-one for males. Masters provided their apprentices with meals, clothing, and education and taught them craftsmanship. Masters also had the right to punish their apprentices and recapture fugitive ones.

The third section of the Black Codes concentrated on the labor question. It imposed a "sunrise to sunset" workday for those in agriculture, along with a strict set of regulations regarding movement, breaks, dining periods, and even conversation. The law not only assumed agriculture as the livelihood of most African Americans but also coerced it; African Americans could choose to be only field hands or hired servants, and any other occupation required a license from a judge. (Zuczek, 2022)

African Americans were put on trial in separate courts. Blacks had the right to testify in court, to be a plaintiff or a defendant in cases that affected only blacks. In

the case of rebellion and burglary against whites, African-Americans faced harsh penalties; however, minor crimes were punished with free labor or physical coercion. Unless white citizens committed major crimes, they would not be punished by courts and would not even be hired as free labor. Without permission, blacks were not permitted to carry firearms and sell alcohol. Blacks could not sell agricultural products unless the employer permitted them because it would be presumed that they stole if it was without permission. Blacks were forbidden to learn craftsmanship other than farming and serving, as they had known for centuries. For other occupations apart from agriculture, blacks had to get the permission of county courts.

2.1.1.3. Texas Black Codes

The Texas Black Codes were enacted on August 26th, 1866. The laws which were regulated and restricted the black peoples' life were implemented. The Texas Black Codes prohibited carrying and using arms freely, regulated accommodations, declared the rights of former black and colored slaves, entitled criminal cases, regulated contracts of labor, and defined punishment of apprentices and obligations of masters and mistresses.

Texas black codes regulated and restricted free blacks, particularly people of color. According to the codes, although people of color could testify if the plaintiff and defendant are colored, they are not allowed to testify against whites. For working periods of more than one month, workers must have a binding contract until the deadline. The employers have the right to choose for whom the employees will work, but once the decision is made, the workers cannot leave before the end of the working period, and if they leave the job without the employer's consent, they lose their wages. The clerk keeps detailed records of the contracts and the parties pay a fee for the contract. Unfortunately, the contract includes and binds all family members to the contract. The laws prohibit employers from torturing their workers and fine them twice the worker's wages. The employee's wage is deducted during her illness, and if the employer finds out that the employee faked illness or refused to work as agreed in the contract, two months' wages are deducted. If the worker does not come to work for more than three days without a valid excuse, the worker is reported to the court and can be employed as a public service worker until the worker agrees to return to work but cannot be paid as a penalty. Deductions are made from the wages of

employees who are found to have harmed animals and the agricultural implements they use. If the employee disobeys or offends his employer, he is penalized with one dollar a day. If he does not work unless he is sick, he is punished with a fine of at least twenty-five cents, and if he leaves the house without the employer's consent, he is punished with a fine of two dollars a day. If the employer's property is stolen, damaged, or destroyed by the workers, they will pay double or half of the cost of the goods.

Visitors are not accepted during working hours due to negligence or fault. Time is money, so workers must work without slack. Workers must wait to fulfill all orders from employers and to answer all calls twenty-four-seven unless otherwise specified in the contract. Not responding to or refusing to respond to the employer's call except in sickness is unacceptable. It is considered disobedience if the worker is not sick, and there is no difference from slavery. Slaves had to serve and obey their master's orders day and night. The master has a legal basis for punishing his workers or withholding their salaries. The employer cannot give orders to his workers after ten at night or on Sundays, but this statement contradicts the previous one.

Laborers, in the various duties of the household, and in all the domestic duties of the family, shall, at all hours of the day or night, and on all days of the week, promptly answer all calls, and obey and execute all lawful orders and commands of the family, in whose service they are employed, unless otherwise stipulated in the contract; and any failure or refusal by the laborer to obey, as herein provided, except in case of sickness, shall be deemed disobedience, within the meaning of this Act. [...] Employers, and their families, shall after ten o'clock at night, and on Sundays, make no calls on their laborers, nor enact any service of them which exigencies of the household or family do not make necessary or unavoidable. (Hawkin, 2022)

Laws were passed to keep the black population in the States without emigrating. They have to live in a country where they are held captive, humiliated, punished, and insulted at a time when the black minority is entitled and liberated but cannot leave the Americas and return to their homeland. States forbid them to act, corner them and force them to work. If they do not work, they are fined or hired for free. They are subject to fines or imprisonment if they do not comply with their working hours or quit their job. If they do not comply with their working hours or quit their job, they are subject to fines or imprisonment. The laws seem to restrict their movement and freedom; if we consider the workers' wages, it can be called a better version of slavery.

Texas codes have sections to penalize the colored population:

1. It is forbidden to quit work without the master's permission; otherwise, the apprentice will be fined between ten and five hundred dollars, which is a considerable amount for the time.
2. The employer who employs the apprentice or worker without renewing the contract after concluding the contract is punished with a fine of ten to five hundred dollars or imprisonment for a maximum of thirty days.
3. The agreement of both parties can terminate the contract.
4. If the employer refuses or breaks the contract and does not write a dismissal letter, he is penalized. In case of contract termination, it is punished with a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars.

The General Apprenticeship Law establishes the obligations of the master and apprentice. First, a minor may be apprenticed with the consent of a parent or guardian, and this minor is registered and considered a resident. Minors over fourteen can apply for an apprenticeship and their parent or guardian has no power to challenge the minor's decision. Secondly, if the parent refuses the minor's apprenticeship, civil servants are responsible for protecting the minor's rights and finding suitable jobs. What is surprising is that minors are characterized as poor or vagrant children. Children from low-income families must work for a living, and black and mixed-race children are often considered vagrants.

It shall be the duty of all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other civil officers of the several counties of the State, to report to the Judge of the County Court of their respective counties, at any time, all indigent or vagrant minors, within their respective counties or precincts, and, also, all minors whose parent or parents have not the means, or who refuse to support said minors; and thereupon, it shall be the duty of the County Judge to apprentice said minor to some suitable or competent person, on such terms as the Court may direct, having particular care to the interest of said minor. (Hawkin, 2022)

As slaves regained their freedom and wages, they acquired the right to buy, lease, or inherit private property. The ban on marriage between whites and blacks was lifted, and the freedmen were forbidden to vote, judge, or hold office. However, they were allowed to testify in court, except in certain cases specified in the Constitution. Only able-bodied free whites between eighteen and forty-five are required to serve in the military. I should point out that junior black workers are exempted from a junior apprenticeship at twenty-one, but white men begin military service at eighteen. From this situation, employers employed freedmen for a few more years by taking advantage of the laws.

2.2. The Jim Crow laws

The term "Jim Crow" refers to a set of laws passed in many states, especially in the South, that set severe restrictions on African Americans' rights and privileges after Reconstruction in 1877 and lasted until 1965 with the passage of the Voting Rights Act. It allowed blacks a life called de jure racial segregation in the South and de facto segregation in the North. Jim Crow originated in 1832 with a white character, Thomas D. Rice, who performed in minstrel shows in blackface as a happy and simple-minded country slave. However, the name was later used to refer to blacks in general, and by the end of the 19th century, the term Jim Crow was used to define the laws restricting the rights of blacks.

Immediately after the Civil War in 1865, when slavery was abolished with the 13th Amendment, many southern states enacted Black Codes, which restricted the movements and rights of freedmen, and, ultimately, all African Americans. Black Codes aimed to keep African Americans under the control of white masters by subordinating blacks socially to whites without giving them suffrage. Radical Republicans, who controlled Congress after the Civil War, opposed this socioeconomic caste system. Despite laws abolishing slavery and giving blacks legal rights, the Black Codes, which were also the basis of the Jim Crow Laws, instituted a racial caste system.

With the end of Reconstruction in 1877, the last Union troops were removed from the Southern states. Angry whites created aggressive organizations, the most notorious of which was the Ku Klux Klan, to oppose black voting. To spread fear in blacks and to prevent whites from helping African Americans, the Ku Klux Klan and other organizations used masks, darkness, the whip, and the noose. With violence and political changes, blacks were excluded from the political process. The southern states were granted the right to enact laws that made racial segregation mandatory by restricting African American political rights, social movement, and economic development.

For the Jim Crow Era, the phrase "separate but equal" can be used. The "separate" part caused enthusiasm for whites, and the "equal" was not convincing to blacks and whites. Inequality prevailed in all spheres of life. In transportation, whites traveled in rail cars, which were in better condition, and blacks traveled in cars called

Jim Crow cars or smoke cars. Similar dual standards existed in schools, too. White children had lower student-to-teacher ratios, newer textbooks, and even a more extended school year than black students. Only whites were allowed to eat in the dining room of the restaurants, and blacks used takeaway service. They were served last in stores, and priority belonged to whites and paid less. Blacks had to give way to whites on public sidewalks. Whites got more land than blacks, meaning blacks had lower incomes than whites. Blacks were lynched due to accusations of rape or murder of whites.

American media influenced racial stereotypes with minstrel shows, comics, cartoons, newspaper stories, and movies. Blacks were depicted as simple, happy-go-lucky, and often childlike and as the wild emotional creature of hellish lusts. A black man was illustrated as always ready to rape the virtuous white woman, and a black woman as a wanton woman always ready to seduce a healthy and naive young white man.

During the Jim Crow Era, African Americans were humiliated almost in all aspects of life in the South, from substandard health care, education, and transportation to not being called "mister" or "mistress." Whites and blacks were separate but not equal. Therefore African Americans fought against Jim Crow laws through protests, writing, acts of defiance, and numerous other means. African Americans sought ways to eliminate segregation and humiliating customs. First and foremost, they wanted to be recognized as human and American citizens. By the 1920s Harlem Renaissance, which undermined Jim Crow law's continuity and challenged white supremacy, emerged by heralding the new Negro through literature and art.

2.3. White Supremacist Organizations

As a result of the abolishment of slavery, the South was economically devastated. The question of who would harvest the crops that slaves formerly made arose for the whites. However, the situation was even worse for the newly freed Black people due to not having any properties. Therefore, Congress created the federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and the Freedmen's Bureau to protect the rights of the formerly enslaved, administer justice, and help them lease lands. However, white Southerners attempted to prevent the freedmen from buying land and starting a

business. Because of the dissatisfaction with the abolition of slavery, the leaders of the former states of the Confederacy began to regain political control of the South, moreover; they adopted the Black Codes, which reduced freedmen, even black people, who had not been enslaved before, to a status similar to slavery. For Republicans' the takeover of political control of the South depended on the votes of black Republican men against the almost all white Southern Democrats so as not to lose control of Congress. The Republicans used the military to create a biracial society, and the army gave the insurance of voting rights to black men. Blacks had political power as long as the federal troops remained in the South, which ensured two-party biracial South. At this time, white supremacist terrorist groups which used extralegal means and saw themselves as the guardian of the law, such as the White League, Ku Klux Klan, the Red Shirts, and the Knights of the White Camelia in Louisiana, emerged that did not want black people to vote. White League, also known as the White Man's League and made up of well-armed Confederate veterans, was created in the South to intimidate freedmen into not voting and prevent political organizing of the Republican Party. Red Shirts were white supremacist terrorist groups aimed to threaten Southern Republicans, whites, and freedmen. Red Shirts and other terrorist organizations attempted to regain Democrats' political power in the South. The Knights of the White Camelia was an American political terrorist organization that supported white supremacy and opposed freedmen's rights. White Camelia comprised upper-class Southerners such as physicians, doctors, newspaper editors, and officers. They supported white supremacy instead of the amalgamation of whites and blacks. These terrorist organizations that murdered innocent people greeted black male voting right as a great tragedy of the South but not the two centuries of African slavery and the four years of the bloody Civil War. By killing Black people, they believed they prevented a race war through intimidation. The Ku Klux Klan organization that I will mention below was the most famous and longest-lived of these white supremacist terrorist groups, which aimed to spread fear into blacks and whites, who took pity on blacks by using lynching, arson, whipping, and murder.

Though major media organizations have struggled to define the white supremacy movement, Vox's page writer Jenée Desmond-Harris writes:

"White supremacy" refers to the racist ideology that white people are superior to nonwhite people and should maintain political, economic, and social authority. However, there are many factions under that umbrella, each with slightly different beliefs: Specifically, the SPLC divides American white supremacists into six subgroups. They are Ku Klux Klan, white supremacists, racist skinheads, neo-Nazis, neo confederates, and Christian identity defenders. Each of these groups is further divided into hundreds of regional groups with ideologies that differ in scope and extremes. However, followers tend to agree with each set of core defining principles. (Harris, 2016)

Harris lists these groups as follows;

- *Historically, the **Ku Klux Klan**'s primary victims have been black Americans — though the group has also espoused strong anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, and anti-LGBTQ sentiments.*
- ***Neo-Nazi** groups are characterized by an idolization of Nazi Germany and a particular hatred of Jews. Racial minorities, LGBTQ people, and immigrants are also frequent targets. According to the SPLC, neo-Nazis "trace social problems to a Jewish conspiracy that supposedly controls governments, financial institutions, and the media."*
- ***White nationalism** is the broadest category on this list, and many other groups (including racist skinheads, neo-Confederates, and neo-Nazis) might be characterized as such. Its ideology is defined by white separatism (a movement that seeks to economically and politically distinguish white people from the rest of society) coupled with the belief that nonwhites are mentally, physically, and morally inferior.*
- ***Racist skinheads** (not to be confused with non-racist skinheads) are largely migratory (meaning they are typically not associated with any one group) and espouse hatred toward racial minorities, immigrants, and, increasingly, the LGBTQ community.*
- *The **Christian Identity** ideology contends that whites — not Jews — are the true Israelites God favors in the Bible. In Christian Identity literature, Jews are frequently depicted as satanic and soulless. But what began as a strictly anti-Semitic platform has since expanded to incorporate beliefs from the KKK, neo-Nazis, and anti-immigrant militia groups. (It's important to note that Christian Identity is almost entirely removed from mainstream Christianity.)*
- ***Neo-Confederates** romanticize pre-Civil War America and yearn to reanimate the racist aspects of the antebellum South (slavery, segregation, voting laws). They favor white separatism and contend that people of color — primarily black people — are inferior and mentally deficient to whites. (Harris, 2016)*

Further comments are as follows; There is little difference between the ideologies of white racist hate groups. As far as the alt-right differs organizationally from traditional white supremacist groups, there is little difference *when* it comes to ideology. The alt-right has benefited from continued public relations successes to rebrand various white supremacist and racist ideologies and transplant them into mainstream politics. Unfortunately, compared with other groups, the alt-right platform looks like it serves old-school white supremacy in a tastier course. With the

help of the SPLC, we collected the stated beliefs of each white supremacist group from public mission statements and literature and compared them with those of the alt-right. Please note that these views reflect those expressed by the leadership and do not represent the views of all members.

However, it is not as simple as the alt-right diverse beliefs of other white supremacist groups. The new movement's success has also led to other hate groups, such as the Neoconfederates, clamoring to be united under a seemingly more welcoming alt-right umbrella. Ultimately, this led to what Lenz, in his SPLC, calls "ideological cross-pollination" between groups. (Harris, 2016)

2.3.1. KKK (Ku Klux Klan)

The Ku Klux Klan, also called the KKK, is the name of various terrorist organizations. The KKK was created in late 1865 to re-establish white Democratic rule in the recently defeated states of the former Confederacy. To achieve its purpose, the KKK used violence and the threat of violence to prevent blacks from exercising their civil rights. Moreover, to intimidate or expel whites who aided blacks or supported Republican rule in the South. The original Ku Klux Klan could be interpreted as a continuation of the Civil War through rebellion. The original Klan and other white supremacist terrorist groups, such as the White League, removed enough blacks from the voting booth to allow for the legal disenfranchisement of blacks. The original Klan primarily disappeared by the mid-1870s. It was revived in 1915 and reached new heights of influence in the 1920s as the Klan became politically stronger in many states, particularly in the Midwest. The new Klan terrorized Jews, Catholics, and minorities, especially African Americans. After falling into obscurity in the 1930s, a new, more violent Klan flourished in the 1950s, flamboyantly defending traditional American values against Communism. However, in practice, they sought violence to prevent integration and black voting.

Six former Confederate soldiers created the Ku Klux Klan in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee. Several former Confederates dressed in white sheets to frighten the local black population and wandered around at night. All college-educated members of the KKK focused on both blacks, which aimed to change their social, economic, and political subordination, and whites, who assisted African Americans. The Klan used

unlawful methods such as murder, arson, flogging, and intimidation to keep blacks from voting and being socially inferior to whites. The victims of the Klan were blacks and white Republicans. The Klan killed the most prominent Republicans, such as Arkansas congressman James M. Hinds and three members of the South Carolina legislature. Outraged by this lawlessness and the overt attacks on its political base, Republicans in Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1871, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act, which gave civil and military authorities the authority to use federal force to destroy the Ku Klux Klan. By 1873, the original Ku Klux Klan was dissolved mainly; however, it largely achieved its purpose.

In 1915, the Klan was reborn with the trial of a Northern Jewish factory owner, Leo Frank, who was accused of raping and murdering a young factory worker, Mary Phagan. Despite the little evidence of the factory owner's crime, a group called the Knights of Mary Phagan was kidnapped. It lynched the factory owner, who was sentenced to life imprisonment due to being Northerner, wealthy and Jewish. Most white Southerners believed in a need for revived Klan against a decline of sexual morality and enemies such as Catholics, immigrants, and Jews. The new group, which called itself the Knights of Ku Klux Klan, was established. The Klan focused on the increasing black population due to the Great Migration and organized lynchings and attacks such as arson, beating, and whipping. The Klan's purpose was rather psychological and aimed to instill fear. The new Klan announced itself as the friend of the familiar person. Rural Protestants and people from urban areas supported the Klan; however, even those who did not support the Klan admired its support for sexual morality, Protestant Christianity, and opposition to corruption and Communism.

Although in 1928, the Klan made a show of strength in Washington, DC, its power and influence declined throughout the 1930s due to some sexual and financial scandals. However, the Klan did not remain silent for long, and in 1954 a new Klan group was established due to the white fears of the integration of blacks into American society. Like the former Klan groups, the new Klan of the 1950s and 1960s used murders, bombs, and arson to instill fear through the Civil Rights Movement. The Klan of the 1950s and 1960s focused on opposing integration. With the crumbling of the Jim Crow Era, the Klan aimed to enforce segregation, and it reacted with increased savagery, including the act of exploding a bomb at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church

in Birmingham, Alabama, which caused the death of four girls and other twenty-two wounded. As a result of the attack, the government took an active role in protecting blacks and persecuting people who used violence against blacks. Although the violence of the Klan continued in the 1960s and 1970s, its strength was again on the wane; moreover, the Klansmen involved in violent acts were prosecuted at the federal level. During the Civil Rights Era, the violence of the Klan left the Klan a poor reputation among the middle class and even most working-class whites.

2.3.2. The National Alliance (Virginia-founded)

The National Alliance grew out of the National Youth Alliance, an earlier group led by Willis Carto. The National Alliance was formed due to a faction dissatisfaction composed of former members of the defunct American Nazi Party, which William Pierce led. Within a few years, it had become the most influential white supremacist organization in the United States and the world. The National Alliance has grown to over 1,500 active members in thirty states thanks to Pierce's intelligence and ambition. With a business model, this financially sound group generated more than \$1 million in annual profits. The group reached this success by operating a weekly radio, magazine, newsletter, and successful record label. However, after Pierce died in 2002, the group's fortunes plummeted.

The National Alliance originated in the Youth for Wallace campaign of 1968. After George Wallace's failed presidential bid, it was founded by Willis Carto, and National Youth Alliance focused on helping college students reach their goals. In 1970, Carto's recruitment efforts were successful in attracting William Pierce. Pierce was already a veteran of the white supremacy movement, as he was a member of and its successor to the American Nazi Party (ANP), the National Socialist White People's Party. Other former American Nazi Party activists soon joined Pierce. By 1974, disgruntled with Carto's leadership, the former ANP alliance broke up to form the National Alliance.

Pierce was a remarkably savvy leader, businessman, and former physics professor. By holding weekly meetings near Washington, D.C. . He recruited new members. He wrote a novel called *The Turner Diaries*, which has become the undisputed bible for right-wingers worldwide. His book mentions creating an Aryan

nation by overthrowing the federal government through white revolutionaries and beginning the systematic killing of non-whites and Jews. The book, *The Turner Diaries*, has been the acknowledged inspiration behind many recent acts of violence, including Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City. The novel's popularity among white extremists around the world increased Pierce's notoriety and helped make the National Alliance a powerhouse among white supremacist groups. In 1985 Pierce purchased a 346-acre farm to build a new foundation in Millpoint, West Virginia.

To control the National Alliance's aim and growing business interests, Pierce produced *American Dissident Voices*, a weekly radio address, and published a firm for his racist materials, National Vanguard Books. Then, in 1999, he switched to a new venture. To avoid Canada's strict laws against hate speech, he bought Resistance Records, a racist, "white power" record label from a Canadian band operating out of Detroit. Pierce soon moved to buy Nordland Records from Switzerland, another white power music company and doubled its publishing assets. By this time, the National Alliance had more than 1,500 dues-paying members and annual revenues of over \$1 million.

To cement his position as the core of hate, Pierce defended the cause of Hendrik Möbus, an East German musician convicted of murdering a fourteen-year-old youth. In 2000, Möbus appeared on Pierce's radio show, and they discussed plans to extend their mutual racist message to more of the European audience. Pierce developed this path to teen skinhead culture while forming alliances with racist groups in Britain and Germany and other U.S. power players in the white supremacy movement like Matt Hale.

The group fell into decline in 2002 when Pierce succumbed to cancer. Pierce's successor, Erich Gliebe, failed to show any of Pierce's organizational and management genius and permanently removed core members of the group. The exiled senior members immediately formed a new group called the National Vanguard. Pierce developed a philosophy that he called "Cosmotheism." Cosmotheism states that humans are a part of nature, while the white race is the highest form of humanity, and nature is not hierarchical and egalitarian.

Pierce has seen multiculturalism and feminism as diseases affecting society and threatening its downfall. According to Pierce, allowing women and people of color to vote was the first big mistake that led to a “darker world,” and the second mistake was allowing the Jews to control the American media establishment. The National Alliance wants to ensure the survival of the Aryan race by preventing the non-white population from exploding worldwide and the white population from being in a static state. The National Alliance aims to establish a “White Habitat” throughout Europe, in the temperate regions of the Americas, Australia, and South Africa. The National Alliance argues that the only way to stop the move towards a “darker” world caused by multicultural politics is to clear the living space of all non-whites and Jews. The National Alliance wants the emergence of a white government to establish the idea of the cessation of non-white immigration, the deportation of all non-whites, and even the cessation of all forms of foreign aid to non-whites worldwide. In addition, Pierce believes that societies thriving in the White Living Space must be cleansed not only of undesirable races but of all Semitic and non-white influences.

2.3.3. The Nationalist Movement (Mississippi-founded)

The Nationalist Movement, a white nationalist organization founded in Mississippi, is considered a White supremacist organization. Its headquarter was in Georgia and led by Richard Barrett, an American lawyer. White nationalist, Richard Barrett was a speaker, an editor of *All The Way*, the official monthly newsletter of the Nationalist Movement, and a general counsel of the Nationalist Movement.

2.4. Black Equalist Organizations

One of the most critical pillars of political participation is undoubtedly the existence of politically based organizations. These organizations ensure the active participation of individuals in politics. We can say that blacks do not have the right to vote and are restricted from many social areas has led them to participate in organizations more. Black Church was the first and long-lasting organization in the black community. After the church, black Americans formed several different organizations. The first formation occurred before the civil war when various African American social, cultural, and educational associations were formed. The second

wave of black organizational formation occurred during the era when Booker T. Washington was the leader. Due to segregation, blacks were excluded from associations such as the American medical and bar association. As a result, blacks formed their businesses and professional and fraternal associations.

Moreover, the third wave of black organizational formation took place in the 1960s as a product of the Black Power Movement. These 1960s organizations aimed to politically, economically, and culturally pursue a Black Agenda. There are about three hundred national black organizations. First, however, I will touch on the National Association of Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the most important among the many organizations established by black people, under a separate heading. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) will be discussed briefly in this section.

CORE, known as the Congress of Racial Equality, was one of the most influential organizations during the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. The organization originates from the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a pacifist organization that aimed to use civil disobedience to solve social issues. In 1944, CORE was established as a national civil rights organization. It was an interracial organization consisting of young black and white people who dedicated themselves to nonviolent direct action to succeed in racial equality and integration. This foundation is famous for the 1960s Freedom Rides. Apart from the Freedom Rides, the members of it participated in sit-ins and voter registration campaigns during the 1960s. Black Power Movement influenced CORE and, in the late 1960s, adopted violence removed whites from its membership, and adopted black nationalism and community control as a political ideology. The 1980s embraced conservatism, and since the 1980s, it has had no power in African-American politics.

The other national black organization is SNCC, which was known as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It was established in 1960 as a result of the sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, by black college students. Throughout the nation, the sit-ins in 1960 sparked a reaction that led to protests and civil disobedience among black and white students. Like CORE, SNCC was a biracial organization consisting of blacks and whites who dedicated themselves to the Civil Rights Movement or were expelled from college due to their civil rights activism. The spontaneous outburst of

students caused student involvement in the Civil Rights Movement under the name of SNCC. However, the foundation abandoned its focus on sit-ins and focused on voting rights and protests against segregation in social facilities. Between 1962 and 1965, protests culminated in the South, and SNCC, which worked in the most dangerous of the South, was at the forefront of these protests. It again shifted its focus and embraced a militant and radical vision when it opposed the Vietnam War. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee adopted the ideology of black power and excluded white members from the organization. Its shift toward militancy and radicalism caused the loss of white philanthropic support. The organization, which was in disarray, began to lose its members. Some members were imprisoned or exiled, some returned to college, some were elected officials, and some attended the Black Panther Party and other radical organizations.

2.4.1. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, established in 1909 in the United States, is America's largest, oldest, and most important civil rights organization in the black freedom struggle. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People aimed to ensure justice for African Americans. The foundation worked to abolish segregation and discrimination in housing, education, employment, voting, and transportation and to oppose racism. The NAACP consisted of white social reformers and black intellectuals, including Web Du Bois, Ida Bell Wells-Barnet, and Mary White Ovington. The foundation has its historical roots in the Abolitionist Movement. The historical link to the abolitionist movement can be deducted from the organization's last names, such as "New Abolition Movement," "Emancipation League," the "Lincoln Association for Advancement of Colored People," and the "Garrison Association for Advancement of Colored People." From its beginning, the association embraced the philosophy of interracialism and the ideology of integrationism and rejected segregation and racial separatism. The association has always avoided radicalism, violence, disruptive protest, or civil disobedience and advocated democracy and constitutionalism. The first and foremost goals of the association were to gain recognition by the black community and be the legitimate representative of African Americans in national politics. These goals were

accomplished through *The Crisis*, whose editor was WEB Du Bois, by defining its association's direction, publicizing its activities, and revealing the truth about racism and white supremacy. We can say that Du Bois used *The Crisis* as a vehicle for propaganda to fight the notion of black inferiority and to shape a content atmosphere about blacks and civil rights. The association gained recognition thanks to Du Bois's propaganda and ran campaigns against the racist movie *The Birth of A Nation* and lynchings. Although NAACP was unsuccessful in the lynching campaign, it sharpened its lobbying skills and increased its visibility. It was founded and led by whites until the 1930s, apart from WEB Du Bois, who was an intellectual rather than an organizational leader. However, in the 1930s, a gradual shift to black leadership started. By the 1940s, the first African-American leader was James Weldon Johnson and then Walter White. By the 1940s, the association was directed by blacks, had almost 400,000 members, had hundreds of local branches, and had an ideology of civil rights activism, including lobbying and litigation. The association was recognized as a dominant voice on African-American affairs and consulted by white intellectuals to get advice on race issues.

2.4.2. Chicago black renaissance literary movement

The rise in artistic expression, community organization, and social activity in Chicago's African-American community from the 1930s to the 1950s has been called the Chicago Black Renaissance. Moreover, this movement was prominently featured in the modern Civil Rights movement in the 1960s. During the tumultuous years of the Depression, World War II, and a second "Great Migration" of African Americans to an almost wholly segregated Chicago of the 1940s and 1950s, multi-disciplinary collaboration of artists, writers, scholars, and activists aimed to promote social protest against racism and discrimination through the black history, art, and politics. During this period, Chicago was one of the venues for urban African-American art, blues and jazz, dance, theatre, poetry and fiction, and sociological study.

The origin of the Chicago Black Renaissance literary movement was the broad social and cultural changes as a result of the unprecedented expansion of the African-American community on Chicago's South Side due to the Great Migration of 1916-1918 and successive migrations throughout the 1950s that brought blacks from the

Deep South to the urban North. The Chicago Black Renaissance literary movement coincided with the Great Depression of 1929 and the collapse of the "Black Metropolis," the center of the city's African-American political, social, economic, and cultural life. We can clearly say that dissatisfaction with the economic, social, and political conditions that developed in the African-American community nearly half a century ago formed the basis of the Chicago Black Renaissance. During the Reconstruction Period, many rural blacks from the South relocated to Chicago. Despite a series of laws against discrimination in public places, segregation remained widespread; therefore, new civic leaders emerged from within the African-American community to confront racial inequalities. Some of the most prominent leaders were attorney Edward H. Morris, Dr. Charles Edwin Bentley, S. Laing Williams, Fannie Barrier, Williams and Ferdinand L. Barnett. Barnett, who established Chicago's first black newspaper, the *Conservator*, in 1878, and his wife, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a journalist and activist who spearheaded campaigns to protest lynchings in the South, played a crucial role in establishing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909.

The Great Depression of 1929 led to a flowering of Chicago literature and art. The Chicago Black Renaissance literary movement competed with the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. Literature produced by Chicago Black Renaissance artists focused on black southern folk culture and revealed the nuances of urban ghetto life. The themes of the Chicago Black Renaissance were segregation and discrimination that confined blacks to inferior schools, substandard housing and limited employment opportunities, conflicts between the races, and the escalating violence in the South. However, during this period, literary works presented blacks as people with hope and resilience. The writers of the Chicago Black Renaissance literary movement were the voice of many of the injustices and inequalities that African American community was exposed to. For example, the eloquent novels and essays of Richard Wright included his experiences during the eight years that he lived and worked in Chicago. Richard Wright was a driving force of the Chicago Black Renaissance literary movement. During the 1930s and 1940s was a member of the Illinois Writers' Project of the WPA and founded the South Side Writers Group to encourage other aspiring African-American authors. Throughout the 1940s, Wright appeared in Chicago to

research, lecture, and mentor authors of the Chicago Black Literary Movement. Richard Wright's influential books, *Native Son* (1940), and his autobiography, *Black Boy* (1945), propelled him to international fame.

During the Chicago Black Renaissance, literary movements apart from fiction poetry also flourished. Gwendolyn Brooks, a prolific author, Pulitzer Prize-winning poet, and Chicago resident for nearly eighty years, is regarded as an "American poetic original" by literary critics. In 1945, her first collection of poems, *A Street in Bronzeville*, appeared; 1949, it was followed by *Annie Allen*, the Pulitzer Prize-winning volume; in 1953, her acclaimed novel, *Maud Martha*, and in 1960 *The Bean Eaters*, a collection of poetry. Gwendolyn Brooks, one of the United States' most significant poets, was a central figure in the Chicago Black Renaissance literary movement. In 1968 she was appointed Illinois Poet Laureate. Apart from Richard Wright and Langston Hughes, Horace R. Cayton, Jr, a sociologist, an author, and a community organizer, wrote significant literary works during the Chicago Black Renaissance literary movement. In 1935 Cayton and co-author with George S. Mitchell published *Black Workers and the New Unions*, and in 1945 with St. Clair Drake, published *Black Metropolis*, which was a significant sociological study of the African-American community in Chicago, and in 1941 guided Richard Wright in the production of *Twelve Million Black Voices*, which was Wright's documentary study of African-American migration to Chicago.

The Chicago Black Renaissance literary movement emerged from diverse creative and intellectual forces in Chicago's African-American community and yielded such acclaimed writers as Richard Wright (1908-1960) and Gwendolyn Brooks (1917-2000). Wright and Brooks, pioneering writers of the movement, drew from their personal experiences and observations in Chicago and elsewhere to illuminate the subhuman effects of racial prejudice. Both Wright's and Brooks' eloquent and powerful novels and poems depicted the spectrum of racism against African-Americans from the Jim Crow era to the modern Civil Rights movement.

2.4.3. American Anti-slavery Society (1833)

American Anti-Slavery Society was established in 1833 under the leadership of William Lloyd Garrison. By 1840, the society's total number of members reached

150,000 to 200,000. Meetings were held, anti-slavery petitions were signed to be sent to Congress, magazines were published, and large volumes of printed and distributed propaganda were made. They sent agents and lecturers (70 in 1836 alone) to convey abolitionism to the North. Participants of the American Anti-slavery society were mainly from religious circles, such as Theodore Dwight Weld, and philanthropic backgrounds, such as businessmen Arthur and Lewis Tappan and lawyer Wendell Phillips, besides six blacks from the free black community serving on the first Board of Managers. The society held effective meetings with the eloquent testimony of former slaves such as Frederick Douglass and William Wells Brown. However, the society's antislavery activities were confronted with violent public opposition. Mobs invaded meetings, attacked speakers, and burned presses. In 1839, the society split over fundamental differences in approach. That is, Garrison and his followers were more radical than the other members even though they denounced the US Constitution for supporting slavery and insisted on sharing organizational responsibility with women. The Tadd brothers and their members were less radical and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which led to the Liberty Party's birth in 1840. Through the Free-Soil Party (1848–54) and subsequently, the Republican Party (founded in 1854), the antislavery issue entered the mainstream of American politics. After the Civil War and Emancipation, the American anti-slavery society was formally abolished in 1870.

3. AMERICAN LITERATURE AND RACISM

3.1. The Harlem Renaissance (The New Negro Movement)

The 1920s and 1930s are important periods in America's cultural history, which is famous for creative works about the lives and concerns of African Americans. This blossom of literature and art is called the Harlem Renaissance, New Negro Movement, or New Negro Renaissance.

The Harlem Renaissance was an artistic movement that lasted roughly from the 1910s through the mid-1930s as a way to fight against racial injustice in the United States. While blacks were experiencing the worst effects of Jim Crow and racism, the Harlem Renaissance was born as a rejection of all segregation. The creative minds of the Harlem Renaissance used artistic expression to prove their humanity and demand equal rights from a hostile white America. They aimed to change the portrait of a rural and uneducated African American to an urban and sophisticated one. This movement provided an opportunity to release their oppression and inferiority. This period is considered a golden age in literature, music, stage performance, and art in African American culture.

African Americans had worked on farms for hundreds of years as slaves in the South. Even when the abolishment of slavery had been declared, they continued to suffer from inferiority and inequality. They experienced laws that discriminated against African Americans from white people. As if these inhumane acts towards blacks were not enough, natural disasters in the South left black workers and sharecroppers unemployed. Along with these poor economic conditions, blacks were entrapped within the Jim Crow system that did not give them voting rights and ignored lynching and unequal education opportunities. With hopes for a better standard of living, many African Americans migrated to the North and midwest, which had booming economies and industrial jobs for workers of every race. By 1920, thousands of African Americans migrated from rural communities in the South to large cities in the North and West. Harlem was a destination for African Americans of all backgrounds. Moreover, Harlem became famous as 'the Black capital of the World'

because nowhere else in the World lived so many African Americans in such a small area. Indeed, the migration to the North gave blacks a chance for a better standard of living and symbolized for African Americans the chance of fleeing from a slave, uneducated, ignorant, oppressed, and inferior African American image.

Apart from prior slaves, the great migration drew some of the brightest African American artists and scholars of the time to Harlem. Between the end of World War I and the mid-1930s, they created the most important cultural movement in the nation's history. Alain Locke, a Harvard-educated writer, critic, and teacher, described the Harlem Renaissance as a spiritual coming of age in which African Americans transformed social disillusionment to race pride. The Renaissance united diverse forms of art such as poetry and prose, painting and sculpture, jazz and swing, opera and dance. These diverse forms of art presented the meaning of being black in America. Langston Hughes reveals this situation as an expression of our dark-skinned selves, as well as a new militancy in asserting their civil and political rights. In addition to Alain Locke and Langston Hughes, who participated in the great migration to Harlem, there were significant contributors such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey; writers and poets Zora Neal Hurston, Countee Cullen; musicians Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Eubie Blake, Cab Calloway; electrifying performers Paul Robeson, Josephine Baker; visual artists Aaron Douglass, Augusta Savage, and countless other contributors. In time, Harlem became the epicenter of American culture and was filled with African-American-owned and operated publishing houses, newspapers, music companies, theaters, nightclubs, and cabarets. The literature, music, and fashion they created defined culture for both blacks and whites in America and around the World.

Harlem Renaissance was a reflection of identity rather than a political ideology. This movement gave African Americans hope, faith, and inspiration to create an identity. The common aim of Harlem participants was to express African American experience artistically. However, they needed a leader for themselves. W.E.B. Du Bois, who believed that the inferior status of African Americans could be changed by presenting their intellectual quality, equality, and creativity through art and literature, became the movement's leader. Du Bois was also the founder of the NAACP, which had a role in the birth of the Harlem Renaissance, and this

organization supported literary productions. *The Crisis*, edited by Du Bois, was NAACP's official magazine where black intellectuals published their literary and artistic works. This reflection of African American identity was much stronger among the literary community than among musicians and performers. *The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain*, written by Hughes, was one of the best essays defining the nature of the movement. Langston Hughes's essay was an artistic declaration of black independence.

Harlem Renaissance's principal character was the determination of African American writers to follow their artistic vision. The diverse artistic styles led the participants of the Renaissance to create a range of literary works. For instance, Hughes weaved African American music into his poems about ghetto life, such as *The Weary Blues*. In *If We Must Die* McKay focuses on racial violence. Countee Cullen reveals the African roots of black life in *Heritage*. In her novel *Quicksand*, Nella Larsen presented an African American woman's loss of identity, and in her novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* Zora Neale Hurston drew on the folk life of the black rural South. Within this literary diversity, the primary concern was recapturing African American roots, heritage, and rural southern roots. The poems of Cullen and Hughes drew on African American heritage, and Hurston uses her background to depict rural southern black life.

Almost all the literary works of Harlem focus on the impacts of race and racism on African Americans. Therefore, we can say that these works were a protest against racial prejudice. McKay's poem *If We Must Die* was one of the best examples of this genre. It became an anthem for the whole movement. Harlem Renaissance writers focused on the social and psychological impacts of race and racism, and among the best of these were Larsen's two novels, *Quicksand* and *Passing*. Larsen drew on mixed racial heritage to define racial identity in a world of prejudice and racism. In his poem *Cross* and his play *Mulatto*, Langston Hughes explores racial identity despite prejudice and racism. The same theme is in Fauset's novel, *Plum Bun*.

Harlem Renaissance writers used various aspects of African American culture in their works. For instance, black music was used as an inspiration for poetry, novels, and short stories to draw on black folklore. One of the best in this genre was Langston

Hughes, who used both the rhythms and styles of jazz and blues in his poems. In addition, James Weldon Johnson wrote two collections of black spirituals, and in his book *Southern Road* Sterling Brown used blues and southern work songs. Black religion was also seen as a literary source. In *God's Trombones*, Johnson used the black preacher and his sermons as the basis for his poems. *Jonah's Gourd Vine* Hurston's first novel, describes the exploits of a southern black preacher, and in Larsen's novel *Quicksand*, the heroine is entrapped by religion and a southern black preacher. When we look at all these themes, Harlem Renaissance writers endeavored to reveal the African American experience in all its variety and complexity as realistically as possible.

Harlem Renaissance declined by the end of the 1920s due to the Stock Market Crash and the Great Depression, which damaged the businesses and publications of African Americans. As a result, organizations such as NAACP and Urban League significantly contributed to the movement and shifted their interests to economic and social issues. Furthermore, these organizations' support of literature ended with Fauset's departure as literary editor of *Crisis* in 1926 and the resignation of Charles S. Johnson from the Urban League in 1927.

The second factor in the decline was the departure of many prominent figures from Harlem in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. One by one, Charles S. Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, and Du Bois left Harlem and moved South, and Hughes did not return to Harlem permanently until World War II. Brown and Douglass began to work for black universities in the 1930s. Countee Cullen began to work as a full-time teacher in 1934 and continued to write children's stories. After an absence of twelve years, McKay solely published an autobiography and a history of Harlem. Hurston dropped out of sight in the 1940s, and only Hughes continued to write after the 1930s.

The third factor was the Harlem Riot in 1935. The riot wiped out the illusion of Harlem Renaissance as the Mecca of the New Negro. Instead, Harlem became a ghetto with high rates of poverty and crime; poor and overcrowded housing, inadequate city services, job discrimination; control of the government, the police force, and employment by the dominant whites.

However, the Harlem Renaissance's impact on America was undeniable. The movement provided notice of the great works of African American art and inspired

future generations of African Americans. Despite the Jim Crow South and racist behaviors, African Americans portrayed their life, culture, and identity thanks to the Harlem Renaissance. Thus, they redefined being an African American. The Renaissance gave African Americans pride and control over the representation of the Black experience in American culture and provided a basis for the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

3.2. The Civil Rights Movement

The doctrine of 'separate but equal' created a disparity between the principle and practice of racial segregation. However, soon, African Americans realized this inconsistency in all areas of public life and recalled the doctrine as 'separate but unequal. All public facilities were far inferior to blacks than whites. For example, the medical care for African Americans was poorer than for whites. Moreover, social and economic deprivation led to serious health problems among blacks. Low salaries deprived blacks of a healthy diet and caused them to be less immune to diseases due to poor sanitation. Housing was also as separate and unequal as health care. In the rural South, sharecroppers built their cabinets using rough boards without insulation. They lived with a lack of light and ventilation due to windows and doors from which outside could not be seen. Black families lived in small areas without privacy.

Moreover, in urban areas, African Americans lived in neighborhoods that did not have municipal services. Blacks' neighborhoods became a hotbed of diseases without water, sewage systems, or regular rubbish collections. Besides, restrictions on black education ensured white hegemony. Southern whites had a fear of the revolutionary revolt of educated blacks. Therefore, blacks suffered from limited educational opportunities. African Americans were exposed to restrictions not only in public life but also in their behaviors toward whites. Blacks had to wait until whites had been served, whites had to be allowed to pass on the pavement, and African Americans could not look straight into whites' eyes due to racial vengeance. Looking at these degrading practices, while African Americans have always had to show respect for whites, they received little or no courtesy. These and many other humiliating situations show obviously that African Americans suffered inhumane acts, discrimination, violence, prejudice, despair, and poverty.

The social, economic, and political inequalities between whites and blacks established the preconditions for the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. As previous parts of our thesis demonstrate, southern blacks had mobilized with increasing force against white hegemony. In the past, African Americans have tried to show that they exist as human beings within the limits of discrimination. However, they launched an attack directly on the discriminatory system itself with the civil rights movement. Now, I would like to address the direct reactions of blacks to the apartheid system to topple Jim Crow and destroy de jure segregation.

It can be said that the direct reaction of the masses started with the Montgomery bus boycott, a new and decisive phase against segregation. First, if we need to talk about discrimination in transportation, blacks could only sit in the back seats on the bus and whites in the front. Blacks only had the right to sit in the middle sections if no whites stood. Furthermore, even though blacks boarded the bus at the front door to pay their wages, they had to re-board at the back to get their seats. The Montgomery bus boycott was the catalyst for Rosa Parks's refusal to sit in the back of the bus. The boycott, which lasted more than a year until their demands were met, aimed to protest segregation in public buses. Despite the modest demands such as courteous treatment by white drivers, employment of black drivers on the black neighborhood route, and the seating of passengers on a first-come, first-served basis, African Americans' demands were rejected. However, the boycott, which began as a one-day protest, escalated with other protests over the abolition of racial discrimination in the South's history. Even the boycott showed blacks that the power to collaborate could defeat the racist horrors perpetrated by whites.

After the Montgomery bus boycott, the direct reactions against racial discrimination continued with sit-ins. In 1960, one of the first and most famous sit-ins occurred in Greensboro, North Carolina, where a group of black students refused to leave when their demand of being served at a Woolworth's lunch counter had been denied. The protest, which started with four students, reached more than three hundred students, and the sit-in that began in Greensboro spread rapidly to all southern states and reached 70,000 protesting students. While the bus boycott only ruined the white authorities economically, the sit-ins were a militant approach that showed blacks were not afraid of violence and incarceration. As a result, the sit-ins had an important

impact on the struggle for racial equality. Although sit-ins failed to topple the segregation in lunch counters in the Deep South, more moderate Upper South integrated black students into lunch counters.

Civil rights activists understood that more direct action was needed to force outlaw segregation. Thirteen activists set out aboard two buses on a Freedom Ride from Washington, DC, to New Orleans. Despite being attacked by a white mob and police, the Freedom Riders continued on their way to fulfill their ambitions. When they arrived at their destination, whites surrounding the First Baptist Church, where black activists had gathered to welcome the riders, were confronted by Kennedy's decision to ensure the safety of blacks. The relentless pressure created by the civil rights activists forced the administration to prohibit interstate travel segregation, and they desegregated the public transport system.

The crowning triumph of the movement, the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, was succeeded by a campaign in Selma, Alabama. The triumph of the Voting Rights Act had a transformative impact on southern politics. It prohibited literacy tests and abolished the law impeding poor blacks from voting.

It is worth that the civil rights movement's success was achieved through non-violence acts; on the contrary, southern whites demonstrated the power of law and government and resistance to racial reforms sometimes through violence. We can say that the civil rights movement won an almost bloodless revolution and demolished white supremacy. The civil rights movement, born of black courage and a direct response to the apartheid system, showed the ugliness of southern racism, which lasted for centuries, and overcame the legal segregation of whites against African Americans.

During the Civil Rights Movement, protests, sit-ins, demonstrations to upturn segregation, and even Jim Crow Laws were valid. When we look at the reflection of these struggles for equality in literature, the Civil Rights movement became an important setting and theme in African-American literature. African American literature was based on racial segregation and black unity during the movement. The feelings of self-worth and self-identity, and social consciousness were the themes that African American authors wrote about. African American writers wrote about the unfair conditions for black people in white dominant American society and the need

for equality among all races. Every black writer writing during the last half of the 20th century, such as Maya Angelou, James Baldwin, Amiri Baraka, John Edgar Wideman, and John A. Williams, addresses this movement in their works. For example, Ernest Gaines's novels *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1971) and *A Gathering of Old Men* (1983) focuses on the significant background of the movement. The two novels drew on African American experience in a world of white supremacy; the characters witness the civil rights movement and have the courage to resist inhumane segregation. In her novel *Meridian*, Alice Walker mentions racism and segregation that have overshadowed African Americans for centuries. In *Meridian*, Walker focuses on the universality of human experience and shares African Americans' history of exploitation, guilt, suffering, violence, and, ultimately, freedom, triumph, and acceptance.

James Baldwin, whose struggle against racism is the main subject of our thesis, wrote his important work *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, in which Baldwin discusses race and racism during the movement. Another notable author Ralph Ellison wrote *The Invisible Man*, which discusses the social invisibility of black people in America. Richard Wright was also another notable writer during this period. Wright wrote *Uncle Tom's Children*, *Native Son*, and *Black Boy*, which mentions African Americans' experiences. A notable play, *A Raisin In The Sun*, written by Lorraine Hansberry, discusses segregated housing policies during this time. In addition, African American poets also expressed their feelings of discomfort with segregation in their works. Gwendolyn Brooks, Margaret Danner, Langston Hughes, Robert Hayden, and many others were notable poets of this period. Finally, many writers, poets, and playwrights during the civil rights movement wrote about feelings of African Americans' self-worth, self-pride, social consciousness, and political activism.

3.3. The Black Arts Movement (BAM)

The Black Arts Movement (BAM), which has often been called the "Second Black Renaissance" compared to the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and '30s, dated roughly from 1965 through 1976. The Black Arts Movement and the Harlem Renaissance, similar in encompassing literature, music, visual arts, and theater,

emphasized racial pride, the value of African heritage, and African American experiences and culture. However, contrary to the Harlem Renaissance, the BAM's primary purpose, whose pioneer was the poet Imamu Amiri Baraka, was a political and racial separatist.

The Black Arts Movement consisted of a group of politically motivated black poets, artists, dramatists, musicians, and writers. The members of the movement attached importance to creating a black identity rather than negro identity, which reminded them of white supremacy. To emphasize their blackness, awaken black consciousness, and achieve liberation, the participants of Black Arts Movement created black art for black people and used rhetorical and stylistic gestures that belonged to African Americans. In this way, they aimed to express themselves and glorify blackness, which was once humiliated by whites. The participants of BAM were the militant, separatist, social, and political voices of the 1960s Black Power movement and produced many polemical and theoretical works to raise black consciousness. For example, many poems of the movement contain attacks on white people. Amiri Baraka, the leader of the movement, announces the urgency for revolution:

Calling all black people / ... Wherever you are.../...come in, black people, come / on in"—and penned "Black Art," which became the movement's manifesto: "Poems are bullshit unless they are / teeth or trees or lemons piled / on a step. We want 'poems that kill.' / Assassin poems. Poems that shoot/guns. (Samuels, 2007;34)

Many plays address the proper relationship between black men and black women, musical compositions call for African kingdoms and Malcolm X, and visual arts depict the images of Malcolm X and the American flag.

In 1965, when Amiri Baraka opened the Black Arts Repertory Theater in Harlem, The Black Arts Movement was formally founded. BAM had its effect mostly in theater and poetry. The movement began in New York and immediately spread to Chicago, Illinois, Detroit, Michigan, San Francisco, and California.

The literary works of the movement were written in black English vernacular and a harsh manner, discussing issues such as interracial tension, sociopolitical awareness, and African American history, experience, and culture. In addition, the Black Arts movement sponsored poetry readings, founded community theatres,

created literary magazines, and set up small presses to construct a cultural black nation.

The members of the Black Arts Movement created works in every literary genre. Toni Cade Bambara, James Baldwin, and Ishmael Reed published radical fiction; Ed Bullins, Adrienne Kenney, and Ron Miller published revolutionary drama works; Amiri Baraka, Mari Evans, Wanda Coleman, and Larry Neal published poems and essays. The anthology *Black Fire*, edited by Amiri Baraka and Larry Neal, who dedicated themselves to nationhood among African Americans, published poetry, fiction, essays, and drama in 1968.

Literature during the black arts movement promoted the awakening of black consciousness, and poetry was the most immediate way to make it known. Baraka's *Black Magic* (1969) and *It's Nation Time* (1970) were typical examples of poetry of the black arts movement. Amiri Baraka used the rhythm of blues, jazz, and gospel music and a deliberately provocative confrontational rhetoric in his poems. Sonia Sanchez, Jayne Cortez, Etheridge Knight, Haki R. Madhubuti, Carolyn M. Rodgers, and Nikki Giovanni were the essential poets of the movement. Apart from Amiri Baraka, Ed Bullins was another leading playwright of this period. Bullins's plays, such as *Clara's Ole Man*, produced in 1965, and *The Fabulous Miss Marie*, produced in 1971, focused on the bold presence of urban African Americans. Fiction was not as important as poetry and drama to the black arts movement. However, Henry Dumas's mythopoeic short stories, which were collected in *Ark of Bones, and Other Stories* in 1970, and John A. Williams's novel *The Man Who Cried I Am* (1967) addressed the spirit of the new Black ideals of the movement. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), a collaboration between Malcolm X and journalist-author Alex Haley, Anne Moody's *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1968), George Jackson's *Soledad Brother* (1970), and Angela Davis's *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (1974) typified the stylistic emphases of the fiction of this movement.

Black Arts Movement was a global phenomenon, and artists came from the United States and Africa. For example, the poet Keorapetse Kgositse immigrated to the United States from South Africa, activist and essayist Stokely Carmichael came from Trinidad, and the poet Lorenza Thomas came from Panama.

We can confidently say that the Black Arts Movement emphasized the notion that 'Black is beautiful'. The movement can also be understood as African Americans' collective and creative response to white racist supremacy. Attitudes of whites, such as the inhumanity of African Americans, and the insignificance of black people, which resulted in political, cultural, educational, and economic segregation, empowered blacks to assault white power and establish social and institutional organizations. Hoyt W. Fuller, a leading Black Arts Movement critic and founder of the Organization of Black American Culture, states, "The Negro revolt is as palpable in letters as it is in the Street." (Gayle, 2009;299) Whether in letters or on the streets, the fight of the Black Arts Movement emphasized the notions of prompting black racial pride, black beauty, black cultural identity, and African heritage contrary to white supremacy.

4. JAMES BALDWIN: CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST AND AUTHOR

4.1. Biography of James Baldwin

James Baldwin, in full James Arthur Baldwin, is a prominent American essayist, novelist, and playwright of the twentieth century. Baldwin was born in Harlem, New York City, in 1924. James grew up feeling like a stepchild in a household encompassing poverty, domestic violence, and stern religiosity. Although James was burdened with the care of his eight half-siblings, he was still a voracious bookworm, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was his favorite book. Baldwin's stepfather was a Louisiana-born pentecostal preacher. The stepfather took his frustrations out on his family, particularly James, who recognized his gifts despite his traumatic surroundings. As a famous person, he stated that: "I knew I was black, of course, but I also knew I was smart. I did not know how I would use my mind, or even if I could, but that was the only thing I had to use." (Jarrett, 2014;472) While he was working as a preacher in the church, Baldwin's sermons attracted crowds. His success as a preacher was reflected in his literary life regarding biblical imagery and evangelical rhetoric. However, Baldwin quit the ministry after losing faith in the church because of hypocrisy and racism.

In Harlem, James Baldwin attended Public School 24 and met a young white teacher named Orilla Miller. Baldwin, "Bill" nicknamed her. His talents were encouraged by Orilla Miller, and she directed his first play. Miller and Baldwin discussed literature whenever possible and made museum tours. He trusted Bill for not being a racist.

After graduating from Elementary school, he attended Frederick Douglass Junior High School and participated in a literary club directed by Countée Cullen. Herman W. Porter, a teacher of Baldwin, made him the editor of the *Douglass Pilot*, the school newspaper. Porter and Cullen were role models for Baldwin that profoundly impacted Baldwin's life by showing him that whites and black men could be successful, educated, and strong.

After that, Baldwin attended the prestigious DeWitt Clinton High School in the Bronx, New York City. There Baldwin was also the literary editor of the school magazine. He was a truant from school to hanging out with artists and intellectuals in Greenwich Village. After graduating from DeWitt Clinton High School in 1942, Baldwin moved to Greenwich Village. There he studied at The New School and worked odd jobs like a worker at a sweatshop on Canal Street. Connie Williams, the restaurant owner, took the young man under her protection and employed him as a waiter. While working as a waiter, Baldwin met many artists and writers who came to William's restaurant. In Greenwich Village, he participated in the Young People's Socialist League. Hung out with jazz musicians, artists, and intellectuals like C.L.R. James, Richard Wright, and Beauford Delaney, an artist and perhaps the most influential person in Baldwin's life. During this period, Baldwin sharpened his writing talent. Richard Wright was also impressed with the younger man's work and helped secure a Eugene F. Saxon Foundation Fellowship, which included \$500 and was awarded to Baldwin in November of 1945. Even editors at the Nation, who published his first book review on Maxim Gorky in 1946, noticed his talent.

Growing up in the inner city, a literary and spiritual touchstone for his later works, influenced his life and writing style. During the 1950s and 1960s, Baldwin was both a vital fiction writer and provocative essayist, which caused him to be efficient in the struggle for civil rights. Due to racism and homophobia in America, Baldwin later moved to Europe to become distant from America's white supremacist atmosphere. However, a year later, Baldwin returned to the United States to contribute to the Civil Rights Movement, a country on the brink of racial revolution. Baldwin taught classes at the University of Amherst during the 1980s, and his classes were based on the history of the Civil Rights movement and classes on expatriate writers like himself.

Apart from the United States, Baldwin has lived in different countries and cities, such as Paris, Istanbul, Switzerland, Africa, and the Soviet Union. Moreover, in St. Paul de Vence, he passed away in 1987. Throughout his life, Baldwin was prolific in literature and the struggle for Civil Rights. Baldwin advocated respect and unconditional acceptance among people regardless of race, language, religion, color, and sexual orientation.

4.2. His Prominent Themes and Works

James Baldwin was an important voice thanks to his eloquence and passion for the race in America, particularly in the late 1950s and early 1960s, in the United States and, later, through much of Western Europe. He has a reputation, especially for his essays on the Black experience in America. His writing is unique within the black American literary context in the sense that his sharp literary style, in other words, Baldwin writes without hesitation to reveal uncomfortable truths to a society mired in racial and social issues. In his numerous essays, novels, plays, and public speeches, James Baldwin focuses on the pain and struggle of black Americans and the saving power of brotherhood. As a result, Baldwin became an outspoken voice of race relations in American culture.

Furthermore, Baldwin participated in the Civil Rights Movement. He became close friends with writers such as Medgar Evers, Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Maya Angelou, Nina Simone, and Lorraine Hansberry, who also concentrated on inequality, racial discrimination, and social despair in their works. Apart from the other black American writers, Baldwin's most significant achievement was his ability to reflect racism from a psychological perspective for both the oppressed and the oppressor, whites. Now I want to mention Baldwin's literary works *Another Country*, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, and *Sonny's Blues* one by one.

4.2.1. Another Country

Another Country, written by James Baldwin in 1962, is Baldwin's third novel. The book is divided into three sections and addresses sexual and racial identities. The first section introduces Rufus Scott, a black jazz musician, and ends with his mysterious suicide. Rufus Scott is a black American male. However, he is frustrated by being a southern male and uncertain about his sexual orientation. Scott has a relationship with a white southerner woman, Leona, who wants to escape from her failures both as a wife and mother. Unfortunately, due to poor self-esteem, their relationship results in a physically and mentally debilitating and dysfunctional

relationship, leading Scott to commit suicide by jumping from a bridge and Leona's breakdown. In *Another Country*, Baldwin develops richly diverse characters such as Rufus to demonstrate a process of self-discovery and finding meaningful love in Baldwinesque form. The other character, Vivaldo, Rufus's best friend, is a writer and former student, and a friend of novelist Richard Smolenski. Richard's wife and the mother of their two boys, Cass, has an affair with Eric, an actor from Alabama and Rufus's erstwhile lover.

Meanwhile, Ernst has a homosexual relationship with Yves, from France. Another character, Ida, who is Rufus's sister and Vivaldo's lover, has a short-lived affair with Ellis, the white promoter who promises to help her rise in her singing career. Baldwin reveals these diverse characters' inability to connect and sees multiple races, sexualities, nationalities, and classes as the reason for their failure to connect. The novel is set in Greenwich Village, Harlem, France, and Alabama. Baldwin's jazz-like style focuses on the homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual, and interracial affairs of

Rufus's surviving acquaintances. They try to understand Rufus's untimely death and their failures. The characters find salvation as they try to reconcile the failure of both Rufus and their dreams. Baldwin's intensely psychological novel, which is a distinctly postmodern work, reveals the difficulties of self-love by disrupting and challenging

America's sexual and racial norms. Baldwin depicts *Another Country* as an individually created place, free from time and space constraints and socially constructed identities. Based on what has been said, I can say that due to Baldwin's inability to define his boundaries, having one-night affairs, regardless of whether male or female, can be an example of this situation, and the characters' identities are distorted. Furthermore, where his psychic life ends and the character begins is unclear.

Another Country reflects a turning point in James Baldwin's narrative life and a brief period in the United States which was different from his life in France. After he had been awoken by racist violence, which was occurring at that time in his country, he returned to the US in 1957 and made two trips to the South of the States. These two trips, the first of which was in 1957 and the second in 1960, increased his participation in the civil rights movement, furthermore, changed the style and subject of his literary works. *Another Country* is a written record of Baldwin's involvement in America's turmoil and America's national uncertainty. As the civil rights movement

and black nationalism gained strength in the early 1960s, Baldwin's writings reflect his belief that the United States was reimagined and remade during this challenging period. We can say that *Another Country* is a novel that tells the realities of American life are color and sex.

4.2.2. *Go Tell It on the Mountain*

Baldwin's other novel *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, was his first published and most celebrated novel in 1953. The book is a novel set during the Great Migration, a time in American history when African Americans migrated from the rural South to northern cities in masses. In the novel, we can see that many characters travel from South to North, such as Florence, Elizabeth, Richard, and Gabriel.

Go Tell It on the Mountain is the story of religion and racism, and familial expectations and how these forces impact people struggling to survive. It is also the story of a young boy coming of age, John Grimes. It is a bildungsroman that traces the psychological and spiritual development of its main character, John Grimes. Grimes is a member of his church's community and has a life encompassed by anger, poverty, violence, and guilt. There is a solid autobiographical relationship between the life of John, the protagonist in the novel, and James Baldwin's life. Grime's life mirrors Baldwin's life in terms of poverty, suffered by the whole family, his violent stepfather, and his religious conversion as a preacher in a church at the age of fourteen, like the main character John. Furthermore, John is a distracted boy and forgets his lessons, like James Baldwin, who was a truant in his school life.

One of Baldwin's most important themes in his literary works is racism. Also, in this first published book, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, James Baldwin states the effects of systemic racism. It offers a glimpse into the inhuman behavior of American slavery, which began almost from the era of colonization throughout the American Civil War. In his autobiographical novel, Baldwin depicts racism based on the notion that one group of people is socially, genetically, and intentionally superior to another. Baldwin creates a character named Gabriel Grimes, the stepfather of John Grimes, a Pentecostal preacher (like Baldwin's father) who is exposed to racist environments from birth. Gabriel is suffered from the anxiety and confusion of the Southern slave environment; in addition, he is exposed to the realities of an inferior position in a racist

white society. Gabriel represents the first generation of free-born African Americans to former slave parents; thus, it showcases the heinous effects of the American slavery experience on the generations of victims that followed the eras of liberation, war, and reconstruction. Gabriel is a character who possesses a lifetime of hate and hostility, unfulfilled ambitions and dreams, unrealized hopes and expectations, heartbreak and humiliation, and being demeaned and devalued. Briefly, Baldwin creates a black man who is a product of a white racist America which identifies the ambitions of people, opportunities for their future, and their existence, whether they are alive or dead, not only by the hue of their skin but also by the permission of and within the parameters set by the white establishment and systems. However, the protagonist John, on the other hand, has the opposite views and experiences of Gabriel's. Even though Gabriel is exposed to the realities of inferiority in a racist society, John, the protagonist, remembers the kindness of a concerned white teacher when he was ill. The protagonist's positive memory of his teacher is reminiscent of Baldwin's bond with his primary school teacher, Orilla Miller, with whom Baldwin had discussed literature whenever possible and made museum tours. Another conflict over racism between John and Gabriel is Gabriel's untrustworthy proclamations about whites, including racism, injustices, and tortures that African Americans endured in the South. However, John has not been exposed to any of these negative experiences, so it is difficult for John to believe in whites' burning in hell forever.

4.2.3. *Sonny's Blues*

James Baldwin's best-known and most often anthologized short story is *Sonny's Blues* which was first published in *Partisan Review* in 1957 and later included in his only collection of stories, *Going to Meet the Man*, in 1965. Baldwin's *Sonny's Blues* is accepted as his most acclaimed work in terms of the nature of identity, racial politics, and human suffering. *Sonny's Blues* is about Sonny and his relationship with his brother, the nameless narrator. It tells the story of two brothers who try to understand each other. More specifically, the short story emphasizes the two sides of African American experience through the two main characters. During the Great Depression, despite the turmoil in Harlem, Sonny and his brother took different paths after their parents passed away. Sonny had become a jazz musician and

drug abuser, and his brother, seven years older than Sonny, had become a high school math teacher. Sonny and his brother diverged from each other in generations, life choices, and lifestyles. The elder brother learns the news of Sonny's arrest and inevitable imprisonment due to using and selling heroin from Sonny's drug addict friend. Ironically, listening to Sonny's friend makes him realize his failure in listening to his younger brother. The elder brother, who realized that they were estranged from each other, concludes that Sonny had had a story that he did not listen to. Upon his release from prison, Sonny goes to Harlem, where they spent their childhood, to stay with his elder brother. While returning home, Sonny wants to revisit their childhood's vivid and killing streets. On the brothers' journey to reminisce about their youth, Baldwin emphasizes the destructiveness of their urban ghetto experience. Sonny and his brother grow up in a world where they are trapped like animals by the streets, which form labyrinthine paths around them. Baldwin describes the streets of his childhood, the house he grew up in, and the shops where he stole. Moreover, the basement where he had his first sexual intercourse, the roofs where he threw the tin and bricks, and his disappearance in a pessimistic way.

Through living together and revisiting their past, Sonny's brother admitted the disappointment that Sonny kept alive by being a jazz musician rather than a classical pianist; however, he realizes that music was a vehicle for Sonny to deal with his painful life. We understand that as a way of expressing the melancholy that accompanies the black experience, African-Americans sought to use music to express their feelings and pain. Blues and Jazz aim to transform the most passionate and hopeless emotions into music touching the heart. While listening to Sonny, he witnesses the transformative power of music in Sonny's life. By listening, Sonny's brother gains insight into Sonny's life, his own, and ultimately, the human condition. Baldwin emphasizes race, racism, the destructive effect of modernity on the human spirit, African American culture, especially music, blues, and Jazz, and its beneficial impact on Sonny. For Sonny, music is creative energy and a life force. Through his music, Sonny confronts his search for freedom, faces his blues and life choices, recreates himself, and reaches freedom. *Sonny's Blues*, set in New York City's Harlem, both enlivens and demonstrates the belief that the artistic expression of the typical black experience is a path to freedom. James Baldwin's novel expresses the

devastating effects of institutionalized racism in the United States, which appears to be tolerant and indiscriminative.

4.3. The Influence of James Baldwin on ‘Civil Rights Movement’

James Baldwin, the most eloquent and well-known voice of the civil rights movement, was a witness, in his own words, not just a civil rights reporter. In the history of US civil rights and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files, many accounts of Baldwin were active between 1960 and 1974. We understand that FBI files are evidence of Baldwin's radical presence during the 1960s. Therefore, the Federal Bureau of Investigation files are significant sources of Baldwin's contribution to the civil rights movement. His support for civil rights was evaluated as tantamount to civil disobedience. However, Baldwin is an author and activist against violence and shedding blood.

In 1957, Baldwin decided to return to the United States after living in France for nine years. There were multiple reasons for returning to the States, one of which was his desire to become involved in the civil rights movement, and the other was to assess the race relations after the assassinations of Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, and Martin Luther King. Although his political involvement in the civil rights struggle was chastised, he was determined not to be in Paris and discuss the Algerian and Black American problems from far away. That year, he visited the South, including Charlotte, Atlanta, Birmingham, Montgomery, Nashville, Little Rock, and Tuskegee. He had a meeting with Martin Luther King Jr. and other leaders. He went South in September when President Eisenhower enforced Supreme Court's decision on school integration. He arrived in Montgomery, Alabama after nine months after the bus boycott's successful conclusion. The black consciousness and determination were confronted with violent white backlash. A black man like Baldwin, a northerner, an intellectual, and a homosexual, was a good target for racist whites. However, for Baldwin, the South was a home of the black and a resistance to blues culture. Baldwin wrote two essays from this period, *A Fly in the Buttermilk* (1958) and *A Letter from the South: Nobody Knows My Name* (1959). The first essay, *A Fly in the Buttermilk* (1958), is based on Baldwin's interviews with unnamed participants of the school integration struggle. These interviews show his concern for the private life of the

participants due to the effects of struggle on their psychological process by struggling for quality education in the mainstream of American life. In an interview with a fifteen-year-old black boy who was the only black student integrated into his high school, Baldwin concludes that pride and silence were the weapons of blacks. In addition, Baldwin's encounter with the plight of a white school principal, who does not dream that races will mingle, causes him to depict the white principal as a victim of his barbarous heritage.

A Letter from the South is also an essay on the school integration struggle. His work is an essay in which James Baldwin denies the interracial history of America and indicates the South as a place that is America's inescapable identity and a landscape of brutality. Apart from centering on Baldwin's major themes, the essay is written with foresight because it points to southern governors' endeavors to maintain segregation in the South. Governor Ross Barner's effort to hinder James Meredith from the University of Mississippi and Governor George Wallace's stand at the school door in Alabama.

The essay also addresses the self-defeating role of the small black middle class in a very complex structure in Atlanta which was wholly segregated. However, over twenty years later, Baldwin mentions Atlanta's racial and class structure in his article *The of Things Not Seen* (1981), and with the same title in his last book, published in 1985. Baldwin went to Atlanta to report on the city's thirty missing and murdered poor black children, an unsolved case. The murders of the poor, mostly male, black children threatened to expose the illusion of racial progress. Atlanta, named "The City Too Busy To Hate," was a racially divided city with several impoverished blacks. Baldwin states that the economic gap between blacks and whites widened since the civil rights movement, and blacks were exposed to increased unemployment, poverty, and ghettoization; moreover, 30-40 percent of the black population lived under the national poverty level.

Baldwin's second trip to the South occurred in the spring of 1960 when sit-in movements began in February with the try of four black students, who studied at the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, to order a cup of coffee at a segregated lunch counter. As a result of this physical resistance, all over the South, almost 70,000 people participated in sit-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins, and read-ins between

1960 and 1961. *They Cannot Turn Back* (1960) and *The Dangerous Road before Martin Luther King* (1961) were the products of the second journey to the South. *They Cannot Turn Back* describes the struggle against segregation in Tallahassee, led by Florida A&M University students. *The Dangerous Road Before Martin Luther King* attracts attention to the divisions between young activists and older civil societyrights leadership.

Baldwin maintained his role as an author and activist; he participated in a panel discussion in a radio broadcast in 1961. The panel title was "The Negro in American Culture." Apart from Baldwin, the participants were Lorraine Hansberry and Langston Hughes. In a panel discussion, James Baldwin describes being a negro in America almost always in a rage. Baldwin emphasizes the importance of controlling the rage so as not to be destructive. He defines the reason for this rage as the violent experiences of black people and the indifference of official and civilian whites.

Moreover, he mentions the illusion of simplifying these issues to make people recognize them. He also states that crime is among the problems a black writer faces due to being on the firing line and doing everything that needs to be done. Finally, Baldwin describes the role of negro writers as remaking the world, creating a moral revolution, and unifying the country.

In another radio broadcast in 1961, Black Muslims vs. The Sit-Ins, Baldwin and Malcolm X discussed the importance of nonviolent sit-ins two months after *The Dangerous Road Before Martin Luther King*, published in *Harper's*. In the broadcast, Malcolm X characterizes the sit-ins as a passive and unworthy endeavor that hinders blacks from soldiering on and fighting for integration. Furthermore, Malcolm X argues that mainstream civil rights organizations are just waiting for black rights to be granted; on the contrary, Baldwin defends sit-in movements due to their powerful challenge against white hegemony. However, Baldwin agrees with Malcolm's criticism of mainstream civil rights organizations. Also, Baldwin argues that whites tried to protect their superiority by committing crimes, but it does not mean that blacks will commit crimes to obtain civil rights in the same way. It is worth stating that he advocates defending rights not by committing crimes but by methods that are not harmful to humans. In the late 1960s, Baldwin began to consider the solution to the

race problem not as a struggle for national identity but as an international struggle against colonialism.

At the beginning of 1963, Baldwin organized his second fundraising trip for the CORE to make speeches in churches and schools in New Orleans, Durham, Greenboro, and other southern cities. In Jackson, Mississippi, he met with Medgar Evers and James Meredith. Also, the photo documentary of this Southern trip was published in *Life* magazine. Again in 1963, a few months after the first trip, Baldwin made a second trip for CORE and made speeches at universities ranging from California to Connecticut. After the trip in May, Baldwin's portrait was on the Time magazine cover, and he was described as effeminate and fragile, full of frets and fears. Although this depiction paved the way for a decrease in the number of spectators, his frankness, eloquence, and reputation as a spokesperson for the movement created a huge crowd of students at the University of California.

From the 1950s through the early 1970s, Baldwin's writing and his role as a public intellectual can be understood as a racial struggle at the center of America. Baldwin engaged in the black freedom struggle from civil rights to Black Power. Baldwin's role as a movement spokesman and a literary writer was intertwined and represented the movement in his writings. The term spokesman accurately suits the role of James Baldwin in 1963 as a black intellectual whose opinions had paramount importance to the public. Baldwin's writings, interviews, and recorded conversations reflect the movement and American racism from 1957 through the beginning of the 1970s. Baldwin admired the role played by black youth in challenging racial status. When physical resistance to racism began, Baldwin wrote about the ambiguous role of black leaders in the civil rights movement.

Meanwhile, he maintained ties with significant leaders, groups, and radical ones. In 1961, Baldwin interpreted the American civil rights movement as a third-world liberation movement destroying white supremacy's truths. Sometimes, he acted as a moralist apart from being an author and delivered sharp critiques of American racism, permeating individuals' private lives. American national and racial identity pioneered his involvement in the movement. It stated his involvement in *The Fire Next Time* (1963), *Blues For Mister Charlie* (1964), *Going To Meet The Man* (1965), *Tell Me How Long The Train's Been Gone* (1968), and *No Name in the Street* (1972).

Baldwin wants to be a part of a world without blacks and whites, where you do not need to invent a history to feel superior to others.

CONCLUSION

Social life has a world order in which people of different nationalities, languages, religions, races, and colors are interpreted as different rather than wealth or diversity. This attitude is common in almost every part of the world. Interpreting the slightest difference as discrimination or even racism leads to normalizing discrimination and racism. It is necessary to accept a human being as a human being and, with all his characteristics, as a human being. However, respect for differences between people because the stage of history is full of painful events where personal differences are ignored, and both laws and universal declarations cannot prevent pressures.

In many parts of the world, discrimination and racism are carried out with various excuses. America, which hosts different races, cultures, nationalities, and opinions, has also taken its share. Those who settled in the vast, untouched American lands used the Native Americans and the Negroes, who were forcibly brought from Africa, to run their economies without tolerance for differences.

Black people have been exposed to discrimination and racism in every aspect of their lives since the seventeenth century. They have been humiliated in agricultural lands, requiring heavy labor. They fought at the forefront of the War of Independence with the promise of freedom but were disappointed. Although their freedom was ensured through legal means, their freedom was disregarded by local laws such as Black Codes and Jim Crow Laws, and they faced inhumane practices. The fact that the Negroes did not rise despite being subjected to so much violence and humiliation by the whites proves they wanted to be integrated into American society.

The racism that has emerged in America for centuries does not comply with human dignity. Negroes, despised, humiliated, and enslaved just because of their color, pass on all the pain they have experienced in the past as a legacy to future generations. The easiest way of this transfer is undoubtedly through literature. Afro-American literature, embodied against discrimination and racism, contains many discriminatory, conciliatory, radical, and racist artists.

James Baldwin, the subject of our research, is in a different position from many of his colleagues and races. The most important point that justifies its placement in such a different place is that risking his artistic life; he went from France, the country where he lived, to America, the country where he was born, without hesitation to witness the civil rights movement. Baldwin who appeared on the streets as an activist in the civil rights movement and came to the fore with homosexual and left-wing views, has been recognized as an important figure in the world of literature in promoting African-American culture and identity, who packed important achievements and works that made much noise in his 63-year life.

James Baldwin writes about the things that exist in his essence and what happened to him in the life he lived through the lives he presented in the works that he brought to the world of literature. He became the voice of African-Americans with the interviews. Moreover, he wrote the essays as a witness to the problems of the age he lived in and the repulsion of his race by addressing universal issues that can be found in every society, such as equality, pride, family, discrimination, racism, poverty, and gender in his work.

Our study shows that James Baldwin was involved in the movement physically and politically to struggle against racism in America. The proofs of his involvement and struggle were observable through his interviews in the South, whose products were his essays. Baldwin's attendance at panel discussions in radio broadcasts, his speeches in churches, schools, and universities in the South, and his literary works reflect his racial struggle as an author, activist, and spokesman. Although he was a northerner and a target of racist whites, he courageously revealed what he had witnessed in the South. Baldwin's role as a public intellectual and writings can be understood as a racial struggle at the center of America. He became the voice of black people with his active, physical and literary struggle. However, he concluded that the solution to the racial issues was not only through national and international struggles.

The struggles in the fields of race, religion, gender, economy, and politics, wherever they are in the world, have a history as old as the history of humanity. However, often the cry of the oppressed is not heard or seen. In this context, it can be said that black people are ignored, and even black people have not been able to find anyone as interlocutors for centuries. Unfortunately, even official covers, in Black

Codes and Jim Crow Laws have been made up for the inhumane practices that black people are exposed to. These laws, which are written texts, take their place in archives as official proof of inhumane practices.

America is a country that was built with the great pain of people belonging to different nations, races, languages, religions, and colors and has become the superpower of the world today. However, despite many social movements that fight discrimination against blacks, such as the Civil Rights Movement, discrimination and racism continue to exist in America, the land of dreams, even today.



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LİSANSÜSTÜ TEZ ORJİNALLİK RAPORU

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