

Instructions:

The paper must be written in Chicago style.

Format: This paper will consist of 5 pages, word-processed, double-spaced, spelling and grammar checked, proofread, and stapled. No more than 12-inch font and 1-inch margins on all sides and include a 3-point argument from each author...

References & Referencing: In addition, you must utilize all three-class texts which I mentioned in below , two outside academic sources to prove your position.

Vocabulary: Choose four vocabulary terms and two theories that best allow you to structure your argument about your issue.

Central Argument/Issues and Analysis:

You must think about the specific question as an “issue” and develop an argument about it. This is your position on the issue. The paper will become your proof of the validity of your perspective. Underline your position the first time you state it. Structure your paper around proving your position with each paragraph highlighting the evidence and background information via the two author’s and supplemental text perspectives. You are to also include lecture information as needed. Be informative and assume the reader is not aware of the writing prompt or the oppositional perspectives. It is important that you provide evidence and an analysis from *both* positions to support your own

References & Referencing:

2

Utilize all three-class texts and one outside source to prove your argument, using quotes and paraphrases from the articles and or lectures that you choose. Therefore, you must reference every time you incorporate others’ thinking and direct quotes within the text applying the Chicago/Turabian format (footnotes and a bibliography; endnotes not required). Footnotes will

allow you to add A bibliography is necessary for this assignment be sure to cite the original article title and source within the source. The bibliography should be on the last page.

Important for this essay:

Underline the theory and vocabulary choice the first time you use them and cite whenever necessary. These terms should be at the heart of your analysis and utilized throughout the paper. *Please also place vocab/theory on your cover page.

the three class texts are the three books includes:

- Taking sides: this book is the main point which you are going to discuss an issue from it. I put the image of the two sides of an issue from this book bellow and you choose your side and make your theory, but you also must use these two arguments as the sources.
- The second book is an online book. You also must use this book as a source to support your idea or theory. The book is:
<https://www.historyisaweapon.com/ziinapeopleshistory.html>
- The third book also like the second book is an online pdf book. You must also like the second book, use this book to support your theory which you picked from the issues. The book is:
<https://www.saddleback.edu/faculty/tmenzing/documents/Adiffere ntMirror.pdf>

the images of the issue side from the from the first book is in bellow.

The issue is: Is black lives matter an effective Civil Right Organization?

Selected, Edited, and with Issue Framing Material by:
 Raymond D'Angelo, *St. Joseph's College, Brooklyn*
 and
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ISSUE



Is Black Lives Matter an Effective Civil Rights Organization?

YES: Julia Craven, Ryan J. Reilly, and Mariah Stewart, from "The Ferguson Protests Worked," *Huffington Post* (2016)

NO: Barbara Reynolds, from "I Was a Civil Rights Activist in the 1960s. But It's Hard for Me to Get Behind Black Lives Matter," *The Washington Post* (2015)

Learning Outcomes

After reading this issue, you will be able to:

- Examine and analyze the factors, both historical and contemporary, that contributed to the creation of Black Lives Matter.
- Identify and explain the organizational structure of Black Lives Matter and the significant activity in which its members engage.
- Identify how Black Lives Matter differs organizationally from earlier more traditional civil rights organizations.
- Identify and examine the significant issues and goals that are being pursued by Black Lives Matter.
- Identify and examine the main points offered by Barbara Reynolds in her critique of Black Lives Matter?
- Identify and examine the main points presented by Craven, Reilly, and Stewart to support that Black Lives Matter is an effective civil rights organization.

ISSUE SUMMARY

YES: Julia Craven, Ryan Reilly, and Mariah Stewart argue that the unrest which accompanied the Ferguson protests were necessary to begin a reform process. They cite several examples in which they assert that militant actions by Black Lives Matter activists have had a positive impact in moving local, state, and federal authorities to begin to implement reforms in the criminal justice system of St. Louis County.

NO: Barbara Reynolds is former editor and columnist for *USA Today* who was an activist in the civil rights movement in the 1960s. Although she is committed to the goals of Black Lives Matter, Reynolds is troubled by certain tactics and behaviors in which movement members engage. Reynolds' concerns include her contention that Black Lives Matter activists have not learned important lessons from previous civil rights struggles, especially the civil rights movement. She is also concerned that rather than seeking insight, wisdom, and guidance from older generations of activists, they have tended to alienate the older generation.

In an inaugural presidential lecture at Rowan University (New Jersey), Dr. Cornel West, a distinguished African American scholar, observed that the perception of blacks among white Americans had evolved over time. Earliest

perceptions of African American people, according to West, tended to characterize them as "troublesome property," and over time, that perception has changed to one in which African Americans are viewed as "troublesome people." This observation is critical for understanding

YES

Julia Craven, Ryan J. Reilly, and Mariah Stewart

The Ferguson Protests Worked

FERGUSON, Mo.—Nearly a half-century ago, a University of Missouri law professor named T.E. Lauer issued a warning. Missouri's network of municipal courts, he wrote, were "a modern anomaly" generally "overlooked or ignored as the misshapen stepchildren of our judicial system."

It was "disgraceful," he argued, that poor people accused of municipal ordinance violations didn't receive lawyers. Arresting and confining citizens for petty violations of municipal codes was unnecessary. Many municipalities, he wrote, had clearly "conceived of their municipal courts in terms of their revenue-raising ability," and those financial incentives influenced judges' decisions. He questioned whether the term "kangaroo court" would "too often validly apply to municipal court proceedings."

That was 1966. The Civil Rights Act was two years old. Martin Luther King Jr. was still alive, and Barack Obama had just turned 5. Dozens of young girls in St. Louis were treated for minor injuries sustained at a Beatles concert. George Wallace, who had tried to prevent black students from enrolling at a public university after promising "segregation forever," was governor of Alabama.

In the ensuing decades, those "kangaroo courts" enabled small towns, especially in St. Louis County, to pad their budgets by extracting fines from people for extraordinarily minor violations of municipal codes—under threat of jail. Arrest warrants were issued for thousands of people, for supposed crimes like wearing baggy pants, missing a special sticker on their car, or failing to subscribe to a designated trash service. Residents who had to endure these local courts described them as "out of control," "inhumane," "crazy," "racist," "unprofessional" and "sickening."

The decades between Lauer's warning and 2014 brought no significant reforms to Missouri's municipal courts. Then, on Aug. 9, a Ferguson police officer's bullet that killed 18-year-old Michael Brown brought an end to the inaction.

Police left Brown's body in the street for hours, and a community that had felt abused by the authorities for years erupted. Vandalism broke out, along with peaceful protests, and militarized police departments aggressively cracked down. The clashes attracted international news coverage. Riots and protests injured numerous people and caused extensive property damage. The controversy surrounding Brown's killing and the police response left the community reeling.

But the protests, in many ways, worked. Those abusive municipal court practices, which many residents said had fueled widespread disrespect for authority, are being reined in. And the outcry spread far beyond the Midwest. In many ways, the Ferguson protests changed America.

Missouri Overhauled Its Municipal Courts

Nine months after Brown's death, the Missouri legislature passed a bill that capped the amount of revenue that municipalities can collect from tickets. Gov. Jay Nixon signed the legislation last month, saying that when "the practices of municipal courts fail the basic tests of fairness and equality—those failings reflect on our entire judicial system." Sen. Eric Schmitt (R), a leading supporter, said he doesn't believe the bill would have happened without the protests in Ferguson.

St. Louis County's municipal courts didn't kill Michael Brown. But they were a major contributor to the outrage and distrust that was on display in Ferguson following Brown's death.

"For me, after August and being from the St. Louis area and growing up in North County, I felt the desire to try to right a wrong in how justice was playing out in our municipal courts, or the absence of it," Schmitt said. "The long lines outside of municipal courts next to pawn shops shocked the conscious, and I think it compelled people—regardless of their party—to want to do something about it." Schmitt said the attention "brought together a broad coalition."

Law enforcement leaders said Ferguson was a wake-up call.

"If not for the unrest, we wouldn't have seen municipal court reform. It's certainly a game-changer," said Kevin Ahlbrand, president of Missouri's Fraternal Order of Police and a member of the Ferguson Commission, created by the governor to correct economic and social conditions that fueled the unrest.

St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar told *The Huffington Post* it was "a shame that we haven't had the political will before 2014" to look at the municipal courts.

"If you went to a very affluent area in St. Louis County, how long do you think a program would last where speed cameras were put up on arterial roads coming into subdivisions, and people were given letters saying they were going to be arrested? It would last about five hours," Belmar said. "You know that and I know that, and that's part of the problem. Yet in areas that are not as affluent, and where folks really are struggling with issues of poverty and education and crime and everything else that goes along with it—unemployment—they don't have the ability really to voice that opinion. They can't leverage change. That's a good thing that's come out of all this."

Ferguson's protests spawned at least 40 state measures aimed at improving police tactics and use of force. The national conversation around race and policing has shifted so dramatically that the director of the FBI said law enforcement officials historically enforced "a status quo that was often brutally unfair to disfavored groups" and discussed how unconscious racial bias affects police officers with no pushback from the law enforcement community.

"I don't think there has ever been this level of attention being paid to communities all over the country," Vanita Gupta, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, said in a recent interview with *The Huffington Post*. "As a country, it will be shame on us for missing the opportunity . . . given the kind of elevated attention that is being paid to criminal justice."

News Media Added Nuance to Coverage of Police Violence against Black People

If not for the arson that destroyed the Ferguson QuikTrip convenience store near where Michael Brown was killed, national and international media would never have descended into the small suburb, spotlighting the region's systematic racial issues, said Rasheen Aldridge, who at 21 is the youngest member of the Ferguson Commission.

"Who was talking about police brutality at this level before Ferguson? It wasn't being talked about," Aldridge said. "It took that unrest to happen for people to understand the reality of what is to be an African-American man and woman." Predominantly black communities, like Ferguson and Baltimore, have been "targeted" and harassed for a long time, he said.

"Unrest comes from people tired of being oppressed and deprived. They're tired of being picked at and poked at," Aldridge said, adding that he didn't condone the Ferguson violence. But it did make people understand how serious the situation was, he said.

"When a baby is crying and you aren't paying attention because you're on the phone, it's not until he goes to knock something off the table or something breaks or the chair falls, that you start to pay attention," Aldridge continued. "That's what the young people did. It took for burned down property to get the attention of elected officials here, the attention of the media and the attention of the United States."

A shift in media behavior after a tragedy is not unusual, Sarah Oates, a journalism professor at the University of Maryland, told *The Huffington Post*. Before Ferguson's uprising, many media outlets tended to accept police accounts as fact. Now, reporters are asking why black communities are outraged with policing.

"What's sad is it often takes a tragedy," Oates said. "What happened in Ferguson wasn't unusual—which is awful, but true. The response was unusual, and the depth and breadth of the protests was unusual. And you could kind of see it coming from Trayvon Martin . . . This rising awareness [about] race and unfairness, and this real question about what was really going on."

What made Ferguson the spark, according to Slate's Jamelle Bouie, was St. Louis County's history of racism, the use of social media by activists, and the simmering undercurrent of anger from the police killings of people like Eric Garner, who died in July 2014 after a New York City police officer put him in a chokehold for selling loose cigarettes, and John Crawford, who was shot dead by Ohio police four days before Michael Brown's killing as he held a BB gun inside a Walmart store.

With that as the backdrop, it's no wonder that Ferguson—already troubled with inequality, segregation, and unfair policing—was the town that eventually burned. Brown's death was the final spark in a summer of violence against black Americans, exacerbated by police misconduct and the attacks on Brown's character, meant to minimize or even excuse his death. And in turn, this explosion inaugurated a new, more urgent phase in the national argument over racism.

Video from recent cases of police violence has forced America to look. It also has helped shape larger narratives surrounding the state of Black America. This is, as Oates put it, "outrage perpetrated by technology"—and each case of police brutality that gains national attention shifts the narrative a bit more.

Edward Crawford—the man in an American flag T-shirt seen throwing a tear gas canister in an iconic photo from Ferguson—said he's seen a difference in how the media has covered events since last summer. Videos "played a big role" in that change, he said in an interview.

"In some parts of the world, this is unfamiliar," Crawford said. "The police crimes are very low, police officers are respectable in a lot of places. Every police officer isn't bad, there's a lot of good police officers out there who protect and serve. But you also have some who seem to not. So with videos and social media, that gets the word out, so that certain situations just aren't thrown under the bus."

Ferguson exposed how large the divide between the police and the community could be. John Crawford's death in the Ohio Walmart was a reminder that black people are instantly viewed by police as a threat. The police killing of motorist Walter Scott during an April traffic stop in North Charleston, South Carolina, stoked cries from the black community that cops won't admit when they've done something wrong. Freddie Gray's severed spine and resulting death in April after a ride in a Baltimore police van reopened Jim Crow's wounds. Last month's arrest of Sandra Bland, who Texas authorities said hanged herself in a jail cell three days after she was stopped for a traffic offense, showed how police officers could react to individuals who assert their rights.

"It becomes a kind of self-reinforcing cycle: the media starts talking about it more, so people become more aware of it," Oates said. "And other incidents are then reported and talked about within the frame." She said she wondered if white people and black people are interpreting the stories in the same way.

Despite the shift in coverage, white Americans are still about eight times more likely to say police treat black people and white people equally, according to a recent HuffPost/YouGov poll. This number has changed little since February, though Freddie Gray, Tony Robinson, Walter Scott, Samuel Dubose and at least 680 others have died in encounters with police in the meantime.

"The media can report on these stories but, ultimately, citizens are going to decode them in different ways and they're going to take different messages away," Oates said. "So, we still struggle with this issue of—you know, the stories are getting told, but is everyone really listening to the story?" She added that conversations in the

African-American community and in the white community are, most likely, "really different dialogues."

The shift isn't complete. It's still easier for the media to explore whether a person is racist than whether a system is. "If we can talk about the problems not as isolated, but as systemic; not as incidents of violence, but as a system that allows this, enables it and, in some cases, encourages this to happen—that's where change would happen," Oates said.

Obama Created a Policing Task Force and Secured \$20 Million for Body Cameras

The protests weren't the only thing that grabbed America's attention. The heavily militarized reaction to peaceful demonstrations was disturbing to many people. So much so that President Barack Obama signed an executive order creating the Task Force on 21st Century Policing in December.

The initiative's main goal is to "strengthen the relationships between local police and the communities they are supposed to protect and serve." It recommends police agencies improve community policing, eliminate ticket quotas, equip street cops with body cameras and use social media to foster trust with civilians.

Obama proposed spending \$263 million to improve community policing in December. Of that, \$75 million was designated for body cameras. Congress approved only \$20 million of the president's request—after the Baltimore uprising. In March, Obama cautioned the public against thinking body cameras would solve police violence.

"There's been a lot of talk about body cameras as a silver bullet or a solution," Obama said in a report the 21st Century Task Force released in March. "I think the task force concluded that there is a role for technology to play in building additional trust and accountability, but it's not a panacea, and that it has to be embedded in a broader change in culture and a legal framework that ensures that people's privacy is respected and that not only police officers but the community themselves feel comfortable with how technologies are being used."

#TakeItDown Showed the New Speed of Success

For years, black people have viewed the Confederate flag as a symbol of hate and a reminder of their ancestors' tortured history as slaves. But in parts of the South, the battle flag had been afforded respect—sometimes on public property.

In South Carolina, that's over. Dylann Roof, a white man with racist beliefs who had been photographed with a Confederate flag license plate, shot nine people to death at a historically black church in Charleston in June, authorities said. Black Lives Matter activists led the outcry to take down the Confederate flag outside the statehouse. The push may not have succeeded without Ferguson.

Twitter users, along with journalists like Ta-Nehisi Coates and Chris Hayes, added fuel to the movement by ensuring #TakeItDown trended. Demonstrations formed in front of the statehouse. Social media hashtags, like #BlackLivesMatter and #ICantBreathe, became protest chants. A political push shifted public opinion of a centuries-old heritage in an incredibly short timespan, according to Huffington Post Tech reporter Alexis Sobel Fitts.

#TakeItDown has come to represent a single movement: the campaign, bred online and carried out in legislative offices, to remove the Confederate flag from South Carolina's state capital. It may go down as, if not the biggest, then at least the quickest success of the loosely connected network of black Twitter users referred to as "Black Twitter."

Gov. Nikki Haley (R) had previously defended the flag, but bowed to the political pressure and signed the law removing the flag from outside the statehouse. The Alabama governor took similar action. Walmart, Sears, Amazon and eBay stopped sales of Confederate flags.

"In the last few years, as the violent slayings of young black men like Freddie Gray, Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown have aligned the network of black Twitter users on inflammatory topics, these links have grown stronger, and the pace at which trending hashtags make it to headlines has gotten quicker," Fitts wrote. "Trayvon Martin's story didn't enter the national press until months after his slaying; it took just a few weeks for South Carolina's Confederate flag to fall."

The Fight for Wage Equality Gained Steam

Major retailers also felt the change.

Black shoppers, according to *Forbes*, hold more than \$1 trillion in spending power. But some corporations that benefit from black dollars and labor remain silent on issues affecting the community. Activists used the hashtags #NotOneDime and #BlackOutBlackFriday to coordinate Black Friday demonstrations in solidarity with Ferguson residents upset that the officer who shot Michael Brown wasn't indicted. It was a way to hit America where it hurts—the pockets.

"The calls to boycott Black Friday echoed the Civil Rights movement's boycotts, making a direct connection

between 'business as usual' holiday shopping and the circumstances under which black people in the U.S. live—'business as usual' relies on the labor and the dollars of black Americans, as it always has," Sarah Jaffe wrote for *The Week*.

Black Lives Matter activists frequently extend the conversation beyond police brutality to economic, academic and other forms of inequality.

"When we say Black Lives Matter, we are talking about the ways in which Black people are deprived of our basic human rights and dignity," writes co-founder Alicia Garza on the movement's website. "It is an acknowledgement [that] Black poverty and genocide is state violence."

In April, Black Lives Matter activists took to the streets of New York City with fast food workers to call on companies to increase wages to \$15 an hour and improve working conditions. The fight against wage inequality has incorporated "I Can't Breathe" and "Hands Up, Don't Shoot."

Black people are more likely to work low-wage jobs and, overall, have lower levels of wealth than white and Hispanic counterparts. Raising the minimum wage is just another way to improve the overall quality of black life.

"This movement cannot be divorced from economic opportunity," the Rev. Mark Kelly Tyler, a Philadelphia pastor involved in the movement, told *NBC News*. "A \$15 minimum wage is certainly a game-changer."

The Wealth Gap Has Become a Democratic Campaign Issue

Bridging the wealth gap has been at the forefront of Democratic presidential candidates' campaigns. An understanding of how economic inequality for black people is radically different than it is for whites, however, has not.

Black Lives Matter activists last month interrupted the Netroots Nation convention, the largest annual meeting of progressives in the U.S., demanding that Democratic candidates acknowledge that "the most important and urgent issue of our day is structural violence and systemic racism that is oppressing and killing black women, men and children," wrote Tia Oso, the woman who took the stage during the protest, for Mic.

"Black organizers claimed our rightful place at the front of the progressive movement," Oso wrote. "Allies from Latino, Asian, LGBT and other communities stood in solidarity with us as we called the names of black women killed in police custody, expressed our heartbreaking requests to the community should we ourselves die in police custody and looked on as respected and revered progressive leaders

were woefully unable to answer our reasonable question as to how they will lead America to a brighter future."

Instead of an answer to concerned protesters, a visibly agitated Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) evoked his history as a civil rights activist and, essentially, ignored the sentiments. Former Maryland Gov. Martin O'Malley proclaimed "all lives matter"—a mistake that disregards the unique forces that place black lives in danger.

O'Malley has since apologized and vowed to propose comprehensive criminal justice reform. Sanders emphasized improved community policing and criminal justice reform. Hillary Clinton, learning from her competitors' blunders, made a fresh demand for police body cameras and improved early childhood education.

A simple interruption of a progressive town hall was powerful enough to make systemic racism a conversation on the campaign trail. But talking isn't enough. Activists want to hear concrete solutions to problems created by systemic racism before endorsing any of the candidates.

"If they want our vote, they're going to have to speak to the death of black people at the hands of law enforcement, and create a racial justice agenda that cuts across all major issues," Opal Tometi, a cofounder of Black Lives Matter, told *Time*.

Activists are pushing candidates to broaden their focus to issues such as black voter disenfranchisement and housing discrimination. Black Lives Matter co-founders are creating a list of policy demands which, according to *Time*, is "designed to push Clinton, Sanders and O'Malley to embrace broad reforms to address systemic racism head-on."

"We want to ensure that these candidates will actually deal with the issues that black people face," Patrisse Cullors, another Black Lives Matter co-founder, told the *Los Angeles Times*. "The reality is that it's still not legal to be black in this country."

This policy outline aims to force Democratic candidates to understand that the push for middle-class economic growth, and other progressive reforms, may not benefit black Americans to the extent it would help whites.

Obama Has Embraced Honest Conversations About Race

Obama didn't hold his tongue about the difference between white and black America during South Carolina state Sen. Clementa Pinckney's (D) funeral.

Pinckney, also senior pastor at Emanuel AME Church, was one of nine people killed by Dylann Roof, police said.

"Maybe we now realize the way racial bias can infect us even when we don't realize it, so that we're guarding

against not just racial slurs, but we're also guarding against the subtle impulse to call Johnny back for a job interview but not Jamal," Obama said.

In what may be his most candid remarks on race as president, Obama addressed the black church's role in the black freedom struggle; why the Confederacy should not be honored; how slavery and Jim Crow shape current racial inequalities; how racism is taught and learned; mass incarceration; police violence; implicit racial biases; and black voter disenfranchisement.

A few days earlier, Obama bluntly told Marc Maron of "WTF Podcast" that racism is not over.

"Racism, we are not cured of it. And it's not just a matter of it not being polite to say nigger in public," Obama said. "That's not the measure of whether racism still exists or not. It's not just a matter of overt discrimination. Societies don't, overnight, completely erase everything that happened 200 to 300 years prior."

The president also renewed his campaign for criminal justice reform—focusing on lower sentences for non-violent offenders, policing tactics, economic inequality and the school-to-prison pipeline.

Obama is starting to sound "a little something like the black president some white Americans across the political spectrum feared," as reporter Janell Ross wrote in *The Washington Post*. Since Ferguson, Obama has stopped chiding black folks with respectability lectures and has focused on policies that address what racism has done to black Americans. It's a far stretch from the approach he took early in his administration, when he took then-Attorney General Eric Holder to task for saying that the U.S. was "essentially a nation of cowards" on race.

It's likely Obama's influences include Black Lives Matter activists making life uncomfortable for Americans who don't want to talk about race.

"But it would be a betrayal of everything Reverend Pinckney stood for, I believe, if we allowed ourselves to slip into a comfortable silence again," Obama said. "Once the eulogies have been delivered, once the TV cameras move on, to go back to business as usual—that's what we so often do to avoid uncomfortable truths about the prejudice that still infects our society. To settle for symbolic gestures without following up with the hard work of more lasting change—that's how we lose our way again."

JULIA CRAVEN is a political reporter for the *Huffington Post*.
RYAN J. REILLY is a justice reporter for the *Huffington Post*.
MARIAH STEWART is a Ferguson Fellow at the *Huffington Post*.

I Was a Civil Rights Activist in the 1960s. But It's Hard for Me to Get Behind Black Lives Matter

As the rapper Tef Poe sharply pointed out at a St. Louis rally in October protesting the death of unarmed teenager Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo.: "This ain't your grandparents' civil rights movement."

He's right. It looks, sounds and feels different. Black Lives Matter is a motley-looking group to this septuagenarian grandmother, an activist in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Many in my crowd admire the cause and courage of these young activists but fundamentally disagree with their approach. Trained in the tradition of Martin Luther King Jr., we were nonviolent activists who won hearts by conveying respectability and changed laws by delivering a message of love and unity. BLM seems intent on rejecting our proven methods. This movement is ignoring what our history has taught.

The baby boomers who drove the success of the civil rights movement want to get behind Black Lives Matter, but the group's confrontational and divisive tactics make it difficult. In the 1960s, activists confronted white mobs and police with dignity and decorum, sometimes dressing in church clothes and kneeling in prayer during protests to make a clear distinction between who was evil and who was good.

But at protests today, it is difficult to distinguish legitimate activists from the mob actors who burn and loot. The demonstrations are peppered with hate speech, profanity, and guys with sagging pants that show their underwear. Even if the BLM activists aren't the ones participating in the boorish language and dress, neither are they condemning it.

The 1960s movement also had an innate respectability because our leaders often were heads of the black church, as well. Unfortunately, church and spirituality are not high priorities for Black Lives Matter, and the ethics of love, forgiveness and reconciliation that empowered black leaders such as King and Nelson Mandela in their

successful quests to win over their oppressors are missing from this movement. The power of the spiritual approach was evident recently in the way relatives of the nine victims in the Charleston church shooting responded at the bond hearing for Dylann Roof, the young white man who reportedly confessed to killing the church members "to start a race war." One by one, the relatives stood in the courtroom, forgave the accused racist killer and prayed for mercy on his soul. As a result, in the wake of that horrific tragedy, not a single building was burned down. There was no riot or looting.

"Their response was solidly spiritual, one of forgiveness and mercy for the perpetrator," the Rev. Andrew Young, a top King aide, told me in a recent telephone interview.

"White supremacy is a sickness," said Young, who also has served as a U.S. congressman, ambassador to the United Nations, and mayor of Atlanta. "You don't get angry with sick people; you work to heal the system. If you get angry, it is contagious, and you end up acting as bad as the perpetrators."

[Black America should stop forgiving white racists]

The loving, nonviolent approach is what wins allies and mollifies enemies. But what we have seen come out of Black Lives Matter is rage and anger—justifiable emotions, but questionable strategy. For months, it seemed that BLM hadn't thought beyond that raw emotion, hadn't questioned where it would all lead. I and other elders openly worried that, without a clear strategy and well-defined goals, BLM could soon crash and burn out. Oprah Winfrey voiced that concern earlier this year, saying, "What I'm looking for is some kind of leadership to come out of this to say, 'This is what we want. This is what has to change, and these are the steps that we need to take to make these changes, and this is what we're willing to do to get it.'"

For her wise counsel, Oprah became the target of a deluge of tweets from young activists, who denounced her

as elitist and "out of touch," which caused some well-meaning older sages to grit their teeth in silence. Now, nearly 10 months later, BLM has finally come around, releasing a list of policy demands last week. If this young movement had embraced the well-meaning advice of its elders earlier, instead of responding with disdain, it could have spent recent months making headway with political leaders, instead of battling the disheartening images of violence and destruction that have followed its protests against police brutality in black neighborhoods.

This opportunity for mentorship is fleeting, evidenced by the recent deaths of civil rights movement giants Maya Angelou, Julian Bond and Louis Stokes. Seizing the wisdom of veteran civil rights activists will only help Black Lives Matter achieve its goals. The Revs. Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton would be the most obvious assets to BLM, as civil rights leaders who have run for president and led political campaigns—but BLM has welcomed neither. Long before they targeted Sen. Bernie Sanders, a Democratic presidential candidate, young activists stormed the stage and stole the microphone at Sharpton's "Justice for All" march against police brutality in Washington in December.

Some have defended the young activists. Speaking at a conference at Boston University's Social Justice Institute in April, Pamela Lightsey, a noted theologian and lecturer on queer theology at Boston University's Theological Seminary who chronicled the Ferguson protests, explained the disconnect between Black Lives Matter and the older civil rights cohort: BLM activists "respect the leaders of another day, but they are not going to bow down to them. They can't come into a protest march and demand a front seat or to jump on the front lines when the cameras are on."

She added that, while there are clergy participating in the BLM protests, "the movement is not a black church initiative."

Young doesn't take BLM's dismissive attitude toward preachers and the movement's lack of discipline lightly.

"In our movement, we were not only spiritual, we were thoughtful," he said. "The reason our campaigns for change were successful in Montgomery and Birmingham was because they were undergirded by boycotts. We didn't burn any businesses down. I don't see that discipline here. We also trained people not to get angry because we knew our minds, not our emotions, were our most powerful weapons. We knew—to lose your wits was to lose your life."

What Young is selling—discipline, respect for elders, restraint—is badly needed in the movement. But right now, BLM isn't buying.

"BLM rejects the usual hierarchical style of leadership, with the straight black male at the top giving orders,"

Lightsey said. The BLM also gives special "attention to the needs of black queers, the black transgendered, the black undocumented, black incarcerated and others who are hardly a speck on today's political agenda."

In this way, BLM has improved on the previous generation. The new movement has embraced black women as leaders and was, in fact, founded by three black women. King's model, by contrast, was sexist to the core, imitating the tone of the country at that time. Civil rights heroines such as Fannie Lou Hamer, Ella Baker and even Rosa Parks—whose refusal to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery launched the 1960s movement—were not allowed to speak or march with the male leaders at the 1963 March on Washington.

[I'm a white suburbanite who supports the police. Can I march for #BlackLivesMatter?]

In social movements of the past, "black" meant male and "women" meant white, but BLM is unapologetically refusing to let the plight of black women go unnoticed. Black women are incarcerated at three times the rate of white women. Recent deaths of black women in police custody generally haven't received the widespread news coverage that black men killed by officers have. The names of these black women are hardly known: Raynette Turner; Joyce Curnell; Ralkina Jones and Kindra Chapman. But with the backing of BLM, the case of Sandra Bland, a black woman who died in a Texas jail cell after she was aggressively arrested in a minor traffic violation, was given nationwide coverage last month.

Still, the movement has remained too narrow in its focus. I understand why, as a new movement, BLM has focused on black pain and suffering. But to win broader appeal, it must work harder to acknowledge the humanity in the lives of others. The movement loses sympathy when it shouts down those who dare to utter "all lives matter." Activists insist that this slogan diverts attention from their cause of racial justice, saying it puts the spotlight on people whose lives have always mattered.

But we should remember the words of King: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." The civil rights movement was not exclusively a black movement for black people. It valued all human lives, even those of people who worked against us. I can't believe that the life of a murdered white police officer, or an Asian child sold into sex slavery, or a hungry family in Appalachia are lives that don't matter. In a sense, even the slogan "Black Lives Matter" is too broad because the movement overlooks black-on-black homicides, the leading cause of death for black males between the ages of 15 and 34. That horrific fact remains off the movement's radar, for fear that it puts black men in a negative light. So which black lives really matter?

In an attempt to unify the different groups, some organizations are hosting interracial and intergenerational events. Black Women for Positive Change has established Oct. 17–25 as the Week of Non-Violence in 10 cities, where officials, faith institutions and youth groups will come together. Keith Magee, director of Boston's Social Justice Institute, is organizing a rally and all-day talk-a-thon on Oct. 10 with similar goals.

"The older generation can no more retire to the sidelines than the BLM can isolate itself just focusing on black lives mattering," Magee said. "We must create a space for people to come together and listen to each other."

Admittedly, baby boomers like myself can be too judgmental, expecting a certain reverence for our past journey. But it is critical that these two generations find a middle ground. Among Americans killed by police, blacks are more than twice as likely to be unarmed than whites. To reach their common goal of ending this unequal treatment, baby boomers and millennials must overcome their differences and pair the experience of the old with the energy of the young to change a criminal justice system that has historically abused both.

Xavier Johnson, a 32-year-old pastor in Dayton who monitors the movement for his doctoral dissertation, argues that boomers should do more to fix the generational misunderstanding. "When you look at this group [BLM] from the bottom up, you see young people who are grieving from the pain inflicted on black bodies," he told me. "They saw Michael Brown, someone their age,

uncovered in the street for four hours baking in the hot sun. There were unarmed Eric Garner in New York, and Tamir Rice, a little kid police killed who was playing with a toy gun. They see churches on mostly every corner, but not where they are. They see a black president who they feel ignores them. They are showing righteous indignation for a system that does not value their humanity."

Johnson encouraged me, and others in my cohort, to spend more time trying to understand BLM activists, instead of judging them. To help me gain insight, he referred me to a popular song. "Every movement has its own soundtrack," he told me. "One of ours is by rapper Kendrick Lamar, who sings 'Alright.'"

So I listened to the song, expecting it would be as uplifting as "We Shall Overcome." I was terribly disappointed. The beat was too harsh; the lyrics were nasty and misogynistic.

"Let me tell you about my life/Painkillers only put me in the twilight/Where pretty pussy and Benjamin is the highlight."

Instead of imparting understanding, the song was a staunch reminder of the generation gap that afflicts civil rights activism, and the struggle it is going to take to overcome it.

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