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Racism in America:

A Continuing Crisis

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Introduction

The title of this pamphlet, "Racism in America: A Continuing Crisis," highlights a major theme in the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Let me recall two sentences from the Report: "Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively in the past; it now threatens to do so again. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has accumulated in our cities since the end of World War II." Although many people will disagree, these sentences state clearly the core of the matter. Our society has institutionalized racism. It is present in the structures of the society as well as in the attitudes and the behavior of people. Racism is seen in the white repression and the black revolt that threatens to tear the nation asunder. We cannot continue to exist as one nation, with growing intergroup hostility. The only real hope for the future lies in the elimination of racism from our way of life.

In the succeeding pages, Dr. Joseph H. Douglass, a distinguished sociologist, currently Chief of the Interagency Liaison Branch of the National Institute of Mental Health, examines the growing threat of racism in American society. He treats the dynamics of racism, its effects on the psychic as well as the socio-economic life of the nation and its

implications for international affairs. The discussion of approaches for dealing with the problems is suggestive of the tremendous task involved in eliminating racism. Also included is a study guide which raises basic questions about what is presented in the text and a bibliography for supplementary reading.

It is hoped that this pamphlet will make its contribution toward stimulating the will of all people to eliminate racism from our society.

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Racism not only continues to be one of the most serious and critical problems of our time, but also will continue to increase in severity and magnitude as a result of unfortunate circumstances which already have reached critical proportions—unless and until a series of interventions take place. The tragedy is that racist attitudes and practices perpetuate inequality and injustice and rob countless millions of persons of the opportunities for self-fulfillment. So long as they persist, the full potential of which this nation is capable will not be attained.

In many ways, the current racial problems confronting the country today are more serious than many past difficulties. They reflect the mounting tensions and hostilities across group lines which today are finding their expression in violence and other forms of irrationality. They mirror the apparent growing alienation of our people, one group from another, on the grounds of racial or ethnic identity, which through the length and breadth of the land has given rise to the advocacy of "Black Power" and the "white backlash." They reflect the death of those aspects of the civil rights' movement to which so many persons from all walks of life subscribed just a few short years ago. They compound the increasingly precarious nature of

international affairs from which American racism can not be extricated.

Dynamics of Racism

At the heart of racism, American society continues to overtly and covertly instill in its young and reinforce in its old the conviction of the innate superiority of the white race, by way of words, deeds, and convictions. This "conviction" or doctrine postulates that merely being Caucasian is preferable to that of any and all groups throughout the world, and that all other ethnic groups are both different from and inferior to the whites.

The effects upon Negroes are devastating. Dr. Nathan Ackerman notes that "as a white person matures and stabilizes his personal identity, he incorporates into it the fact of a socially inferior Negro group. He uses this fact in defining his image of self as being above the Negro; by excluding the Negro, he enhances his sense of security and his belongingness with his own group. However false may be this feeling of self-pride and superiority, it nevertheless contributes to the shaping of his identity as a white person. As a Negro matures and stabilizes his personal identity, he incorporates into it the fact of a socially superior white group. He, too, uses this fact in defining his image of self."[1]

A desegregation study of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry reports,[11] in reference to the Negro, that "as a result of being treated as though he were unworthy, he can come to feel unworthy. These feelings of inferiority and humiliation often lead to a strong resentment of all white people, or of all Negroes, or, indeed, of all mankind. Energies which might otherwise be directed toward self-development are instead consumed by his bitterness at his lot in life." For the white

person, the circumstances are conducive to and encourage the expression of hostility and aggression, thereby providing him with a tempting means of escape from recognizing and coping with his own problems realistically.

Growing Intergroup Hostility

What do these circumstances have to do with racism? Sociologists, among others, see the increasing alienation and growing hostility between groups as a concomitant of these processes. For example, racism today for both majority and minority groups apparently is turning rapidly inward, with growing expressions of hostility externalized against other groups. As an illustration, the Negro's self-image for years has been largely an internalization of the several negative images and stereotypes which the larger society has constructed of him and which has emphasized his inferior social position and his ascribed differences in comparison with whites. The companion effect was for many Negroes to seek identification with whites in the effort to "run away from themselves" through rejection of all psychologically identifiable aspects of "Negro-ness." Together, these influences made the goal of acceptance by whites a main concern and a prime objective.

Today, to a significant degree, Negro attitudes towards whites have turned largely into a psychological rejection of them. As a defense mechanism and in the process of self-acceptance, Negroes now discard the former ideal object as being unworthy and have projected undesirable qualities onto the whites. In the course of this process of self-acceptance and to preserve his identity, acceptance by whites becomes secondary. As is widely stated today but little understood, integration becomes "irrelevant."

The Negro no longer seeks white acceptance, except and unless it is in full recognition of what he is, as he is. In fact, it appears that the less the Negro believes himself to be similar to the white person, the better he likes himself.

Anti-Racist Racism

Part of the phenomenon is related to an increasing "black consciousness." To quote Bruce Detwiler,[6] a major participant in the civil rights movement: "It may be that white liberals, because they approach color too much from a white frame of reference, have thought too much about Negroes being anti-white and not enough about the ramifications of Negroes being anti-Negro." In this sense "black consciousness" becomes what Sartre has called an "anti-racist racism."

The Negro now feels that he must speedily attain full and equal status on the same basis, to the same extent, and in the same ways as for all others in our society. He demands equal status with or without white acceptance. Psychiatric theory suggests that resolving this anxiety involves the "acting out" of the negative self-image, which is one way of destroying it.

The increasing danger of the present period is that it is now most difficult for Negroes and whites to communicate in the context of the new self-image and sometimes unclear and apparently conflicting identities which Negroes are exhibiting. Even more difficult is the fact that this is a period in which the Negro has become increasingly alienated psychologically even from those in the white group who are against injustice and who ideally support objectives of equality. In this context, Dr. Kenneth Clark has noted that in this turbulent period of transition, "the white liberal must be prepared to accept the fact that even his

closest Negro friends will feel some hostility toward him . . . To a Negro, every white person is in a sense, a symbol of his own oppression . . . Many Negroes are caught in a gnawing sense of doubt, hostility, and guilt that interferes with any genuine affirmative relationship with whites—and even with Negroes themselves."[4]

The Honorable Jonathan Bingham, of New York, also has observed that "the tragedy was that, when the call for 'Freedom Now' became 'Black Power,' and when orderly demonstrations gave way to antisocial acts and lawlessness, the opponents of Negro rights were given new encouragement and support . . . To already prejudiced and frightened whites, the Negro then became not so much mistreated, as the destroyer. The stereotype of the ghetto was reinforced: 'the Negro has no concept of law and order; he is violent; he is a danger to the rest of society' . . . As a result, we are in the midst of a new and destructive cycle: the white community is reluctant to support new efforts in the civil rights field. This results in Negro leadership taking to 'direct action' again, which in turn hardens white resistance."[24] As someone else has noted, "the situation may be causing certain paranoiac whites to see a black supremacist behind every tree."

The Danger of a Divided Nation

Myrdal isolated the risk this country runs of becoming two nations—"rich and poor, mobile and immobile, hopeful and hopeless, employed and unemployed"[16]—as the most pressing domestic danger. Although racist views are shared by both the relatively adjusted and maladjusted personalities in the American culture, and by those persons with or without any seemingly vested interest in the existing

intergroup structure, at the same time they tend to support, sanction, and enhance the maintenance of two or more economic and psycho-social worlds in nearly every community of our nation on the basis of race. These are the world of the majority group which is privileged, and the world of the minority groups which, almost without exception, is economically, socially, and psychologically disadvantaged. As a result, the overwhelming proportion of majority-group persons at no time have significant contact with persons of other groups of comparable or superior economic and social status to their own.

This problem is intensified and compounded by the increasing residential concentration of Negroes within the central core areas of cities, and the exodus of whites to suburban areas. As a result, and as emphasized by Eunice and George Grier,[9] during the past decade "Not merely neighborhoods, but whole cities are changing." The population of the District of Columbia, as an illustration, is now 54 per cent Negro and its public school system is approximately 85 per cent Negro. This pattern is rapidly extending to other metropolitan places. The Griers show that in recent years the largest numerical increases of Negroes have gone to the biggest cities, although the largest proportional gains have been experienced by medium-sized cities in the 100,000-500,000 range. Syracuse, Rochester, New Haven, San Diego and Fort Wayne, as examples, all saw their Negro populations approximately double in the past decade.

Unless very large-scale programs are undertaken and increased opportunities made available to all who are in need of them, not only will American cities of the future be largely Negro but also they will be largely

ghetto slums, coextensive with the cities themselves. Columnist Joseph Alsop feels that this process is going forward at a much more rapid rate than almost anyone supposes. Approximately one-sixth of our urban population—over 5,000,000 families — currently live in a slum environment. The vast majority of these families have incomes so low that they cannot afford a decent home and many of life's necessities. And, as Michael Harrington has said, "as long as the slum remains the foremost educational institution attended by the poor, there will neither be equality nor an end to poverty."[12]

Negroes as Major Victims

Although Negroes do not constitute the majority of the poor (7 out of 10 of the poor are white), they have always been the largest minority group in this country and the ones whose conditions of substandard living have been the most widespread and have persisted the longest. Thus, as someone noted, "It is absurd to compare the Negro to most other American minorities because of the greater degree to which the Negro has been oppressed . . . while the Irishman in America can believe that it is a rich cultural heritage that sets him apart, the American Negro will all too often believe that his people are only distinguished by a preponderance of bad qualities, and this has its dire consequences."[6]

Current anti-poverty efforts corroborate the known effects of these circumstances—the creation and maintenance of a "culture of poverty," "cultural deprivation," a "poverty syndrome," an "underclass" or social class subordination. It is well known that under these conditions, struggle and adaptation to the severest psychic and social stresses are an everyday experience and a way of life. Negroes in the Aid to Dependent Children

Program represent about 44 per cent of the case-load. Non-white families also contain approximately 40 per cent of all children under six in poverty. Admission rates to State mental hospitals continue to be considerably higher for non-white adolescents and adults than for whites.

It is hypothesized that emotional depression may be the prevalent life style of many lower-class members and that this depression has its origins in overwhelming anxiety associated with the powerful frustrations and threats which surround the slum-dweller from infancy to old age.

Anti-Social Behavior and Consequences

Welfare data persistently show higher rates of child abuse, child neglect, delinquency, crime, vandalism, and general social deviancy in the so-called "lower-lower class." Dr. Chilman of the U. S. Welfare Administration reports that the non-white individual has a particular source of frustration in American society in that there is no way he can move into full membership in the majority group through his own efforts and achievement. "No matter what behavior patterns he adopts, he remains nonwhite. So long as our society maintains a 'success image' as being Caucasian, the non-white person must experience, in one way or another, a sense of deviancy."[3] Thus, much of the pathological behavior which ordinarily carries a racial or nationality group label continues to be linked with lower class status with its accompanying social, psychological, and economic limitations.

It is *deja vu* to stress the all too familiar earmarks of the ghetto which constitutes an area segregated from the mainstream of American life — poor physical housing, crowded tenancy of rented quarters, inadequate water and heating facilities, lack of

trash removal, living quarters in or immediately adjacent to industrial activities, dangerous transportation congestion, obsolescent schools, non-existent or few recreational facilities, inadequately staffed clinics and hospitals. These, nevertheless, are the continuing conditions conspicuous to and highly correlated with racism in the lives of Negroes and several other minority groups.

In answer to the question of what happens to the neuroses and psychoses of the millions of the poor, psychiatrist Robert Coles says: "They live with them and die with them or of them. In cities, violence, vagrancy, alcoholism, addiction, apathy . . . high murder rates, high delinquency rates bespeak the hopelessness which becomes depression, the doubts which become paranoia, the confusions which become addiction, the frantic attempt to make sense of a senseless world which becomes drunkenness or sudden irrational ferocity."[5]

The Vicious Circle

While some Negroes have succeeded in their quest for the security of city life and a higher money income, possibly half of the group, however, continue to pay the price of great job insecurity. Lacking education and vocational training, and limited by discriminatory hiring and layoff practices, their employment opportunities continue to be largely restricted to relatively unskilled and semi-skilled occupation. Their jobless rates are still at least one and one-half times higher than for whites in every age-sex grouping, and for some age groupings the rates are three times as high.

Unemployment bears disproportionately on the Negro worker whatever his industry or occupation. As Secretary of Labor Wirtz remarked recently: "You don't need figures to

tell the truth about the place of most Negroes in American employment; you find it by looking out the back window to see who collects the garbage and by looking in the doors of migrant farm labor barracks in California and Florida."[25]

The vicious circle and effects of residential separation and housing conditions, lack of communication, lack of mutual participation, underemployment, unemployment, and the relegation of lower-class social status to minority groups enhance group loyalties on the basis of ethnic identity, entrench a caste-like separation of majority and minority groups, and foster intergroup tensions.

The oppression and pathology of the ghettos, the "dollar-gap" between the groups, differential job status, the continuing lack of access to broadened opportunities, and the demeaning circumstances of abject discrimination continue to frustrate and infuriate the Negro masses and other minority groups. Little wonder that Baldwin could observe that "to be a Negro in this country is to be in a state of perpetual rage."

Eric Sevareid astutely comments that, "if the Negro passion of today is not a true peoples' revolution, it is as close to one as we have ever known in our land. It is not when the oppression is most complete that these revolutions begin to resolve, but when concessions are given, hopes are born, and light is glimpsed at the end of the dark tunnel. It is when an oppressed people feels close to its goal, not far off from it, that their action becomes frenetic." Mr. Sevareid further explains: "Those who are cynical or upset by the moral duality in the Negro phenomenon, by the spectacle of lofty courage and self-sacrifice among the Negro leaders, side by side with the spectacle of spreading crime and moral squalor in the slum-bound masses of

the Negro poor, may learn that the first is a direct reflection of the second, its natural, not its unnatural partner. Desperation, like war, ennobles some among its victims and debases others."[20]

Some Socio-economic Implications

Someone observed that "the one thing that has been fully integrated in America is disadvantage." In this sense, the domestic protest movement spearheaded by minority groups now transcends the issues of civil rights and has become involved in issues of broad socio-economic significance. Low income, unemployment, or underemployment, and low educational attainment or inadequate housing place any person, irrespective of race, in disadvantaged competitive positions for attaining life's necessities. Today and in the forseeable future a large proportion of the aged, disabled, and the dependent, in most cases irrespective of race, are and will be unable in the future to earn a living no matter how they try. Presidential aide Joseph A. Califano reported recently (*N. Y. Times*, 4-20-67) that less than 1 per cent of the 7.3 million Americans on public welfare are capable of getting off the rolls. He pointed out that of the 7.3 millions on the rolls, 2.1 million, mostly women, are 65 or over, with a median age of 72; 700,000 are either blind or so severely handicapped that their work potential, if any, is extremely limited; 3.5 million are children whose parents cannot support them; the million others are the parents of those children—about 900,000 mothers and 150,000 fathers; and of the 150,000 fathers, two-thirds are incapacitated. "Only some 50,000 are capable of being given job skills and training that will make them self-sufficient," he said.

The Need to Disabuse Unfortunate Stereotypes

The nation must become disabused of many stereotypes, for this situation today is not confined to any one racial group. As noted earlier, (See *The Poor in City and Suburbs*, U.S. Social Security Administration, 1964), the white poor in the cities outnumber the nonwhite poor by more than a fourth, and among persons 65 or older—the nation's most poverty-prone group — the number of white poor in the central cities in 1964 was over five times as great as the number of nonwhite.

Irrespective of race, children and the women are the two groups in our nation today who are most exposed as high risks to health and social hazards. Children under 18 —about 70 million—make up nearly one-third of the population. Some 14.8 million of them live in poverty-stricken families. According to the President's Task Force on this subject there also are some 14 million women who today are experiencing a depressing and an impoverished existence. One American child out of 10 in the 5-to-17 age group shows signs of odd behavior warranting treatment (See Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, Oct. 18, 1966). Slightly more girls than boys leave school before age 16 and there is no significant difference between white and nonwhite girls in terms of dropout ages, or in the reasons given, which include adverse school experience, going to work, health, and unfavorable home conditions. (President's Task Force on the War Against Poverty).

Many present national concerns relate to economic factors such as the overall capability: to absorb workers within the economy on a basis commensurate with the nature of the population growth; to equate available manpower, irrespective of social identification, with the rapidly changing technological and professional requirements; and to improve the purchasing power commensurate with national productive capacity. Other broad domestic concerns include the need for expanded social insurance, income-maintenance programs, and the provision of improved health and educational opportunities, housing, public facilities, and requisite social services essential to lift the condition of those in need.

Some International Implications

It is clear also that the disaster of racism in America has many implications for international affairs. For many years the problem has been of major interest and importance to nations around the world, in earlier years being related to the successive waves of immigrants who came to this country and the particularly restrictive policies which applied especially to Orientals and persons of African descent. With the rapid development of world-wide communications, heightened travel and international involvements which have reduced the size of the world, the treatment by America of nonwhite foreign nationals in this country often has proven to be increasingly embarrassing. It is clear, as a consequence, that in the attainment of freedom of many newer nations in the past decade, American racism has become much more crucial in the decisions regarding the sympathies and alignment of these and other nonwhite nations than in the past.

It is necessary to repeatedly state that most of the 900 million people who attained independence since World War II are not Caucasian. And it has been said that "around the world tolerance for intolerance is running low: all over the world there is a strong revolt

against the myth of white supremacy. Many newer nations are struggling to shape their governments after the model of the democracies, but they continue to be perplexed by and suspicious of America's treatment of colored people." Many of these nations see a great gap between America's declaratory policy as over against its action policy with reference to the fundamental issues of major importance to them.

Even the matter of America's involvement in Vietnam for some persons has growing racial implications and the leadership of the Civil Rights movement in America is divided on the question of the role of minority group participation in the war as related to a possible diminution in the prosecution of the objectives of the movement. While this development has many tragic overtones, it is nevertheless, a fact of life and a reality with which we must cope.

Overview

The current state of affairs is much more serious than *ever before* between the whites and Negroes in this nation.

The Negroes of this country are the greatest victims of racist attitudes and practices. To be sure, Jews and other groups such as the Puerto Ricans also continue to confront problems of discrimination. Their problems seem to be not so much those of racism as of discrimination on the bases of national origins and religious differences. Racism continues to deny Negroes the vital recogntion of human dignity, the equal protection of the laws, and equal access to opportunity.

Even in the matter of legal justice, Negroes are less likely than whites to receive equal justice in judicial processes and many courtrooms because of the patterns of jury selection and the apparent racial hostility of many policemen and judges. Negro and white civil rights workers are still likely to risk violence and death in the effort to carry their work forward.

Eric Lincoln documented that "in 1963 thirty-five homes and churches were bombed in retaliation for racial protests, and at least ten people were killed and 930 demonstrations were held in the South alone." He reported that twenty thousand demonstrators were arrested, most of them from the militant student organizations. Hundreds of others were shocked by cattle prods, pummeled by high pressure hoses, bitten by dogs and beaten by policemen. In 1964, at least twelve churches were burned and three civil rights workers killed in Mississippi alone. In 1965, the murders of the Reverend James Reeb and Mrs. Viola Liuzzo in the civil rights struggles in Alabama are other examples of the backlash of racist groups in America to the forward strides of the Civil Rights Movement.[15] A report by the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee (*The Continuing Crisis*), states that "despite the laws, 114 acts of 'intimidation, reprisal, and violence' were committed in the South from September 1965 to February 1966 against Negroes who registered to vote or sent their children to white schools." This report warned that "white lawlessness" could easily trigger "retaliatory violence." A major news weekly has called attention to "those ugly reminders that there are still places in America where a black man takes his life in his hands by asserting his right to live."

As reported recently in an editorial of the *New York Times* (4-19-67), "in the cities of the North and West de facto school segregation, resistance to open housing legislation, and unrest among impoverished Negroes in

the slums have amply demonstrated that the problem is one for the entire society." The *Times* stated further in reference to the open housing provision of the pending Housing Bill before the Congress that "what is politically significant is that today this Bill evokes as much opposition in California as it does in Mississippi, and possibly even more."

The nation remains rigidly prejudiced in the matter of race and largely a psychologically and physically segregated society and culture. Racism contributes to the continuing poverty of perhaps half of the Negro population of our nation. It also compounds their alienation as poor people. This is to be recognized in their feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, anomia, and isolation.

Approaches to the Problems

The problems of racism must be approached in totality. Keys to its solution are to be found in the provision of equal housing opportunity, in equal economic opportunity, equal educational opportunity in integrated settings, equal health opportunity, equal justice, and in equal opportunity and access to vote. As noted a few years ago by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "the problem is seen at its sharpest and worst where all these factors are negative."[23]

Perhaps the most effective techniques available to combat racism are in and through the orderly processes of the laws and in the provision of opportunity and requisite services to all who are in need of them. While the laws might not change human behavior, they can alter the situation in which human behavior may operate. "The law is not merely a command and the government is not just a policeman . . . the law must be inventive, creative, and educational."

In addition, there is great need to become increasingly proficient in the massive delivery of services through improved methods of community organization and social action programs. Many excellent cues and clues to approaches are to be found in the developing experience of neighborhood service centers. A recent report on them indicates that the more than 800 centers that were established in the last few years "emerged from the vortex of the Negro Revolution, the Civil Rights movement, and the re-discovery of poverty in this country; they were shaped by sharp criticisms of inadequacies in employment, health, welfare, education, housing, and social services for people in the low-income areas of our cities."[18]

Approaches in six cities are cited: Mobilization for Youth and Haryou in New York City, United Planning Organization in Washington, D.C., Action for Boston Community Development, Crusade for Opportunity, located in Syracuse, and Community Progress, Inc., located in New Haven.

Haryou and UPO sprang from Negro ghettos that suffered the disabilities that attached to the status of the Negro in mid-century America. Haryou set its course toward determining "the most constructive way in which latent power in an apparently powerless community can be mobilized for desirable social change . . . the victims of community pathology were to be the 'chief instruments' for changing that pathology and resolving racial injustice."

The Mobilization for Youth neighborhood centers, not charged with responsibility for community organization and group services, were seen as "helping stations" to provide information to people about existing services, help them learn skills such as budgeting, aid them in dealing with large bureaucracies,

help with serious emotional difficulties, and in general bolster people's resources for coping with the grinding demands of everyday living on the Lower East Side.

The other cities developed different approaches. Action for Boston Community Development ("ABCD"), reasoned that the difficulty lay in the lack of "fit" between the values and the expectations of the control systems in society. "The avenue of repair," the report states, "was to change the knowledge of role requirements and skill in performing roles on the part of youth and of adults important in their lives, such as parents and teachers, and simultaneously to modify the expectations and reward-punishment devices of the control system."

Community Progress, Inc. ("CPI"), placed its emphasis upon "opportunity programs"—particularly skill training and job placement in the short run and education as the long-range avenue out of poverty. "Community action was defined as: (1) an emphasis on mass and group activities rather than individualized services; (2) action carried out through the community's basic institutions; and (3) utilizing the strengths of the inner-city, such as racial identity, a tradition of mutual aid, and the tendencies of lower-class children to be 'physical' learners."

Crusade for Opportunity in Syracuse was designed to increase channels of communication among residents, and between them and the community-at-large, with the expectation that this would reduce feelings of powerlessness and hostility and enhance social controls.

Basic strategies which have been adopted in the planning of these centers include the provision of services and the organization of neighborhood residents to participate in decision-making processes affecting their own lives and to take collective action to obtain better services, and thereby to become vital forces for social change.

For the health and happiness of the entire country, the conviction must be strong and total that racism in America can and must be overcome. It has been said that "America, which already has come closest to equality of opportunity than probably any other country, must succeed where others have failed."

Citizens can do many things. First, refuse to be silent. As the late Lillian Smith once said: "We can speak out for law and justice." Refuse to tolerate injustice. Our children must be immunized against the virus of race hatred. Faith in the full promise of America must be maintained. Work for the passage of good and just laws. Construct and participate in sound and workable community action programs. In the words of one of the ancient prophets: "We can deal justly with our fellow man . . ."

Men and women of goodwill can and must stand fast on the principle of the innate dignity of man and the inviolability of the human spirit.

The enemy within the nation's gates must be defeated with all the means, with all the humanism, and with all the intelligence and other resources at the command of our total population.

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Study Guide

by James M. Eagan

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This pamphlet foreshadowed many of the conclusions of the National Advisory Commission Report on Civil Disorders. It is to be hoped that organizations, individuals and study groups will use this material for discussion of Racism in America. The pamphlet should be used not only to touch off discussion of the problem but stimulate Americans to find ways in which the problem can be solved. The two Americas of which Dr. Douglass and the Kerner Report speak could well lead to fratricidal conflict. This is a priority American problem. Thorough study of this material may be a step in re-direction of the programs of individuals and organizations, so that this catastrophe may be averted.

Dynamics of Racism

Dr. Douglass asserts that American society inculcates racism in the young and reinforces it in the old.

1. What are some of the ways in which individuals and organizations can educate children and adults to avoid this education in racism? What changes in curriculum, in textbooks, in teacher training would this involve?

2. How could your organization use its influence to secure a positive educational approach to the problem? What changes are needed in the attitude of parents, of teachers, of clergy, of laymen? What is the best way of changing these attitudes?

Growing Intergroup Hostility

How can Negroes overcome the burdens of white racism? What is the connection between white racism and black racism?

Anti-Racist Racism

1. What are the positive aspects of black nationalism? How can black nationalism be used to overcome the feelings of inferiority of which Dr. Douglass speaks?

2. What are the practical problems of communication between white liberals and black power advocates? How may these be overcome?

The Danger of a Divided Nation

1. What are the dangers of a country which maintains two or more economic and psycho-social worlds in nearly every community?

2. How can we educate for scattered site housing to avoid the perpetuation of our ghettos?

3. What is the relationship between ghetto housing, jobs, education, transportation? What solutions can you find in your community? What can your organization do to help?

Negroes as Major Victims

1. How has the situation of the Negro with respect to discrimination differed from that of the white immigrant, the white poor?

2. What can be the effect of the emotional depression which surrounds the poor?

Anti-Social Behavior and Consequences

1. What is the relationship between prejudice, discrimination and the crime rate?

2. Can the crime rate be lowered by more effective policing?

3. What steps are to be taken to remove the fundamental causes of crime in the ghetto?

The Vicious Circle

1. How does prejudice against Negroes affect employment?

2. How does your organization, your church, your synagogue, your community score in terms of fair employment?

3. Are fair employment laws—city, state, federal—observed and enforced? If not, what can you do to hasten fair employment?

4. What comments do you have on Baldwin's statement "to be a Negro in this country is to be in a state of perpetual rage"?

5. To what degree are the riots the result of "the revolution of rising expectations?"

Some Socio-Economic Implications

1. To what degree does the problem of poverty now transcend the issues of civil rights?

2. How has our affluent society with its emphasis on the acquisition of material things made the situation worse?

3. What efforts are being made to train the hard-core unemployed? What are the major problems in such training? What is the

role of business, of labor union, of government in this training?

The Need to Disabuse Unfortunate Stereotypes

1. What is needed in terms of private, government and voluntary organizational help to break the cycle of poverty, both white and black?

Some International Implications

1. What have been the implications of racism for our foreign policy in Africa and in Asia?
2. As nationalism grows in newly liberated countries, how is the white racism of the United States likely to affect international relations?
3. To what degree does racism distort our view of the newly emerging nations?

Overview

1. What is likely to be the result if racism continues to deny jobs, equal education, fair employment, better housing to Negroes?

Approaches to the Problems

1. How can individuals through their schools, organizations, churches, synagogues and community, begin to tackle the problems of racism?
2. What approaches and techniques are being used in your community similar to those mentioned by Dr. Douglass?
3. What new approaches need to be made?
4. What goals can your community set for the solution?
5. What timetable can you set up for the solution?

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