

R6 453 SD Native Commission on Civil Disorders (10/2) Aug 1967 - March 1968

NOTES OF
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BEFORE THE
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*File in
Civil Disorders
Commission
file*

Monday, March 4, 1968

Introduction

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was of greatest importance.

Concluded inter alia that (1) unless we alter our present course, we are in grave danger of establishing within this country two separate nations and (2) that white racism has been responsible for creating and maintaining the ghetto and that the key to bringing peace and harmony to our cities lies in bringing about change in these attitudes and this situation.

During the past three years the Commission on Civil Rights has been investigating problems in our cities. Last fall we issued a report on the subject. It was an unusual report for us in that it was not a detailed technical analysis of the problems of - opportunity in a particular subject area. It did not contain any specific recommendations.

Instead, it is an effort to portray conditions and problems of ghetto life through the words of the people who live and work there. The primary source material was the testimony taken at four Commission hearings and several meetings of SACs throughout the Nation during the past two years.

The conclusions we reached in this report were strikingly similar to those reached in the Kerner Commission report. I would like to spend a little time speaking on the report because it may help you to see the basis for these conclusions. Perhaps also it will help to define the challenge we face as citizens and lawyers in seeking to deal with the problems of the cities.

Conclusion

- A few final words about the role of lawyers.
- When I first started - I held the view that problems in this area were primarily legal ones - and all that was needed was for to complete process of striking down laws and practices of discrimination and segregation and to get its decrees enforced. This view was naive - it grew out of limited perception of the problem.

Now the perception of the problem is much broader - we recognize we are dealing with the problems of racial discrimination combined with the problems of class discrimination - (economic and social deprivation). The tendency now is to go in the opposite direction - say that the role of lawyers is limited - or that he is irrelevant. The job is one for social scientists, city planners, etc... This view is also wrong.

The challenges for lawyers are many:

- (1) Emerging field and law and poverty - attacking institutions which exploit people in the ghetto - including government institutions. E.g. Legal challenges to lack of due process in welfare, public housing

regulations - maybe most effective way of giving people a stake in their own future, voice in decisions which affect them.

(2) Expanding concept of - protection of the laws - recent actions by NAACP legal staff in field of education. Directed toward proposition that state must furnish education on - turns throughout its jurisdiction. May eventually require restructuring of government in metro areas to prevent urban

(3) Devising new legislative remedies at all levels of government

(4) Devising the systems and procedures which assure that laws and policies once adopted will be carried into effect. Tremendously difficult problem in the Federal Government. (Title VI).

Law schools becoming responsive to need for lawyers to assume broader responsibilities.

- Hope that many among law students will resist of \$15,000 starting salaries at , Swain and Moore.

Translation of Mr. Taylor's penned in notes on Tony Downs' paper

Page 1, Para. A.

First comment - "I thought all these were aspects of racism."

Second comment - "May need revision."

Page 2, para. 3 - "The Commission is quite a phrasemaker."

Page 3

First comment - "As put forth Section appears to be overly dogmatic. Seems to say 'When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean.' Would help if it were said that while several kinds of definition, it is important to arrive at a working definition which will assist in solving problems."

Second comment - "Why not?"

Third comment - "Not clear under what circumstances such advising would not be racism. Perhaps an example should be given."

Page 4

First comment - "No! Separation, if imposed, is racist, even if by some chance equal facilities are provided."

Second comment - "A legal conclusion?"

Page 5

First comment - "many. Not sure 'most' is true especially in case of institutions chosen as examples."

Second comment - "This will convince very few people. You have to explain why it is the responsibility of a businessman to train a previously unqualified Negro so that he can qualify."

Third comment - "Isn't it racist principally because Negroes have been prevented from acquiring the necessary skills? Isn't it important to say this?"

Page 6

Paragraph 2 comment - "Distinction by employers doesn't work very well for me. Criminal records are thought to have some relation to potential job performance thus they may have to undertake 'the real cost' of assuming additional risks in the hiring of people."

Comment to left side of paragraph 2 - "Then why is it racist?"

Page 7

First comment - "Unless this is part of 1, it doesn't with the others."

Page 9

Only comment - "There is a need to explain why it is racism, presumably would not be if it were a result of self-segregation of both racial groups arrived at by exercise of free choice. But this is not the case. We need to point this out."

Page 10

Only comment - "What form of racism is this? Correlate-functional. Should we not build expressways at all?"

Page 12

Para 4, line 4 - Substitute "believe to be" for "are"

Page 13 -

Para. 6, lines 8 & 9 - Substitute "and situations" for "like 'cow' and 'wagon'."

Last comment - "I think specific example here would be helpful. It has been shown that teachers give more encouragement, e.g., by providing more time to answer questions, to students who they expect to perform well."

Page 14

Para. 8 - "A more important example either here or where employment is discussed previously is the informal network of communication by which information is spread about the availability of jobs. Negroes are usually outside the network, e.g., don't know any of the employees at the firm where jobs are available. This is not overt racism, but has a racist effect."

Page 15

First comment - Substitute "justification for" for "reasons why."

Second comment - Last line. "Like what?."

Page 16

Para. F - First comment is "awkward." Continues "There is hardly any historical reference at all to the point in the essay - Racism is a legacy of slavery."

Page 21

Comment at bottom of page. - "I don't have very much quarrel with the material pp. 16-21, but I wonder whether it really is necessary to the essay. If our purpose is to define institutional behavior which is racist or has racist effects, and to suggest ways to eliminate it, is it really necessary to get into a discussion of the roots of prejudice, which are very complex? If thought necessary, perhaps should be shortened by simply suggesting some of the principal economic and psychological causes identified by experts." (Seems to me that as Rustin has said, it is not necessarily good strategy to put all white Americans on the psychiatrist's couch.)

Page 27

Only comment - "This glosses over a very difficult problem. When you talk about "shifting resources," you are talking not simply about increased costs for public programs but redistribution and economic transfers. Statement on page 26 about increased productivity is not likely to persuade of such redistribution. If you want to be persuasive, it will require more exposition(?). Moreover statement as it stands seems to imply no effort at ghetto dispersal."

Page 29

Only comment - "This section seems to assume that almost all public economic activity is "makework," Also seems to exclude broad expansion of public employment in areas where needed. Author may believe this but I don't think he should impose his preference in this kind of essay."

Page 30 - What is the evidence of this?"

Page 32

Comment one - "More should be said here about what kinds of programs."

Comment two - "Examples would help here too."

Page 33

Only comment - "This may not be the only ultimate objective. Having people live together in peace and harmony may be an independent objective."

Page 34

First comment - "This seems to me a superficial treatment of a complex subject."

Second comment is not Mr. Taylor's - "This should be omitted. The CCR cannot advocate illegitimate means, regardless of the legitimacy of the end." (maybe Mr. Holman's comment)

Page 35

First comment - "Why should services which are usually thought of as a government responsibility be replaced entirely in Negro areas (why presumably continue in white areas)? Wouldn't this be a form of discrimination? A more useful proposal might be to supplement city services through such contracts, e.g., Pride, Inc., in D.C."

Second comment - Not Mr. Taylor's, perhaps Holman's - "Talk about racism!! Physician, heal thyself!"

Page 37

Only comment - "Implied here and elsewhere is the fact that separation breeds mistrust, fear and hostility - Perhaps this should be said somewhere?"

Page 39

Only comment - "Is this really even 'contact'?"

3 File

Mr. Holman

8/29/68

Staff Director

Anthony Downs' Essay

There is much that I like in the essay. But I also have numerous problems which are listed on the pages.

In addition, there is a problem of tone; the essay seems to me too preachy. If the document is principally for community leaders, it seems to me it could be cast in terms of describing for them the principal problems they will face and the principal tools available to them in mounting programs designed to overcome racism. Also, more frequent reference to the Disorder Commission and other books and reports might help to overcome the feeling that all this is ex cathedra.

One major omission is the absence of any treatment of the "law and order" problem.

There are also additional points I would make - including some spelling out how steps to redress racist practices can be of direct and tangible benefit to white citizens. One favorite example is schools; our Racial Isolation Report argues that steps taken to establish larger schools can result not only in integration, but in improved educational opportunity for all students.

Wish I had more time on this.

MEMORANDUM

July 31, 1968

To: William Taylor
Carl Holman

From: Anthony Downs

SUBJECT: Essay on White Racism

1. Enclosed are several copies of the rough draft of my essay on white racism as called for in our contract. Please feel free to suggest any changes which appear desirable to you.
2. This paper is probably too long. However, I adopted the strategy of including everything I thought relevant in the first draft, thereby giving you a chance to strike out what appears unnecessary. Also, the booklet itself will have to be longer than we originally envisioned since there will be so many detailed recommendations. Therefore, a longer essay may not be too harmful.
3. I believe it is imperative that we obtain and utilize reactions and ideas from a number of well-informed Negroes. Therefore, I hope you will designate as many people as you wish from whom you want criticism. I have additional copies in my office which I can send directly to such people. Please let me know who should be included as soon as possible.
4. At several points in this essay I have made statements critical of black racism as well as white racism. Some of these may appear rather gratuitous at first, but I believe they contribute to the impression of a balanced viewpoint, rather than a purely "anti-white" viewpoint. Therefore, I have included them to increase the credibility and acceptability of the essay to white readers. Please keep this in mind when evaluating such points.
5. The cover page identifies this essay as written by me. However, the remainder of the essay has no such identification. This gives you the option of circulating it either with or without such identification. Please indicate to me which form you want sent to whatever critics you suggest.

AD/kd
Encl.

THE NATURE OF RACISM IN AMERICA, AND HOW TO COMBAT IT

by Anthony Downs

SYSTEMETRICS

Prepared as Part III of a booklet entitled,
LOCAL ACTION RESPONSES TO THE REPORT OF
THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

Written under contract for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission

Washington, D. C.

July 1968

THE NATURE OF RACISM IN AMERICA, AND HOW TO COMBAT IT

A. Understanding Racism as a Prerequisite to Effective Action

The deprivation and injustice suffered by millions of Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and other minority-group members in our society are caused by a complex mixture of factors. These include historical developments, economic and physical conditions, technological and demographic trends, long-established institutional structures and practices, political forces, and social and personal customs and attitudes. Racism is only one of these many factors. In fact, it is not always the most important one. Therefore, any reduction of deprivation and injustice must involve actions aimed at many things other than racism.

Yet the harmful effects of racism upon the welfare of minority groups -- particularly black Americans -- are almost unbelievably pervasive. Those effects worsen the impact of nearly all other causal factors to some extent. Consequently, no attempts to improve the conditions and opportunities of all minority group members are likely to succeed until most Americans -- especially whites -- thoroughly understand racism, and recognize its many subtle forms in their own behavior and in the institutions around them. That is why the first part of this booklet presents a brief analysis of racism in America, and how to combat it.

B. Findings of the NACCD Report Concerning Racism

Among the most controversial findings in the NACCD Report are the following:

"What white Americans have never fully understood -- but what the Negro can never forget -- is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

"Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II."

These statements are controversial because many -- perhaps most -- white Americans do not believe they are guilty of racist attitudes or behavior. Most whites are far removed from direct contact with what the Commission called "the ghetto." Consequently, they do not see themselves as "deeply implicated" in creating, maintaining or condoning it. Most of all, they cannot understand why they should be held "responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II." How can they be responsible for riots and disorders among people with whom they have very little direct contact, and whose affairs have been -- and still are -- largely unknown to them?

*The Commission
is quite a
persuasive!*

The Commission did not clarify these accusations by explicitly defining "white racism" in its Report. Nor did it directly link that term with the many examples of racist institutional practices set forth throughout the Report. These omissions strengthened the antagonism of many whites to its findings. Therefore, any analysis of racism must ^{begin} by clearly defining this ambiguous term, and giving concrete examples of its various forms.

As put for
Section appears to be
greatly dogmatic. Seems to
say "When I use a word it
means just what I want it
to mean" Would help
if we were told that
while several
kinds of
definitions

C. What Is Racism?

Racism is any attitude, behavior, or institutional structure which subordinates or tends to subordinate a person or group because of membership in some race. Specifically, white racism subordinates or tends to subordinate Negroes.

It is
important
to arrive at
a working
definition
which will
assist
in solving
problems.

This definition has four important characteristics:

See p. 1

---Racism is not just an attitude; behavior and institutional structures can also be forms of racism. In fact, racist attitudes per se are not really significant unless they express themselves in behavior or institutional structure.

why not?

---Mere awareness or consciousness of race, or even taking it into account in making decisions or other behavior, is not necessarily racist. Racism occurs only when such behavior involves subordination.

---Racism can occur even if those carrying out the behavior or supporting the institutions concerned have no intention of producing racist effects, or are completely unaware of doing so. Thus, racism is not a matter of intent, but of result.

---Separation of races per se is not considered as racism unless it leads to or involves subordination of one race by another (including subordination of whites by Negroes). Consequently, advocacy of voluntary racial separatism is not necessarily a form of racism. Nevertheless, separation of groups is one of the oldest and most widespread devices for subordination in all societies. It is particularly effective in modern

not clear
what circumstances such
advocacy would not be
racism. Perhaps an example
should be given.

No! Separation,
if imposed,
is never, even if
by some channel
of equal facilities we
provided.

urbanized societies. This is true because it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to provide different but truly equal opportunities and facilities for separated groups living within an economically-integrated society.

A legal
conclusion

Racism is both immoral and unconstitutional. It is immoral because it unjustly subjects millions of people to degradation and humiliation, and contributes to the poverty of millions more, by placing them in subordinated positions because of a characteristic which provides no functional reason for inferiority. It is unconstitutional because it denies those whom it subordinates the equality of rights to which they are entitled under the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

D. The Four Major Forms of Racism

Racism -- particularly white racism -- assumes four major forms in the United States. Each of these forms also corresponds to a specific stage in the historic evolution of racism. The first form appeared earliest, the second next, and the third most recently. The fourth form ^{was} existed throughout American history, but has been most strongly emphasized since the development of mass media, especially television.

These forms can be described as follows:

1. Overt racism -- The use of race per se as a subordinating factor. Examples are the deliberate exclusion of Negroes from college fraternities, labor unions, law firms, and private social clubs. This type of conscious and deliberate

subordination by race is now considered wrong by (most) Americans. Consequently, it occurs far less than in the past.

many (not sure) most to be especially in case of the intentions of the person

2. Correlate racism -- Subordination by means of a factor other than race which is highly correlated with race. The results are very similar to those which would occur if race itself were the subordinating factor. Yet those engaging in such subordination can correctly argue they are not taking race into account at all, or at least not using it to subordinate anyone.

Correlate racism in turn has two major forms. The functional form occurs when the factor being used for subordination has some significant relation to the activities concerned. For example, most firms naturally demand that applicants for a job possess those skills required to do the job well. However, if nearly all the applicants who possess those skills are white, and nearly all those who are rejected because they lack those skills are Negro, then this is a racist policy by the above definition. It is racist even though the policy has an economically rational basis, and may involve no deliberate intent to subordinate by race.

This will convince very few people. You have to explain why it is the responsibility of a businessman to train a previously unqualified Negro. He should be able to qualify.

Isn't it racist principally because Negroes have been prevented from acquiring the necessary skills? Isn't it important to say this?

In contrast, non-functional correlate racism uses a factor for subordination which has no significant relation to the activities concerned. For example, some firms reject any job applicants who have a criminal record of any kind (other than for traffic violations). They do so even when ability to perform

the job concerned may have absolutely no relationship to certain types of past criminal records. Police practices in many low-income Negro areas create a very high probability that juveniles and young men living there will acquire police records. Often such records involve relatively trivial offenses associated with temporary periods of juvenile delinquency, or with no morally culpable behavior at all. If most of the Negro applicants for some job are rejected because they have such records, while most whites are not, then racism exists.

by employers

Clearly, there is an important difference between functional and non-functional correlate racism. Overcoming the functional form involves a real cost to society. Persons without skills must be taught to acquire them, or jobs performed less efficiently, if such racism is to be eliminated. It may not be reasonable to expect the individual employers or other parties engaging in this type of racism to bear these costs.

Distinction doesn't work very well for me. Criminal records are thought to have some relation to particular job

Then why is it racist?

Other undesirable traits besides low-skill-levels are in some areas highly correlated with race (for example, ill health or poverty). Functional correlate racism may also arise in response to these traits. The real costs of overcoming such racism should perhaps be borne by society as a whole rather than just those directly involved. In contrast, eliminating non-functional correlate racism imposes no real costs upon either society or the individuals concerned.

performance. These they may have to undertake "the real cost" of assuming additional risks in training of people.

all television programs depict an all-white society, except for a few programs featuring athletes, musicians, and news concerning civil rights and disorders. About 95 percent of all U.S. households watch television, and the average TV set is on from 25 to 35 percent of the time family members are awake. Hence both white and black Americans are constantly being exposed to the impression that "normal" American life concerns whites only. This tends to cause white viewers to be almost unaware of "normal" Negroes, Negro viewers to feel excluded from American life and therefore inferior, and both groups to more readily accept racial separation as "in the nature of things."

Although more Negroes have begun to appear on television in integrated settings in the past two years, it still depicts a largely segregated society.

True, American society is racially segregated; hence television can be defended as simply reflecting reality accurately. However, it almost completely excludes programs about the Negro part of American society except for a few documentaries which emphasize the separateness of Negroes.

More important, when they accurately reflect our racially segregated society, television and other mass communications media tend to perpetuate the status quo by reinforcing the viewers' direct perception that racial separatism is "normal," and integration is "strange and different."

Clearly, the last three forms of racism often involve extremely subtle behavior and deeply-entrenched institutional structures. Consequently, these types of racism normally inflict their

penalties upon Negroes and others without any conscious desire or effort among whites to impose such penalties, or even any awareness that those penalties exist.

This is the main reason why so many whites cannot understand or accept the charges of white racism made by the NACCD. These whites think of racism only in its overt forms, thereby failing to recognize the ways in which the other forms have permeated our society. Most of them no longer practice overt racism. Many even sincerely denounce and combat it. Moreover, they correctly argue that overt white racism has sharply declined in the U.S. in the past decade, thanks to civil rights laws and changes in the attitudes of many whites. Seeing this, they conclude that white racism altogether is disappearing from society. But this conclusion is false, because the other forms of white racism are still deeply embedded in our institutions and behavior.

E. Some Examples of White Racism

The pervasive and entrenched nature of racist behavior patterns and institutional structures in our society can be illustrated by the following examples:

1. The neighborhood school policy.

Grouping children who live near each other in the same school is a form of correlate racism in many big-city areas. This is true because housing markets are segregated by race; so basing school attendance boundaries upon housing patterns simply shifts racial segregation from housing to schools. Since there

presumably
There is a need to explain why it is racism, would not be if it

were a result of self-segregation of both racial groups arrived at by exercise of free choice. But this is not the case. We need to point this out.

is considerable convenience in having students attend schools near their homes, this type of correlate racism is functional rather than non-functional.

2. Expressways linking large downtowns and outlying suburbs.

*What form
of racism is
this?
concrete-functional.
Should we not
build expressways
at all?*

These high-speed roads make it easier for middle-income and upper-income families who work downtown to live in more distant suburbs. But housing segregation against Negroes is normally more rigid in those suburbs than in the large cities containing downtown employment centers. Consequently, almost all the persons moving out from most large cities are white. So the large cities become more solidly Negro and must take on all the local tax burdens of serving the lower-income Negro population; while the outlying suburbs become more white than ever and avoid those tax burdens. (In 1960 about 95 percent of all U.S. metropolitan-area population outside central cities was white, ^{and} but the growth in such population from 1960 to 1966 was 98 percent white.)

Moreover, many of these roadways have another racist impact because they have been built right through low-income Negro neighborhoods in large cities. Current compensation and relocation policies connected with urban highways unjustly impose very large penalties upon displaced households and those living nearby. Thus, poor Negroes bear heavy costs connected with building these roads. For example, over 85 percent of the families to be

displaced by proposed Interstate Expressways in Baltimore are Negro. In contrast, the main beneficiaries of these roads are downtown property owners and suburban automobile commuters -- who are almost all white and have relatively high incomes.

Undoubtedly, the authorities who design and build these roads and the people who use them are almost never motivated to do so by any desire to subordinate Negroes. Nor do most of them have any idea that their actions have this effect. Yet those actions have contributed to Negro subordination on a very large scale by making thousands of poor Negroes poorer, disrupting their neighborhoods, and furthering racial cleavages between large cities and surrounding suburbs. In fact, in many cities, construction of such roads could avoid racist impacts only if it were directly linked to other public programs designed to offset those impacts (such as improved compensation practices, or construction of new low-priced housing in suburban areas available to displaced Negroes).

3. Insurance practices in low-income areas.

Many private insurance companies refuse to insure commercial or other property in low-income Negro areas because of recent disorders. This may be an economically rational policy, but it prevents most large firms from building any stores in those areas. It also discourages small businessmen from doing so.

Consequently, those areas have the worst services in the city. Moreover, until recently, the Federal Housing Administration refused to insure mortgage loans where Negro families were moving into predominantly white areas. This practice made it difficult for many Negroes to obtain conventional home financing. It forced even families with good credit who wanted to buy homes to do so "on contract" at inflated prices and interest rates.

4. Union contracts on choice of schools by teachers.

Many teachers' unions have negotiated contracts with big-city school boards that allow the most experienced teachers first choice of where they will teach. Most of these teachers select schools serving middle-class white areas because the students ^{behave better} are more co-operative) the environments are more pleasant, and there is good-quality housing nearby. Consequently, schools serving low-income Negro areas are staffed mainly with the newest and least experienced teachers, even though the students in those schools are desperately in need of high-quality instruction.

5. Real estate practices.

Realtors normally show Negro buyers only housing in all-Negro areas or those where Negroes have begun to move in. Whites are shown only housing in all-white areas, and steered away from those where Negroes have begun moving in. Hence these integrated areas gradually become all-Negro. Also, the

boundaries for multiple-listing services are drawn so that one service rarely contains housing in both white and Negro neighborhoods. Moreover, at least before recent Federal legislation, thousands of realtors, home-owners, and builders practiced overt racism by simply refusing to rent or sell to Negro families, no matter what their economic or other qualifications.

6. School texts and teaching practices.

Many traditional materials and practices in American schools tend to make Negroes feel inherently insignificant and inferior, thereby generating low self-expectations considering their learning capabilities. Writers of nearly all American history texts have ignored the significant contributions by Negroes to our national development, other than those connected with slavery. Elementary reading and other texts usually depict only white children in middle-class suburban surroundings remote from the experience of many Negro children living in large cities. Even many intelligence tests rely on words like "cow" and "wagon" with which children living in city slums are not familiar. Such biased tests are often used to separate children into various "tracks" or "groups" within each age group. Experience shows that both self-expectations and the expectations of teachers about children's learning ability tend to act as "self-fulfilling prophecies" by powerfully influencing actual achievement. Thus all the practices noted above discourage Negro children from developing their maximum learning potential.

I think specific example here would be helpful. It has been shown that teachers show more encouragement, e.g. by providing more time to his own questions, to students who they expect to perform well.

7. Selection and design of urban renewal projects.

In most large cities, urban renewal has been used mainly to bolster downtown business districts by clearing out nearby slums and making room for expansion, or by up-grading existing commercial areas and building high-priced new apartments nearby. These policies have two racist effects. First, most of the persons displaced have been in poor Negro households. Renewal actually made them worse off by reducing the supply of low-cost housing available to them, forcing them to move to more expensive units, and failing to compensate them for these and other costs. Second, concentration of renewal efforts on aiding white downtown businessmen diverted resources away from the improvement of living conditions in slum areas. Yet such aid to the poor was the original justification for creating the urban renewal program.

8. Business hiring and employment practices.

Certain widespread business practices concerning employees tend to screen out mainly Negroes and accept mainly whites. These include refusal to hire persons with any police records at all, automatic dismissal of employees who have garnishments filed against them, advertising for help only in predominantly-white newspapers, requiring a high-school diploma for all jobs regardless of skill-level, and making written tests a prerequisite for all jobs. Some of these practices are quite reasonable from the employers' viewpoint. They save time and money by raising the probability that those who are hired will

This is not overt racism but has a racist effect.

A more important example is when employment is discussed previously in the informal networks of communications by which information is spread about the availability of jobs. Negroes are usually outside the network, e.g. don't know any of the employees or the firm where jobs are available.

do a good job. But they also screen out thousands of Negroes who would do a good job too, but never get a chance to prove it.

These examples clearly show that many serious racist effects spring from behavior and institutional structures that are regarded as "perfectly normal" by the vast majority of whites. There are almost always "sound" economic or other reasons ^{justifications for} why such behavior and institutional structures have been adopted. But such "soundness" has been calculated from the unconsciously-restricted "white-only" viewpoint that most Americans have been absorbing since birth. This viewpoint is simply not aware of the impacts of any action upon Negroes; so it does not consider such impacts in deciding whether or not the action is desirable. Therefore, white Americans do not realize how many of their everyday actions indirectly continue to subordinate Negroes and members of other minority groups. Such racist actions are not confined to the list set forth above; hundreds of other examples could easily be added.

Furthermore, many of these forms of racism are deeply embedded in long-established behavior patterns or institutions. It will not always be easy to change these things in order to eliminate their racist impacts. In some cases, such elimination may be impossible. Adoption of counterbalancing policies will be required instead. For example, it would surely be unwise for society to halt the building of expressways between downtowns and suburban areas because of their racist impacts. Instead, those impacts must be offset by other policies and programs deliberately adopted for that purpose. *like what*

F. How Racism Serves Certain Functions for the Subordinating Group

*awfully
There is hardly
any historical reference
at all to the point
in the essay*

Racism was originally developed because subordination of certain racial groups provides benefits to some members of other groups. Racism continues both for that reason, and because it has become embedded in behavior patterns and institutional structures which persist for entirely non-racist reasons.

*Racism
is a
legacy
of
slavery*

Racial subordination performs the following psychological, economic, and political functions for some members of the subordinating group:

Psychological Functions

1. Creation of feelings of superiority in comparison to the subordinated group.
2. Suppression of certain normal traits in oneself or one's group which are regarded as undesirable by projecting an exaggerated image of those traits onto an already-subordinated group, thereby imparting low status to those traits and "legitimizing" attacks upon them. For example, many American whites accuse Negroes of laziness, sexual promiscuity, and general irresponsibility. These are exaggerated versions of normal human impulses which the Puritan ethic long dominant in America seeks to suppress in favor of extreme industry, sexual purity, and individual self reliance.

3. Promotion of solidarity and reduced tension among white nationality groups by enabling them to focus the inevitable hostilities and antagonisms which arise in modern life upon the subordinated black group, and identify themselves together in contrast to it.

Economic Functions

1. Reduction of competition by excluding members of certain races from access to benefits, privileges, job or other opportunities, markets, etc. The ability to easily identify members of the subordinated group by sight is a key factor linking such reduction of competition to race.
2. Exploitation of members of the subordinated group by means of lower wages, higher prices, higher rents, less advantageous credit terms, poorer working or living conditions, etc. Slavery was the most extreme form of such exploitation. Where racial discrimination per se is illegal, racial exploitation probably cannot be effectively carried out unless spatial segregation by race exists. Then racial differentials in wages, prices, credit terms, and other policies can be more easily concealed, and even rationalized as based upon geographic differences.
3. Avoidance of certain undesirable jobs (like garbage collection) by creating an economically-depressed racial group which will be compelled by necessity to carry out those jobs, even though its potential skill levels are equal to those of other groups.

Political Functions

All the political functions of racism involve receipt by the subordinating group of a disproportionate share of the benefits which arise from political control over government. Their share is disproportionate because they prevent members of the subordinated group from receiving what they would get if true political equality prevailed. The benefits of political control over government include ability to control government actions and policies as well as jobs. Therefore, political racism is an extremely important device for maintaining other forms of racism.

Political racism occurs whenever:

- a. Whites prevent potential Negro voters from voting in order to maintain exclusive control over an entire governmental structure (such as a County government in the South), or some portion of such a structure (such as a ward in a Northern city), which would be controlled by Negroes if all enjoyed equal voting rights, since Negroes are a majority of the potential electorate in that area.
- b. Whites manipulate political district boundaries or governmental structures so as to minimize the ability of Negro voters to elect representatives sensitive to their needs. This includes "Gerrymandering" Congressional districts, creating "at-large" electoral

systems in big cities with significant Negro minorities, and shifting to metropolitan-wide government when Negroes appear likely to constitute a majority of voters in a central city.

- c. White administrative officials exclude Negroes from a proportionate share -- or any share at all -- of government jobs, contracts, and other disbursements.
- d. White or Negro politicians gain the support of Negro voters without providing reciprocal government policy benefits and other advantages to the same degree that they do to other parts of the electorate. This can occur when Negroes as a group feel themselves too subordinated in general to effectively demand such benefits, when competitive parties are somehow excluded from effective operation in all-Negro areas, or when voters are so poor they can be influenced by small monetary and policy rewards.
- e. Voters of one race withdraw their support from a politician of another race who has served them well, or refuse to support a clearly superior candidate of another race, and instead vote for a less-qualified candidate because he belongs to their own racial group. This kind of racism can occur among Negro voters in relation to a white politician, as well as among white voters in relation to a Negro politician. Even though the practice of basing votes on group

solidarity is traditional among American nationality groups, it must nevertheless be considered racist if it subordinates any candidate solely because of his race or nationality.

Scapegoat Functions

1. Blaming certain undesirable social conditions -- such as unemployment and high welfare costs -- upon "immoral" traits attributed to Negroes, when in fact those conditions exist primarily among whites, or are caused by entirely different factors. Such erroneous thinking enables many whites to avoid facing the difficult institutional changes or economic sacrifices necessary to cope with these conditions effectively. Furthermore, by thus falsely converting these conditions into "the results of sin," scapegoating provides a moral excuse for reducing economic support for the unemployed and the dependent poor. This allows middle-income whites to reduce the tax burdens arising from assisting others without experiencing any guilt from thus directly contradicting their own basic principles.
2. Diverting one's own energies from maximum self-improvement efforts by claiming that white racism makes any significant self-help attempts by Negroes ineffective and useless. Such "reverse scapegoating" occurs -- often unconsciously -- among many Negroes and other minority-group members. It is possible only because white racism does seriously inhibit -- though not entirely nullify -- Negro self-improvement efforts.

This phenomenon can lead to two opposite results: either excessive apathy or suicidal violence, including both self-destruction and suicidal attacks on whites (such as that in Cleveland in July, 1968). By helping to create such "reverse scapegoating," white racism encourages some Negroes to exhibit two of the very characteristics -- "laziness" and tendencies toward violence -- that it often falsely attributes to all Negroes.

The fact that the above functions produce benefits for some members of the subordinating group certainly does not imply that these benefits outweigh the costs of racism. In the first place, such benefits are wholly illegitimate, since they spring from unjust subordination of others. Second, creation of these benefits imposes immense costs upon millions of people in the subordinated groups. Finally, by preventing those people from developing their maximum productive potential, racism also inhibits them from creating much greater economic, social, and cultural wealth than they do now. This makes all of society poorer than it would be without racism -- including the very people who benefit from continuation of racist behavior and institutions.

I don't have very much problem with the material pp 16-21, but I wonder whether it really is necessary to the essay. If one purpose is to define motivational behavior which is racist or has racist effects, & to suggest ways to eliminate it, is it really necessary to get into a discussion of the roots of prejudice, which are very complex? If one thought necessary, perhaps should be shortened by simply suggesting some of the principal economic & psychological causes identified by experts.

(Seems to me that as Quinlan has said, it is not necessarily good strategy to put all white Americans on the "psychological" work).

G. Basic Strategies for Combatting Racism

You said that

Racism in America is extremely complex and deep-rooted. Consequently, only an equally complex and profound set of actions can possibly eliminate or counteract it effectively.

very repetitive

Nevertheless, the kinds of actions involved can be summarized under seven basic headings.

Each describes a basic strategy which aims at one or both of two essential objectives:

changing the behavior of whites so they will no longer consciously or unconsciously support

racism; and increasing the capabilities of Negroes and other minority groups so they can

overcome the handicaps it imposes.

The seven basic strategies can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Make all Americans -- especially whites -- more acutely conscious of the widespread existence and effects of racism in all its forms. Most Americans are now conscious of overt racism, and usually oppose it. But the vast majority of whites are completely unaware of the more subtle ways in which they, themselves, continue to subordinate Negroes and other groups. Therefore, a crucial task facing those who wish to combat racism is convincing whites that it is not just overt subordination of minorities, but also includes all the other less obvious forms defined and described above.

This process of education will never work if it consists solely of some people "lecturing" others. Rather, it must involve intense participation by two types of people. First, various groups of whites must thoroughly examine their own

behavior in order to uncover all the subtle and unconscious forms of racism embedded in it. This should be done by teachers concerning racism in schools, by property managers and realtors concerning racism in real estate practices, by personnel directors concerning racism in employment practices, etc.

Second, whites must overcome their habitual exclusion of Negroes and other minority-group members in this process of self-examination. Whites, themselves, are not likely to discover all the forms of subordination they impose on Negroes and others without the help of the latter. This may require planned confrontation of whites by Negroes or others who deliberately take an accusing posture, or simply insightful advice from well-informed members of minority groups. Confrontation has the advantage of arousing powerful emotions that make it a memorable experience. It also virtually compels the whites involved to face -- at least momentarily -- certain facts and attitudes which were either completely unknown to them, or which they would rather forget. But, in any case, the process of white self-examination must incorporate significant contributions from Negroes and others, or it will embody a form of racism in itself.

2. Create recognition among all Americans that overcoming the burdens of racism will cost a great deal in terms of money, time, effort, and institutional change; but that this cost is a worthwhile investment in the future which both society as a whole and individual taxpayers can bear without undue strain. There is no

precise way to estimate the costs of significantly reducing the impacts of racism in the United States. However, the recommendations set forth by the NACCD embody a program that would probably accomplish a major part of that job and would greatly reduce poverty and deprivation among whites too. Rough cost estimates of this program indicate that its many components would add from \$15 to \$40 billion per year to the federal budget, depending upon exactly at what levels certain programs (such as building new housing and raising support payments for poor dependent families) were carried out. These costs are roughly equivalent to from 1/5 to 1/2 of one percent of our gross national product of about \$800 billion per year.

To some extent, such costs could be financed through future increases in federal tax receipts that will occur without any rise in tax rates. Because the federal tax structure is progressive (that is, it contains higher percentage rates for higher dollar incomes), federal tax receipts rise automatically as American families earn higher incomes. Moreover, these receipts go up faster than national income as a whole. This "national dividend" has been estimated to be at least \$14 billion per year, or over \$150 billion in the next decade. However, a significant portion of it must be spent on programs which have already been adopted with built-in future cost increases. Therefore, some increase in federal taxes might be needed to launch a major program against racism and deprivation along the lines suggested by the NACCD.

In 1967, the federal government collected \$97.4 billion from individual income and employment taxes, and \$31.3 billion from corporate income taxes. A ten percent increase in such collections would have produced an added \$12.9 billion. The President's Council of Economic Advisors estimated that federal receipts from these taxes alone would rise over \$20 billion from 1967 to 1969. A survey recently completed by the NACCD indicated that over half of all white adult respondents would be willing to pay ten percent more in income taxes to carry out the kind of program set forth in the NACCD Report. Thus, although the money costs of combatting racism and deprivation are very large, it would be possible to pay those costs without placing any overwhelming strain upon either the economy as a whole or most individual taxpayers.

What does
this
mean?

But the costs of effectively combatting racism are not limited to money alone. Most Americans would have to re-examine and perhaps change their own behavior patterns and many of the structures and practices of the institutions that serve them. This might impose significant psychological costs upon some people -- especially those who now benefit either consciously or unconsciously from racism. Yet those costs would surely be tiny compared to the psychological gains which presently-subordinated groups would gain through freedom from unjustly-imposed inferiority. Moreover, all Americans would gain greater pride in the justice of American society.

More important, all the costs necessary to combat racism and deprivation are essentially investments in a greater future output. These investments would gradually increase the economic and other capabilities of millions of persons whose potentials are now inhibited by racism and poverty. Since there are over 20 million Negro Americans, and millions of other Americans in smaller minority groups, a significant increase in their economic, social, cultural, and political productivity would add immensely to future benefits shared by the entire nation. These gains would significantly or perhaps completely offset the costs required to make such an investment.

Thus, this strategy for combatting racism consists of gaining widespread recognition among Americans for three key points:

- a. Reducing racism effectively will require significant economic and other investments now and in the near future.
- b. The costs of these investments are large, but they can be borne by our economy and by American taxpayers without undue economic strain.
- c. These investments will produce very significant economic and other benefits in the future in addition to the reduction of human injustice.

-27- of such redistribution...
Want to be persuasive, it will require
more information. Monetary Statement

3. Express strong political support for key national policies concerning housing, education, civil rights, employment, welfare programs, tax reforms, and other measures with anti-racism effects. Many problems associated with racism cannot be effectively solved, or even attacked, by local or state governments. They are inhibited by lack of financial resources within their boundaries, or competitive pressures from other cities or states which force them to keep taxes down. Older central cities containing large Negro minorities are especially incapable of supporting effective anti-racism policies by themselves. The concentration within their boundaries of low-income groups requiring expensive services, plus the shift of most new growth to suburbs, causes them to sustain rapidly rising costs while their real property tax bases stagnate or decline. Only the use of nationwide taxing powers can effectively shift resources from wealthier areas to where the problems associated with racism are now most concentrated.

Seems to imply no effect at all

Yet, Congress has been reluctant to launch many of the programs suggested by the NACCD. So far, its members have perceived very little support for such programs among their white constituents. Until such white political support is both created and forcefully expressed to Congressional representatives, no effective nationwide attack on racism is possible. Because the white middle-class constitutes a large majority of the American electorate, no significant federal programs can possibly be adopted unless they are supported by a great many Congressional representatives of that group. Therefore, however tiresome and

This glosses over a very difficult problem. Why are we talking about "shifting resources" you are talking not simply about an increased cost for public programs but redistribution of resources for public programs. a P.L. about in increased productivity which is knowledge

Statement

unexciting it may seem, keeping informed about national legislation and writing one's local Congressman to support appropriate measures comprise an essential strategy for combatting racism. Equally significant is persuading other citizens -- especially whites in areas where few Negroes live -- to do likewise.

Yes, but how?

4. Influence local, state, and national policies and programs (both public and private) so they have certain characteristics which will reduce their possible racist effects. These characteristics include:

- a. Avoidance of any action or arrangement that unnecessarily produces, sustains, or emphasizes differentiation by race, or even by social and economic class. For example, current public housing regulations require that all the families living in a public housing project must have very low incomes. This tends to stigmatize such projects as undesirable, especially if they become dominated by broken multi-problem households. Conceivably, public housing projects could contain a majority of stable, moderate-income families who paid higher rents. Then they would not be differentiated as for low-status households only. Similarly, locating all the public housing projects in a city so that almost all the occupants are Negroes has racist effects. This practice causes most whites to identify the need for public housing with race, even though over half of all low-income persons in U.S. central cities

are white. When policies and programs become differentiated by race, white racism often causes several undesirable results. First, support for such programs often declines because many whites do not want to aid Negroes. Second, the belief among some whites that Negroes are excessively dependent and therefore inferior to whites is reinforced. Third, the participants in the programs are exposed mainly to other minority-group or deprived people, and their own sense of differentiation and inferiority is reinforced.

- b. Emphasis upon participation by, and within, the private sector rather than dependency upon government at any level. The vast majority of economic activity in the U.S. is carried out by the many parts of the private sector. With a few notable exceptions, this activity is largely self-supported and relatively independent of political decisions. It would therefore be desirable to transfer as many persons now dependent upon public support as possible to positions in the private sector where they were essentially self-supporting. This conclusion does not imply that positions in government are not productive or desirable. However, the natural tendency in trying to provide jobs, support, training, or other benefits to all who need them will be to rely on direct government action. This is true because the extra costs of these

This section seems to assume that public economic activity is undertaken by individuals. Also seems to be a broad expansion of public employment in areas where needed. Author may believe this but I do not think he should impose his preference on the rest of the world.

activities must be borne by the public as a whole through government funding. Emphasis upon private-sector participation is thus merely a desirable counter-force to this natural tendency.

Furthermore, it is vital that society avoid making low-income Negro neighborhoods in big cities almost totally dependent upon public expenditures. Such dependency discourages initiative among residents, reinforces their feelings of inadequacy and inferiority, results in a very low standard of living because of legislative economizing, and tends to confirm existing stereotypes in the remainder of society that the residents are inherently lazy and incompetent. Experience with American Indians conclusively demonstrates the failure of such "public reservations." Hence direct participation by the private sector should be encouraged in all remedial programs devised to assist such areas, including education, job creation, training, housing, and even welfare administration.

What is the evidence of this?

No

However, such private participation does not mean that the private sector will, or should, bear the inescapable extra costs of such activities. Training unskilled workers, or teaching low-achieving students, or building housing and pricing it so that poor families can afford it, all cost more than those who are benefited can either pay themselves, or provide through their participation.

-51-

These extra costs are the real costs of eliminating accumulated deprivation, poverty, ignorance, and racism. It is unreasonable and naive to expect private firms to bear these costs themselves, any more than they bear the costs of achieving other public objectives, such as building highways or putting a man on the moon. Private participation should be encouraged not primarily to reduce costs, but rather to tap the many talents in the private sector, to get more of its members personally "involved" in combatting racism and poverty, and to reduce the ultimate dependency of those being aided.

c. Use of a metropolitan-area-wide geographic focus whenever possible.

Carrying out housing, employment, health, and other programs on a metropolitan-wide basis will discourage the development of geographic separatism, and encourage a realistic view of each metropolitan area as an economically-integrated whole. At present, racial cleavages on a geographic basis within metropolitan areas are increasing. ~~At~~

224 U.S. central cities as a whole were 21 percent Negro in 1966.

But over 100 percent of their population growth was Negro from 1960 to 1966 (they lost white population). In contrast, the portions of metropolitan areas outside central cities were 95 percent white in 1966. And their population growth was 98 percent white from 1960 to 1966. In most of the largest metropolitan areas, if present trends

continue, central cities will contain Negro majorities within two decades; whereas the surrounding suburbs will be almost entirely white. Some possible adverse results of this situation are pointed out in Chapter 16 of the NACCD Report. Conducting programs aimed at reducing racism on a metropolitan-wide level will at least maintain communications between these two racially diverging areas, and may help to counteract emerging racial separatism.

More should be said here about what kinds of programs.

- d. More effective and sustained communication between whites and Negroes or other relevant minority-group members in designing, carrying out, and evaluating the programs, policies, and actions concerned. Too often, programs or policies intended to benefit

Negroes, Mexican-Americans, or poor people in general are designed and executed by middle-income white officials without extensive consultation with, and employment of, the beneficiaries.

As a result, the programs or policies concerned often fail to achieve their objectives for completely unexpected reasons. They prove insensitive to certain vital aspects of the situation which never occurred to the designers or administrators. Moreover, such practices perpetuate the dual isolation of both racial groups, thereby missing an opportunity for developing "normal" cooperation between their members.

Examples would help here too

5. Build up and encourage greater Negro and other minority-group capabilities for, participation in, and control over public and private activities and programs affecting members of these groups. This strategy embodies the ultimate objective of all the others: enabling presently-subordinated groups to achieve their maximum potential. The capabilities concerned therefore include all types: economic, political, social, aesthetic, and cultural. It is especially crucial to build up these capabilities through providing Negroes and other minority group members with direct experience in designing, running, and evaluating programs and activities in their own neighborhoods. This includes both public and private activities.

> This may not be the only ultimate objective. Having people live together in peace is harmony. maybe an independent objective.

Four key observations are relevant to this strategy:

- a. It is closely related to the concepts of "Black Power" and "Black Nationalism," but it need not involve geographic separatism. Undoubtedly, one effective way to build up Negro capabilities quickly is to ^{have} Negroes dominate most public and private activities in predominantly-Negro neighborhoods. This includes the design as well as the execution of such programs. Moreover, Negro economic resources can be generated fastest if most Negroes and even many whites deliberately direct their consumer trade and other business to Negro-operated stores, banks, service firms, professional firms, restaurants, etc.

This involves at least some deliberate racial discrimination against whites in these areas. Hence it appears to be a form of "reverse racism." Nevertheless, most Negro businessmen, politicians, administrators, and professionals probably cannot attain independence and prosperity without the benefit of at least some such black racism. They need it to offset the continuing adverse effects of white racism. For example, Negro politicians are clearly less likely to win office in predominantly white or integrated areas than they are in all-Negro areas because of the anti-Negro attitudes of most white voters. Similarly, Negro businessmen are not likely to be able to compete successfully in predominantly-white areas because of continued racist attitudes among white consumers.

*this scenario
is a superficial
treatment
of a
complex
subject.*

*This should be
omitted. The CCR
cannot advocate
illegitimate means,
regardless of the
legitimacy of the end.*

Therefore, in order to encourage the rapid development of political, entrepreneurial, and other skills among Negroes, it is probably essential to start in predominantly-Negro areas, and to make use of some black racism. As long as only strictly legal forms of consumer persuasion are used, and the quality of service to consumers is not significantly reduced, such "reverse racism" can perform a vital function in carrying out this basically anti-racism strategy.

*What's
the
point?*

- b. One important device for developing Negro and other minority-group business capabilities is the "third-party contract" for

providing both public and private services. For example, instead of having a government agency clean the streets, local government could contract that function in mainly-Negro areas to a Negro-owned-and-operated firm organized for that purpose. Similarly, private white-owned firms procuring or providing services in mainly-Negro areas should make every effort to use Negro-owned-and-operated firms, or Negro franchise operators, as intermediaries between them and their final customers. In some cases, it will take major efforts by the white firms concerned to help Negroes organize such firms and manage them successfully. These efforts constitute a major input which whites can contribute to the success of this basic strategy.

Why should
services
which are
usually
provided
by the
government
responsibility
city has
replaced
actively in
Negro
areas with
private
business
in white
areas?
Why is it
that has been
form of
discrimination
A more
useful
proposal
might be
to supply
city services
through
such
contracts,
e.g.
Public Tr.
in D.C.

c. *Talk about
racism!
Physician heal
thyself!*

Certain aspects of programs or activities being operated in low-income areas by Negroes or other minority-group members for the first time may not measure up to performance standards long-established in white communities. The history of other nationality groups -- such as the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Poles -- indicate that locally-controlled activities were at first -- and sometimes persistently -- marked by corruption, inefficiency, struggles for control, wrangling, and other imperfections which presently-middle-class whites conveniently tend to forget. Yet local control of such activities also results in greater sensitivity to important

aspects likely to be ignored or aggravated by "outsiders" (such as white police attitudes toward minority-group members). Moreover, unless such local control exists to a significant degree, the minority groups concerned will never develop the capabilities necessary to eventually achieve those performance standards now considered "normal" by most middle-class whites. Therefore, whites must be cautious about judging the quality of performance of activities being newly-operated by Negroes or other minority group members in their own communities.

- d. One of the objectives of this basic strategy is to equip Negroes and other minority-group leaders with much greater bargaining power in dealing with whites. This would enable such leaders to more successfully persuade whites to carry out some of the institutional and behavioral changes necessary to eliminate racism. For example, a Negro mayor of a large city who can form a coalition with Negro councilmen to control local property tax rates is in a strong position to influence white-dominated employers there to alter discriminatory hiring practices. Similarly, a Negro-dominated union of hospital workers might be able to persuade all hospitals to adopt non-discriminatory policies toward Negro and other doctors and patients. Thus, the more successful this strategy is in building Negro and other minority-group

capabilities, the more likely it is that conflicts will arise between these minorities and some or all of the white majority. Consequently, this strategy embodies significant risks of at least temporarily "back-firing" and generating anti-minority sentiments. Those whites who support this strategy should be well aware of these risks, and prepared to counteract such sentiment in themselves as well as others. Yet no efforts to combat racism in America can succeed without greatly building up the power and capabilities of Negroes and other presently-subordinated minorities, since prevention of such a build-up is the essence of racism.

- 6. Search out and develop alliances of Negroes and whites organized to obtain common practical goals, particularly in combatting racism. At present, white and Negro communities in most American cities act almost completely independently of each other. This is true in nearly all social, economic, and other non-governmental activities, though somewhat less so in relation to government. Even efforts to combat racism tend to be conducted separately by both communities. As a result, those efforts are frequently far less effective than they would be if members of each community shared the insights, experience, capabilities, and contacts of the other. Leaders in both communities should therefore take the initiative in organizing and carrying out well-defined joint projects (perhaps of existing organizations) to reduce racism.

at 4 pages here & description are to be shelved or put in separate file perhaps this should be shed.

Implied here and elsewhere is the fact that separation breeds mistrust, fear, hostility - perhaps this should be said somewhere

One especially effective type of project would link influential whites with members of low-income Negro communities. They could jointly support continuous surveillance and evaluation of the quality of various local and national programs in those communities. The programs involved could include everything from garbage collection to on-the-job training. The whites could bring their influence to bear upon local and national government and private officials, using information and insights furnished by Negro observers living in the affected areas. This would in turn greatly enhance the effective power of Negro residents and their influence upon the design of future programs. Governments in particular are inherently ineffective in carrying out self-evaluations; so this function could be extremely important in improving the effectiveness of government action in low-income minority-group neighborhoods.

7. Create many more positively-oriented contacts between whites and Negroes or other minority-group members --- including personal contacts, inter-group contacts, and those occurring through mass media. It is an unfortunate fact that most whites have few, if any, personal friends or even acquaintances who are Negro, and vice versa. The resulting dearth of "normal" contacts between people of different races but of like interests and capabilities is one of the main reasons why erroneous prejudices and rumors continue to flourish in each community about the other. Moreover, many inter-racial contacts which do occur (such as those between white police and Negro citizens, or white

is this really
even "contact"?

television viewers and Negro rioters shown in newscasts) are negatively rather than positively oriented. Therefore, persistent efforts to increase positively-oriented contacts between races should be made by private individuals, private groups, and the mass media (which have markedly increased such contacts in the past two years).

The seven strategies described above are not mutually exclusive; nor do they exhaust all the possible ways to combat racism. Yet they encompass the key approaches that must be carried out over the next few years -- and decades -- if racism is to be reduced to an insignificant factor in America. Later parts of this booklet describe many detailed actions appropriate to specific organizations seeking to carry out these strategies in their own communities.

40
additional
acknowledgment

H. Conclusion

Americans seeking to combat racism should understand three final points. First, racism in this country is the product of over 300 years of systematic subordination of Indians and especially Negroes by the white majority, plus later subordination of still other groups. The racist attitudes, behavior patterns, institutional structures, and cultural heritage built up over these three centuries are profoundly embedded in our society. They cannot be eradicated overnight, or in just a few years, or perhaps even in a few decades. Therefore, effectively combating racism will require continuous and prolonged persistence by both whites and Negroes. They must be deeply committed -- indeed, dedicated -- to this goal.

Americans ^{who?} are not noted for their persistence in difficult and frustrating endeavors. In fact, there are signs that many white Americans are already tired of hearing about "the race question."

Because most whites conceive of racism only in its overt forms, they believe it is rapidly disappearing or has already diminished to an insignificant level. For example, in 1966, 70 percent of the national sample of whites interviewed by the Louis Harris organization thought that Negroes were moving too fast toward intergration. Therefore, efforts to combat non-overt forms of racism by those who understand how widespread they remain are likely to be resisted by ^{many} ~~a majority~~ of whites.

This leads to the second point: the principal task of those white Americans combating racism lies within the white community, rather than within the Negro community. As pointed out earlier, no policies or programs aimed at improving conditions in black America can possibly

succeed unless they are politically supported by a majority of whites. Such support is essential to obtain the money and institutional changes required to improve those conditions. Yet that support will not be forthcoming unless most whites significantly alter their present views concerning racism. Many whites, especially those living in suburbs, are almost completely isolated from any direct contacts with life in Negro ghettos. Hence, they fail to perceive the compelling need for further remedial actions there. Moreover, they do not understand how correlate and self-separating and perceptual racism work. Therefore, these whites think the plight of Negro ghetto dwellers is largely their own fault, rather than largely the product of racism and deprivation beyond their control.

Only two forces can change this dominant view. The first consists of the dedicated efforts of well-informed white leaders within white communities who understand all forms of racism, and why much more must be done to eradicate them. The second is development of greater capabilities and power within the Negro community, particularly in low-income ghettos. By its very nature, this development must occur primarily through the efforts of Negroes themselves. Once such development begins, it will better demonstrate the true potentialities of black Americans, and give their leaders a stronger bargaining position from which to influence public and private policies. These changes may in turn persuade the white majority to devote more resources to the task of still further developing Negro capabilities, both in Negro communities and throughout society.

Thus the process of overcoming racism involves a continuous feedback between changing the views of the white majority, and expanding the capabilities and power of the Negro community,

especially its more deprived segments. It is clear that the most critical role in this process for whites fighting racism is influencing the opinions of other whites. Similarly, the most critical role for Negroes is developing their own communities.

This conclusion certainly does not imply that no whites should work in Negro areas, or vice versa. In fact, such joint action is one of the seven basic strategies for combatting racism. But the predominant efforts of whites in this combat should nevertheless involve those strategies focussed upon the white community itself. For no one else can carry out those strategies -- yet without them, the entire struggle is doomed.

The final point is that opposing racism is indeed a worthy objective for all Americans. It is in the highest tradition of democracy to promote equality of opportunity and freedom of choice for all citizens in fact as well as in theory. But such equality and freedom cannot exist as long as racism continues to operate through long-established and pervasive institutional structures and behavior patterns. No other single issue in domestic affairs has more profound implications regarding America's success in achieving its own ideals, or the kinds of social changes that must be carried out to attain them. That is why a clear understanding of racism and how to combat all its many subtle forms, plus a strong dedication to doing so, are essential characteristics for every true American.

Follow up to Kern.



GUIDE

for the use of
YWCA MEMBER-LEADERS
for

YWCA DIALOGUE GROUPS

in

Community and Student
Associations
and in YWCA-USO Clubs

OFFICE OF RACIAL INTEGRATION
NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

The YWCA of the U.S.A. ...

... Seeks to Respond to the Barrier-Breaking Love of God in This Day ...

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Are White Liberals Obsolete in the Black Struggle?
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We acknowledge with gratitude the generosity and cooperation of all
who have made this kit possible.

PREFACE TO DIALOGUE

"The black man needs the white man
To free him from his fear.
The white man needs the black man
To free him from his guilt."

Dr. Martin Luther King, in his words quoted above, clarified a reality that has much to do to create a climate for dialogue within the daily context of a society torn by racism.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is suggested as the basic text for dialogue. The Commission with its action recommendations makes vital points like the following:

"The tragic waste of human spirit and resources, the unrecoverable loss to the nation which this denial has already caused--and continues to produce--no longer can be ignored or afforded.

"Two premises underlie the work of the Commission:

- . That this nation cannot abide violence and disorder if it is to ensure the safety of its people and their progress in a free society;
- . That this nation will deserve neither safety nor progress unless it can demonstrate the wisdom and the will to undertake decisive action against the root causes of racial disorder.

"This report is addressed to the institutions of government and to the conscience of the nation, but even more urgently, to the minds and hearts of each citizen. The responsibility for decisive action, never more clearly demanded in the history of our country, rests on all of us.

"We do not know whether the tide of racial disorder has begun to recede. We recognize as well we must that the conditions underlying the disorders will not be obliterated before the end of this year or the end of the next and that, so long as these exist, a potential for disorder remains.

"But we believe that the likelihood of disorder can be markedly lessened by an American commitment to confront those conditions and eliminate them--a commitment so clear that Negro citizens will know its truth and accept its goal. The most important step toward domestic peace is an act of will; this country can do for its people what it chooses to do."

This kit for a Call to Dialogue and Action

- 1) provides some guidelines for YWCA member-leaders in organizing dialogue groups,
- 2) focuses the kind of dialogue that will be truly relevant to the racial crisis,
- 3) raises certain questions which must be faced now in the face of the crises in communities across the nation,
- 4) includes suggestions and resources for enhancing the quality of dialogue,
- 5) sets in motion what must become a base for effective action for change.

Other materials will be added as the situation demands and reports and requests indicate.

* * * * *

THE SETTINGS

Living room, dormitory room, or community rooms in housing projects are good settings and provide a relaxed, informal atmosphere

- 1) for those deeply committed to racial justice and love -- they are needed in the outreach especially to the uncommitted;
- 2) for those who do not feel prejudiced but who in plain words are lukewarm or downright cold about "civil and human rights" -- they need to discover for themselves the significance of affirmative action;
- 3) for the admittedly prejudiced (harder to find nowadays) -- they need the encouragement of someone they trust in a supportive climate to give them the courage to risk exposure;
- 4) for the tired liberals who question the value of the past efforts -- they need to gain new perspective on the nature of racism in our society.
- 5) for the alienated and socially isolated -- they need to be heard in a supportative climate in which life can be shared as it is.

* * * * *

FAITH WITHOUT WORKS IS DEAD

OUTLINE OF ACTION ELEMENTS FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

ACTION

Seek with Others to
Understand the Situation

Recognize the Nature of
Racism

Face the Realities
of a Racist Society

Test the Realities of
Power and Powerlessness

Acknowledge the Need to
Change Our Minds and
Hearts

AIDS

Guide to
YWCA Dialogue

June 1968 issue:
The YWCA Magazine

Face Sheet - "The Negro
in the United States"

"Examining Your Community":
A Guide
Martin Luther King:
Why We Can't Wait

Report of the National
Advisory Commission on
Civil Disorders
The YWCA Magazine, June 1968

Report of National Advisory
Commission on Civil Disorders

ON OPENNESS - Grace L. Elliot
and Jean Elliot Johnson

DEEPEN INVOLVEMENT

Draw together a group of
diverse life experience--
race--poor--youth--age--
middle class.

Compare unemployment rates,
educational levels, incomes,
recreational and cultural
opportunities for black and
white.

Have every member examine
findings of the community
audit task group. "What
is it really like in our
town?"

Draw upon individuals with
special knowledge and
experience in civil and
human rights.

Draw in resource leadership
knowledgeable about social
conditions.

Outline of Action Elements for Racial Justice

<u>ACTION</u>	<u>AIDS</u>	<u>DEEPEN INVOLVEMENT</u>
Develop New Models for Change	<u>The Freedom Budget - For All Americans</u> A. Philip Randolph Institute	Study proposed plans for change including ideas of such groups as Urban Coalition, National Alliance of Businessmen, Community Action Agencies, The Black Students Association, etc.
Confront the Experience of Being Black	<u>The YWCA Magazine</u> "A Time to Listen, A Time to Act" U.S. Civil Rights Commission	Include persons articulate on new moods of the black community-- the range of militancy.
Confront the Experience of Being White	Black Power - A Statement of Negro Churchmen "Are White Liberals Obsolete in the Black Struggle?" James Farmer	Include white persons whose primary activities are in Negro neighborhoods: merchants whose businesses are in ghetto areas; persons who have worked in racial ghetto.
Confront the Experience of Being Poor	<u>The Other America</u> Michael Harrington	Compare prices of food and other necessities in different neighborhoods. Listen to low-wage worker, e.g., a hospital orderly, welfare recipients, farm workers, household workers.
Confront Violence Whose Law? What Order?	"The Police on the Urban Frontier" - George Edwards Esquire: "The Second Civil War" February, 1968	Compare police attitudes in different areas of your city.

Outline of Action Elements for Racial Justice

<u>ACTION</u>	<u>AIDS</u>	<u>DEEPEN INVOLVEMENT</u>
Face the Communications Gap	"A Time to Listen...A Time to Act" U.S. Civil Rights Commission	Discuss media, press accounts and other reports with representatives of local newspaper, radio, TV stations. Compare with the black and white community.
Affirm Recommendations for Change	Recommendations in Report of National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders	Mobilize in a role of advocacy; make some impact on the power structure. Urge political responsibility.
Confront the Reality Facing Every Individual: "The Action Begins with Me!"	YWCA Dialogue Group Experience	Deal honestly and openly with attitudes.
Confront the Need for YWCA Change	<u>The Interracial Charter</u> Program Priority on Racial Integration	Every member, every group measure itself against the charter and national policy.
Affirm the YWCA as an Agent of Change	The Public Affairs Program World YWCA Membership Day materials <u>The YWCA Magazine</u> Tape Recording by: Dorothy I. Height Speech to the 24th National Convention YWCA of the U.S.A.	Accelerate Affirmative Action. Demonstrate "constructive militancy" against poverty and racism.

IDENTIFY WITH RACIAL JUSTICE: WEAR A "BREAK BARRIERS" BUTTON!

Y W C A D I A L O G U E G R O U P S

For Community Associations

developed by an

AD HOC COMMITTEE

- appointed by the President and responsible to the Board of Directors (carries overall responsibility for getting started and keeping Dialogue Groups active)

with a

STEERING GROUP

(made up of about 20 members)

- task force to get specific jobs done

To include:

Chairman: Board member

Representatives from:

*Membership Committee
Program Planning Committee
Finance
Public Relations Committee
Volunteer Training Committee
Teenage Program Committee
Young Adult Program Committee
YW-Wives Groups
Y-Teen Interclub Council
Individual Program Participants,
classes, intergroups, etc.
Residents, single--under 21

Subgroups on Specific Tasks:

Hostesses--open homes
Orientation of Escort Groups
Follow-up Group

- to study subject matter on "theme"
- to plan group sessions
- to coordinate groups
- to gather facts about the community
- to secure resources
- to make arrangements
- to plan for follow-up
- to plan for feedback, evaluation, etc.

Supporting Services (carried by individuals or subgroups)

Arrangements (secure homes, etc.)
Organize printed materials, buttons, etc.
Organize audiovisual aids, tapes,
slide projectors, records, etc.

*With a major responsibility.

To Begin APRIL (?), 1968 - (?) p.m.
(held simultaneously across the city)

Chairman

Coordinator

Hostesses of Homes

Greet guests--facilitate getting acquainted
Prepare refreshments (coffee and tea, cookies or cake)
Serve refreshments

Escort Team (to include hostess as helper--see above duties)

Distributor of Resources Materials (from Steering Group)

Discussion Leader from Steering Group

Volunteer Leader

Staff Aides (each to aid several groups but attend one)

15-20 Participants in Each Group

Cross section: Race, age, socioeconomic status

To be invited:

from neighborhood of hostess) major
from other selected areas of city) effort
friends of hostess) on
) YWCA
) members

F O L L O W - U P

- I Plan for subsequent meetings
 - for six periods or more
 - regular evaluation for feedback to the National Headquarters
(first report by summer, 1968)
- II Enlargement of Ad Hoc Committee as leaders develop--in order to reach more people
- III Report Form completed and mailed to the chairman

"Black Need and White Resistance"

For Student Associations

COORDINATOR
Student
(Staff and resource)

AD HOC COMMITTEE
Planning group composed of
campus cross section. (Student
organizations.)
Faculty and administration
-to recruit group leaders
- to decide on format with group
leaders
- to initiate follow through on what
emerges from the discussions.

GROUP LEADERS

- also serve as membership recruiters,
- work out distribution of participants in each group to insure heterogeneity
- inform members of their own group as to time, place and schedule of meetings.

DISCUSSION LEADERS

- these may or may not be the same as the group leaders.

Try to divide groups into a good cross section of students, faculty and administration. This will provide a better cross section of ideas and provide more avenues for response within the hierarchy of university administration, and thereby facilitate policy change where needed.

Some Guidelines for Dialogue Group Structure

"All real life is meeting!"

Martin Buber's words challenge us to make the dialogue real.
Let's learn from other such experiences but avoid the tempta-
tion to make YWCA Dialogue Groups a carbon copy of any other.

* * * * *

RELATIONSHIPS THE KEY

The concern for civil and human rights is not new to the YWCA. From the very beginning the Association has had a commitment to the ideals of the Christian faith and to service to all women and girls. Gradually we have come to see that the real question for the YWCA was not the relatively simple one with which it had begun, namely,

"Who is served? and How can this be done?"

but a far more difficult and profound one,

"Who belongs? and
What does a right relationship between persons involve?"

* * * * *

DIALOGUE IS ACTION

Dialogue will be action in any part of the Association and community when we seek to break down barriers and to come to a new relationship with each other. What does it profit us to be YWCA members--black or white--if now in the midst of urban crisis we do not find the way to work to eradicate every vestige of racism among us and in the society.

Time was, when we would have said, "Let's get acquainted. It's all a matter of education!" But the situation is far different now. The immediate problem is CRISIS. The immediate need is ACTION. And as we move sharply and quickly into dialogue around the crisis itself we shall be moved into action.

The message is clear: People are sick and tired of talk about what's going to be done, sick of hearing some say that they would do something if only they knew what to do, sick of being told about surveys or about a few instances of progress or redress. Unless we pull ourselves together, plan and carry out meaningful dialogue and organize for action, YWCA members will go on suffering the consequences of isolation, segregation, frustration and fear.

* * * * *

NEW DIMENSIONS

Now as the U.S.A. is in the throes of changing from a racist society to becoming a truly open society, the question before the YWCA is also the question before the U.S.A.:

What does a right relationship between persons involve?

In what new ways have we to look at

whiteness and blackness
Y-Teen, Young Adult, YW-Wives and other YWCA groups,
boards, committees, staff
schools, churches
neighborhoods and housing
job opportunities
health, cultural, recreational and social services

And even the way we go about our dialogue must contribute toward our discovery of a new quality of relationship in working "with" rather than in doing "for" people.

Affirmative action is the imperative of this hour. Every guideline for the YWCA Dialogue Groups is designed to help YWCA members get beneath the surface, to see and to tell it like it is!

* * * * *

SOME GUIDELINES FOR DIALOGUE GROUPS

- 1) Determine a fixed number of meetings from the outset. The series can always be extended later or enlarged to take in more people.
- 2) Fix the time and place for each session. Meetings in members' homes or community rooms of housing projects, with a different individual or couple serving as hostesses each time add value.
- 3) Set a definite time table. Specific hours (approximately 2-2½ hours) should be agreed upon and kept. Continuity is important; meetings should be held even when some conflicting dates may keep attendance down.
- 4) Appoint a discussion leader for each session to assure that everyone gets a chance to be heard.
- 5) Have a clear understanding about refreshments--coffee, tea and cake or simple snacks, once agreed upon keeps all on an equal basis.
- 6) Provide for copies of materials that may be needed in the discussion of particular issues.
- 7) Maintain liaison with all parts of the YWCA and community from which the participants were recruited and see to it that action points get into the works.

The YWCA on Trial

The YWCA has a good record of effective community action and has pioneered in race relations. Many members will have had meaningful experiences in "making life better" or in "meeting someone of another race." For many the YWCA provided their first interracial experience. Nonetheless, as the circle widens we may find others more disillusioned than reassured by the image and experience of the YWCA as they know it. The progress some applaud has laid bare to countless others the real problems yet to be solved.

Among the first replies from YWCA leaders to the call to dialogue were words of caution and direction like the following:

"It is hard for some of the affluent to respond to the changing relationships implied in self-determination. Nothing would be better than to provide the "haves" with an opportunity in dialogue with the "have nots" if the latter would participate."

"People in the ghetto are opposed to what they view as 'exploitation' especially when their lives remain unchanged."

"Why can't we go about the business of mobilizing those members who are ready to lay themselves on the line by their questioning and their acts to preserve the right of dissent, to protect constitutional rights, to work and press for the funds and attitudes which will open the way for the 'new creation.'"

"We at our university have tried through tutoring projects, club leadership and discussion to 'understand the Negro problem.' Individually there may have been some small gain but I am sure we haven't helped racism but one iota and this is the heart of the problem: Can we afford to let this happen? Don't you think the time for dialogue has passed, and it's time to take action?"

Bold Hopes

We are 2½ million YWCA members across the length and breadth of the U.S.A. In 1968, we hope that we can open ourselves to each other as we have never done before. We hope we shall break new ground and respond to the situation in ways commensurate with the depth of need. We hope that as YWCA members we will come to know ourselves more surely as women and girls capable of functioning creatively in home, school, community and national life. We hope that every YWCA member--not just board, staff and committee members--will be drawn into deep dialogue.

We hope we will have the courage to include not only those whose approach agrees with ours but also the growing number of constructively militant leaders in our communities who are committed to social change and are in the forefront of the struggle for equality and justice. We hope that as YWCA members we will listen to the more abrasive voices as well as those we find it easier to hear. We hope that as YWCA members we will come to a new understanding of the action we must take as individuals, as an Association and as a nation to combat racism and to build for renewal in personal and group life.

WHAT A DIALOGUE OFFERS

A dialogue is not a debate, where points are scored and one side wins. Those who participate seek not to convert or persuade or instruct their opposite numbers but simply to get to know them well and to understand and accept them in the fullness of their differences. They are willing to reveal their true feelings and views, to give a hearing to the ideas of others, and to aid disagreements frankly and fairly. In a successful dialogue, a great deal is learned, but not so much through exchange of information as through the growth of personal relationships. Opinion changes, if any, will come spontaneously out of the dialogue, not from lecturing or disputation.

However much we 20th Century Americans move around in the world, most of us do not get to know people of other backgrounds very well. As a result, many of us still cling openly or secretly to prejudiced notions about others, or believe that our own groups outshine the rest in piety, wisdom, family loyalty, purity or other virtues. One of the most useful functions of dialogue is that it helps us get rid of misconceptions about others and about ourselves.

DIALOGUE THAT MUST EMERGE IN AMERICA

The stance of an organization like the YWCA is too often to demand that those who come talk "our language." It may be just this that makes the dialogue under agency auspices seem disconnected from the real situation!

At its best the YWCA Dialogue is to translate life experience and tell it like it is.

The able translator has to listen as well as speak. The monologist who broadcasts from a soundproofed room from which he never hears the voice of others, is all too well known in our society. This is what it means to be in the world, the community or the ghetto--but not of it.

Those who speak but never hear are incapable of dialogue. And, sad to say, the YWCA ranks have some of them, too. Then, there are those who come with a speech or argument and hear no one else.

But what is needed now, above all, is at least one able translator in every group--someone who knows that people on the march toward equality no longer will sit and listen. They will be bound only by decisions they influence in the making.

What can happen in YWCA dialogue is important now for saving the very life of the community provided:

- what is happening to people in the community is shared for what it really is
- equality of rank of all YWCA members prevails
- there is openness to each other
- there is flexibility in the sessions
- there is objectivity supported by information

GETTING THE GROUPS GOING

We are all aware of what happens when a group comes together for the first time. The greater the variety of differences in background the harder that coming together can be. But herein lies the greatest need today. The escort team, together with the hostesses, must help reach a quality of sharing and search that respects differences and the insights they may yield, dispels fear and frees persons to speak--not out of empty politeness--but of their deepest selves.

The way the groups are organized is crucial because the most important ingredients are the members themselves. Every effort should be made to have the groups reflect the real social, economic and racial diversity of the community or campus.

To start the ball rolling and to break new ground a plan for organizing quickly is suggested here--with ideas distilled from a wide range of experiences. Follow the chart for action. Here is a base for the division of labor.

Chairman

carries overall responsibility,
works with staff partner to assure effectiveness,
reports all aspects and channels to the Board and other action points.

Coordinator of Groups

Careful, sensitive coordination is required to build the groups. In most instances this needs to be a staff member or a volunteer whose time can be regularized for availability. The coordinator sees to:

1. the scheduling of groups,
2. distribution of resources in both materials and leadership.

Hostess

Opens her home to a group of 10-20 people.
Invites a few members of the hostess' own choosing.
Works with escort team to assure a cross section.
Prepares coffee and tea.
Follow-up: Fills out report form and mails it to the YWCA as requested.

Escort Team

An escort team of two persons, each with different acquaintances and from different life experience is crucial to the effectiveness of the dialogue group. The team carries out agreed-upon plans to recruit and in fact enlist the participation of a genuine cross section. Personal contact and follow-up are the key to getting the group together.

The escorts introduce guests and hostess.

The escorts should be clear on all arrangements and be prepared for any last minute changes.

The escorts should try to keep the group sessions at their best by helping to keep dialogue on the track.

Follow-up: Fill out report form and see that it gets to the chairman.

Staff Aides

Serve as pivotal point of reference as needed, especially for emergencies.

See that materials are distributed.

Take part on the basis of equality opening themselves as persons.

REMINDERS

What are goals and objectives related to convention action and emphases:

Steering Committee

- consciously involve young adults, Y-Teens
- cross section of economic groupings

Interclub

ICC should be involved with a place (plan), mindful that dialogue groups should be a representative cross section:

residence, YW-Wives and similar leadership--
coordinated groupings.

Build into plan: Dialogue with staff and volunteer leadership.

Supporting Services

- telephone--letters
- transportation--car pools--provide bus schedules
- baby-sitting

Timing

- morning--afternoon--evening
- coffee klatch--"cocktail"--tea

COMMITTEE GUIDELINES

NOT A FEW
BUT THE
MANY

People come out and participate as they feel themselves involved. This is an important cue for the planners. Every step toward reaching every member and widening the involvement will enhance the whole experience and the YWCA impact, provided, of course, those who carry leadership work for depth in dialogue in a meaningful way.

The best laid plans of too small a group or too narrow a circle can be limiting. But groups which take on specific tasks and whose chairmen gather at some time with the planning committee can help enrich the participation and increase the number and cross section quality of escort teams, hostesses, etc.

The chart of organizing the dialogue groups suggests the variety of assignments. Youth as well as adults, new as well as seasoned member-leaders should find it easy to take the materials in the packet and, bringing their ideas, develop some aspect of the program of dialogue and action.

ASSIGNMENTS

Something new and real can happen as women and girls respond to the challenge of taking hold of some preparatory materials, studying them or rounding up facts about community problems and coming to the group ready to share. New leadership will emerge. For once, women and girls are called into service on the basis of such factors as ability, interest, life experience, etc. There is a real danger in weakening the significance of the dialogue if persons are chosen on the basis of offices held.

Wherever possible, a designated staff member will want to follow through to make sure that all persons have whatever materials are needed or available for distribution. On some occasions the group leaders may need to have special material. For example, everyone leading discussion should have a copy of the full report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (\$1.25) while participants will have the Summary of the Report (15 cents).

RESOURCE
LEADERSHIP

In some meetings of the Dialogue Group it will help to have one or more persons, chosen and informed in advance, for what they can bring to the group out of specific knowledge or experience. Even so, speeches are ruled out! To draw upon the wealth of resources in any community means now to look particularly in two directions:

- 1) Look into the YWCA membership for persons who know the problems of the ghetto and feel free to tell it as it is--for welfare recipients--for students who have been in the midst of the struggle--for teenagers aware of issues confronting the schools--and so on. In other words, look for persons who live the problems.

2) Look into the wider community and reach out to some of the voices seldom heard. Bring into the Dialogue Group workers in civil rights groups--the block association leaders--the more militant black community, men as well as women. Bring about a meaningful confrontation across different lines and accept the risk and responsibility of openness.

In some parts of the community it may be through the use of resource leadership that the shaking of old ideas about what is happening can take place.

Caution: If the "haves" and "have nots" are brought together, be sure to include several -- not just one of the "have nots." The chance of having real meeting as human beings of equal worth but from different life experiences will be enhanced by broadening the grouping.

RESOURCE
MATERIALS --
A DIALOGUE
LIBRARY
SERVICE

So much happens and is reported so fast that it is hard for anyone to keep abreast these days. What a great addition to the Dialogue Group an easy to manage place for the sharing of reading and other materials will be! The reading list in the packet can be a guide as members are encouraged to pass around what they own, once they have read it. National YWCA Headquarters will continue to send out materials that can be duplicated and distributed. Some pieces too expensive to have in quantity can be circulated among the Dialogue Group.

Newspaper clippings, magazine articles can be quoted, posted on paper for circulation, or duplicated.

DISTRIBUTE
COMMUNITY
FACTS

A task group from the Steering group is needed to gather information about your community using "Examining your Community: A Guide." Every Dialogue group member needs to have a copy of the findings for discussion, testing and discovering kinds of action needed for change.

BRIDGE THE
COMMUNICA-
TION GAP

Conscious and deliberate effort to reach persons from the range of groups in the community will help some of the dialogue groups become all the more relevant. Discussion leaders should not find resource leadership drawn from such groups and placed in the group without their knowledge.

The committee itself will want to have some persons from the more activist groups take part. To this end, a subgroup to facilitate contacts will be important. It will help by seeking out individuals who may be found through contact with such groups as:

NAACP
CORE
Urban League
Poverty Rights Groups
Block Associations
Poor Peoples' Corporations
National Council of Catholic Women

National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
Black Student Association

BUILD ON
YWCA
STRENGTHS

Women and girls of all races are YWCA members

Break the communication barriers
Cross the tracks
Conduct sessions that may have to be all of one race
with a conscious use of resources. Practice
the presence of others. White racism needs
to be faced by white Americans

YWCA members are drawn from many ethnic groups

Anticipate and deal with the kinds of backlash too
often lingering in some ethnic groups, them-
selves, feeling "why so much about the blacks?"

YWCA members are of different ages

Bring together young and older members
Draw upon experiences of students engaged in
social action as resource leadership as
issues require

YWCA members live on all sides of the tracks

Relate members around issues
Deal with rumors and facts

BREAK DOWN
BARRIERS

There are tremendous barriers between people today. They must
be broken down if we are to live in peace.

Now is a time to be "conscious and deliberate" and to move be-
yond discussion of discrimination and racial prejudice, to
provide experiences through which people lose their prejudices.
YWCA dialogues are to bring together members of different back-
grounds for an in-depth experience that can be the basis for
working toward extending new and special opportunities to
minority groups especially in the areas of housing, education
and employment.

BUTTONS
FOR
DIALOGUE

A special "BREAK BARRIERS" button will be an aid to help YWCA
Dialogue Groups relate to each other and to the community. The
symbolic button will serve as a conversation kickoff wherever
YWCA Dialogue Group participants may be--in their churches, in
club settings, the grocery store, office, etc. In a climate of
"burn, baby, burn" YWCA members and others who share our concerns
must be counted as actively working to "build, baby, build."
Identify with justice!

NEW
YWCA
PURPOSE

A special "give away" small card featuring the new Statement of
Purpose adopted at the 24th National YWCA Convention will help
remind every Dialogue Group participant of the YWCA's role in
the struggle for peace and justice and freedom and dignity for
all.

THE
COMMISSION
REPORT
ON CIVIL
DISORDERS

Participants need the discipline of reading at least the Summary and Recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. To bring it within the reach of all, a special summary issue has been prepared. This useful resource in the hands of every one will make a difference.

BRIEFING
THE
LEADERSHIP
TEAM

A briefing session for escort teams, hostesses, discussion leaders --all who carry leadership--provides a means of assuring that objectives and ways of work are understood by all. The number of groups and the hours different people are available may call for more than one such meeting. But the important thing is to put this task into the hands of several people with sensitivity, training skill and the ability to move swiftly to release the potential in others. The planners will sense when and if other such gatherings are needed.

One of the films, the tape recording, review of one of the books or publications can add to the quality of the briefing. The leadership will be reinforced in the assignments carried if the briefing, however short, gives inspiration as well as details about the task.

In addition to the briefing, it will be important to put into the hands of all of the leadership team and members in the Dialogue groups certain pieces of materials at particular times. Anything included in this kit except, of course, the copyrighted printed publications may be duplicated for distribution by Associations.

DIALOGUE FOCUSERS

using

The Report of the National Advisory Commission
on Civil Disorders¹

In an appearance before the Commission as a witness, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a distinguished scholar, psychologist and author of "Youth in the Ghetto," said:

I read that report...of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot. I must again in candor say to you members of this commission--it is kind of Alice in Wonderland--with the same moving picture reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations and the same inaction. (Report Summary ... page 29)

QUESTION: How can this be kept from being "another report"?

- by inner city communities?
- by suburban communities?
- by community and student YWCAs?
- by individuals?

Focus: POWERLESSNESS

Largely excluded from positions of traditional political power, Negroes...made use of the anti-poverty program, in which poor people were guaranteed representation, as a political springboard. This led to friction between the--agency that administered the anti-poverty program, and the city administration. (Page 59)

QUESTION: How can the poor gain a "piece of the action"?

¹All page references are to the Summary of the Report as distributed by the National Board YWCA, Bureau of Communications or of the full Report.

Focus: THE IMMIGRATION MYTH

A question that many white Americans ask is: why is it that so many Negroes, unlike the European immigrants, have been unable to escape from the ghetto and from poverty? Several factors were felt by the Commission to play a part:

The Negro came to the city after the economy was more mature, and opportunities more rare. The discrimination suffered by immigrants has never been as pervasive as that suffered by Negroes. The Negro's visibility limits his mobility.

The Negro was not able to move into the kind of political structure which traded economic advantages for political support.

The European immigrant with a vision of the future--one leading to life outside the ghetto--had the incentive necessary to endure the present. Segregation denied Negroes access to good jobs and the opportunity to leave the ghetto. For **them**, the future seemed to lead only to a dead end. (Page 15)

QUESTION: What does this say to us in the face of the "I have made it, why can't they?" attitude among whites and middle class Negroes.

* * * * *

Focus: ACTION HOW MUCH?

No American--white or black--can escape the consequences of the continuing social and economic decay of our major cities.

Only a commitment to national action on an unprecedented scale can shape a future compatible with the historic ideals of American society.

History is being made by us all--whether we do something--or do nothing.
(Summary Page 23)

QUESTION: What are the real issues? What action is commensurate with the depth of the problem? Who has to be involved to achieve creative change?

* * * * *

Focus: WHAT IS "PROGRESS"?

"The results of a three-city survey of various federal programs--manpower, education, housing, welfare and community action indicate that, despite substantial expenditures, the number of persons assisted constituted only a fraction of those in need. (Page 8)

QUESTION: What is the situation in your town? To what extent is special attention needed?

How do rising expectation and rising frustration affect how one views progress?

Focus: POLICE PREPAREDNESS

In several cities, the principal official response has been to train and equip the police with more sophisticated weapons. (Page 8)

QUESTION: How do you assess the police situation in your community? What can the YWCA do to assure equal justice and protection for all citizens in the hands of law-enforcement officers?

* * * * *

Focus: PROFILE OF THE "RIOTER"

The typical rioter was: a teenage or young adult (.most rioters were young Negro males...nearly 53 percent of arrestees were between 15 and 24 years of age; nearly 81 percent between 15 and 35.)

A long life resident of the city in which he rioted.

A high school drop out; he was nevertheless, somewhat better educated than his non-rioting Negro neighbor, and was under-employed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both white and middle-class Negroes and, although informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system...Rather than rejecting the American system, they were anxious to obtain a place for themselves in it.

The typical counter-rioter was better educated and had higher income than either the rioter or the non-involved. (Summary page 7)

QUESTION: What does this say to us? What message is not getting through? to whom?

* * * * *

Focus: SYMPTOMS OR CAUSES?

Little basic change in the conditions underlying the outbreak of disorder has taken place. Actions to ameliorate Negro grievances have not significantly reduced tensions. (Page 8 of Summary)

QUESTION: What law? What order?

Focus: THE INCOME GAP

Employment is a key problem. It not only controls the present for the Negro American but, in a most profound way, it is creating the future as well. Yet, despite continuing economic growth and declining national unemployment rates, the unemployment rate for Negroes in 1967 was more than double that for whites.
(Summary page 13)

QUESTION: What is the gap in job opportunity in your town? Why is there a gap? Why is it that most of the participants in rebellions in the streets are young?

* * * * *

Focus: MASS MEDIA

After interviews with government officials, law enforcement authorities, media personnel and other citizens including ghetto residents, as well as a quantitative analysis of riot coverage and a special conference with industry representatives, lead us to conclude that:

...Elements of the news media failed to portray accurately the scale and character of the violence that occurred last summer.

...They have not communicated to the majority of their audience...which is white...a sense of the degradation, misery, and hopelessness of life in the ghetto.
(Summary page 20)

QUESTION: What can the YWCA do to increase understanding of the real issues confronting the black community in a climate in which the mass media emphasize conflict?

What can individuals do? Why not observe for a while - then discuss?

DIALOGUE FOCUSERS

using

"A TIME TO LISTEN A TIME TO ACT"

(Voices from the Ghettos of the Nation's cities)

Report of the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

WHAT IS THE "GHETTO"? WHAT CREATED IT? WHAT MAINTAINS IT?

Chapters I-III of "A Time to Listen....A Time to Act" describe the physical as well as the nonphysical conditions of life in the ghetto.

Focus: THE GHETTO

- : What are the conditions of ghetto life? Which are the most serious?
- : How do the conditions as described in the Report compare to those existing in your own community?
- : How do we deal with the problem of "no problem"?

What Created It

Who makes decisions responsible for the inferior schools, inadequate housing and other slum conditions described. (Chapters I-IV)

How do they contribute to the perpetuation of the ghetto and the reinforcement of feelings of its residents that they are "isolated" and "in a trap." Here are some illustrations from the Report:

- : The local government which is responsible for inadequate or unavailable services in ghetto areas; the results are uncleaned streets, infrequent garbage collection, inadequate street lighting.
- : The policeman who often has not provided protection for citizens within the ghetto, does not treat them with dignity and respect and views his role as that of keeping Negroes in line

- : The merchant who sells inferior merchandise or who exploits the economic dependence of Negroes by providing credit at exorbitant rates.
- : Absentee landlords who reduce services and allow property to deteriorate once Negroes become tenants.
- : Welfare programs which have been devised and administered in a manner which tends to break up families and perpetuate dependency.
- : Real estate brokers, builders and mortgage lenders who are unrestrained by any effective government regulations and thus can confine Negroes of all income levels to ghetto areas and restrict the housing market in ways which facilitate exploitation.
- : Union practices of discrimination which have not been eliminated by civil rights laws and government action.
- : Educational practices which put most Negro youngsters in overcrowded and inadequate schools which are segregated by race and class and stigmatized by the community.

The existence of slums--no matter how large or small, or who is responsible for them, or what others may think about them--make the people who live there feel trapped.

QUESTION: In your community:

- : What evidence is there of communication or lack of communication between races?
- : What incidents or reports indicate that policemen feel they have a different role in the Negro community than in the white community?
- : The welfare worker?
- : The landlord?
- : The merchant?

QUESTION: How do black and white citizens feel about the work of groups such as the PTA, the school board, the Federal government.

- : Have decisions made by your local school board fostered segregated schools or prevented the changing and shifting of boundaries in order to bring about integration?

- : Is the allocation of resources and personnel in predominantly nonwhite schools the same as in other schools in your community?
- : Do Federal programs existing in the community permit the migration from the cities of white families while not affording the same opportunities to Negroes?
- : To what extent have Federal programs in your community really helped?

Focus: ISOLATION AND THE WHITE COMMUNITY

Chapter V of the Report centers on the white community. Ghetto dwellers are affected not only by poverty and the physical surroundings of the slums but also by the attitudes of the white community. It will be helpful to discuss several of the basic assumptions made by the white community which may underlie the way many persons respond to Negroes, and, more important, to discuss the reaction of Negroes to this response.

- : What may a Negro family expect when they move into a previously all-white neighborhood? What are realtors likely to do?
- : Do Negroes feel that white suburbanites are aware of or concerned about conditions in the ghetto?
- : How should a Negro child prepare himself for his first day at a recently desegregated school?
- : Are Negroes similar to other groups of immigrants which have come to this country? If there are differences, what are they and how do they affect Negroes' upward mobility or movement out of the slums?

Although not specifically covered in the Report, the following subjects for discussion are inferred in Chapter V. This should prove to be one of the most difficult parts of the discussion since it challenges members to look squarely at their own attitudes.

- : How much do you know about African history? The history of Negroes in the United States? Negro folklore? Values in the Negro community?
- : What are the common stereotypes applied to Negroes?
- : How many members of the discussion group adhere to these attitudes?

: How do these attitudes perpetuate discrimination and racism?

Focus: THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Chapter VI of the Report should be useful in understanding the evolving views of the black community toward the problems of the ghetto and the white community. The mood of the ghetto-locked Negro American has changed rather drastically in the past few years. Before a full understanding of the dynamics of the community's and the Nation's racial problems may be reached, these changing attitudes should be discussed. These attitudes may be analyzed against the background of life in the ghetto as described in the first three chapters, the response of the government and the private sector as described in Chapter IV, and white attitudes as related in Chapter V. Some of the following quotations from testimonies at the Commission hearings may be used as focal points for dialogue:

- : "If this country has the resources to put a man on the moon, certainly it has the resources to deal effectively with the...problems that face minority citizens. Unfortunately, at this time I happen to feel that the country does not have the will to address itself to these problems."
- : "The Negro community regards any new investigations, meetings, or hearings with cynicism, if not hostility and with a disheartening lack of faith that such additional investigations will be more meaningful or productive than those which have been conducted in the past."
- : "Now, what black nationalist groups are telling them is that 'Look baby, nobody is going to help you but yourself... You had better realize that with all the liberals in the world you still have these conditions that you had when you met these liberals and until you can do something about it for yourself, they will be there.'"
- : "We would like to be able to proceed along the established democratic lines for changes if this is possible, but if this is not possible then we will have to do whatever is necessary to make these changes."

Adapted and used with permission from the Information Office,
Miss Edith Barksdale, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
801 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

FOCUS: STUDYING A SICK SOCIETY

Reprint with
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New York Amsterdam News

By Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League

This is a presidential election year, and that means that everybody and his brother will come up with platforms and plans for 1968. I've got one too, but it's pretty simple. In fact, it takes only one line.

My plan is for no more studies of Negroes this year.

Think about it. Studying Negroes threatens to become one of the biggest industries in the U.S. God knows how many different commissions and study groups are studying last year's riots. Books and articles reporting new studies of different aspects of Negro life are arriving daily.

Every university has its "Negro expert," usually white. Every foundation is swamped with requests for funds to study this Negro ghetto or that one. We've had studies of the "souls" of black people, the "pathology" of the Negro family, and others. You name it, and it's been studied.

Of course, if you study something, you don't have to do anything about it. Just wrap it neatly between fancy-looking covers and put it on the shelf. It's much easier to study unemployment than it is to create new jobs; much easier to write about bad housing than it is to build decent homes.

How many studies does it take for people to understand that Negroes are suffering from prejudice and economic hardships?...

Don't get me wrong. I'm all for good scholarship. In fact the Negro-studying business has become so big that I'm afraid if we just end it quickly, too many people will be thrown out of work.

So I'd like to propose a different kind of study. I think we could study white folks. After all, Negroes didn't create the ghetto, white folks did. The sickness of racial hatred is a problem white people have had to live with for years, without the benefit of anyone studying it.

Who Panics

What kind of person panics because a Negro family moves into his neighborhood? What sort of sickness is it that makes a man fear Negro children going to his child's school? What form of madness is it that makes an employer or a union leader try to keep Negroes from a decent job?... Instead of fancy studies about the pathology of the Negro family, let's have studies about the pathology of a Congress which writes welfare laws which help break up Negro families. Or we could have studies of the pathology of the lawmakers who appropriate millions for riot control equipment and then cut budgets for rent supplements, poverty programs and model cities legislation.

Compared to these people, the Negro community is a model of health. I believe this society is big hearted and generous enough to help everyone who needs help, and it is unfair to leave so many white people who are mentally disturbed by their racism without aid. So let's start studying them.

And since unemployment is such a problem for Negro citizens, let's hire Negroes to do the studies. After all, who knows the subject better than Negroes, who have had to live with racists for 400 years? White "experts" have lived off studying Negroes for long enough, it's time to reverse the process.

Focus: WHITE RACISM AND THE COMMON MAN:

an Extension of the Commission's Report
on American Racism

Excerpts from a Memo by:

T. M. Tomlinson
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

Of all the words in the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, none has been so stunning to white America as the word "racism." The Report makes clear the effects of white racism in perpetuating the institution of Negro disadvantage. It does not, however, translate the meaning of racism in such a way that each white American is made aware of his individual contribution to the maintenance of social, as well as economic, inequality. In failing to document and describe the phenomena and dynamics of personal prejudice, the Commission Report has in effect let the bulk of white America escape through the net of the racism charge.

"Racism" is a word customarily and popularly used to describe the more blatant examples of discrimination, and in the public mind the synonym for "racism" is "bigotry." But most Americans are not and/or do not view themselves as bigots; the belief and behavior systems of most white Americans about Negroes has become exquisitely complex and subtle, although nonetheless "racist" in nature. The problem, then, is identified, but not described by the word "racism," a description of the manifestations of systemic racism in the day-to-day social interaction of Negroes and whites is necessary to characterize the racist mentality of the average American.

QUESTION: What are specific examples of common attitudes and behavior which to many white people seem plausible but which betray a racist mentality?

Focus: THE BLACK AGENDA

A student YWCA member said thoughtfully, "We have many black and white discussions, but white decisions!"

When a national committee of Negro churchmen issued a Statement of Black Power they said in part:

"It is abundantly clear to many Americans that power is basic to all human dynamics. The fundamental distortion facing us in a controversy about 'black power' is rooted in a gross imbalance of power and conscience between Negroes and white Americans. It is this distortion, mainly, which is responsible for the widespread, though often inarticulate, assumption that white people are justified in getting what they want through the use of power, but that Negro Americans must, either by nature or by circumstance, make their appeal only through conscience. As a result, the power of white men and the conscience of black men have both been corrupted."

Out of the National Conference of Negro Methodists held in February, 1968, have come findings including a statement of confession that says in part:

"We confess that we have not always been honest with ourselves and with our white brothers. We have not encountered them with truth but often with deception. We have not said in bold language and forceful action that, 'You have used "white power" in and outside of the church to keep us in a subordinate position.' We have failed to tell our white brothers 'like it is!' Instead, we have told our white brothers what we thought they would like to hear.

"We confess that we have not become significantly involved in the Black Revolution because, for the most part, white men have defined it as 'bad'; for the other part, we have been too comfortable in our 'little world,' and too pleased with our lot as second-class citizens and second-class members of The Methodist Church.

"We confess that we have accepted too long the philosophy of racism. This has created a relationship in which white people have always defined the 'terms,' and, in fact, defined when and how black people would exist.

"We confess that we have accepted a 'false kind of integration' in which all power remained in the hands of white men."

(Findings of Black Methodists for Church Renewal)

QUESTION: What is racial justice in a pluralistic society? What does it take to make integration real?

* * * * *

Focus: BLACK UNITY AND POLITICAL REALITY

Reprint with
permission from the
New York Amsterdam News

By Floyd McKissick
National Director, CORE

Too often, the call for unity among black people has been misinterpreted to mean complete agreement on all issues. It has been distorted to mean that black people must first agree on one set of demands, and then move, as a body, to attain these demands.

While such a goal might not be undesirable, it is certainly impractical and lack of unanimity should not keep black Americans from working together to achieve the right of self-determination. The idea of black unity is to unify around those common factors of agreement and there are many more than there are differences.

Recognizing the many divergent views in the Black community--a dialogue must begin on ways that Black people and Black organizations can help each other to attain their respective goals.

The white press has attempted to divide the Black community by harping on the differences between the Black Power advocates and the integrationists. We need not give in to these divisive tactics.

For if all segments of the Black community defend the legal and natural rights of their Black neighbors, we will be in a better position to attain a society in which self-determination is a political reality--and the choice between integration and separation open to every Black citizen.

Of course, it would seem to me that in such a situation the vast majority of Black people would choose to live and work with other Black people, to share a community life and heritage. First, we must obtain our right to choose.

Church and Society
OPINION - #4

Focus: VIOLENCE IN THE STREETS AND THE JUDGMENT OF GOD

George A. Chauncey

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Chauncey, Editor of Church and
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P.O. Box 1176, Richmond, Virginia

We live in the most critical moment in American history since the days of the Great Depression, if not the Civil War itself. Pressing in on us today are two clusters of social problems each of which is so severe that by itself it would tax our moral and spiritual resources. Taken together - and they are inseparably related - these two clusters of problems try our nation's soul.

One is the cluster of problems illumined by the napalm-bombed villages and villagers of Vietnam. The other is the cluster highlighted by the burning buildings of Detroit. This paper concerns the latter of these two sets of problems, but it mentions the former, for nothing in American society can be understood today apart from the pervasive influence of Vietnam.

Our nation has just experienced its third summer of wide-spread civil disorder. In 1965, it was Harlem, and the disaster of Watts. In 1966, it was Cleveland, Omaha, Atlanta, Dayton, San Francisco and twenty-four other cities. This summer, Newark and Detroit are only the most tragic of 67 explosions of violence in the streets. An Associated Press survey reports that 85 persons were killed, more than 3,200 were injured, over 16,000 were arrested, and more than \$100 million in property was stolen, damaged or destroyed.

We Can Expect More Violence

Four elements in our explosive situation lead me to believe that we can only expect more - much more - of the same in the months ahead.

The first is the fact that our nation has made promises which it has simply not fulfilled. We have made these promises through our Constitution, court decisions, civil rights legislation, and TV commercials. We have reaffirmed them with preachments, proclamations, pronouncements, and political pledges. Day in and day out - through the media of radio and TV - we have told every man, woman and child in America that he lives in a great big wonderful world. To be an American, we have said, is to enjoy - not as a gift but as a right - freedom and justice and equality, a good education, a decent place to live, and full opportunity to earn one's fair share of the bread.

These are the promises our society has made. And we simply haven't fulfilled them. We have reneged. Despite all our promises and pledges, and despite the many judicial and legislative victories which have been achieved in the past few years, the situation of the Negro in America in

comparison to the white man has actually deteriorated in many respects in the past few years. The depressing statistics quoted by President Johnson in his famous Howard University Address on June 4, 1965, paint a picture that is still valid today:

Thirty-five years ago, the rate of unemployment for Negroes and whites was about the same. Tonight the Negro rate is twice as high....

Between 1949 and 1959, the income of Negro men relative to white men declined in every section of this country. From 1952 to 1963 the median income of Negro families compared to whites actually dropped from 57 per cent to 53 per cent....

Since 1947, the number of white families living in poverty has decreased 27 per cent, while the number of poor nonwhite families decreased only 3 per cent.

The infant mortality of nonwhites in 1940 was 70 per cent greater than whites. Twenty-two years later it was 90 per cent greater....

Of course, Negro Americans as well as white Americans have shared in our rising national abundance, but the harsh fact of the matter is that in the battle for true equality too many, far too many, are losing ground every day.¹

Bayard Rustin observes in a recent article that "if a society is interested in stability, it should either not make promises or it should keep them." He goes on to say:

Economic and social deprivation, if accepted by its victims as their lot in life, breeds pacificity, even docility. The miserable yield to their fate as divinely ordained or as their own fault. And indeed, many Negroes of earlier generations felt that way.

Today young Negroes aren't having any. They don't share the feeling that something must be wrong with them, that they are responsible for their own exclusion from this affluent society. The civil rights movement - in fact, the whole liberal trend beginning with John Kennedy's election - has told them otherwise.

Conservatives will undoubtedly seize the occasion (of this summer's violence) for an attack on the Great Society, liberalism, the welfare state, and Lyndon Johnson. But the young Negroes are right: the promises made to them were good and necessary and long, long overdue. The youth were right to believe in them. The only trouble is that they were not fulfilled. Prominent Republicans and Dixiecrats are demanding not that the promises be fulfilled, but that they be revoked.

What they and the American people absolutely must understand now is that the promises cannot be revoked.²

A second fact which makes our situation so critical is that an increasing number of Negroes have come to believe that violence is the only way they can secure their rights. They feel this, on the other hand, because non-violence as a strategy or tactic, simply hasn't produced the goods. That the so-called civil rights movement was - on the part of Negroes - non-violent for so long, and is as non-violent as it is today, is a cause for both amazement and gratitude, but it is increasingly clear that this tactic is losing its appeal. On the other hand, violence as a means of getting things done is becoming increasingly appealing. Violence, as Harvey Cox has recently reminded us, has "worked" in American history.

As Cox says:

Every fourth grader knows that America won its independence through a violent revolution, wrenched the West from the Indians by brute force, preserved the Union in a bloody Civil War, became a world power through two destructive World Wars and is now protecting the luckless people of Vietnam **by** incinerating their tiny country with napalm and high explosives. After all this, to scold the inmates of our black ghettos for resorting to violence when singing, marching, praying, and picketing have failed seems at best a trifle hypocritical.³

Moreover, there are a number of black Americans who, even if convinced that violence as a strategy were self-defeating, would strike out violently at our society because they are so alienated from it that they simply don't give a damn.

This summer's explosion has revealed starkly that the present generation of violated, black Americans are unafraid to die. The words of a Detroit sniper as reported in Newsweek are haunting: "I don't care if I die, so you know that I don't care if I kill you."

A third fact which makes our national situation so extremely dangerous is that violence provokes repression, and repression provokes, if not more violence, at least the will to more violence. We are now caught in a vicious circle which it will be extremely difficult for us to break. Thus, a disorder occurs; it is put down by undisciplined military action; and in the very manner of its repression, seeds for future disorders are sown. When one responds to riots simply with military power, anti-riot bills and loud expressions of determination "not to reward rioters" one can only expect more riots.

Moreover, the very language which we speak in the face of social disruption is itself provocative of more of the same. Thus, the call for "law and order" only provokes increased anger on the part of those who interpret the call as simply a demand for the preservation of an unjust status quo. Thus, expressions of dismay over looting, burning, and the deliberate destruction of property only provokes disgust on the part of those who note a relative silence in the face of indiscriminate slaughter and arrests. And thus, the very sense of urgency which we feel now in the light of this summer's violence only provokes cynical questions about why we were so indifferent so long to the revolting conditions from which this revolution has sprung.

The viciousness of this circle and its terrible horror were poignantly expressed by Pat Watters in these agonizing words about the element of joy in this summer's action and reaction:

The riots have been for all of us most of all dramatic display of a society in real disorder, the thing just not working any more. Here were people come to full expression of all the rage of life cheated of all good, and here were the cities and states and finally the United States Government saying that the only answer they could give was brutal force. Not the least of the terrible elements was a feel of joy in it - the rioters laughing in the release of all the years of resentment, the forces of "law and order" bearing the grim grin of the righteous, licensed kill.⁴

The final reason I believe that we are probably in for unprecedented (since the Civil War) national anguish is my fear that as the viciousness of the circle grows, the white man in America will be increasingly tempted to repress the Negro rather than reconstruct society, and the black man will be increasingly tempted to destroy the American dream rather than to work for its realization.

I believe that we still have a moment of grace, and I rejoice in the fact that people are talking more seriously today than they did just a short time ago about such massive proposals as Whitney Young's "domestic Marshall Plan" or A. Phillip Randolph's "Freedom Budget" or the programmatic visions of the newly formed National Urban Coalition. There is perhaps still time for us to make the radical changes in our society that are necessary if we are to survive. Perhaps we will seize this moment of grace.

My optimism is inevitably dampened, however, when I reflect on the mood in our nation today, or when I review the actions of the Congress this past summer, or when I recall what happened in Plainfield, N. J., where the National Guard, upon orders of the Governor, but without search warrants as required by the Constitution, conducted a house-to-house search of Negro homes to find 46 semiautomatic rifles that had been stolen during the rioting earlier in the week.

Every black man in America knows - and every white man should surely acknowledge - that no white neighborhood anywhere in our nation would have been subjected to the sort of search which that black neighborhood endured this summer. That illegal search demonstrated as did nothing else this summer the danger we are in of becoming a police state.

As we are tempted more and more to do "anything necessary" to maintain order, we would do well to heed the warning issued by James Baldwin five years ago: "The Negroes of this country may never be able to rise to power, but they are very well placed indeed to precipitate chaos and bring down the curtain on the American dream."⁵

The Reality of God's Judgment

What does all this mean theologically? How are we to read the signs of our time in faith? I am not at all sure, but the motif in our theological heritage which speaks most meaningfully to me these days is that one which says that

God is not mocked, that the iniquities of the fathers will be visited upon their children to the third and fourth generations. In a word, the dominant theological reality for me today is the awesome, terrifying, inescapable judgment of the Holy Lord God. I believe that we - and our children - may well be the generations chosen to suffer the punishment for centuries of oppression, exploitation, and injustice.

To say this is not in any way at all to deny the gospel of God's gracious love, or to ignore the good news that God continually works in our midst for the reconciliation of men to himself and one another. Moreover, to say this is not to separate the inseparable activities of the one God who is at all times Creator, Judge, and Redeemer, as though he created in one period, judged in another, and redeemed in yet a third. To say this is, however, to affirm that that aspect of God's work which seems most apparent to my weak eyes of faith in these troublesome times is his judgment: his emphatic "No" to our idols, his awesome destruction of evil principalities and powers, his exacting punishment for our inhumanity to man. I for one can no longer deny the relevance of such a prophetic word as this:

For wicked men are found among my people;
They lurk like fowlers lying in wait.
They set a trap; they catch men.

Like a basket full of birds, their houses are full of treachery;
therefore they have become great and rich,
they have grown fat and sleek.

They know no bounds in deeds of wickedness; they judge not with
justice the cause of the fatherless, to make it prosper, and
they do not defend the rights of the needy.

Shall I not punish them for these things? says the Lord,
and shall I not avenge myself on a nation such as this?

Jeremiah 6:26-29

We Are Theologically Unprepared

Now if this is anywhere near the truth, if the dominant theological reality of our time is the judgment of God, if we can expect in the next decade to endure God's holy wrath, then it follows that the primary theological question of our time is not whether God is alive or dead, but rather, how does one most appropriately respond to God's judgment.

I frankly do not find in contemporary theology nearly as much help in my search for an answer to that question as I want and need. Much popular theological commentary on the racial situation in America is unduly optimistic. Lots of it merged during the heady days of the illusionary victories of 1964 and 1965. In those days Martin Luther King was the uncontested leader of the civil rights movement. Non-violence **was** the uncontested tactic, if not principle. The issue - securing for Negroes their legal rights guaranteed by

the Constitution - was perfectly clear. The villains - thanks to the stupidity of certain Southern racists - were easily identifiable. And the heroes were those brave marchers singing in the streets, "Black and white together, we shall overcome."

We white liberals realized at the time that the predominantly white church was awfully late getting in on the act, and Eugene Carson Blake confessed our tardiness at the Washington March when he said, "Late we come, but we come." Yet most of us took great and justifiable pride in the role which the white church played in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, when it finally did get in on the act; and most of us had great and unjustifiable hope for the immediate future. Our vision in those days was of a Beloved Community or Great Society, and while none of us was so naive as to identify either with the Kingdom of God, we were pretty confident - just two or three years ago - that a new humanity was emerging and that we were working with God to bring it into being. We might have been confused about many key theological issues because our neo-orthodox foundations had crumbled beneath us, but at least we knew what to do about race relations!

Of course, even in those days there were some disquieting voices in our midst. Malcolm X was charging that the whites had taken over the March on Washington so the blacks could not demonstrate their power. SNICK leaders were cynically remarking that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would do nothing more than enable the Southern Negro to get in twenty years where the Northern masses were even then. Will Campbell was reminding us of the dangerous blasphemy of our saying at rallies, "We are going to win because God is on our side." And Bill Stringfellow was warning us of the holocaust to come.

But we weren't listening. It's not that we had forgotten what our neo-orthodox fathers had taught us about sin and judgment. It's just that we were so darn impressed by what liberated, realistic, hardnosed, twentieth century secular Christians of good will could do. Like our pietistic friends, we failed in those days to come to terms with either the demonic power of racism in this country or the hell we may well have to pay for it.

Thus, the turn of events in the past two or three years has caught most of us theologically - as well as socially, politically, economically, and emotionally - unprepared. Our nation has not known for a century the sort of internal disorder, violence, bloodshed, and anguish we may well experience in the next decade, and most of us simply don't know what to do.

The Existential Question

Thus, the existential question before us is: What is the appropriate response to God's judgment? What does radical repentance really involve?

Is Bill Stringfellow right? In July 1964 - over three years ago - he wrote these haunting words:

Now if it comes to pass that nonviolence is forsaken in the Negro Revolution, then there is, I believe, a most specific witness to which white Christians in America are summoned. And I gladly commend that witness to my fellow white men who are Christians.

The witness of the white Christian, on that day, must surely be the same as the witness, already during these long years of protest and agony, exemplified by so many Negro Christians: The witness of the Cross....

If it comes to pass that white men who are Christians are attacked by Negroes or endure ridicule or humiliation or interference or taunting or torture, if it comes to pass that white Christians are exposed to the loss of their possessions, or status, or jobs, or property, or homes, or even families, if one's own life itself is at issue, then, let the witness of the white Christians, for himself, for all white men, and in fact for all men everywhere, be the witness of the cross.

When the knife is at the belly, let the white Christian not protest. Let him receive the assault without prudence, without resistance, without rationalization, without extenuation, without a murmur. Let him love in the face of his own death.⁶

My gutsy reaction to this is that it is so far out, so fatalistic, and such a council of despair, that it need not be taken seriously. But suppose all our realistic, political activity - our work for a new set of national priorities, more jobs, better housing, quality education, adequate welfare checks--suppose all this comes as too little, too late. Suppose we are the generation chosen by God to endure his righteous indignation. What then? What is the appropriate Christian response?

- NOTES -

¹"Freedom Is Not Enough" by Lyndon B. Johnson in Information Service, October 9, 1965. Cf. the article by Rustin mentioned below.

²"A Way Out of the Exploding Ghetto" by Bayard Rustin, The New York Times Magazine, August 13, 1967, pp. 62 ff.

³"The Riots: No Winners - Only Losers" by Harvey Cox, Christianity and Crisis, August 7, 1967, p. 181.

⁴"Summer of 1967" by Pat Watters, New South, Summer, 1967, p. 112.

⁵The Fire Next Time by James Baldwin, New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964, p. 119.

⁶"Through Dooms of Love" by William Stringfellow in New Theology No. 2, edited by Martin E. Marty and Dean G. Peerman, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965, pp. 295 ff.

Church and Society Opinion is available free of charge to anyone who desires to receive it. Send your name and address (including zip code) to the Division.

Focus: ON OPENNESS

By Grace Loucks Elliot

"Openness is the key to the discovery of all of life. It signifies the opposite of closed areas of thought, or exclusive understanding or approach to truth or reality. Insofar as our difficulties stem from distorted perception and partial approaches to truth, we need to correct the untruths we have accepted. Openness to the present is not rebellion against the past or against convention; a growing experience must have roots as does a plant. Openness is not inconsistent with conviction and commitment when they are hypotheses to be tested or changed in the light of new data, and not self-binding certainties or rejections of painful possibilities." (On Openness, page 22.)

* * * * *

Painful possibilities--yet

"We must live together as brothers or perish together as fools." - Martin Luther King

* * * * *

"Dialogue is the language of those who have been broken open and know that they are the ones being questioned."

- Loren Halvorsen

"Renewal has to begin with me."

- Eleanor French
Meditation at National YWCA Convention

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
for initiating
YWCA DIALOGUE AND ACTION FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

TO BEGIN THE DIALOGUE

The crisis in the nation demands that people of goodwill lose no time in wondering what the issues are or what needs to be done. A first step in action is to take seriously two important public documents;

1. THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

This is the basic document for the dialogue groups. The Report's analysis of the riots and their causes and its review of the roles played by individuals, communities, newspapers and television is necessary reading for every American interested in racial peace. Order from: Bantam Books, Inc., Special Sales Dept., 271 Madison Avenue, New York 10016. \$1.25, quantity prices for orders of 25 or more. Special order form enclosed.

2. A TIME TO LISTEN...A TIME TO ACT

Presents voices from the ghettos of the nation's cities as they were heard in hearings before the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Emerging from the testimony is a picture of life in the ghetto, and the "barrios" which afford possible answers to questions sometimes asked by white people about minority groups, i.e., What do they want? Why don't they work? Why can't they, like early immigrants, simply better their condition and move out of slum areas through personal effort?

For a free single copy write U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 801 19 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. For quantity write Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20025. 45 cents.

* * * * *

THE YWCA MAGAZINE, June 1968--Special Issue on Racism

Order additional copies of this issue of The YWCA MAGAZINE. The presentation of the crucial issues and action proposals will be useful for some time to come. Special sessions around the magazine articles will be important for every volunteer and staff member and for every dialogue group leader and member.

* * * * *

NOTE: Look into the files and bring out the Report of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." Examine it for recommendations yet to be implemented and for its documentation of issues.

In addition, some copies of the reports from YWCAs holding pre and post White House Conferences "To Fulfill These Rights" are available without charge from the Office of Racial Integration at "600." The richness of the suggestions for action may prove helpful to YWCA leaders eager to accelerate action and to know what others are doing.

ORDER: CRISIS IN THE NATION

YWCA's have the unique opportunity to share in the unprecedented compilation of materials under a special action program of the National Council of Churches designed to "reorder, strengthen, accelerate and fully coordinate the resources of the churches and the National Council in the struggle for justice in the nation."

An order form including the tremendous list of materials available at rates the collective quantity makes possible is enclosed in the CALL TO DIALOGUE AND ACTION KIT. Use the Special Order Blank "CRISIS IN THE NATION" for materials and encourage widespread sharing. Send it to the Department of Publications, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. Yesterday's answers will not do for today!

* * * * *

THE YWCA MAGAZINE will include an extensive resource list. We mention here the sources of those which have been mentioned in the GUIDE TO YWCA DIALOGUE.

Edwards, George: The Police on the Urban Frontier

This guide to community understanding gives some clues to ways to improve relations between the police and citizens, especially minority groups. It presents suggestions for action at a time when a climate of repression and over-preparedness has accentuated tensions around the police and law enforcement. \$1.00. Institute for Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022. Order form enclosed in the kit.

Elliot, Grace Loucks and Jean Elliot Johnson: On Openness--Five studies suggesting ways of using imagination both in listening and responding. Valuable for those who want to make the dialogue real. Bureau of Communications, National Board, YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

Harrington, Michael: The Other America

With remarkable clarity the author interprets the nature and meaning of poverty in an affluent society, the U.S.A. Paperback 95 cents. Penguin Books, Inc., 3300 Clipper Mill Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21211.

King, Martin Luther, Jr.: Why We Can't Wait

This interpretation of the events, the forces, the pressures behind the quest for civil and human rights in the U.S.A.--written at the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation--brings perspective to an understanding of racism in our society. Paperback. The New American Library, A Signet Book.

Randolph, A. Philip: The Freedom Budget for All Americans

Budgeting our national resources to achieve "freedom from want." Example of a massive program of action commensurate with the depth of need. The coalition of conscience called for in 1966 presents a positive alternative to the "crisis-managed" response to human need. The A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 West 125 Street, New York, N.Y. 10027. \$1.00 single copy, 10-99 copies 75 cents each.

Negro Women--in the Population and in the Labor Force--just off the press.

Write Mrs. Mary Dubling Keyserling, Director, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20010.

* * * * *

Other Resources available from the National Board, YWCA

Women Involved in the Real World--the 20-minute speech delivered by

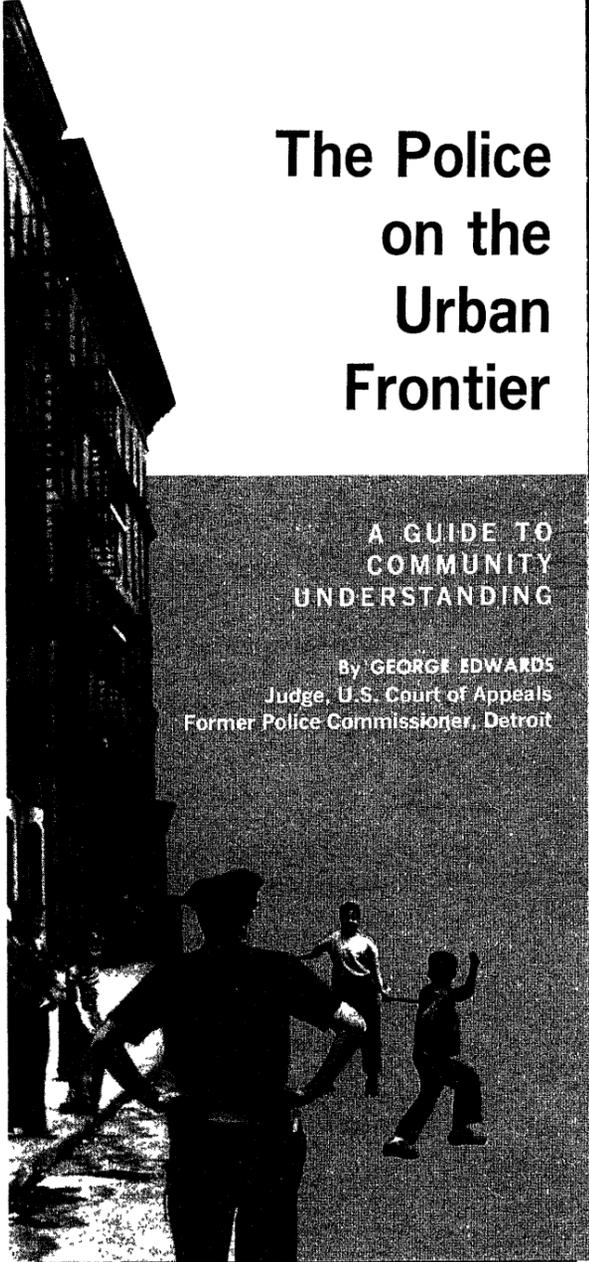
Dorothy I. Height, Director of the Office of Racial Integration, at the 24th National YWCA Convention is available in print in the set of three speeches at \$1.00.

A Tape Recording of Miss Height's speech is available without charge. Request it from the Regional Office.

National YWCA Emphases 1967-1970

1) Program Priorities 2) the Public Affairs Program and 3) Leadership Emphases are presented in a clear-cut manner to help member-leaders implement the action and goals adopted by the national convention. (20 cents - 50 or more 15 cents each. Bureau of Communications, National Board, YWCA.

Office of Racial Integration, National Board, YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue,
New York, New York 10022



The Police on the Urban Frontier

A GUIDE TO
COMMUNITY
UNDERSTANDING

By GEORGE EDWARDS
Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals
Former Police Commissioner, Detroit

the man on the beat and the man in the street — police officials, mayors, court officers, civil rights leaders, churchmen, every American concerned with the challenge of urban disorders.

Must reading for...

The Police on the Urban Frontier

“ The relationship between the police and minority groups in big-city ghettos is one of the sorest spots in American life today. . . . The police are not responsible for solving America's race problem. . . . But if we are to move toward the needed fundamental social changes without something approaching civil war, can anyone doubt the need to reexamine the role of the police in this conflict, and its capacity to meet the challenge? ”

A comprehensive resource by the former Chief of Police of Detroit, which cuts through the tangle of criticism surrounding police practice to get to the core problems of race relations and law enforcement today. Drawing on 30 years of experience and study, Judge Edwards offers realistic guidelines for a professional police force, capable of safeguarding civil liberties and maintaining law and order in a period of social crisis.

“ The police function is in trouble in every section of the United States. New needs and responsibilities in law enforcement are multiplying. . . . American police forces are impossibly ill-equipped in numbers, training, weaponry and program, and often in attitudes, to deal with the problems of this year and years to come. ”

the man on the beat and the man in the street — police officials, mayors, court officers, civil rights leaders, churchmen, every American concerned with the challenge of urban problems.

Must reading for...

The Police on the Urban Frontier

A GUIDE TO COMMUNITY
UNDERSTANDING

by George Edwards

JUDGE, U.S. COURT OF APPEALS
FORMER POLICE COMMISSIONER, DETROIT

FOREWORD BY

Attorney General Ramsey Clark

PARTIAL CONTENTS

- The Police in the
20th-Century City
- The Challenge to Law Enforcement
- The Conflict Between Negroes
and the Police
- 19th-Century Tools for
20th-Century Tasks
- Police Professionalization
- Effective Race Riot Control
- Channels of Communication
in the Ghetto
- Organizing Citizen Support
- Toward a 20th-Century Police Force

About the Author

The Hon. George Edwards, Judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, was born in Texas, educated at Southern Methodist and Harvard Universities, and earned the degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence at the Detroit College of Law. He has been deeply involved in Detroit's law enforcement and community relations problems for almost three decades. Besides a two-year stint as Chief of Police, he has been director-secretary of the Detroit Housing Commission, president of the Common Council, Probate Judge of the Wayne County Juvenile Court, and Circuit Judge for Wayne County. He is chairman of the Committee on the Administration of the Criminal Law of the Judicial Conference of the United States and a member of the National Commission on Reform of the Federal Criminal Laws. Judge Edwards has also written and lectured on juvenile delinquency and criminal law.

What They Say...

Only a man who has been intimately involved with law enforcement could have written this much-needed analysis of police problems, minority-group grievances and the steps needed to end the bitterness between the police and the community.

— **HERBERT T. JENKINS**
Chief of Police, Atlanta

A small volume rich in the insight it offers, and the proposals it makes. . . . Judge Edwards knows that until the police and the urban communities they serve regard one another as allies in a common cause, the tensions and difficulties will remain, to threaten the peace of our cities.

— **SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY**
New York

. . . a cogent analysis of the misunderstandings that so often separate the police from minority-group communities and the broader problems of law enforcement in an urban society. Community leaders and citizens throughout America would do well to read his words and follow his advice.

— **SENATOR THOMAS H. KUCHEL**
California

There is no question that it is a modern basic text in police-community relations. . . . Informative, instructive, a set of guidelines with objectives and goals clearly spelled out.

— **HOWARD R. LEARY**
Police Commissioner, New York City

As an ex-police commissioner, Judge George Edwards is well qualified to discuss the extremely critical relationship between the police and Negro communities. His pamphlet should make a valuable contribution to the understanding and, hopefully, solution of Negro and police conflict.

— **BAYARD RUSTIN**
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

The police-community relationship has become the most vital link in urban living. *The Police on the Urban Frontier* provides a genuine and intelligent insight into the pressures and problems and the policeman's participation. It should be read by all persons engaged in law enforcement at any level.

— **CARL B. STOKES**
Mayor of Cleveland

This booklet pulls together some of the most perceptive thoughts and cogent factual evidence available on the police and their critical role in our modern urban society. I know of no single document that speaks as eloquently and clearly to so large an audience as this one.

— **MARVIN E. WOLFGANG**
Chairman, Department of Sociology
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LITANY OF THE DESOLATE CITY

(The words of the Leader are taken from the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders; the responses are from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures.)

LEADER: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal.

PEOPLE: *"If a house is divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand."*

LEADER: Our present system of public welfare is designed to save money instead of people, and tragically ends up doing neither.

PEOPLE: *"There will be no poor among you if only you will obey the voice of the Lord your God and do His commandments."*

LEADER: During the first quarter of the twentieth century, the federal government enacted no new legislation to ensure equal rights ... and despite flagrant violations made little attempt to enforce existing laws.

PEOPLE: *"Its rulers give judgment for a bribe, its priests teach for hire, its prophets divine for money, saying, 'No evil shall come upon us!'"*

LEADER: In three decades federal subsidy has built eight hundred thousand housing units for the disadvantaged; federal mortgage guarantees have made possible over ten million middle and upper-income units.

PEOPLE: *"Woe to those who lie upon beds of ivory and anoint themselves with the finest oils, but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph!"*

LEADER: The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a widespread belief that there is a double standard of justice and protection.

PEOPLE: *"The prince and the judge ask for a bribe, and the great man utters the evil desire of his soul; thus they weave it together."*

LEADER: In World War II the Red Cross, with government approval, in blood banks for wounded servicemen separated Negro and white blood.

PEOPLE: *"God made of one blood every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth."*

LEADER: Vietnam diverted the attention of the country from the issue of equality.

PEOPLE: *"You have shed such blood and have waged great wars; you shall not build a house to my name because you have shed so much blood."*

LEADER: We have seen in our cities a chain reaction of racial violence. If we are heedless, none of us shall escape the consequences.

PEOPLE: *"Because you trusted in your strongholds and your treasures, you also shall be taken; the destroyer shall come upon every city, and no city shall escape."*

LEADER: Weapons which are designed to destroy, not to control, have no place in densely populated communities.

PEOPLE: *"Put your sword back in its place; for all who take the sword will perish by the sword."*

LEADER: Observers report that city fathers seemed unaware of the seriousness of the tensions.

PEOPLE: *"Lord, when did we see thee hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison?"*

LEADER: Mayors and councilmen in many cities were surprised at the riots because they thought they had already done so much.

PEOPLE: *"When we have done all that is commanded, we are still unworthy servants."*

LEADER: The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness but the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.

PEOPLE: *"Rend your hearts and not your garments."*

LEADER: The major need is to generate new will -- the will to tax ourselves
to the extent necessary to meet the vital needs of the nation.

PEOPLE: *"I will buy it for a price; I will not offer to the Lord that
which costs me nothing."*

LEADER: For every American the situation requires new attitudes, new
understanding, and, above all, new will.

PEOPLE: *"Repent and turn from all your transgressions, lest iniquity be
your ruin. Cast away all your transgressions which you have
committed, and get yourselves a new heart and a new spirit!
For I have no pleasure in the death of anyone, says the Lord:
so turn, and live."*

Ecumenical Service of Worship, Memorial Service for Martin Luther King, Jr.
Church Center for the United Nations, April 8, 1968.
Compiled by a joint staff committee, National Council of Churches at Church
Center for U.N.

A GUIDE TO EXAMINING YOUR COMMUNITY

I. What changes have taken place in the composition of the population of your community over the past 15 years?

	1950	1960	1965 or 1966 (if available)
Total population	_____	_____	_____
Negro population	_____	_____	_____
Other minority group population	_____	_____	_____

II. How adequate are educational facilities for all ages and groups in your community?

1) List the schools in your community

<u>School</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>Percentage of H.S. Grads. Entering College</u>	<u>Physical Cond. of School (Excellent, Good, Poor)</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

2) What is the salary range for public school teachers? _____

3) List your community facilities for higher education and on-job training.

4) What proportion of the population 25 years of age and over has not completed high school? _____

III. To what extent is good housing at reasonable cost available on an open basis to all groups in your community?

1) What proportion of the housing is classified as substandard? _____

2) What are the average rents in low-income areas? _____

3) Does your community have a fair housing ordinance? _____

4) Do all groups (racial, religious, national) have opportunity to buy or rent adequate housing? _____

IV. Are jobs available for all persons who need and want work? (Who are the unemployed?)

- 1) How many people are employed? _____ unemployed? _____ How many of the unemployed are minority group members? _____
- 2) How many persons are employed in professional, technical, clerical and sales jobs? _____
- 3) How many nonwhite workers are employed in professional, technical, clerical and sales jobs? _____
- 4) What are the major industries? _____
- 5) What is the average wage for unskilled workers in these industries? _____
- 6) List the child care facilities available for working mothers. How many children are cared for in these facilities?

V. Has the number of persons receiving assistance from welfare agencies increased? How adequate are welfare allowances?

- 1) How many people receive assistance from welfare agencies? _____
- 2) What is the average monthly welfare allowance to a family with two school age children? _____

VI. Is good medical care available for all persons in your community?

- 1) How many physicians are in the community? _____ Dentists? _____
- 2) What facilities are available for medical diagnosis and treatment?

- 3) List the hospitals and the number of beds available in each.

Are these hospitals so located that persons in all areas of your community can reach them easily? _____

- 4) What kinds of clinics are available? _____
-

VII. How real is inter-group communication?

1) List the daily newspapers that are published.

2) Do the newspapers publish the points of view of different political, racial, religious and national groups in your community? _____

3) Do all the groups in your community take an active part in community projects? _____

VIII. Does everyone in your community have access to adequate recreational facilities?

1) List the parks, playgrounds and other recreational activities offered in your community.

2) Are all of the above facilities open to all groups in the community? _____

IX. To what extent is your city government actively working to solve the major problems in your community?

1) How do community groups participate in the governmental process?

2) What major social and economic problems in your city are being solved effectively by your city government?

X. WHAT GROUPS ARE COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE REAL COMMUNITY PROBLEMS?
WHAT NEW VOICES BEING HEARD? WHOSE ARE THEY?
TO WHAT EXTENT IS THE YWCA A VITAL FORCE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE?

RPR
3/68

NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA
Bureau of Research and Program Resources

FACT SHEET

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

These are some of the current facts about Negro life in the United States as reported in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States, U.S. Department of Labor and Bureau of the Census, October 1967. How does your community compare?

EDUCATION

The average Negro student in the final year of high school is performing at a 9th grade level. The gap in achievement level between Negro and white students widens between the 6th and 12th grades.

HOUSING

Segregated housing patterns have increased in major U.S. cities since 1960. 29% of the housing occupied by Negro families in the U.S. is substandard compared with 8% of the housing occupied by white families.

EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS

Median income for white families is \$7,722; for Negro families, \$4,463. The average income of Negro male workers with a college education is less than that of the white male worker with a high school diploma. The unemployment rate for Negro workers is twice that of white workers.

HEALTH

At age 25, the average life expectancy of a Negro is 68.3 years; that of a white person 73.6 years. The nonwhite maternal mortality rate is 4 times the white rate.

WELFARE

41% of the nonwhite families have incomes below the poverty level. 12% of the white families are below the poverty level. The average welfare payment to a dependent child is \$36.45 a month, ranging from \$9.30 in Mississippi to \$54.00 in New Jersey. (Welfare in Review, July 1967)

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ARE WHITE LIBERALS OBSOLETE IN THE BLACK STRUGGLE?

By James Farmer

(From the Progressive Magazine, January, 1968)

JAMES FARMER has a long career as a leader in the civil rights movement. He founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and became its director in 1961, when he led the CORE Freedom Rides. He resigned his post in 1966 to start a national literacy drive. Mr. Farmer has served as program director of the NAACP, and he is now a professor of social welfare at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. He wrote the book, "Freedom--When?" published in 1966 by Random House.

Several months ago I received a telephone call from a stranger. The caller identified himself as a Negro and said that he was confused. He felt he was damned if he did and damned if he didn't.

"Just a few years ago," he said, "civil rights leaders were saying that the creative and radical thing to do was to break down Jim Crow by integrating white neighborhoods." So he and his bride met the challenge and battled their way into a lily white suburb. They overcame the vandalism and survived the physical threats and the isolation. They made it. "Now," he went on, "Negroes call us Uncle Toms and ex-colored folk for living out here with all these white people."

Soon the Los Angeles City School Board, after years of prodding by militant civil rights leaders, is expected to come up with plans for total desegregation of the city's schools. If these plans take shape, they will not now be hailed as a victory by the black community. The scattered applause which may greet the change will be smothered by the relentless opposition of those who demand local community control of ghetto schools instead of dispersal of their children.

The agenda of the black ghetto is changing rapidly. Last week's cliches have a hollow ring. Yesterday's answers have lost their relevance. If white America is bewildered by the swirl of shifting demands, it is not alone. There is lack of comprehension among many black folk, too.

Behind the rhetoric and posturing of today, a fundamental debate is rending the black community. The shallow newspaper headlines have done nothing to clarify the controversy, and the news accounts have oversimplified and distorted it. The issue is not militancy versus moderation. There are militants indeed and there are moderates, too, in both camps. Nor is "integration versus separation" the definitive division. Which is it--integration or separation--when a black student joins a campus Afro-American association after choosing freely to enter an integrated university? Then, is it youth against age? The young, it is true, carry the burden of the argument on one side, while many of their elders form the bulwark on the other. But chronology must not be confused with ideology.

Is the question, then, "black power"? How does one debate a slogan without a precise statement of its meaning?

There is an issue, however, and it is frighteningly real. The question stripped bare is this: What is the way for black Americans to find a meaning for their existence and to achieve dignity in the American context? Is it through assimilation? Or is it through racial cohesiveness?

This is not an unfamiliar debate on American soil. All immigrant groups have wrestled with it, and it has torn many asunder. In each case there have been voices speaking for group cohesion, for maintaining cultural identity, for a kind of sub-nationalism within this nation. There have also been voices urging dispersal, and assimilation, and pressing the smaller group to enter the larger group of their new national home. Invariably, in the first generation, internal insecurity of the group and external hostility toward it gave ascendancy to the voices favoring group cohesion. The greater the external pressure, the greater the cohesion. Immigrants and their descendants remained Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Jewish-Americans, with the accent on their original identity. As the external pressure was reduced, the voices of assimilation became more compelling. The ethnic hyphens faded, but they have never completely disappeared.

Among black people, the ideological division has been of longer duration, because of their high visibility and the background of slavery. After emancipation the debate began, but in a low key. Many Negroes wanted then to return to Africa, and some did. But most sought somehow to make their way here--some as a separate people, and some as an assimilated group. What was the American Negro--or the Negro American? A black man who happened, through historical accident, to live in America, or an American who, by genetic accident, happened to be black? In 1903, W.W.B. DuBois put the dilemma thus:

"One feels his two-ness--an American Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals, in one dark body...."

"The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife--this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self....He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach the Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without being cursed and spit upon...."

The ferocious quality of the debate in black America is of recent vintage, and was triggered by three failures -- the failure of newly won legal and constitutional civil rights prerogatives to effect any meaningful change in the life situation of black people; the failure of the assault on segregation to halt the trend toward increasing segregation in housing and schools; and the failure of all efforts to have any discernible impact on racism in the nation's society. "Everything has changed, but everything remains the same," one hears constantly in the South. De facto segregation throughout the nation continues to rise. The income gap is still widening. Racism, like a miasma, is still breathed with the air.

Throughout this century the ascendancy among the contending Negroes has been held by those who sought dispersal and assimilation. With the Supreme Court school desegregation decision of 1954 this ascendancy rode on a wave of euphoria. Two years ago, however, optimism receded to leave the bitter taste of hollow victories in the mouths of the black masses.

What has been said to the black man throughout this century, by his leaders and by white liberals, is that he must think of himself as an individual and not as a member of a group, and that if, as an individual, he gained education and money he would first be acculturated and then assimilated into a racially integrated society. He would become, in reality, a white man with an invisible black skin in a color-blind community. Men of good will, black and white, bowed to the myth that proximity would, in itself, produce color-blindness. If assimilation were achieved, the black man would have no ethnic or racial identity; he would be an American distributed through every phase of the nation's life. The black ghetto would disappear; the Harlems would become nightmares of the past.

For many years no responsible leader would have suggested that improvement of educational or housing conditions in the ghetto could possibly serve any useful purpose. The ghettos were seen as an anachronism; to improve them would be to perpetuate the evil of segregation. Privately supported Negro colleges almost went bankrupt. A. Philip Randolph was castigated in the late 1950's for urging formation of a "Negro American Labor Council." White students in integrated colleges complained that black students were not yet truly emancipated, for when two Negroes entered the dining hall they frequently sat together and talked with each other, rather than distributing themselves in the best integrated fashion. The cry was "segregation in reverse."

Efforts to implement this dispersion concept of integration obviously have failed, though some still argue for it -- naively, I think. It no longer enjoys the widespread acceptance in the black community which it once had. Indeed, it is today under fierce attack. What the dispersion concept required of the black man was a kind of abnegation, a losing of himself as a black man to find himself as an American.

Its opponents argue for an ethnic cohesiveness, a finding of himself as a black man, as the urgent goal. They advocate group self-assertion. They foster pride in pigmentation, rather than white mimicry. Rather than disperse the ghetto and reject self, they would preserve, cherish, and develop the ghetto, and love the black self.

Some of the ethnic unity advocates are separationists and view the ghetto, which they seek to upgrade, as a separate community preferably to remain alienated from the body politic. Others see it as an ethnic community among many ethnic communities in cities, and as a power fulcrum to propel the black man into the political and economic mainstream, thereby changing the mainstream significantly. So, there are debates within debates. The debates are creative and good. The truth, I am sure, will emerge somewhere between the extremes.

The black man must find himself as a black man before he can find himself as an American. He must now become a hyphenated American, discovering the hyphen so that he can eventually lose it. This involves accepting the stark reality that the black ghettos of our cities are not going to disappear in the foreseeable future. Nor is racism.

The Afro-American cannot skip the hyphenated phase in his development, and the losing of his hyphen will be more difficult for him, as I have suggested, because of his high visibility, because of the experience of slavery, and because of a racial mystique, deeply rooted in both white and Negro, which holds the Negro inferior. Paradoxically, the black man must, I think, strengthen his ghetto on the one hand, and continue to provide an exit on the other. He must build the economic and political power of the ghetto as he simultaneously fights for open occupancy housing, which eventually will destroy the ghetto, but will provide the Negro with a new potency as a full American.

This is bound to be a long and agonizing process, encompassing a series of progressive and regressive steps -- some dramatic, some prosaic, some violent, some passive. A thin line separates group self-pride and self-hate. To expect that all will walk that line without crossing it is naive. To ask that it not be walked because some will step over it is to ask the impossible. If the rhetoric of proponents of black consciousness is sometimes excessive, it is because they are trying to "de-program" themselves. They, too, are creatures of a national culture which has held them worthless. "Black is beautiful and it is so great to be black." If they shout too loudly, it is because they are shouting down the echoes of 400 years of contrary conditioning.

Those least capable of understanding what is happening in the ghetto today are, I hear, the white liberals. Their reaction is more than a matter of unrequited love. The new formulations of black unity fly in the face of their liberal dogmas and challenge every cliché they hold dear. Such a cliché is "breaking up the ghetto." Another is the "color-blindness" mystique. Still another is the shibboleth of inter-racialism, which requires, for instance, that every house party have a least one black guest.

But the white liberal is even more shattered by the redefinition of his role, or, more accurately, the rejection of his former role. Liberals have not hated us; they have loved us. It is the bigots who have hated us, and hate is its own bizarre kind of flattery; it pays its victims the high compliment of worthiness. But paternalistic love depreciates them. Hate says to a man that he is an equal; paternalism tells him he is a child. But what happens to paternalism when the child grows up?

The horror of racist programming in American, from womb to tomb, is that it has pictured the black man as an incompetent, a child -- the "boy," "girl," and first name syndrome -- or at best it has viewed him as a little brother who must have his big brother as his keeper. Despite all protestations to the contrary, the historic Negro-liberal alliance, from the Abolitionists to today, has been on that basis. We blacks have been junior partners, not equals.

As a liberal friend wrote to me recently in response to my reply to his initial inquiry as to whether we had been wrong all these years he and I had fought together for integration, "...some of our long cherished cliches about the civil rights struggle do need updating. (but)...some things I continue to believe are absolute truths; among these is the fundamental truth that each man in fact be his brother's keeper, regardless of race..." Another cliché. And that is precisely the problem: liberals have been our custodians, guardians, handlers, keepers, but not our brothers, our eyeball-to-eyeball equals.

A middle-aged white lady, a mover in liberal causes for many years, asked me a few weeks ago why it is that now when the hand of friendship is offered to black people in the ghettos, often as not they bite it. I tried to explain that black people, especially of the lower economic strata, were hitherto silent, pliant, and largely invisible. But now they have found their voice. They are bursting with existence and are willing no longer to have their whole lives ordered by others. They insist upon making for themselves the decisions which determine their lives. They will make mistakes, but they must be their mistakes, their blunders. Free a man and he is not yet free. He must still free himself. This I viewed as a positive development toward participatory democracy. Help and cooperation, I argued, must be given on their terms, or not at all.

The worst result of the nation's racist programming is that even black people until now have absorbed the concept of themselves as inferior. It has stunted their growth. A child does not mature so long as he plays the role of a child. When he reaches adulthood, it is good that he leaves the household and rejects the parent if the parent does not begin to view him as an adult. Black people have now grown up in their self-image, and they have walked out of the house.

White liberalism has lost its relevance to the black struggle because it is emotionally and ideologically out of date. Some liberals have conquered their paternalism, and a few -- a precious few -- escaped the virus all along. But liberalism, on the whole, is weak in this respect.

To regain their relevance to the Negro struggle, white liberals must re-orient their feelings and their thinking. They must get over seeing themselves as great white fathers and mothers, brokers of power and patronage for black people. They must learn that if they stoop down to offer, in the missionary way, the hand of friendship, the offer will be rejected, the hand bitten. If they offer it laterally, it will be circled warily, eyed suspiciously, then perhaps taken gingerly and tentatively.

The coming of age of the Negro has been psychological. But it is also political. The recent elections in Cleveland, Gary, Virginia, and several counties in Mississippi

demonstrated that the black vote has matured in the grandest American tradition. The Negro electorate no longer is content to deprecate itself by having whites as its exclusive political custodians. It no longer is willing to be partner to the myth that political decision-making is white men's work. This shakes to its roots the urban coalition which has kept the Democratic kite aloft. The "tail" of the alliance has moved up front to join labor, liberals, ethnic blocs; and professional political machines as part of the kite itself. The Democratic party must now accommodate to this new development or face disaster in 1968.

The new black maturation, apparent for some time in the psychological sense and now visible in the political arena, has encompassed the economic and educational areas only in demand, not yet in performance. Economically, the ghettos are still colonies; the income-producing properties are owned by absentees, and the inhabitants are consumers paying inflated prices. A balance of payments position like theirs would cause England's Prime Minister Harold Wilson to do more than devalue the pound.

Ghetto folk are now demanding that the outward flow of dollars be reversed and that economic control of their communities be turned over to those who share their woes and dreams. None but the lunatic fringe among them clings to the bootstrap illusion that Negroes can do it all alone. Most are keenly aware that they lack the boots -- the capital, the technical know-how, the managerial skills. But help from whites must be consultative and advisory; the decisions must be made by the Negroes in the ghettos. They want industries to invest in their communities, and a few are beginning to do so -- to build plants, to grant franchises, to train managers. It is mandatory, though, that such properties, when built, be turned over to the local community people -- when trained -- to run.

In Watts, Aerojet Corporation has built a subsidiary, the Watts Manufacturing Company, which makes tents and allied products. Watts people have been trained to run the plant from top to bottom. Plans are being made to allow the five hundred employees to purchase stock in the company. The Watts Manufacturing Company, alone, will not save Watts, but it is a start toward providing ghetto dwellers with some measure of control over their economic destiny.

The demand for control over their own future is nowhere so compelling as in the educational realm. After more than a decade of using every device available in a vain attempt to get their children into white schools, in the hope that white power would insure quality education because white children were their classmates, black parents have reversed their field. The demand, as yet unachieved, is now for local community control of ghetto schools. School boards have failed to integrate and failed to educate black children, so now black parents around the country are mounting insistent campaigns for decentralization of authority, giving them control over administrators and curricula in ghetto schools. They could hardly do worse than the school boards -- witness the widening gap in learning, from grades one through twelve, between ghetto youngsters and others. They might do much better, for they have one thing which the school boards have lacked; a passionate concern for their children's education and future.

The debate will rage on between cohesiveness and dispersion. Ascendancy of one camp or the other will be determined ultimately not by rhetoric, and not even by leadership, as much as by events. Events today seem to be racing to the side of the spirited new force -- cohesion -- and I think that is right and good for the black man at this historical juncture.

From: Bureau of Communications
National Board, YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Suggested news release for use
as your dialogue groups get under way

The Young Women's Christian Association of _____ announced
(your community)
today its plans to be part of a nationwide YWCA project in which women and
girls will be meeting in small dialogue groups across race, age, creed and
economic backgrounds in an effort to break through barriers recognized to be
separating people of this country.

The YWCA "call to dialogue" was issued by the national president, Mrs.
Robert W. Claytor, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Miss Edith M. Lerrigo,
executive director of the YWCA of the U.S.A., following National Board dis-
cussion and decision to move quickly to be in the forefront with those who
are seeking to avert some of the conditions predicted for the summer of 1968.

In their letter to local YWCAs throughout the U.S., the national
officials wrote:

"We are 2½ million in the YWCA. What would it mean to America if in
the midst of the fear and discontent and revolution today thousands of women
in small groups try to become an active force for goodwill, for justice,
for equality? What would it mean if there were 5,000 groups of young and
older women meeting continuously from now through the summer to search and
struggle and pray and act as agents of trust and understanding and positive
concern?"

In _____, dialogues will get under way _____,
(your community) (date)
with meetings to be held in the homes of members as follows:

(Use this space to list places of first meetings and to offer your outline
of what the program for the first session will be and other plans.)

A symbolic emblem and a copy of the YWCA purpose have been made available by the national YWCA as identification with membership in the group, and to encourage others to participate in the YWCA effort to bring a new understanding to ways in which people of all backgrounds can together work toward a solution to the present day problems.

As a backdrop for the local events, there will be on April 24 the YWCA's annual World Membership Day to be observed worldwide, also stressing the problem of "racial discrimination" and how it might be solved, as well as a survey by which members of the local YWCAs can look beneath the surface of the community to find out what is going on in people's minds and hearts.

Said the organization's top leaders in announcing plans for the event: There never was a time in the history of the YWCA when every effort was more needed to find effective ways to join in the struggle for peace and justice, freedom and dignity for all people.

Translation of Mr. Taylor's penned in notes on Tony Downs' paper

Page 1, Para. A.

First comment - "I thought all these were aspects of racism."

Second comment - "May need revision."

Page 2, para. 3 - "The Commission is quite a phrasemaker."

Page 3

First comment - "As put forth Section appears to be overly dogmatic. Seems to say 'When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean.' Would help if it were said that while several kinds of definition, it is important to arrive at a working definition which will assist in solving problems."

Second comment - "Why not?"

Third comment - "Not clear under what circumstances such advising would not be racism. Perhaps an example should be given."

Page 4

First comment - "No! Separation, if imposed, is racist, even if by some chance equal facilities are provided."

Second comment - "A legal conclusion?"

Page 5

First comment - "many. Not sure 'most' is true especially in case of institutions chosen as examples."

Second comment - "This will convince very few people. You have to explain why it is the responsibility of a businessman to train a previously unqualified Negro so that he can qualify."

Third comment - "Isn't it racist principally because Negroes have been prevented from acquiring the necessary skills? Isn't it important to say this?"

Page 6

Paragraph 2 comment - "Distinction by employers doesn't work very well for me. Criminal records are thought to have some relation to potential job performance thus they may have to undertake 'the real cost' of assuming additional risks in the hiring of people."

Comment to left side of paragraph 2 - "Then why is it racist?"

Page 7

First comment - "Unless this is part of 1, it doesn't with the others."

Page 9

Only comment - "There is a need to explain why it is racism, presumably would not be if it were a result of self-segregation of both racial groups arrived at by exercise of free choice. But this is not the case. We need to point this out."

Page 10

Only comment - "What form of racism is this? Correlate-functional. Should we not build expressways at all?"

Page 12

Para 4, line 4 - Substitute "believe to be" for "are"

Page 13 -

Para. 6, lines 8 & 9 - Substitute "and situations" for "like 'cow' and 'wagon'."

Last comment - "I think specific example here would be helpful. It has been shown that teachers give more encouragement, e.g., by providing more time to answer questions, to students who they expect to perform well."

Page 14

Para. 8 - "A more important example either here or where employment is discussed previously is the informal network of communication by which information is spread about the availability of jobs. Negroes are usually outside the network, e.g., don't know any of the employees at the firm where jobs are available. This is not overt racism, but has a racist effect."

Page 15

First comment - Substitute "justification for" for "reasons why."

Second comment - Last line. "Like what?."

Page 16

Para. F - First comment is "awkward." Continues "There is hardly any historical reference at all to the point in the essay - Racism is a legacy of slavery."

Page 21

Comment at bottom of page. - "I don't have very much quarrel with the material pp. 16-21, but I wonder whether it really is necessary to the essay. If our purpose is to define institutional behavior which is racist or has racist effects, and to suggest ways to eliminate it, is it really necessary to get into a discussion of the roots of prejudice, which are very complex? If thought necessary, perhaps should be shortened by simply suggesting some of the principal economic and psychological causes identified by experts." (Seems to me that as Rustin has said, it is not necessarily good strategy to put all white Americans on the psychiatrist's couch.)

Page 27

Only comment - "This glosses over a very difficult problem. When you talk about "shifting resources," you are talking not simply about increased costs for public programs but redistribution and economic transfers. Statement on page 26 about increased productivity is not likely to persuade _____ of such redistribution. If you want to be persuasive, it will require more exposition(?). Moreover, statement as it stands seems to imply no effort at ghetto dispersal."

Page 29

Only comment - "This section seems to assume that almost all public economic activity is "makework," Also seems to exclude broad expansion of public employment in areas where needed. Author may believe this but I don't think he should impose his preference in this kind of essay."

Page 30 - What is the evidence of this?"

Page 32

Comment one - "More should be said here about what kinds of programs."

Comment two - "Examples would help here too."

Page 33

Only comment - "This may not be the only ultimate objective. Having people live together in peace and harmony may be an independent objective."

Page 34

First comment - "This seems to me a superficial treatment of a complex subject."

Second comment is not Mr. Taylor's - "This should be omitted. The CCR cannot advocate illegitimate means, regardless of the legitimacy of the end." (maybe Mr. Holman's comment)

Page 35

First comment - "Why should services which are usually thought of as a government responsibility be replaced entirely in Negro areas (why presumably continue in white areas)? Wouldn't this be a form of discrimination? A more useful proposal might be to supplement city services through such contracts, e.g., Pride, Inc., in D.C."

Second comment - Not Mr. Taylor's, perhaps Holman's - "Talk about racism!! Physician, heal thyself!"

Page 37

Only comment - "Implied here and elsewhere is the fact that separation breeds mistrust, fear and hostility - Perhaps this should be said somewhere?"

Page 39

Only comment - "Is this really even 'contact'?"