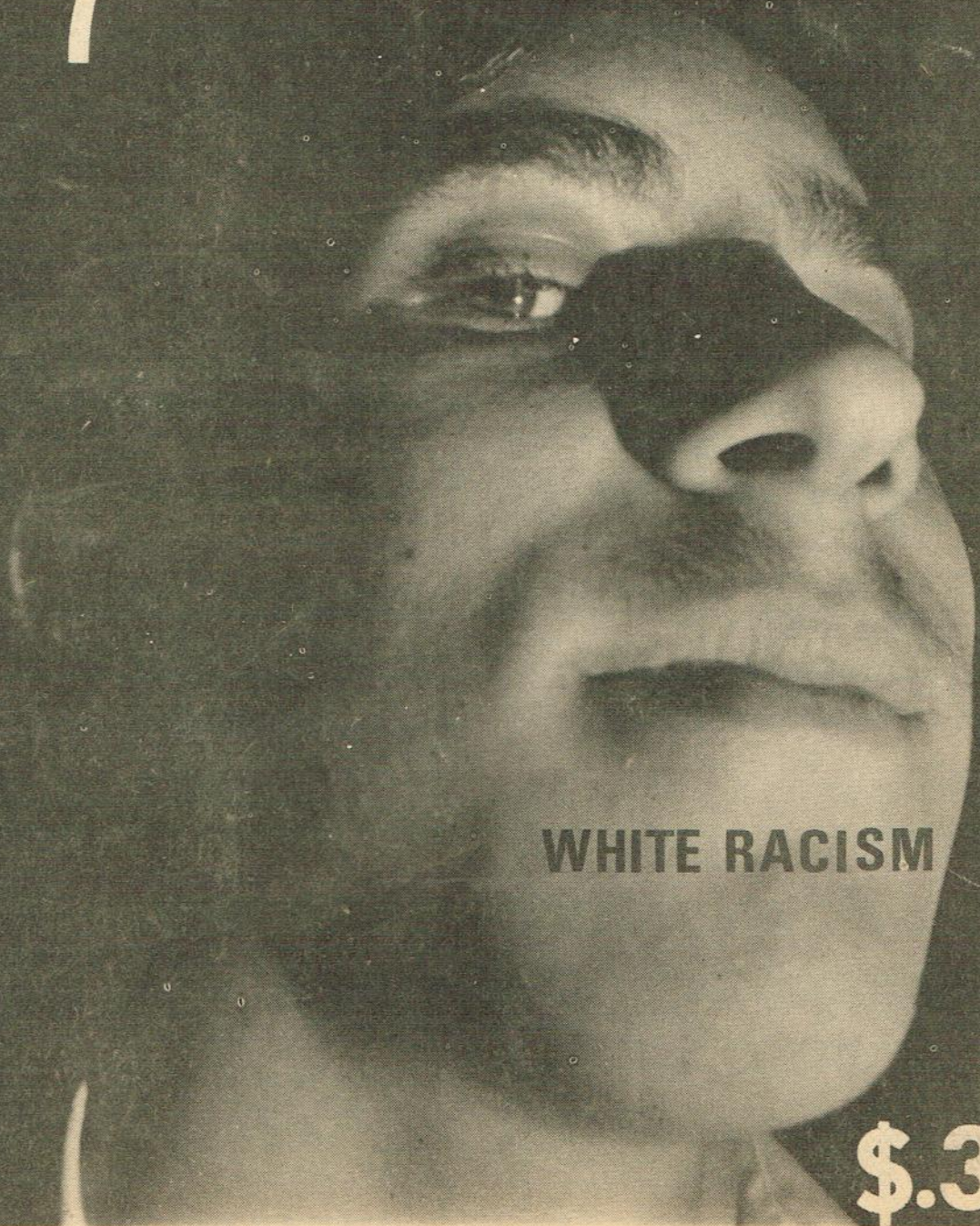


**PAPER**

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**WHITE RACISM**

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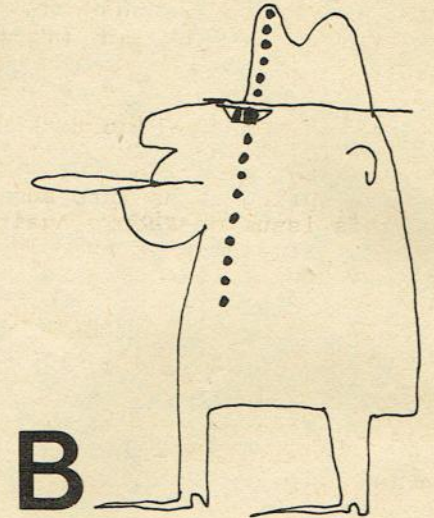
### THE PAPER TIGER IS

an independent radical magazine serving the movement in New England. It presents reports and analyses of situations relevant to the growth of an adult movement for social change.

The opinions expressed in the magazine are not necessarily those of the editorial board. Manuscripts, comments, and letters are welcome. They should be addressed to the New England Free Press, 245 Roxbury St, Boston, Mass. 02119.

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# EDITORIAL

The fact that The Paper Tiger devoted an entire section of last month's issue to Democratic-convention discussion shows the difficulty of producing a coherent magazine in incoherent times. By the time the issue was printed, Johnson's withdrawal from the race had dated much of it -- though there is some evidence that nothing at all would have been printed if Johnson had made the announcement a week earlier. The movement, it seems, filled the coffers of Bell Telephone that night: everyone was talking to everyone else, trying to figure out (1) if he meant it, (2) whether it meant anything, and (3) what do we do from here.

In any event, the danger this month is somewhat less. Not even Hubert Humphrey would claim that racism will be eliminated by the time this issue reaches the stands, and in all probability the question of anti-racist organizing among whites will become more timely as spring turns into summer. The section of this issue on People Against Racism and other, similar work should thus be seen as the beginning of programmatic debate among white radicals.

There is a lesson to be learned from the Democratic Convention debate, though, and not just by the staff of The Paper Tiger. The March conference on the Convention and the events that followed it showed the danger of trying to set up action without program on the one hand and trying to forecast what will happen in the corridors of power on the other. At this point, the national convention organizers have taken what seems to us like a good step backward and two good steps forward. A letter coming from the three-man initiating committee set up in March advocates not creating a national coalition for a convention demonstration; the reasons are first that it is not clear what kind of demonstration would be productive, and second because the March conference itself revealed too many political differences among the participants. Instead, the committee proposes a meeting May 18 in Cleveland to discuss specific summer organizing projects and how to support them nationally. Among the areas outlined for possible projects are GI-base organizing (as "summer of support"); anti-militarism and anti-draft work, especially that based in neighborhoods; white response to black revolts and anti-racist work generally; white working-class organizing; and a program of election-year work concentrating on exposing the Democratic Party.

In Boston, plans at the moment are for a day-long meeting in early May to discuss

local summer organizing, and possibly to send representatives to Cleveland. The areas to be discussed are much the same as those above, excluding GI work but including a program of multi-issue organizing in East Boston (a poor white section). The day will be aimed primarily at channeling students who want to work into one of the various projects, but the substance of the discussion will be programmatic rather than structural or tactical. It's possible that some kind of Convention demonstration -- probably small, probably radical -- will come out of summer programs like this as they are set up around the country. But the important thing is that people talk now about what they will do locally and how they will work together, not whether this or that tactic is a correct response to a specific event.

The same is true of the anti-racist work discussed in this issue, as groups like PAR understand. Their work depends on their ability to go beyond tragedies like the assassination of Dr. King. An anti-racist organization ready to mobilize a huge coalition of resistance the minute the national guard is called out may, if it does nothing else, be like a movement waiting for Johnson to try to be nominated. If it happens, it just may not happen when, where, or the way you expect it--and if you don't have a program to take you one step beyond, you aren't going anywhere. And worst of all, you may even be headed in the wrong direction.

The Paper Tiger's concern is with building an adult new left. The building is going on right now, and if program is hammered out every step of the way, this summer's work could be substantial. We urge students to try out the most logical of all "vocations for radicals" this summer: full-time work in projects like that being organized in Boston or those being discussed nationally, anti-racist or any other. The details of some future new left adult organization will appear within the context of this kind of substantive work or, as we should have learned by now, they will never appear at all.

## MEETING ANNOUNCED

The meeting referred to in the editorial has been announced for May 11, Saturday. Half the day will be devoted to presentations of ongoing work, the other half to workshops discussing plans and programs for summer organizing in each area of activity. People interested in attending the meeting should call the Paper Tiger office, 445-3912, for further information.

This issue is devoted to the problem of white racism. The articles were written in response to the critical need for information. We urge our readers to join in the discussion and in the work.

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## *Guide to Radical Boston*

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# PEOPLE AGAINST RACISM

*Chuck Levenstein*

Thursday night, April 11, 1968. Martin Luther King was shot to death in Memphis. White people were walking in Harvard Square, gathering in the Arlington Street Church, burning up telephone wires, unsure, bewildered, partly unbelieving, but seeking some way to respond to the murder. The guilt and fear of the white liberal and left communities were showing.

Draft resistance groups and People Against Racism quickly stepped into the political vacuum in white Boston. Demonstrations, leafletting, teach-ins were organized in a flurry of activity. And PAR emerged as a new and significant group of the New Left in Boston.

### What is PAR?

In Boston, organization of People Against Racism was the result of the National Conference for New Politics meetings last September. If you remember, that conference

Chuck Levenstein teaches economics at Salem State College. He is on the editorial board of The Paper Tiger.

was wracked by racial and political antagonism. After the meetings, New Left activists agreed that their work was to be found among whites, but two different approaches were evident: some organizers felt that racism remained a fundamental issue on which to work in white areas, even if the civil rights movement was moribund; others argued that white radicals must organize a movement parallel to the black liberation movement around the problems which white people were experiencing in their own communities--essentially ignoring the problem of white racism, except where alliances could be built between black and white groups on the basis of common interest.

While the adherents of the latter view began or continued their work with draft resistance groups, union organizing, student movements, etc., others primarily committed to continuing efforts to combat racism imported a Detroit idea to Boston -- People Against Racism.

### The PAR Line

Boston People Against Racism is, essentially, a research and education organization.

tion. Its members believe that white supremacist attitudes and institutions are responsible for racial problems in the United States and are important factors in determining American foreign policy. Further, they believe that white racism is so inextricably intertwined in all American institutions that the attempt to eliminate it will not only require personal conversion, but also fundamental restructuring of the society. Businesses, trade unions, political parties, courts, schools -- all are products of white supremacist attitudes and reinforce and educate people in a racist manner. The task of white people, PAR then argues, is to work in their own communities to educate themselves and their neighbors and to act to change or replace racist institutions in which they participate. PAR hopes to aid such efforts (1) through providing research and educational resources to groups concerned with racial problems; (2) by helping to organize white middle-class adults and high school students into anti-racist organizations; and (3) by acting as liaison between white groups and the black community.

The PAR line is more fully developed in Frank Joyce's article in this issue of The Paper Tiger. Three years ago, Frank and other white staff members of the Detroit Student Movement left the ghetto to work on PAR in suburban Detroit. He came last year to speak with concerned Bostonians about starting a similar operation, but met with little enthusiasm. It was not until Val Snook, a white welfare organizer, came back from the NCNP that serious efforts began to develop a Boston PAR. Val collected a group of whites who either were or had been closely connected with ghetto organizations. For months this group worked quietly at developing an anti-racist program.

Yet, PAR's analysis and our own understanding of racism is really embryonic. Herb Gintis's column on the economics of discrimination in this magazine clearly demonstrates that white supremacy has to be considered as an independent factor in maintaining the impoverished condition of the black community in America; but it is not at all certain that a militant black liberation movement could not achieve a substantial proportion of its material demands without substantial change in American economic and political institutions. Clearly, the resources can be made available by white society if the threat is sufficient and if liberal politicians can keep their cool.

But the demands of the black community are not simply for material benefits. They are for "freedom" -- and the white American doesn't even understand what that means. Further, we simply do not know now if black power can be bought off; whether white institutions are sufficiently flexible, even in the long run, to meet the demands of the "freedom" movement; or even if black counter institutions or revolutionary groups can achieve the full measure they seek. What we

do know is that racism is deeply rooted in white America, that it and its effects are undesirable, and that we must attempt to deal with the white institutions perpetuating it.

There is a danger in PAR -- as in all left-wing organizations -- of sectarianism, of developing a hard political line and preventing experimentation and further development of our understanding. Hopefully, this trap can be avoided.

### PAR'S Structure

The structure of PAR has developed from its objectives. There are presently four standing committees: a research and education committee (which is also involved in high school curriculum design); a middle-class organizing committee; a college student committee; and a high school organizing committee. Two members of each committee, a chairman (Dave Smith), and the one full-time staff member (Val Snook) make up the steering committee. Membership in PAR requires work on one of the committees and financial contribution to the organization.

But PAR's structure is still evolving. In the months before the King assassination, PAR's twelve members operated as a sort of Leninist cell -- which may have been useful, since it was necessary for the group to develop its own thinking and to overcome the disease of "anti-honkie honkies," i.e. to start constructing a positive approach to white communities.

It was also necessary for them to work out the relationship of the organization to the black movement. The decision to attempt the long range task of dealing with white racism, rather than acting only as a support group for black organizations was a difficult and important one to make. The job they've chosen is much more problematic than simply manning picket lines at the call of black activists.

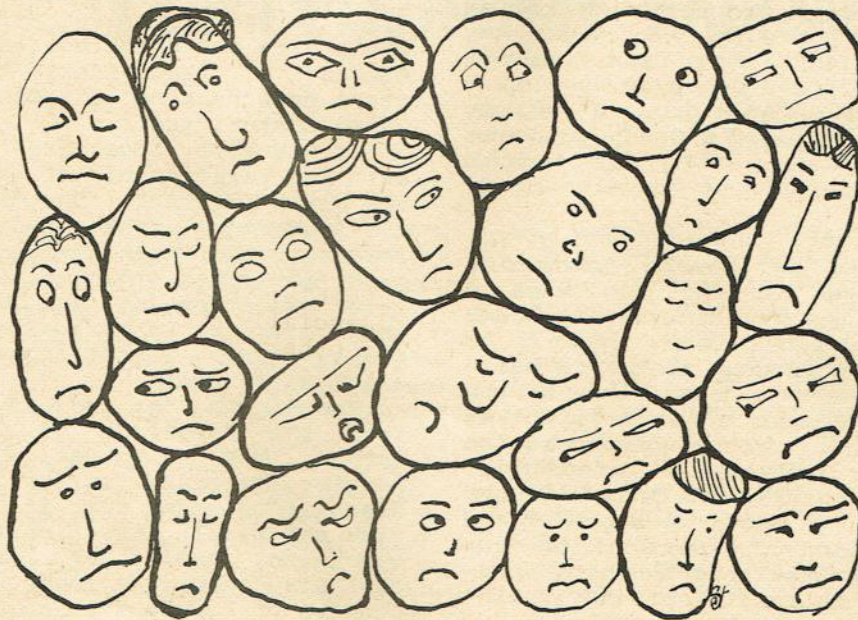
The King murder suddenly thrust the group into the forefront of white anti-racist forces. PAR had to deal with the upsurge of popular interest in racism. Its earlier discussions meant that it was able to provide political direction to demonstrations, teach-ins, and other activities; but the cell structure was inadequate to handle the numbers of people seeking a way to respond to the murder. Thus, the present structure emerged out of the pressure on the organization to present program quickly and to include larger numbers of people in its activity. This growth has been a healthy one for the organization: each committee has active, working members, speakers are going out to suburban groups, college organizations are trading information and experience -- and the infusion of new blood has decreased the problem of sectarianism.

### Problems and Prospects

PAR responded remarkably well to the recent racial crisis. The possibilities of growth in numbers and in influence are before the organization. It has correctly designated middle-class suburbanites as the principle group with which it should work. It is with this relatively affluent and growing group in the society that clearest headway can be made in combatting racism; it is in the suburbs that the questions of quality of life can be raised effectively -- and where the subtle connections with the institutional racism can be made and not be devastatingly threatening.

Yet, one hopes that somewhere, some group will begin the even more difficult effort to work with blue-collar workers and trade unions. The economic threat to white workers from black power is real within the context of present economic institutions -- and they know it. But the resources are available within this society to provide decent lives for black and white -- and the attempt to reach the white trade unionists must be made.

In the short run, the most formidable task PAR must face is that of buying time for its program. Race war and genocide are real threats in America. Only a mass organization of whites can prevent this. PAR and all of us must decide soon how we can help create such a group.



## A Statement from P.A.R.

# WHAT IS RACISM?

*Frank Joyce*

The first step in the solution of any problem is its correct definition. To this day, whites have attempted to devise a realistic definition of the race problem. The task has been fundamentally evaded by the belief that the race problem is a Negro problem. In fact, whites do not have a Negro problem; they do have a white problem.

Even those such as the Kerner Commission who have recently begun to recognize racism in the white community direct their recommendations and solutions not at white America but at reforms for black America. Such reforms are obviously prevented by the very racism which created the need for reforms in the first place. What is required is an analysis of white supremacy--however crude at this stage--and a strategy and program for combatting it.

Racism is a complex phenomenon, particularly in the urban North. Like much of American society, racism is a matter of subtle and not-so-subtle euphemism. An elaborate rhetoric exists to disguise it. Schools are segregated not to keep blacks separate but to preserve the neighborhood school. Police are given excessive power in the ghetto not to deny basic constitutional rights to second-class citizen black people but to stop "crime in the streets." Blacks are not denied jobs because of their skin color but because they are not "qualified." Housing integration is not opposed because people do not wish to live next door to "niggers," but because black people lower property values. Black students, it is argued, fail to learn in ghetto schools not because the schools are inferior, but because the black students are inferior by virtue of "cultural disadvantage" and a poor home environment.

---

Frank Joyce is executive director of People Against Racism in Detroit.

Most whites believe sincerely that they do not discriminate against black people. And indeed, institutionalized, anonymous racism means that many whites do not discriminate in any direct, overt way. They are rarely given the opportunity. White America employs a number of what sociologist Lee Rainwater has labeled the "dirty workers" to do the actual discriminating. The "dirty workers" include the ghetto policeman, schoolteacher, social and welfare worker, and merchant. Also included are the real estate agents, the prosecutors, the slum lords, apartment managers, lower echelon personnel employees and selected politicians. (For reasons of survival or opportunism, even some black people are employed as dirty workers.) It is the responsibility of the dirty workers to control black people as quietly and unobtrusively as possible. The discriminators are supported financially, psychologically, ideologically and otherwise by whites. They are, nevertheless, a minority.

Similarly, relatively few whites benefit in a tangible economic or political sense from the continued oppression and exploitation of blacks. Nearly all whites, however, accept the psychological "benefits" of an arbitrarily defined caste of inferiors in the society. In exchange for the psychological benefit, they offer their tacit, and where necessary active, support to those whose benefits are more material in nature.

Because many whites do not directly participate in the discrimination against or exploitation of black people, they are sustained in the belief that these do not occur. According to the Gallup Poll of July 22, 1968, only one out of 100 whites believe, or admit to believing, that Negroes are treated "badly." Seventy-five percent believe that "Negroes are treated the same as whites."

This inability or unwillingness of whites

to recognize racism is exacerbated by the lack of a tradition of systematic analysis or understanding of any social phenomena. Thus, the Horatio Alger myth, combined with the Protestant Ethic, decree that failure by whites as well as blacks is either the fault of the individual or the work of God as punishment for sin. In either case, the problem is that of the individual. The more whites see of the conditions in which black people live, the more they tend to be convinced that this is what black people want or deserve.

Furthermore, racism and the projections of their own materialism onto blacks combine to prevent whites from seeing the non-material aspirations of people of color.

Even those whites who can sympathize with the desire of blacks for decent housing, jobs, or education, block when it comes to self-determination, liberation or power. George Washington's revolutionary action based on the Declaration of Independence is somehow different when the same document is adopted virtually word-for-word by non-white peoples as the basis for nationalist struggles to free their countries from foreign domination.

Lastly, as part of the institutionalized evasion process, whites have become adept at making the criminal the victim and the victim the criminal--particularly when the victim is black. Blacks are always "going too fast" or "hurting their own cause." Black militants become responsible for the election of the Lester Maddoxes and the Lurleen Wallaces.

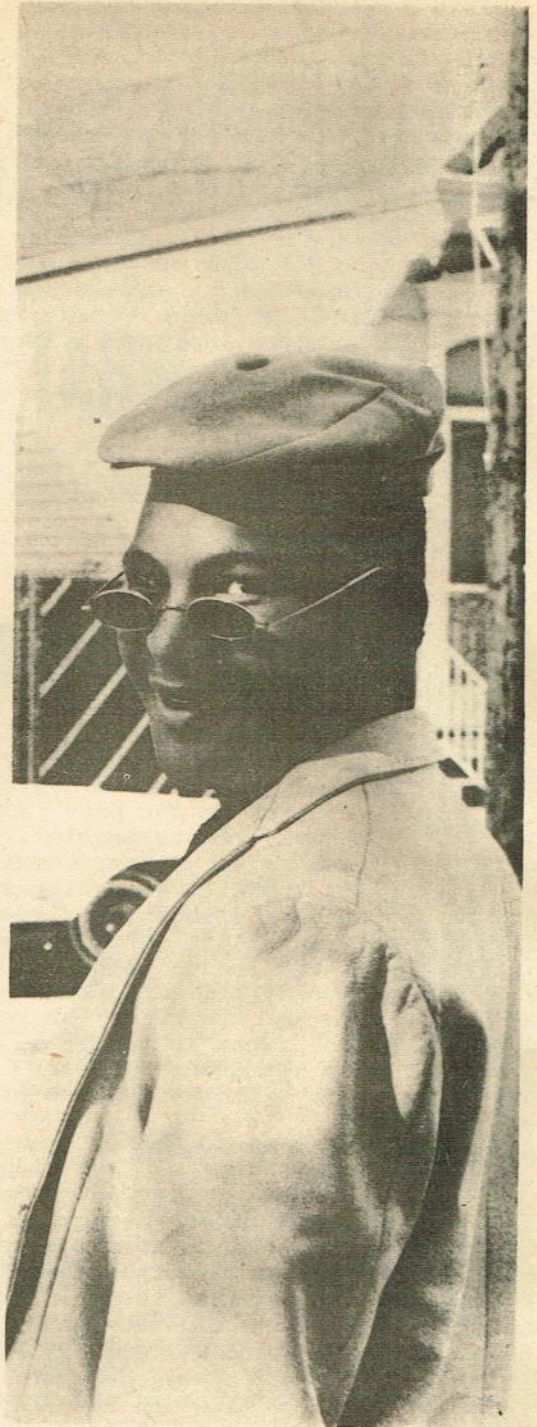
### Strategy

As noted earlier, most white strategy up to now has not sought to deal with the white problems of white identity, culture, and self-image. Indeed, white strategy has not even seriously attempted to deal with the structural economic, political and social relationships between white America and black America.

Attempts to ignore the white problem fail to recognize that the roots of racism are in the white community. Control of the institutions which deny black power, dignity and equality rests in the white community. White supremacist attitudes are formed and white supremacist behavior patterns are learned there.

To the extent that white liberals have seen white racism as a problem, they have tended to concentrate on individual as opposed to institutional racism. They have attempted to curtail or get rid of publicly identified racists such as Bull Conner. This approach fails to recognize, of course, that the system provides replacements who may be less obvious and overt but, most likely, share the same basic assumptions as their fellow whites.

This failure to recognize the institut-



ional and behavioral nature of racism has led whites to the use of integration as a primary tactic. Except at the highest levels, of course, integration has failed.

A higher percentage of black children attend segregated schools today than did before the Supreme Court decision of 1954. More black





people live in segregated neighborhoods today than did in 1960. A recent ecological study of the Detroit Metropolitan area showed that there is less "inter-action" (contact of any sort--school, job, neighborhood, etc.) between whites and blacks than there was in 1960.

Integration has failed, too, in a more profound sense, partly because the terms under which it has been posed are themselves white supremacist. Integration has suggested that the criteria for what is "good" is that which is white. Integration has generally meant that to gain physical access to white America, blacks must abandon their blackness. Even those whites who are well intentioned have usually accepted blacks as human only to the extent they are not black. ("Why I don't even think of you as a Negro" they say of their friends). To put it another way, those blacks who are accepted are admitted as exceptions.

This is not to say that integration never influences change in the anti-black attitudes of whites. Physical proximity has often been successful as a device, particularly when it takes place on black people's terms. Neither is this to argue that whites are not opposed to physical proximity in most instances. They are. It must be understood however, that their opposition is not based only on intrinsic dislike of closeness, but that it is a function of the fear that close contact will somehow lead to diminishing the power which allows whites to control the destiny of non-whites.

Nor is this to say that integration which accepts a man's humanity without regard to his color--instead of in spite of it--and in which people live and work together is not a

desirable objective. Utopian though it might seem, it is, of course, an objective. It is not necessarily strategic at this time however, to pursue integration as an objective. And to argue that integration is a desirable objective does not make it a useful tactic.

Finally, it should be clear that physical separation is not the issue by the overwhelming lack of tangible or even rhetorical support given to black "separatists" (whether they be the Honorable Elijah Muhammed, Malcolm X or Stokely Carmichael) by whites adamant in their desire not to have a black man live next door. Whites, it would seem, are in favor of separation only when blacks are against it. Opposition to blacks, first in the form of the "white backlash" and later in the form of increased legal and military repression, increased significantly at exactly the point black people began to talk about "going it alone."

The final complication with the integration strategy concerns the tactic of physical proximity. Integrationists assume that physical proximity itself causes whites to recognize the humanity of blacks, which then leads to white persons accepting and liking black people. Unfortunately, this assumption

flies in the face of both logic and history.

Whites have always been willing to accept physical proximity to blacks when it suited their purposes to do so. During slavery, for example, white males regularly achieved ultimate physical proximity to Negro females. The result was hardly increased respect between the races. The consequence was in fact quite the opposite, the further dehumanization of both races.

Additional examples of a more contemporary nature can be seen by noting that some of those having the most actual contact with black people are often the most racist. Brutal white supremacist policemen work eight hours a day in the ghetto; bigoted school teachers in ghetto schools have extensive contact with the black community;

welfare workers spend much of their working day in black homes. Detroit area factories have integrated assembly lines in many cases yet there is nothing inconsistent or implausible about whites who work next to blacks on the same job going home at night to meet with their neighborhood anti-Negro organization. Negro women have always been allowed into the wealthiest white homes to clean, cook and care for white children. Finally the United States Army has proven its willingness to integrate itself if only to

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prevent excessive resentment among the black troops which it sends to die in disproportionate numbers.

Physical proximity is a smokescreen.

Liberals in particular abandoned support for black people when they began to declare their independence. Often this was for the simple structural reason that much liberal white power, especially in politics, was in fact black power. Black votes have elected many white politicians. More profoundly, the relationship between white liberals and black people has always been at least symbiotic. Black people as a downtrodden "cause" to be saved by good whites have traditionally given liberals the very definition of their existence--at least their existence as liberals. It is understandable then, that liberals, who have been as dependent on black dependence and submission as any group, would feel "betrayed" by the declaration of independence of blacks.

The strategy of the past has failed. We must begin on the basis of a fresh analysis to build a new strategy, however difficult that may be.

The recognition of the institutional nature of the problem suggests that whites, no less than blacks, must struggle for the power to control the institutions which create and perpetuate a disastrously distorted system. Whites must begin to see

that the present system is as destructive to them as it has been for blacks.

Anti-racist whites must first recognize their own powerlessness, particularly as individuals, to take on institutions. They must, therefore, organize themselves and others. They must build a base.

Those who would seriously address themselves to the task of confronting institutional, behavioral racism must also gain as quickly as possible the necessary experience and analysis which will allow them to make maximum use of their limited power. They must discover, for example, which are the most important institutions and by what methods racism is transmitted to the young.

Most likely, they must turn to youth as a major constituency; one which is most receptive to a new explanation of their present and potential identity as well as systematic analysis on which they may begin to act.

Finally, they must prepare themselves for a long, difficult, unpopular and possibly dangerous task.

### Crisis and Conclusion

The task of combatting racism grows more urgent and more difficult each day. Current trends make it entirely possible that we may be faced with the more immediate task of combatting Fascism.


The period since the 1954 Supreme Court decision might be characterized as the nation's second attempt at reconstruction. If so, it shows signs of ending more disastrously for blacks and whites alike than did the first.

Under the accumulated stresses of many years, including racism, the "liberal" center of the society, especially in urban areas, shows signs of break-up and disintegration. A growing, mass-based, frightened and anxiety-ridden, well-financed right wing stands ready to fill any vacuum which is created.

If only to preserve itself, the center will most likely shift to the right as an accommodation. The fact, in part, that the significant and dynamic force on the left is black (or, where white, young and largely powerless) and a minority will prevent much, if any, accommodation to the left.

As symbolized by the little-noted and little-mourned massacre of unarmed black students in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the indictments and reclassifications of draft protestors and resisters, repression against blacks and deviant whites will continue to grow. (The above examples demonstrate, as always, that the tactics of repression directed at blacks will be different than those directed at whites.)

Time is short. For both the short and long range tasks, the maximum number of financial, personnel, and organizational resources must be mobilized immediately.



**Floyd B. Barbour,**  
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## Student Organizing

# RACISM AND THE CAMPUS

*Vic Harwood Steve Shalom*

Since students are among the most alienated in our society, radical organizing among them is both important and promising. On all the campuses of the Boston area, the assassination of Martin Luther King evoked strong anti-racist sentiment. Each school cancelled classes, held memorial services and organized workshops on racism. Such feeling of repulsion toward American racism offers an unusual opportunity for the radical organizing students. It also demands that we consider carefully the kinds of tactical issues around which organizing should take place. Perhaps we should seize as top priority issues those that seem likely to draw the maximum number of students closer to a radical viewpoint and at the same time produce effective student power movements within the university. With this criterion we assume that students lack positions of power from which to move decisively against such basic issues as imperialism and war, injustice and racism. The longer-term goal of winning students to radical commitments becomes preferable.

Students have campaigned for McCarthy, protested off-campus in support of the grape strikers and marched on the Pentagon. For many these activities have served as radicalizing experiences. They have also reduced distortion in the minds of students about the real world of politics. There is question, however, whether these activities have either brought war and exploitation nearer and end or touched the vast majority of students who remained on the campus.

Two arguments suggest major advantages for selecting projects which do not take the student radicals off campus but rather enable them to confront the university power structure itself.

First, if radicals work towards permanently changing the university in the direction of greater student participation, they will be creating an institution which cannot help but further the understanding and

appreciation of participatory democracy. Ultimately, this would mean that every person passing through the university would have the experience of controlling his life for four years. Recall that Dr. Spock may have contributed to today's radicalism through his books advocating non-authoritarian child rearing far more than all the actions of the old left. All too often people view the university as a place where radicals are found rather than bred. This leads them to ignore the fact that the university plays a large part in shaping people's beliefs, and, therefore, must be prevented from serving the status quo. Within the academic structure, for example, racism is perpetuated. Thus, a major change in curriculum, environment, inter-personal relationships, and the decision-making process are all essential goals which radicals may work toward.

Second, because the university is a microcosm of the institutions of society at large, exposing the nature of the power structure (i.e. corporate liberal control as opposed to control by those actually affected) at a level most readily understood by students is the clearest way to present the radical critique of society. Therefore, each issue which confronts the present power relationship at the university, if developed in conjunction with a radical analysis, would further the acceptance of this critique. Even the seemingly petty issue of dormitory parietals, for example, could be linked to the larger perspective, first, of where the power lies at the university, and then, to the location of power in society. The hope would be that student radicals could, as Eric Mann put it in New Left Notes (3/18/68),

change their roles from campus protest groups to radical community organizations that act as a de facto government for a growing number of students. Programmaticaly this means developing programs and raising issues that deal with a wider variety of student needs, while also injecting radical content into these campaigns to avoid becoming an apolitical service organization.

---

Vic Harwood is a junior in political science at Tufts University; Steve Shalom is in the same field at MIT. Both are on the editorial board of The Paper Tiger.

Out of a sense of urgency over the issue of racism, students all over Boston launched numerous projects, both on and off the campus. In light of the analysis stated above, some of these activities will be evaluated.

At Brandeis, one group of students decided to concentrate on the neighboring town of Weston. Canvassing will be done in order to raise money for Roxbury, gather skilled people to assist in Roxbury programs, gain support for civil rights legislation and educate people about racism. Good though these proposed actions are, they are unlikely to be effective. Students would be less likely to succeed in organizing adults than their own peers. Middle-class professionals are unlikely to offer large sums of money to students even if it is going to the black community. Frustrations and disappointments growing up from failures in such a community are less likely to bring any large number of students into the radical camp.

Experiences on other Boston area campuses, however, indicate that on-campus activity organized against white racism could be fruitful. At Boston University, for instance, a heterogeneous group of about 400 people called the University Committee on Racism (UCOR) was formed. One of its demands is that B.U. transfer its money from the First National Bank and the Middle South Utilities and invest it in Unity Trust and the Freedom Bank, both in Roxbury. Working on this demand will involve students in an activity which (1) exposes the racist nature of the university in that the institution supports exploiters of the black man and is not willing to support the black community, (2) points to the fact that the university is an integral part of a corporate-liberal system which institutionalizes racism, (3) stresses the need for black control of black communities, and (4) raises the issue of student power, by demanding that university investments be controlled by the university community. Of course, this activity also has intrinsic value -- if successful it will help the black community.

An anti-racist organization at Northeastern University is putting forth a similar proposal. The school is planning to give \$800,000 to the city of Lowell, Massachusetts to help develop its school system. (Lowell is predominantly a lower middle-class white community.) The students are demanding that this money be reallocated to the Roxbury school system which is adjacent to Northeastern and in much greater need.

The value of campus anti-racist work can be further seen by another example from Brandeis. Two actions were planned by Brandeis People Against Racism (no relation to P.A.R. in Cambridge): (1) to protest the university's hiring of a segregated construction union and (2) to picket the homes of Waltham slumlords. Each of these projects confronts the issue of racism equally well, however, the former has the added ad-

vantage of challenging the university power structure, i.e., demanding that students have a voice in determining which unions the school should hire. Had the situation been reversed, e.g. a slumlord donating funds for a university building and a discriminatory union off-campus, the campus-oriented issue would still be the more valuable one to support.

### Black Demands

At most campuses, the local black students presented a list of demands to their administrations. How should white radicals respond to this? At Brandeis, the Afro-American group made a number of very moderate demands, which will in all probability receive majority student and faculty support. The administration, however, is quite unlikely to accept them. As a radical organizing issue, this could prove most valuable in that it will (a) expose the racist nature of the university and (b) show how little power the constituents of the university actually have. If the situation is handled properly, i.e., sustained grass-roots organizing, then an effective student power movement could easily develop.

At Tufts University, eight days after King's assassination, 250 students, both black and white, held a sit-in at the administration building. Their major demand was that provisions be made immediately for the acceptance of 40 more black students. All major newspapers and television and radio stations were contacted which resulted in Boston-wide coverage. (The New York Times also carried the story.) After deliberating for half an hour, the administration conceded the major demand, although with qualifications. This seemed to have caught the radicals off balance, and this pacified the anti-racist movement with token reform. Radicals there need to begin educational programs to further develop the potentialities of student power, and to point out that the work has not ended with gained reforms, but has just begun.

In each of these examples the new awareness of white racism occasioned by Dr. King's death served as an issue for radical student organizing. In each case the action either won victory or at least made the radical position highly visible and credible to the campuses. Although, only time will show whether these actions have brought many students closer to a radical viewpoint, it is unlikely that any comparable student efforts off-campus would offer such promise. It is certain that on-campus student organizing around the issue of racism should continue.

## Political Economy

# WHITE RACISM, BLACK POWER, AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION

*Herb Gintis*

Martin Luther King is dead. With his assassination, the civil rights movement has reluctantly acknowledged its own demise. The King funeral buried more than a man--it buried a movement as well. Radicals must now admit what the black nationalists have known for a long time: the struggle for black justice is not at base the struggle of good and evil, but the struggle of black and white. Nor can the bitterness of this realization be overestimated; for we as radicals have been secure in our belief that the ills of society are institutional, economic, and bureaucratic; we must now make room for an autonomous (whatever be its etiology) factor: the issue of white racism. Granted, racism is but one facet of a predator society, that racism is but an aspect of a society based on hate and power rather than love and power. Nevertheless, racism has achieved status that cannot be denied by the New Left.

I shall try to show here that the problem of Negro poverty lies squarely on race, and only secondarily, if at all, on class. The implication is simply that if blacks lost their distinctive racial characteristics, they would be more or less quickly assimilated in the cross-sectional distribution of the country as a whole.

How poor are blacks? Negroes have held the same relative income position vis-a-vis whites since the Second World War: median black income is a steady 50% of white. However, while blacks comprised 18% of the poor in 1947, they comprised 22% in 1962. Hence had the Negro progressed as fast as the white during this period, the present incidence of Negro poverty would be lower by a third that it actually is; the incidence of black poverty was 67% in 1947, and 44% in 1962, whereas it should have been 33% in

1962 if it were to remain an equi-proportional decrease with whites. Hence the economic effects of discrimination have increased in recent years.

The background mechanism within which racism has been manifested involves the demographic shift of blacks from the Southern farm to the Northern central city ghetto. This movement has been a ubiquitous, long-term trend; thus in 1910, 90% of the black population lived in the Old South, while in 1950, the figure was 60%, and by 1962, it had fallen to 50%. At the same time, the black population of southern cities increased little, and in the 24 metropolitan areas with half a million or more residents, the "central cities" lost 2,399,000 white resident between 1950 and 1960, while gaining 2,641,000 new Negro residents in the same period, a rise of over 50%. In the suburbs, by contrast, the white population grew by 10 million persons, or 65%. In the same period, we might note, the proportion of suburban blacks actually fell!

It is still legitimate to ask, however, just how closely this demographic movement is geared to the racial as opposed to the economic and social position of the Negro. Suppose we first place the rural exodus of blacks into the general framework of a declining farm population. This attrition in the share of the agricultural sector in total labor force is one of the most powerful concomitants of industrial growth, and quite independent of the institutional framework of the economy, save that it be compatible with the relevant level of economic development. In an underdeveloped country, the share of agriculture in total labor force is on the order of 85%, while as income of the country increases, this figure falls steadily to a low of about 10% in the United States. This tendency is reflected in rapidly falling agricultural prices, due

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Herb Gintis teaches economics at Harvard and is on the editorial board of The Paper Tiger. His column appears regularly.

to rapid technological change, and a general squeezing-out of the small farmer in the face of the natural increase in "optimal" farm size, and in the U.S., monopolistic practices in agriculture, exacerbated by government farm-support programs biased heavily in favor of the big land-owner. The position of the "farm lad", be he black or white, is straightforward: there is simply no place for him on the farm. It is thus a myth that the rural exodus is caused by the "attractiveness" of urban-suburban job opportunities. Since the Second World War, the number of poor rural families decreased three times as fast as the number of poor families in general, but this "feat" was accomplished by the simple mechanism of dumping the rural poor on the urban community. In fact, the number of poor non-farm families has not fallen at all since the War

If the black rural exodus can be linked to the weak economic position of blacks, cannot other aspects of Northern ghetto-formation be similarly situated in economic variables? Here the answer is No! Firstly, we must ask why the Negro, upon leaving the farm, left the South as well. A purely economic explanation would require showing that job opportunities for the newly-arrived metropolitan-area immigrant have been significantly scantier in the South than in the North. This, however, is quite the opposite from the truth. The new urban immigrant, falling in the unskilled and semi-skilled working-class, finds the greatest demand for employment in the area of manufacturing industry. Since 1950, Southern manufacturing has grown two and one-half times as fast as Northern in the number of jobs created. Yet systematic job - discrimination has totally excluded the Negro from Southern industry. Between 1950 and 1960, Southern manufacturing jobs grew by 944,000; of these some 12,000 were taken by black women, and none by black men!

### The Move North

We are perhaps not surprised to find the black movement North to be based on racial discrimination; the South has always been the bastion of white supremacy. But what happens when the Negro comes north? Can we explain the location of blacks in core-city ghettos on the basis of economic variables? The answer is here again No! For in order to make such an argument, we would have to show that the systematic exclusion of blacks from the suburbs is based not on his race, but on his income. However, the suburbs as a whole do not discriminate against the poor. In fact, suburban areas are almost blind, at least in the aggregate, to income variables. In Boston, for instance, the suburbs contain 75% of the white population and 64% of the poor white; on the other hand they contain 19% of the black population of the Boston metropolitan area, and 14% of the

poor black population. Similar figures can be quoted for other cities, save that the proportion of black suburbanites is usually lower (e.g., 8% in Chicago). These figures amply show that the Negro is not excluded from the suburbs on the basis of income, but of race. For if racial discrimination in housing were eliminated, our figures show that the suburban black population would jump from 19% to about 70% of total black population in the metropolitan area, and if economic discrimination in housing were then eliminated, the latter figure would rise only five more points to 75%. Housing discrimination, however subtle in its methods, is total in its impact.

Nevertheless, our argument is far from complete. The poor Negro leaves the farm, in a sense because he is poor. He winds up in the ghetto quite literally because he is black. But why does he remain poor in the ghetto? Why and how does the ghetto perpetuate poverty? The economic determinist will again come back and say that poverty always begets poverty: and indeed social mobility has never been high in the United States. However, three generations or so does tend to produce considerable diffusion. Thus most of the racial, ethnic, or religious groups acknowledged at one time or another to be "disadvantaged" have now escaped this rubric. Why not the Negro? Because the ghetto itself breeds and reinforces poverty. It is for this reason, and this reason alone



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that white racism is manifested in black poverty.

The most dramatic form of cultural in-breeding of ghetto life is the brute exploitation of the poor made possible by the "cordon sanitaire" surrounding the core-city. A host of individuals arise who benefit directly from the maintenance of poverty. We have more here than the simple matter of higher prices and higher rents; to be poor is not simply to "pay more", but far more deeply, to be preyed upon. As one black writer has noted, "The poor represent exactly those whose immediate victim's they are: the slum landlord, the scab employer, the insolent municipal bureaucrat, the shy-ster merchant, the loan shark, the bribable building inspector, the corruptible cop, the paternalistic politician, and the whole array of parasites whose power or profit or livelihood depends upon the continuance of poverty."

#### Black Powerlessness

An equally dramatic factor in ghetto life is the total lack of community control of social institutions; the poor are disenfranchised not from political affairs, but from the operation of the whole fabric of institutions which 'serve' them. These institutions, mainly public, react against any form of social change, feeling the threatened undermining of the 'integrity' of the organi-

zation or its jurisdictional powers. This group includes the local educational system, which is rigidly anti-communitarian and applies outmoded and anti-democratic educational theories. We have here as well the old-line social service institutions and 'settlement houses' which have little in the way of fresh insights to bring to bear on the problems of the poor, and respond with shock at community initiative. These institutions more than likely have ossified into fragmented bureaucracies, representing ethnic and religious groups which have long since passed through the ghettos on their way to the suburbs, but who nonetheless feel that any local initiative not under their control is a usurpation of their prerogatives. Such established 'pillars' of community activity form an impressive obstacle to any program aimed at black justice. Their (justified) fears of usurpation of power is passed on to virtually all municipal agencies: police, public health and housing authorities, public welfare agencies and advisory services; all fit somewhere in this category of black powerlessness.

Nor can the purely economic aspects of black poverty be overlooked. In fact, the poor do pay more and earn less; almost all ghetto poverty can be linked either directly or indirectly to low wages and unemployment, and the latter are naturally closely tied to low levels of skill and education. Thus the third factor in ghetto poverty-breeding is the low quality of ghetto educational institutions. Predominantly due to the lack of community control of the educational system, this low quality is exacerbated by the insufficient funding of municipal schools, itself stemming from a dwindling municipal tax base as the affluent leave the center city, and federal-state discrimination against the city in the distribution of tax funds. This problem becomes ever more severe as time passes; for a high level of individual education is necessary not only for improving one's position in the income distribution, but for simply maintaining it, in the face of falling relative wage rates for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Thus in the period 1940-1950, these wages rose 70% faster than managerial and professional wages, while in the next decade, they rose 30% more slowly. Moreover, the number of such jobs increases one half as fast as employment in general.

Even when Northern blacks have education, they are discriminated against; for any level of education and training, Negroes are paid less than white; based on rational life-time income calculations, it is even advisable for a young black to drop out of school and enter the job market. This result is partially due to the low quality of urban schools as well as job discrimination against blacks. But it is also due to another critical factor in ghetto poverty-maintenance: the general movement of jobs out of the center city into the suburbs. Education or no education, if a Negro must live in the ghetto, it is difficult to work



in the suburbs, where the jobs are. Moreover, jobs traditionally held by blacks appear to be suburbanizing at an even higher rate. Thus between 1940 and 1960, the center cities lost about 1,800,000 manufacturing jobs, while the suburbs gained 182,000. Similar figures are available for wholesale and retail employment. Thus jobs follow whites to suburbs, while blacks move from poor employment on the farm to poor employment in the ghetto.

**Where is the Answer?**

This, then, is the racist basis of black poverty. And it should be axiomatic that we cannot destroy discrimination without destroying white racism itself. It is only the most utopian of thinkers who can conceive of "open housing" and "equal opportunity employment" legislation as operating effectively against the very white majority practicing discrimination. Can black poverty be eliminated without ending discrimination?

Clearly this involves a total reorganization of life in the center city ghetto. If our analysis is correct, the two first prerogatives of such a reorganization are the ending of economic and social exploitation in the ghetto, and the replacement of reactionary social institutions by a young and vibrant black community. Does this sound like a Black Power solution? Well it is, and far more rational than most administration economists are willing to concede. With the attainment of these two conditions, it is probable that the problem of education would be solved in a generation or less; if the white community persists in job-discrimination, the revitalized black communities might well then be considered simply as the richest member of the exploited Third World. While such a usurpation of power is quite within the realm of the possible in the next several years, it should not be forgotten by black people themselves that their mission is revolutionary in the highest sense of the word, in the realm of values as well as institutions. The end of exploitation and the growth of community control cannot be achieved by the creation of 'black capitalism', as Floyd McKissick and other nationalists have demanded, but rather by a Cultural Revolution in the truest sense of the word. Radicals have been too long reading Castro and Mao on war; perhaps they should be reading Castro and Mao on culture.



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# NOTES OF A BLACK MAN

*Cornelius W. May*

Accusatorial words receive one of three responses: admissions of guilt, denials of guilt or demurrers to the facts. One hears all of these responses to the accusation WHITE RACIST -- words categorizing the acts of white individuals and/or the effect of the value system in American society on black individuals: the term is intended to create a conscious sense of guilt in white Americans about the circumstances of black Americans. One senses, however, that for many persons, such responses are an emotional reaction to their helplessness in unraveling the quandary of race relations in America today. In some cases, the accusation may lead to the repression or expression of a person's guilt about his behavior respecting race relations. In short, the meaning of the words is not understood in rational terms. By stating the meaning of white racism in descriptive terms, we can begin to move our attitude toward the problem of race relations from a condition of drift to one of mastery.

White racism is the process by which black Americans are told that they themsel-

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Cornelius W. May is a second - year law student at Harvard Law School. He is originally from East St. Louis and is a member of several black organizations in Boston.

ves, their values and the manifestations of their values are vulgar and taboo. There can be little argument that the process was set in motion 300 years ago by the institution of slavery during the colonial period of American history: the voluntary white immigrants and the forced black immigrants were told and in some cases literally whipped into believing that black men and women were not only culturally different, but also inferior, ignorant and pagan when compared with white persons. Whatever may have been the economic, political and physiological justifications given for the creation and perpetuation of slavery, the status of all black men and women was below that of all white men and women. This status relationship became entrenched in the American "personality" during 200 years of slavery. The American social, economic and political institutions were moulded on the base of this status structure and its implicit attitudes: few of these institutions have changed since then.

## Modes of Oppression

Messages to black men and women indicating that they are physiologically and culturally inferior, vulgar and taboo are de-

livered through the institutional arrangements of our present society. SOCIALLY, the majority of Afro-Americans are segregated into the oldest and most decayed areas of the city. The heroes and institutional expressions of Afro-Americans' cultural past are rejected.

ECONOMICALLY, the greatest percentage of Afro-Americans obtain the least desirable and lowest paid employment. Furthermore, the black man and woman have little, if any, control over the business in their communities, unlike other ethnic communities where business is usually controlled by the ethnic group in the area.

POLITICALLY, nearly all Afro-Americans have neither responsive nor responsible representation in the decision-making bodies of the municipalities and do not control the party structures within their communities. As a result, most black people are not attached to the governmental institutions, the most important institution in a political democracy. One effect of the movement toward destroying machine politics is the concurrent destruction of that mechanism utilized by the economically deprived to enter the political process.

The reminders to the black men and women that their status is below all white individuals is manifested through the distribution of forms of power: moral, coercive and political. Political power, as noted before, is not held by Afro-Americans even where they are nearly a majority in the cities. Coercive power is traditionally the tool of white men, not black men and women. The Afro-American traditionally uses moral power, persuasion, to obtain his goals in society. This posture requires reliance on the goodwill and sympathy of white individuals. It implies a gradualism in changing the conditions of a status relationship which becomes more depressing and oppressive every day. It leaves black men and women with a form of power to which the majority of white persons have not responded.

### Social Reciprocity

There is no social reciprocity between black and white America. The former group is outside the institutional framework of the society, and is questioning the legitimacy of the institutions and the political and coercive powers that prevent its participation in the ordering of society. Each group relates to material goods from two entirely different perspectives: the black group as "have nots" and "going to get its share;" the white group as "haves" and "not quite willing to give up essential parts of the whole pie." The latter group would rather maintain its posture of domination and use repression wherever necessary -- through police departments, as in Chicago, or through the growing number of armed whites. The

black group responds with retaliation. Where there is no reciprocity, there can be little hope for a stable social order. For such an order exists in a society only where all men have a similar vested interest in the institutions and the goods that are exchanged.

Of course, efforts are being made to alter the cyclical trap which effectively excludes the majority of the Afro-Americans from social institutions. There are, as there have been and will be, Afro-Americans who will integrate, enter the cosmopolis. They should be able to do so as individuals who are proud of their historical past, rather than as persons who reject the unique factors of their group history as vulgar and taboo.

The majority of any group which shares a unique historical past, however, remains united as a community. This seemingly natural fact of life does not mean that they would not intermingle with persons from other groups which also have unique historical pasts. Rather, individuals within the group would travel from their cultural havens to the market place--places of employment, recreation, decision making and economic consumption. This majority, like their brothers and sisters in the cosmopolis, should bring to the market place a pride in their historical past. This pride in a cultural and historical past engenders self-respect and creates the basis for mutual respect among individuals with different, unique historical and cultural experiences: the acceptance of diversity in mankind. But, for a true cosmopolis, as well as for respectable intermingling, to develop, the cyclical trap must not simply be altered. It must be destroyed.

### White Racism

White racism is the unwillingness of white individuals to remove those conditions which prevent the Afro-American's entrance into the institutional structures of society it is the denial of the black man, woman and child's equal access to economic, social and political institutions; it is the denial of their political power and also their subjugation through coercive power. White racism is the white individual's attitude toward the Afro-American's person and values--they are negative and inferior, vulgar and taboo--which permits the continued existence of the social, economic and political situations that exclude Afro-Americans from a reciprocal relationship with white individuals. In short, white racism involves first the formation of a guilty mental attitude, and then either acts of omission or commission. Any assessment of the words WHITE RACIST must begin from this perspective. Only in this perspective can admissions of guilt, denials of guilt, or demurrers to the facts

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be made with honesty and rationality, rather than with the emotional responses exhibited in white reactions today.

The prescription for mastering the quandary of race relations today is implied in the description: destruction of the existing cyclical trap by altering the economic, social and cultural institutions so that Afro-Americans can enter reciprocal relationships with white Americans.

From the social point of view, black control of the black community should be recognized as legitimate, just as community control in other ethnic communities is considered legitimate.

-While the federal government should continue Model Cities, urban renewal and housing rehabilitation programs, the administration of programs funded by the government and business for the purchase and reconstruction of ghetto housing should shift to ghetto residents.

-There can be a redistribution of the funds for public services so that all areas of the metropolis are equally served.

-Educational materials should be written to include the Afro-American generally and the peculiar history of black people, and their culture should be emphasized in specific books.

-Parents should be permitted to participate in the planning and running of community schools that can become cultural centers for the ghetto.

-The communication media should include all aspects of the life of the Afro-American and the visual media in particular should be re-oriented to highlight Black life, art, music and dance as it is interpreted by Afro-Americans.

-ECONOMICALLY, the aptitude and achievement tests that are used to exclude "unqualified" persons from employment where no particular skill is needed should be abolished. Jobs should be given to anyone who can do the job competently, on a first-come, first serve basis.

-The welfare system should be replaced by either a guaranteed annual income or a negative tax plan so that every family has the possibility of a stable structure.

-A plan for community or individual purchase and control of community based businesses should be developed and implemented; many of these businesses might be operated as cooperatives. They might form a shopping center under a state's laws of incorporation

-POLITICALLY, every identifiable community should have an elected body which sends delegates to a municipality-wide federation of communities with equal representation. Such a structure would create responsive and responsible representation for all communities (not only the black community), and therefore provide a greater opportunity for the individual voter's involvement in governing the community. Moreover, black Americans can be included in the party structure at every level and their views concerning the needs of ghetto communities integrated in the plans of both parties.

**Bondage or Freedom?**

The essential thread that is weaved through the description of white racism and the prescription for its cure is that white America must alter basic inequalities in her institutions and attitudes so that her existence is legitimized to the black American. The cumulative effect of 300 years of exclusion, oppression and physical coercion has made white America illegitimate as a nation. For the most part, the bitterness resulting from bondage has been held in check thus far. If that bitterness overflows into armed insurrection, it is certain that white individuals will either encourage or permit their institutions to retaliate. There would be a bloodbath in a mutually escalating conflict. It is now that America must adjust her institutional structures to include Afro-Americans in a reciprocal manner and her attitudes to accept the black man, woman and child as products of a unique historical past, expressed in different, but beautiful cultural forms. If this is done, then we can all refrain:

THANK GOD ALMIGHTY...FREE AT LAST!

# RESISTANCE

## --to racism

*Robert Pearlman*

Reality has a way of exploding at you. For months a strange and destructive battle has been waged in the movement. Single-issue vs. multi-issue; the battle never escaped from the quicksand of its barbaristic nomenclature. What the advocates of a multi-issue approach to movement organizing could not effect in the consciousness of their constituencies has been accomplished by a single apocalyptic event. The assassination of Dr Martin Luther King, Jr.

Boston experienced it like all other places. Thursday night, the news of the assassination hot in the air, the members of the Resistance met in their Stanhope St. office. With the unanimity of a Quaker meeting they declared that their organization's work will include action against racism as well as against the draft. In Cambridge, two days later, PACEM's executive committee met. For PACEM, the debate had slowed their program for months. But Saturday, the single-issue advocates came to the meeting self-gagged.

The change is an important one for the Resistance, one of the largest and most dynamic anti-war groups in the Boston area. Their first actions following the King assassination met the urgency of the situation with remarkable speed and a surprisingly solid political content. With other area groups, notably People Against Racism, they phoned and leafletted through the night to produce Friday's rally (the rally included some of the first revolutionary speeches to be given on Boston's streets in years). Likewise, the Resistance newspaper staff worked the night to produce a special 4-page edition. 15,000 newspapers were distributed by Saturday, while another 20,000 of the re-

Robert Pearlman works full-time as an administrator for the New England Free Press. He has written extensively on draft resistance activity.

vised edition were handed out at the mourn-in Monday organized by Mayor White and other self-declared upholders of Dr. King's dream (read passivity for non-violence in the mass media). Meanwhile mimeograph machines grinded out support statements of the Black demands. With nearly 35 people working full-time and innumerable others offering to help, the Resistance mobilized itself to provide Boston with a progressive interpretation of the assassination and the meaning of Dr. King's work. Few other Boston groups have, even now, this ability.

The question of political content is something else. It is one thing to run demonstrations around an event as shocking to the entire American public as the King murder. It is another thing to project a program of steady work against racism in America. The Resistance is no more muddled than other groups on this account. But the nature of the Resistance organization imposes a definition on the possibilities of the program.

What kind of steady work? The answer to this requires some statement of where the Black community is at. For an anti-war organization to design a program to combat racism it must account not only for the urgency posed by the coming summer, but must make some accurate interpretation of the shared consciousness of its own constituency. The difficulty of this was portrayed graphically after last summer's rebellions when the National Guardian (now the Guardian) polled white radicals on how to respond to what is happening in the Black community. Answers reflected little agreement on program or action: some would build the working class movement; some would organize diverting demonstrations (the second front theory), some would run guns, or food, or clothing, and still others would be choked by their own powerlessness. Nevertheless, while the

actions differed, there was a shared perspective -- support for the Black Liberation Struggle.

There remains another possibility, organizing whites against racism in their own communities. The difference between this and Black support work is one of audience, participants, actions, and geography. Black support work would be directed at those in power (government and business), using the strength of the present anti-war movement (heavily student) in Alinsky-style actions to back up Black demands. The locale would be Boston. Attacking racism in white communities involves activating liberal groups in an educational and agitational program with their neighbors, with community disorganization (of racist structures such as zoning boards) as a goal.

In the days following the King murder the Resistance chose Black Support as its focus: One leaflet from PAR and the Resistance reads, in part:

The Black Community has demanded the removal of white police from the ghetto. We support their demand. . . The Black community can and should provide its own order. The student-faculty strike called by the Resistance for April 8-10 included these points:

- 1) Withdrawal of National Guardsman. . . from black ghettos. . .
- 2) Black control of the black community.
- 4) Recognition that racism and the war are intimately related and that both problems lie in the structure of the American society and economy.

Which focus the Resistance will choose in the future is unclear. This writer interviewed several members of the Resistance and found no consistent view of future program. It was yet to be formulated.

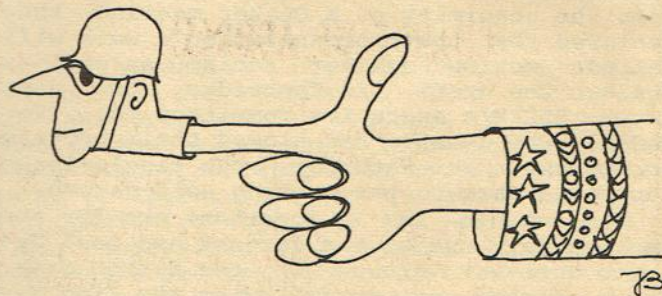
This broadening of plank to include anti-racism work is all the more remarkable considering the decision-making procedures and the history of the Resistance. According to an article by Michael Ferber in the New York Review of Books, April 25, the Resistance, in style and in spirit, is SDS four years ago. Participatory democracy, slowly being junked throughout most of the New Left, infuses the Resistance spirit. In practice this means that decisions are made in the spirit of the Quaker meeting. While this spirit made it possible for the Resistance to respond so rapidly to the King murder, it also made it virtually impossible for the organization to do anti-racist work prior to that event.

Two traditions have been prominent in the Resistance since its inception. One is an emphasis on individual acts of moral witness like the card turn-in and induction refusal. The other is the spirit of direct action (a corner table in the Resistance office is laden with IWW literature; the wobblies invented direct action). Lately, according to Neil Robertson, one of the leaders of the Resistance, the group has come to view the

card turn-in as an initial act, a kind of movement baptism, but hardly enough for an individual or for the demands of the task before us. One week after the King assassination the Resistance held a special card turn-in at the Arlington St. Church. What was new was the tie-in between the war and racism as the reason for the action. But there was an unstated recognition that the forms of action would have to be more directly concerned with the immediate problems of the Black community.

Robertson also feels that the targets of Resistance actions will be more local and less abstract. It makes little sense to demonstrate against racism, more sense to demonstrate against the mayor or landlords. Also, support work will be for the Black community in Roxbury, rather than the one in Memphis or Bogalusa.

The Resistance has good intentions, but no program. Chris Venn emphasized that the strength of the Resistance lies in responding to situations with direct action. But while Venn might wish to respond to the next rebellion with a "peace riot", staged in another part of the city to divert the troops from the ghetto, Steve Paillet, the office manager of the Resistance, would do service support, shipping food, clothing, and medical supplies into riot areas. What the organization can agree upon, and act upon, is unclear at this time and may take events to determine. At present the Resistance is emphasizing internal workshops to educate its membership on the causes and structure of racism.



This broadening of platform to include anti-racist work is significant for a group that has grown more than any other Boston peace organization in the past year. Even more remarkable are the directions that the Resistance may now grow in. As a group that in the past has been seen by some as the most amateurish, politically, on the left, the new work and the learning process it generates could make the Resistance a politically strong group. It already has the organizational strength (numbers, communications, etc.), a state its critics have yet to achieve.

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**NOTICE!!NOTICE!!**

THIS ISSUE will be the last regular issue of The Paper Tiger for this academic year. We will publish a special issue during the summer, to come out in early July, and return to regular monthly publication in September. The July-August issue will feature more of Phil Raup's series on an activist party, a section of discussion on new left organizational forms, our regular columns, and more. Be sure not to miss it!  
In the meantime, we wish our readers a Happy Summer....

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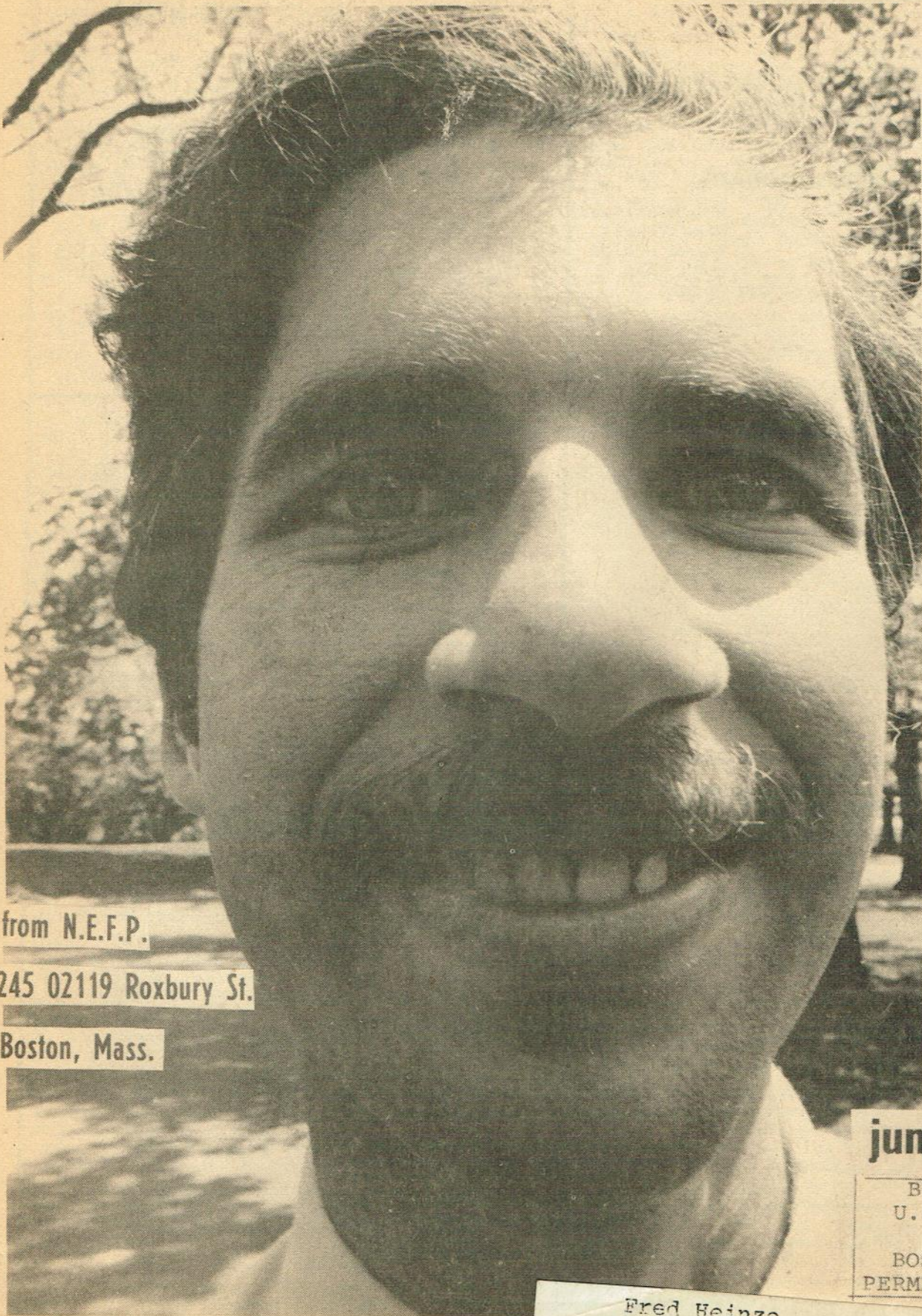
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